

## Conference Paper

# The Elusive 30%: Analyzing the Barriers to Female Representation in the Indonesian Parliament for East Nusa Tenggara (NTT)

Sri Chatun

Department of Public Administration, Hasanuddin University

**Abstract.**

This study delves into the evolution of women's involvement in global politics, with a specific focus on their journey to leadership roles, using Indonesia as a case study. The research adopts a phenomenological paradigm and employs a qualitative methodology. Despite the existence of a 30% quota for women's representation, the progress in increasing the number of women in legislative roles has only marginally surpassed this benchmark. This slow development underscores the need to address the issue of women's representation, considering that certain policies lack a pro-women attitude, such as the Bill on the Elimination of Sexual Violence.

By drawing from previous research, personal analysis, and interviews with women representatives in the Indonesian Parliament for East Nusa Tenggara (NTT), this research seeks to comprehend the obstacles encountered by women during campaigns and the implications of these challenges for their political representation. Additionally, the study investigates why the set quotas are not being met and the impact of the increasing yet still insufficient representation of women on government policies. Preliminary findings indicate a rise in women's political representation, but the anticipated substantial impact on pro-women policies is yet to be observed. This study highlights the significance of the role of political parties in nurturing competent women leaders. Its aim is to provide recommendations to the Indonesian Parliament and commissions, particularly those addressing women's health and employment issues.

**Keywords:** women, legislative, leadership, transformational

Corresponding Author: Sri  
Chatun; email:  
srichatun156@gmail.com

**Published** 2 October 2023**Publishing services provided by**  
Knowledge E

© Sri Chatun. This article is distributed under the terms of the [Creative Commons Attribution License](#), which permits unrestricted use and redistribution provided that the original author and source are credited.

Selection and Peer-review under the responsibility of the 1st DIC Conference Committee.

## 1. Introduction

Increasing political representation of women in parliament has become a concern for political institutions in various parts of the world. The aim of increasing women's political representation in parliament is to reduce their democratic deficits. Increasing women's political representation is an indicator of improving the quality of democracy in a country [1]. Political parties play an important role in reducing the deficit of democracy or the dominance of male representation in parliament. Political parties have functions and mechanisms for candidate selection that determine the electability of women. Either with a proportional or majority election system,

**OPEN ACCESS**

The strategy to increase women's political representation in parliament is to adopt a gender quota policy in the general election system [2] [3] [4]. Gender quotas to increase women's political representation in parliament can be mandated in the constitution (basic law), legislation (national law), and internal policies of political parties. The gender quota in the constitution stipulates a number of special seats for women in the parliament.

The phenomenon of increasing women's political representation in parliament began in the 21st century. The increase in women's political representation has gradually begun to increase, in line with the establishment of a gender quota policy as the fastest track (fast-track trajectory). This gender quota policy succeeded in breaking male domination in parliament and became a trend (tendency) to increase women's political representation throughout the world, especially in old democratic countries [5].

The increase in women's political representation in parliament in the 2019 elections showed a gender-responsive tendency within political parties. This political phenomenon is consistent with the results of several gender political analyses. According to Dahlerup and Leyenaar [5], political parties play an important role in increasing women's political representation in parliament. Political parties control the recruitment, selection, and candidacy of candidates and have the power to place candidates in districts that have a winning or losing rate, or to place them on high- or low-ranking lists. Political parties are the gatekeepers for candidates to be elected to parliament, and as such, are decisive for the inclusion or exclusion of women and other underrepresented groups.

By paying attention to the phenomenon of increasing women's political representation in parliament in the world system, in the region, and in Indonesia, it is important to study and analyze this research in depth. The phenomenon that will be examined is the role of political parties in the 2019 elections. What are the strengths and advantages of political parties in Indonesia as election participants in increasing women's political representation in parliament? This political analysis refers to data and information on the results of the 2019 Legislative Election as material for analysis to answer this political phenomenon.

The representation of women in parliament is one of the advances expected to bring about changes in the quality of legislation with women's perspectives and gender equity. The constitutional basis that can be used as the basis for women's political rights includes Article 28 C paragraph (2) of the 1945 Constitution: "Every person has the right to advance himself collectively fighting for his rightser we will develop society, nation and state." In addition, Law on Political Parties No. 2 of 2008 and Election Law No. 7 of 2017 regulated a 30% quota for women's representation in the legislature.

