



Voters' Political Preferences for Female Legislative Member Candidates in Tulungagung Regency

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Abstract: The number of women's representation in seats in the Tulungagung Regency Regional People's Representative Council so far is still low, only 12% in the 2019 Election and 14% in the 2024 Election, while the percentage of female legislative candidates elected in the 2024 DPR RI Election reached 22.06%. Therefore, efforts need to be made to increase the number of women's representation in the Tulungagung DPRD by looking at the political preferences of voters in Tulungagung. This research aims to determine voters' political preferences for female legislative candidates in Tulungagung Regency and their relevance to election results. This research is mixed quantitative-qualitative research, with quantitative data analysis techniques followed by qualitative data analysis. Data collection through questionnaires and documentation. The results of the research found voters' political preferences for female legislative candidates in Tulungagung, considering that female legislative candidates are trusted to channel the aspirations of women and children, organizational abilities, reciprocity, high level of education, age maturity, similarity of political parties, and candidate popularity. There is a congruence in political preferences for the majority of female legislative candidates elected in Tulungagung in the 2019 and 2024 elections.

Keywords: *Political Preferences, Affirmative Action, and Female Legislative Candidates.*

Abstrak: Jumlah keterwakilan perempuan di kursi Dewan Perwakilan Rakyat Daerah Kabupaten Tulungagung sejauh ini masih rendah, hanya 12% pada Pemilu 2019 dan 14% saat Pemilu 2024, sedangkan persentase caleg perempuan terpilih Pemilu DPR RI 2024 mencapai 22,06%. Oleh karena itu, perlu diupayakan peningkatan jumlah keterwakilan perempuan di DPRD Tulungagung dengan melihat preferensi politik pemilih di Tulungagung. Penelitian ini bertujuan untuk mengetahui preferensi politik pemilih terhadap calon anggota legislatif perempuan di Kabupaten Tulungagung serta relevansinya pada hasil Pemilu. Penelitian ini merupakan penelitian campuran antara kuantitatif-kualitatif, dengan teknik analisis data kuantitatif yang dilanjutkan dengan analisis data kualitatif. Pengumpulan data melalui kuesioner dan dokumentasi. Hasil penelitian menemukan bahwa preferensi politik pemilih terhadap calon legislatif perempuan di Tulungagung adalah pertimbangan bahwa caleg perempuan dipercaya sebagai penyalur aspirasi perempuan dan anak, mampu berorganisasi, adanya resiprositas, tingkat pendidikan tinggi, kematangan usia, kesamaan parpol, dan popularitas calon. Terdapat kesesuaian preferensi politik terhadap mayoritas caleg perempuan terpilih di Tulungagung pada Pemilu 2019 maupun Pemilu 2024.

Kata Kunci: *Preferensi Politik, Affirmative Action, dan Caleg Perempuan.*

INTRODUCTION

Women's representation in politics is an effort to implement women's affirmation policies to be able to actively participate in sharing thoughts and aspirations in improving various problems related to women by including women. Apart from that, women have special needs that are understood very well only by women, such as issues of violence against women and children, as well as issues of sexual violence.¹ According to Kanter, if the number of

¹ Anak Agung Dita Intan Pertiwi, I Nyoman Putu Budiarta, and Diah Gayatri Sudibya, 'Implikasi Kebijakan Affirmative Action Dalam Penentuan Quota Wanita Sebagai Calon Anggota Calon Anggota Dewan Perwakilan Rakyat Dalam Perwujudan Kesetaraan Gender Di Indonesia', *Jurnal Kontruksi Hukum* 3. Issue 3 (2022), 493–498. <https://doi.org/10.55637/jkh.3.3.5313.493-498>.

women in an organization is less than 15%, there is a tendency to avoid handling gender issues. However, when women's representation exceeds 15%, there is a greater possibility for them to form alliances and prioritize gender issues in the work agenda.²

