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The Low Electability of Women Legislative Candidates in Gender-Friendly Constituencies in Banten

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ABSTRAK

Tulisan ini mengkaji fenomena rendahnya elektabilitas perempuan di Daerah Pemilihan Banten III pada Pemilihan Umum Legislatif tahun 2019. Daerah ini memiliki karakter pemilih rasional dan ramah gender, namun karakter tersebut ternyata tidak memberi pengaruh terhadap elektabilitas perempuan untuk menjadi anggota parlemen. Kajian-kajian tentang elektabilitas perempuan umumnya menggunakan pendekatan *supply-demand* untuk menjelaskan elektabilitas perempuan untuk meraih posisi-posisi politik. Kami menemukan bahwa pendekatan ini saja tidak cukup untuk menjelaskan permasalahan yang kami angkat. Hal ini karena analisis *supply-demand* hanya memotret kondisi obyektif yang, dalam analisis gender, terjadi di banyak tempat di seluruh dunia saat perempuan tidak selalu dalam posisi lemah. Dengan menggunakan metode penelitian kualitatif, dan melibatkan teknik pengumpulan data berupa wawancara mendalam dengan calon legislatif perempuan, pengurus partai politik, pemilih di Dapil Banten III, dan akademisi, penelitian ini mengonfirmasi bahwa elektabilitas perempuan memang rendah karena diakibatkan oleh aspek *supply* dan *demand* yang tidak menguntungkan perempuan. Meski demikian, karakter pemilih dan faktor sosial demografi juga menentukan keterpilihan perempuan selama calon legislatif bisa memanfaatkan pendekatan yang lebih strategis.

Kata kunci: *supply-demand*, elektabilitas perempuan, daerah pemilihan ramah gender.

ABSTRACT

This paper discusses the phenomenon of women's low electability in the Banten III Electoral District in the 2019 Legislative General Election. This area is home to primarily rational and gender-friendly voters, but these factors do not affect women's electability to become Parliament members. Based on previous studies, studies on the same

topics utilise the supply-demand approach to explain women's electability for political positions. However, this study discovered that this approach alone is insufficient to explain the raised issues because it only captures the objective conditions which, in gender analysis, occur in many places worldwide where women are not always in a weak position. The qualitative research method is used by collecting data collection techniques in the form of in-depth interviews with women legislative candidates, political party officials, Banten III Electoral District voters, and academics. This research confirms that women's electability is low, affecting supply and demand aspects that are not beneficial for women. Nevertheless, the characteristics of voters and social demographic factors greatly determine women's electability if legislative candidates can utilise more strategic campaign approaches.

Keywords: supply-demand, women's electability, gender-friendly constituencies.

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INTRODUCTION

This paper examines the problem of low electability of women in the 2019 DPR RI (People's Representative Council of the Republic of Indonesia or *Dewan Perwakilan Rakyat Republik Indonesia*) elections in Banten III Electoral District covering Tangerang City, South Tangerang City, and Tangerang Regency. Despite the high election rate of women for regional leaders, it differed from during the legislative elections. During the two DPR RI legislative elections in 2014 and 2019, women's electability could not fulfil the 10-seat quota available. Only one of the 46 women candidates who participated managed to pass to Parliament with less than 30,000 votes (KPU Banten 2019). Similar phenomena have persistently occurred since the 2014 election.

In Banten III Electoral District's Regional Head Elections or *Pemilihan Kepala Daerah* (Pilkada), many women were elected regional leaders. Women in Regional Head Elections are not new; one example is Airin Rachmi Diany's appointment as the first female Mayor in South Tangerang (Dewi 2017, 79). In 2019, several women also came forward as Village Heads in the Tangerang Regency area, namely in Kosambi Village, Kadu Jaya Village, Ciracab Village, Sukatani Village, Tegalsari Village, Cibetok Village, Ranca Gede Village, Pasir Muncang Village, Suradita Village, and its surroundings (Tangerang Regency 2019). The contrast between the electability of women in the legislative elections for DPR RI and Pilkada is the focus of this research.

The high electability of women as regional heads is linked to the openness of Banten III Electoral District's voters towards women's political leadership. One reason is that voters' characters there have undergone significant socio-cultural changes (Primary 2012). The society structure, which was initially homogeneous with a culture of primordialism, patriarchy, and religion, has shifted to become open to the value of gender equality, dynamic, progressive, and religiously secular. These changes occurred because of cultural clashes with immigrant communities, who generally received middle and high education that brought about urban culture, allowing cultural assimilation between traditional communities and immigrant communities (Primary 2012, 47).

In addition, the character of an open society can also be a result of the Banten III Electoral District being a buffer area for Banten Province, DKI Jakarta Province, and West Java. Social conditions in buffer zones usually engage the phenomenon of a heterogeneous society, open to new values in the social sphere of society. Based on the data, the population density level increases by an average of 3% yearly (Sippa Cipta Karya 2018). This phenomenon then divides voters into two significant spectrums. First, pragmatic voters who are materially oriented, conservative, and readily mobilised. Second, rational voters value vision, mission, track record, and candidate quality and are not gender biased in elections (Rachmat and Esther 2016).

