

Representation of Women Legislative Candidates through Internal Community Development in the 2019-2024 Legislative Elections at the Electoral District of Bengkulu Province

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Abstract

The representation of women in the political arena is pivotal, especially in the legislative institutions. However, the role of female legislative candidates in social capital and community development has rarely been investigated. This research aims to scrutinize the representation of women legislative candidates via political community development programs in the 2019-2024 legislative elections at the electoral district of Bengkulu Province. Using descriptive qualitative methodology, the data in this study were obtained using purposive snowball surveys via Google Forms and the Lime Survey platform involving 567 respondents. Survey sampling was conducted using the purposive sampling method. In addition, in-depth interviews and focus group discussions were done with selected participants via Zoom/Google Meet. The data were then analyzed using the Neuman's (2011) scheme through several stages including examining, sorting, categorizing, evaluating, comparing, synthesizing, and contemplating. The findings of the study reveal the profile of female legislative candidates in the Bengkulu electoral district and their community development programs. Apart from that, the considerations of beginner voters in choosing women legislative candidates are also explained. This study can enrich the body of knowledge about gender equality and the role of women in the context of legislative institutions.

Keywords: *Women Legislative Candidates, Gender Equality, Legislative Election, Social Capital, Community Development.*

1. Introduction

Female legislative candidates often increase the representation of women in the political field in various ways. However, it appears that they have not utilized social capital. Based on the United Nations Development Program (UNDP) data in 2018, case studies in various countries have shown several examples of the increase in women's representation. Armenia formed a women's leadership forum (civil society organization) to mobilize women and urged the government to provide a mandatory minimum quota for women in parliament. Furthermore, as developed countries, Australia, Canada, and the United States encourage female candidates through fundraising networks, diversify candidate

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recruitment and subsidize campaign funds, and provide training and capacity strengthening for female candidates.

The representation of women in politics in Indonesia began in 2004. The 2004-2009 Legislative Election confirmed the existence of a 30% representation of women who political parties could nominate. Until now, women have had the opportunity to be directly involved in the political process through the provisions on women's representation. Changes in election rules significantly impacted women's representation in parliament. In the 1999-2004 legislative election, the number of women represented was only 9%. In the 2004-2009 legislative election, it rose to 11.8% or 61 people. In the 2009-2014 legislative election, it increased to 18% or 101 people. The legislative election for the 2014 -2019 period was 14.3% or 97 people, and the legislative election for the 2019-2024 period increased by 20.5% or 118 people. This figure shows that the minimum quota for women's representation in parliament has not been met, even though the figure continues to increase (Rozi and Azis, 2020).

From the data, 118 (20.5%) out of the 575 members of the People's Representative Council of the Republic of Indonesia (DPR RI) elected in the legislative elections for the 2019-2024 period were women, representing their voters to work in Senayan, Jakarta (KPU Decision No 1318/PL.01.9-Kpt/06/KPU/VIII/2019 concerning the determination of elected candidates for members of the People's Representative Council in the 2019 General Election). This 20.5% representation tends to be the top of the positive achievements that Indonesia has achieved in the reform era. Although the increase in women's representation in politics is not significant to the targeted 30% figure, the increase in the percentage of Indonesian women's representation in the DPR RI certainly needs to be appreciated. This achievement cannot be separated from the minimum nomination rule of 30% female legislative candidates in each electoral district and the zipper rule, including at least one female candidate for every three candidates. These regulations are contained in Law Number 7 of 2017 concerning Elections.

Achievements of women in politics in Indonesia in 2019-2024 tend to be positive. It is the first time that women's representation in the DPR has reached 20.5%. This achievement is necessary to be studied more deeply. The aim is to explore the causes and reasons why voters in the electoral district choose female candidates. It is possible that choices are given for reasons of rational-modern-critical-calculative voters, or there are other reasons characterized by emotional-traditional-opportunistic voters.

In the case of the Bengkulu electoral district, for legislative elections DPR RI for 2019-2024, the number of female legislative candidates elected has increased to two from the four allocated seats (for the 2004-2009 period, there were no female legislative candidates elected). The position is balanced between female and male legislative members. The female representatives are DC from the National Mandate Party (PAN) and DAS from the Democratic Party (PD). The remaining two are male legislative candidates, namely RKA from the Golongan Karya Party (Golkar) and MSBS from the Prosperous Justice Party (PKS) (Decree of the General Election Commission of the Republic of Indonesia (KPU RI), Member of the DPR RI Elected as a result of the 2009 Bengkulu Election Electoral District). Looking at the Legislative Election Results of DPR RI for the 2014-2019 period, from the four allocated seats for the Bengkulu electoral district, there was an increase in one female vote elected, bringing it to 3 women and one man. The elected female representatives are EH from the Indonesian Democratic Party of Struggle (PDI-Perjuangan), SMB from the Gerindra Party (PG), DC (PAN) who are also the incumbents of the 2009 elections, and a male representative PRC from the National Democratic Party (Nasdem).

The results of the DPR RI legislative elections in the Bengkulu Province electoral district for the period 2019-2024 put the number of elected women legislators at 3 out of 4 elected seats, namely, SMB (PG), EH (PDI-Perjuangan), and DC (PAN). In the three

periods from 2009 to 2014, 2014 to 2019, and 2019 to 2024, the representation of women in the Bengkulu electoral district in the DPR RI exceeded the minimum quota of 30%. The process of building a political community is one of the factors for female legislative candidates in winning the DPR RI legislative elections. This is an issue studied further in this research. Voters in Bengkulu Province tend to be considered more dominated by traditional voters. This type of voter has a very high ideological orientation and does not see the policies of a political party or contestant as important in decision-making. Traditional voters are the type of voters who can be mobilized during the campaign period (Rohrschenaider, 2002).

In the era before Indonesian independence, the focus of community development by women figures RA Kartini, Raden Dewi Sartika, and HR Rasuna Said tended to be directed at the movement to foster enthusiasm for obtaining basic education such as literacy, critical thinking, family care skills, independence and other soft skills such as the courage to make speeches and convey views in the public arena, and also the spirit of nationalism and patriotism in the field of education and community-based organizations. The role of women and community development movements is very interesting to explore. Community development can be a solution to economic problems, social problems, education, and even politics. It can be seen as a glue between society and the targets of politics itself, especially carried out by female legislative candidates in the DPR RI legislative elections.

Studies investigating women's representation through political community building have recently been limited, specifically those scrutinizing the legislative general election 2019-2024 in the Bengkulu electoral district. The Bengkulu electoral district is divided into several electoral zones, namely Bengkulu City, South Bengkulu, Central Bengkulu, North Bengkulu, Seluma, Rejang Lebong, Lebong, Kepahiang, Kaur and Muko-Muko. Based on the profile of Bengkulu province, which has 1,300 sub-districts/villages, politically becoming a legislative candidate with four available seats is very difficult.

