



Female Candidates and Education. Can Education Issues Make Female Candidates Win?

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Abstract. This paper explains the use of education issues by female candidates during the 2019 legislative election campaign in the Batu City DPRD, East Java. Through in-depth interviews and observations of campaigns carried out by female candidates, it was discovered that many female candidates running for regional legislative members raised education issues, used more female success teams, and were more comfortable campaigning with women's groups. From the research results, it is known that the use of education issues for female candidates at the local level cannot increase their chances of being elected in legislative elections. However, the author argues that the use of education issues in non-Western countries is because female candidates still feel inferior or not equal to men, so the use of education issues by female candidates is a strategy to enter parliament without solving the problems of patriarchal culture that exist in the non-Western countries. This strategy was taken because of the consideration of the values and norms that develop in a society that perpetuates a patriarchal culture

Keywords: education issue, women candidate; election; gender; feminine issue.

1 INTRODUCTION

There was an increase in women's involvement in the 2019 legislative elections. In the 2014 elections, the number of female candidates competing in the House of Representatives (DPR) was 37.67 percent, while in the 2019 elections, it was 40.08 percent. This shows that political parties have provided more female candidates than in previous elections. In 2019, the system implemented is an open proportional system. The implementation of this system means that one electoral district can produce several legislative members. The population influences determining the number of seats in representative institutions. The greater the population, the greater the number of elected legislative members. This system provides transparency in the names of candidates for legislative members. Voters can find out the names of legislative candidates nominated by political parties on the ballot paper. A candidate's victory in obtaining a seat in the legislative institution is not determined by serial number but by the number of votes obtained. Thus, the serial number does not affect the candidate's victory. Compared to a closed proportional system, this open proportional system will provide greater opportunities for female candidates to get seats in the legislative body. Even though the opportunities are greater, in one electoral district female candidates have to compete with male candidates from the same party or a different party.

At the national level, in the 2019 legislative elections, there were 120 female legislative members out of 575 members of the House of Representatives (DPR). This

means that women's representation in Indonesia is 20.8 percent, which means it is still below the targeted quota of 30 percent. At the local level, namely in Batu City, 5 out of 30 Regional People's Representative Assembly (DPRD) members or 16.67 percent are women. The representation of women in Batu City as a result of the 2019 election decreased from the results of the 2014 election, namely 5 people out of 25 DPRD members or 20 percent. This indicates an increase in the population in Batu City so that the number of people's representatives increases. Unfortunately, the increase in the number of people's representatives has not been accompanied by an increase in women's representation in regional representative institutions. It is difficult for Indonesian women to gain positions as legislative members due to several factors, namely cultural factors, socio-economic factors, political factors, family factors, and the role of female candidates in social movements [1]. Based on these factors, female candidates who have a big chance of qualifying for the election are those who come from celebrities, entrepreneurs, activists, political party administrators, from well-known families, and use their family networks.

The cultural factor mentioned by Berg is the patriarchal culture that develops in society. Patriarchal culture makes people think that leaders (holding positions in government) should be men because leading is not a woman's job. In a patriarchal culture, society differentiates the roles of women and men. For example, women's roles are taking care of the household, educating children, and obeying men's orders. The role of men is as wage earners and as a leader. In Indonesia, where the majority are Muslim, this societal culture is increasingly strengthened by the religious interpretation that men should be leaders.

Apart from differences in roles in everyday life, the existence of gender stereotypes causes differences in the characteristics of the sexes. The qualities of being kind, gentle, obedient, having compassion, putting others first, emotional, polite, egalitarian, competent, weak, and easily fooled are often associated with the characteristics of women. Men are expected to be active, independent, and as determinants or decision makers, greedy, aggressive, and selfish [2], [3]. In the daily lives of women in Indonesia, they are expected to be housekeepers who can educate children, take care of the family's health, and love the family. The gender stereotype that has developed in Indonesian society expects that if women are elected as members of the people's representatives when they take office they will better understand and master issues of education, health, and social services. An issue is grouped into a masculine issue because men are considered to be smarter in handling certain issues because of their inherent characteristics. The issues of education, health, and social services in Indonesia are issues that have been decentralized to regional governments. Batu City is a provider of basic education, health service providers, and social services. The Batu Regency Government formed an Education Service, Health Service, and Social Service to carry out this task. Decentralizing these issues at the regional level and representative candidates at the local level being able to be closer to constituents, will give female candidates at the local level a greater chance of winning [4].

