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The Electability of a Female Legislative Candidate in the 2019 Simultaneous Local Election in Banda Aceh, Indonesia

ABSTRACT: This research was conducted to provide an input for female legislative candidate and for political parties, which have selected female candidates to participate in the 2019 Election in Banda Aceh, Indonesia. This research was motivated by the fact that the number of female candidates, who won the Election in Banda Aceh, was very low in 2014, i.e. only one person, and thus the number of female legislative members did not reach the representative number of 30 percent. This condition requires systematic studies to improve the representativeness of female legislative candidates in the 2019 Simultaneous Local Election in Banda Aceh. The objective of this study was to find out the level of electability of female candidates in the 2019 Simultaneous Local Election in Banda Aceh People's Representative Council. This research was using the qualitative approach, and the categorized data were analyzed in depth by using a qualitative descriptive approach. The results were expected to find out the factor causing lack of electability for female legislative candidates in 2014 and the estimated electability for female candidates in the 2019 Simultaneous Local Election in Banda Aceh, so that the 30-percent available seat for the female legislative members are filled in the Banda Aceh People's Representative Council.

KEY WORDS: Representativeness of Female; Female Legislative Candidate; Electability of Female; Simultaneous Local Election; Legislative Assembly.

INTRODUCTION

Since the gender issue became popular in 1977 in London, a feminism movement questioned when females were able to fight against male domination. This is one of the threats, which need to be responded. The word "gender" in the feminist movement was intentionally used to change the culture of patriarchal or sexist, as in the *Women's Studies Encyclopedia* which is considered as

a cultural concept to establish differences in roles, attitudes, mental, and emotional characteristics between male and female in the society (cf Parpart, Connelly & Barriteau eds., 2000; Anugrah, 2009:4; Pascall & Lewis, 2009; and Chin & Wagner, 2011).

In another point of view, Article 27 of the 1945 Constitution of the Republic of Indonesia reads that female citizens have an equal position to the males under the law.

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The legislation regarding politics in the 1945 Constitution suggest that, like males, females have the same right to vote and to be voted in Indonesian political context (Indrayana, 2008; Sayuti, 2013; and Hillman, 2017).

The representativeness of female has become an interesting topic about Elections since the quota of 30 percent was mentioned in the legislation. Political parties are required to nominate female candidates to participate in the Election after the law was passed. Previously, female citizens were required when male citizens or male politicians were to gain votes in an Election. Female citizens were made victims for the success of their male counterparts, such as to campaign for their husbands (*cf* Wangnerud, 2010; Bush, 2011; and Wells & Kriekhaus, 2014).

The establishment of the quota policy was not without intensive consideration. The participation of female citizens in politic is considered essential, because female citizens have special needs which can only be understood by female citizens. The needs include reproduction health, family welfare, child health and education, needs of elderly, and sex abuse (Svensson & Gunnarson, 2012; Suseno, 2013; and Verge, 2016). The concern regarding the female citizen interest can be accommodated comprehensively if female citizens are involved in making female-related policies. Therefore, John Stuart Mill (1963) – as cited also in H. Fink (2010) and other scholars – stated that in the liberalism principle, the society was fighting for equal right in politic for female citizens (Mill, 1963; Pascall & Lewis, 2009; Fink, 2010:117; and Botting, 2016).

The role of female citizens in Aceh in the long-lasting conflict was detailed by H.C. Zentgraaff (1983), who claims that Acehnese woman as *de leidster van het verzet* or “the leaders of resistance”; and *grandes dames* or “great women” (Zentgraaff, 1983). The heroic actions of Acehnese women were unequaled compared to other women, especially in fighting for nation and religion, both in secret and in public (Sufi *et al.*, 2010:86). The Acehnese women have gained respect for a very long time, and they have received an equal right to the male counterparts

in fighting for their country. During the era of the kingdom in Aceh, many women were involved in politic or became people’s legislative members, and acted as fighter, warlords, and heroes (Sufi *et al.*, 2010; Umar, 2011; and Sari, 2016).

