

ON WOMEN'S POLITICAL RIGHTS DISCRIMINATION IN 1965: EXPLORING NOTIONS AND ORIENTATIONS WITHIN NAJIB KAILANI'S NOVEL ADZRA' JAKARTA

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Abstract: Political rights are a form of human freedom to express opinions. In reality, women do not have political rights and are only dominated by men, as happened in Indonesia in 1965 AD. This happened because discrimination against women had become a tradition. Therefore, this study aims to determine the discrimination against women's political rights in Indonesia in 1965 AD contained in the novel "Adzra' Jakarta" by Najib Kailani based on the perspective of Immanuel Kant. This research is a qualitative descriptive study. Data was collected through reading and note-taking techniques. The data analysis technique uses three steps: (1) data reduction, data sorting from the analytical studies that have been obtained; (2) data presentation, data presentation according to the topic of discussion; and (3) drawing conclusions, summarizing the data that has been presented. The results of this study show that women's political rights in Indonesia in 1965 AD tended to be not appreciated, discriminated, exploited, limited information, limited ideas/opinions, and cannot lead. This research plays an important role in knowing the views of outsiders towards Indonesia in 1965 and making readers aware of the injustices that occur to women.

المخلص: الحقوق السياسية هي شكل من أشكال حرية الإنسان في التعبير عن الآراء. في الواقع، لا تتمتع المرأة بحقوق سياسية ولا يسيطر عليها سوى الرجال، كما حدث في إندونيسيا عام ١٩٦٥ م. حدث هذا لأن التمييز ضد المرأة أصبح تقليداً. لذلك، تهدف هذه الدراسة إلى تحديد التمييز ضد الحقوق السياسية للمرأة في إندونيسيا عام ١٩٦٥ م الواردة في رواية "عذراء جاكرتا" لنجيب كيلاني على أساس نظرية إيمانويل كانط. هذا البحث الوصفي النوعي. وطريقة جمع البيانات بالقراءة وتدوين الملاحظات. تستخدم تقنية تحليل البيانات ثلاث خطوات: (١) تقليل البيانات يعني وفرز البيانات من الدراسات التحليلية التي تم الحصول عليها؛ (٢) عرض

البيانات يعني عرض البيانات حسب موضوع المناقشة؛ (٣) استخلاص النتائج يعني تلخيص البيانات التي تم تقديمها. ونتائج البحث يعني أن الحقوق السياسية للمرأة في إندونيسيا عام ١٩٦٥ م كانت تميل إلى عدم التقدير، والتمييز ضدها، والاستغلال، ومحدودية المعلومات، ومحدودة في الأفكار/الآراء، وعدم السماح لها بالقيادة. يلعب هذا البحث دورًا مهمًا في معرفة آراء الغرباء تجاه إندونيسيا في عام ١٩٦٥ وتوعية القراء بالمظالم التي تحدث للنساء.

Introduction

Political rights are freedom in expressing opinions owned by every human (Bawamenewi, 2019). The reality is that since ancient times political rights have only been dominated by men, so women do not have these rights (Wahyudi, 2018). This is inseparable from the assumption that women are considered weak creatures who live under the shadow of men (Latifi & Udasmoro, 2019). Women also have rights in politics because women also have the right to voice opinions and provide solutions to ongoing problems (Fernando, 2021; Haque et al., 2022). The absence of political rights for women directly shows discrimination against women, which is often considered normal in society (Krisnanto & Syaputri, 2020; Tridewiyanti, 2012). Indonesia has abolished forms of discrimination against women through Law Number 7 of 1984 AD (Maryam, 2018). However, in reality, the percentage of women in politics is still relatively low, as evidenced by the participation of women in politics, which is still below 30% (Supanji, 2021). This is further strengthened by the 2019 World Bank research, which states that Indonesia is ranked 7th in Southeast Asia for the low representation of women in parliament (The World Bank, 2022).

Najib Kaelani also mentioned women's political rights in Indonesia in his novel "Adzra'u Jakarta." The novel tells about the political upheaval at the end of 1965 AD, which represented the injustice and discrimination of women in fighting for their rights (Kailani, 2013). This novel is very suitable as an object of research by using the political philosophy of Immanuel Kant's perspective, which voices justice and freedom.

Political philosophy is a derivative of ethics categorized as practical philosophy (Lega, 2016). Political philosophy is not the same as primary politics, which lies in the prevailing norms. This definition is supported by Madung's statement, which considers that philosophy focuses on morals that reflect scientifically-philosophically the problems of state institutions and organizations (Madung, 2013). In Kant's political philosophy, human

dignity is considered necessary in improving the quality of human life, both individually and socially (Kant, 2007b). Politics makes people more human. That means politics is a means or a tool to help humans realize their potential. Not vice versa, humans as a political tool. Politics must be responsive to human dignity (Lega, 2016).

