

## Representation of Women in the 2024 Election: to What Extent Does Gender Influence First-Time Voters' Preferences?



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**ABSTRACT:** Gender equality are still an issue in Indonesia. Even while quota regulations have been put in place to boost women's political engagement, issues like the underrepresentation of women in leadership roles within parliament persist. Popular women are more likely to be recruited by political parties than grassroots activists who are more knowledgeable about women's issues. In the 2024 elections, first-time voters—particularly those in the younger generation—will have a big impact, notably on social media. Their inclinations in the election may be influenced by their greater receptivity to concerns of gender equality. The purpose of this study is to comprehend how women will be represented in the 2024 elections. The research was conducted through a survey using a questionnaire instrument. Data were collected from first-time voters. Data analysis of the research using the SEM PLS method to determine the influence of women's representation through attituded towards gender equality on the decision to vote for political members. The results shown that there is an influence of both descriptive and substantive gender representation on attitudes and impacts on the decision to vote for female legislative members in the 2024 elections.

**KEYWORDS:** Election, First-Time Voter, Gender, Political Preference, Women's Representation,

### I. INTRODUCTION

Gender equality is a crucial issue, particularly in Indonesia. According to the 66th session of The Commission on the Status of Women (CSW), gender inequality remains a concern requiring attention from United Nations member countries, including Indonesia. The Ministry of Women's Empowerment and Child Protection (KemenPPPA), as the leading institution for gender, women, and children's issues, continues to strive to reduce gender disparities across various development fields. KemenPPPA needs to consider the impact of technology and digitalization on women and children. It is hoped that all relevant agencies will develop policies, programs, and activities to address this issue (Schoolmedia, 2022). Gender disparities still persist in several areas, for example, the female Labor Force Participation Rate (LFPR) is significantly lower than that of males. Women's participation in STEM fields (science, technology, engineering, and mathematics) remains low. Additionally, there are 10 million women who are heads of households and economic backbones of their families, while low female participation in politics and decision-making continues to be an issue.

In politics, to increase female participation, there is a regulation requiring a minimum of 30% female candidates in each electoral district, with at least one female candidate for every three listed, as mandated by Law No. 7 of 2017 on Elections. This regulation is an effort to enhance women's role in political decision-making. Globally, the push to increase women's roles aims to provide equal opportunities for women to voice their aspirations in government. Women are expected to have access and platforms to engage in policy-making and key decision-making at the government level (Umagapi, 2020). Women in politics are expected to advocate for policies that promote women's rights. However, despite Indonesia's established regulations, the country ranked sixth among ASEAN nations regarding women's representation in legislative seats, with a percentage below 20% in 2017.

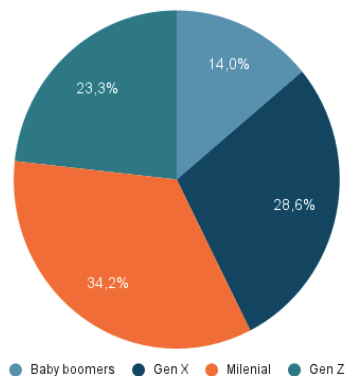
One of the main challenges for female representation in parliament is the limited number holding leadership positions. This makes it difficult for them to voice concerns about women's issues, as they must follow party directives in addition to representing the public. Female leadership in legislative committees or other legislative bodies is rare. Consequently, female legislators' role in promoting pro-women policies is seen as insufficient. Political parties tend to merely meet the 30% quota by recruiting popular women, such as celebrities or those with family ties to local leaders. This is reflected in the high percentage of female parliament members coming from political dynasties (Wardhani, 2024). Very few female legislators come from lower socioeconomic backgrounds or are activists with deep understanding of women's priority issues.

Based on the typology of political representation, political representation can be classified into formal, descriptive, substantive, and symbolic representation (Pitkin, 1967). Feminist research primarily focuses on two components of Pitkin's

## Representation of Women in the 2024 Election: to What Extent Does Gender Influence First-Time Voters' Preferences?

typology: descriptive and substantive representation. Descriptive representation occurs when representatives mirror a group by sharing similar characteristics. Meanwhile, substantive representation happens when representatives work to advance a group's policy preferences (Campbell & Heath, 2017).

