

Elected Without Buying Vote: Woman Candidate, Canvassing, and Programmatic Campaign in the 2019 Local Legislative Election

Noor Rohman and Holilah

Abstract

Although extensive studies have been carried out on women candidates in the Indonesia election, no specific attention discusses elected women candidates without relying on vote-buying. This paper seeks to explain how and to what extent the winning strategy of a woman candidate elected with limited financial resources. We argue that door-to-door canvassing and programmatic campaign through social media are a crucial alternative strategy for a woman candidate to mobilize voters. The argument builds based on the case study of an elected woman candidate from the Indonesian Solidarity Party at district 10 of the Jakarta Provincial Parliament. This article shows that a woman candidate prioritized personal communication with voters directly and policy program campaign as a central winning strategy. There is a more optimistic story about an elected woman candidate in the local legislative election when compared to previous studies. Our findings confirm that a woman candidate could secure the parliament seat without relying on vote-buying, political dynasty, and male power.

Keywords

Women candidate; canvassing; programmatic campaign; candidate strategies; local legislative election

Introduction

For many years, women candidate is a significant discussions topics in gender and politics (see Carroll 1994; Herrnson, Lay, and Stokes 2003; Fox and Lawless 2004; Niven 2006; Krook 2010; Hinojosa 2012). In the Indonesian context, research on women candidates in the legislative elections (2019; 2014) has shown that dynastic connections and networks of political elites determine the success of women candidates. Elected women candidates in parliament also still depend on male power (Puskapol UI 2019, 2014). In the 2019 legislative election, the number

Noor Rohman is a lecturer at the Department of Political Science, Faculty of Social and Political Science, State Islamic University (UIN) of Sunan Ampel Surabaya, Indonesia.

Holilah is a lecturer at the Department of Political Science, Faculty of Social and Political Science, State Islamic University (UIN) of Sunan Ampel Surabaya, Indonesia.

Corresponding Author:

Noor Rohman, Department of Political Science, Faculty of Social and Political Science, State Islamic University (UIN) of Sunan Ampel Surabaya, Indonesia.

Email: noor.rohman@uinsby.ac.id

of elected women candidates who have dynastic connections has increased, from 36% in the 2014 legislative election to 41% (White and Aspinall 2019, 5). At the same time, the dominant strategies for winning the election (both women and men) are vote-buying and patronage politics (Aspinall and Berenschot 2019; Muhtadi 2019; Aspinall and Sukmajati 2016). In short, literature that investigates elected women candidates without relying on dynastic connections and vote-buying is still limited.

Scholars have devoted much attention to discussing women candidates in the Indonesia election (see Prihartini 2020; White and Aspinall 2019; Puskapol UI 2019, 2014; Choi 2018; Hilman 2018; Purwanti 2015; Shair-Rosenfield 2012). However, no specific attention discusses elected women candidates without relying on vote-buying. This paper seeks to explain how and to what extent the winning strategy of a woman candidate elected with limited financial resources. The authors argue that door-to-door canvassing and programmatic campaign through social media are a crucial alternative strategy for a woman candidate to mobilize voters. To strengthen the argument, we elaborate elected woman candidate from the Indonesian Solidarity Party at the electoral district 10 of the Jakarta Provincial Parliament¹.

The discussion in this article proceeds as follows. The first section is a literature review about studies on women candidates in Indonesia. The second section contains a description of the case selection which briefly describes Eneng Malianasari's profile, then continues with a glimpse explanation of her experience of the nomination process at the Indonesian Solidarity Party. The third section describes door-to-door canvassing as the central strategy that influences her success in gaining a parliamentary seat. Finally, we continue the discussion by presenting the programmatic campaign through social media, specifically Facebook. Programmatic campaigns in this way, apart from enabling to invite public sympathy, are also useful for generating material support from the public.

Literature Review

Women Candidate in Indonesia Election

There are two crucial aspects discussing women as candidates, the recruitment process and success in winning the election (Carroll 1994, 5). In Indonesia, many scholars have explained that the process of recruiting women candidates still fulfills the nomination quota requirements for women (Purwanti 2015, 35) in terms of normative and pragmatic motivations (Choi 2018, 5). The candidacy of women in the 2019 legislative election had no significant changes. The implementation of the quota was still only to fulfill the requirements of political parties as election participants (Puskapol UI 2019). Generally, political parties are still half-hearted in implementing and realizing gender quotas in political recruitment. Political parties do not have provisions on party policies to

¹ The electoral district 10 (West Jakarta City B) includes the subdistricts of Taman Sari, Grogol Petamburan, Palmerah, Kebon Jeruk, and Kembangan.

implement gender mainstreaming strategies and women quota policy (Soetjipto and Adelina 2012).

