

The Steep Challenge of Increasing the Electability of Female Legislative Candidates in the 2019 General Election



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ABSTRACT: This study examines how the movement of modalities owned by female candidates in the midst of a patriarchal habitus which is still developing in the 2019 elections in Indonesia. Despite obtaining the highest representation of women in parliament throughout history, in reality the increase that has occurred cannot be significant but tends to be ups and downs. The increase in the representation of female candidates in parliament in 2019 is inseparable from several factors, one of which is the capital owned by female candidates. Using the theory from Pierre Bourdieu, he explained that capital is indeed very important for women candidates in Indonesia to get elected, but they also have to pay attention to the arena and their developing habits. The researcher uses the literature study method which is quoted from various sources of scientific studies that can be proven valid to answer research questions. This study found that capital (social capital, political capital, and economic capital) is indeed capable of getting candidates elected, but in reality there are still many female candidates who have high modality unable to win political contestation. This is because the capital owned by female candidates has so far been controlled by a patriarchal class system which causes modality to not develop optimally and the increase in the electability of women candidates in parliament in Indonesia cannot be significant.

KEYWORDS: Indonesia; electability; female candidates; capital; patriarchal habitus; political contestation

I. INTRODUCTION

Women's representation in politics, especially parliament, is still a concern. Even though the Indonesian Government has established regulations to increase women's representation, in fact there has not been a significant increase. The Indonesian government has tried various ways, one of which is by setting a minimum representation of women at 30% both in political party management and on ballot papers in legislative elections. These regulations have been stipulated in Law no. 7 of 2017 concerning General Elections. The first time this law was enacted was to prepare for the General Election in 2019. In this law the government also stipulated rounding up for a 30% quota on ballot papers in legislative elections. The government has also established a numbering system of 3:1, which means that for every 3 names of legislative candidates there must be 1 name of a female legislative candidate (Umagapi, 2020). This was strengthened by the existence of an MoU between the Ministry of PPPA and the KPU in 2018 to support increasing women's participation in the General Election and local leaders election in 2019 (Ministry of Women's Empowerment and Child Protection of the Republic of Indonesia, 2018). The 2019 general election did show an increase in the electability of female legislative candidates in parliament, but the increase was inconsistent. This can be seen in table 2.1 below which shows that the number of female legislative candidates in parliament is still below 30% and the increase is not significant during each period of political contestation.

Table 1. Percentage of Female Legislative Members of the Republic of Indonesia Period 2004-2019

Election Period	Number and Percentage of Female Legislative Members	Number and Percentage of Male Legislative Members
2004-2009	11,6% (65)	87 % (435)
2009-2014	18% (101)	82 % (459)
2014-2019	17,3% (97)	82,7% (463)
2019-2024	20,5% (118)	79,5% (457)

Source: The House of Representatives, Republic of Indonesia, 2020

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After conducting research in various regions in Indonesia, such as research conducted by Kristiyanto in 2019 after the enactment of Law no. 7 of 2017, each electoral district has indeed included 30% of the names of female legislative candidates, but still the number of candidates elected as legislative members does not meet the 30% quota (Kristiyanto et al., 2021). Ana Sabhana in her research revealed that there are obstacles faced by female legislative candidates in political contestation, including political obstacles, socio-economic obstacles, as well as ideological and psychological obstacles, which are included in the modalities that must be met (Azmy & Farhah, 2018).

Raja Kurnia in his research revealed that female legislative candidates in facing political contestation must prepare modalities because this influences the community to give their trust and support (Febrian, 2022). Indah's research in her presentation shows that capital is able to deliver female legislative candidates from West Sumatra Province by using social capital (Putri, 2018). Apart from that, Ansar's research also shows that the modality can lead to female legislative candidates being elected from North Kalimantan Province by utilizing political capital (Ansar et al., 2021). Reninta also showed a similar thing in her research in West Sumatra Province that with the modality female legislative candidates obtained their election by using the name of the legislative candidate's parents (Ananda & Valentina, 2021).