There are huge challenges to being legislative candidates in the electoral district of Bengkulu Province, especially female legislative candidates. Bengkulu Province proves that women can compete and win battles in tough political processes. The relationship between women's electability and its relationship with first-time voters in Bengkulu is necessary to be investigated, especially the percentage of female first-time voters who believe in and support female legislative candidates who will sit to represent their electoral district in the central parliament. Based on the description, this research aims to examine women's representation through political community development in the 2019-2024 legislative elections in the Electoral District of Bengkulu Province. Hopefully, the study will be theoretically and academically useful, especially in political sociology and community development.

2. Literature Review

2.1 Women's Representation in the Legislature

Izdiha (2017) examines women and politics, a concept that brings together a group of women and the nation's interests in fulfilling its people's interests. There have been many reforms in all fields. The position of women is no longer just that of the weak. However, many women participate in life activities such as fighting for women's rights to obtain education, the same job opportunities as men, and women's political representation. Primariantari et al. (1998) added that women have the same abilities and power as men and are not only the most significant voters but are directly involved in political parties as party administrators, decision-makers, and legislative candidate members.

One form of women's struggle in fighting for the same political rights as men was manifested in the World Women's Conference at the Beijing Action Program in 1995,

focusing on the program "Women in Power and Decision Making." This is supported by UNDP (2003), which wrote several essential recommendations from the Women in Power and Decision Making program as follows: 1) Create a clear agenda to end all legal discriminatory behavior against women, as well as build a framework work to advance legal equality; 2) Initiate special steps aimed at achieving a position of 30% in decision-making positions at the national level and 50% in the long term; 3) Mobilize national and international efforts to facilitate greater access - for women in particular - to opportunities in politics and the economy.

It is the basis for determining women's representation in policy-making institutions in world politics. Setting the 30% figure aims to ensure equal access for women's active participation in power structures and decision-making and increase women's capacity to participate in decision-making and leadership. This recommendation then had an impact on Indonesia. Phillips (1995) stated that the 2004 general election was the first time that attention was paid to female politicians' presence, manifested in article 65 of the 2004 Election Law, which stated that political parties 'may' invite women to join their factions. Even though the 30% quota for women has not yet been fulfilled, the spirit of various affirmative actions in the form of national policy products above does not stop at the quantity aspect but at the meaning of substantive representation.

In the context of politics and government, Indonesian women tend to have low representation. For example, from 1999 to the 2014 elections in the Parliament Center, women's representation only ranged from 15 to 18 percent. On average, the percentage is lower in regional parliaments than in the central parliament. Rozi and Azis (2020) note that there is a mandatory 30 percent quota for women in nominations during elections by political parties by including the names of female legislative candidates on the DCS (Provisional Candidate List) and DCT (Permanent Candidate List) sheets as a requirement for each party to be allowed to participate. However, it turns out this is not strong enough to increase women's representation in the Indonesian parliament. The candidacy quota and the level of representation have not run parallel. There is a description of the data regarding the percentage of women's representation compared without affirmative action and with affirmative action, plus the zipper system explained in Table 2.1. below:

Table 2.1. Percentage Increase in Women's Representation in the DPR RI

Gender	1999-2004	2004-2009	2009-2023
Woman	9.0 %	11.8 %	18 %
Man	91.1 %	88.2 %	82 %
	Without affirmative action	With affirmative action, the nomination quota is 30% women	With affirmative action, a nomination quota of 30% women, and a zipper system, 1 in 3 candidates

Source: Rozi and Azis, Deputy for Gender and Politics, KPPPA RI, 2020.

Furthermore, Wardani (2016) asked: what have been the achievements of women's political representation since the implementation of the affirmative policy in the 2004 elections? Where has women's political representation reached? Where is women's political representation headed in the future? The answer: women's electability in the Indonesian Parliament, DPR RI, and DPRD has increased in 3 elections and tends to stagnate in the general election 1999 – 2014: from 9%, rose to 12%, rose to 18%, remained 18%.

The 2004 general election was the first time attention was paid to female politicians in Indonesia. This is manifested in Article 65 of the 2004 Election Law, which states that political parties 'may' invite women to join their factions. There is a mandatory 30 percent quota for women in nominations during elections by political parties by including the names of female legislative candidates on the DCS (Provisional Candidate List) and DCT (Permanent Candidate List) sheets as a requirement for each party to be allowed to take part in the election.

The women's electability in the Indonesian Parliament, DPR RI, and DPRD has increased in the last three elections and remained stagnant in the previous election (1999 to 2014). There is a trend that the majority (42%) of regions are still in the category of low female representation (0-19%). The tendency for women to be interested in entering politics strengthens their capacity regarding electoral politics. The tendency in open proportional and multiparty systems is that parties see women's candidacy in terms of their potential to win. The politics of women's representation is faced with an uncondusive environment because the political system is full of oligarchic practices and gender inequality.

According to Wardani (2011), women's participation in the formal political stage in Indonesia is influenced by the presence of affirmative policies contained in the law regarding general elections. Paragraph 1 article 65 Law no. 12 of 2003 is the entry point for women to be nominated and compete for legislative member positions. Article 65, paragraph 1 of Law No. 12/2003 reads: "Each political party participating in the election can nominate candidates for members of the DPR, Provincial DPRD and Regency/City DPRD for each electoral district, taking into account the representation of women of at least 30 percent."

Women's legislators are the activities of a person or group of women to actively participate in political life, such as electing state leaders or people's representatives or making efforts to influence government policy. It can be activities through voting, political discussions, involvement in campaign activities, or directly joining a political party. Women's representation in the legislature is the voluntary activities of women citizens through which they select leaders and, directly or indirectly, form public policies.

2.2 Community Development

Social capital theory was the focus of development studies, especially economic development. Portes and Landolt (2000) state that the concept of social capital in national development originates from the limitations of an economic approach that specifically pays attention to the achievement of basic development goals such as sustainable growth, justice, and democracy. Fukuyama (2002) added that social capital is often associated with poverty reduction. Various studies and scientific research show how important social capital is so that it becomes a variable that can influence other variables. Putnam (1993) states that social capital becomes a lubricant and glue that can bind and encourage people to become active citizens. In the context of community empowerment and economic development, the position of social capital is described as follows by Phillips and Pittman (2009).

According to Phillips and Pittman (2009), community development is a process of building a community's capacity to act independently. This can be in the form of increasing community economic development by increasing employment opportunities, resulting in increased income and welfare. So that community life continues to improve. It aligns with the community economic development process by creating and maintaining various programs to mobilize existing resources. This can be illustrated in the following chart:

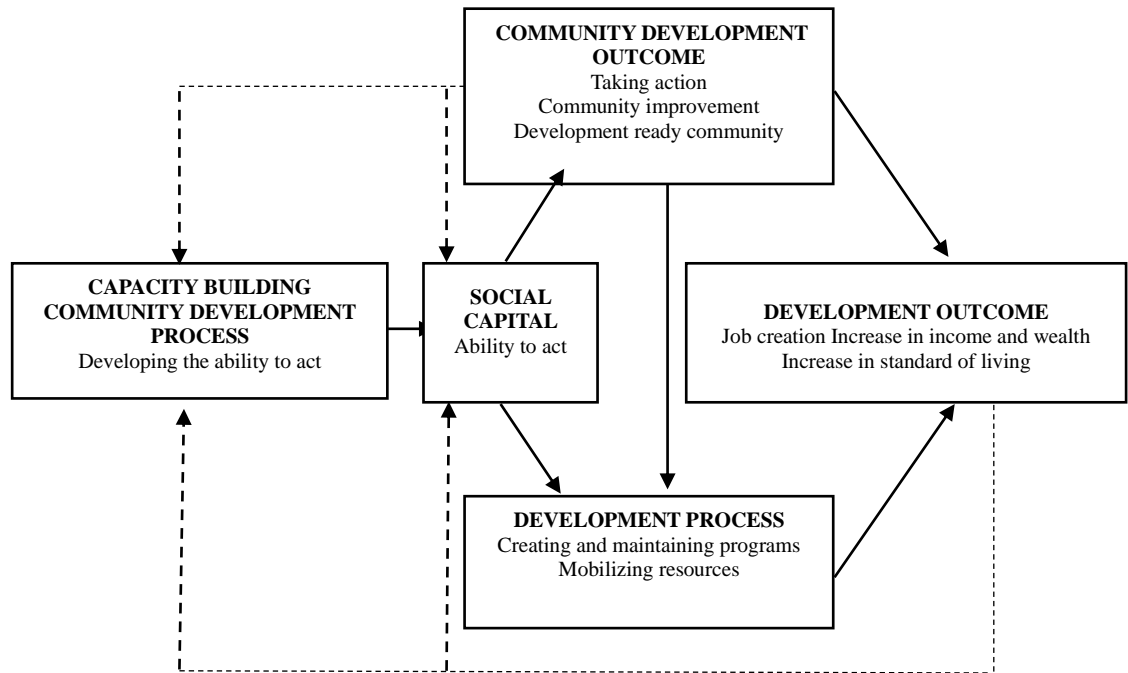


Figure 2.1. Elaboration of the role of social capital in community development.

Source: Phillips and Pittman (2009).

Social capital can also be considered as a resource that can increase the effectiveness of various inputs in development . The description is that the community development process builds capacity by developing the ability to act using social capital with the ability to act to obtain community development results by taking action and improving the community .

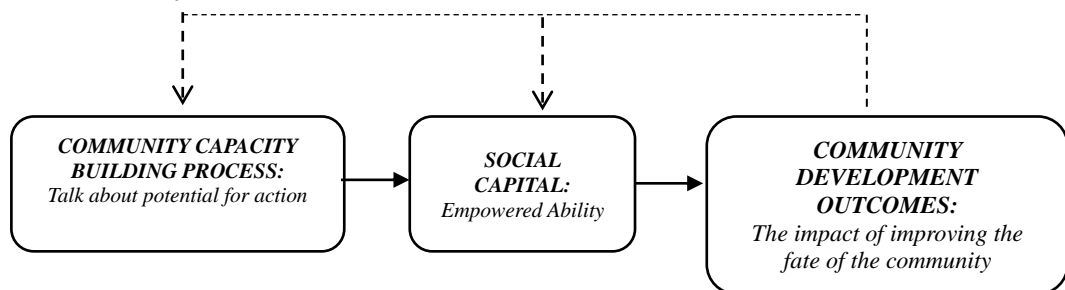


Figure 2.2. Social capital in the community development series by Phillips and Pittman (2009).

The role of social capital in community building by female legislative candidates in the political field, especially in Bengkulu Province, has rarely been studied. Regarding the relationship between social capital and political participation, Halim et al. (2018) shows that trust in the government also positively impacts a person's political participation. Social capital affects political participation (Teney & Hanquinet, 2012) and democracy (Paxton, 2002). Krishna (2002) suggests that high social capital leads to higher political participation. La Due Lake & Huckfeldt (1998) said that political participation is produced through personal networks through social interaction between citizens through various discussion forums. However, contrary to Lee and Glasure (2007), social capital has a minor role in encouraging political participation in South Korea.

Based on the description above, the community development process uses social capital to obtain development outcomes for the community. Community development is a struggle between marginalized groups structurally disadvantaged politically, socially, and economically due to geographic location or issues related to race, class, gender, ethnicity,

disability, and/or sexuality. Community development is a reform process in which marginalized groups maintain and/or expand their citizenship rights.

In community development, different configurations are carried out because it depends on how the group forms its political claims and collective identity. Social capital becomes a lubricant and glue that can bind and encourage people to become active citizens. Political participation is generated through personal networks through social interaction between citizens through various discussion forums. Community building is carried out through the sustainability of social capital (self-determination, personal network, and trust) to increase political and social justice, improving the standard of living and community welfare, thus supporting the victory of legislative candidates.

3. Research Methodology

The study was conducted from May 2020 to November 2023 in the Bengkulu Province. The electoral district of Bengkulu Province comprised several electoral zones, namely Bengkulu City, North Bengkulu, South Bengkulu, Central Bengkulu, North Bengkulu, Seluma, Rejang Lebong, Lebong, Kepahiang, and Muko-Muko. Bengkulu province had 1,300 sub-districts/villages politically capable of accommodating four seats of legislative candidates in the DPR RI. The location was selected based on the 2019 - 2024 KPU General Election recapitulation data. During the two elections, the elected female legislative candidates tended to have the highest number of votes, even though the number of male voters was more significant than that of female voters.

Using qualitative descriptive-analytical research methods, this study provided detailed descriptions and analysis of the quality or substance of human experience (see Marvasti, 2004). Meanwhile, this study aimed to explain a phenomenon. The subject in this research was female and male beginner voters in the electoral district of Bengkulu province who gave their voting rights to female legislative candidates in the legislative elections for the 2019-2024 period. The electoral district determination was based on election recapitulation data from the Bengkulu KPUD and the Central KPU.

This research focused on female legislative candidates and first-time voter constituents from the electoral district of Bengkulu province. They were beginner voters who were at least 17 years old, which was a requirement to be registered as permanent voters in the 2019-2024 legislative elections. The determination of informants was carried out by snowballing based on instructions from key informants to obtain sufficient information. All information submitted by the informant was kept confidential and only used for research purposes. Informed consent was provided to the informants. All interview results were transcribed verbatim and given to informants as a form of triangulation to obtain accuracy.

The data were collected using in-depth interviews and focus group discussions via Zoom/Google Meet. In addition, purposive snowball surveys were conducted using Google Forms. Online surveys were also carried out using the Lime Survey platform. Survey sampling was conducted using the purposive sampling method. The sample was not chosen randomly from the population but focused on certain characteristics. Then, the data processing and analysis were carried out simultaneously during the field research process. The data processing and analysis followed Neuman's (2011) scheme. The collected data were then recorded, processed, and classified using coding. SPSS was used in the data processing. After that, data analysis was carried out through the following stages: examining, sorting, categorizing, evaluating, comparing, synthesizing, and contemplating the data that had been coded.

In this research, the validity and reliability of the data was carried out using triangulation techniques to check and test the accuracy of the data. Triangulation requires the use of more than one data collection method or data source in studying social phenomena.

Denzin (1970) has widely used the term triangulation to refer to an approach that uses multiple observers, theoretical perspectives, data sources, and methodologies. The emphasis tends to be on using various investigative methods and data sources (Bryman, 2012). In this research, the triangulation technique used was data source triangulation and in-depth investigation or data collection methods.

4. Results and Discussion

4.1. Female Legislative Candidates During the Legislative Election Period 2019 -2024 in Bengkulu Electoral District

Below is presented qualitative data that explains the profile of female legislative candidates and the practices and community development programs carried out by female legislative candidates in the Bengkulu electoral district.

4.1.1. DC

DC is the female DPR RI candidate from the National Mandate Party (PAN). She is a veterinarian (drh.). She is an IPB alumnus and has an educational background of a Masters in Political Science from FISIP UI. In her political career, DC was re-elected for the third term (2009, 2014, 2019). The community development programs she carried out included the "School Student and University Student Development Program" in the Bengkulu electoral district through her struggle in the Ministry of Education, which received a 30% education budget to distribute and supervise. Thus, the state scholarship program was right on target. She supervised the implementation of Single Tuition Fee (UKT) assistance to students from underprivileged families so they can be guaranteed to continue their education. DC also created learning modules and held leadership training on "National Mainstay Youth" for youth and university students. This training included leadership skills, public speaking, group dynamics, and simulating problem-solving in the surrounding environment.

In empowering the community, DC became one of those involved in the Working Committee drafting the Tourism Bill, ensuring that human resources were optimally managed. Tourism and the creative economy needed to be regulated in law to receive further strengthening, funding, provisions regarding tourism areas, criminal sanctions for those who hinder the growth and development of tourism, and regulation of state support regarding sustainable tourism.

DC also fought for the PIP (Smart Indonesia Program) scholarship program for elementary, middle school, and high school/vocational school students and educational workshops for constituents in her electoral district. Apart from that, DC was fighting for a community empowerment program in the form of Technical Guidance for Regional Development of Indonesia with the theme Marketing Strategy for Archipelago Tourism and Creative Economy at the Santika Hotel Bengkulu. This activity, attended by 80 creative economy actors from Bengkulu City and Central Bengkulu Regency, collaborated with the Directorate of Marketing for Archipelago Tourism, Deputy for Marketing at the Ministry of Tourism and Creative Economy/Indonesian Tourism and Creative Economy Agency. She also encouraged and facilitated workshops on developing tourist villages in the Kaur Regency and Technical Guidance on the Implementation of CHSE (Cleanness, Health, Safety and Environmental Sustainability) in the creative economy sector.

To build a network with constituents between the two elections, DC was working on several entrepreneurial skills programs that could provide provisions for the community to increase family income, such as training on packaging souvenir products for tourism visitors in Bengkulu. DC and other legislative candidates tried to build networks with women and business actors, foster trust for first-time voters and their families, and

support the entrepreneurial spirit and creative economy industry as an activity to strengthen their social capital. One of the efforts was to encourage the creation of regional pop songs and oversee the implementation of the Bengkulu Regional Popular Dangdut and Popular Music Festival.

4.1.2. EH

Female legislative candidate EH was born in Manna, South Bengkulu, on 15-05-1960. Having the title Hj., S.IP., M.M., she was running as a female legislative candidate from PDIP. She was re-elected for a second term (2014, 2019). She raised the Family Development, Population and Family Planning Program (Bangga Kencana). She once served as Head of Financial Affairs for the Bengkulu City Health Service. She was a member of the health education staff in 1990-1991 and a head of the dental clinic at RSU Bengkulu.

The female legislative candidate EH is the Director of the Foundation for Marginal Communities Empowerment (MCE). EH once held community empowerment outreach through KEI in Manna, South Bengkulu. She also carried out community movements by actively conducting outreach on Germas (Healthy Community Movement) in Kaur, South Bengkulu.

The EH female legislative candidate also has a community care program for her voter network in Bengkulu with efforts to distribute medical equipment to regional hospitals to protect paramedics in providing health services. To build networks, trust, and values, EH held *takjil*, sharing events with its constituents and conducting outreach through communication, information, and education regarding the use of medicine and food health in its community.

The socialization of Information Communication and Education (KIE) activities was held at the Nashwa building, Seluma Regency, attended directly by the Head of the Bengkulu BPOM, Drs. Syafrudin, T.Apt. M.Sc., and Dra. Niza Nemara, M.Si., from the National Drug and Food Testing Development Center, attended by 200 participants from the Seluma community. EH explained that the authority to issue drug distribution permits cannot be transferred from BPOM because of its equipment, personnel, and regulations, in this case, the Presidential Decree. This authority is given to the POM Agency to protect the safety of drugs and the health of the food of its constituents.

4.1.3. DAS

The third informant, DAS, works as a medical doctor. She is a female legislative candidate from the Democratic Party. She has carried out a socialization program for drug and food products dangerous to the public. It was done to protect the public from dangerous chemicals in foods frequently consumed. The DAS community program included community health empowerment in the form of monitoring and checking a number of snacks in several schools to determine whether there were dangerous chemicals in the food that children often consume. She also provided information and conducted socialization with community leaders in the Bengkulu electoral district. She also has a network with voters because she has been part of the management of the South Bengkulu Family Association in Jakarta since 2006. _ _ _ _

With the Bengkulu Food and Drug Monitoring Center (BPOM), DAS built social capital (network, trust, and public health values) with her constituents by checking school snacks in several schools in Bengkulu City. This was done to determine whether there were dangerous chemicals in children's food. Several schools from which some samples were taken were SD Negeri 79 Bengkulu City. BPOM immediately conducted initial tests in a testing car belonging to BPOM Bengkulu on food ingredients such as crackers, bread, cakes, and light snacks that school children often consumed. DAS also carried out a community program to check whether dangerous chemicals were contained in foods that children often consumed. The program also provided information about healthy snacks.

Between her visits, DAS monitored the health of school snacks. DAS also spent time entertaining and giving advice to school students.

In building its social capital, DAS once wrote about Research Ethics vs Public Interest in Media Indonesia, on March 2, 2011. DAS analyzed the polemic related to the Bogor Agricultural Institute (IPB) incident that was criticized by several public members who were forced to publish five trademarks of formula milk contaminated with *E. Sakazakii* bacteria. At the DPR Commission IX Hearing Meeting with the Minister of Health and the Rector of IPB, IPB was forced to announce the name of the formula milk contaminated with *E. Sakazakii* bacteria. In fact, it could not be done due to the research code of ethics. In terms of research ethics, the research was done a long time ago. There was follow-up research in 2008, concluding that no more *E. Sakazakii* bacteria existed.

According to DAS, the silver lining of this incident is that it sparked public curiosity about baby food and drinks circulating on the market. It is the government's responsibility to let the public know because the consumer community must be protected. So, if the public wants to see the health status of food circulating, government institutions, namely the Ministry of Health, must take the initiative to research all products circulating on the market. If the budget to do this does not yet exist, it is possible to use it through the APBNP mechanism.

For this reason, DAS welcomed the steps taken by the Minister of National Education, Muhammad Nuh, to immediately end the polemic about formula milk contaminated with *Enterobacter Sakazakii* bacteria by ordering IPB to re-research formula milk for all brands within six months. According to DAS, this case would be a valuable lesson for all parties. The legislature must make a promise to LIPI during the RDPU (23/2) to immediately formulate a policy on the classification of information excluded from being disclosed to the public on the grounds that it could: (1) cause chaos and/or threaten state security; (2) cause social unrest; (3) disrupting agency performance; (4) related to cooperation agreements with other parties regarding confidentiality of research results; and (5) protection of IPR.

4.1.4. SMB

The fourth informant, with the initials SMB, was born on 11 May 1961. Having a bachelor's and master's educational background in economics, she was running as a legislative candidate for the Gerindra (Great Indonesia Movement) Party. She was re-elected for a second term (2014, 2019). SMB is an entrepreneur, once an Assistant Manager at PT Purna Karim Jakarta and an Account Officer at PT Dwi Daya Travel Jakarta. The community empowerment program, especially for teenagers and first-time voters, is the Chess sports activity. He is on the committee of Percasi Bengkulu Province.

In building their social capital, SMB views politics as not identical to men. For this beautiful and brave woman, she sees that women have had equality with men. The reason is that women have certain interests that men cannot necessarily represent. For him, the political stage is a world that equally belongs to men and women. Separating women from politics is the same as separating society from its environment. Moreover, the law mandates women's representation of 30 percent.

SMB's involvement on the political stage is not just a complement. SMB could manage time between external and domestic careers. She could combine family, business, and politics. It could motivate women activists to become more seriously involved in politics. Since 2010, SMB has also been trusted as Chair of the Regional Leadership Council (DPD) of the Greater Indonesia Movement Party (Gerindra) for Bengkulu Province. At first, she accidentally came into contact with a political party when she accompanied a friend who wanted to register as a Legislator. She considered her existence in the Gerindra Party to be fate. She often received offers from other political parties to become legislative candidates, but she firmly refused. But for some reason, when she was invited

by a friend to run for the Gerindra Party, she became interested. In just three days, she completed all the necessary administrative requirements.

During the 2014 and 2019 elections, SMB chose Bengkulu as its electoral district. Born and raised in a successful businessman's family does not necessarily make her a spoiled child. The seventh of eight children of the couple MB and NK, she has been independent since she was a teenager. Her love for the Gerindra Party is deeply ingrained. With complete responsibility, SMB carried out her duties for the progress and greatness of the party. Even though he serves as the person in command of a political party, "Donna," as SMB is usually called, still appears friendly and simple. It is not surprising that her leadership figure emphasizes her motherly side. She became known more quickly to the public and regional and central leaders.

The simplicity of SMB was not just political imagery. All her constituents appreciated her expertise and performance. Every time she visited remote areas of Bengkulu, she did not hesitate to stay overnight in a vehicle or at a constituent's house with all the limited facilities. Her political abilities were underestimated since she was considered a political newcomer, but it didn't bother her. With confidence in her abilities and the support of those closest to her, she could dispel this skewed opinion with real work, hard work, and commitment to the struggle.

4.2 Development of a Political Community for Women Legislative Candidates

The main consideration of first-time voters in choosing female legislative candidates is because of the legislative candidates' community development programs (78.3%). Most first-time voters (97.4%) agree that community development is the sustainability of social capital. Although the majority of first-time voters (67%) considered that the number of community development programs carried out by legislative candidates during the 2019-2024 legislative elections was moderate in quantity (42.86% were female voters), as many as 61.37% of first-time voters stated that the quality of the community development program carried out by female legislative candidates in the Bengkulu electoral district was good and useful.

Field findings show that first-time voters (59.8%) agree that community development is the main reason first-time voters choose female legislative candidates. The female legislative candidate in the 2019-2024 elections who carried out the best community development program during the first election they took part in was DC (59.8%). The reason beginner voters chose her was especially because there were programs in the field of education (78.5%) and a scholarship program (80.42%). Community development that beginner voters want to be carried out by female legislative candidates in the Bengkulu electoral district in the future is scholarships (36.5%) and training/seminars/workshops related to the interests of young people (27.87%).

Woolcock (1998) confirmed that the role of social capital in community development has been widely carried out by researchers and academics. This study shows how vital the role of capital or social capital is so that it becomes a variable that can influence and move other variables. Portes and Landolt (2000) emphasize that the concept of social capital in the realm of national development originates from the limitations of an economic approach that specifically pays attention to the achievement of basic development goals such as sustainable growth, justice, and democracy. Fukuyama (2002) also confirmed that social capital is often associated with poverty reduction.

Community development provides feedback into social capital. The results of community development and the economic development process will create jobs, increase income, and increase living standards. Economic development results will also provide feedback to social capital and community development processes to build capacity. Community development as a continuation of social capital is an important finding to explain the factors behind the victory of female legislative candidates according to first-time voters in

the Bengkulu electoral district. To illustrate the motivation of voters in carrying out political participation, the main reasons for beginner voters to choose DPR RI legislative candidates for the Bengkulu electoral district in the 2019-2024 legislative elections are presented as follows:

Table 4 .1. Reasons for Beginner Voters to Choose DPR RI Candidates of Bengkulu Electoral District in Legislative Elections 2019 -2024

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Community development	444	78.3	78.3	78.3
	Money/ goods	24	4.2	4.2	82.5
	Primordial bond	11	1.9	1.9	84.5
	Gender equality	5	.9	.9	85.4
	Party	83	14.6	14.6	100.0
	Total	567	100.0	100.0	

Note: Data Collection Time May-August 2021. Number of Samples n=567.

Source: Field Results, 2021

The data above illustrates that as a beginner voter in 2019-2024, the community development program is the main consideration for choosing DPR RI legislative candidates for the Bengkulu electoral district (78.3%). It indicates that beginner voters tend to be rational and calculative. James S. Coleman's rational choice theory in Wirawan (2012) can be used to explain the reasons for choosing female legislative candidates because there is community building as the choice of most first-time voters. There are indications that they tend to choose actions that maximize utility or that satisfy their wants and needs. Rational choice theory focuses on actors seen as humans with goals or intentions.

Theoretical synthesis based on the reality of the research locus, according to Upe (2008), shows that the political behavior of beginner voters is characterized by a diachronic model, namely the rationality of voter behavior by considering the time period for achieving goals. The three degrees of rationality in three time periods, namely retrospective rationality, pragmatic-adaptive rationality, and prospective rationality, are used to explain the behavior of beginner voters in the Bengkulu electoral district in the 2019-2024 elections.

The pragmatic-adaptive rationality model characterizes Bengkulu beginner voters who declare themselves to abstain. This type of rationality is adjusted to the political stimulus at the election moment. Pragmatic-adaptive behavior arises due to pessimism about the future expressed by legislative candidates and campaign promises that are just "figments of the imagination," ultimately encouraging voters to become pragmatic. The rationality of this model does not follow the tradition of prospective models (the future). It is not based on retrospective models (views of the past). But it is flexible and conditional. In the pragmatic-adaptive model, voters only see their immediate interests. This sub-theory will produce theoretical elaboration in the form of the opposite pattern. There will be beginner voters suspected of being uncritical and instead act as opportunistic voters, giving choices because they get material rewards.

New voters who are optimistic about supporting female legislative candidates fall into the prospective rationality model type. The rationality model is modern voter behavior based on a longer future orientation. In determining their choices, the behavior of modern

rational voters in the prospective model is based on the candidate's vision and mission, track record, integrity, expertise, and the programs offered.

The voters' main motivation in voting is wanting a leader who is capable and trustworthy in carrying out political representative functions, making aspirational public policies, and clean governance. Voters of this type of prospective rationality are voters who actively access and seek information about what they will do to support whom, not just voting. The respondents' agreement that "community development is the sustainability of social capital" can be seen in the table below:

Table 4.2 Community Development as Sustainability of Social Capital

		Frequency _	Percent _	Valid (%)	Cumulative (%)
Valid	Yes.	552	97.4	97.4	97.4
	No.	15	2.6	2.6	100.0
	Total	567	100.0	100.0	

Note: Data Collection Time May-August 2021. Number of Samples n=567.

Source: Field Results, 2021

The data above shows that the majority of first-time voters (97.4%) agree that community development is a very important social capital for a female legislative candidate to be elected. This will be an important question: to what extent are new voters rational, not emotional (primordial, ethnic, religious, racial)? Below is a table of the number of community development programs carried out by legislative candidates during and between election periods legislature 2019 -2024:

Table 4.3 Community Development Programs Carried Out by Legislative Candidates During the Legislative Election Period 2019 -2024

		Frequency _	Percent _	Valid (%)	Cumulative (%)
	A little.	75	13.2	13.2	13.2
	Moderate	368	64.9	64.9	78.1
	Lots.	112	19.8	19.8	97.9
	Don't know	12	2.1	2.1	100.0
	Total	567	100.0	100.0	

Note: Data Collection Time May-August 2021. Number of Samples n=567.

Source: Field Results, 2021

The majority of respondents (67%) considered that the number of community development programs carried out by legislative candidates during the 2019-2024 legislative elections was moderate. This moderate meaning shows that there are legislative candidates who do not use community development methods to increase their electability.

Field findings show that of 567 respondents, 64.9% stated that the quantity of community empowerment programs carried out by female legislative candidates in the Bengkulu electoral district for first-time voters was moderate. It means that community development programs tend to be part of what beginner voters consider when choosing a legislative candidate, but the quantity is not yet optimal. Below is a table of female legislative candidates who carried out the best community development during the first election that voters took part in.

Table 4.4 Women Legislative Candidates with the Best Community Development

		Frequency	Percent	Valid (%)	Cumulative (%)
Valid	DAS	74	13.1	13.1	13.1
	DC	339	59.8	59.8	72.8
	EH	69	12.2	12.2	85.0
	SMB	48	8.5	8.5	93.5
	Other	4	.7	.7	94.2
	Select male legislative candidates	27	4.8	4.8	98.9
	Abstain	6	1.1	1.1	100.0
	Total	567	100.0	100.0	

Note: Data Collection Time May-August 2021. Number of Samples n=567.

Source: Field Results, 2021

The field findings above show that of the 567 respondents, more than half (59.8%) agreed that community development was the main reason first-time voters chose female legislative candidates. Furthermore, when asked which female legislative candidates in the 2019-2024 elections carried out the best community development program during the first election they took part in, 59.8 % mentioned the names of DC female legislative candidates, followed by the names of DAS, EH, and SMB. Only 4.8 % chose the male legislative candidate.

This study indicates that trust in female legislative candidates tends to increase. There are indications that the patriarchal culture in the Bengkulu electoral district tends to have less influence on first-time voters. Female legislative candidates who offer community development programs as a continuation of social capital are preferred by first-time voters rather than campaigns that use emotions and sentiments of primordial ties. Below is a table of community development programs that have been carried out by female legislative candidates according to beginner voters as follows:

Table 4.5 Community Development Programs Done by Women Legislative Candidates of the DPR RI in the 2019-2024 Elections

		Frequency	Percent	Valid (%)	Cumulative (%)
	Education	445	78.5	78.5	78.5
	Agriculture	28	4.9	4.9	83.4
	Tourism	11	1.9	1.9	85.4
	Employment	30	5.3	5.3	90.7
	Health	6	1.1	1.1	91.7
	No answer	44	7.8	7.8	99.5
	Don't know	3	.5	.5	100.0
	Total	567	100.0	100.0	

Note: Data Collection Time May-August 2021. Number of Samples n=567.

Source: Field Results, 2021

There are several types of community development programs (PK) from female legislative candidates. Beginner voters choose these legislative candidates mainly because of programs in the education sector (78.5%). This indicates that beginner voters are very interested in programs that facilitate the needs of their age, namely the age of pursuing education. Community development programs increase the perception of legislative candidates' capacity, popularity, and electability in the eyes of first-time voters. The following is a table of community development programs preferred by beginner voters:

Table 4.6 Community Development Program that Beginner Voters Like

	Frequency	Percent	Valid (%)	Cumulative (%)
Farming tools	17	3.0	3.0	3.0
Training	7	1.2	1.2	4.2
Scholarship	456	80.4	80.4	84.7
Employment	48	8.5	8.5	93.1
Network	6	1.1	1.1	94.2
Sport	3	.5	.5	94.7
No answer	30	5.3	5.3	100.0
Total	567	100.0	100.0	

Note: Data Collection Time May-August 2021. Number of Samples n=567.

Source: Field Results, 2021

The existence of community development programs is the reason for beginner voters to choose legislative candidates. The first community development program that becomes the reason for choosing legislative candidates is scholarships (80.42%). This again indicates that first-time voters' interests, among other things, are closely related to the support of a DPR RI candidate for educational financing facilities. Furthermore, the community development program preferred by first-time voters (8.47%) is related to job creation. This is also related to the direct interests of first-time voters. The next program is agricultural equipment (3.0%). It is related to the environment of beginner voters who are in agricultural areas. There are also those who like training (1.23%), network creation (1.06%), and sports (0.53%). However, 5.29% did not provide an answer.

Next, the data processing results will be presented in the form of a cross-table (cross-tab), namely a bivariate table that combines more than one variable to show the results in a certain trend. In this case, the cross table that will be presented is related to the gender variable and their attitudes towards the variable number of community development that has been carried out by legislative candidates in the 2019-2024 legislative elections. The following is a cross-tab of new voters' assessment of the number of community development programs carried out by female legislative candidates.

Table 4. 7 A Crosstab of New Voter Assessment of the Number of Community Development Programs Carried Out by Female Legislative Candidates

			Number of Community Empowerment Programs				Total
			A little.	Moderate	Lots.	Don't know	
Gender	Man	Count	35	125	41	5	206

		Number of empowerment programs	46.7%	34.0%	36.6%	41.7%	36.3%
		% of Total	6.2%	22.0%	7.2%	0.9%	36.3%
	Woman	Count	40	243	71	7	361
		Number of empowerment programs	53.3%	66.0%	63.4%	58.3%	63.7%
		% of Total	7.1%	42.9%	12.5%	1.2%	63.7%
Total	Count	75	368	112	12	567	
	Number of empowerment programs	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	
	% of Total	13.2%	64.9%	19.8%	2.1%	100.0%	

Note: Data Collection Time May-August 2021. Number of Samples n=567.