First-time voters, as those participating in elections for the first time, dominate the voter list in the 2024 Election. Out of 204,807,222 eligible voters, 55%, or approximately 114 million, are Gen Z and Millennials.



**Figure 1. Percentage of the Permanent Voter List in the 2024 Election by Generation**

Young people use information on social media as a primary factor in individual voting decisions, allowing them to engage with political candidates online. The younger generation often participates in ad hoc issue-based campaigns rather than long-term organizational commitments (Vromen et al., 2015). They are more likely to engage when they receive information during campaigns, especially through social media. Election campaigns aim to persuade and mobilize voters by raising awareness about issues and candidates (Hansen & Pedersen, 2014). Young people with higher levels of knowledge may be more vocal and supportive of their candidates on social networks, as knowledge empowers them and boosts their confidence to express their thoughts. Reliable information obtained during campaigns can foster interaction, peer influence, and critical thinking (Gherghina & Mitru, 2023). With the importance of gender equality issues, it is hoped that first-time voters, especially women, will consider policies that support women, thereby broadening the space for equality. Therefore, the purpose of this study is to examine how women's representation in the 2024 Election, particularly gender, may influence first-time voters' preferences. The objective of this study is to explore how women's representation in the 2024 Election, particularly gender, may influence first-time voters' preferences.

### Women's Representation

Women's representation in Indonesia remains far from the 30% affirmative action policy target. Efforts continue to meet this policy requirement, with penalties imposed if the 30% candidate quota is not met; political parties that fail to meet this quota are barred from participating in the next election. In the 2019 election, this policy was relatively successful in encouraging political parties to promote female candidates, as evidenced by all parties meeting the 30% female candidate requirement. However, this issue is far from resolved.

Representation can be divided into four types: first, formal representation, which evaluates representation based on legal provisions regarding how representatives are selected or replaced. Second, descriptive representation, which means a representative must "stand for" people who are objectively similar. This type of representation is often used to assess the composition of parliament, as it allows easy identification of the backgrounds of members based on gender, ethnicity, and social status. Third, substantive or responsive representation, where a representative "acts for" and aligns with the interests of those they represent. Fourth, symbolic representation, where a representative represents from the perspective of shared identity and culture (Niron & Seda, 2020) (Arawi, 2022). However, this study adopts a feminist perspective and thus focuses on descriptive and substantive representation. Descriptive representation refers to gender, ethnicity, and social status, while substantive representation is based on a person's level of education and political experience.

### Attitude Towards Gender Equity

Attitude is a critical psychological construct due to its ability to anticipate and influence behavior. The strength of an attitude is reflected in cognitive responses, which refer to consciously held beliefs or opinions, and affective responses, which stem from emotions and feelings. Before behavior change occurs in response to an issue, an attitude is shaped by one's knowledge of that issue. Attitude toward behavior is considered the primary variable influencing behavioral intention. When an individual holds a positive view of a behavior, they are more likely to intend to perform that behavior (Seni & Ratnadi, 2017).

## **Representation of Women in the 2024 Election: to What Extent Does Gender Influence First-Time Voters' Preferences?**

On health messages, behavior was preceded by exposure to taglines and campaigns, which helped individuals clearly understand a message (Kite et al., 2018). This understanding then led to an attitude of acceptance toward the message, such as agreeing with the information provided. After an individual agrees with the information presented, an intention arises, prompting them to act in alignment with the received information. Eventually, this attitude solidifies into a consistent behavior related to the previously received message. In the context of this study, attitude refers to the attitude toward gender equality, which is linked to the behavioral intention of first-time voters in the 2024 Election.

### **Political Participation**

Political participation refers to activities undertaken by citizens of a country to engage in the decision-making process conducted by the government. Participation is an essential element in a country's political dynamics, particularly in the context of a democracy, where it serves as a significant benchmark. Public political involvement is closely related to the rights and responsibilities of individuals or groups as members of society, utilizing all social resources available to them to influence governmental decision-making processes (Kusmanto, 2013).