Gisca in her research also revealed that modalities including social capital, political capital and economic capital were able to deliver female legislative candidates to victory in the 2019 General Election in DKI Jakarta (Indira S & Mariyah, 2021). Modality is defined as broad capital, including material things that have symbolic value, cultural capital with a wide range of properties, such as art, education and even forms of language (Febrian, 2022). Meanwhile, according to Harisan Boni Firmando, there are three capitals that female legislative candidates must face, namely political capital, economic capital and social capital. Apart from that, female legislative candidates must be able to overcome obstacles regarding patriarchal cultural issues (Firmando, 2022). Even though they have large capital, in fact there are still many female legislative candidates who fail to get parliamentary seats.

Dessy in her research revealed that the representation of female legislative candidates could not increase significantly because the capital they owned was still controlled by patriarchal culture (Ramadhany & Rahmawati, 2020). Even though there has been resistance to overcome patriarchal culture in society, in reality this culture continues to be trusted to this day. Patriarchal culture influences the relationship between individual attitudes and closeness, structure and self-awareness (*habitus*) of female legislative candidates themselves and the outside world. Men have already controlled politics in Indonesia, so indirectly the structures and games in it are controlled by men. Apart from that, political parties are also still in the institutional space where the ideology of masculinity is very effective in shaping power relations (Ucaray-Mangitli & Yildirim, 2023). This is evident from the treatment of political parties towards female legislative candidates, which equates them with men in general (Iqbal & Kurniawan, 2020).

Habitus that is controlled by the male class structure can hinder the movement and thinking of female legislative candidates to collect capital amidst patriarchal discrimination in political contestation. This journal was prepared to answer the problem formulation that has been presented with the research question, how did the modalities of female legislative candidates develop amidst the patriarchal *habitus* in Indonesia in the 2019 General Election for Parliamentary Members? The analysis will use Pierre Bourdieu's theory of modality and *habitus* using the literature study method and the results will become a new novel. The aim of this research is to describe the challenges of female legislative candidates related to modalities amidst a patriarchal *habitus*.

II. RESEARCH METHODS

The method used in this study uses a literature approach. Literature study is all efforts used by researchers to obtain information that is relevant to the topic or problem being researched through various library sources such as scientific books, textbooks, research reports, scientific essays, scientific journals, theses, dissertations, regulations, statutes, law, encyclopedias, newspapers both print and online, and written sources both print and online. The data used in this research is secondary data. This research study collected data and information regarding the modalities possessed by female legislative candidates along with the influence of patriarchal culture in the selection of female legislative candidates in the 2019 Republic of Indonesia General Election obtained from various library sources.

III. DISCUSSION AND RESULTS

This section will discuss two parts, the first of which discusses the modalities that female legislative candidates need to have in the 2019 Indonesian The House of Representatives, Republic of Indonesia general elections. The second part will discuss the modalities that female legislative candidates need amidst the patriarchal cultural *habitus* that is still very strong in the 2019 Indonesian The House of Representatives, Republic of Indonesia elections.

A. Modalities of Female Legislative Candidates in Political Contestation

Modality is defined as very broad capital, covering material things (having symbolic value), cultural capital which includes various cultural values and consumption patterns, cultural capital includes a wide range of properties, such as art, education and