The Declaration of Human Rights and Convention on Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW) mentions a number of articles that give freedom to women to choose leaders or become leaders and voice that women have the same political rights as men. The constitutional basis that can be used as the basis for women's political rights includes Article 28C paragraph (2) of the 1945 Constitution: "Everyone has the right to advance himself by fighting for his rights collectively to develop his society, nation and country." In addition, the Law on Political Parties No. 2 of 2008 and Election Law No. 7 of 2017 regulate a 30% quota for women's representation in the legislature.

The importance of the role of women in the decision-making process can also be seen in the international agreement in the form of the Beijing Declaration and Platform for Action (BPFA), which was the result of the Fourth World Conference on Women held in Beijing in 1995. In addition, the commitment to improve gender equality and justice, including in the field of politics and decision-making, is also listed in the millennium development goals of the century proclaimed by the United Nations at the millennium summit held in September 2000. The issue of the role of women in politics is not only an internal problem for the Indonesian state, but also an international problem experienced by all countries. The 2019 election recorded a new history, namely the increase in the number of women elected to the DPR RI, as well as being the highest in the history of parliament in Indonesia. Through the affirmative policy regulated in election law, political parties are encouraged to nominate women for at least 30% of the nominations, both in the DPR RI and the DPRD. Although this is only a preliminary study, it is hoped that this research can provide information about women's representation in parliament for the 2019-2024 period.

It is hoped that the results of this research can provide recommendations for members of the DPR RI, particularly the relevant council members, particularly Commission VIII and Commission IX, regarding important issues faced by women, such as health and employment. In this way, we can focus more on important issues that are victims of women, such as the Bill on the Elimination of Sexual Violence, so that it can be passed quickly. The results of this study will also help describe the problem of discrimination against women in the political field and how difficult it is for women to compete fairly in the political arena. More specific,

Khofifah Indar Parawansa in her writing about barriers to women's political participation in Indonesia explains the factors that affect women's representation in politics such as the cultural context in Indonesia which is still very strong with patriarchal principles. The commonly held perception is that the political arena is for men, and women are

not fit to sit in the parliament. The second factor relates to the selection process of the political parties. Candidates are usually selected by a small group of officials or party leaders, who are almost always men. In several countries, including Indonesia, where awareness of gender equality and justice remains low, male leaders from political parties have a disproportionate influence on party politics, especially in terms of gender.

Women do not receive much support from political parties, because their leadership structure is dominated by men. Third, the media plays an important role in building public opinion regarding the importance of women's representation in parliament. Fourth, there is no network among mass organizations, NGOs, and political parties to fight for women's representation. Other factors include poverty and family and multiparty systems. Political parties are no longer discriminatory in choosing women as candidates, especially those with a mandatory quota of 30%. However, it is more directed at cultural factors, poverty, and other social problems, namely, the family, because they need permission from each partner. Politics requires someone who has a strong spirit and is smart enough to influence others. Many women feel that the place is inappropriate for them. Many people believe that politics makes people immoral, and the environment makes them do bad things like corruption cases, and so on.

## 2. Literatur Review

Studies discussing the role of political parties in increasing women's political representation in parliament have been conducted by several national and international researchers. Research in both books and journals that discuss the role of political parties in this research is an analytical tool for explaining the same problem. References in the form of concepts and theories used in similar research are useful analytical tools to explain similar cases that have occurred in Indonesia.

In efforts to increase women's political representation in parliament, political parties are the main actors because they control the recruitment, selection, and candidacy of candidates. Political parties function as gatekeepers for women to be elected, and thus play a role in including or excluding women and other underrepresented groups. Political party organizations play an important role in the recruitment, selection, and candidacy of female candidates through nomination procedures with a degree of centralization or decentralization.

Efforts to increase women's political representation in the parliament require political parties to implement various strategies. Childs [6] quotes Lovenduski [7] in *Feminising Politics*, explaining that political parties can increase women's descriptive representation

in parliament in 3 (three) ways: equality rhetoric, equality promotion, and equality guarantees.

Research on the role of political parties associated with the increased representation of women in parliament has been conducted by many researchers. Kittilson [8] explains that organizational structure, ideology, women's activists, party rules (statutes), and the general election system are important aspects in influencing the level of women's political representation. Kunovich and Paxton [9] explained the role of female elites who have important positions in political parties in influencing political party policies related to women's candidacy to be elected with a proportional representation system. The role of political parties in candidacy is paramount and greatly determines the level of women's political representation in the parliament.