In Banten III Electoral District, referring to the 2019 Banten Election Supervisory Body or *Badan Pengawas Pemilu* (Bawaslu) report, Tangerang Regency had the largest population of pragmatic voters, amounting to 1,378 out of 8,983 polling stations. Meanwhile, Tangerang City had only 68 out of 5,067 polling stations. South Tangerang City had the least of all, only 7 out of 3,819 voting station (Bawaslu Banten 2020). The data shows that rational voters were more dominant in South Tangerang City, Tangerang City, and Banten III Electoral District.

The low electability of female candidates in the legislative elections for DPR RI in Banten III Electoral District, despite its open, rational, and gender-friendly voter characters, shows an ambivalence compared to the high electability of women in Pilkada. Therefore, this study aims

to answer the question, “Why does the electability of women legislative candidates in gender-friendly electoral districts such as the Banten III Electoral District so low?” Furthermore, the authors want to see to what extent supply and demand factors contribute to this phenomenon. Supply and demand, in this case, adapt Norris and Lovenduski’s framework (1995). The supply factor refers to the constraints of financial resources, time, motivation, and networks from female candidates. Meanwhile, the demand factor involves analysing the internal policy of recruiting political parties and the 2019 election system.

Even though supply and demand are determining factors for women’s electability, they are not enough to explain the gender-friendly aspects of rational voters toward voting preferences. Another factor that the authors encountered was the selection of strategies used by women candidates.

LITERATURE REVIEW

Supply and Demand

The supply and demand theory that the authors use in this study explains the relationship between supply and demand in exploring more deeply the electability of women as candidates for politicians or legislative candidates in elections. Norris and Lovenduski (1995) assume that on the demand side, political parties select their candidates to run in the legislative contestation based on their assessment of voter preferences and the characteristics of political parties. The practice is divided into direct and imputed discrimination. Direct discrimination is a negative or positive assessment of candidates based on the characteristics seen by parties. Candidates are assessed based on criteria that are in accordance with political parties as well as discrimination of the voter preferences because political parties do not want to risk losing the votes. On the other hand, imputed discrimination is a practice carried out by political parties in anticipation of voter reactions to certain social groups against candidates (Krook 2010a, 157–158).

On the supply side, Norris and Lovenduski (1995) explain that women who endeavour to enter politics will face resource and motivational constraints, such as a lack of encouragement and interest in politics (Krook 2010a, 159). They argue that resources are a beneficial asset in pursuing a political career. Time is an essential factor on the supply side because running for the legislature requires regular attendance at constituency meetings and campaigning in the chosen area up to the general election. Furthermore, financial resources are also essential since the personal campaign budget is crucial in securing legislature seats. Networks of supporters from political parties, families, and business partners are influential factors in gaining seats in Parliament (Norris and Lovenduski 1993, 396–403). In a supply-demand institutional context, such as the electoral system, legislative changes influence women's chances to become legislative candidates (Norris and Lovenduski 1993, 382).

The supply-demand theory is often used by researchers in political studies, especially those that aim to see women's electability. However, existing studies also show several weaknesses and criticisms of this theory. Krook (2010b) claims at least three criticisms of this supply-demand. First, the supply-demand approach adopts principles in economics that assume that the interaction between the forces of supply and demand will eventually produce an equilibrium solution. Many economists doubt the validity of this model when explaining markets, pointing to the large number of possible distortions that can be introduced through the many formal and informal rules and norms governing individual and collective behaviour. The same condition is also proper when trying to explain women's electability. Supply and demand never reach equilibrium because of institutional factors and social and political norms that precisely determine the non-equilibrium (Krook 2010b, 710).

The above condition supports the second critique presented by Krook (2010b) from a feminist perspective. The supply-demand approach inadequately explains why women are underrepresented in many countries even though they comprise most of the world's population. Gender analysis is still needed to explain the imbalance in relations

between society and the country that puts women at a disadvantage both on the supply and demand sides. In other words, gender norms and practices operate to reduce the supply and demand for female candidates (Krook 2010b, 710).

The third critique of supply-demand examines the uniqueness and variations in various countries and political parties. Generalisation to supply-demand theory can conceal these variations and peculiarities. For example, a study conducted by Aspinall, White, and Savirani (2021) on women's political representation in Indonesia shows that the lack of women's representation cannot only be seen from a supply-demand aspect. By deploying surveys and interviews with 127 female legislative candidates in the 2019 election, this study found that women's electability was influenced by campaign personalisation where candidates composed their campaign team (success team) and relied on their relationships with established social networks to reach voters. This model cannot be separated from adopting an electoral system in Indonesia, which emphasises personal campaigns by individual candidates, and where parties generally only provide limited support to candidates. Such campaign efforts involve considerable funding of money, goods, public infrastructure, and the like, which have become essential parts of campaigning in the highly clientelistic electoral landscape that has long developed in Indonesia.

This study looks at women's electability in Banten with the supply-demand theory from a feminist perspective with the specifics of the Banten context. Gender analysis is vital in interpreting the supply and demand aspects of Banten III female legislative candidates in the 2019 election. Besides, campaign personalisation is also crucial in explaining the low electability of women in gender-friendly regions such as Banten, with a variant slightly different from Aspinall et al.'s findings (2021).

