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## Women's Electability in the 2019 Legislative Elections in Kulon Progo Regency

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### ABSTRACT

*Women's representation is indispensable in the policy making process related to women's interests and needs. Kulon Progo Regency is the only regency in DIY Province that has increased the number of female candidates elected in the 2019 legislative elections. This study aims to analyze the factors that influence women's elections in Kulon Progo Regency in the 2019 legislative elections. This study uses qualitative methods. Data collection is done by documentation and interview techniques. The results showed that there had been an increase in the selection of female candidates by 2.5% compared to the 2014 legislative elections. Factors supporting women's electability: family support, social skills, education and political experience, support from political parties, and solidity of the success team. Inhibiting factors for women's electability: competition with incumbents, lack of education and political experience, open proportional electoral systems, limited funds, and limited campaign time.*

**Key word:** *women's representation, women's electability, legislative election, political party*

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## **1. Introduction**

In countries where democracy has prevailed for only a short time, the voting system constitutes the most important factor in explaining the proportion of women parliamentarians. (Tremblay, 2007). presence of women in politics is an inseparable part of the democratic process, as is the presence of men in politics. Through the mechanism of political representation, women can fight for their needs and interests in the policy making process. Political representation according to Pitkin ("Stanford Encyclopedia," 2006). Women's representation in local office also has the potential to shape policy outcomes. (Holman, 2017) is an activity that makes citizens' voices, opinions and perspectives appear in the process of making public policy. Political representation will occur if political actors speak, advocate, signify and act on behalf of others in the political arena. The connection between democracy and representation lies at the foundation of political participation and liberties. (Schneider, 2020)

According to Dahlerup (Dahlerup & Freidenvall, 2005), women's representation in politics is related to four types of change. *First*, institutional or procedural changes that refer to actions to change the nature of the institution so that it becomes more friendly to women. *Secondly*, changes in representation that involve specific actions to ensure the sustainability and improvement of women's access which include encouragement of female candidates, the conscious use of role model capacities, advancing gender equality legislation, and appropriate changes in electoral and campaign law. elections. *Third*, the impact or influence on outputs mainly refers to the "feminization" of legislation and other policy outputs, to what extent laws and policies are made or are influenced by women's needs and interests that include women's issues on the agenda. *Fourth*, changes in discourse involving changes in political discourse that

women are political is a natural concept as men do politics.

In Indonesia, efforts to increase the representation of political women are carried out by affirmative actions accommodated in the electoral law. The law no.10/2008 and law no. 8/2012 stipulate that political parties can participate in general elections if they meet the requirements, one of the conditions being to include at least 30% representation of women in the management of political parties at the central level. Not only management and participation requirements in the general election, the law also regulates the procedure for nominating candidates for legislative members by political parties, which in compiling the list of nominees, contains at least 30% representation of women. Furthermore, in the list of candidates it is also regulated that for every 3 prospective candidates, there are at least 1 female candidate candidate). And also applies at the village level such as Marwa said, Political education will not be sufficient, however, if the officials of the male-dominated village government do not practice gender sensitivity. This means they also need to obtain training on gender equality. (Marwah, 2019)

But factually, until now the legislative institution is still dominated by men, especially in terms of quantity. The results of research conducted by (Ardiansa, 2017) showed that from the three stages of the analysis of women's representation in elections, namely starting from the stage of proclamation, the stage of vote acquisition, to the seat acquisition stage, the number of women tended to decrease from stage to stage. This can be seen from the final results of the percentage of representation of women in the 2009 and 2014 elections of three stages, namely the nomination stage of 33% and 37%, the stage of vote acquisition reached 22% and 23%, and the seat acquisition stage was 18% and 17%.

The 30% quota of women presented by the government is only the beginning of the path to achieve active women's participation in Indonesian politics. Because basically the number of women who have increased in parliament through a 30% quota will still not be able to rival the voices of men who still occupy a higher percentage. So, when there is still inequality for women in occupying strategic positions in politics, this quota will only be in vain because it has no legitimacy (Nengsi, 2019).

Anne Phillips (in Sulastri, 2012) states that the politics of representation is an important thing related to the representation of women. Political transformation is realized and achieved through the representation of interests which means equality and justice in political representation emphasized the involvement of women who had never been included before in the process of execution and political decision making. Therefore, women's representation in politics is very important because every decision and public policy should be taken by representing the interests of all parties. Meanwhile, if the majority of parliamentary seats are occupied by men, then decisions and policies taken tend to have the perspective of men without regard to the needs and interests of women, especially policies related to women.

There are several factors that influence the representation of women in politics, especially in elections. Inhibiting factors include a crisis of public confidence in women's representation, low political education, availability of career support funds in politics (Bakti, 2019) patriarchal culture (Nurcahyo, 2016; Ramadhany & Rahmawati, 2020) support of political parties for granting quota rights of at least 30% to female candidates who want to compete in elections (Malik, 2016) Supporting factors include support from the family, social skills, and support from political parties (Bakti, 2019), who and from which group the candidate comes from (Sutrisno, 2016). Whereas (Maria, Quintarti, & Djou, 2018)

actually found that political parties were still less in favor of women's representation in elections.

In the 2019 legislative elections, in Kulon Progo Regency, Yogyakarta Special Province, as many as 404 Permanent Candidate Lists (DCT) competed for 40 seats in 5 electoral districts, consisting of 226 male DCTs and 178 female DCTs. In other words, the average percentage of representation of men is 56% and women is 44%, as shown in the table below:

Table 1. Comparison of Male and Female Permanent Candidate Data (DCT) in the 2019 elections in the Kulon Progo Regency

No	Political Parties	M	%	F	%	Amt
1	PAN	22	56	17	44	39
2	Partai Berkarya	9	42	12	58	21
3	PBB	10	55	8	45	18
4	PDIP	22	56	17	44	39
5	Partai Demokrat	17	58	12	42	29
6	Partai Gerindra	25	63	15	37	40
7	Partai GPI	1	25	3	75	4
8	Partai Golkar	22	55	18	45	40
9	Partai Hanura	9	50	9	50	18
10	PKS	23	58	16	42	39
11	PKB	24	61	15	39	39
12	Partai Nasdem	17	51	16	49	33
13	PPP	13	59	9	41	22
14	PSI	2	50	2	50	4

No	Political Parties	M	%	F	%	Amt
15	PPI	10	55	8	45	18
Total		226	56	178	44	404

Source: Processed from the Kulon Progo KPU Website

Kulon Progo Regency is the only district in Yogyakarta Province that has experienced an increase in the number of female candidates elected in the 2019 legislative elections. In the 2014 Legislative Election 7 female candidates out of 40 seats were elected, while in the 2019 Legislative Election, 8 female candidates were elected out of 40 seats. This phenomenon is interesting to study because it is the opposite of previous studies in general. Based on the preliminary data above, this study specifically aims to analyze the factors that influence the increase in the percentage of electability of female candidates in Kulon Progo Regency, Yogyakarta Special Province.

## 2. Method

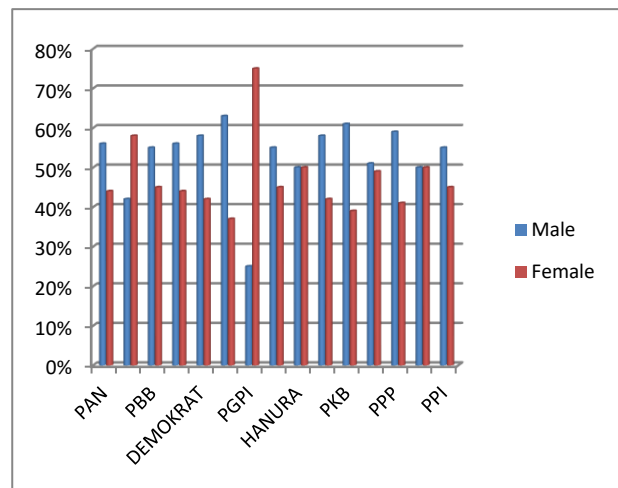
This study uses a qualitative method. This method was chosen because it is compatible with the research objectives, namely to explore and analyze the phenomenon of increasing female candidate electability in the 2019 legislative elections in Kulon Progo Regency, DIY. Collecting data using documentation and interview techniques. The documentation technique is carried out by collecting data from the KPU website, political party websites, Kulon Progo Regency website, mass media, journals, and books relevant to this research.