However, today women who play their roles as public leaders were very limited, although they used to play very significant roles in various public sectors in the past. Lack of woman participation is evident from the limited number of women who are selected public leaders. In parliament, for example, there were only 12 women of 81 members at the provincial level. For the sub-district level, the woman’s involvement is 8.8 percent. From 650 places available, only 57 of them were female (*cf* Agbalajobi, 2010; Henig & Henig, 2010; Wangnerud, 2010; and Hinds, 2015).¹

Banda Aceh is the capital of Aceh Province, and it is populated by people from many sub-districts in Aceh, such as Pidie, Gayo, Aceh Tamiang, Aceh Selatan, Aceh Singkil, and Simeulue. They came to Banda Aceh for many reasons, mostly for work and education. People in Banda Aceh have a complete understanding of this situation; however, in a political point of view, the people are very rational in voting in an Election. The rational political attitude occurs in an area, where the majority of the people have high education and occupation qualifications (Sukma, 2004; Evans, 2010; and Sari, 2016).

In the 2014 Election, the electability level of female legislative candidates was very low. The Election areas in Banda Aceh include five areas, i.e. sub-districts of Meuraxa and Kuta Raja for Area 1; Kuta Alam for Area 2; Syiah Kuala and Ulee Kareng for Area 3; Baiturrahman and Lueng Bata for Area 4; and Jaya Baru for Area 5 (Syah *et al.*, 2014:18-20).

The number of political parties participated in the Election was 12 national political parties and 3 local political parties. From the five areas above, only one female candidate won the Election, i.e. Syarifah Munirah, nominated by PPP (*Partai Persatuan Pembangunan* or Development United Party), represented Baiturrahman and Lueng Bata

¹See also, for example, www.acehprov.go.id [accessed in Banda Aceh, Indonesia: January 4, 2019].

sub-districts with 845 votes in the fifth positions from seven candidates nominated by that political party. This indicated that the electability of female legislative candidates was very low in Banda Aceh (Ihsan *et al.* eds., 2014; Syah *et al.*, 2014; and Muthaleb, 2019).

Therefore, it is urgent to follow up this situation with a research study to find out the electability level of female legislative candidates in Banda Aceh in the 2019 Simultaneous Local Election. This Election will be the first for the Legislative and Presidential Elections to take place simultaneously in Indonesia. The Simultaneous Local Election in Banda Aceh will be participated by 16 national parties and 4 local parties (*cf* Hesse, 2009; Ihsan *et al.* eds., 2014; Hillman, 2017; and Muthaleb, 2019).

It is hypothesized that the chance of female candidates to be elected for the Banda Aceh People's Representative Council in the 2019 Election is higher than those in 2014. In the 2019 Election, 20 parties will participate, meaning that there will be more chance of winning compared to the previous Election. However, there is also a chance that no female candidates who can obtain enough votes if we consider that there will be more male candidates who will compete with them. Their electability is determined by the strategies to compete with other female candidates and male candidates.

There will be 459 legislative candidates from 20 parties, who will participate in the 2019 Election for 30 seats in Banda Aceh People's Representative Council for the period of 2019 to 2024. The Head of KIP (*Komisi Independen Pemilihan* or Independent Election Commission) for Banda Aceh, Indra Milwaldy, said that all names of nominees proposed by political parties had been verified to synchronize the physical data with the electronic version submitted to the candidate information system (Ihsan *et al.* eds., 2014; and Muthaleb, 2019).²

Political Representation. Representation is defined as to present those who are absent.

²See also, for example, News on "Pemilu 2019: Perempuan Pilih Perempuan" in newspaper of *Aceh Tribun*, on November 15, 2018. Available online also at: <http://aceh.tribunnews.com/2018/11/15/pemilu-2019-perempuan-pilih-perempuan> [accessed in Banda Aceh, Indonesia: January 7, 2019].

Based on the concept of representativeness proposed by Hanna F. Pitkin (1967 and 2004), in *The Concept of Representation*, the political representation theory involves election as the main institution in the representative government (Pitkin, 1967 and 2004). This view is different to that expressed by Suzanne Dovi (2011 and 2016), who states that the political representation is no longer a restricted concept which only deals with elected or appointed officials in a country (Dovi, 2011:6 and 2016).

According to Hanna F. Pitkin (1967 and 2004), there are at least four different views of representation, i.e. formal, substantive, symbolic, and descriptive views. In terms of formal and descriptive views, representation is considered as a way of acting or acting for. Meanwhile, symbolic and substantive views consider representation as a way of being or being for (Pitkin, 1967 and 2004).