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even forms of language (Febrian, 2022). The following is the scope of capital that will be analyzed in this research which is related to social capital, political capital and social capital. Social capital is a resource possessed by female legislative candidates which is related to networks and relationships (Baharuddin & Purwaningsih, 2017). Social capital includes status in society (education, religion, culture, etc.), ancestry (nobles, businessmen, religious figures or artists, power of influence in society, popularity and management of large and respected organizations (Ramadhany & Rahmawati, 2020). Political capital is a political action that benefits and strengthens the position of political actors and political institutions themselves, political capital is also used as an entry point for candidates in political contestation (Ansar et al., 2021). Political capital for female legislative candidates can be in the form of support from the government with 30 % quota and 3:1 numbering system which has been stipulated in Law No. 7 of 2017, support from political elites, political figures, activists, political parties, as well as reputation and legitimacy (Firmansyah & Faradhila, 2022). Meanwhile, economic capital is a cost or political costs used to finance the nomination to become a member of parliament (Febrian, 2022). These costs are used for transport costs, campaign props costs, campaign procurement and continuity costs, money politics which is currently usually called sadaqah which is given to the success team, and its constituents as a substitute for energy, thoughts and gasoline. Apart from that, it is also used for political dowry which is still a matter of debate today (Kesmawan & Marja, 2021).

John F. Halliweel explains why social capital is important: (1) it is used in developing human capital, (2) it can improve individual welfare and provide subjective happiness, (3) to minimize costs and risks that may be incurred in economic activities, and (4) as an individual or group driver to carry out vertical social mobility (Ananda & Valentina, 2021). Most of the female legislative candidates who take part in political contestations in the The House of Representatives, Republic of Indonesia already have previous social capital, such as joining various organizations in society. By joining the organization, it will be easier for female legislative candidates to promote women's rights to attract attention and strengthen their constituents (Dashti et al., 2023). Apart from following an organization, popularity is also important to make it easier to communicate with constituents. This was felt by Krisdayanti in the 2019 parliamentary elections where social capital through her popularity was able to get her elected.

Julius (Krisdayanti's success team) in HB Habib Subandi's research revealed that the election of the female legislative candidate in parliament, namely Krisdayanti, was due to her popularity, apart from that, Krisdayanti also has closeness to the community through the business she built in her homeland (Subandi & Ubaid, 2020). Krisdayanti also targets visiting at least 4-5 houses a day with a social interaction duration of around 15 minutes. With the advantage of having popularity, Krisdayanti becomes better known and communicates more easily with the public. Apart from Krisdayanti, there is also a female legislative candidate who succeeded in getting her election, namely Arzeti Bilbina. In Subandi's research, it was also explained that Arzeti was elected by diligently carrying out campaigns that were sympathetic to the community, such as through the NU Muslim Mothers' recitation forum, Islamic boarding school recitation forums, and PKB mass campaigns among Islamic boarding school students (Subandi & Ubaid, 2020). It's not just artists who are able to get parliamentary seats.

Siti Mukaromah, a political activist and community activist, was also able to get her election. Siti Mukaromah also served as Chair of PP Fatayat NU in 2010-2015 and has many other involvements in the world of organizations (DPR RI, 2023). He was also an FPKB expert staff member at the The House of Representatives, Republic of Indonesia and studied the legislative process until in 2014 he tried to take part in the General Election again and has been elected to this day (Aninsi, 2021). This is what helped her win 36,312 votes in the 2019 General Election. Siti told Basyari as published in Kompas media that she always looked after regional organizations, because they were the spearhead in introducing them to the public (Basyari, 2023). Social capital is very important for female legislative candidates, but social capital cannot stand alone without other capital, namely political capital, where without realizing it, based on data from Puskapol UI, it is stated that 53% of elected legislative candidates in the 2019 Election have a political activist background which is their political capital, even though some are indicated as coming from political dynasties. Apart from that, of the 575 elected legislative candidates, 103 of them are incumbents who are still being elected (Puskapol UI, 2019). For example, Krisdayanti has political capital by getting support from local stakeholders, both the Regional Government and Village Government. Krisdayanti also received endorsement from the Mayor of Batu, Dewanti Rumpoko (Subandi & Ubaid, 2020).