METHODOLOGY

This research employs a type of qualitative research with a case study method. According to Starman (2013, 31), a case study is a detailed and in-depth description and analysis of an individual case, group, phenom-

enon, or a particular place. The purpose of selecting this type of qualitative case study research is to explore and understand better the problem of the low electability of women in the Banten III Electoral District. The authors see that Banten III Electoral District has a distinguishing factor of rational voters open to women's political leadership, as not all electoral districts in Indonesia are gender friendly.

As explained above, the mean of using qualitative research is to help authors to dig deep into the distinctive factors of the problem since qualitative research focuses on multi-methods involving the interpretation of phenomena and the use of various empirical materials—case studies, personal experiences, in-depth interviews (Aspers and Corte 2019, 142). To study the unique and distinctive factors of women's electability issues in the Banten III Electoral District, the authors sourced primary data from analysis of in-depth interviews with ten informants and gathered secondary data from a study of Banten KPU report documents, Bawaslu of Banten Province, Banten Province Statistic Bureau, and Banten local media.

DISCUSSION

Supply Side

The supply side focuses on the resources and motivation possessed by women candidates. The authors argue that supply is a determining factor that significantly marginalises women from winning election contests. The election arena, which is still very masculine and pragmatic, forces women to have equal resources with men (Wardani and Subekti 2021, 40). In the 2019 election contestation in the Banten III Electoral District, women candidates experienced unequal access to resources and faced more significant obstacles than men candidates. Most female candidates did not have sufficient financial resources and support, limiting their strategy to homosocial networks and family relations (men) in political parties. Moreover, lacking political experience led women candidates to the wrong group of voters, which was pragmatic voters, negatively impacting their electability in the area. In particular, the

authors look at this aspect of supply from emerging five things from the research findings: financial resources, time and women’s domestic roles, social networks, experiences, and women’s motivations.

Regarding financial resources, the authors perceive that capital is essential in leveraging women’s competitiveness in pragmatic election contests. Almost all elements to support vote acquisition in elections are related to the financial segment, creating a sense that financial resources are the driving engine for a whole series of election activities. Unfortunately, these resources were the biggest weakness for most Banten III Electoral District women candidates. The majority of female candidates there had limited financial capacity and only relied on these insufficient resources. Generally, the average amount spent by candidates for the 2019 election campaign at the national level ranged from 700 million to 3.4 billion (Ibrohim et al. 2020, 23).

Meanwhile, based on the results of interviews with four female candidates in the Banten III Electoral District, the average cost incurred was only 10 to 223 million. This number was shallow compared to the total spending of candidates on the national scope. In detail, INH, a women candidate from Hanura Party, explained the costs for her election campaign in the 2019 Banten III Electoral District as follows:

Table 1
Details of A Female Legislative Candidate’s Expenses in Banten III Electoral District

EXPENSES	AMOUNT
Banner printing (10 m) @175,000x100	17,500,000
Sticker @2000 x 10,000	20,000,000
T-shirt printing @5,500 x 10,000	55,000,000
Stage Rental (4x6m)	70,000,000
Catering @20,000 x 500	10,000,000
Volunteers’ allowance (Tangerang Regency) @200,000/day x 50 people	10,000,000
Souvenir @15,000 x 500	7,500,000
Transportation	10,000,000
Convention hall rental	13,000,000
Total	223,000,000

Source: Processed by the authors from an interview with INH on July 21, 2021

Based on the detailed expenses incurred by INH during the election campaign, the budget was not only used for pre-election campaign tools but also for renting a meeting venue—so that constituents could get to

know the candidate better—providing souvenirs, clothes, stickers, and food. In addition, the volunteer team's role was essential to take care of votes in the constituency (Respondent INH 2021). However, not all Banten III Electoral District women candidates had financial capabilities like INH.

To deal with the limited funding, female candidates did an alternative campaign by waiting for the momentum of field activities organized by political parties or other candidates so that their campaign activities could be jointly carried out to reduce cost (Respondent RS 2021). Limited resources forced them to find other solutions or alternatives to be able to carry out campaigns. This limitation often makes women unable to compete in elections, especially with male or female incumbents who have financial capabilities, political networks, and experience that are more qualified than female candidates who incidentally are still very new to elections.

Next, the authors consider time resources one of the factors causing the resources gap between female and male candidates to get bigger. Men have more time and resources with fewer roles than women candidates after marriage. On the other hand, female candidates in Banten III Electoral District are bound to do their duties in the domestic and economic sectors. In addition, they must get permission from their husband and family to participate in campaign activity. These marriage-related responsibilities hinder women candidates from sparing enough time to maximize their political endeavours in elections (Respondent DM 2021). The space for women to move in elections in Banten III Electoral District is still very limited by gender roles and women's domestication. This limited resource shows that women are still trapped in the demands of a patriarchal environment that places men as superior to women. On the other hand, male candidates can decide how and when to carry out campaign activities without being limited by permission or marriage-related roles.