Source: Field Results, 2021

The data above shows that the majority of female voters (42.86%) believe that the number of community development programs carried out by female legislative candidates is still moderate. Community development programs are felt more by female first-time voters. As explained by Phillips and Pittman (2009), community development is a process of building a community's capacity to act independently, which can include economic development in the form of increasing employment opportunities that will result in increased income and welfare. The indicators are that many first-time voters in Bengkulu have felt the benefits of scholarships to continue their studies.

The women legislative candidates helped the community be safe from disease and dangerous food and helped residents develop tourism in the area. This aligns with the community economic development process by creating and maintaining various programs to mobilize existing resources. The community development process carried out by the Bengkulu female legislative candidates includes building the training capacity of students and youth related to tourism and creative industries, opening allocation routes for providing scholarships from the center to the regions through schools, distributing health facilities and infrastructure, providing early warning and risk management and health in the community. Using social capital (capacity, network and norms) is the unique ability of female legislative candidates in the Bengkulu electoral district to gain trust.

4.2 Gender Politics: Gender Equality and Support for the Legality of Women's Representation in the Legislature

The concept of gender was introduced by Hellen in Rasyidin (2014) as a social construction in society influenced by social, political, cultural, economic, religious and environmental conditions that separate human features based on socio-cultural definitions of humans. Since the 1960s, the discourse on gender cannot be separated from the history of waves of feminist movements and criticism of patriarchal culture. The second wave of feminism resonated louder after the publication of the book "The Feminine Mystique" written by Betty Friedan in 1963, and the founding of the National Organization for Women in 1966 in the United States. Sowards and Renegar in Mochtar (2008) argue that third wave feminists criticize and evaluate the social roles of men and women. Through several stages of these waves, gender issues have turned into global issues that demand justice in social and cultural constructions between men and women. This demand for social construction justice focuses on equality and balance of functions, status and roles between the sexes in various areas of life.

Gender separates human features based on sociocultural definitions with humans related to biological physical characteristics. Gender as a social construction is a difference in behavior between men and women. Gender is constructed by humans themselves through social and cultural processes over a long period of time without being based on biological physics and is not divine nature. Gender is a good analytical tool for understanding the issue of discrimination against women in general. The gender issue has turned into a global issue that demands justice in the social and cultural construction between men and women, namely the demand for justice. This social construction focuses on equality and balance of functions, status and roles between the sexes in various fields. life .

Findings in the field show that even though the majority of first-time voters' preferences are neutral (66.49%), there is a tendency for female first-time voters to choose female legislative candidates. The findings show that DC is the female legislative candidate most supported by female beginner voters, followed by DAS, EH and SMB legislative candidates. The majority of female first-time voters (50.7%) rate that the most community development programs are related to education, followed by programs related to tourism (5.47%), followed by agriculture (3.00%), employment (1.75%) and tourism (1.41%). Almost the same pattern also occurs among male beginner voters, the majority of them (27.69%) also rate community development as being most related to education, followed by fields related to employment (3.53%), and agriculture (1.94%).

Women's representation in the legislature is supported by the institutional function of political parties in fighting for gender equality (women's representation in politics) in the Bengkulu electoral district. The majority (53.44%) of first-time voters assess that the role of political parties in voicing gender justice in the Bengkulu electoral district is relatively good. This shows that new voters reject the political culture of patriarchy which places men in central or main positions in politics. Below is a table of voter preferences related to the approval of first-time voters regarding the call for "women choose women" to strengthen women's representation in politics in Indonesia.

Table 4.8 Approval of Female First-time Voters to Vote Female Legislative Candidates

		Frequency	Percent _	Valid (%)	Cumulative (%)
Valid	Yes	168	29.6	29.6	29.6
	Neutral	377	66.5	66.5	96.1
	No	22	3.9	3.9	100.0
	Total	567	100.0	100.0	

Note: Data Collection Time May-August 2021. Number of Samples n=567.

Source: Field Results, 2021

The majority of respondents (66.49%) stated that they were neutral when asked that female beginner voters should also choose female legislative candidates. Only 29.63% agreed that female voters chose female legislative candidates. The preference condition for most female beginner voters to choose female legislative candidates tends not to be high in the Bengkulu electoral district. The Women Choose Women campaign has not succeeded in convincing most first-time voters. This indicates that the majority of first-time voters choose not for gender reasons. There is another reason: there are benefits from building the community and social capital possessed by female legislative candidates. The following is the results on the tendency of first-time voters to make choices based on the gender of DPR RI legislative candidates:

Table 4.9 A Crosstab of New Voter Tendencies to Determine Choice Based on the Gender of DPR RI Candidates

		DAS	DC	EH	SMB	Other	Select Candidates Man	Abstain	Total
Gender	Man	14	129	23	16	2	19	3	206
	Woman	60	210	46	32	2	8	3	361
Total		74	339	69	48	4	27	6	567

Note: Data Collection Time May-August 2021. Number of Samples n=567.

Source: Field Results, 2021

The table above shows confirmation that there is a tendency for female beginner voters to choose female legislative candidates. This indicates that the majority of female legislative candidates are supported by first-time female voters and then only supported by their electability by male beginner voters. The following is a more detailed cross table regarding the preferences of first-time voters on legislative candidates based on gender.

Table 4.10. A Crosstab of which Legislative Candidates are Chosen By Beginner Voters Based on Gender

			DAS	DC	EH	SMB	Other Name	Vote for male legislative candidates	Abstain	Total
Gender	Man	Count	14	129	23	16	2	19	3	206
		% of Legislative Candidates with Community Programs	18.9%	38.1%	33.3%	33.3%	50.0%	70.4%	50.0%	36.3%
		% of Total	2.5%	22.8%	4.1%	2.8%	0.4%	3.4%	0.5%	36.3%
	Woman	Count	60	210	46	32	2	8	3	361
		% of Legislative Candidates with Community Programs	81.1%	61.9%	66.7%	66.7%	50.0%	29.6%	50.0%	63.7%
		% of Total	10.6%	37.0%	8.1%	5.6%	0.4%	1.4%	0.5%	63.7%
Total		Count	74	339	69	48	4	27	6	567

	% of Legislative Candidates with Community Programs	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
	% of Total	13.1%	59.8%	12.2%	8.5%	0.7%	4.8%	1.1%	100.0%

Note: Data Collection Time May-August 2021. Number of Samples n=567.

Source: Field Results, 2021

The data above shows that DC is the female legislative candidate most supported by female beginner voters, followed by DAS, EH and SMB legislative candidates. The electability of female legislative candidates is related to the capacity, networks and norms they have built in the eyes of first-time voters.