One form of political participation is participating in the voting process during elections. This is an effort to reshape the political structure to achieve a government that responds to the people's desires.

### **Voters and Election**

A voter is an Indonesian citizen who is at least 17 years old or has married (Article 1, Clause 22, Law No. 10 of 2008 on Elections). Eligible voters are Indonesian citizens registered by the election organizers in the voter list and who, on election day, are at least 17 years old or have married (Article 19, Clauses 1 and 2, Law No. 10 of 2008 on Elections). Meanwhile, first-time voters are those who meet the eligibility criteria for voting and are exercising their voting rights for the first time. They are typically students aged 17–21, but this category also includes other young people, such as early-semester university students and other youth who were not yet 17 in the previous election (Module 1, KPU, Voters for Beginners, 2010:48).

The requirements for an individual to become a voter are as follows: 1) An Indonesian citizen who is at least 17 years old or has married, 2) Mentally sound, 3) Registered as a voter, 4) Not a member of the military or police, 5) Has not been stripped of voting rights, 6) Listed in the Final Voter List (DPT). For local elections, must have resided in the relevant area for at least six months (Secretariat General of the KPU, 2010:1).

The term "General Election" (often abbreviated as "Election") refers to a political process to select individuals who will hold political positions, such as in executive and legislative bodies. Elections aim to realize a democratic state, where leaders are chosen based on the majority vote. Thus, elections are one of the ways in a democratic system to elect representatives who will serve in legislative bodies, as well as to choose the President and Vice President. Elections are held not only to elect the executive branch (President and Vice President) but also the legislative bodies (electing representatives in the legislative institutions) (Law No. 8 of 2012 and Law No. 15 of 2011), including: 1) Members of the DPR (People's Representative Council), 2) Members of the DPD (Regional Representative Council), 3) Provincial DPRD (Regional People's Representative Council), and Regency/Municipal DPRD.

## **II. METHODOLOGY**

This research uses a quantitative approach, which emphasizes several variables with the aim of testing theories and establishing facts. It adheres to positivistic research values, such as the deductive-logic method, empirical-based evidence, objectivity or value-free principles, rationality, nomothetic analysis, causal laws, determinism, and discovery. (Hair et al., 2011).

The researcher connects invisible concepts, ideas, or thoughts with techniques, processes, or procedures used to observe these ideas in the empirical world, emphasizing two processes: conceptualization and operationalization. Conceptualization refers to the effort of taking complex (construct) abstract ideas and refining them by providing a conceptual or theoretical definition. Operationalization, on the other hand, is the process of moving from the conceptual definition of a construct to specific activities or measurements that allow the researcher to observe it empirically. (Neuman, 2014). The minimum sample size required for this study is 96 respondents. This number also satisfies the minimum sample size requirement for the ten times rule in SEM-PLS.

Data collected through the questionnaire will be analyzed using the SEM with PLS method, which is structural equation modeling, specifically partial least squares (PLS). SEM is a statistical analysis method used to verify relationships between the causal theoretical framework of independent and dependent variables. One of the most significant contributions of SEM is its ability to examine the direct, indirect, and moderating effects of various variables in complex models (Shaheen et al., 2017).

## **III. RESULTS**

### **Respondent Description**

The majority of respondents were aged 17 to 20 years old, with the largest proportion being 20 years old (21%). This indicates that the young voter age group dominated the research sample, which is relevant to the research focus on the attitudes of the younger

## Representation of Women in the 2024 Election: to What Extent Does Gender Influence First-Time Voters' Preferences?

generation. For the Regarding the respondents' domicile, all respondents were domiciled in the Jakarta metropolitan area (Jabodetabek) with the majority of respondents residing in Jakarta at 35%. As for the respondents' occupation, the majority were students at 58%. This means that most of the young voters in 2024 were university students.