The time constraints in Banten III Electoral District, in fact, come not only from the female candidates' side but also from the urban community. The majority of people in Banten III Electoral District are

Monday-Friday workers. Thus, it poses a challenge to female candidates as they only have the weekend to conduct a meeting with their constituents (Respondent RS 2021). This urban factor influences the closeness between female candidates and constituents, resulting in a less intense bond. This obstacle is a distinguishing factor experienced by female candidates in Banten III Electoral District with other constituencies.

Supporting Network

Support networks provide information, advice, and direct support from family, political parties, and community groups and are important for women candidates to secure seats in Parliament (Norris and Lovenduski 1993, 400). Support network resources owned by female candidates of Banten III Electoral District include geographical networks—which are limited to a city or regency area in Banten III Electoral District—homosocial networks and kinship networks or families originating from husbands or fathers who have influence in the area. In fact, the gap in network resources between female and male legislative candidates is no different from other resources. However, the authors argue that these resources show a stronger masculine element because female candidates in Banten III Electoral District can gain a network in elections because of the role of their male relatives. The popularity of male relatives can form a female homosocial network in Banten III Electoral District. Quoting Aspinall, White, and Savirani (2021, 12), homosocial networks rely on relationships of trust and destiny to build a campaign team with members of the same gender.

Most female candidates for Banten III Electoral District rely on networks from fellow Family Welfare Empowerment or *Pemberdayaan Kesejahteraan Keluarga* (PKK) communities and other women's communities, such as social volunteers in their domiciles. The manifest of women's homosocial network in the Banten III Electoral District is formed from emotional closeness, the popularity of male relatives, and sisterhood in the community. Support from homosocial networks means to a great extent, to female candidates in the form of material and psychological support. Types of support provided are funds for women candidates' campaign capital, personal promotion for the electability of

female candidates in one's domicile, and a persona awareness campaign to help increase the confidence of female candidates in the contestation. These were obtained by CA, a female candidate from Berkarya Party, who received homosocial resource support from her husband's popularity in the domicile where she lived (Respondent CA 2021). Nevertheless, the significance of homosocial networks was more significant for men because the majority of male candidates in the Banten III Electoral District were religious and community leaders, allowing them to have a strong, broad network and mass base (Respondent INH 2021).

In addition to homosocial networks, a female candidate from Perindo Party, Intan Nurul Hikmah, would employ her family networks. Capitalising on the electability of her older brother Ahmed Zacky Iskandar as the Tangerang Regent also helped her to gain a mass base in Tangerang Regency in the 2019 legislative elections in Banten III Electoral District (Arbi 2018). It was not only limited to homosocial and kinship networks; several female candidates also utilised geographic networks, such as INH from Hanura Party. Her geographic network came from her background as a *dangdut* singer in Tangerang Regency. She prioritised every village development program for Tangerang Regency during her tenure as an expert staff member at DPR RI (Respondent INH 2021).

Referring to the explanation above, the authors argue that kinship network resources benefit women candidates' electability more than homosocial and geographic networks. Independently, it is difficult for female candidates in the election district to establish a solid voter base without access from men, even though their homosocial network is also influenced by the strong role of men. Male candidates benefit more from network resources in elections, which are still very patriarchal and pragmatic. It is easier for male candidates to mobilise support networks in constituencies without having to use kinship or financial strength. On the other hand, women candidates must go the extra mile to establish a mass base network, which unfortunately does not significantly affect their electability in elections.

Another thing from the supply side is experience. Political experience is an essential resource in influencing women's electability. Female candidates who have become public officers have better political expertise, communication skills, and practical knowledge of politics than other female candidates, making this experience helpful in gaining votes in the Parliament (Norris and Lovenduski 1993, 399).

Regarding the case of women's electability in the Banten III Electoral District, the majority of female candidates had less to no political experience in the Parliament. Banten KPU data (2019) showed only three female incumbents, while the remaining 43 were new political newcomers. The lack of political experience for these female candidates affected the approach to voters during the campaign. It even made it difficult for them to carry out a strategy of approaching voters, resulting in them only campaigning using standard campaign instruments, such as banners and billboards, and providing political education according to the directions of political parties. It was difficult to map the characters of voters (Respondent DM 2021).

On the other side, female incumbents with political experience in the Parliament found it easier to approach voters by showing a concrete contribution during their tenure, thus strengthening their bargaining power in elections, and making it easier for them to develop a voter base. Political experience has become social capital for female incumbents to increase their electability, especially in pragmatic societies (Dalupe 2019, 21). The magnitude of political experience on the electability of female incumbents could be seen from the votes acquired by the incumbents, which were among the highest of other female candidates. In this case, Siti Masrifah, a female incumbent at the DPR RI level, received 41,841 votes, and Tuti Elfita, a female incumbent at the DPRD Banten Province level, received 48,729 votes (KPU Banten 2019).