The political representation of women in parliament in the 2019 elections based on political parties reached 20.52%, or 118 women succeeded in becoming members of parliament. Increasing the quantity of women's political representation is a positive achievement and a trend (trend) toward increasing women's political participation in Indonesia. PDIP is the political party that produces the most female members of DPR RI, namely 25 people.

### 3. Methods

This research focuses on the legislative body itself, namely East Nusa Tenggara (NTT), starting in June 2019 after the announcement of the winners of the legislative members for the 2019-2024 period. The focus of this research is on political parties that have women cadres, as well as commissions that focus on women's issues, such as Commission VIII. Preliminary data collection was conducted through a literature study followed by data collection using in-depth interview techniques. Literature study of books, journals, papers, state documents, newspapers, and internet sites. In-depth interviews were conducted with representatives of women members of the female legislators. Besides that,

The data and information that are used as reference material are data and information on women's representation in parliament as a result of the 2019 election published by the General Election Commission of the Republic of Indonesia. The data and information that have been collected is the main ingredient in analyzing the phenomenon of increasing women's political representation in parliament. Using a literature review, the author answers the research questions in the form of political analysis. This political analysis is in the form of a detailed explanation regarding the factors that support

and strengthen the role of political parties in efforts to increase women's political representation in parliament

The collected data and information were then compiled, sorted, and analyzed using qualitative methods. Qualitative methods were used to answer the study's questions. The same research related to the role of political parties in increasing women's political representation comes from books and journals as a reference for answering the research questions. Thus, this research will provide benefits in the form of the enrichment of concepts and theories related to the study of women and politics, especially in Indonesia. The results of this study can be used as a basis for conducting similar research in the future.

## 4. Results and Discussion

Based on the results of interviews with informants in this study, researchers found the stages of transformational leadership political communication carried out by Puan Maharani after being elected Chair of DPR RI. Harold D Laswell's model as a communication strategy *viz who says what on which channel to whom with what effect*, where every element of this communication can be analyzed and has a strong influence. However, with the development of information and communication technology, this communication process has become interactive [10]. Researchers have also linked the transformational leadership of bass and volia. To see and understand how Maharani's political career is represented as a communicator who has competence in the political field, it is important to explain how Puan Maharani's experience in politics is. The public knows Puan as the daughter of Indonesia's fifth President Megawati Soekarnoputri and Taufik Kiemas, as well as the granddaughter of President Soekarno

### 4.1. Women's Political Delebration

Democracy must become a locus of deliberation that adheres to egalitarian principles for all groups. The egalitarian principle has become a kind of foothold for both male and female politicians to engage in practical politics in NTT. Deliberation refers to the consideration of all the elements or parties related to political policymaking. Resonable means that there is an ethics of responsibility and mutual understanding as well as an element of rationality in every argument. Male politicians must realize the principle of equality in the position of deliberative democracy regarding women's participation in the realm of practical politics. De facto, many women in NTT have the ability to manage

state administration, are qualified, and are able to compete in regional elections. The quality and ability of women in leadership have not yet received legitimacy from male politicians.

As a democratic country with a deliberative atmosphere, Indonesia must become the basis for male politicians and political parties to recruit women in practical politics. Deliberative democracy, with a deliberative atmosphere, must exist as a fire that frees women from marginalization, which is also filled by public reasoning. That is, every interest is avoided in creating a meritocracy in determining candidates. Public rationality is created when private spaces (interests) are not contaminated in the minds of political-party elites. Universal language that works, not the specificity of truth. Everyone must understand the universal language. Thus, the element of 'our people' was discarded in favor of creating progress in democracy.

## 4.2. The Importance of Women in Politics

Women need to be involved in politics because they have special needs that can only be understood well by themselves. These needs include needs related to reproductive health issues, such as access to reproductive health information and reproductive health services, especially when a woman is pregnant and giving birth. Another example is that because of differences in reproductive organs, women also experience menstruation, something that is not experienced by men, so women also have different needs from men regarding their reproductive organs. <sup>8</sup> It is considered that these issues can only be raised if women are involved in decision-making, so that they immediately understand why this issue is important because they are also the first to experience it.