Previous research on elected women candidates confirmed that political dynasty and male power determine the success of women candidates in parliament (Puskapol UI 2019, 2014; Hilman 2018, 331). Many elected women candidates have very little political capital, relying on financial resources and elite political networks (Soetjipto 2011, 122). In other words, while the gender quota has a positive impact on women's political representation, the gender quota was hijacked by women who came from dynastic connections² and elite networks. With these connections, those women certainly have access to adequate financial resources to campaign and win elections. Although some of them are talented and capable, most resulting from family connections (White and Aspinall 2019, 5). It means that patriarchal political culture does not become an obstacle for women from privileged families (Choi 2018, 5).

Nevertheless, several works of literature argued that patriarchal political culture is the central factor that hinders the success of women candidates in general (Purwanti 2015, 34), "no matter what institutional changes are introduced" (White and Aspinall 2019, 13). Culturally, most societies are still discriminating against women. They even negatively value vocal women because of the strong patriarchal culture (Mundayat and Liestyasari 2011, 27-44). On the contrary, another literature explained that cultural aspects are an inadequate argument. Although patriarchal culture matters, institutional factors have a more significant effect on the rise and fall of women candidates in the Indonesian election (Hilman 2018, 323). These two factors, culture and institutional, should not be opposed to one another. In contrast, women candidate's strategies also deserve a place in the debate.

Unfortunately, most studies in women candidate in Indonesia does not provide an adequate explanation of the strategy used to win the election in much detail. At the same time, the rich studies on the candidate strategy rarely explore women candidates as the focus (see Aspinall and Sukmajati 2016; Aspinall et al. 2017). These works of literature only focused on vote-buying³, patronage politics, and clientelism. Those are the most dominant strategies of men and women candidates. Their arguments are hard to ignore. Therefore, the study on winning strategies in Indonesian elections needs to be understood in a context dominated by vote-buying, patronage politics, and clientelism.

In recent years, there have been increasing studies on women candidate strategies in winning an election in Indonesia (see Mahsun, Elizabeth, and Mufrikhah, forthcoming; Darwin and Haryanto 2021). The literature showed prodigious findings regarding the winning strategies of women candidates to win elections. Mahsun, Elizabeth, and Mufrikhah (forthcoming) have explained that

² For example, "women tied by blood or marriage to powerful local or national political families" (White and Aspinall 2019, 5)

³ Vote-buying here understood as "the gifting of material rewards, both money and goods, to an individual or household with voting rights, on the day of the poll or several days beforehand" (Rohman 2016, 237).

winning an electoral competition does not require to depend on money politics, relying on the political dynasty and the support of oligarchic political structures. They have argued that robust social capital based on Islamic women's organizations (Muslimat NU and Fatayat NU), use gender issues in campaigns, and target women voters as central success factors for women candidates in winning elections.

Darwin and Haryanto (2021) also conducted almost the same study but emphasized different arguments. They explained that Islamic personalization through social media is a campaign strategy of women candidates to win elections (Darwin and Haryanto 2021, 1-20). Their arguments depart from the political reality of weakening relations between candidates and political parties, as well as increasingly strong political personalization (Aspinall and Berenschot 2019, 65). Although the current literature has addressed women candidate strategies issues, there is no specific attention on the research question about how and to what extend the winning strategy of a woman candidate elected with limited financial resources, as discussed in this article.

Methods

The primary data in this study are the Facebook account, document analysis, and some interview data. The name of the account is "Milliyya" and the Facebook Fanpage account is "Eneng Malianasari, S. Sos". The data used is only data uploaded starting from the nomination period, March 26, 2018, until the inauguration period as an official member in the Jakarta Regional Representative Council (*DPRD DKI Jakarta*), August 2019. All Facebook statuses, comments, images, and videos uploaded to the Facebook account are the primary data. Facebook statuses and comments are important to know what programs and political agendas are campaigned to gain public sympathy. Through her statuses and comments, it was also possible to track the dynamics of the recruitment process as a woman candidate. Also, photos and videos of campaign documentation on Facebook are significant to understand campaign practices that are well documented.