The number of candidates competing in the regional legislative elections in Batu City in 2019 was 314 people. This number is divided into 4 constituencies and 13 to 14 political parties in each electoral district. The number of male candidates was 174

people, while the number of female candidates was 140 people or 44.5 percent. On her way to becoming a member of the DPRD, female candidates in Batu City were faced with several obstacles. First, they face Indonesian society which has a patriarchal culture. In this condition, women do not vote for women because they tend to choose male candidates. This results in the low electability of female candidates. Second, female candidates face campaign funding constraints. The contribution of political parties in funding candidate campaigns, especially female candidates, is very minimal. Conditions like this result in female candidates having to raise their campaign funds. Third, female candidates are faced with limited success team networks. This will result in a shortage of personnel to help the campaign.

When choosing a campaign strategy, these obstacles are a consideration for female candidates in Batu City. The selection of campaign issues is part of the strategy to deal with the obstacles above. Female candidates in Batu City promote feminine issues such as education, health, and socio-cultural issues. The issue most often raised by female candidates in Batu City is the issue of education. This issue was campaigned against women's groups. Rather than raising masculine issues, for example, security or infrastructure issues, uniquely female issues become issues that are felt to give female candidates strength in campaigning. Campaign targets that focus on women's groups also provide the minimal risk of rejection from society due to patriarchal culture.

Education, especially basic education, has become the authority of regional governments. This issue is often identified with feminine issues because it requires persistence and kindness which is often associated with women [5]. At the central level legislative institution, the central government's authority includes defense and security and foreign relations. These issues seem more masculine because they require assertiveness which is usually synonymous with men. Thus, decentralization should provide greater opportunities for women to become people's representatives because they are considered to have more control over education issues[6].

Based on research results, a female candidate will have a greater chance of being re-elected if she is an incumbent [7]. This is because she has proven her ability in the previous period. Political parties will nominate her back and people will prefer the incumbent female candidate to the male candidate. This condition means that the electability of female candidates is not only influenced by the issue of gender stereotypes but is also linked to regional coverage, old candidates, or new candidates. This paper will test whether the use of gender stereotypes, especially education issues, will increase the chances of female candidates being elected in the 2019 legislative elections in Batu City.

Studies of women and elections in Indonesia in the last 15 years have been dominated by factors supporting electability and the reasons why women's representation in legislative institutions is low [1], [8]–[11]. Livia Berg (2015) believes that the reason why Indonesian women find it difficult to gain parliamentary seats is due to cultural factors, socio-economic factors, political factors, family factors, and their role in social movements. According to research from Western countries, women will be better able to handle education problems, fulfill minority rights, solve problems for people with disabilities and the elderly, child care, poverty, health, women's issues, and the environment[2], [12], [13]. Men are active, independent, policymakers, aggressive,

practical, firm, hardworking, and like hierarchies [3]. With these characteristics, men will have more control over issues of handling terrorism, military, defense and security, economic development, trade, taxes, and agriculture [2], [13], [14].

Along with the development of war, technology, and feminism, female candidates' campaign strategies have also developed. The campaign strategies of male and female candidates in America are the same, but male candidates focus more on tax issues and the federal government budget. Female candidates focus more on social issues such as education and health [15]. In more recent research, male and female candidates both use the same strategy, namely using websites, but the issues used are almost the same [16]. Issues of education, health, environment, and medicine are the main issues raised by female and male candidates. In subsequent developments, female candidates were still considered more capable of handling education and health issues and male candidates were more capable of handling terrorism issues, these two issues began to be considered neutral issues[2]. Perceptions of female candidates are influenced by political parties and gender stereotypes [2], [3], [5], [6].

Gender stereotypes shape perceptions of candidates' traits and issue positions. From a constituent perspective, when male and female candidates face each other, women will prefer to vote for women [17]. When female candidates use their gender as a strength (asset) rather than a weakness, this will increase the candidate's chances of being selected [18]. This means that this will happen if women use campaign strategies for women's groups who care about feminine issues such as education, child welfare, and health. The different effects of feminine stereotypes on female and male candidates suggest that gender can change the contextual meaning of feminine stereotypes for women. For female candidates, feminine stereotypes send a message about the candidate's leadership abilities. For male candidates, being stereotyped as feminine does not undermine the perception of men as capable leaders [19].

Utilizing feminine issues as a campaign strategy for female candidates has advantages and disadvantages. If a female candidate uses feminine issues, then her target constituents will only be women. This means limiting the number of voters. If a female candidate raises a masculine issue, then she has to fight with men but as a result, she will get more votes. In this condition, female candidates need to determine their strategy in campaigning, whether they will only target women's votes or also target men's votes. This article explains how the feminine issue of education is used as a strategy in campaigning for female candidates and whether the use of feminine issues can make female candidates win.