### Path Coefficient

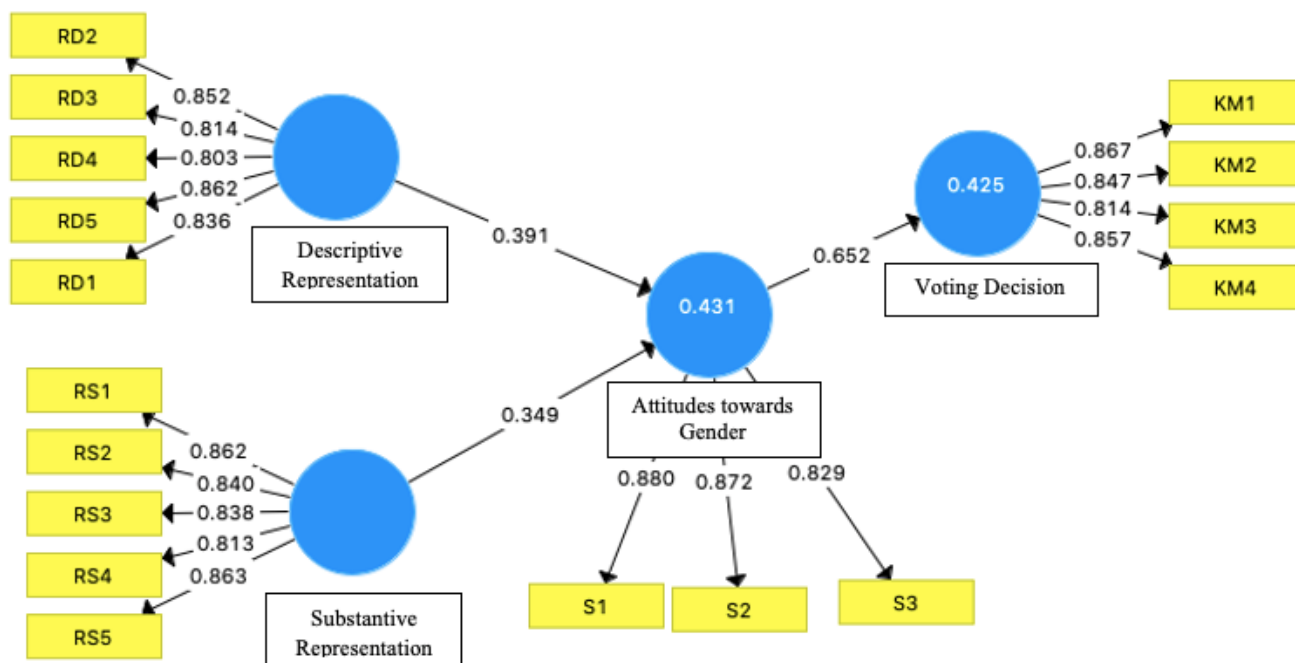


Figure 2. Path Coefficient Women's Representation on Voting Decision

From the figure above, there is a relationship between the latent variables:

- Descriptive Representation → Attitude towards Gender: 0.391
- Substantive Representation → Attitude towards Gender: 0.349
- Attitude towards Gender → Voting Decision: 0.425

These path coefficient values indicate the strength of the relationship between each variable. The variables of Descriptive Representation and Substantive Representation contribute positively to Attitude towards Gender, with coefficients of 0.391 and 0.349 respectively. Furthermore, Attitude towards Gender has a positive relationship with Voting Decision with a coefficient of 0.425.

### Construct Reliability and Validity

Table 1. Results of Construct Validity and Reliability Testing

	Cronbach's Alpha	rho_A	Composite Reliability	Average Variance Extracted (AVE)
Voting Decision	0,868	0,875	0,910	0,717
Descriptive Representation	0,890	0,896	0,919	0,695
Substantive Representation	0,899	0,904	0,925	0,711
Attitude towards gender	0,826	0,833	0,896	0,741

The results in the table show that all variables have an AVE value above 0.50. This indicates that all latent variables or constructs in the study are valid. For Cronbach's alpha values greater than 0.7, it means that the specified variables are able to measure each latent variable (construct) well, or in other words, all four measurement models are reliable.