Furthermore, to conduct triangulation and data deepening, interviews were conducted with several elected and unelected female candidates, as well as with political party officials: PDI Perjuangan as the party with the most female seats, Pokja as the party with the most female candidates. but no one was elected, and the National Democratic Party (Nasdem). The research data were analyzed through 4 stages,

namely data collection, data reduction, data presentation, and data verification.

## 3. Results and Discussion

### Women's Representation VS Women's Election in the 2019 Legislative Elections in Kulon Progo Regency



Source: Processed from the Kulon Progo KPU Website

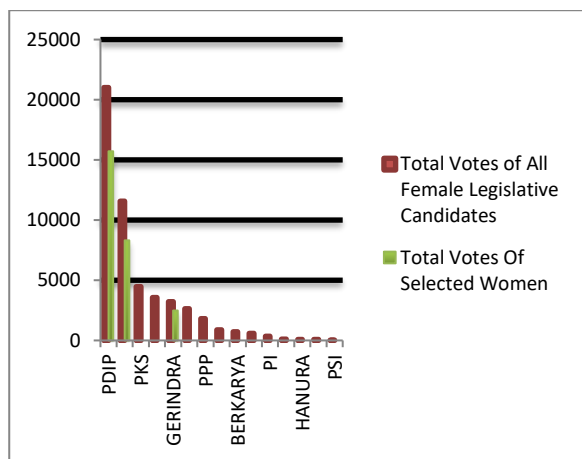
Picture 1. Representation of Women in Legislative Elections in Kulon Progo Regency in 2019

Based on the picture above, we can see that all political parties have fulfilled the 30% quota of female candidates at the stage of candidacy, even some political parties have included more than 50% of female candidates. This is certainly not surprising, because the fulfillment of a quota of 30% of female candidates is a condition for being able to participate in elections. At this stage of candidacy, what is interesting to observe is how political parties meet the 30% quota. Based on the interview results obtained data that there are political parties that are committed to increasing women's political participation through regeneration and applying a recruitment pattern that pays attention to fulfilling the 30% quota without ignoring the quality and opportunities of female candidates (Sudarto, Chairperson of the PDIP PDIP Kulon Progo Regency, interviewed November 4, 2019).

However, not all political parties are able to do this. Some problems were suspected because

of the weak regeneration of women candidates by political parties, the lack of commitment of political parties in the placement of electoral districts and the number of female candidates. Whereas in terms of the female candidates themselves, there was still a lack of motivation, social capital, political capital and economic capital. Not a few political parties that only abort the obligation to fulfill the 30% quota of candidates in the annexation as required in the law (Djuwardi, Daily Chair of the Kulon Progo Regency Golongan Karya Party, interviewed 5 November).

The findings of these data, have implications for the competitiveness of female candidates in legislative elections and affect the probability of female candidates to be elected. This is reinforced by the table below which shows the comparison of the total votes of women candidates and the total votes of women candidates elected.



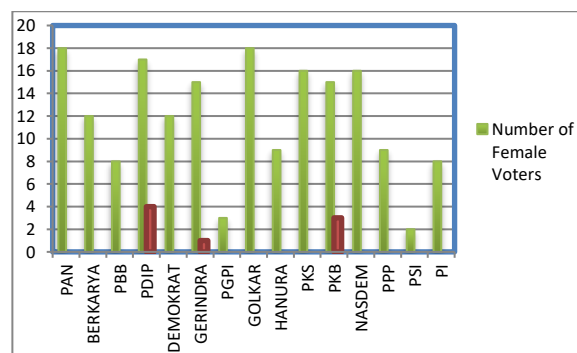
Source: Processed from the Kulon Progo KPU Website

Picture 2. Comparison of the Total Votes of All Female Candidates and the Total Votes of Women Elected Candidates

Based on the picture above it can be seen that the vote acquisition of female candidates varies greatly. If all the votes are added up then divided by the total number of candidates the result is 287 votes, the value of 287 is quite large when compared to the total percentage of elected women's seats which is 20%. This shows that

actually the community's trust is quite large towards female candidates, even the highest votes obtained by female candidates are Akhid Nuryati, an incumbent who has been elected for 3 consecutive periods and holds the position of Chairperson of the DPRD Kulon Progo for 2 consecutive periods.

The vote acquisition of the top 3 female candidates in the Kulon Progo Regency was occupied by the Indonesian Democratic Party of Struggle with 21033 votes, the National Awakening Party with 11572 votes, and the Prosperous Justice Party with 4483 votes.