According to Immanuel Kant's political philosophy, humans have goals in themselves. Therefore, humans should not be used for the purposes of other groups. Nevertheless, every human being as an end in himself requires recognition from others and from himself. This acknowledgment is reciprocal. Demands for recognition from others often make human dignity vulnerable to being abused (Madung, 2013).

Immanuel Kant's political philosophy concept includes (1) aesthetics relating to human ethics and morals. According to Kant, humans are creatures of dignity and have their own goals. Therefore, humans should not be used for the benefit of certain groups, and these rights must be guaranteed by the state (Kant, 2007a, 2013); and (2) freedom, Kant considers humans to have the freedom to determine what they want, such as freedom to voice opinions and ideas in politics without the influence of gender (Flikschuh, 2009). Based on this concept, Flikschuh and Palmquis consider Kant one of the ideological founders of modern liberal democracy and a figure from well-known liberal traditions such as Hobbes, Locke, Rousseau, and John Stuart Mill (Flikschuh, 2009; Palmquis, 2002). Kant's thinking greatly influenced the development of subsequent western political systems, including what is now called the United Nations.

Concerning the problems involving women's political rights, the researchers found many previous studies that have been classified and resulted in three points, namely: (1) the reality of women in politics: the reality that it is very rare to get involved in politics in Indonesia, this is based on the existence of gender inequality. In parliament and the perception of political institutions and processes that tend to highlight still masculine and patriarchal political characteristics patriarkhis (Layli & Erawati, 2019; Rajab, 2018); (2) the role of women in politics: women use politics as a means to fight violence. In addition, women also provide ideas and solutions to political problems, as evidenced by the increasing public trust in women as representatives of the people every five years starting from the 1992-1999 elections by 9.2%, the 1999-2004 elections by 11.8%, in 2004-2009 by 18.2% and 2009-2014 by 17.3% which occurred in the district of Tanah Laut (Eriyanti, 2019; Kiptiah, 2019; Wijayanti, 2020); and (3) the fulfillment of political rights for citizens: citizens have the right to freedom in politics, both men and women and the state is obliged to protect its citizens from participating, provide ideas and ideas in politics without

discrimination from one another (Gerungan, 2015; Lestari & Mawardi, 2020; Pesurnay, 2021).

This research has differences and similarities with previous research. The similarity lies in the theme of women's political rights. The difference lies in the object, theory and research focus. Therefore, the position of this research is a continuation of previous research and is more directed toward women in politics in Indonesia, which is contained in the novel "*Adzra' Jakarta*" by Najib Kailani. This study aims to determine the political rights of women in Indonesia in 1965 AD in the novel "*Adzra' Jakarta*" by Najib Kailani based on the perspective of Immanuel Kant. He used the concept of aesthetics and freedom to determine the political rights of women in that year.

Method

This research is classified as descriptive qualitative research (Patil, 2019). The approach in this study is an interdisciplinary approach using the concept of Immanuel Kant's political philosophy (Kant, 2008). Descriptive research is intended to search for data in the form of text as a whole and describe the text systematically and in detail (Adawiyah et al., 2019). Descriptive data in this research uses data in the form of words, phrases, sentences, clauses, and paragraphs related to the phenomena in the object under study. An interdisciplinary approach is needed because it uses Immanuel Kant's theory of political philosophy with a literary point of view to determine women's political rights in Jakarta in 1965 AD in the novel "*Adzra' Jakarta*" by Najib Kailani (Kailani, 2013).

This study uses two types of data sources, namely primary data sources and secondary data sources. First, the primary data source in this study is the novel "*Adzra' Jakarta*" by Najib Kailani, which tells about the political upheaval in Indonesia in 1965 AD, which had an impact on women's political rights, first published by Al-Sahoh publisher in Egypt and reprinted in 2013 and totals 264 pages (Kailani, 2013). Second, secondary data sources include additional data from books and previous research articles related to this research (Zhang et al., 2016).

Data collection and analysis were carried out with the following steps: (1) reading the novel "*Adzra' Jakarta*"; and (2) noting down the essential part that shows women's political rights contained in the novel. Meanwhile, the data analysis uses three stages, namely: (1) data reduction, and the researcher simplifies the data that has been recorded and collected; (2) data presentation, the researcher presents the data that has been obtained by the researcher in tabular form; (3) concluding, researchers conclude the

findings that have been obtained so that the reader can understand them (Miles & Huberman, 2013).