The motivational aspect is another factor that influences women's electability in Banten III Electoral District. Motivation is a psychological predisposition to engage in politics (Norris and Lovenduski 1993, 402). To explore the motivations and encouragement of female candidates to participate in the DPR RI legislative elections in the Banten

III Electoral District, the authors use an open question, “What are the factors that motivate you to run for the 2019 DPR RI legislative election in Banten III Electoral District?” These questions help the authors determine the factors that encourage women to commit or not to participate in the election. From the interview results with four female legislative candidate informants in the area, the authors found that women’s motivation was classified into internal and external factors. The authors use these indicators to determine the motives of women candidates in participating in the election. Internal motivation comes from female candidates’ willingness to participate in the election. In contrast, external motivation comes from political parties, such as filling the 30% seat quota and family encouragement.

Most of the female candidates for the Banten III Electoral District interviewed in this study possessed high motivation and ambition to compete in the DPR RI legislative election. The motivational background for women candidates to run for election in Banten III Electoral District was extremely varied. For example, some participated in organisations or social volunteer activities in the area and wished to contribute to diminishing social inequalities around the community (Respondent DM 2021). A female legislative candidate conveyed another motivation from Hanura Party INH because her political party asked her to take part in the DPR RI legislative election to fill the 30% seat quota so that political parties could participate in the contestation (INH Respondent).

Furthermore, the difference in motivation among those candidates affected candidates’ competitiveness in the contestation. Female candidates who had previously participated in the previous election and were encouraged by political parties (external encouragement) showed low enthusiasm and thus lowered their fighting spirit. In other words, they only participated in the election to help their political parties to fulfil the seat quota. This situation completely contrasts female candidates whose motivation came from their will (internal drive), where competitiveness and high enthusiasm to fight for their victory in the election were on point. That being said, the authors argue that even though the

motivation of female candidates in the Banten III Electoral District was high, if they had minimal resources, it would be difficult for them to be elected. In electoral contestations, which are still very pragmatic, female candidates' internal motivational capital is inadequately boosting their electability in elections. As a result, the availability of women to participate in elections only serves as a means of fulfilling the 30% quota for political parties.

Demand Side

If the supply side is an internal factor for female candidates, the demand side is an external factor that affects women's low electability. Demand is influenced by the bias of political parties directly and indirectly towards women candidates and the general election system that is implemented.

Political parties play a significant role in encouraging women's electability in elections, but to obtain high electability, political parties need candidates with robust resources to achieve triumph. The authors argue that the imbalance in resources between male and female candidates establishes discrimination against female candidates in the internal policies of political parties. Generally, the discriminatory practices of political parties can be seen in the placement of women in non-strategic voting numbers and elitist and masculine preferences in the recruitment process. Appearances of discrimination perpetrated by political parties are divided into direct and imputed discrimination. To explore discriminatory acts committed by political parties against women candidates, the authors tried to look at the aspects of direct discrimination. Direct discrimination happens in candidate recruitment procedures, while imputed discrimination is formed by the party criteria that are influenced by voters' preferences and political party elites toward female candidates (Krook 2010a, 159).

To begin with, the recruitment process for political parties adjusts the ability of female candidates to the vision and mission of political parties, and the assessment is influenced by the background of political kinship owned by female candidates. First, the vision and mission of

political parties are formed from the preferences of the elite, no other than men. As a result, in this aspect, several political parties in Banten III Electoral District assumed that female candidates lacked quality and showed low competitiveness in the election (Respondent AA 2021). This thought, seemingly to be sexism, was a form of discrimination against women candidates. Political parties often create a dichotomy between women and men candidates based on resources and political kinship even though women's limited resources do not mean that the quality of female candidates in elections is poor.

Direct discrimination against women does not root from the sexist notion of political parties but rather from the recruitment process, which is closed, elitist, and kin-based. For instance, this practice was implemented by Gerindra Party. Not all candidates had access to a closed recruitment process. The required criteria for candidates in the closed recruitment process were their electability and financial stability, and only male candidates could satisfy them. The criteria formed portrayed the masculine side (Majola 2020, 367). This condition was confirmed by the Election Winning Body (Bapilu) of the Gerindra Party.

“Gerindra Party has two recruitments, namely closed and open recruitments. In the closed recruitment process, candidates are selected based on the decision of Mr Prabowo as the chairman of the Gerindra Party with the recommendation from the party elites. The criteria assessed in the closed recruitment are their personality aspect, financial power as a precaution not to get involved in a corruption practice, and their loyalty to the party.” (Respondent AA 2021).

Based on the statement above, the authors argue that closed candidate selection indicates that political parties are still very elitist and discriminatory towards candidates because not all candidates, such as women, have kinship networks in political parties. Differences in the recruitment process reinforce direct discrimination perpetrated by political parties against women. These criteria and access can only be met by male or female candidates with close political ties. The procedure for selecting candidates is not assessed based on formal qualifications, such

as their political experience and personal characteristics, but more on political kinship and the stability of the candidates' resources. Political parties often rely on kinship political ties to assess the compatibility of candidates with the vision, mission, and party elite criteria (Folke et al 2021, 55; Wardani and Subekti 2021, 33). The practice of political kinship in recruiting political parties is a common thing in elections.