The concept of representation proposed by Hanna F. Pitkin (1967 and 2004) was considered traditional representation, because the focus is on the Election, both in ideas and practice, and on the representative characters and appearance in one side by ignoring those in the other side (*cf* Pitkin, 1967 and 2004; Squires, 2007; Suseno, 2013; and Heberer, 2016).

Hanna F. Pitkin (1967 and 2004) proposed four pillars in the model of representation, i.e. representative, representee, in the interest of, and political setting. The four pillars have their own spaces, where the representation is divided based on the available spaces (Pitkin, 1967 and 2004). The representative always deals with who represents an individual or a group of individuals. The representee is the individual who represents them. The represented interest and political social setting determine how the pattern of representation appears and develops in a certain space (*cf* Pitkin, 1967 and 2004; Squires, 2007; Agbalajobi, 2010; Chin & Wagner, 2011; Suseno, 2013; Manger, 2014; Vickers, 2015; and Heberer, 2016).

From the fourth pillars above, Hanna F. Pitkin (1967 and 2004) makes two categories which are used as a foundation to make sense of the presentation model. The first category

is “standing for”, that is a relation pattern which surfaces because there is an individual who bears responsibility; and the second category is “acting for”, that is a relationship developed because there is an individual who is given responsibility (Pitkin, 1967 and 2004).

It is development, the “standing for” has two models of representation. The first model is a descriptive representation, that is a representation which is based on the similarity, where the representative has a similar description to the community he is representing. The second model is a “symbolic representation”, which is a representation based on socio-cultural symbolic relation which exists in a society. This symbolic model is determined by the presence of a symbol which has become faith in daily life, such as customary law figure leaders (*cf* Pitkin, 1967 and 2004; Agbalajobi, 2010; Chin & Wagner, 2011; Vickers, 2015; and Heberer, 2016).

Unlike the representation of “acting for”, Hanna F. Pitkin (1967 and 2004) terms it as a representation of substance. It is a representation which always seeks for substance from an existing representation (Pitkin, 1967 and 2004). This model shows a common purpose, so that all interest can be achieved. This representation model is the standard in democratization, which is the objective of a representation. An example of this representation is the representation of a group of working people to fight for fair pay (Pitkin, 1967 and 2004; Squires, 2007; Teorell, 2010; Suseno, 2013; and Heberer, 2016).

The involvement or representativeness of female citizens in public lives has increased, but their participation expected in local and central government institutions is still low. In district level, where the government is the closest to the people and responsible for the development and social service for the society, lack of representation from the female citizens in the district level can make the need of female citizen less prioritized, their problems less heard, and social service for the less represented in the development (Squires, 2007; UNDP, 2010:4; Agbalajobi, 2010; Suseno, 2013; Manger, 2014; and Heberer, 2016).

In other definition, the representation of female citizens can be defined as the same opportunity and position for female citizens to play their roles in the sectors of the executive council, judicative council, legislative council, political parties, and election; leading to better gender equality and justice. This definition is included in Law No.39 of 1999 regarding what is female citizen representation in politics (*cf* Anugrah, 2009:8-10; Wangnerud, 2010; Wolbrecht & Campbell, 2012; and Heberer, 2016).

The concept regarding the difference in the power of female citizens and that of male counterpart has been a reference for a lot of people. Power, in the concept of feminism, is the power which is full of love. Such power is not centralized in the female citizens, but it is used to achieve a purpose. In addition, the power that a female representative has also covers an idea to empower others (Edwards & Roces, 2010; Henig & Henig, 2010; Svensson & Gunnarson, 2012; and Heberer, 2016).

RESEARCH METHODS

Based on the kind of data, this research was qualitative research. It is a research study to understand the phenomenon experienced by the research subjects holistically by describing in words in a specific context, which is scientific through scientific methods (Creswell, 2010; Moleong, 2011:6; and Mohajan, 2018).

The focus of this research was on the effort to analyze the level of electability of female candidates in the 2019 Simultaneous Local Election. The scope of this research was only the electability of female candidates for the seat in Banda Aceh Legislative Council. Since this is a documentation study, the data for this research were collected and categorized into topics related to the level of electability of female candidates in the 2019 Simultaneous Local Election. The categorized data were analyzed in depth by using a qualitative descriptive approach (Krook, 2009; Yin, 2009; Creswell, 2010; and Mohajan, 2018).

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

Political Participation of Female Citizens in Banda Aceh. The political participation in

Banda Aceh was very high compared to other areas in Aceh. However, the number of female candidates was very small, i.e. less than 40% compared to the male counterparts. If we consider the population of Banda Aceh, the number of female voters was 76,668, higher than male, i.e. 75,058, and the combined number was 151,726. This shows that the male number did not outnumber the female (Srimulyani & Inayatillah, 2015; Rahmawati *et al.*, 2018; and Muthaleb, 2019).

However, the fact shows that the level of political participation of female in Banda Aceh was not very high. With the number of women reaching more than 50%, the female citizen could increase their political participation, which had been inferior compared to that of male citizens. Meanwhile, the number of electoral areas are 415 located in 90 villages (International IDEA, 2003; Rahmawati *et al.*, 2018; and Muthaleb, 2019).³

The Education Levels of Banda Aceh's People. Based on the results of the survey conducted by Indra Milwady, as Head of Banda Aceh's Commissioner of Independent Election Commission, that the level of education of Banda Aceh's people did not significantly influence their political literacy. This survey also analyzed the level of rationality in voting. According to the survey, female and first-time voters were more rational in choosing a political party or a legislative candidate in an Election. Their considerations in voting were working programs or vision and mission, and track record of a political party and candidate. In addition, it is added that campaign tool which influenced the society was newspapers, internet, and television. Meanwhile, campaign through billboards and face-to-face interaction did not attract the voters (*cf* Azza *et al.*, 2009; Bappeda Kota Banda Aceh, 2015; Pande, 2017; Rahmawati *et al.*, 2018; and Muthaleb, 2019).⁴

³See also, for example, News on "DPT Banda Aceh: Pemilihan Perempuan Lebih Banyak dari Laki-laki" in *Anterokini* [news agency], on December 6, 2016. Available online also at: <https://anterokini.com/2016/12/06/dpt-banda-aceh-pemilihan-perempuan-lebih-banyak-dari-laki-laki> [accessed in Banda Aceh, Indonesia: January 5, 2019].

⁴See also, for example, News on "Tinggi: Melek Politik Warga Banda Aceh" in newspaper of *Aceh Tribun*, on July 31, 2015. Available online also at: <http://aceh.tribunnews.com/2015/07/31/tinggi-melek-politik-warga-banda-aceh>

Referring to the results of a research study by Pol Tracking Institute, regarding political literacy of urban inhabitants in 2014, those three types of media were the most dominantly-used source of information, i.e. 64 percent: socialization provided by the Independent Election Commission by using billboards was 19 percent; and campaign by political parties, legislative candidates, and campaign team was only 7 percent (Miller & Bunnell, 2010; Bappeda Kota Banda Aceh, 2015; and *ibidem* with footnote 4).

The Elected Female Candidates as Members of Banda Aceh Legislative Council in 2014-2019. Lack of female representation in the parliament can be tricked by strengthening and decreasing the cut off quota to increase the possibility of winning for female candidates. In addition, the establishment of a policy which encourages the female candidate names on the top of the list in all electoral sub-districts. We also need harsh punishment for political parties, which cannot meet the requirement to fill the quota of female candidates. This is essential, because the law regarding political parties and Election is one of the parameters for gender equality (*cf* Azza *et al.*, 2009; Vermonte *et al.*, 2014; and Kenawas, 2018).⁵

Banda Aceh has five electoral areas. From the five areas, only one female candidate won the Election in 2014. There were 12 national political parties and 3 local political parties as the participants of the Simultaneous Local Election. From those 15 political parties, only one party had their female candidate won the Election. The tables 1-5 presented the winning candidates in the 2014 Election, as being reported by IEC (Independent Election Commission) of Banda Aceh in 2014.

From five electoral areas in Banda Aceh, only one area resulted in significantly high number of votes for a female candidate to surpass her rivals, both in the same party and other parties, in the electoral area of Banda

[com/2015/07/31/tinggi-melek-politik-warga-banda-aceh](https://www.tribunnews.com/2015/07/31/tinggi-melek-politik-warga-banda-aceh) [accessed in Banda Aceh, Indonesia: January 7, 2019].