2 RESEARCH METHODS

Researchers conducted in-depth interviews with female candidates competing to win seats as members of the Batu City DPRD. These in-depth interviews were conducted with female candidates from the National Awakening Party (PKB), the Golkar Party, and the National Mandate Party (PAN). Research sources are candidates who are running for office for the first time or running for office more than once. Apart from in-depth interviews, direct observations were also carried out when the resource persons

were campaigning. Observations were carried out on female candidates who carried out public dialogue by conveying their vision and mission and responding to problems occurring in Batu City which were conveyed by the participants. Public dialogue participants came from various electoral districts in Batu City so that we could understand the diversity of issues raised and how these female candidates responded to these various issues.

Of the 140 female candidates, resource persons were selected who raised feminine issues, especially the issue of education because the issue of education was the issue most frequently raised by female candidates. The research data was analyzed descriptively to describe the use of feminine issues, especially education, in the 2019 regional legislative election campaign.

3 RESULT AND DISCUSSION

Several findings [17], [18], [20] as explained above, regarding the relationship between voter behavior in elections in the United States and the campaign strategies of female candidates, show a trend that campaign issues and campaign strategies of Female candidates, as well as the choice of campaign target segments, influence the electability of female candidates in elections, both for executive and legislative elections.

In the 2019 Batu City DPRD election, the electoral district was divided into 4 regions, all of which are multi-member districts. These four electoral districts produce 30 elected DPRD members. In electoral district, 1 Batu City, 34 female candidates are competing for the 8 available seats. In the Batu City 2 electoral district, 32 female candidates are competing for the 7 available seats. In electoral district 3 of Batu City, 36 female legislative candidates are competing for 7 seats in the Batu City DPRD. In electoral district 4 Batu City, the largest number of women contesting, namely 37 candidates competing for 8 seats in the Batu City DPRD. Of the four electoral districts in Batu City above, there were a total of 140 female legislative candidates in Batu City who ran in the election on April 17, 2019. As a result, of the total of 30 seats available, 5 female legislative candidates were later elected as members of the DPRD for the 2019 - 2024 period.

In campaigning, each female candidate raises more than one issue. The issues raised by female candidates can be grouped into several types, namely educational, socio-cultural, women's economic empowerment, environmental, and agricultural issues. The issue of education is the issue most frequently raised by female candidates during their campaigns. Both new candidates and incumbent candidates are raising this issue. Even though they both raise educational issues, there are several types of educational focus. Four female candidates are raising education issues, namely TJ, DK, FR, and SA.

TJ is a female candidate from the Golkar Party for electoral district 3, Batu City, serial number 2. She is raising several issues, one of which is education. TJ does not come from an educational background or is familiar with education, but she has a vision of equitable education for all levels of society. She is an entrepreneur who operates in

the Micro Small And Medium Enterprises (UMKM) sector and is an administrator of the Indonesian Women Entrepreneurs Association (IWAPI). This education issue arose as a result of TJ's concern about the condition of education in Batu City, especially in her area of Junrejo. Even though DPRD members come from Junrejo, there are still school students who experience difficulties. The background case is that several 6th-grade elementary school students have graduated and registered for junior high school but have not yet received an elementary school diploma. Armed with her concern, she advocated for this case by visiting the school. He campaigned on this education issue to the women's groups he supported. This women's group is active in the field of economic empowerment, but on this occasion, they also campaigned for the issue of equitable education.

Even though TJ is a new candidate, she is not a newcomer to the legislative elections in Batu City. In the 2014 legislative election, she ran for office through the same party but failed. In 2019 she ran again with a more mature strategy, focusing more on women's issues and targeting women. To her target, she emphasized "*wes wayahe wong wedok kudu milih wong wedok*" that is, it is time for women to vote women. In campaigning for this issue, most of the campaign funds came from personal funds. The role of political parties is only limited to scheduling socialization in sub-districts to villages and providing financial assistance of IDR 1,000,000 for each scheduled socialization activity. If these funds are used for consumption expenses and transportation assistance, they can only cover a small number of people, therefore female candidates have to spend a larger amount of personal funds.

TJ's campaign budget compared to other female candidates is large. She distributed souvenirs in the form of headscarves to every member of the 3,500 women recitation congregation. She also coordinated witnesses at each polling station. The number of Voting Places (TPS) available in the electoral area is 174 TPS. Based on this calculation alone, he spent IDR 87,400,000 for the veil for IDR 20,000 per piece and a witness honorarium of IDR 100,000 per person. This amount does not include the money she spent on the success team coordination meeting which required food and transportation assistance to the success team.