Result and Discussion

Najib Kailani's novel "Adzra' Jakarta," which was written based on his observations of Indonesia, describes the political tensions in Indonesia in 1965 AD, especially regarding women at that time. This study found data showing women's political rights in Indonesia in 1965 AD (Kailani, 2013). Immanuel Kant's theory divides political philosophy into two aspects, namely aesthetics and freedom (Kant, 2007b, 2007a, 2008, 2013). The following are some data describing women's political rights in Indonesia in 1965 AD.

Indonesian women's political rights in 1965 AD

Women's political rights are the right to recognition, guarantee, protection, fair legal certainty, and equal treatment before the law regardless of gender. Here are some data that describe women's political rights in Indonesia, which occurred in 1965 AD, as shown in Table 1:

Table 1. Political rights of Indonesian women in 1965 AD.

Forms of women's political rights based on the perspective of Immanuel Kant	Types of women's political rights	Examples of women's political rights
Aesthetic	Ethics Moral	Not appreciated Discriminated Exploited
Freedom	Press restrictions Restriction of power	Limited information Limited ideas/opinions Cannot lead

Table 1. Women's political rights above show the types of women's political rights in Najib Kailani's novel "Adzra' Jakarta" based on Immanuel Kant's perspective. The detailed explanation is as follows:

a. Ethics

Ethics is a human attitude whose benchmark is the mind or reason. In the perspective of Immanuel Kant, ethics is included in the aesthetic category related to human behavior (Kant, 2007a). Ethics does not always lead to good attitudes. Still, there is also the possibility of leading to bad attitudes, as with the behavior of party members in Najib Kailani's novel "Adzra' Jakarta" against the involvement of women in Indonesian politics in 1965:

1. Not appreciated

The involvement of Indonesian women in 1965 AD in politics tends not to be appreciated. Women who interact with politics tend to be harassed, as contained in the novel "Adzra' Jakarta" by Najib Kailani:

ربت الزعيم على كتفها قائلاً "عزيزتي" فانتفضت وابتعدت عنه قائلة: "لا تلمسني" (Kailani, 2013)

Az Zaim patted Fatimah on the shoulder, saying, 'My dear.'
Fatimah dodged away, "Don't touch me," he snapped (Kailani, 2013).

Evidence that women are not respected in Indonesian politics is the attitude of Az Zaim, who suddenly taps Fatimah on the shoulder while saying "My dear," which makes Fatimah shocked and angry as well as indicates that Az Zaim does not respect Fatima, who is a woman when discussing critical political issues (Kailani, 2013). This behavior shows that in 1965 AD political ethics were still dominated by men, and there was an assumption that women should not interfere in political affairs. This is alluded to by Immanuel Kant that the existence of an aesthetic element is a form of resistance to injustice. Every human being has the same rights in politics regardless of gender (Kant, 2008).

b. Moral

Moral is different from ethics. If the benchmark of ethics is thought or reason, then the benchmark of morality is the norms that live in society. According to Immanuel Kant, morals fall into the aesthetic category and ethics because they relate to human behavior (Kant, 2007a). Morals do not always bring good influence, but morals also have a negative impact, as contained in the novel "Adzra' Jakarta," which shows the morals of Indonesian society in 1965 AD, which limited women's rights in politics.

1. Discriminated

The involvement of women in politics in 1965 AD faced severe problems and directly with significant parties directly related to the government. Women involved in politics were often discriminated against. This is as described by Najib Kailani in the novel "Adzra' Jakarta" as follows:

ضحك حتى كاد يستلقي على قفاهن وقال: "نحن في القرن العشرين.. ثم الم تقرئي شيئاً عن جواى الخلفاء؟" (Kailani, 2013)

Az Zaim laughed heartily, "We are now living in the head of the twentieth century. Have you not read the stories of the caliph's concubines?" (Kailani, 2013).

Az Zaim laughed out loud, then after that, he quipped by equating women as concubines when having a dialogue with Fatimah. This shows the discrimination carried out by Az Zaim by equating him to a concubine or enslaved person, and it is inappropriate to interfere in political affairs (Kailani, 2013). According to Immanuel Kant, discrimination is not allowed, especially in politics. Hence, the aesthetic element is to reject the existence of discriminatory behavior that has unconsciously become a tradition in society. The state is obliged to protect the rights of its people in politics and does not discriminate between women and men (Kant, 2008).

2. Exploited

Party elements often used women in Indonesian politics in 1965 AD. This is as described by Najib Kailani in the novel "*Adzra' Jakarta*," which tells of a party leader using women to suppress the rebellion and clear the name of the party by spreading slander to the families of women activists at that time:

يكتفي بأن يثار حولها الغبار.. قولوا مثلا إن أباه عميل هو لندى سابق.. وأنه يلتقي المعونات من الخارج.. وأنه تربطه بالمخابرات الجنبية صلة.. وشوهوا سمعتها.. انسجوا من حولها القصص العاطفية المثيرة (Kailani, 2013)

"It is enough for us to spread pebbles around him, informing him that his father had worked in the Netherlands, received help from abroad, and had connections with foreign spies. Destroy his influence and reputation" (Kailani, 2013).

One of the efforts made by the party leadership to clear the party's good name and, at the same time, stop the demonstrations was to take advantage of female activists at that time by spreading slander against activist families to the public (Kailani, 2013) Political attitude to take advantage of each other is not allowed as in Immanuel Kant's idea because every individual in politics has their own goals, and these goals should not be used for the benefit of certain groups (Kant, 2013). This can happen because the political morale in Indonesia in 1965 AD was already damaged, and they often fought for power with each other, justified in all kinds of ways (Kant, 2007a).

c. Press restrictions

The press in Indonesia in 1965 AD was minimal, especially regarding women, so this made women even more backward in politics and made them more and more intimidated by men. This is as in the novel "*Adzra' Jakarta*" as follows:

1. Limited information

In the novel "Adzra' Jakarta" by Najib Kailani, information related to political conditions in Indonesia in 1965 AD was more limited to women at that time. So that certain elements easily brainwash many women:

أفكاركم بمفهومها الطبقي هو الحق.. والعقد النفسية.. هي إرساء قوائد التناحر الدومي،
وإتلاف القيم الإنسانية الرفيعة (Kailani, 2013)

"Your thinking, based on class struggle, is an act of revenge and is a constraint of the soul. Such thinking is not an attempt to allow bloodshed and would be degrading to human dignity" (Kailani, 2013).

Fatimah's rebuttal about the misunderstanding of party leaders who used information restrictions in Indonesia in 1965 AD shows that most women do not get accurate information, so it is often used for the benefit of specific individuals in the name of defending religion or so on (Kailani, 2013). In Immanuel Kant's view, politics must prioritize freedom, one of which is freedom in the press, such as the freedom to access information and disseminate information not only from one source but from many sources so that it is not inserted by elements that divide the country to achieve their goals (Kant, 2007a).

2. Limited ideas/opinions

Often women in Indonesia in 1965 AD were limited in expressing their opinions as in Najib Kailani's novel "Adzra' Jakarta," showing little ideas or views as happened to the main character Fatimah as follows:

"أرى أن ذهابك عديم الجدوى"
"هذا إذا قيس بمدى تجاوبه لرأيي.. لكني أهدف إلى شيء آخر . أريد أن أرى.. مجرد الرؤية"
(Kailani, 2013).

"According to Father, your leaving will be useless."
"That's right, Father. Suppose you look at it only from a different point of view. But I have another goal. I just want to see, just see," explained Fatimah (Kailani, 2013)

The advice given to Fatimah's father showed that dealing with party leaders was pointless because they did not want to listen to Fatimah's opinion. This happened because Fatimah was a woman, so it was considered that her opinion was not better than that of a man's, so the party leader did not need Fatimah's opinion (Kailani, 2013). From this, it can be drawn that it can be adapted to Immanuel Kant's concept that political restrictions occur because of the tendency of men who feel superior to hinder women's freedom to voice their opinions (Kant, 2007a).

d. Restriction of power

Women have limited power which tends to be dominated by men. This is often considered reasonable considering that women are considered weak creatures and below the level of men, both in leadership and in giving ideas. In 1965, women were restricted from participating in political movements. Even the image of women who entered political campaigns, such as the Gerwani movement, was considered bad, and they were accused of being involved in the killings in Lubang Buaya. This treatment shows that there is a limitation of power for women (Muhayyan & Ferawati, 2020). This is as in the novel "Adzra' Jakarta" as follows:

1. Cannot lead

Women are considered unfit to lead certain groups because they are deemed incompetent. This causes women to feel ostracized and seen as incapable of resisting the atrocities of today's men:

قالت «فاطمة»- وهذا هو اسمها : «إننا نغلط أنفسنا حينما نظن أن المرأة كالرجل تماما فالعلم يؤكد أن لكل طبيعته . . هرمونات الرجل غير هرمونات المرأة . . قوة عضلاتها غير قوة عضلاته وظائفها الفسيولوجية غير وظائفه . . أيمن أن تكون هذه الحقائق كلها غير ذات موضوع؟؟ أيصح أن يكون ذلك التركيب العضوي والنفسي دون تأثير. إن الخطب الحماسية . . غير العلم . . هذا ما أريد أن أؤكد» (Kailani, 2013)

