

# STRATEGY FOR WINNING WOMEN'S LEGISLATURE IN THE 2019 MALANG GENERAL ELECTION

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**Abstract.** This study aims to explore strategies for winning women's legislatures in politics. Women in the history of civilization are often number two. With the help of previous studies, we can find out that the impacts that women bring on politics to policy making have a significant positive impact. This study uses a qualitative research method with a phenomenological approach. The location in this study is Malang Raya (Malang City, