

The Patterns and Influences of Women's Legislative in Simultaneously General Elections in Indonesia

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Abstract: Gender is one of the essential aspects of the democratic process, including in the legislative elections. In this regard, this study aims to see the implementation of recruitment patterns and the influences used by women, and the factors that win women in Indonesia's legislative elections. This research is qualitative research by carrying out the documentation at the General Election Commission Office and in-depth interviews with women legislators elected in the 2019 general elections. The results showed that the Indonesian government has implemented affirmative action well, indicated by a minimum quota of 30% for female legislators. Besides, affirmative action's success is also supported by recruiting legislative candidates by parties using several approaches, namely the oligarchic approach, the cadre selection approach, the structural approach, the transparency approach, and the dedicated approach. Furthermore, the prevalence and factors that support women legislators' success in the 2019 elections, which have increased compared to the 2014 elections, influence the sequence number and the incumbent candidates' influence. In the end, this affirmative action policy positively affects women who want to take part in politics.

Keywords: Recruitment patterns, Simultaneously general election, Women's legislative.

INTRODUCTION

Women's representation in politics is a sign of openness to democracy (Stockemer 2017). The representation of all groups is a space for all interests in voicing the aspirations of the community. The modern democratic system in Indonesia has many challenges in various sectors, especially women's representation in politics (Hilman 2018). Women's representation in politics has continued to increase from time to time. One indicator is the increasing trend of women's representation in the legislature, especially from the 1999 general election until the last election in 2019 (Silva, Andrea 2019).

Based on data from the Inter-Parliamentary Union (IPU), as quoted by Scholastica Gerintya at the ASEAN level, Indonesia placed the sixth position on women's representation in parliament. While at the international level, Indonesia's position is ranked 89th out of 168 countries, far below Afghanistan, Vietnam, Timor Leste, and Pakistan (Maula 2019).

In the view of policy and regulation, Indonesia has long passed Law Number 68 the Year 1958 about the Ratification of the Convention on Women's Political Rights (Badruddin *et al.* 2019). This convention

emphasizes the realization of equal position (non-discrimination), guarantees equal rights to vote and to be elected, guarantees participation in policy formulation, opportunities to occupy bureaucratic positions, and guarantees participation in socio-political organizations (Englehart and Miller 2014). Policies and regulations are needed to make way for women's rights in political contestation (Angin *et al.* 2018).

From a policy perspective, the government has taken technical steps called "Affirmative Action" policy for women (Purwanti, Ispriyaso, and Wijaningsih 2018). This policy began to be implemented after the amendment of the 1945 Constitution was enacted and with the passage of Law Number 12 the Year 2003 about the House of Representatives (DPR), Regional Representative Council (DPD), and Regional House of Representatives (DPRD) (Indonesia 2003). This affirmative policy is carried out by providing various provisions to political parties that will participate in political contestation in the field of legislative candidate elections (Das 2007). The simplest provision is to provide terms and conditions so that political parties participating in the Election pay attention to at least 30% women's representation in nominating candidates for DPR, DPD, and DPRD members.

In the latest regulation of Law Number 7 the Year 2017 concerning Election Administrators, in Article 173 point (e), it is explained that political parties can

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become election participants after fulfilling the following requirements: "to include at least 30% (thirty percent) of women's representation in the management of political parties at the level of center" (Indonesia 2017). These policies and regulations provide conditions for political parties to participate in general elections to provide space so that women's representation can be fulfilled.

A more advanced provision in affirmative action is the application of a zipper system (Larserud and Taphorn 2007). The system regulates that for every 3 (three) prospective candidates there is at least 1 (one) woman (Dahlerup 2008). Article 55 Paragraph (2) Law No. 10 Year 2008 concerning General Election for the senator states: 'In the list of prospective candidates as referred to in Paragraph (1), every 3 (three) prospective candidates there is at least 1 (one) female candidate' (Indonesia 2008). Paragraph (1) regulates that the names of candidates in the list of prospective candidates are arranged based on sequence numbers.

An example of the application of the zipper system is, if a political party determines candidate numbers 1 to 3, then one of them must be a female candidate (Larserud and Taphorn 2007). A woman must be placed in sequence number 1, 2, or 3 and not under that range. Thus furthermore, from sequence numbers 4 to 7, for example, a woman must be placed between sequence numbers 4 to 6. Then, as the further emphasis on political parties to carry out affirmative action against the prospective legislative member candidates, the General Election Commission (KPU) until the Regional level are given the authority to notify the public (Prihatini 2018).