The form of a large party management structure always gives privileges to candidates from a familial basis in internal politics. Several political party factors prioritise women candidates with kinship backgrounds because they have emotional closeness to political party officials, especially if the female candidates have the potential to contribute votes to political parties. Female candidates based on political kinship are easier to control by political parties in making policy decisions in the Parliament. The recruitment policy of political parties significantly discriminates against female candidates in several aspects, such as the appointment of vote number, which is in the last place, and the non-strategic electoral districts. That being said, it is difficult for women with limited resources without political kinship to be elected in elections (Respondent Dirga Ardiansa, 2021).

Political parties often carry out discrimination in the form of imputed discrimination against female candidates. In this matter, political parties use the criteria for loyal voters in the electoral district to determine appropriate candidates so that political parties do not lose votes from their electoral group (Krook 2010a, 157). The social bias in the demand factor occurs not only during the candidate recruitment procedures but also in the criteria of political parties in choosing candidates, which are influenced by voter preferences. Voter preferences cause political parties to prioritise candidates who can meet voter expectations. One of the political parties, the Gerindra Party, admits that these criteria are more owned by male incumbents than female candidates (Respondent AA 2021).

Another form of discrimination perpetrated by political parties against women candidates is appointing a vote number in the last place. The first few vote numbers are prioritised for female incumbents or

those with a relationship with men, such as a father or husband in the same political party (Respondent DM 2021). It is difficult for female candidates with limited network resources in political parties to get that privilege in electoral contests. Political parties do not recognise this but instead corner the KPU regulations, which stipulate that not all female candidates can be placed on the uppermost voting number because of the lottery results and the zipper system (Respondent MBY 2021). The zipper system is a system that places women alternately (*vis-à-vis*) with male candidates in determining vote numbers (Thalib 2014, 242). The political parties fail to convey this information to candidates that the vote number provisions are determined based on a decision by the political party's Central Executive Board (DPP) which abides by KPU regulations and the lottery results.

Based on these findings, the majority of vote numbers one, two, and three in the political party DCT (final candidates list) in Banten III Electoral District were filled by incumbents, candidates with high electability, or female candidates with male relations in political parties. For example, several DPR RI incumbents from Gerindra (Sufmi Dasco), PBB (Siti Masrifah), and PKS (Mulyanto) represented vote number one (Dwitama 2018). Meanwhile, PSI (Ratu Isyana) and PDIP (Rano Karno) are candidates with high electability in Banten III Electoral District. Intan Nurul Hikmah from Perindo Party is the younger sister of Tangerang Regency Regent, and PKS (Tuti Elfita) was an incumbent from DPRD Banten Province (Rustandi 2019). Some examples above prove that political parties still prioritise candidates with a background as DPR RI incumbents, high electability in Banten III Electoral District, and women with male relations for the priority vote numbers.

It is said that the perception of political parties still considers male candidates to be more competent and able to increase the electability of political parties in elections compared to female candidates. Female candidates are only used to fulfil the 30% quota by political parties. Therefore, direct discrimination is carried out by political parties against women candidates at every stage of the election, both from the candidate selection procedures, masculine criteria for assessment, and

vote number appointment. This discriminatory condition is exacerbated by the rationale of political parties that assume voters do not see female candidates as eligible to be elected in elections. However, exceptions occur for women with kinship in political parties and female incumbents. The discriminatory actions of political parties limit the space for women's movement and show that women in elections are only considered as accessories by political parties. The election is seen only as a contestation to compare resources and the closest kinship between candidates in Banten III Electoral District.

Another demand aspect that influenced women's low electability in the 2019 election in Banten III Electoral District was the election system. Based on Law Number 7 of 2017, the electoral system in Indonesia uses an open proportional system (Firdausy 2019, 92). In general, an open proportional electoral system should increase the electability of women in Parliament (Matland 1998; Reynolds 1999; Kenworthy and Malami 1999; Siaroff 2000; Moser 2001; Norris 2006, 201). However, in Indonesia's case, an open proportional system increases the phenomenon of money politics and kinship politics because an open proportional system requires political parties to obtain massive votes to gain seats in the Parliament. The impact of this system is very detrimental to female candidates, the majority of whom have minimal resources to achieve their goals (White and Aspinall 2019, 4).

The negative impact of an open proportional system often happens in Banten III Electoral District. This system requires candidates to have resources, especially financial resources, and qualified political networks to gain support from the mass base in their electoral districts. Reflecting on the case in Banten III Electoral District, when viewed from the supply side, the majority of female candidates had very minimal resources to be able to compete in the election, while political parties, such as Gerindra Party, prioritised candidates with financial ability, electability, and strong political networks. To secure seats in the Parliament, political parties must have a significant voice in their electoral districts (Respondent AA 2021). This factor causes political parties like Gerindra Party to prioritise incumbent male and female candidates with

political kinship for the top vote numbers. On the other hand, female candidates with limited resources get the bottom vote numbers. In addition, these female candidates only serve as the fulfilment of 30% of the minimum quota for political parties. In a position like this, female candidates are most affected by the open proportional electoral system.