## Representation of Women in the 2024 Election: to What Extent Does Gender Influence First-Time Voters' Preferences?

### Discriminant Validity

**Table 2. Results of Fornell-Larcker Testing**

	Voting Decision	Descriptive Representation	Substantive Representation	Attitude Towards Gender
Voting Decision	0,847			
Descriptive Representation	0,614	0,833		
Substantive Representation	0,609	0,572	0,843	
Attitude towards gender	0,652	0,591	0,573	0,861

All indicators are declared valid questions, the correlation value of each latent variable is greater than the correlation value to other variables.

### Outer Loading

**Table 3. Results of Outer Loading Testing**

	Voting Decision	Descriptive Representation	Substantive Representation	Attitude Towards Gender
KM1	0,867			
KM2	0,847			
KM3	0,814			
KM4	0,857			
RD1		0,836		
RD2		0,852		
RD3		0,814		
RD4		0,803		
RD5		0,862		
RS1			0,862	
RS2			0,840	
RS3			0,838	
RS4			0,813	
RS5			0,863	
S1				0,880
S2				0,872
S3				0,829

### Descriptive Representation, Substantive Representation, Attitude, and Voting Decision

There are variables RD for descriptive representation, RS for substantive representation, S for attitude towards gender, and KM for voting decision. All loading factor values for these indicators are above 0.7, so the convergent validity used in this study can be considered relevant and valid to represent the measured variables.

### R Square

**Table 4. Results of R Square**

	R Square
Voting Decision	0,425
Attitude Towards Gender	0,431

Attitude towards Gender is influenced by Descriptive Representation and Substantive Representation by 43.1%, with the remaining 56.9% of the variation caused by other factors. Voting Decision is influenced by Attitude towards Gender by 42.5%, while 57.5% is influenced by other external factors.

## Representation of Women in the 2024 Election: to What Extent Does Gender Influence First-Time Voters' Preferences?

### Hypothesis Testing

This hypothesis testing phase is conducted after the structural model evaluation phase. This phase is done to determine whether the research hypotheses proposed in the research model are proven or rejected. SEM-PLS can analyze significance using bootstrapping to determine the influence between variables. The results of the path coefficients and t-statistic values obtained through the bootstrapping process with the number of samples for resampling are shown in the following table.

**Table 5. Hypothesis Testing**

	Original Sample (O)	Sample Mean (M)	Standard Deviation (STDEV)	T Statistics ( O/STDEV )	P Values
<b>Descriptive Representative -&gt; Attitude Towards Gender</b>	0,391	0,386	0,142	2,751	<b>0,006</b>
<b>Substantive Representative -&gt; Attitude Towards Gender</b>	0,349	0,357	0,142	2,453	<b>0,015</b>
<b>Attitude Towards Gender -&gt; Voting Decision</b>	0,652	0,655	0,092	7,112	<b>0,000</b>

To determine the existence of a significant influence between one variable and another, the minimum T-statistic and P-value can be examined. For a 5% significance level, the minimum T-statistic must be at least 1.96, and the P-value must be less than 0.05. Therefore, all hypotheses are proven.

#### **H1 -> Descriptive representation has a significant impact on attitudes towards gender**

This study found that descriptive representation significantly influences attitudes toward gender ( $p < 0.05$ ). This indicates that when women are quantitatively represented in political positions (descriptive representation), it can shape voters' perceptions and attitudes towards gender issues. According to Pitkin's (1967) theory of representation, descriptive representation involves representatives from backgrounds similar to their constituents, thus women's political representation can enhance public awareness and acceptance of gender issues.

Several studies support these findings. For instance, McEvoy examined whether the descriptive representation of women in politics influences public attitudes toward gender issues. The key findings indicate that the presence of more women in political institutions can enhance public trust in these institutions and reduce gender bias among voters. Additionally, a higher number of female parliamentarians is associated with more liberal attitudes toward policies concerning women's interests, such as gender equality and reproductive rights. The study also found that the representation of women in the European Parliament correlates with increased public support for progressive policies benefiting women, although the extent of this effect varies across countries (McEvoy, 2016).