Furthermore, regulation No. 7 Year 2017 about General Election, said the requirements for political parties to become election contestants explains that political parties can participate in elections after fulfilling the requirements to include at least 30% (thirty percent) women's representation in party management on central level of politic parties. In addition, it is explained that the registration of political parties as election contestants required the certificate from the central management of political parties regarding the participation of at least 30% (thirty percent) of women's representation (Indonesia 2008). It is purposed to accommodate the gender in democratic parties.

This also applies to the regional level where there is General Election Commission Regulation Number 20 Year 2018 about Nominations for Members of House of

Representatives, the Regional Province House of Representatives, the Regional Regency House of Representatives which obliges every political party to nominate prospective DPR members with terms of representation women are at least 30% (thirty percent) in each electoral district and for every 3 (three) existing candidate candidates, it is obligatory for at least 1 (one) female candidate to be nominated (Indonesia 2017).

Affirmative action is the government's effort to protect women's rights, including the right to be elected in politics (Yudhanti 2018). Various general elections have been held in Indonesia as one of the largest democracies in the world, one of which is the simultaneous general election which was held in 2019 (Rannie 2019). This event is the first time that a general election for the president and board members has been held simultaneously (Susanti 2018). Therefore, this research is important to determine the implementation of affirmative action against women in the 2019 simultaneous general election.

The focus of this research is to describe the patterns of recruitment of women legislative candidates to political parties in the 2019 simultaneous general elections. Besides, to reveal the prevalence and strength of women legislators who passed the 2019 election.

METHODOLOGY

This research uses qualitative research which will be described descriptively (Marshall *et al.* 2018). The sample of this study is the region of South Sulawesi Province which is one of the dynamic regions on the Indonesian political map. Furthermore, the theoretical framework will be used as an analytical blade to help researchers organize and give meaning to the various facts found in the research (Neuman 2002).

The data attained is an in-depth interview using a new interview (interview guide) that has been prepared (Questionpro 2020). Interview guidelines are based on existing research questions because in-depth interviews are information, so the information's depth and completeness are prioritized based on the number of resource persons (Marshall *et al.* 2018).

Data was extracted from elected legislative members, so some of the key informants in this study were women legislative members of the Regional House of Representatives of South Sulawesi who were elected in 2019, namely: Andi Rachmatika Dewi Yustitia Iqbal (Democratic National Party/Nasdem),

Andi Debbie Purnama (Group Work Party/Golkar), Sri Rahmi (Prosperous Justice Party/PKS), Misriani Ilyas (Indonesian Movement Party/Gerindra), Rismayanti (United Development Party/PPP), Andi Tenriliweng (Nation Awakening Party/PKB), Andi Azizah Irma (Democratic Party), Kartini Lolo (Indonesian Democratic Struggle Party/PDIP). Meanwhile, we also take information from the administrators of the branch leadership council of Women's Political Party in South Sulawesi and ordinary people who exercise their voting rights to vote for female candidates, as well as academics who concentrate on women's studies, such as Prof. Dr. Rabina Yunus, M.Si (Hasanuddin University) and Prof. Dr. Nurul Ilmi Idrus, M.Sc (Hasanuddin University) and others.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

Recruitment Patterns of Women Legislative Candidates

The General Election Commission (KPU) of South Sulawesi Province established a Permanent Candidate

List for the South Sulawesi Regional House of Representatives in the 2019 Election (Said 2020). It was recorded that there were 1,201 competing for 85 seats in the provincial parliament for the 2019-2024 period. From each registered political party, it can be seen from the data that all of them meet the administrative requirements of fulfilling the 30% quota for women's representation in the 11 available electoral districts.

As an essential prerequisite for being able to participate in elections at the provincial level, the following is a table image based on the composition of each political party, namely:

From the data above, we can see that all parties have passed the minimum requirement for women's legislative. The success of political parties in meeting the 30% quota has several forms of approach. In the case of South Sulawesi, based on the result of findings, the researchers divided into six forms of recruitment for legislative candidates for the province of South Sulawesi, namely:

Table 1: Comparison of the Number of Male and Female Candidates in the 2019 Legislative Election in South Sulawesi