Legislative General Elections (Pemilu) require a minimum of 30% representation of women in the management of political parties and the nomination of legislative members.³ In the scope of affirmative action, gender quotas with a zipper system are electoral efforts for a more inclusive democracy. Referring to the target of at least 30% female representation in legislative institutions, the zipper system has not been effective in achieving it.⁴ The figure for female representation as members of the Regional Representative Council (DPRD) of Tulungagung Regency is currently still very low, and has never even reached 15% of the 50 seats, even though the number of legislative candidates (candidates) running has exceeded 30% to 41%.⁵

As a result of the 2019 elections, only 6 female legislative candidates were elected or 12% of the 50 seats in the Tulungagung DPRD, even though 214 female legislative candidates or 41.6% of the total number of contestants ran.⁶ As for the 2024 election, there are 215 female legislative candidates or 39%

² Rosabeth Kanter in Lim Halimatusa'diyah, "Semakin Banyak Perempuan di DPR, Tapi Riset Ungkap Kehadiran Mereka Tidak Signifikan" [https://theconversation.com/](https://theconversation.com/semakin-banyak-perempuan-di-dpr-tapi-riset-ungkap-kehadiran-mereka-mungkin-tidak-signifikan-125013) (October 21, 2019) <https://theconversation.com/semakin-banyak-perempuan-di-dpr-tapi-riset-ungkap-kehadiran-mereka-mungkin-tidak-signifikan-125013> (accessed 10 November 2023)

³ Article 173 paragraph (2) letter e and Article 245 Law Number 7 of 2017 concerning General Elections.

⁴ Mentari A. Ramadhanty, "Mengoptimalkan Zipper System Keterwakilan Perempuan" Rumah Pemilu, (March 8, 2021) <https://rumahpemilu.org/mengoptimalkan-zipper-system-keterwakilan-perempuan/> (accessed March 22, 2024).

⁵ Processed from a copy of the Komisi Pemilihan Umum Decree Number: 564/PL/01.8-Kpt/3504/KPU-Kab/VIII/2019 about the Determination of Elected Candidates for Members of the Tulungagung Regency DPRD for the 2019 Election.

⁶ *Ibid.*

who are contesting, but only 7 legislative candidates or 14% of the 50 seats being contested are elected. In contrast, the percentage of male legislative candidates who ran was 58.5% of the contestants or a total of 301 legislative candidates but were able to get 44 seats or control 88% of the Tulungagung DPRD seats in the 2019 Election. Furthermore, in the 2024 Election results, ⁷ male legislative candidates were able to get 43 seats (86% of seats) out of 337 candidates running (61% of contestants). Thus, the level of electability of female legislative candidates in Tulungagung is still much lower than male legislative candidates. The percentage of women's representation in the Tulungagung DPRD is also still below the percentage of female legislative candidates elected in the Republic of Indonesia's DPR, which has currently reached 22.1%.⁸ Of course, this is important to know what kind of female legislative candidate the people of Tulungagung expect. Therefore, it is interesting to examine in this research the political preferences of voters toward female legislative candidates in Tulungagung.

As far as searching the literature, there are several previous studies, including research by Baker et al.,⁹ regarding the relevance of a person's personality to political preferences; Hassell and Visalvanich sought to look at

⁷ Profile info for the List of Permanent Candidates for the Tulungagung Regency DPRD in https://infopemilu.kpu.go.id/Pemilu/Dct_dprd/profile, (accessed May 22, 2024).

⁸ Perludem, "Perludem: Capaian Keterwakilan Perempuan di DPR Periode 2024-2029 Tertinggi Sepanjang Sejarah", Tempo.co (March 29, 2024) https://nasional.tempo.co/read/1883951/fadel-muhammad-keputusan-mkd-dpr-beri-sanksi-ketua-mpr-cacat-prosedur?tracking_page_direct, (accessed May 1, 2024).

⁹ Bert N. Baker, Yphtach Lelkes, and Ariel Malka, "Reconsidering the Link Between Self-Reported Personality Traits and Political Preferences." *American Political Science Review* 115, Issue 4 (2021): 1482–1498. <https://doi.org/10.1017/S0003055421000605>

perceptions of electability based on candidate ideology, race, and gender;¹⁰ Putra researched the influence of campaign issues on millennial voters' preferences;¹¹ Melilea examines the factors that influence voters in regional head elections;¹² Pertiwi, et al examine the implications of affirmative action policies in determining quotas for women as candidates for members of the DPR,¹³ etc.

The study of the issue of women's affirmation is indeed interesting to study and there is a lot of research related to this issue. However, no research specifically examines voters' political preferences for female legislative candidates in Tulungagung. The differences can be seen in the different focuses and research objects. This research focuses on the political preferences of voters, especially the people of Tulungagung, towards the figure of a female legislative candidate who is the object of research. The political preferences of female legislative candidate voters in Tulungagung can be taken into consideration by female legislative candidates or political parties that will nominate female legislative candidates.

The grand theory of this research uses Robert Putnam's social capital theory, that social capital includes networks, norms and trust.¹⁴ This theory is

¹⁰ Hans J. G. Hassell and Neil Visalvanich, "Perceptions of Electability: Candidate (and Voter) Ideology, Race, and Gender." *Political Behavior*, Springer (2024): 1-24. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s11109-023-09909-3>

¹¹ Heru Permana Putra, "Pengaruh Isu Kampanye terhadap Preferensi Pemilih Milenial pada Pemilu Tahun 2019 di Sumatera Barat." *Jurnal Pemerintahan dan Politik* 8, Issue 2 (2023): 115-112. <https://doi.org/10.36982/jpg.v8i2.2979>.

¹² W. Meliala, "Faktor-Faktor yang Mempengaruhi Pemilih dalam Pemilihan Umum Kepala Daerah dan Penerapan Strategi Bertahan dan Menyerang untuk Memenangkan Persaingan." *Jurnal Citizen Education* 2, Issue 2 (2020): 12-24. <https://unimuda.e-journal.id/jurnalcitizen/article/view/617>.

¹³ Anak Agung Dita Intan Pertiwi, I Nyoman Putu Budiarta, and Diah Gayatri Sudibya, "Implikasi Kebijakan" 493-498.

¹⁴ Robert Putnam in Emanuel Bate Satria Dollu and Frans Bapa Tokan, "Modal Sosial: Studi tentang Kumpo Kampo sebagai Strategi Melestarikan Kohesivitas Pada Masyarakat Larantuka di Kabupaten Flores Timur", *Warta Governare*:

a reference for indicators that can influence political preferences as stated in questions/questionnaires. To sharpen the analysis, the discussion is supported by literature on gender theory, affirmative action, political communication, women's representation and previous research.

METHOD

This research collecting research data through questionnaires and documentation. The sampling technique used simple random sampling. Questionnaires were distributed in mid-2023 before the 2024 Election to 100 respondents consisting of 50 men and 50 women who were designated as permanent voters in Electoral District (Dapil) 1 Tulungagung Regency, which includes Kedungwaru District, Ngantru District, and Tulungagung District.¹⁵ The location for Electoral District 1 was chosen considering that the level of electability of female legislative candidates was the lowest among the other electoral districts, namely that 51 female legislative candidates were running, but only 1 was elected.¹⁶

The research variables use the Independent Variable (X): Female Legislative Candidates and the Dependent Variable (Y): Voters. For each variable, there are several indicators based on social capital theory which include networks (political parties), norms (education and age requirements), and trust (trust, popularity and personal relationships). For more details, see the following research instrument table:

Table 1
Research Instrument

Variable	Indicator	Question Number	Qty
	1. Political Parties	1,2,3,4,5	5

Jurnal Ilmu Pemerintahan 1, Issue 1 (2020): 59-72.
<https://journal.unwira.ac.id/index.php/WG/article/view/329>.

¹⁵ Electoral District 1 Tulungagung Regency in the 2019 Election.

¹⁶ Copy of Komisi Pemilihan Umum Decree Number: 564/PL/01.8-Kpt/3504/KPU-Kab/VIII/2019.

Female Legislative Candidate (X)	2. Education	6,7,8,9	4
	3. Age	10,11	2
Voters (Y)	1. Trust	12,13,14,15,16,17	6
	2. Popularity	18,19,20	3
	3. Personal Relationship	21,22,23,24,25	5
Total			25

Each indicator is made of closed questions about factors that influence people's political preferences. The measurement scale used is the Gutman Scale, namely the answer "Yes" weights 1 and "No" weights 0, to get a percentage figure.

RESULT AND DISCUSSION

Test Results of Respondents' Perceptions of Female Legislative Candidates in Tulungagung

There were 100 respondents in this study, consisting of 50 women and 50 men. The age range of respondents is 17-61 years, with age details 17-25 (22 people), 26-34 (22 people), 35-43 (15 people), 44-52 (30 people), and 53-61 (11 people). Based on occupation, respondents included civil servants (13 people), students (13 people), farmers/breeders (9 people), self-employed (34 people), unemployed (22 people), and others (9 people).¹⁷ The research instrument is in the form of a closed questionnaire which shows the results of data validity testing for all variables X and variable Y showing the calculated $r\text{-value} > r\text{ table}$ (0.1966). The reliability test uses Cronbach's Alpha coefficient > 0.600 , the reliability test results for variable X ($0.686 > 0.600$) while variable Y ($0.727 > 0.600$).¹⁸ Based on the answers to the questionnaire, it is known that several political preferences are the highest among several indicators in the instrument. For more details see the following image:

¹⁷ Questionnaire Results, 2023.

¹⁸ SPSS calculation data processing results, 2023.

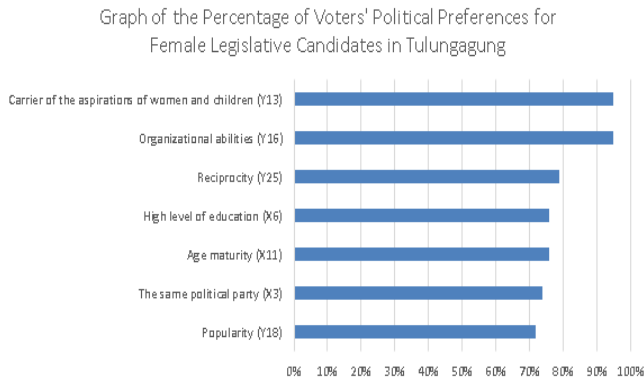


Figure 1
Graph of the Percentage of Voters' Political Preferences for Female Legislative Candidates in Tulungagung

Voters' Political Preferences for Female Legislative Candidates in Tulungagung Regency

Gender issues are no longer an obstacle to a person's leadership, whether men or women have the ability and quality and can convince the public's trust, legislative candidates will be elected. Gender is simply a difference in the social functions and roles of men and women which are formed by the environment in which a person finds himself. The character itself is an interchangeable nature, many men are competent in terms of leading, but some are unable to do that because they have more gentle souls, and vice versa with women.¹⁹

In election contestation, political parties must be selective in determining the formal selection criteria for the legislative candidates they will nominate. The accuracy and thoroughness of the supporting political party in determining legislative candidates affect electability. This under-researched aspect of candidate selection shapes the representation of underrepresented

¹⁹ Robert Stoller dalam Mansour Fakhri, *Analisis Gender dan Transformasi Sosial*, (Yogyakarta: Pustaka Pelajar, 2005), 8.

groups in parliament.²⁰ On the other hand, women's representation can also be used as a "cover" to appease female voters or appear progressive in the eyes of the international community.²¹ Therefore, political parties must pay attention to the quality and capabilities of female legislative candidates on voter preferences, not just fulfilling quotas.

Voter preferences reflect the figure of female legislative candidates that voters expect. Political preferences can influence a person's personality traits, or vice versa.²² This research attempts to describe voters' political preferences for female legislative candidates in Tulungagung based on the indicators in the research instrument.

Trust

This trust indicator revolves around questions about voters' trust in female legislative candidates on issues in society. Whether voters believe in female legislative candidates as channeling the aspirations/issues of women and children (95%), channeling the aspirations/issues of the general public (68%), not committing corruption (54%), and capable of organizing (95%). Female legislators are believed to be able to bring the issue of women and children forward in line with research by Clayton, et al. Survey evidence from various contexts shows significant gender differences in political preferences, with women tending to show stronger support for social policies related to child care, family and rights. women compared to men. Female representatives

²⁰ Elin Bjarnegård and Pär Zetterber. "Political parties, formal selection criteria, and gendered parliamentary representation." *Party Politics* 25, Issue 3, (2019): 325-335. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1354068817715552>

²¹ Melody E. Valadini, *The inclusion calculation: Why men appropriate women's representation*. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2019) dalam Valeriya Mechkova, Sirianne Dahlum, and Constanza Sanhueza Petrarca. "Women's Political Representation, Good Governance And Human Development." *Governance* 37, Issue 1, (2022): 19-38. <https://doi.org/10.1111/gove.12742>

²² Bert N. Baker, Yphtach Lelkes, and Ariel Malka, "Reconsidering the Link ..." 1482-1498.

and female citizens were significantly more likely to prioritize poverty alleviation, health services, and women's rights, while male representatives and male citizens were more likely to prioritize infrastructure projects.²³

Leadership abilities in community organizations (mass organizations) also have an influence. Voters tend to choose female legislative candidates who are active and capable of organizing in society, with an assessment of 95%. Female legislative candidates who have a mass base of supporters in an organization attract the attention of political parties to become their political party's legislative candidates. Ahead of the contestation, political parties mobilized their political wing organizations and approached large mass organizations. Apart from that, we also approach community leaders or ulama who have a large mass/follower base. Political communication like this has become a tradition carried out by political parties to increase the political party's vote share and gain support from mass organizations or figures.

Social capital in organizations, such as management in organizations, has a big influence on elections. Armed with this capital, legislative candidates can interact directly with the community, especially if the organization they join is an organization that has direct contact with the community, such as the PKK. By becoming an organization administrator, legislative candidates become better known. The legislative candidate's activities in the organization will increase his popularity in society. Voters will prefer legislative candidates who have a history of being on organizational boards because they are considered more competent and have added value.²⁴

²³ Amanda Clayton, et.al. "In Whose Interest? Gender and Mass–Elite Priority Congruence in Sub-Saharan Africa." *Comparative Political Studies* 52, Issue 1 (2019): 69–101. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0010414018758767>

²⁴ Dessy Ramadhani dan Dian Eka Rahmawati, "Modal Caleg Perempuan dan Politik Patriarkhi dalam Pemilihan Umum di Indonesia: Keterwakilan Perempuan pada Pemilu 2019 di Kabupaten Sleman." *Jurnal Ilmu Sosial dan Ilmu Politik (JISPO)* 10, Issue 1 (2020): 39–62. doi: 10.15575/jispo.v10i1.7237.

Personal Relationship

The personal relationship indicator asks about the tendency to choose female legislative candidates who have kinship/sibling relationships (57%), friendship (61%), ethnicity (60%), religion (65%), and reciprocity (79%). Voters tend to choose female legislative candidates who have a mutually beneficial relationship/cooperation. It is natural that if someone has contributed or helped each other, it will influence voters' political preferences. Moments before the election or campaign period, legislative candidates meet to introduce themselves and establish new collaborations or provide assistance to the community to gain political support during the election.

This is in line with Robert Putnam's opinion defining social capital as bridging communities in cooperation and reducing social divisions.²⁵ Social capital refers to our relationships with one another. Social capital theory relies that in general the more we relate to other people, the more we trust them and vice versa. Social trust and civic engagement are strongly correlated.²⁶ One effort to win the election is by maintaining communication with the community, such as regular recitations, social service, joint sports, and so on. Female legislative candidates who are active in organizations can be used to build a network of friends.²⁷

²⁵ Robert Putnam dalam Emanuel Bate Satria Dollu dan Frans Bapa Tokan, "Modal Sosial...", 59-72.