The essay above shows that DC is the female legislative candidate most supported by first-time voters. Female first-time voters show more preference for female DC legislative candidates than male first-time voters. The following is a cross table of respondents' answers based on gender regarding the types of community development programs by female legislative candidates:

Table 4.11 A Gender-Related Crosstab on Types of Community Development Program by Female Legislative Candidates

Gender Related to Types of Community Development Programs									
		Education	Agriculture	Tourism	Employment	Health	No Answer	No Know	Total
		Gender	Man	157	11	3	20	1	
		76.2%	5.3%	1.5%	9.7%	0.5%	6.3%	0.5%	100.0%
		27.7%	1.9%	0.5%	3.5%	0.2%	2.3%	0.2%	36.3%
	Woman	288	17	8	10	5	31	2	361
		79.8%	4.7%	2.2%	2.8%	1.4%	8.6%	0.6%	100.0%
		50.8%	3.0%	1.4%	1.8%	0.9%	5.5%	0.4%	63.7%
Total		445	28	11	30	6	44	3	567
		78.5%	4.9%	1.9%	5.3%	1.1%	7.8%	0.5%	100.0%
		78.5%	4.9%	1.9%	5.3%	1.1%	7.8%	0.5%	100.0%

Source: Field Results, 2021

The data above shows that the majority of female respondents (50.7%) assess that community development programs are most related to education, followed by programs related to tourism (5.47%), agriculture (3.00%), employment (1.75%), and tourism (1.41%). Almost the same pattern also occurs among male beginner voters, the majority of them (27.69%) also rate community development as being most related to education, followed by fields related to employment (3.53%), and agriculture (1.94%).

Gender is a social construction created by a community regarding the roles of women and men in domestic and public spaces. Women's political representation is measured by the presence of women of quality and integrity in formal political institutions (legislature, executive and judiciary) to represent Indonesian women. The presence of women in formal political institutions is not only to erode patriarchal culture, but also to build gender equality and justice.

The relationship between women and politics in Indonesia is dynamic. This continues to develop along with demands of the times and changes in public. The issue of women's political representation continues to be discussed and debated by various groups. There are growing tendencies on the importance for women to strengthen their representation in formal political institutions.

Rozi and Azis (2020) strengthen the explanation above in their study on Grand Design and Indonesia's Road Map towards a 50:50 Gender Equality Planet 2030, seeing that in the context of politics and government, Indonesian women generally tend to still have a low level of representation. For example, in the institution parliament center, from 1999 to the 2014 elections, women's representation only ranged from 15-18 percent. On average, the percentage is lower in regional parliaments than in the central parliament. The mandatory 30 percent quota for women in nominations during elections by political parties is not strong enough to increase women's representation in parliament. The candidacy quota and the level of representation have not run parallel. Women's political representation is necessary in formal political institutions (legislature, executive and judiciary) to represent Indonesian women.

There are at least three important reasons for this: First, women have political rights guaranteed by the Constitution to play a role in all political institutions. Second, women have specific interests for the women themselves. Third, the numbers women tend to be few in determining the policy-making process in formal political institutions. In this way, the presence of women in formal political institutions is not only to erode patriarchal culture but also to build gender equality and justice.

According to Sunarto (2000), gender politics leads to changes in politics originally patriarchal towards a balanced state without discrimination against both women and men in various political fields. The logical consequence of gender politics is the increasing disappearance of patriarchal culture. The following is the assessment of first-time voters regarding the presence of female legislative candidates in politics, including their presence in the national legislature:

Table 4.12 Assessment of the Position of Female Legislative Candidates in DPR RI Legislative Election 2019-2024

	Frequency	Percent	Valid (%)	Cumulative (%)
companion.	126	22.2	22.2	22.2
complement.	120	21.2	21.2	43.4
main.	321	56.6	56.6	100.0
Total	567	100.0	100.0	

Note: Data Collection Time May-August 2021. Number of Samples n=567.

Source: Field Results, 2021

The electability of female legislative candidates in the Bengkulu electoral district is considered as the main electability by 56.61% of respondents. This shows that around half of new voters reject the patriarchy political culture which places men in central or main positions in politics. This also explains why female legislative candidates in Bengkulu were successfully elected as people's representatives in the DPR RI. There are

three women and one man in the DPR RI as a result of the 2019 elections. However, 22.22% still consider the election of female legislative candidates as a complement. There were 21.16% who considered the electability of female legislative candidates as a companion.

This data once again shows that the majority of first-time voters in the Bengkulu electoral district in the 2019-2024 elections tend to really appreciate female legislative candidates. Other data states that it is because of social capital in the form of community empowerment that is carried out and not because of gender reasons. The majority of respondents from other data show that beginner voters for the Bengkulu electoral district tend to be gender-neutral, meaning they do not question gender and the social construction of male or female. However, it is more about the performance of legislative candidates competing in the national elections.

The politics of women's representation at the national level is faced patriarchal practices. Patriarchal politics is a system characterized by and dominated by men. In this system, men have the power to determine and make decisions. However, the context of the Bengkulu electoral district in the 2019-2024 Election is somewhat unique, the patriarchy culture tends to be able to be passed by Bengkulu female legislative candidates. Of the four seats allocated in the DPR RI for the Bengkulu electoral district, three are filled by female legislative representatives, and 1 is a male legislative representative. The part most emphasized in democracy is opening women's access to political institutions, including women legislators and community participation that treat women and men equally. The higher the level of political participation of the people, including first-time voters, the better the level of the democracy index.

On the other hand, low participation is considered a bad sign, because it indicates that citizens, including first-time voters, do not care about political issues. The novelty of this study is that it explains the existence of anomalies in the Bengkulu electoral district which are different from the national results. The following figure explains the essential discussion of this study:

Figure 4.1. The relationship between community development, gender politics and women's representation in the legislature



Source: Analysis of Research Data (2023).

Gender politics is all political processes that attempt to place women equal to men. With the issue of women's political representation, it is increasingly important for women to increase and strengthen their representation in formal political institutions. Women's political representation is measured by the presence of women of quality and integrity in formal political institutions (legislature, executive and judiciary) to represent Indonesian women. The presence of women in formal political institutions is not only to erode patriarchal culture but also to build gender equality and justice.

5. Conclusion

The main consideration for beginner voters in choosing a female legislative candidate is because of the legislative candidates' community development programs. They choose the female legislative candidates not based on primordial or gender aspects but primarily based on their performance and community development programs. The majority of first-time voters agree that community development is an essential social capital for female legislative candidates. The community development programs are mainly conducted in the field of education, followed by employment, agriculture, tourism, and health. The community development that beginner voters want to be carried out by female legislative candidates in the Bengkulu electoral district in the future is scholarships and training/seminars/workshops related to the interests of young people. The community development programs carried out by the Bengkulu female legislative candidates include building the training capacity of students and youth related to tourism and creative industries, opening allocation routes for providing scholarships from the center to the regions through schools, distributing health facilities and infrastructure, and overcoming health problems in their communities. Those are indicators of their ability to act using social capital (capacity, networks, and norms). Most beginner voters stated they were neutral regarding the concept of 'female beginner voters should choose female legislative candidates'. However, there was a tendency for female beginner voters to choose female legislative candidates. With the issue of women's political representation, it is increasingly important for women to increase their representation in politics. This study has provided insights into the representation of women in legislative institutions. As a recommendation, further research could be conducted to delve into the representation of women in other political institutions.

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