#### **H2 -> Substantive representation has a significant impact on attitudes towards gender**

The findings of this study also indicate that women's substantive representation significantly influences attitudes towards gender ( $p = 0.015$ ). Substantive representation refers to the concrete actions taken by women representatives to advocate for issues relevant to women (Pitkin, 1967). In this context, attitudes towards gender can be influenced when women in political positions actively advocate for policies that support gender equality, such as broader access to education, women's health services, and protection against gender-based violence.

Women in policymaking positions tend to be more supportive of gender justice-oriented policies. They often propose and advocate for policies related to reproductive rights, protection from gender-based violence, pay equity, and women's access to economic and educational resources. When these policies are implemented, society becomes more open to the concept of gender equality, as they witness tangible changes brought about by female leadership. Moreover, substantive representation also contributes to shifting public attitudes toward women in politics. When people see that female leaders are actively advocating for policies that address the interests of women and vulnerable groups, trust in women's political capacities increases. This helps to reduce gender biases that previously perceived women as less competent in political decision-making. Thus, substantive representation not only fosters more inclusive policies but also helps reshape societal perceptions of women's leadership roles (Kläy et al., 2025).

#### **H3 -> Attitudes towards gender significantly influence voting decisions**

## Representation of Women in the 2024 Election: to What Extent Does Gender Influence First-Time Voters' Preferences?

This study found that attitudes towards gender have a significant impact on voting behavior ( $p < 0.05$ ). This indicates that voters' attitudes towards gender issues play a crucial role in determining their political choices, especially among young voters. When voters hold positive attitudes towards gender equality, they tend to support candidates or parties perceived to advocate for such issues. The stronger the connection between elements in a person's attitude network, the greater its influence on voting decisions. If someone has an internally well-connected attitude (for example, various beliefs and feelings about a candidate that reinforce each other), it is highly likely that this attitude will influence their voting behavior. In an attitude network, the most central elements (such as a strong belief in a candidate's leadership or honesty) will have a greater impact on voting decisions compared to more peripheral elements. This means that if a person has a dominant core belief, that belief will be more decisive in their choice compared to other, less central attitude elements (Dalege et al., 2017).

In the context of young Indonesian voters, positive attitudes towards gender also have the potential to increase support for candidates or parties that champion women's rights. Thus, these findings imply that political campaigns emphasizing gender equality and women's issues can be an effective strategy to attract the support of young voters.

### CONCLUSIONS

This study concludes that women's representation in politics, both descriptive and substantive, significantly influences young voters' attitudes towards gender equality in the 2024 elections. Descriptive representation of women - referring to the numerical presence of women in parliament or political positions - has a direct impact on increasing public awareness and acceptance of gender issues, particularly among younger generations. This suggests that women's presence in the political arena not only helps meet quotas but also shapes public perceptions of women's roles and capabilities in the public sector.

On the other hand, substantive representation - involving concrete actions by women representatives to advocate for policies and issues relevant to women - has also been shown to influence young voters' attitudes. Women who actively champion policies such as equal pay, access to education, reproductive health, and protection against gender-based violence are perceived as capable of increasing public trust and support. Young voters, who are generally more open to social change, are more likely to respond positively when they see women making tangible contributions to creating social change and gender-responsive policies.

This research found that young voters' positive attitudes towards gender equality influence their voting decisions. Young voters who hold pro-equality attitudes tend to support candidates or political parties perceived to have a strong commitment to gender issues and women's rights. This indicates that attitudes towards gender equality can be a significant factor in determining political preferences, especially among younger generations who are highly open to social issues. Young people exposed to information about gender equality through social media and digital campaigns are more engaged in the electoral process and tend to choose candidates who voice issues relevant to them.

Future research could consider a qualitative approach to delve deeper into young voters' perspectives on women's representation in politics. In-depth interviews or focus group discussions could provide richer insights into the factors influencing their perceptions, including social and cultural aspects. Longitudinal research is also needed in future studies. Given that voters' attitudes and preferences can change over time, longitudinal studies tracking changes in young voters' attitudes and behaviors over a specific period, such as before and after elections, would be highly beneficial. This could reveal how changes in the political environment or campaigns by women candidates influence their attitudes towards gender equality.

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## Representation of Women in the 2024 Election: to What Extent Does Gender Influence First-Time Voters' Preferences?

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