Party Name	Number Of			
	Prospective Candidates	Male Candidates	Female Candidates	Female Percentage (%)
Nation Awakening Party/PKB	85	54	31	36.4
Indonesian Movement Party/Gerindra	85	54	31	36.4
Indonesian Democratic Struggle Party/PDIP	85	52	33	38.8
Group Work Party/Golkar	85	53	32	37.6
Democratic National Party/Nasdem	85	53	32	37.6
The Party For Indonesian Movement Of Change	56	34	22	64.7
The Working Party	76	44	32	42.1
Prosperous Justice Party/PKS	81	46	35	43.2
Indonesian United Party	85	54	31	36.4
United Development Party/PPP	85	54	31	36.4
Indonesian Solidarity Party	85	50	35	41.1
National Amended Party	85	54	31	36.4
The Party Of The Conscience Of The People/Hanura	85	53	32	37.6
Democratic Party	85	53	32	37.6
The Star And Moon Party	81	50	31	38.2
Indonesian Justice And Unity Party	6	4	2	33.3

Source: General Election Commission of South Sulawesi (SulSel 2019).

Oligarchy Approach

This model is the most typical form of legislator recruitment in South Sulawesi in general. Meaningful modeling of the patron-client relationship within the party. This relationship becomes a source of legitimacy for political regeneration, both in the chairmanship and in the candidacy process. This approach is the most frequent attempt by women to gain political positions. If we look at the significant polarization of support and the number of votes obtained by each candidate, it is expected, even though they cannot be equalized from one another.

For example, legislator Andi Rachmatika Dewi, a member of the elected legislature from the electoral district of Makassar A, DPRD of South Sulawesi Province, is a woman who first got involved in politics. Andi Rachmatika Dewi has been in the political environment since 2009 when he was elected as a member of the Makassar City DPRD from the Golkar Party. His election in the election could not be separated from the influence of his uncle, namely Ilham Arief Sirajuddin, who also served as chairman of the Golkar Party of South Sulawesi and as Mayor of Makassar in the 2004-2009 and 2009-2014 periods (Haboddin 2015).

This phenomenon also occurred in several other legislators such as Andi Debbie and Ayu Andira from the Golkar Party. As explained in the previous section, the two elected members were purely elected, the effect of men, both husbands and fathers, to occupy legislative seats in the 2019 elections. With the background of a housewife, one day, she can learn more about politics at the DPRD (Debbie 2019). Because of the start of recruitment until the inauguration, everything has been "conditioned" by their husbands.

Although this fact cannot be generalized to every elected female DPRD member, it is an undeniable part of looking at the pattern of the relationship between the power of social and political capital possessed by each candidate. This pattern was later acknowledged by the Chairman of the DPD of Golkar in South Sulawesi, Nurdin Halid stated (Halid 2019):

In the process of recruiting female cadres in political parties, the need for female cadres is limited that they prioritize the families of Golkar cadres.

In line with the Democrat party, efforts to increase women's representation in elections are the main thing,

including the recruitment process, which is of great concern in every election moment (Irwan 2019). However, what is very difficult to do is that the cadre education process has not been fully implemented. To find qualified cadres, the Democratic Party usually accepts women politicians who are considered capable of being recruited into parties and selecting legislative members in elections. This data shows that the relationship and political power are the primary considerations in selecting women legislator candidates in several political parties.

The dominant pattern of recruitment in simultaneous elections finds that power lies in the domination of individual elites. So that the smell of contestation in the 2019 election then rolls in the oligarchy vortex. In particular, the majority of these legislator seats are occupied by descendants of party leadership. The circulation of legislator battles in the 2019 elections was played out so deeply patriarchy and deep-rooted elite domination (Novy 2019). Finally, the political oligarchy continues to transform, with two patterns: absolute oligarchy and accommodative oligarchy (Faizal 2019).

An absolute oligarchy is a form of the oligarchy that is manifest in the electoral system. One example, the Presidential Threshold that the parties participating in the elections do not have the right to carry their cadres. Due to the parliamentary vote threshold. So that new parties or parties that do not have 4 percent of the votes in parliament cannot nominate a presidential candidate. Thus, Akbar Faizal's dissertation's results emphasized that the domination of political party oligarchy in political recruitment has expanded and has taken root into the joints of political life. The political recruitment of oligarchic nuances is full of elite political interests because, in the process, there is a polarization of interests involving the elite and the interests of political parties in an organizational manner (Faizal 2019).