⁵See also, for example, News on "Kuota 30% Perempuan di Parlemen Belum Pernah Tercapai" in *Tirto* [news agency], on January 7, 2019. Available online also at: <https://tirto.id/kuota-30-perempuan-di-parlemen-belum-pernah-tercapai> [accessed in Banda Aceh, Indonesia: May 20, 2019].

Table 1:
Electoral Area of Banda Aceh 1 (Meraxa-Kutaraja)

No.	Political Parties	Candidate Number	Winning Candidates	Votes	Rank
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
1.	PND (<i>Partai Nasional Demokrat</i> or Democratic National Party)	2	Ir. M. Ali	518	1
2.	PD (<i>Partai Demokrat</i> or Democratic Party)	3	Tgk. Januar Hasan	655	1
3.	PAN (<i>Partai Amanat Nasional</i> or National Mandate Party)	2	Ismawardi	412	1
4.	PKPI (<i>Partai Keadilan dan Persatuan Indonesia</i> or Indonesian United and Justice Party)	1	Daniel Abdul Wahab	550	1

Table 2:
Electoral Area of Banda Aceh 2 (Kuta Alam)

No.	Political Parties	Candidate Number	Winning Candidates	Votes	Rank
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
1.	PKS (<i>Partai Keadilan Sejahtera</i> or Prosperity Justice Party)	1	Farid Nyak Umar, S.T.	550	1
2.	Partai GOLKAR (<i>Golongan Karya</i> or Functional Group Party)	1	Sabri Badruddin, S.T.	993	1
3.	Partai GERINDRA (<i>Gerakan Indonesia Raya</i> or Great Indonesian Movement Party)	1	Mahyiddin	420	1
4.	PD (<i>Partai Demokrat</i> or Democratic Party)	1	Aiyub Bukhari, S.Pd.	1,015	1
5.	PPP (<i>Partai Persatuan Pembangunan</i> or Development United Party)	4	M. Nasir, B.Sc.	489	1
6.	PA (<i>Partai Aceh</i> or Acehness Party)	1	T. Hendra Budiansyah	905	1

Aceh 4, i.e. Baiturrahman and Lueng Bata sub-districts. The winning candidate for the term of office of 2014-2019 was Syarifah Munirah, who secured 845 votes. This means that the voters in Banda Aceh, in the 2014 Election, did not consider voting for female candidates to sit in the parliament, including female voters themselves. If we consider the different numbers of voters between male and female, the number of female voters is higher (Walby, 2009; IEC, 2014; Ihsan *et al.* eds., 2014; Syah *et al.*, 2014; and Muthaleb, 2019).

Syarifah Munirah was nominated by the PPP (*Partai Persatuan Pembangunan* or Development United Party) in the 2014 Election for Banda Aceh Legislative Council in the electoral area IV, which covers Bairuttahman and Lueng Bata sub-district. With this votes, she is the only female candidates, who won the seat in Banda Aceh Legislative Council for the term of office of

2014-2019 from the PPP for Banda Aceh Legislative Council (Ihsan *et al.* eds., 2014; Syah *et al.*, 2014; and Muthaleb, 2019).⁶

The success of Syarifah Munirah was also motivated by her fame as an Acehness actor, so the people in Banda Aceh often saw her on local TV (Television). It made her easier to secure votes in the 2014 Election. In addition, she had adequate organizational experience, because she was involved in the PKK (*Pergerakan Kesejahteraan Keluarga* or Family Welfare Movement) of Banda Aceh. Therefore, when she ran the campaign for a position in Banda Aceh Legislative Council, the people responded it positively, especially among female voters as the female representative (*cf* Ihsan *et al.* eds., 2014; Syah *et al.*, 2014; Hillman, 2017; and Muthaleb, 2019).

⁶See also, for example, "Syarifah Munirah" in *DPRK Banda Aceh*, on June 8, 2015. Available online also at: <https://dprk-bandaaceh.go.id/berita-711-syarifah-munirah.html> [accessed in Banda Aceh, Indonesia: October 28, 2018].