Documents analysis relates to official documents, online news media, online official websites, and academic literature. The academic literature is a key document to portray a map of the debate in studies of women candidates in general, more specifically in the Indonesian context. Official documents, online news media, and online official websites are also significant to get adequate information about Eneng Malianasari and the Indonesian Solidarity Party. A small number of interviews conducted after an official stipulation from the Jakarta Regional General Election Commission (*KPUD DKI Jakarta*) are substantial and meaningful. These interviews are to complement the data findings that have been carried out through the content analysis method.

Results and Discussion

Eneng Malianasari: A Brief Overview as Woman Candidate

Eneng Malianasari (hereafter EM) was born in Garut on January 17, 1987. Her last education was Bachelor at State Islamic University (UIN) of Sunan Gunung Djati, Bandung. Since attending college, she was active in journalism. She was the editor in chief of *Majalah Suara Kampus* (Campus Voice Magazine) published by *Lembaga Pers Mahasiswa SUAKA* (Student Press Institute). After graduating, she still devotes herself to the journalistic world actively in the Journalists Union for Diversity (*Serikat Jurnalis untuk Keberagaman/ SEJUK*), an NGO engaged in journalism, diversity, and protection of human rights. Besides, she also worked at the Unity in Diversity National Alliance (*Aliansi Nasional Bhineka Tunggal Ika*). Since October 2017, she has been active in the Indonesian Solidarity Party. She held the structural position as Secretary of the Jakarta Regional Leadership Council (*DPW DKI Jakarta*).

She then ran for the 2019 local legislative election. Among the motivations for her nomination were to empower women and encourage women's political participation. With this motivation, she also has several more concrete targets namely, collaborating with women's NGOs to provide gender education, leadership, and economic empowerment (official document 2018). It also has program targets to build public facilities, specifically those related to the practical gender interests of women, such as the lactation space. This brief profile explains that her motivation in the political arena is based more on impersonal motivation. Someone who has impersonal motivation is usually present in the political arena for public, social and ideological interests (Asfar in Hadiz 2004, 415)⁴.

The existence of an Independent Selection Committee formed by the Jakarta Regional Leadership Council of the Indonesian Solidarity Party is an effort to make the candidate selection process more inclusive and democratic. According to Hazan and Rahat (2010, 31), the democratic candidate selection process is minimal expresses two things, an inclusive process of candidacy and an inclusive selectorate body. The most inclusive process of candidacy occurs when all citizens have the opportunity to nominate themselves as candidates. When only party members with specific requirements can participate in the candidate selection, this reflects the exclusiveness (Hazan and Rahat 2010, 20). The most inclusive selectorate body is when all citizens have the opportunity to determine the selected candidates. When political parties form a body or delegation assigned to conduct a selection, this reflects the conditions between inclusive and exclusive (Hazan and Rahat 2010, 35).

⁴ This opinion expressed by Moshe Zhudnowski is at least two classifications related to one's motivation to be actively involved in politics; impersonal and personal motivation. Someone who has impersonal motivation is usually present in the political arena characterized by an orientation for public, social and ideological interests. While someone whose motivation is personal, political activities are driven more by the orientation of material rewards (Asfar in Hadiz, 2004: 415).

Although voters and the public are not involved in the voting, they can provide input or suggestions regarding the candidate to be promoted. This candidate selection method has received appreciation from the public. So far, political parties in Indonesia generally have not used this method. This appreciation came from the activists who were directly involved in the selection committee team. Among them is the activist of Indonesian Corruption Watch (ICW), Donald Fariz. He stated that the inclusive selection process for candidates is positive. This method gives the public access to participate in recruiting and nominating their representatives. Inayah Wahid also has a similar appreciation that the Indonesian Solidarity Party had made a more inclusive, open, and transparent candidate selection system. According to her, this mechanism can undermine the domination of elite political party power. In other words, everyone has the same opportunity (Milliyya 2018).

In addition to the selectorate aspect, the Jakarta Regional Leadership Council of the Indonesian Solidarity Party identified as an inclusive political party in terms of candidacy. The inclusive process of candidacy opens up space for every citizen to registers as a candidate for the party. From the provisions of the registration procedure, the candidates consist of the internal cadres and the external community, with a requirement of actively involved in the election-winning program. It means that the nomination process is not only exclusive to internal party members. From the aspect of decentralization, the candidate's nominating process also took place democratically. The Jakarta Regional Leadership Council of the Indonesian Solidarity Party has the authority to select candidates. The nomination process is not centralized through the central executive board of the Indonesian Solidarity Party.