Support from political elites opens the initial path for female legislative candidates in political contestation. Puskapol UI stated that 41% of female The House of Representatives, Republic of Indonesia (DPR RI) and Regional Representatives Board (DPD) legislative candidates were elected because they had political ties to the political elite. Female legislative candidates in the 2019 elections are still dominated by kinship politics from political elites and political dynasties, which is still the same as the trend in the 2014 elections. Support from political parties is also needed by female legislative candidates in political contestation. The Nasdem Party is the party that has led most female legislative candidates to parliamentary seats with a percentage of 32.2%, although most of this is due to the coattail effect (Puskapol UI, 2019). Apart from support from political parties, political elites, along with political figures, female legislative candidates also receive support from the government by establishing a 30% quota and a numbering system on ballot papers.

Perludem revealed that as many as 63.48% of DPR legislative candidates with serial number 1 were successfully elected and as many as 18.96% with serial number 2. Apart from that, it was also explained that DPR legislative candidates with serial number

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1 were mostly occupied by men, but female legislative candidates were more likely to be placed. In the final serial number, it was proven that 781 female legislative candidates were placed at serial number 3, while 572 people were placed at serial number five and only around 235 female legislative candidates received serial number one and 372 were number two (Agustyati & Pratama, 2019). Thus, political capital is really needed by female legislative candidates to gain their election. Political capital and social capital are indeed needed by female legislative candidates, but economic capital is also needed, where these three capitals are interconnected with each other.

There is a lot of debate about what is meant by economic capital, whether this includes money politics, which until now cannot be avoided. Political actors say this is not money politics, they prefer to call it 'sadaqah' which is included in political costs or political costs. According to Burhanuddin et al (2019) quoted from detik.com, it was stated that in the 2019 elections, 19.4% to 30.1% of voters were involved in money politics and as a result Indonesia was ranked 3rd in money politics in the world (Murti, 2022). It is also a dilemma for legislative candidates who, without giving 'sadaqah', will have difficulty locking in the constituents who will vote for them because it is like they can still switch (Mahsun et al., 2021). The cost of politics in Indonesia is increasingly expensive, this is also due to the massive practice of political dowries and sadaqah carried out by legislative candidates, political parties and the public.

Massive political dowries also occur, this is because political parties use elections as a moment to collect as much funds as possible. Although this news is still confusing and has been denied by various party elites, Hanura Party cadres stated that the conditions for providing recruitment money for Hanura legislative candidates, one of which is 350,000,000 for Regency/City legislative candidates, if it is a central candidate, it will definitely be much larger (Sjafrina, 2019). Legislative candidates will compete to provide all kinds of assistance, funds, programs, attractive campaigns to get as many votes as possible. In the research report, the need for funding in political financing is still an obstacle for female legislative candidates in political contestation in Indonesia in the 2019 elections (Agustyati & Pratama, 2019). Dian Fatwa (2019 PAN Women's Legislative Candidate) also expressed her opinion, quoted in the Kompas newspaper on April 13 2019, that there were many unexpected costs that emerged in the 2019 General Election.

Dian has spent more than one billion. Dian spent a lot of money for her campaign needs, namely to put up 100 banners, but it was not uncommon for 30 banners to disappear the next day as well as providing assistance to the community (Kompas, 2019). Even though he has spent a lot of political money, in reality he was not able to get him a parliamentary seat in 2019. Sofyan revealed that in the 2019 The House of Representatives, Republic of Indonesia elections, the minimum funds that legislative candidates needed to prepare were 1-2 billion and could still increase according to their political needs (Ministry of Home Affairs, 2018). Economic capital can be minimized by increasing social capital and political capital. However, these three capitals are interrelated. Apart from being faced with capital challenges, The House of Representatives, Republic of Indonesia female legislative candidates must also be able to recognize the battlefield where they are faced with a society that is still strong in its patriarchal culture. All parts of society that concern leadership have previously been dominated by men, including the political field which is continuously and trusted by society to form a habitus within society.