Cadre Selection Approach

A cadre selection approach is an approach that prioritizes cadres who have experience in contestation and have a permanent voice base in their electoral districts. The cadre crisis is a pragmatic choice for political parties to attract non-political party candidates or make them an "instant cadre." The cadre crisis that occurs at political parties is due to the political parties' centralistic and oligarchic governance. It can be seen to determine the candidates to remain in the DPP

political parties in both the legislative and regional elections. However, not all party internal conditions are the same in carrying out regeneration. Unlike the case with the PKS party, known as a cadre-based party, militant regeneration makes this party independent and sensitive to social trends. The regeneration of women legislative candidates within PKS is quite disciplined so that the issues raised in the 2019 election touched the grassroots meaning the lowest community. Therefore, the women legislative candidates who are always promoted by the PKS party were born from party regeneration. So that when PKS women legislative candidates go to the field, they can quickly adapt to the conditions of society.

One of the brightest female cadres in her party is Sri Rahmi, who since the early 2000s has been serving as an internal committee of PKS. Furthermore, choose to compete as a legislative candidate for the city of Makassar for up to 2 terms, then was re-elected in the 2019 election as a legislator of the South Sulawesi provincial DPRD. PKS is a political party where there is always an election moment or not; the recruitment process continues. Thus, the recruitment pattern is sustainable and measurable. The party's target in recruiting prioritizes women who are potential and interested in practical politics, which is the first measure (Rahmi 2019). Of course, the PKS party's recruitment process since its establishment until the last 2019 elections is still the same, prioritizing cadres who have experience and have clear constituencies. Even in the PKS party, the party serial number rules on the ballot papers are set based on seniority.

Structural Approach

The existence of structural strength in the executive (regional head) is an option in recruiting contestants at the party. Consciously, women legislators are only a complement to the quota system built in the electoral process. The masculinity built into a patriarchal culture is quite difficult to penetrate by the significant influence of the party recruitment process. The head of a region gives someone the privilege to get a strategic position in the political party that supports it. At least as a political public official who can provide advice and high bargaining power in proposing women legislator candidates.

This recruitment pattern is similar to oligarchy, but here it is not absolutely from the elites who live in Makassar but can come from electoral districts requiring female legislative candidates. Women's

presence as a need that political parties must fulfill has made the administrators structurally able to propose from their own families at the regional level, as happened in one of the electoral districts. She was directed more towards her child than other people, even though she was only a pure housewife without a side job and no political background in her track record. Instead of providing support to the successful teams and volunteers themselves, they never met but were able to qualify as an elected legislative member from the two districts. With a sense of compulsion by family support, he finally has to live his profession and responsibilities. The knowledge of regeneration from regency to the provincial level had never been obtained, making him feel insecure in his early days as a legislator because he could not understand his main tasks and functions in detail.

Transparency Approach

The general openness model to recruit members for Provincial DPRD candidates through print, online, billboards/banners. This recruitment pattern is due to the crisis of female cadres who are qualified in politics. KPU regulation (PKPU), which requires 30% of women to make party leaders have to fight to fulfill these rules so that their parties can be registered as eligible participants who can compete. Various methods were used to get cadres to be promoted. One way is to open registration through online media and disseminate it through billboards on the streets. This open process is an objective step in getting cadres who are competent and have high integrity. The prerequisites put forward are standardization of candidates that must be met; for example, applicants must fill out forms and submit other administrative documents such as a photocopy of Civil Card (KTP), Curriculum Vitae, diploma certificate, and special internal party requirements (Novy 2019).

All political parties generally use this system for female cadres' needs and fill out female legislative candidates (Nirawati 2019). In the last 2019 election, Gerindra has focused on women and technology; Gerindra has spread open recruitment in advance for potential women. The result was that the Gerindra party had five elected cadres, but because of a condition, now there are only four people left. It is an achievement for Gerindra, which has many female legislators to realize gender-based policies.

The Dedication Approach

The measure referred to in the context of "dedication" is that a prospective legislator candidate

has been a member for at least one year and has a political party's performance. The basis for this rule applies to all political parties. Furthermore, the provision of material related to field battles are socialization and inviting the public to vote for the party. As Andi Azizah Irma stated (Irwan 2019):

Therefore, if anyone is interested in joining, they must first go through a regeneration process before becoming a legislative candidate. There is no regulation regarding exceptional guidance from the Democratic party for its female legislative candidates, but political parties facilitate all legislative candidates' meetings before the election process is carried out in a consolidated form.