EM and other candidates followed the same process through a fit and proper test until finally they were stipulated as a Provisional Candidate List (*Daftar Caleg Sementara*) by the Jakarta Regional General Election Commission. At the stage of submission of candidate nomination documents in the Jakarta Regional General Election Commission, the Jakarta Regional Leadership Council of Indonesian Solidarity Party officially registered 106 people in 10 electoral districts, with the fulfillment of a women's quota of 33% (Milliyya 2018). Finally, EM was nominated as a candidate at The electoral district 10 (West Jakarta City B), which includes five subdistricts: *Taman Sari*, *Grogol Petamburan*, *Palmerah*, *Kebon Jeruk*, and *Kembangan*. From the aspect of the candidate selection, it is visible that the nomination process takes place democratically. In short, not all women candidates were recruited from dynastic connections and oligarchic political structures.

Door-to-Door Canvassing to Mobilize Voters

In the 2019 local legislative elections in the Jakarta province, women's representation has increased. Twenty-three women candidates were elected from 106 seats, equivalent to 21.7%. In the previous election, the number of women's representation was only 16 seats (Republika 2019). EM is one of the elected candidates. This positive trend of increasing the number of women's representation also occurs at the national level. The women candidates in the 2019

election have made glorious achievements, the highest since the 2004 Election with 20.9% (White and Aspinall 2019, 2). Generally, several factors that determine the increase in the number of women in the parliament include the placement of sequence numbers, electability and popularity of candidates, family mobilization, patronage politics, and clientelism (Puskapol UI 2019). From these factors that relevant in EM, the case is the only placement of a sequence number. The main factor other than the sequence number is door-to-door canvassing to mobilize voters and to get elected.

Since EM was announced in the provisional candidate list, she has started to conduct socialization through door-to-door canvassing (Milliyya 2018). During the campaign period (23 September to 13 April 2019), she routinely introduced herself as a candidate from the Indonesian Solidarity Party at district 10 of the Jakarta provincial parliament. The campaign props used are stickers, profile sheets, and calendars (Milliyya 2018). This socialization is conducted by meeting residents in person and knocking on residents' houses door-to-door. This kind of strategy requires extraordinary courage and patience, even to be prepared to be disappointed. As she acknowledged, in implementing this strategy, not all houses visited were willing to open their doors. Some are willing but do not want to take the time to listen to her campaigns (Milliyya 2018). This is in line with her recognition that:

“Knocking door-to-door, sometimes opened, sometimes there is no answer. Sometimes I have not had time to introduce myself. The owner of the house rushes to say, ‘I have to go’. Then they just go away.” (Milliyya 2018)

However, many residents were also willing to accept and listen to her socialization. One of the factors that supported her face-to-face socialization was the primordial sentiment of being part of the Sundanese ethnic group when she came to areas where many Sundanese people.

This door-to-door canvassing campaign took place intensively for three months before voting time. In the last two months, it held almost every day. According to her explanation, she did not have a structured success team like many candidates in general. On the contrary, she expected the citizen's willingness to help her voluntarily (Eneng Malianasari pers. comm., October 23, 2019). From time to time, EM began to have many voluntary teams, more precisely friends who accompanied or facilitated her to meet residents. Most of the volunteers are young people with the same dream to reform the local parliament with young activists. She is very enthusiastic in carrying out socialization and meeting directly face to face with residents. Even though it was raining, she continued to carry out these activities.

In the last three weeks leading up to the voting on April 17, 2019, she was still in the spirit of campaigning. She came and knocked on people's homes from one door to another (Eneng Malianasari 2019). EM often schedules programmatic campaigns to residents' homes in the afternoon, after Asar. This time is considered the most suitable because around that time easier to meet the residents. Mothers and their children enjoyed their free time, gathering at stalls while caring for their

children (Eneng Malianasari 2019). Besides introduced herself, EM also introduced Grace Natalie (the chairwoman of the Indonesian Solidarity Party) as her tandem partner. She is also campaigning for her political party. As a new political party, it is still not well known to many people. Her experience at *Kampung Salo* showed that all the forty doors knocked on did not know the Indonesian Solidarity Party.

One of the advantages of this strategy is that it increases the chances of getting votes from potential voters because this canvassing can build a positive image for some voters. This strategy is also an entry point to develop more intensive communication with the residents she meets, especially those who use the WhatsApp application chatting. EM recorded the telephone numbers of the citizens she met and developed good relationships with these potential voters. Several things put into practice, for example, sent and shared photos of the documentations with these potential voters (Eneng Malianasari pers. comm., October 23, 2019). This door-to-door canvassing is well-documented. When her photo documentation was uploaded to Facebook, she gained sympathy from her Facebook friends. In general, their comments provide support and praise. Not only that, but some of them give advice related to props used. Some do not agree with sticking the sticker because it is considered disturbing the wall cleanliness and damaging the paint, so more recommendation to the calendars (Thirta 2018).