Women's issues that were not discussed in parliament made people aware of the importance of women's roles as policy makers in parliament. The deeply rooted patriarchal values in Indonesia result in various conditions that place women in vulnerable positions. The practice of early marriage is still common in Indonesia. In addition, cases of sexual violence often end with mediation. In the end, the victims actually end up behind the bars. <sup>9</sup> The increasing complexity of women's problems demands the importance of the role of women in the legislature, especially if they occupy strategic positions in parliament. If we look at the previous period, 97 women were elected and held seats in parliament, but the passage of a bill that focused on women experienced problems because the role of women members of the DPR is not visible. As stated by Irine Yusiana Roba Putri, a female candidate from the North Maluku PDIP Dapil Party, who regretted the incident at Commission VIII that allowed the Draft Law on

the Elimination of Sexual Violence to be rejected, which she considered "not their business to fight for." . 10 Even though the victims of sexual violence are mostly women. who do not dare to report because the perpetrators can go free without any consequences. The politics of women's representation are considered to have failed to make a positive contribution to legislative products that favor the interests of women and marginalized groups. which according to him "is not their business to fight for." 10 In fact, most victims of sexual violence are women who do not have the courage to report it so that the offender can be released without any consequences. The politics of women's representation are considered to have failed to make a positive contribution to legislative products that favor the interests of women and marginalized groups. which according to him "is not their business to fight for."10 In fact, most victims of sexual violence are women who do not dare to report it, so perpetrators can go free without any consequences. The politics of women's representation are considered to have failed to make a positive contribution to legislative products that favor the interests of women and marginalized groups. Therefore, the offenders can go free without any consequences. The politics of women's representation are considered to have failed to make a positive contribution to legislative products that favor the interests of women and marginalized groups. which according to him "is not their business to fight for."10 In fact, most victims of sexual violence are women who do not have the courage to report it, so perpetrators can go free without any consequences. The politics of women's representation are considered to have failed to make a positive contribution to legislative products that favor the interests of women and marginalized groups. Therefore, the offenders can go free without any consequences. The politics of women's representation are considered to have failed to make a positive contribution to legislative products that favor the interests of women and marginalized groups. which according to him "is not their business to fight for."10 In fact, most victims of sexual violence are women who do not have the courage to report it, so perpetrators can go free without any consequences. The politics of women's representation are considered to have failed to make a positive contribution to legislative products that favor the interests of women and marginalized groups. The politics of women's representation are considered to have failed to make a positive contribution to legislative products that favor the interests of women and marginalized groups. which according to him "is not their business to fight for."10 In fact, most victims of sexual violence are women who do not have the courage to report it, so perpetrators can go free without any consequences. The politics of women's representation are considered to have failed to make a positive contribution to legislative products that favor the interests of women and marginalized



groups. The politics of women’s representation are considered to have failed to make a positive contribution to legislative products that favor the interests of women and marginalized groups. which according to him ”is not their business to fight for.”<sup>10</sup> In fact, most victims of sexual violence are women who do not dare to report it, so perpetrators can go free without any consequences. The politics of women’s representation are considered to have failed to make a positive contribution to legislative products that favor the interests of women and marginalized groups. Therefore, the offenders can go free without any consequences. The politics of women’s representation are considered to have failed to make a positive contribution to legislative products that favor the interests of women and marginalized groups. Therefore, the offenders can go free without any consequences.

For example, the DPR for the 2014-2019 period, for example, failed to pass the Bill on the Elimination of Sexual Violence, the Bill on Domestic Workers, and the Bill on Gender Equality and Justice. <sup>11</sup> Even though this draft law will have a direct impact on women, sexual violence is an example. Many women are victims of sexual violence, and members of the DPR are seen as not prioritizing such social issues. TWhat is the point of women legislators in parliament?

### 4.3. Presentation of Women's Representation in Parliament for the 2019-2024 period

Below is a table of data on women’s representation in politics before the reform period until the last election in 2019.

TABLE 1: Percentage of Women in DPR RI.

| Period    | Woman       | Man         |
|-----------|-------------|-------------|
| 1997-1999 | 54 (10.8%)  | 446 (89.2%) |
| 1999-2004 | 46 (9%)     | 454 (91%)   |
| 2004-2009 | 65 (11.6%)  | 435 (87%)   |
| 2009-2014 | 101 (18%)   | 459 (82%)   |
| 2014-2019 | 97 (17.3%)  | 463 (82.7%) |
| 2019-2024 | 118 (20.5%) | 457 (79.5%) |

Source: *Percentage of Women in DPR RI*

However, data from the East Nusa Tenggara (NTT) statistical center regarding the number of women involved in the legislature can be seen in the following table.