²⁶ *Ibid.*

²⁷ Bias Fajar Lagabuana, Sukri, dan Haryanto. "Bertahan dan Menang: Strategi dan Modal Politik Sri Rahmi dalam Pemilihan Legislatif 2004-2019 di Sulawesi Selatan." *Jurnal Transformative* 7, Issue 2 (2021): 157-173. <https://doi.org/10.21776/ub.transformative.2021.007.02.1>

Level of Education

The normative requirement for a legislative candidate's education is a minimum of Senior High School.²⁸ Voters tend to choose female legislative candidates with higher education (bachelor's degree) at 76%. However, on the question of whether higher education influences your choice, the score was 54%. This is in line with Pierre Bourdieu's view, that social capital is an aggregate of actual or potential resources tied together to create a durable network to institutionalize mutually beneficial friendship relationships.²⁹ Higher education can provide public confidence regarding how credible people who have graduated at that level are, whether they can be considered worthy of being role models, community figures or even political figures.³⁰

Age

The age requirement for legislative candidates must be 21 years or more as of the determination of the Permanent Candidate List.³¹ Regarding the age indicator, when asked, Tulungagung voters tend to choose female legislative candidates aged 40 years or above (76%) compared to those aged under. Voters place more trust in female legislative candidates who are more mature in age and are considered more experienced in leading and more flexible in interacting with the community and government affairs. In the interpretation of Surah Al-Ahqaf verse 15, at the age of 40, his mind is mature, and his

²⁸ Article 240 paragraph 1 letter e Law No. 7 of 2017 concerning General Elections.

²⁹ Syafruddin, Suprianto, dan Binar Dwiyanto Pamungkas. *Modal Sosial dan Kesejahteraan Petani Perdesaan*, (Malang: CV Literasi Nusantara Abadi, 2020), 1.

³⁰ Muhammad Raihan, Andi Yakub, and Gustiana A Kambo, 'Gelar Akademik Dan Citra Politik (Studi Kasus: Strategi Kemenangan Nurdin Abdullah Dalam Pemilihan Gubernur Sulawesi Selatan Tahun 2018)', *Journal Publicuho* 6, Issue 1 (2023): 202–207. <https://doi.org/10.35817/publicuho.v6i1.104>

³¹ Article 11 paragraph (1) letter a, KPU Regulation Number 10 of 2023 concerning the Nomination of Members of the People's Representative Council, Provincial Regional People's Representative Council and Regency/City Regional People's Representative Council.

understanding and patience are perfect.³² A person who has perfect strength, logic and insight is at least 33 or 30 years old, and at 40 years old that is the perfect age at the peak of maturity.³³ Thus, it can be concluded that someone who is considered to have perfect maturity of thought is 40 years old in the Islamic view.

Political Parties

Prospective candidates for Regency DPRD members must be members of the Election Contesting Political Party.³⁴ The political party indicators in this study ask about voters' tendencies towards female legislative candidates based on their political party, whether they are from the same political party (70%), the same political party and the right candidate (74%), a different political party (57%), the most popular political party. large (52%), or political parties with minimal corruption (69%). Voters tend to choose legislative candidates from the same political party of their choice, however, the accuracy of the legislative candidates supported by the party is also a consideration for voters. Quoting the opinion of Hassell and Visalvanich in their research, there is a relationship between the ideology of a legislative candidate's political party and electability. Voters tend to choose legislative candidates who share the same ideology as their political party.³⁵

³² Ibnu Kaşır, *Lubābūt Tafsīr min Ibni Kaşır*, edition 1, Taḥqīq: Abdullah bin Muhammad, Translator: Abdul Ghofur dan Abu Iḥsan, (Surabaya: Pustaka Imam Syaf'i, 2004), 364.

³³ Jalāluddīn Al-Maḥallī and Jalāluddīn As-Suyūṭī, *Tafsīrul Jalālain*, (Riyadh: Madārul Waṭan lin-Nasyr, 2015), 504.

³⁴ Article 240 paragraph (1) letter n Law No. 7 of 2017 concerning General Elections.

³⁵ Hans J. G. Hassell and Neil Visalvanich, "Perceptions of Electability: Candidate ...": 1-24.