One of the fascinating stories when doing door-to-door canvassing was when she intelligently refused a resident expecting material rewards in the form of cigarettes. EM said politely, "*I came here to introduce myself as a candidate, if every campaign shares cigarettes, even if it's a pack, the campaign fund will increase largely, later in parliament I will be busy returning my financial capital instead of working for the people*" (Eneng Malianasari 2019). The story shows that she is in a context where patronage politics and vote-buying is normal in society. There are still many voters who expect patronage politics. Most of the candidates usually rely on patronage politics as a dominant winning strategy. Aspinall and several colleagues confirmed in great detail this condition in the 2014 legislative elections (Aspinall and Sukmajati 2016).

Door-to-door canvassing is a crucial alternative strategy for EM in a context dominated by vote-buying and patronage politics. This strategy is a low budget, the costs required are only related to accommodation and transportation for herself (application-based taxis), as well as the production of campaign properties such as calendars and banners. According to her recognition, the financial capital from herself is only around 40-50 million. Besides, there are donations in campaign props from her political party and voluntary donors. If the donations are cashed, from parties around 20 million, and voluntary donations of around 50 million (Eneng Malianasari pers. comm., October 23, 2019). One of her colleagues informed that she classified as a candidate with low financial resources, so it is impossible to do vote-buying (Farid, pers. comm., October 23, 2019). EM clearly stated that "*I never gave any money to voters at all*" (Eneng Malianasari, pers. comm., October 23, 2019).

Programmatic Campaign through Social Media

The phenomenon of winning candidates based on programmatic politics has appeared in several cases of local head elections. Programmatic politics has become an effective instrument to gain voter support. Recent studies on incumbent candidates in local head elections have shown that programmatic politics have a more effective influence in winning electoral competitions without using vote-buying and patronage politics (Mas'udi and Kurniawan 2017; Harjanta 2018; Harjanto, 2019). This kind of programmatic politics refers to Stokes et al. concept (2013: 9), in which programmatic politics has two main criteria, formal and public, and emphasizing the actual distribution of benefits or resources. Thus, the standard for programmatic politics is the concrete distribution in the form of profits or resources organized through formal mechanisms and accessible to the public at large, not only supporters and voters. However, this kind of programmatic politics is more relevant for incumbent (women) candidates.

For newcomer women candidate, programmatic campaigns here understood as political campaigns that prioritize the promotion of policy programs that can benefit the public at large, whether delivered directly to citizens or indirectly by using campaign media⁵. With this definition, then it is clear the difference between programmatic campaign strategy and non-programmatic campaign such as vote-buying. A programmatic campaign is the essence of an electoral democracy campaign. This strategy emphasizes the importance of competing fairly by offering policy ideas, not just buying votes. This kind of programmatic campaign is also more or less carried out by EM through her Facebook account.

In her programmatic campaign through social media, gender-sensitive policy programs have become the main focus of attention. Some of the programs targeted are building public infrastructure that friendly to women, such as lactation rooms, women's economic empowerment, and gender equality education. Her concerns on gender issues and women's interests are expressed through her Facebook account. She socialized a program from the Jakarta government which initiated public complaints of violence against women and children. She also promotes the importance of a health policy that sensitive and friendly to women (Eneng Malianasari 2019). Several studies (Herrnson, Lay, and Stokes 2003; Mahsun, Elizabeth, and Mufrikhah, forthcoming) have shown that a focus on gender issues is favorable for women candidates.

Besides, she also pays attention to free education policy, the tourism sector, and the arts (official document 2018). Her background as a civil society activist helped shape the focus of her attention on these programs. In other words, although gender issues are the main focus concern, she also substantially pays attention to other policy issues. For her, the government must ensure free education for all citizens from an early age to 12 years of compulsory (Eneng

⁵ This kind of understanding of programmatic campaigns was inspired by the concept of 'programmatic linkage' (Kitschelt 2000). According to Kitschelt (2000, 845-846), a programmatic linkage is a form of relationship pattern based on how a politician makes a policy program that benefits all citizens, even though they did not choose it.