Source: Processed from the Kulon Progo KPU Website

Picture 3. Comparison of Voters for Female Candidates and Selected Female Candidates

The figure above shows that each party was able to fulfill the 30% women's quota at the stage of candidacy, but only 8 female candidates were selected from a total of 178 DCT women. The eight elected candidates only came from 3 political parties, namely PDIP (4 people), PKB (3 people) and Gerindra (1 person). The eight elected female candidates consisted of 4 incumbents and 4 new candidates.

Based on the vote count that has been determined by the KPU of Kulon Progo Regency, the elected candidates from each electoral district (dapil) are as follows: Electoral District I (Wates, Temon and Panjatan) are Titik Wijayanti (PKB), Suprpto (Gerindra), Sendy Yulistya Prihandiny (Gerindra), Akhid Nuryati (PDIP), Aris Syarifuddin (PDIP), Edi Priyono (PDIP), Suharto (Golkar), Nasib Wardoyo (NasDem),



Muhtarom Asrori (PAN) and Hamam Cahyadi (PKS).

Electoral District II (Kokap and Pengasih) namely Nur Eni Rahayu (PKB), Tito Kurniawan (Gerindra), Ida Ristanti (PDIP), Pancar Topodriyo (PDIP), Septi Nur Anggraeni (PDIP), Widiyanto (Golkar), Jeni Widiyatmoko (PKS) and Ponimin (PAN).

Electoral District III (Girimulyo, Samigaluh, Kalibawang) namely Suharto (PKB), Sumardi (Gerindra), Keksi Wuryaningsih (PDIP), Palace (PDIP), Wisnu Prastya (Golkar), Maryono (PKS), Budi Utama Putro (PAN), and Sarkowi (PAN).

Electoral District IV (Nanggulan and Sentolo) namely Ratna Purwaningsih (PKB), Lajiyo Yok Mulyono (Gerindra), Yuliyantoro (PDIP), Dwi Nugraha Santoso (PDIP), Sasmita Hadi (Golkar), Agung Nugraha (PKS) and Upiyo Al Hasan (PAN).

Electoral District V (Low and Strained) namely Qois Reisa Fahmi (PKB), Tukijan (PDIP), Muji Harso (PDIP), Agus Supriyanto (Golkar), Suryanto (PKS), Priyo Santoso (PAN). There are 40 seats in total. Of the 15 political parties participating in the 2019 Election, only seven political parties have seats in the Kulon Progo DPRD.

There is interesting and raises optimism about the election of women in the legislative elections in Kulon Progo Regency in 2019. The number of elected female candidates has increased from 7 in the 2014 legislative elections (from a total of 40 seats) to 8 in the 2019 legislative elections (out of 40 seats total). Even though the percentage of women candidates elected in Kulon Progo Regency in the 2019 legislative elections has only reached 20%, an increase of 2.5% compared to the 2014 legislative elections can be a reference for us to examine the factors that influence their election.

This study also reinforces the need for attendance politics to articulate and aggregate

the interests and needs of the groups represented, in this case, women. As in her theory, Anne Philips mentioned (in Sulastri, 2012) that political presence (political presence) has encouraged the emergence of quota policies in several countries including Indonesia. In the case of Indonesia, the quota policy used is the party quota model, where the task of fulfilling the quota lies with political parties.

The political presence called Anne Phillips is related to: *First*, the symbolic significance of who is or is representative. Who is there or who is a representative has important meaning, especially for groups that were previously rejected or oppressed. *Secondly*, directly refer to the policy consequences that we can expect from changes in the composition of the elected board later. This is a political transformation. To achieve a more just and equitable representation of interests, it is important to obtain additional representative elements that arise from the presence of groups that were not previously included.

### **Factors Affecting Women's Electability in the 2019 Legislative Elections in Kulon Progo Regency**

#### **a. Family Support**

Family support is one of the main factors in a candidate's election. In line with the opinion of the Chairperson of the Kulon Progo Regency DPRD who is also an elected incumbent candidate, Akhid Nuryati said that there is always the blessing of family blessing behind his political career (Akhid Nurwati, interviewed 15 November 2019). In addition, new female candidates who were elected from the PDIP also said that the support of families, especially their husbands and children, fostered motivation to advance in the election (Ida Ristanti, interviewed 2 October 2019).