The internal policy factors of political parties, the character of voters in the Banten III Electoral District, and the 2019 election system are the biggest external factors in marginalizing women's opportunities. A highly pragmatic electoral system requires political parties to produce output from candidates with financial resources and a strong network of kinship relations to win. To achieve this victory, political parties must strengthen their electability by seeking and prioritising candidates with needed resources. In the Banten III Electoral District case, the candidates with the most vigorous access to supply resources come from men, so political parties prioritise male candidates in elections. The position of women with limited resources only becomes a means to fulfil the quota for political parties to further their political goals.

The authors also argue that other elements of the 2019 election system, namely the parliamentary threshold and the Sainte-Lague method, harm the electability of women candidates, especially in new political parties, but are profitable for big political parties. If it is correlated with the 2019 election case in Banten III Electoral District, the parliamentary threshold of 4% had a negative impact on the female candidate from the PSI Party, namely Ratu Ayu Isyana Bagoes Oka, with 48,819 votes. Nationally, PSI Party's electability was only 1.89%, even though the number in Banten III Electoral District was 4.11%. The minimum number of votes obtained by the PSI Party resulted in female candidates being deemed not qualified for the seats in the Parliament, even though the vote acquisition for female candidates from PSI was the fifth highest in Banten III Electoral District (Banten KPU 2019). In addition to the parliamentary threshold, the formula for obtaining seat votes for political parties (Electoral Formula) is an influential factor in electability. In the 2019 election, the method used was Sainte Lague, in which the number of votes obtained by political parties greatly determines the

number of seats in Parliament. This method uses an odd number of divisors, such as 1,3,5,7, and so forth. The Sainte Lague method positively impacts major political parties with the most votes in the electoral district (Subono et al. 2017, 97).

Therefore, seats in DPR RI are occupied by the political party with the highest electability in Banten III Electoral District. After that, these seats are distributed to the candidates who obtain the highest votes in the party. The negative impact of the Sainte Lague method on women's electability in the 2019 election system was experienced by two candidates, namely Siti Masrifah (PKB) with 41,841 votes and Tuti Elfita (PKS) with 48,729 votes. The two female candidates were not able to secure seats because the party gained electability under PDIP Party and Gerindra Party, so the PKS Party and PKB Parties only got a quota of one seat in Banten III Electoral District and were filled by male candidates with a higher vote (KPU Banten 2019).

On the other hand, the Sainte Lague method positively impacted political parties with high electability in Banten III Electoral District in the 2019 election, like Gerindra Party. The party obtained the second highest electability after PDIP, which was 13.30% so the Gerindra Party could secure two seats from Banten III Electoral District. One of the seats was filled by a female candidate with 28,539 votes. This number is relatively low for female candidates to qualify for seats in DPR RI.

Referring to this phenomenon, the authors argue that the electoral formula method, parliamentary threshold, and open proportional election system cause political parties to compete to get as many mass votes as possible. For political parties to win seats in the Parliament, they must obtain a high electability rate in the electoral districts, a substantial factor in encouraging inequality and discrimination against women with limited resources in elections. Political parties are increasingly pushing male or female candidates with high electabilities, such as incumbents, women with male relations, and community leaders in Banten III Electoral District, so the affirmative policy of 30% is not significant for encouraging women's electability. Inconsistency between elements in the 2019 election system had harmed women candidates in

Banten III Electoral District. As a result, many female candidates had to be eliminated because the 2019 election system was not gender friendly.

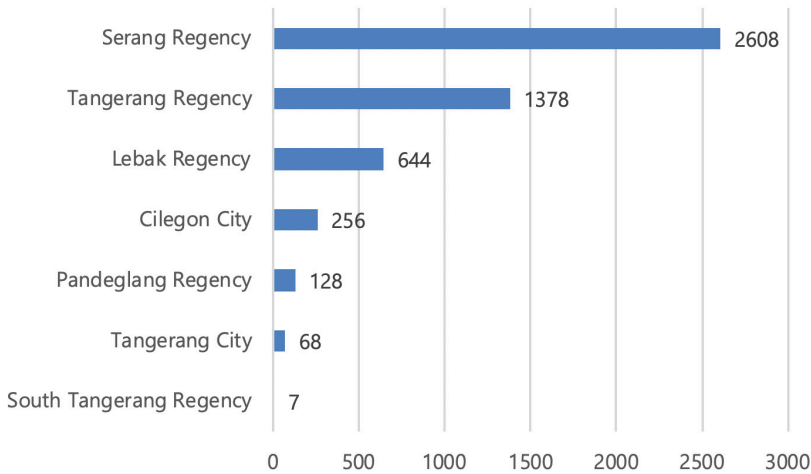
Voters' Characters in Banten III Electoral District and Campaign Strategies for Female Candidates

In the following section, the authors will explain voters' characteristics in the Banten III Electoral District and how the campaign strategies of female candidates strategically respond to the characteristics. In general, voters in Banten III were dominated by rational voters, as mentioned at the beginning of this article. The population of the upper-middle urban community in the area was 4,079,208 million (62.8%) of the total population of 6,495,420 million people. In comparison, the population of the lower-middle urban community was 2,416,212 (37.2%) million people (BPS Banten 2020). From this percentage, the upper-middle urban population was more dominant than the lower-middle urban population.