Malianasari 2019). She is also trying to do political education by inviting the citizens to use their votes in the 2019 legislative election. This description is in line with her status statement that “your vote will determine the future of Jakarta in the next five years! Help turn Jakarta into a capital city that is environmentally friendly, safe, comfortable, empowered, cultured, and happy” (Eneng Malianasari 2019).

Social media allowed political actors to promote and disseminate messages about their policies among followers and to mobilize voters (Stetka and Surowiec 2019, 123). In short, for certain voter segments, social media can be an effective campaign tool (Darwin and Haryanto 2021). Social media can be used to socialize a candidate's vision, mission, and political program. Not only that, but social media can also be a tool to get material campaign support, especially for candidates who have limited financial resources. The material campaign here is certainly not only in the form of cash money, but also can be in the form of donations campaign props. According to EM, many Indonesian Solidarity Party candidates have limited financial resources, but they have the integrity and sincerity of work to make changes in parliament. She is also explicitly requested material support through her Facebook account, more precisely in her Facebook comment she states that “moral and material support are welcome” (Milliyya 2018).

Even with limited financial resources, EM was finally elected as an official member in the Jakarta province parliament for the 2019-2024 period. From the results of the vote count, she achieved vote total of 4,645 votes (*KPUD 2019*). This result achievement is indeed the lowest when compared to the totals votes of the elected candidates in the electoral district 10 of the Jakarta province⁶. But, in terms of winning an election without buying votes, the totals of votes are certainly a success that deserves appreciation. In other words, the two factors described above have a glorious influence on mobilizing voters. However, apart from these two factors, the political party vote factor (57,187 votes) should not be overlooked regarding her success in securing one seat in the local parliament.

Conclusion

Our analysis of this elected woman candidate shows that the central strategies to be elected are door-to-door canvassing and programmatic campaign through social media. Those strategies have a glorious contribution in mobilizing voters. EM finally could succeed and be elected as legislators at the local parliament without relying on vote-buying and dynastic connections. Financially, she did not have sufficient economic resources to fund the campaign and organize the success team as most candidates do to win the electoral contest. Even though she was part of the party's structural elite, her political career was built on the route of civil-society activism, and she started in a newcomer political party. In

⁶ The elected candidate who received the most votes (30,591 votes) was a cadre of the Indonesian Democratic Party of Struggle (PDI-P) who is also a former staff member of Basuki Tjahaja Purnama or Ahok, Ima Mahdiah (Tempo 2019).

other words, there is a more optimistic story about elected woman candidate in Indonesia election when compared to previous research. This case study has shown that a woman candidate could secure the parliament seat without relying on vote-buying, political dynasty, and male power.

Also, the nomination process of EM in the Indonesian Solidarity Party ran transparent and democratic through a fit and proper test. Therefore, we implicitly indicate that a woman candidate who is nominated through the democratic selection method prioritizes democratic campaign strategies as an alternative to win electoral competitions. Woman candidate is also competitively able to participate in the candidate's selection process in an inclusive method. Nevertheless, the relationship between democratic candidate selection methods and women candidate's strategy needs to be elaborated in-depth in separate research. Many pieces of literature have been discussed the relationship between candidate selection methods and women's candidacy (see Niven 1998; Yang and Gelb 2019), with dynamic debates regarding positive or negative effects. We are not intended to contribute to the debates.

This article has enriched the debate in the study of women candidate strategies in winning the election. However, there are still contains some inevitable limitations. First, the literature review is isolated in the Indonesian context, thus ignoring the literature debate on women candidates strategies in a global context, which is growing richly. Second, the case selection is too small in just one local electoral district and one political party. Therefore, for the following research, it is necessary to conduct a more comparative study related to the elected women candidates without relying on vote-buying or with limited financial resources, for example, between local districts or among regions (province/ regency/ city), and across political parties. It is also necessary to expand the literature debate in a global context.[]

Acknowledgements

An earlier version of this article was presented at the 19th Annual International Conference on Islamic Studies 2019 (October 1-4, Jakarta), organized by the Ministry of Religious Affairs, General Directorate of Islamic Education, Directorate of Islamic Higher Education. We would like to express our gratitude to the organizers and participants for their valuable feedback.

References

- Asfar, Muhammad. 2004. "Wanita dan Politik: Antara Karier Pribadi dan Jabatan Suami." In *Perempuan dalam Wacana Politik Orde Baru*, edited by Liza Hadiz. Jakarta: LP3ES.
- Aspinall, Edward, and Ward Berenschot. 2019. *Democracy for Sale: Elections, Clientelism, and the State in Indonesia*. New York: Cornell University Press.