Table 3:
Electoral Area of Banda Aceh 3 (Syiah Kuala-Ulee Kareng)

No. (1)	Political Parties (2)	Candidate Number (3)	Winning Candidates (4)	Votes (5)	Rank (6)
1.	PND (<i>Partai Nasional Demokrat</i> or Democratic National Party)	4	H. Heri Julius, S.Sos.	818	1
2.	PKS (<i>Partai Keadilan Sejahtera</i> or Prosperity Justice Party)	1	Mukminan, S.E.	891	1
3.	Partai GOLKAR (<i>Golongan Karya</i> or Functional Group Party)	2	Askari, S.Sos.	521	1
4.	PD (<i>Partai Demokrat</i> or Democratic Party)	3	H. Isnaini Husda, S.E.	687	1
5.	PAN (<i>Partai Amanat Nasional</i> or National Mandate Party)	2	Mahdi, S.Ag.	516	1
6.	PDA (<i>Partai Damai Aceh</i> or Acehness Peace Party)	4	H. Azhar	1,203	1
7.	PA (<i>Partai Aceh</i> or Acehness Party)	4	Ir. Bunyamin	785	1

Table 4:
Electoral Area of Banda Aceh 4 (Baiturrahman-Lueng Bata)

No. (1)	Political Parties (2)	Candidate Number (3)	Winning Candidates (4)	Votes (5)	Rank (6)
1.	PD (<i>Partai Demokrat</i> or Democratic Party)	2	Abdul Rafur	1,204	1
2.	PKS (<i>Partai Keadilan Sejahtera</i> or Prosperity Justice Party)	1	Zulfikar	466	1
3.	Partai GOLKAR (<i>Golongan Karya</i> or Functional Group Party)	2	H. Iskandar Mahmud, S.H.	865	1
4.	PD (<i>Partai Demokrat</i> or Democratic Party)	1	Royes Ruslan, S.H.	623	1
5.	PAN (<i>Partai Amanat Nasional</i> or National Mandate Party)	1	Khairul Basyar	918	1
6.	PPP (<i>Partai Persatuan Pembangunan</i> or Development United Party)	5	Syarifah Munirah, S.Ag.	845	1
7.	PA (<i>Partai Aceh</i> or Acehness Party)	2	Razali Ismail	686	1

The positive response from the female voters to Syarifah Munirah was also encouraged by her strong will to fight for the people, especially in ensuring rights, honor, and dignity of women. Her efforts to fight for the people, especially woman, and to make women the priority of her work, even before she ran the campaign were evident from her activities in Banda Aceh Family Welfare Movement and *Balee Inong* (Forum of Women). In the campaign, she expressed her intention to make women in Banda Aceh all beautiful in the sense of intelligence, activeness, bravery, innovation, and creativity. She claimed that if she could bring those to happen in Banda Aceh, Banda Aceh will develop well because, according to Syarifah

Munirah, the developments starts from women. She, then, stated as following here:

It is women, who educate children well at home. If women are intelligent, their children will be intelligent and become the future generation, who will continue fighting for the nation and religion.⁷

The Chance for Female Legislative Candidates in Banda Aceh in the 2019 Election. The 2019 Simultaneous Local Election becomes new history, because the Election for legislative members takes

⁷As cited in the News on "Syarifah Munirah: Satu-satunya Perempuan yang Lolos ke DPRK Banda Aceh" in newspaper of *Aceh Tribun*, on April 27, 2014. Available online also at: <http://aceh.tribunnews.com/2014/04/27/syarifah-munirah-satu-satunya-perempuan-yang-lolos-ke-dprk-banda-aceh> [accessed in Banda Aceh, Indonesia: January 8, 2019].

Table 5:
Electoral Area of Banda Aceh 5 (Jaya Baru-Banda Raya)

No.	Political Parties	Candidate Number	Winning Candidates	Votes	Rank
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
1.	PND (<i>Partai Nasional Demokrat</i> or Democratic National Party)	3	T. Iqbal Djohan	1,725	1
2.	PKS (<i>Partai Keadilan Sejahtera</i> or Prosperity Justice Party)	2	Irwansyah, S.T.	762	1
3.	Partai GERINDRA (<i>Gerakan Indonesia Raya</i> or Great Indonesian Movement Party)	1	Ramza Harli, S.E.	916	1
4.	PD (<i>Partai Demokrat</i> or Democratic Party)	1	Arif Fadillah, S.I.Kom.	986	1
5.	PPP (<i>Partai Persatuan dan Pembangunan</i> or Development United Party)	1	H. Ilmiza Sa'aduddin Djamal	1,035	1
6.	PA (<i>Partai Aceh</i> or Acehnese Party)	5	Tasrif B., S.T.	609	1

place at the same time of the Presidential Election. All political parties as the Election participants compete to win seats in Indonesian House of Representatives, Aceh House of Representatives, and District Legislative Council. Banda Aceh is one of the most important areas in the political contest, both in Provincial and Municipality level. In the context of District Legislative Council member selection in 2019, there will be stiff competition among candidates from the same and different political parties (Karim, Hanif & Arti eds., 2014; Hillman, 2017; and Muller, 2019).