As is the case with Nasdem party cadres in the Provincial DPRD, they must have a Membership Card (KTA) first. To get KTA, people have to be at the party for approximately one year. They are referring to the Nasdem party, which is a new party, only nine years old. Automatically, the Nasdem party's involvement has also only started in the last two elections, so it is different from the political parties that have already crossed the previous election. Anyone who has KTA is eligible to nominate and be nominated by a political party. The recruitment program in the lead-up to the election is known as "Indonesia Calling." The goal is to get people to join the Nasdem party. This "dedication" pattern can be emulated by new parties to get sympathy and a chance for votes from the public.

The lack of cadres that can be promoted in the past legislative elections is due to the cadre process that does not work in political parties. Selection and regeneration must be an integral part of being able to get quality during later recruitment. This regeneration stage is carried out more by the big parties. The following are the stages of regeneration of political parties carried out, including: first, through community groups. The regeneration process like this involves many party sympathizers. Second, through party activities involving the party's Branch Leadership Council (DPC). Loyalty due to frequent involvement in party activities becomes a point for the party in carrying these cadres in a contest. Third, Free and Proper Test. Where the party conducts administrative selection and interviews. Administration includes personal data documents such as diplomas, CVs, and others. Meanwhile, the interview emphasizes the integrity and loyalty of cadres in the party later. In this regard, regeneration is related to the preparation of political capacity or capacity.

Fourth, through the party wing organization. For example, the Golkar party is called the Golkar Party Women's Unity (KPPG). Cadre formation is also related to the career system or political level formed by political parties. Fifth, regeneration intersects with how political parties conduct political education for cadres. Regeneration relates to the subject, namely individuals or groups of people prepared for the continuity of the party, prepared to carry on the organization's vision and mission. This stage is the responsibility and role of all party organizational structures, both party organizations at the national and lowest levels (branches).

The Influence Used Of Women's Representation In The 2019 Election

The number of female voters registered in the Permanent Voters List is 3,178,446 female voters and 2,994,754 male voters (KPU 2019). The difference between female voters and male voters is around 183,692 people. If it is idealized that female voters are directly proportional to the level of female candidates' electability, then the proportionality of the quota for women in the DPRD of South Sulawesi can be fulfilled. Unfortunately, the maximum results of the 2019 election cannot be fulfilled; the electability of women legislators still does not meet the gender quota in parliament. However, the 2019 election results have increased from the 2014 election results, which initially numbered 16 people (18%) to 24 people (29%) (Republika.co.id 2019).

The increase in women's representation in the South Sulawesi DPRD legislative was due to several influences. We discuss this influence and obtain it from in-depth interviews with respondents, namely:

Influence of the Sequence Number

The long journey of women began when they decided on a final list of candidates to qualify for one seat. Based on the serial number on the ballot papers, women dominate the sequence number 3, 6 and 8 and only a few can have serial number 1, unless they have been elected or have strategic positions in their political parties. Finally, the dominance of women who are elected as legislative candidates are those who are number one. As illustrated from the table above, there are 9 number of legislative members elected with serial number one, and there are only two legislative candidates, each from serial number 5 and 6, all of whom come from the Gerindra party.

Table 2: Women Legislators Who Passed The 2014 Elections

No.	Legislator's name	Politic party	Sequence Number	Number of Voters
1.	A.Rachmatika Dewi	NasDem	1	25.314
2.	Tenri Olle YL	Golkar	1	51.968
3.	Rusni Kasman	Golkar	1	23.802
4.	Andi Tenri Sose	Golkar	3	18.683
5.	Alfritha Pasande D	Golkar	1	13.445
6.	Suzanna Kaharuddin	PKPI	1	14.798
7.	A.Sugiarti Mangun Karim	PPP	1	13.363
8.	Andi Nurhidayati	PPP	1	9.055
9.	Sarce Bandaso	PDI-P	2	12.838
10.	Andi Jahida A.Ilyas	PKS	3	8.267
11.	Sri Rahmi	PKS	1	10.827
12.	Erna Amin	Gerindra	6	10.229
13.	Firmina Tallulembang	Gerindra	5	13.244
14.	Henny Latif	Gerindra	4	8.859
15.	Ina Nur Syamsina	Demokrat	4	12.883
16.	Surya Bobi	Demokrat	1	14.308

Source: Processed from data of KPU of South Sulawesi Province (SulSel 2019).

The effect of sequence numbers can be seen from The names of women legislators who passed in 2014 are:

The data in Table 2 shows how tight the competition for legislative candidates is to get top serial numbers, such as numbers 1, 2, and 3 in the 2014 elections. Furthermore, the facts above also prove that high serial numbers significantly affect electability, so that many political observers consider it as something essential to do in the next election, namely in the 2019 election.