-
- Aspinall, Edward and Mada Sukmajati, eds. 2016. *Electoral Dynamics in Indonesia: Money Politics, Patronage and Clientelism at the Grassroots*. Singapura: NUS Press.
- Aspinall, Edward, Noor Rohman, Ahmad Zainul Hamdi, Rubaidi, and Zusiana Elly Triantini. 2017. "Vote Buying in Indonesia: Candidate Strategies, Market Logic and Effectiveness." *Journal of East Asian Studies* 17, no. 1 (March): 1-27. <https://doi.org/10.1017/jea.2016.31>.
- Carroll, Susan J. 1994. *Women as candidates in American politics (2nd ed.)*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press.
- Choi, Nankyung. 2018. "Women's political pathways in Southeast Asia". *International Feminist Journal of Politics* 21, no. 2: 224-248. <https://doi.org/10.1080/14616742.2018.1523683>.
- Darwin, Rizkika Lhena, and Haryanto. 2021. "Women candidates and Islamic personalization in social media campaigns for local parliament elections in Indonesia." *South East Asia Research*. <https://doi.org/10.1080/0967828X.2021.1878928>.
- Eneng Malianasari S.sos. 2019. Facebook. <https://www.facebook.com/sistmilli/>.
- Fox, R. L., and J. L. Lawless. 2004. "Entering the arena? Gender and the decision to run for office." *American Journal of Political Science* 48, no. 2 (April): 264-280.
- Harjanta, SL. 2018. "Programmatic Goods and the Key to Electoral Victory in the Regional Elections in Kulon Progo, Special Administrative Region of Yogyakarta." *PCD Journal* 6, no. 1: 85-116. <https://doi.org/10.22146/pcd.31792>.
- Harjanto, Irwan. 2019. "Identity and Programmatic Politics in a Javanese Village Chief Election: The Case of Temon Kulon, Yogyakarta". *PCD Journal* 7, no. 2 (December): 225-253. <https://doi.org/10.22146/pcd.52510>.
- Hazan, Reuven Y. and Gideon Rahat. 2010. *Democracy within Parties: Candidate Selection Methods and Their Political Consequences*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Herrnson, PS, JC Lay and AK Stokes. 2003. "Women running "as women": candidate gender, campaign issues, and voter-targeting strategies." *The Journal of Politics* 65, no. 1: 244-255.
- Hillman, Ben. 2018. "The Limits of Gender Quotas: Women's Parliamentary Representation in Indonesia." *Journal of Contemporary Asia* 48, no. 2: 322-338. <https://doi.org/10.1080/00472336.2017.1368092>.

-
- Hinojosa, M. 2012. *Selecting women, electing women: Political representation and candidate selection in Latin America*. Philadelphia: Temple University Press.
- Kitschelt, Herbert. 2000. "Linkages Between Citizens and Politicians in Democratic Politics." *Comparative Political Studies* 33, no. 6/7 (August/September): 845-879.
- Krook, Mona Lena. 2010. "Why Are Fewer Women Than Men Elected? Gender and the Dynamics of Candidate Selection." *Political Studies Review* 8, no. 2 (May): 155-168. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1478-9302.2009.00185.x>.
- Mahsun, Muhammad, Misbah Zulfa Elizabeth, and Solkhah Mufrikhah. Forthcoming. "Female Candidates, Islamic Women's Organisations, and Clientelism in the 2019 Indonesian Elections." *Journal of Current Southeast Asian Affairs*.
- Mas'udi, Wawan, and Nanang Indra Kurniawan. 2017. "Programmatic politics shapes voters preference: Kulon Progo Election 2017." *Contemporary Southeast Asia* 39, no. 3 (December): 449-469 .
- Milliyya. 2018. Facebook. <https://www.facebook.com/malya.dhenaza>.
- Muhtadi, Burhanudin. 2019. *Vote Buying in Indonesia: The Mechanics of Electoral Bribery*. Singapore: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Mundayat, Aris Arif, dan Siany Indria Liestyasari. 2011. "Ketika Perempuan Surakarta Berpolitik". *Jurnal AFIRMASI*: 27-44.
- Niven, David. 2006. "Throwing your hat out of the ring: Negative recruitment and the gender imbalance in state legislative candidacy." *Politics & Gender* 2, no. 4: 473-489. <https://doi.org/10.1017/S1743923X06060120>.
- Prihatini, Ella S. 2020. "Islam, Parties, and Women's Political Nomination in Indonesia." *Politics & Gender* 16, no. 3: 637-659. <https://doi.org/10.1017/S1743923X19000321>.
- Purwanti, Ani. 2015. "Quota Laws for Women in Politics: Implementation in Indonesia." *South East Asia Journal of Contemporary Business, Economics and Law* 6, no. 4 (April): 28-36.
- Puskapol UI. 2019. "Rilis Media Analisa Perolehan Kursi Pemilu DPR dan Dpd RI tahun 2019: Kekerabatan dan Klientalisme dalam Keterwakilan Politik." Press Release, Last modified May 27, 2019. <https://www.puskapol.ui.ac.id/press-release/rilis-media-analisa-perolehan-kursi-pemilu-dpr-dan-dpd-ri-tahun-2019-kekerabatan-dan-klientalisme-dalam-keterwakilan-politik.html>.
- Puskapol UI. 2014. "Analisis Perolehan Suara dalam Pemilu 2014: Oligarki Politik Di Balik Keterpilihan Caleg Perempuan." Publikasi Hasil Riset, Last modified