Once the magnitude of the influence of support from the family, especially the support of

a husband to his wife, is so important in determining the choice of women. This was reinforced by the results of an interview with one of the non-elected candidates from the Golkar Party who said that the single parent representation was one of the reasons for his non-election in the 2019 election in Kulon Progo Regency, with his status he said that too many things had to be handled and thought about for themselves (Retno Budi Utami, unelected candidat from Golongan Karya Party, interviewed 9 November 2019).

Unlike the case with female candidates who have husbands, they will clearly get the support of their special husbands in campaign financing and outreach (Mulyono, DPD Chairman Nasdem, interviewed 7 November 2019), related to his confirmation of the incumbent candidate from Nasdem Party, Siti Ismayatun, who according to him is no longer chosen due to family problems, meanwhile in the 2014 election he was chosen because of the enormous family support especially in campaign financing. This is reinforced by the vote acquisition data achieved by only 104 votes, whereas in 2014 he managed to get 2094 votes.

Family support, both nuclear family and extended family, is not only limited to moral support, but also extends in the form of material and network support owned by the family.

#### b. Social Skills

Social skills are one of the main factors in women's choice. This ability can be seen from the way of communicating, organizing activities, building networks, communicating the vision and mission of communicative through educative approaches. A woman in general will have more social interaction than a man, the ability to interact socially with the community then opens up opportunities to gain support and sympathy from the community (Akhid Nurwati, interviewed 15 November 2019).

According to Akhid, that the experience of organizing became one of the main assets he was elected as chairman of the Kulon Progo Regency DPRD for 2 consecutive periods. Before he entered politics he first entered the market environment by establishing a fishing community with his friends. Not only that, he was also active in voicing women's rights long before he became a political world, so when he decided to nominate himself as a legislator for the first time in 2009 his fellow friends always gave support which he believes he still continues to provide.

From various opinion sources related to social skills, it can be concluded that social skills are important factors that influence the choice of women candidates. Social skills should indeed have been formed long before a person decides to run for people's representatives.

#### c. Political Party Support

Political parties are the vehicle and the driver is the candidate itself, so to be able to arrive at its destination the driver himself must determine which way he should take. Each party always provides support to candidates without exception. However, it is important to realize that each candidate has different capital from one another, each candidate also has a different strategy to arrive at his main goal to win a seat. This is what then determines the selection of a candidate (Djuwardi, Daily Chair of Golkar Regional Representative Council Kulon Progo, interviewed 5 November 2019).

The political theory of presence with the party quota model practiced in Indonesia, places political parties as agents who play a role in fulfilling the quota of women's representation in politics. Therefore, the commitment and support of political parties to women candidates is crucial. Political parties make the policy of recruiting female cadres both as political party officials and candidates, determine the position of candidates in certain electoral districts, and determine the serial number of candidates in the election. There is evidence that women are

slightly disadvantaged in single-member districts relative to multi-member ones but only in some setting. (Welch & Studlar, 1990). The commitment and support of political parties to women candidates can be seen among others from these indicators. And also future positive action programs designed to complement the legal candidate quota need to be based on a more robust analysis of the obstacles to women's representation. (Hillman, 2017)

Table 2. Placement of Candidate Serial Number for Each Party

No Political Parties	Candidates	Number of Votes	Dapil	Serial No
1 PDIP	Akhid Nuryati,	5615	1	1
2 GERINDRA	Sendy Yulistya	2486	1	3
3 PKB	Titik Wijayanti,	1836	1	2
4 PDIP	Ida Ristanti,	4537	2	3
5 PDIP	Septi Nur Anggraeni,	2524	2	5
6 PKB	Nur Eni Rahayu	3079	2	2
7 PDIP	Keksi Wuryaningsih	3042	3	2
8 PKB	Ratna Purwaningsih,	3401	4	6

Source: processed from the Kulon Progo KPU Website

If analyzed from the table it can be seen that most of the selected female candidates are placed in potential electoral districts for the candidates concerned (electoral districts 1 and electoral districts 2) and the serial number positions are mostly in sequence numbers 1-3. This shows that the sequence number position is very influential. The smaller the number, the higher the chance of female candidates being elected, because the behavior of voters who tend to choose candidates with top or initial numbers

if they are not sure of the candidates to be chosen. The smaller serial number also shows that the party's support for candidates is stronger, but this is also influenced by the candidate's position in the party management.