B. Modalities for Female Legislative Candidates amidst the Domination of Patriarchal Habits

Patriarchal culture in Indonesia has been going on for a long time, and persists to this day, because this culture is ingrained in society. Patriarchy is a social system that places men in positions of power and dominates various roles in society, for example moral authority, social rights, property control and political leadership. A man is considered the most suitable to receive appreciation and respect to maintain his authority. Meanwhile, women are placed in household affairs, maintaining men's emotions so that they continue to exist with their abilities (Israpil, 2017). Implicitly, this system institutes a government in which there are male privileges, and this is considered to be the cause of oppression against women. Even though all efforts have been made to reduce patriarchal culture both in the world and in Indonesia, this culture cannot be lost 100%. According to Pierre, habitus is schemes of perception, thoughts and actions that are acquired and persist for a long time. This practice is carried out in such a way through a kind of immediate submission to an order (Arismunandar, 2020).

Patriarchal culture has become a habitus in the social order in Indonesia in various fields, including politics. Patriarchy has dominated the political field long before women entered politics. All political activities have been regulated by men, both in the election process and in the government structure. Even though every effort has been made to reduce political discrimination by enacting legislation, in reality implicitly patriarchal culture still continues to distort gender equality in the world of politics. Various studies conducted by several researchers from various regions in Indonesia show that patriarchal culture makes it difficult for the modalities possessed by female legislative candidates to develop, and also hinders increasing women's representation in the legislative field. Sutri Destemi Elsi, et al in their research conducted in the Jambi Province area revealed that 41.3% stated that men were more suitable to be leaders than women. Apart from that, 135% agreed that men should always be leaders and 48% answered that women should take care of the family and do not need to be highly educated. In this research, it was also stated that the majority chose male legislative candidates over female legislative candidates (Elsi et al., 2022). Apart from research in Jambi Province, research was also conducted in Central Java Province through the results of the LSI survey after the 2019 Election

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regarding female candidates and politics in the 2019 Election, finding that in general 56.1% of respondents agreed that men were more capable of becoming political leaders than with women. Respondents who answered strongly agreed were 5.9%, which means that 62% agreed that women cannot lead as well as men (Mufrikhah, 2020). Female legislative candidates are also faced with domestic problems where husbands want their wives to be at home in the afternoon. This is what is faced by female The House of Representatives, Republic of Indonesia legislative candidates from Bali Province (Gelgel & Apriani, 2019).

The movement of female legislative candidates is still very limited. Apart from that, much of the political capital for female legislative candidates still comes from men, starting from support from political parties, most of which are controlled by men. Likewise with economic capital which was originally pioneered by patriarchal habitus. Women legislative candidates in the political field must have various strategies to protect and improve their position in order to gain election in political contestations. If women's habitus is still controlled by patriarchal class structures, then women legislative candidates' capital in the political field will not be able to compete with men. Even though the political system has encouraged as much as possible the affirmation of quotas for women, if it is still controlled by a patriarchal class structure, it will implicitly destroy the affirmation of the quota itself. In social reality, affirmation is claimed to have an increasing impact on increasing women's quota representation, but in reality the increase is not significant. The quota regulations are simply used by patriarchy to fulfill the requirements of a democratic state.

CONCLUSIONS

The representation of female legislative candidates in The House of Representatives, Republic of Indonesia through the 2019 elections has experienced development with an increase in the number of female legislative candidates who received legislative seats with a percentage of 20.5%. The presence of women in the legislative sector is also strengthened by Law no. 7 of 2017 concerning General Elections which emphasizes the presence of women in politics. This success cannot be separated from the modalities possessed by female legislative candidates themselves, which consist of social capital, political capital and economic capital. Even though female legislative candidates have had large capital, in reality all capital has long been controlled and determined by patriarchy until now in the self-awareness of female legislative candidates in the world of politics. The system structure in government and politics is formed by patriarchy, thereby inhibiting the movement of female legislative candidates to enter and win the arena of political contestation. The affirmation is claimed to have an increasing impact on increasing women's quota representation but in reality does not show significant results. The quota regulations that were created were simply used by patriarchy to fulfill the requirements of a democratic state. This makes it difficult for female legislative candidates to achieve a significant increase in representation. Female legislative candidates must prepare strategies to help them get out of this problem.

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