- May 20, 2014. https://www.puskapol.ui.ac.id/publikasi_puskapol/analisis-perolehan-suara-dalam-pemilu-2014-oligarki-politik-dibalik-keterpilihan-caleg-perempuan.html.
- Kartika, Mimi. 2019. "Keterwakilan Perempuan di DPRD DKI Meningkat". *Republika*, August 14, 2019. <https://www.republika.co.id/berita/pw8597335/keterwakilan-perempuan-di-dprd-dki-meningkat>.
- Rohman, Noor. 2016. "Pati, Central Java: Targets, Techniques and Meanings of Vote Buying." In *Electoral Dynamics in Indonesia*, edited by Edward Apinall and Mada Sukmajati, 233–48. Singapore: NUS Press.
- Shair-Rosenfield, Sarah. 2012. "The alternative incumbency effect: Electing women legislators in Indonesia". *Electoral Studies* 31, no. 3 (September): 576-587. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.electstud.2012.05.002>.
- Soetjipto, Ani Widyani. 2011. *Politik Harapan: Perjalanan Politik Perempuan Indonesia Pasca Reformasi*. Tangerang: Marjin Kiri.
- Soetjipto, Ani Widyani, dan Shelly Adelina. 2012. *Partai Politik dan Strategi Gender Separuh Hati*. Jakarta: Parentesis Publisher.
- Stetka, Vaclav, Paweł Surowiec, and Jaromír Mazák. 2019. "Facebook as an instrument of election campaigning and voters' engagement: Comparing Czechia and Poland". *European Journal of Communication* 34, no. 2 (April): 121-141. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0267323118810884>.
- Stokes, Susan C., Thad Dunning, Marcelo Nazareno, Valeria Brusco. 2013. *Brokers, Voters, and Clientelism: The Puzzle of Distributive Politics*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Wijaya, Lani Diana. 2019. "Staf Ahok Raup Suara Terbanyak Partai di Dapil 10 Jakarta Barat". *Tempo*, May 11, 2019. <https://metro.tempo.co/read/1204203/staf-ahok-raup-suara-terbanyak-partai-di-dapil-10-jakarta-barat/full&view=ok>.
- Yang, Wan-Ying, and Joyce Gelb. 2019. "Is democratic nomination good for women's candidacy? Examining the case of Taiwan." *Asian Journal of Women's Studies* 25, no. 1: 2-29. <https://doi.org/10.1080/12259276.2019.1577030>.
- White, Sally, and Aspinall Edward. 2019. "Why does a good woman lose? Barriers to women's political representation in Indonesia." *New Mandala*, December 03, 2019. www.newmandala.org/wp-content/uploads/2019/12/White-Aspinall-Why-Does-a-Good-Woman-Lose.pdf.

Author Biographies

Noor Rohman is a lecturer at the Department of Political Science, Faculty of Social and Political Science, State Islamic University (UIN) of Sunan Ampel Surabaya, Indonesia. He completed his Master's in the Department of Politics and Government at Gadjah Mada University Yogyakarta. His research interests include democratic governance, gender politics, and social welfare policies.

Email: noor.rohman@uinsby.ac.id

Holilah is a lecturer at the Department of Political Science, Faculty of Social and Political Science, State Islamic University (UIN) of Sunan Ampel Surabaya, Indonesia. She obtained her Master's in Social Science Program at Airlangga University. Her research covers gender, public administration, and electoral democracy.

Email: holilah@uinsby.ac.id