The caderization process for female candidates was not systematic in political parties. Therefore, there are very few good female candidates, who are potential to win the Election. In addition, political parties only used female candidates as complementary candidates to meet the quota requirement of 30 percent in nominating candidates, and the female candidates were given non-strategic candidate number. Number 1 and other strategic numbers were given to male candidates. Although the candidate number is not a determining factor in getting votes, it influences the level of electability. The efforts to increase the participation of female candidates in public service and politics have been done through many programs of woman empowerment. In specific, the Department of Women Empowerment and Child Protection has provided politic education for women,

and leadership training for potential women in the village level (Affiat, 2017; Darwin, 2017; and Kenawas, 2018).

The female representation in politics and decision making, and the role and participation of female citizens in politics, have not improved. It is evident from the number of strategic positions held by women in legislative, executive, judicative councils, political parties, and other professional organization in Aceh (Mulia & Farida, 2009; Walby, 2009; and Kenawas, 2018).⁸

The 2019 Election is participated by 20 political parties, 16 of them are national political parties and the other 4 are local political parties. From 20 political parties with five electoral areas, there is thus being 528 candidates although not all political parties are able to fill the quota in each electoral areas. There are some political parties which do not have any candidate in certain electoral areas. The number of seats available in Banda Aceh People's Representative Council is 30. It is very interesting to predict the chance for female candidates to obtain votes in the area where the voters are mostly rational (*cf* Hillman, 2012; Verge, 2016; Muller, 2019; and Nainggolan & Wahyu, 2019).

⁸See also, for example, News on "Perempuan Aceh Siap Merebut Kursi Perlemen pada Pemilu 2019" in *Riau Kontras* [news agency], on 28th July 2018. Available online also at: <http://www.riaukontras.com/read-701-9912-2018-07-28-kppa-perempuan-aceh-siap-merebut-kursi-parlemen-pada-pemilu-2019> [accessed in Banda Aceh, Indonesia: January 10, 2019].

Based on the results of the 2014 Election participated by 15 political parties, the level of electability of female candidates are very low in Banda Aceh. This shows that the role of female citizens in politics has not been positively accepted in Banda Aceh. From 30 percent quota for female candidates, only 3.3 percent of the seats were occupied (Mulia & Farida, 2009; Kenawas, 2018; Muller, 2019; and Nainggolan & Wahyu, 2019).

Female candidates have two weaknesses, which prevent them from competing in an open proportional system, i.e. economic capital and social basis. Female figures are often found in political parties, especially in District levels. They have a social basis, they work voluntarily to develop the political parties, they are adamant to adjust with party's up and down, but they do not have adequate capital. They are appreciated by their party by nominating them in non-potential candidate number (3, 6, 9, etc.), defeated by other new members, either male or female members, who have adequate financial capital but lack social basis (Azza *et al.*, 2009; Walby, 2009; Barron, Rahman & Nugroho, 2017; Kenawas, 2018; and Muller, 2019).

Another inhibiting factor is related to patriarchal culture, which often discriminates women, the multi-responsibility held by women in private and public spaces, and view that education and political competence of a woman is inferior to a man. The female representation in the Parliament needs to be considered more seriously, because their presence in the Parliament gives them the authority to establish policies which can contribute to achieving rights for women, especially those related to gender equality. Man often cannot represent the woman interest, due to difference experience and interest (Mulia & Farida, 2009; Kenawas, 2018; and Muller, 2019).⁹

Therefore, political parties need to combine the two factors (financial capital and social basis) with the internal affirmation.