TABLE 2: Percentage of women involved in East Nusa Tenggara.

| Region             | Percentage of Women's Involvement in legislative parliaments |       |       |
|--------------------|--|-------|-------|
|                    | 2020   | 2021  | 2022  |
| Alor               | 6,67   | 6.90  | 6.90  |
| Speckle            | 23,33  | 23,33 | 23,33 |
| Ende               | 10.00  | 10.71 | 10.00 |
| East Flores        | 3,33   | 3,33  | 3,33  |
| Kupang City        | 20.00  | 20.00 | 20.00 |
| Kupang             | 10,26  | 10,26 | 12.50 |
| Lembata            | 0.00   | 0.00  | 0.00  |
| Malacca            | 12.00  | 12.00 | 12.00 |
| Manggarai          | 11.43  | 11.43 | 11.43 |
| West Manggarai     | 6,67   | 6,67  | 6,67  |
| East Manggarai     | 3,33   | 3,33  | 3,33  |
| Nagekeo            | 0.00   | 0.00  | 0.00  |
| Ngada              | 4.00   | 4.00  | 4.00  |
| East Nusa Tenggara | 20.00  | 20.00 | 20.00 |
| Rote Ndao          | 0.00   | 0.00  | 0.00  |
| Sabu Raijua        | 10.00  | 10.00 | 10.00 |

Source: East Nusa Tenggara Central Bureau of Statistics

#### 4.4. Do Political Dynasties Matter?

Election 1999:9.0%- without affirmation policy 2004 election:11.8% with quota policy 30% 2009 election:17.86% with affirmation policy 30 percent quota and zipper system Election 2014:17.32% – with affirmation policy a 30% quota and a zipper system for the List of Newly Elected Legislative Members with Family Relations. In Nusa East Southeastern, the wife of three regional heads, also won a seat in the national legislature. Ratu Wulla, wife of Southwest Sumba Regent Markus Dairo Talu, and Kristiana Muki, wife of Middle East Regent Raymundus Fernandex, both won seats in the DPR, while Hilda Manafe, wife of Kupanag Mayir Jefri Riwu Kore, won seats in the regional representative council. . Referring to the study by Aspinall and Berenschhot [11] regarding the context of democracy in contemporary Indonesia, it is said that connection patronage and clientelism strategies dominate various election competitions at the national and local levels: “The aspect of political kinship that we mean is related to political dynasties, political families, or political clans that have proven to be strong at the local level. Meanwhile, the clientelism aspect emphasizes how candidates make material transaction efforts in garnering their support in elections.” Against the background of groups that have wealth

and kinship, democracy has become very expensive, and it is increasingly difficult for people who do not have economic capital to be elected as members.

#### 4.5. Impact of 30% Quota on Representation Woman

Affirmative policy, by providing a 30% quota for regulated women in the Legislative Election Law (UU 12/2003, UU 10/2008) and the Political Party Law (UU 31/2002, UU 2/2008, UU 2/2011), as well as the ratification of various human rights conventions, are part of the positive discrimination policy in the framework of increasing the amount of representation and political roles of women in the DPR. Data on increasing women's representation from year to year, as shown in the table above, show that whenever affirmative action is taken to increase women's political role, the number of women's representations in parliament tends to increase. 2024. The reason is that, according to the KPU, this rule has succeeded in increasing the participation rate of women in elections. The rules contained in Election Law Number 7 of 2017 require political parties to nominate 30% of the female candidates in each electoral district. In addition to maintaining the rules in the law, 30 percent caleg Woman in every constituency, effectively "forces" the party to place the nomination of female candidates in strategic positions. 23According to Andi Yuliana Paris, Member of the DPR Indonesian women from the PAN South Sulawesi II electoral area who were elected in the 2014 elections, women's representation in politics and all commissions have special issues related to women. Women in food, clean water, from a religious perspective, and social welfare.