The incumbent candidate who is raising the issue of education is DK. She is running from the National Awakening Party (PKB) for electoral district 2 in Batu City with serial number 1. DK has been a member of the Batu City legislature since 2009. At that time she was nominated through the Patriot Party, but in the 2014 election, she was recruited by PKB. Based on this political background, she is not an original cadre of the PKB. Because she holds the position as a legislative member of the PKB, she holds the position as a special member of the Fatayat and Muslimat organizations. With 10 years of experience as a member of the regional legislature, in the 2019 election, she raised three issues, namely education, health, and social issues. These three issues were raised because, during the 2014-2019 term of office, DK sat on Commission C which handled infrastructure and community welfare. Education, health, and social affairs are included in the field of community welfare.

"Even though there is infrastructure, I am more inclined towards these 3. When I go to infrastructure, I talk about dizzy projects. Even though my basic education is civil engineering, it's a bit of a headache when it comes to infrastructure."

In raising the issue of education, she responded to public anxiety about education funding coming from the regional government. Due to changes in authority in the management of basic education, where previously early childhood education (PAUD) to high school (SMA) was under the authority of the Batu City government. Currently, the authority to manage SMA has shifted to the provincial government. The impact for the people of Batu City is that education is free of charge only up to Junior High School (SMP) level so the community has to be burdened with high school tuition fees. As a member of the legislature with 10 years of experience, she knows that the Governor of East Java Province who was elected in 2018 during the campaign promised to make education fees (SPP) free for high school students. Armed with this information, she carried out a campaign by socializing that in the future the government would eliminate education costs for high school students.

Another female candidate who also campaigned on education issues was FR who came from the National Mandate Party (PAN). FR is running for electoral district 4 in Batu City (Bumiaji Village) serial number 2. This woman who graduated from intelligence school has a business selling clothes online. Previously she was an educator but had to quit because she was running for legislative office. She joined the PAN in 1998 and has been nominated 4 times as a member of the PAN legislature. As a former educator, FR feels she has the most control over education issues. She feels that currently there are too many state schools, thereby killing the private schools that have existed for a long time. In the campaign, she branded herself as a native Bumiaji person, because it is the Bumiaji people who understand Bumiaji best. She also campaigned for women to understand women better. According to her, the issue chosen is simple because according to her the public will not understand if she raises an issue that is too complicated.

In campaigning, FR mostly targets women. The issues she raised would be more effective if conveyed to women. The role of political parties is to provide campaign attributes, namely business cards and stickers. In campaigning, she also collaborated with the DPR legislative candidate TD. This candidate is the one who funds all FR campaign attributes. She also runs a cheap basic food market aimed at RW 01-05 Banaran. FR is making optimal use of the DPR candidate program. She does not spend any funds so the program she works on is a supporting program. For her, funding is the main problem, therefore she does not have a successful team. Apart from taking advantage of party programs, she campaigned individually without a successful team.

The last female candidate to raise the issue of education was SA. She is running as a candidate from the Golkar Party for electoral district 2 with serial number 5. SA is a retired teacher. She was 60 years old when she ran for office. Since the age of 17, she has been a member of the Indonesian Reform Youth Force (AMPI), which is a wing organization of the Golkar Party. Her parents were former Golkar Party figures, therefore she received political education from a young age. As a retired teacher, she has a special interest in education issues, but she cannot explain in further detail the issues she is raising. In campaigning, she did it alone through door to door, distributing campaign attributes to female traders in the market, introducing herself, and campaigning at tahlil recitations (one of the acts of worship in Islam, in this case held by women). SA does not have a successful team to help her campaign. By campaigning for women

at tahlil events, she hopes that these recitation members will be able to persuade their husbands and relatives to vote for her.

Of the various educational issues promoted by each female candidate, the impact obtained from the campaign results is different. The following is a table detailing the votes obtained by candidates who used the issue of education.