Popularity

Popularity indicators question voters' tendencies towards female legislative candidates because of popularity based on appearance/beauty (47%), track record profile (72%), social media (30%), or political campaigns (54%). The highest percentage of voters tend to choose the popularity of a female candidate's track record rather than a political campaign, only 55%. This is an advantage for female legislative candidates who have high popularity and have a good track record in the eyes of the public, including incumbents. On the other hand, legislative candidates whose popularity is high but have a bad track record will reduce public trust in legislative candidates. One indicator is the decline in voters' electability due to decreased trust in politicians and political parties due to the resulting negative behavior.³⁶

Good political communication must be able to bring up political issues that can shape a person's political preferences. Depends on active information behavior and the provision of high-quality information.³⁷ Not all voters behave actively in seeking information about legislative candidates. This is where the importance of female legislative candidates' campaigns must be able to provide positive and quality information to voters so that they can ensure public trust and increase the popularity of female legislative candidates.

The Relevance of Political Preferences to the Results of the 2019 Election and 2024 Election

In the last three election periods, the number of women's representation in the Tulungagung DPRD has increased. Data on female legislative members from the Tulungagung DPRD in 2014 totaled 5 seats, the 2019 election

³⁶ Simon Tormey, *The End of Representative Politics* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 2015), 1–156.

³⁷ Konstantin Vössing and Till Weber. "Information Behavior and Political Preferences." *British Journal of Political Science* 49, Issue 2, (2019): 533-556. <https://doi.org/10.1017/S0007123416000600>

received 6 seats, and the 2024 election will receive 7 seats.³⁸ However, compared to the number of female and male seats, there are still far more male seats. The percentage of women's seats in the Tulungagung DPRD in 2014 was only 10%, in 2019 it was 12% and will increase in 2024 to reach 14%.

Increasing the number of women's representation in the Tulungagung DPRD is a positive thing. In research, Baskaran, et al., found consistent evidence that female legislators are more effective and less prone to political opportunism. Higher growth in economic activity in constituencies that elect women.³⁹ But in the context of countries with high levels of corruption, increasing women's political participation may hurt development outcomes that would otherwise be the same as increasing women's empowerment.⁴⁰

Data on women's representation in the Tulungagung DPRD is only taken from official data sources from the General Election Commission (KPU) as the election organizing institution and the official website of the Tulungagung DPRD, to ensure the validity of the research data.

Table 2
Female Legislative Member Elected in the Tulungagung DPRD
Election on April 17, 2019

Name	Age	Edu- cation	Political Parties	Vote
Binti Luklukah, SM.	40	Bachelor	PDIP	7.527
Nila Kusuma Wardhani, SE.,S.Pd.	41	Bachelor	Nasdem	4.954

³⁸ The data on elected female legislative candidates is temporary data on seat acquisition and the names of elected legislative candidates because this data is still in the process of disputing the election results at the Constitutional Court.

³⁹ Thushyanthan Baskaran, et.al. "Women Legislators And Economic Performance." *Journal of Economic Growth* 29, (2024):151–214.
<https://doi.org/10.1007/s10887-023-09236-6>

⁴⁰ Nistotskaya, Marina, and Helena Stensöta. "Is women's political representation beneficial to women's interests in autocracies? Theory and evidence from post-soviet Russia." *Gender and corruption: Historical roots and new avenues for research*. (Cham: Springer International Publishing, 2018): 145-167.
https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-319-70929-1_8

Muti'in, SE.,MSi.	40	Master	Hanura	6.208
Endriyani	45	-	PPP	4.308
Hj. Susilowati, SE.	44	Bachelor	PDIP	9.505
Riska Wahyu Nurfitasari, S.Pd.	28	Bachelor	PBB	926
(PAW)				

Source: Processed from a copy of KPU Decree Number: 564/PL/01.8-Kpt/3504/KPU-Kab/VIII/2019 about the Determination of Elected Candidates for Members of the Tulungagung Regency DPRD for the 2019 Election.