Firstly, the political party may place the female candidate's name first on the list (number 1) for at least 30 percent of the candidates in electoral areas. Thus, the potential winning for the female candidates will be higher. Secondly, female candidates which are on the top of the list should be prioritized for potential candidates, who have a strong social basis and active in activities organized by the political party although they lack financial capital. Therefore, the political party can still nominate people with strong financial capital without ignoring other candidates, who have worked hard to develop the party. In fact, the challenge for female representation is not merely on improving the number of elected candidates. It is only a gate to achieve the representation for the people's welfare (*cf* Mulia & Farida, 2009; Edwards & Roces, 2010; Kenawas, 2018; and Muller, 2019).¹⁰

In addition to the efforts which political parties should consider, there are also two things that female citizens should act on for the 2019 Election. Firstly, they have to prepare strong female politicians who can compete with male candidates in terms of ideas, network, knowledge, and financial ability. Secondly, they should devise strategies which can work to win the heart of female voters and all other voters.

The chance for female candidates to win a seat in Banda Aceh People's Representative Council is very high, although the 2014 Election has proven that the female representation was very low. The 2019 Simultaneous Election would become a purpose of female citizens to obtain more votes than their male counterparts. This factor should be supported by political parties by placing the female candidate names on the strategic number on the list in order to attract more votes. However, political parties usually place the female candidate on number 3 or lower. This influences the level of electability for a

⁹See again, for example, News on "Kuota 30% Perempuan di Parlemen Belum Pernah Tercapai" in *Tirto* [news agency], on January 7, 2019. Available online also at: <https://tirto.id/kuota-30-perempuan-di-parlemen-belum-pernah-tercapai> [accessed in Banda Aceh, Indonesia: May 20, 2019].

¹⁰See also, for example, News on "Tantangan Keterwakilan Perempuan 2019" in *Rumah Pemilu* [news agency]. Available online also at: <http://rumahpemilu.org/tantangan-keterwakilan-perempuan-2019> [accessed in Banda Aceh, Indonesia: January 10, 2019].

female candidate for Banda Aceh People's Representative Council (Walby, 2009; Kenawas, 2018; and Prihatini, 2019).

CONCLUSION

Lack of female representation in Banda Aceh People's Representative Council has drawn attention to a lot of people. There are a lot of challenges that female candidates face to win a seat in the Local People's Representative Council. They need to work hard to secure votes in a political party in their electoral areas. The challenges that female candidates faced in Banda Aceh were rational voters and views that it is a man who should be leaders, not a woman.

Another inhibiting factor is related to patriarchal culture which often discriminates women, the multi-responsibility held by women in private and public spaces, and view that education and political competence of a woman is inferior to a man. The female representation in the Parliament needs to be considered more seriously, because their presence in the Parliament gives them the authority to establish policies which can contribute to achieving rights for women, especially those related to gender equality. Man often cannot represent the woman interest, due to difference experience and interest.

The role of political parties in placing female members in organization structure in the level of DPP (*Dewan Pimpinan Pusat* or Central Executive Board); DPD (*Dewan Pimpinan Daerah* or Regional Executive Council); and DPC (*Dewan Pimpinan Cabang* or Branch Executive Board) should balance it with male members. The female members should not be used only to fill the organization structure. The top positions cannot be filled only by male members in party management. If this keeps happening, the level of electability for female candidates will remain low. Furthermore, political parties should also find legislative candidates, who have a high social basis and strong financial ability.¹¹

¹¹**Statement:** Herewith, we declare that this paper is an original of our work and has never been submitted for another journal. This paper is purely our own ideas, formulas, and

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research, without helping of others. In this paper, there is no copyright works or opinion that has been written or published by others, except in writing clearly listed as a reference in the text with the name of the authors and listed in the References. Finally, we have made this statement in truth; and if there is any distortion and untruth in this statement, then, we are willing to accept the sanction based on the international journalism ethics.

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A Female Legislator of Aceh

(Source: <https://www.acehimage.com/persatuan-dan-pembangunan, 31/8/2018>)

Syarifah Munirah was nominated by the PPP (*Partai Persatuan Pembangunan* or Development United Party) in the 2014 Election for Banda Aceh Legislative Council in the electoral area IV, which covers Bairuttahman and Lueng Bata sub-district. With this votes, she is the only female candidates, who won the seat in Banda Aceh Legislative Council for the term of office of 2014-2019 from the PPP for Banda Aceh Legislative Council.