Furthermore, in the 2019 elections, there was an increase in the number of female legislators who

passed. The data below illustrates the results as follows:

Based on the data in Figure 1, the involvement of women in elections with a high level of electability based on serial number 1 is 48.00%; this proves that the serial number factor is an essential priority for political parties that support affirmative action maximally. Alternatively, encourage women to get seats in public policymakers' position, not only as a fulfillment of quota requirements. Furthermore, serial number 2 is 28.00%, and serial number 3 is 16.00%, the meaning of the top serial number still gives the

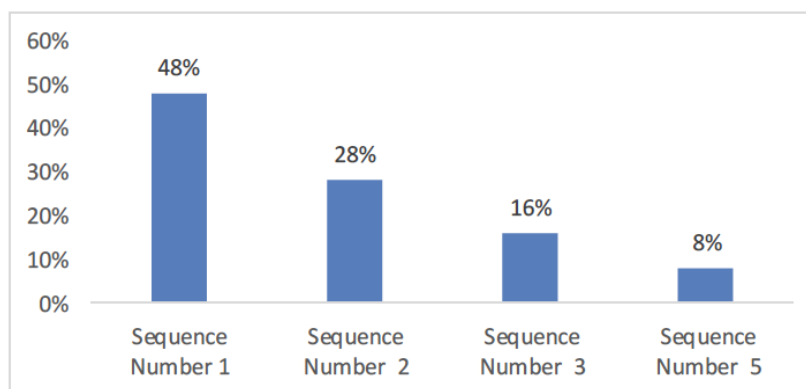


Figure 1: Legislative Women who passed the 2019 elections based on sequence numbers.

Source: Data processed from the KPU of South Sulawesi Province.

Table 3: The Difference in the Number of Votes of Incumbent Women Legislators in the 2014 and 2019 Elections

No	Women Legislative Members	2014 Election	2019 Election	Alteration
1.	A. Rachmatika Dewi	25.314	28.421	Increased
2.	A.Sugiarti Mangun Karim	13.363	7.006	Decreased
3.	Sri Rahmi	10.827	13.280	Increased
4.	Firmina Tallulembang	13.244	13.696	Increased
5.	Henny Latief	8.859	16.719	Increased
6.	Nurhidayati Zainuddin	9.055	12.539	Increased

Source: Data extracted from the South Sulawesi Provincial KPU.

selling value to be elected. While serial number 5 is only 8.00%. It cannot be denied that candidate number 1 is only given to women who have served before or are part of a political elites family.

These results also illustrate the importance of sequence numbers. Not only women candidates, but also men, because people tend to see a list of names or faces in the top serial number. It is also due to the lack of political literacy that people have in Indonesia.

Influence of Incumbent

The incumbent legislative members' return to run in the 2019 election contestation not all of them gave good results. The increase in the number of legislative candidates and the number of political parties is not accompanied by increased seat allocations, making incumbents, both men and women, accept defeat from newcomers with high votes. The following is a table of differences in the number of votes of incumbent women legislators in the 2014 and 2019 elections, namely:

From the 2019 election description, only one incumbent experienced a decrease in the number of votes even though he was still elected, namely Andi Sugiarti Mangun Karim (PPP). Due to the emergence of the biological son of the former Bantaeng Regent and Governor of South Sulawesi Province who also competed, Nurdin Abdullah, who also participated in the legislative election contest at the provincial level. Finally, Andi Sugiarti Mangun Karim's vote had to be eroded from the legislative candidate, even though he was not elected due to insufficient votes (Novy 2019).

Therefore, the incumbent's influence in the simultaneous general election in 2019 is not that strong compared to the 2014 election results. It also proves that women's position as legislative candidates also still influences the incumbent, although the possibility is little.

CONCLUSION

The Indonesian government has implemented a tolerant form of gender equality in legislative elections, including the general election for the Regional Representative Council of South Sulawesi Province. The 30% quota rule in regulations related to party members and general elections is a form of affirmative action realization that positively affects women who want to take part in politics.

In this regard, we found several patterns to recruiting female legislator candidates used by political parties, namely the oligarchy approach, the cadre selection approach, the structural approach, the transparency approach, and the dedicated approach. Meanwhile, in the context of the 2019 simultaneous elections in South Sulawesi Province, several factors affect the electability of female legislative candidates, such as the influence of serial numbers, the influence of old parties, and the influence of incumbent contestations.

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