For rational voters in Banten III electoral district, consideration of candidates' vision, mission, programs, and track records is more important than that of gender or race. These rational voters base their judgment on the ability of candidates by looking for information such as track record, political experience, achievements, and level of education, as well as analyzing and cross-checking the vision and mission of the candidates with the campaign programs offered. The vision, mission, and campaign programs are general and offer a program concept that is progressive and provides benefits (AWP Respondent 2021). The authors argue that rational voters in Banten III Electoral District did not assume that gender determined the quality of a candidate. Several informants from this study prioritised the alignment between the program and the vision and mission offered by the candidates to calculate the minimum level of loss from choosing candidates. Even though the vision, mission, and programs did not guarantee the quality and integrity of candidates, these voters had minimised it by employing their rationality in choosing.

In contrast to the urban community, the lower-middle-class people in Banten III Electoral District tended to be pragmatic. They voted based on the ability of money given by female candidates. Pragmatic voters prefer money or personal gifts from candidates compared to program quality because money is more visible in the short term for pragmatic voters (Shin 2015; Dulape 2019, 20). Most of the lower-middle-class people with pragmatic characters live mostly in Tangerang Regency, with a population of 2,161,583 million people, followed by South Tangerang City, with 880,328 residents, and finally, Tangerang City, with 796,106 residents (BPS Banten, 2020). The pragmatism level of the lower-middle class in the Banten III Electoral District can be seen from the results of the Banten Election Supervisory Body report regarding polling stations at the 2019 election in Banten as follows.

Figure 1
Fraud Prone Polling Station



Source: Processed by the authors from Bawaslu report (2019)

On the money politics indicator, the lowest polling stations were in South Tangerang City with 128 polling stations, Tangerang City with 183 polling stations, and Tangerang Regency with 1,378 polling stations. These numbers are relatively high and in the 2nd place after Serang Regency with 2,608 polling stations (Bawaslu Banten 2019, 41). The data

shows that the lower middle-class voters in Banten III Electoral District are still very significant. At the same time, the women candidates in the area do not have solid funds and do not choose money politics as a shortcut to winning.

The above conditions are significant considerations in conducting campaigns for female candidates. From the interviews conducted for this study, it was found that female candidates chose to execute campaigns in Tangerang Regency areas, which were dominated by pragmatic voter populations with the assumption that they were easy to mobilise (Respondent INH 2021). Pragmatic voters only see candidates solely based on financial ability, while the majority of female candidates in the Banten III Electoral District had minimal resources.

Female candidates during the 2019 electoral campaign did not visit rational voter neighbourhood areas such as the Foresta BSD residential area, Lippo Karawaci Tangerang, and Gading Serpong, which are elite areas in Banten III Electoral District. This action caused rational voters in this area not to vote for female candidates and not know their branding and qualities. Several factors caused female candidates to leave these areas unvisited. Firstly, female candidates had the assumption that it was difficult to influence rational voters because the level of rational voters in Tangerang and South Tangerang City was higher than pragmatic voters. However, the level of participation was not as high as pragmatic voters (Respondent INH 2021). Secondly, they wanted to provide political education to pragmatic voters and showed their commitment to fighting for issues closer and more relatable (Respondent DM 2021).

CONCLUSION

The problem of women's low electability in constituencies that claimed to be open to women's political leadership is not different from problems in other electoral districts in Indonesia. In Banten III Electoral District, women continue to experience loss in elections because they do not have access to sufficient financial resources, time, and voter networks and possess limited political experience. Women still experi-

ence discrimination from the internal policies of political parties, such as the assignment of vote numbers. The preferences of political party elites are still masculine and elitist. The 2019 election system was not able to accommodate women with limited resources to compete fairly with other candidates with political kinship. The incentive of the 30% quota policy and open proportional system are significant factors in marginalising women. The presence of women in elections only serves as a fulfilment of seat quota and to gain votes for political parties.

In the context of the Banten III Electoral District, there is an opportunity to further increase women's electability by paying attention to voters' characteristics and adjusting campaign strategies. The majority of voters in this area are rational voters who come from an urban society with the middle and upper economic classes. Rational voters prioritise the candidate's vision, mission, and programs compared to aspects of gender or race. In contrast, the other group is pragmatic voters who generally come from people of the weaker economic class, whose numbers are smaller in quantity. Pragmatic voters choose candidates who offer material benefits such as financial aid or other facilities they can get as compensation for their votes.

With such voters' characteristics, the choice of campaign strategy affected women's electability in the 2019 general election. Two things from the supply side that do not support this choice are financial resources and experience. In terms of financial resources, as the authors explained earlier, women have limitations compared to male candidates. Meanwhile, the election system implemented in Indonesia requires candidates' financial ability to win votes due to the enormous costs incurred during the campaign. Another factor that contributed to the wrong campaign strategy was the experience of women candidates, especially compared to male incumbents. Women generally have limited experience, especially those who were not supported by political parties (demand side). This limitation contributes to the inability of women to implement effective and strategic choices in an effort to win votes in their constituencies.

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