Table 1. Votes Obtained by Batu City Female Candidates Who Promote Education Issues

Num ber	Na me	Political party/constitu- ency /serial num- ber	Num- ber of votes	Incum- bent /new	expla- nation
1	TJ	Golkar/3/2	62	New	Fail
2	DK	PKB/2/1	3.117	Incum- bent	Win
3	FR	PAN/4/2	191	New	Fail
4	SA	Golkar/2/5	41	New	Fail

Source: processed from Batu City KPU, 2019

The table above shows that of the 4 Batu City female candidates analyzed, only 1 candidate managed to win a seat in the Batu City DPRD. DK as the incumbent benefits from having more knowledge about the field of education because it is her field of work. Apart from that, she has social capital and political capital which she has built over 10 years and which she uses to campaign. Compared to the other 3 candidates, DK's education issue is more felt and needed by all levels of Batu society. Even though they were both campaigning for women, DK was able to attract the hearts of her target women by turning the issue of high school education costs into a common issue where she was able to present a solution. Both using large economic capital, the issue of education chosen by TJ is not being felt by all groups. She acts as an advocate, but her coverage is only for a few people.

Thus, even though they both raise education issues, some requirements must be met for female candidates to win the election. First, the issue of education must have a specific issue, for example, free education for high school students. FR and SA were unable to translate the education issues they raised. Experience as a former educator is not enough to make a female candidate master education issues and get her elected in the campaign. The second requirement is issue coverage. The coverage of educational issues promoted by DK is felt by all the people of Batu, while the coverage of educational issues promoted by TJ is only felt by some students who experience special problems. FR and SA almost do not have clear issue coverage because the issue focus is also less specific.

The third requirement is synchronization between the supporting political party and the community organizations targeted during the campaign. TJ, DK, and SA both campaigned for Muslimat or tahlil groups. Muslimat and tahlil recitation are organizations and activities that are identical to NU and PKB. Candidates who did not qualify failed because they campaigned in the area of other parties. Muslimat members and tahlil congregations will tend to choose candidates who come from PKB such as DK.

"If the tahlil congregation belongs to NU, I ask for recommendations to central Muslimat. Later, when we go down (to the community) NU has been recommended for PKB. But it's okay, even if it's from another party, the recitation belongs to the community. Their voice is what they say. Later the figure will be judged."

Even though she understood the condition of the problem, TJ continued to campaign to the tahlil congregation and Muslimat. If TJ wants to optimize the target of tahlil congregations and Muslimats, then she should run from PKB like DK.

Of all the candidates studied, the use of education issues could only lead to 1 candidate entering the DPRD. The success of using the issue of education as a feminine issue is because DK uses this issue as a strength. She is more comfortable campaigning on feminine issues and choosing female targets. What DK did proved research [18]. She was able to mobilize women's organizations that had ties to the political parties that supported them as supporters. By campaigning on feminine issues to women's groups, she appears increasingly capable of handling these issues. The result, as stated by Bauer (2015), is that her image as a leader who can handle women's problems will become increasingly prominent. This positive image further strengthens the factor in DK's election. Her background as an incumbent gives her a greater chance of being elected [7] because the public already has evidence of performance in the previous period.

The use of feminine issues and appropriate campaign strategies by female candidates can provide greater opportunities. The findings of this research are the same as research findings in Western countries in the 90s[15]. The use of feminine issues in Indonesia by female candidates when campaigning is a strategy for female candidates to avoid the obstacles of patriarchal culture and religious values which they feel can hinder them. Jargon that develops among female candidates when campaigning includes "only women understand women's needs" and "only women can represent women". The campaign using this jargon was carried out against women's organizations such as PKK, Muslimat, Fatayat, women's business groups, and so on. This women's organization is not an organization that opposes women's leadership so it will be easier to get their support than campaigning against men.

Female candidates who use feminine issues are not elected because they do not meet the three criteria above, namely not having a specific issue, the scope of the issue being too narrow, and there being a lack of synchronization between the supporting party and the women's groups targeted by the campaign. Apart from that, the existence of a success team and campaign funds will provide a catalyst for the campaign operations of female candidates. The more successful teams and larger campaign operational funds will make it easier for female candidates to gain support from the community.

4 CONCLUSION

This research proves that female candidates at the local level are not ready to compete with male candidates. Female candidates choose feminine issues as a campaign strategy and targeting women in campaigning is a form of creating a comfort zone and safe zone for female candidates. Using feminine issues as a strength in campaigning can increase the chances of female candidates being elected in legislative elections. To

win, female candidates in non-Western countries using feminine issues must include specific issues and have a wide range of targets. Religious organizations have a strong role in voting behavior because religious organizations have close ties to certain political parties. Harmony is needed between the supporting parties and the women's social organizations targeted in the campaign.

The victory of female candidates at the local level due to the use of feminine issues in campaigning does not indicate the rise of liberal feminism. This shows the survival mechanism of female candidates amid a patriarchal culture. Female candidates have campaign targets aimed at groups that are not targeted by male candidates. This stance was taken because female candidates at the local level still consider the values, norms, and ethics that develop in society.

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