Exceptions occurred in candidates Septi Nur Anggraeni from PDIP and Ratna Purwaningsih from PKB who were in sequence numbers 5 and 6, but were able to get seats. This is due to the strong social and economic capital support from the two candidates.

The influence of the candidate's position in the party management on the placement of serial numbers is strengthened by data found in the field, namely the incumbent female candidate elected from PDIP, Akhid Nuryati who currently serves as Treasurer of the PDIP Branch Leadership Council of Kulon Progo Regency, so it is only natural when she is placed in the number position sequence 1 in Electoral District 1 of the 2019 legislative elections in Kulon Progo Regency, given that the Chairperson of the PDIP DPC is competing at the Provincial level. Aside from that, Ida Ristanti, a new female candidate who was elected from PDIP, who won the second highest vote out of a total of 8 female candidates, was also placed in sequence number 3. party management.

#### d. Solidity of the Team

The election of a candidate is inseparable from the support of each candidate's success team. This is reinforced by the statement of women candidates elected from the PDIP party who said that his strategy in strengthening the success team led him to victory (Ida Ristanti, elected female candidate, interviewed 2 October 2019). in addition to similar statements also delivered by Akhid Nuryati, PDIP selected candidates who said that during the 3 periods of their choice, they were inseparable from the solidity of their success team, even some of them volunteered to join the volunteer winning team for him without any reward (Akhid Nurwati, interviewed 15 November 2019). From some of



the above opinions it can be concluded that the solidity of the successful team led the candidate to the seat of victory.

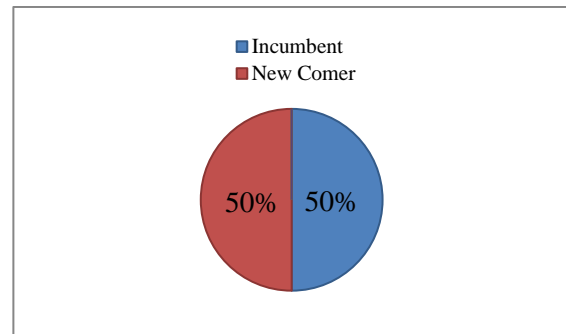
e. Competition with Incumbent

In the legislative elections in Kulon Progo in 2019 there were 23 elected incumbent candidates and 17 incumbent newcomer candidates elected. From these data it can be seen that the seat of the Kulon Proga Regency DPRD is still dominated by incumbents. This incumbent dominance correlates with leadership experience and the network that was built during the legislative membership in the previous period, which is a separate modality for incumbent candidates, both female candidates and male candidates. The incumbent candidate selection incumbent then becomes a barrier to electability for newcomer candidates, especially women candidates whose chances of being elected are far lower than male candidates (Djuwardi, Daily Chair of Golkar Regional Representative Council Kulon Progo, interviewed 5 November 2019).

Incumbent candidates in general have gained public trust, especially candidates who do have good intellectual abilities, and high social concern for the community certainly have a place in the hearts of the people, so of course it is not so difficult to get the support of votes from the community, opinions The same was also conveyed by the Chairman of the Nasdem Party DPD (Mulyono, interviewed 7 November 2019) who said that when the public already knew the performance of candidates who had previously been elected were felt to be good, then naturally they would give their support back when the candidate returned elected.

From the statement of the sources it can be concluded that it is only natural when newcomers in particular must struggle hard to compete with incumbent candidates, both incumbent candidates for women and men. New female candidates must compete with incumbent female candidates and incumbent male candidates who generally have more time base

than newcomer candidates. To compete with fellow female candidates alone, new female candidates have little chance of victory, especially if coupled with competition with male candidates (Retno Budi Utami, unelected candidate from Golkar Party, interviewed 9 November 2019).