Another problem that must be addressed in the discussion is important issues related to women's interests in areas that are rarely exposed to the media. According to Andi Yuliana Paris, the issue of sustainable development, energy security, and food security based on regional potential is very important. The clean-water crisis is closely related to women. If gas and food are not available, women cannot carry out their duties as housewives, such as cooking. Women often experience health problems, especially during pregnancy, and have access to education. From Andi Yuliana Paris' experience as an activist, it is men who attend agricultural counseling, even though they are the ones who give it. powders and plants are women, but they do not have access to information, so they were invited. A sensitive issue that shows the impact of the representation of women members of parliament is a bill that is still being hotly discussed, named Bill, on the elimination of social violence. The PKS Bill has been discussed for a very long time, but until now, it has not found a clear point, while other bills can be discussed very quickly. According to Andi Yuliana Paris, DPR members are representatives of the

people and members of factions. As long as the faction does not open dialogue or continue, substance will stop halfway. There is no room for discussion; therefore, we stick to the initial interpretation. Regarding the steps to take, it can be started with an adequate budget to increase the number of activities aimed at providing political education to women.

## 5. Conclusion

Changing perspectives in viewing and resolving political issues by prioritizing peace and non-violent ways; changing policies, laws, and regulations that contribute to women's needs as part of the national agenda; and empowering women to be involved in various unresolved issues so far, concern in Indonesia, which is gender sensitive. As stated by Irine Yusiana Roba Putri, a female candidate from the North Maluku PDIP Dapil Party, who regretted what happened at Commission VIII that allowed the Bill to Eliminate Sexual Violence to be rejected, which she considered "is not their concern to fight.

A sensitive issue that shows the impact of the representation of female members of parliament is a bill that is still hot for discussion. The role of women legislators in policies that are pro-women issues is still lacking. The role of women legislators in policies that are pro-women issues is still lacking. Because in reality what is happening now is that political parties only want to fulfill the 30% quota, so they choose women who are already well-known, such as celebrities or who have a kinship with regional heads such as children or relatives of regional heads. head, which is proven by the very high percentage of female parliamentarians who came from political dynasties. There are no women from the lower class who are women activists who know very well about sensitive issues that must be prioritized. The development of women's representation in Indonesia is also very slow compared to that in other countries. Indonesia needs a long time to increase women's political representation. In fact, if you look at the comparison, Indonesian women have won seats in parliament since 1987. Compared to other countries, it only takes 10-20 years to reach the target limit of 30%. In addition, in ASEAN, Indonesia is not the top country with a high representation of women in politics, and is still inferior to several other countries. Compared to other countries, it only takes 10-20 years to reach the target limit of 30%. In addition, in ASEAN, Indonesia is not the top country with a high representation of women in politics, and is still inferior to several other countries.

## References

- [1] Tremblay M, Pelletier R. "More women constituency party presidents: A strategy for increasing the number of women candidates in Canada?," *Party Politics*. 2001;7(2):157- <https://doi.org/10.1177/1354068801007002002>
- [2] Dahlerup D. "Comparative studies of electoral gender quotas n Documento presentado en el Taller International Idea Workshop on the Implementation of Quotas: Latin American Experiences," *Febrero*. 2003;23.
- [3] Krook ML, Lovenduski J, Squires J. Gender quotas and models of political citizenship. *British Journal of Political Science*. 2009;39(4):781–803.
- [4] Virgint E. Electoral systems and women's representation, Library of Parliament= Bibliothèque du Parlement. 2016.
- [5] Dahlerup D, Leyenaar M. *Breaking male dominance in old democracies*. OUP Oxford; <https://doi.org/10.1093/acprof:oso/9780199653898.001.0001>.
- [6] Childs S. *Women and British party politics: Descriptive, substantive and symbolic representation*. Routledge; <https://doi.org/10.4324/9780203019443>.
- [7] Lovenduski J. *Feminizing politics*. Polity. 2005.
- [8] Kittilson M. *Women's representation in parliament: The role of political parties*. Centre for the Study of Democracy; 1997.
- [9] Kunovich S, Paxton P. Pathways to power: the role of political parties in women's national political representation. *American Journal of Sociology*. 2005;111(2):505–552.
- [10] Gonçalves CR. *Responsabilidade civil*. Saraiva Educação (SA); 2020.
- [11] Aspinall E, Berenschot W. *Democracy for sale: Elections, clientelism, and the state in Indonesia*. Cornell University Press; <https://doi.org/10.7591/9781501732997>