Table 3
Female Legislative Candidate Elected in Tulungagung DPRD
Election on February 14, 2024

No	Name	Age	Edu- cation	Political Parties	Vote
1	Eka Yeni Retnosari	-	-	Gerindra	3.740
2	dr. Meidyan Ricca Alvinca	-	Bachelor	Gerindra	5.703
3	Nila Kusuma Wardhani, SE., SPd.	46	Bachelor	Nasdem	5.895
4	Muti'in, SE., MSi.	45	Master	Hanura	6.883
5	Binti Luklukah, S.M.	45	Bachelor	PDIP	10.524
6	Feny Rofaidah	47	-	PAN	6.424
7	Ardhya Pramesti Regista Cahyani	21	-	PPP	4.833

Source: https://infopemilu.kpu.go.id/Pemilu/Dct_dprd/profile, May 1, 2024

The data information obtained is limited to name, date of birth, age when elected, education, political party and vote acquisition. The relevance of the political preferences of Tulungagung voters to data on elected female legislative candidates can be studied using indicators of education, age, political party and popularity.

The educational level of the Tulungagung DPRD female legislative candidates who were elected was in line with voter preferences. The majority of elected female legislative candidates have bachelor's degrees compared to female legislative candidates who only have high school graduates. In the 2019 Tulungagung DPRD election, only 1 legislative candidate did not have a

bachelor's degree among the 6 female legislative candidates who were elected. In the 2024 election, the majority of female legislative candidates elected were also graduates compared to those who did not have a bachelor's degree.⁴¹ This level of education can become social capital for legislative candidates in interacting with constituents, such as being a resource person, participating in social events, organizations, and so on.

In terms of age indicators, the majority of elected legislative candidates are 40 years old or older. This data is on the results of the preferences of Tulungagung voters who tend to choose legislative candidates aged 40 years or older. The number of votes obtained by young female legislative candidates is relatively low compared to mature female legislative candidates. Stockemer and Sundstrom's research found the current state of age representation in more than 120 parliaments and found that young people aged 35 years and under made up less than 10 percent of the number of parliamentarians at the start of the parliament and around 20 percent of parliamentarians aged 40 years and under,⁴² the rest of the members of parliament are over 40 years old.

Popularity indicators can be seen from data on incumbents who are running. All female legislative members of the Tulungagung DPRD for the 2019-2024 period are running again as female legislative candidates in the 2024 elections. The results of the 2024 Tulungagung DPRD Election show that only 3 (three) incumbent female legislative candidates were successfully re-

⁴¹ Profile data for the 2024 Tulungagung DPRD Election, the legislative candidates nominated by the Gerindra party in Tulungagung cannot be known because the candidate profiles are not willing to be published. It is important to publish this profile for voters to know because there is information on the legal status of legislative candidates if the candidate concerned is a former convict as stipulated in Article 11 letter g of KPU Regulation Number 10 of 2023 about Nominations for Members of the DPR, Provincial DPRD and Regency/City DPRD.

⁴² Daniel Stockemer and Aksel Sundstrom, *Youth Without Representation: The Absence of Young Adults in Parliament*, (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2022), 5. <https://doi.org/10.3998/mpub.11459940>

elected in the following period, namely Nila Kusuma Wardhani, Muti'in, and Bint Luklukah. All three experienced an increase in the number of votes obtained from the previous election. Meanwhile, Endriyani and Riska Wahyu Nurfitasari failed to get seats in the Tulungagung DPRD, while Susilowati, S.E. has not been able to obtain a seat in the East Java Provincial DPRD in the 2024 election.

Incumbent legislative candidates benefit from the social capital of popularity because they are already known as members of the DPRD during that period. However, back to his work and track record while carrying out his mandate as a member of the regional council. Even though you have the advantage of popularity as an official, you must also be able to display a good track record in society. On the other hand, this does not mean that incumbent legislative candidates who fail have a bad track record, the political communication of legislative candidates also affects electability. The political campaigns of legislative candidates that voters consider are not just promises made during the campaign, but real actions of legislative candidates that can frame the personal relationship between legislative candidates and voters.

CONCLUSION

Political preferences in Tulungagung are influenced by several voter considerations that female legislative candidates must effectively communicate, including trust as representatives of women's and children's issues, organizational ability, reciprocity, high education levels, age maturity (40 years or above), party alignment, and popularity. This research found that these factors align with the profiles of elected female candidates in the Tulungagung Regency DPRD elections of 2019 and 2024, though there was one exception. These preferences provide insight into the qualities expected

by Tulungagung voters and should guide political parties in selecting female candidates to enhance their electability and representation in the DPRD.

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