"Fatimah, the girl's name, immediately spoke, "We have denied the fact when we say that men and women are the same. Because science has proven that each type has its characteristics. Male hormones are different from women's. Women's muscle strength is not as strong as men's. The work of women's physiology is not exactly like that of men. Is it possible that all these facts have no meaning? Is it possible that physical and psychological differences do not affect anything? What an unscientific speech the tempestuous speech was. This is what I want to emphasize" (Kailani, 2013)

Fatimah's oration shows that every human being has its advantages and privileges. As with women and men, therefore, equality must be needed. If women feel they can accept them, they should be taken without giving priority to men (Kailani, 2013). Fatimah's speech is a form of motivation and resistance for those who refuse women to participate in politics and are considered inappropriate. The concept of freedom in Immanuel Kant's politics does not care about gender (Kant, 2008).

This study's findings indicate that Indonesian women's political rights in 1965 were not appreciated, discriminated, exploited, Limited information, Limited ideas/opinions, and Cannot lead (Kailani, 2013). The findings of this study can be compared with the perspective of Immanuel Kant, who uses the concepts of

aesthetics and freedom (Kant, 2007a, 2008). Aesthetics relates to ethics and morals in human behavior, both good and bad. The novel "*Adzra' Jakarta*" by Najib Kailani shows the lousy behavior of party members towards women. On the other hand, Immanuel Kant is clearly against this because every human being has the same rights in politics (Kant, 2007a, 2008). In addition to the aesthetic element, there is also an element of freedom that upholds the freedom to voice ideas/opinions. On the other hand, in the novel "*Adzrau' Jakarta*," women's freedom is restricted (Kant, 2008).

This study's findings indicate that Indonesian women's political rights in 1965 were not appreciated, discriminated, exploited, Limited information, Limited ideas/opinions, and Cannot lead (Kailani, 2013). This research has similarities with previous research. Namely, women in politics tend to be discriminated against by men. This is based on gender considerations in parliament and the assumption that political institutions and processes tend to highlight still masculine and patriarchal political characteristics (Layli & Erawati, 2019; Rajab, 2018). However, in other studies, women are considered potent in running politics. This is evidenced by the purpose of women entering politics as resistance in the face of injustice as evidenced by the increasing public trust in women as representatives of the people every five years starting from the 1992-1999 elections by 9.2%, the 1999-2004 elections of 11.8%, in 2004-2009 of 18.2% and 2009-2014 of 17.3% which took place in the "*Tanah Laut*" district (Eriyanti, 2019; Kiptiah, 2019; Wijayanti, 2020).

The researcher concludes that the reality that occurs in society still considers women to be intellectually and physically weak and still dependent on men. And women are deemed inappropriate to deal with politics because it can make men's self-esteem fall. This has become a hereditary tradition, even though it has been regulated through Law Number 7 of 1984 AD that the treatment of men towards women will not quickly disappear.

Conclusion

Based on the analysis using Immanuel Kant's perspective, this study finds an answer to the research problem, namely, the political rights of women in Indonesia in 1965 AD in the novel "*Adzra' Jakarta*" by Najib Kailani. Women's political rights in Indonesia tend to be not appreciated, discriminated, exploited, limited information, limited ideas/opinions, and cannot lead. This shows that society's morals and ethics tend to be wrong, and there was a false perception about women at that time so that they could seize women's freedom. This research has a weakness in its object, namely the novel "*Adzra' Jakarta*" by Najib

Kailani, describing the reality of Indonesian society in 1965 AD. However, the problem is that Najib Kailani has never been to Indonesia, so there is a possibility that what Najib Kailani wrote is not valid. This research plays a vital role in seeing the realities of Indonesian politics from an outsider's point of view to find out outsiders' opinions towards Indonesian politics. This research has a role for researchers if they want to use Immanuel Kant.'s theory of political philosophy.

The researcher concludes that the reality that occurs in society still considers women to be intellectually and physically weak and still dependent on men. And women are deemed inappropriate to deal with politics because it can make men's self-esteem fall. This has become a hereditary tradition, even though it has been regulated through Law Number 7 of 1984 AD that the treatment of men towards women will not quickly disappear. This study provides suggestions to continue and improve this research to maintain and increase awareness about discriminatory behavior against women that has occurred so far.

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