Source: processed from the Kulon Progo KPU Website

Picture 4. Comparison of Incumbent and New Candidates

Based on the recapitulation data of the Kulon Progo Regency Election Commission, there were 8 female candidates elected in the 2019 legislative elections consisting of 4 PDIP candidates (50% of female candidate seats in the Kulon Progo DPRD), 3 PKB candidates (37% of female candidate seats in the DPRD Kulon Progo), and 1 Gerindra Party candidate (13% seats female candidates in the Kulon Progo DPRD). Besides the acquisition of seats obtained by 4 incumbents and 4 newcomers, which means competition between incumbent and newcomers can be said to be balanced. This percentage shows that although some of the informants' opinions in the interview said that incumbent was an inhibiting factor for the selection of new candidates but did not rule out opportunities for the selection of newcomers because of the motivation and optimization of capital from each candidate by using various strategies carried out with the team.

f. Political Education and Political Experience  
Each candidate has the provision of political education and political experience that is different from one another. This education provision will then play a role in supporting and

inhibiting the election of candidates in the election. For candidates who have political education and limited political experience, this certainly is a barrier.

On the other hand, for candidates who have extensive education and political experience, this will certainly support their electability. According to the Chairman of the DPD Nasdem Kulon Progo Regency, public trust is the main capital that must be owned by a representative of the people both female candidates and male candidates, because when the people drop their choice on a candidate it means that the people ensure that the candidate is able to realize his aspirations through quality policies and programs, especially for female candidates, should be able to deliver gender-friendly programs and policies that pay attention to women's rights. Candidates with political education and extensive political experience who usually better understand these matters (Mulyono, interviewed 7 November 2019).

#### g. Open Proportional Electoral System

An open proportional electoral system guarantees and ensures that the popular vote is the sole determinant of the choice of candidates in parliament, which means that a proportional electoral system causes each candidate to compete for the highest votes with a variety of strategies. It is different from the closed election system which gives the party the right to determine the elected candidates because the people only choose the party (Djuwardi, Daily Chair of Golkar Regional Representative Council Kulon Progo, interviewed 5 November 2019)

Besides being unfriendly to newcomers, the open proportional system also results in the rise of money politics. Moreover, among the poor who are not yet literate in politics, they will be more easily swayed by candidates who have good financial capital. According to Djuwardi an open proportional system can open up opportunities

for candidates who have more financial capital than intellectual capital whose financial quality is better than the quality of the candidate itself.

In the election there are various factors that should be considered in order to increase the political role and the number of women's representation in parliament. In legislative elections, at least there are election technical variables that can be divided into direct technical variables and non-direct technical variables. Direct technical: 1) determination of electoral districts, 2) nominating method; 3) voting method; 4) seat acquisition formula; 5) the formula for determining the selected candidates. Indirect technical variables are restrictions on political parties participating in the election (electoral threshold) and restrictions on political parties that enter the parliament (parliamentary threshold). In addition to these technical variables, the electoral system used also influences election results, namely the plurality-majority, proportional and semi-proportional systems (Norris, 2004)

While the results of research conducted by Richard Matland (in Kurniawan, 2014) show, supported by election data in various countries, it can be concluded that the proportional system that most increases the number of women in parliament. However, the use of a proportional system will not automatically result in the number of women in parliament because it still depends on the operation of the technical variables used.

#### h. Campaign Costs

Good intellectual ability, good social skills, responsiveness and care for the good community is also not enough if it is not supported by campaign funding and good socialization. In general, when a candidate decides to compete, he must incur significant campaign costs and be prepared for all the consequences. Some candidates are not hesitant to incur high campaign costs in order to gain the sympathy and

support of the community but other candidates feel hesitant to incur campaign costs because they are not prepared for defeat. Candidates selected in the 2019 legislative elections in Kulon Progo Regency spent a significant amount of money in their campaigns and socialization, nominal above 500 million rupiah, (Djuwardi, Daily Chair of Golkar Regional Representative Council Kulon Progo, interviewed 5 November 2019).

However, a different matter was conveyed by another source who said that a female candidate from the Nasdem Party won a seat at a relatively lower cost compared to its competitors (Mulyono, interviewed 7 November 2019).

Based on the data obtained, the actual economic capital, in this case is the cost of the campaign, is still needed by the candidate. It's just that there is a relativity of the amount of cost used. Economic capital is not the main determining factor if it is supported by social capital, cultural capital, and political capital that is managed in such a way.

i. Limited Time of the Campaign

Campaign time is a moment that must be utilized, preferably for special candidates, women candidates whose activities must be divided into various fields, taking care of the household and other work. This then became one of the obstacles to electing one of the non-elected candidates from the Golkar Party, Retno Budi Utami, who is also an employee through his statement: "I am an employee myself, if the morning of work during the socialization time is lacking, even though I have appointed a team to the socialization steps are still not maximal, other than that the location of the socialization is very far in remote villages where the roads go up and down plus the terrain is very heavy and dark (Retno Budi Utami, interviewed 9 November 2019).

According to Mulyono, Chairman of the Nasdem DPD, the limited time of the campaign

and socialization did indeed hamper the choice of female candidates but actually these obstacles could be minimized by the strength of each candidate's success team. According to him also the cohesiveness and ingenuity of the candidate and his success team in determining the campaign and outreach strategies by utilizing the available time can guarantee the election of a candidate. From his statement it can be concluded that time constraints become a significant obstacle if not supported by the solidarity of a good success team.

Based on data and analysis of factors that contribute to women's electability in the 2019 legislative elections in Kulon Progo Regency, they are: family support, social skills, political party support, and successful team solidity, competition with incumbents, political education and political experience, proportional electoral system open, campaign costs, campaign time limitations.

In the case of incumbent re-elected, the supporting factors are: family support, support of political parties, social skills, team solidity, education and political experience. Whereas in the case of newly elected newcomers, the supporting factors are: family support, support of political parties, social skills, solidity of successful teams, education and political experience, campaign costs. In the case of incumbent and non-elected newcomers, the limiting factors are: decreased or lack of family support, lack of support from political parties, lack of social skills, lack of solid team success, competition with incumbents, open proportional electoral systems, limited campaign costs, limited campaign time.

The increase in the acquisition of women's seats, especially the PDIP party, was due to the party's commitment to mobilize the potential available to women cadres that could be accepted by the community (Sudarto, Chairperson of PDI Perjuangan DPC Kulon Progo). The election of Akhid Nuryati from PDIP as Chairman of the

Kulon Progo Regency DPRD for two consecutive periods also contributed to increasing the motivation of women candidates from PDIP. In addition, it cannot be avoided from the influence of Joko Widodo's electability as president from PDIP and Kulon Progo Regent Hasto Wardoyo also from PDIP (Djuwardi, Daily Chair of Golkar Regional Representative Council Kulon Progo, interviewed 5 November 2019). The three parties that have elected female candidates, namely PDIP, PKB, and Gerindra are large parties that have a large and loyal mass base in Kulon Progo Regency.

#### **4. Conclusion**

Yet another paradoxical feature of Indonesia's political experience in 2019 was that the organisational fragmentation of the parties (Aspinall, 2019) Women's representation in the 2019 legislative elections in Kulon Progo Regency can be seen from 2 stages, namely the stage of candidacy and the stage of vote acquisition. At the candidacy stage there were 178 female candidates from 15 political parties participating in the election. All political parties meet the 30% quota for women at the stage of candidacy as stipulated in article 65 paragraph 1 of Law Number 10 Year 2008 Concerning the Election of Members of the People's Legislative Assembly, the Regional Representative Council, the Regional People's Representative Council.

In the voting stage, 8 female candidates were selected from 178 female candidates. The election of female candidates in the 2019 legislative elections reached 20% of the total 40 seats, an increase of 1 seat compared to the 2014 legislative elections (17.5%). The highest vote was occupied by the Indonesian Democratic Party of Struggle (4 seats), followed by the National Awakening Party (3 seats), the Prosperous Justice Party (1 seat). The eight elected women candidates consisted of 4 incumbents and 4 newcomers. This shows that the competition between incumbent candidates

and newcomer candidates is so competitive that they get a balanced seat.

This increase was generally influenced by factors: the increase in commitment of political parties, the image of political parties and the mass base of loyal parties, and the motivation of women. While in terms of female candidates there are supporting factors and inhibiting factors. Supporting factors for women's electability: family support, social skills, education and political experience, support from political parties, and the solidity of the success team. Inhibiting factors for women's choices: competition with incumbents, lack of education and political experience, an open proportional electoral system, limited funds, and limited campaign time.

Recommendation: looking at several factors inhibiting the election of female candidates, this study recommends women candidates and political parties to better prepare women to contest elections through various forms of programs and activities that can increase the capacity of political knowledge and experience. In addition, it is necessary to learn about political marketing strategies to build constituent trust, because political trust cannot be obtained in a short time during the election campaign period.

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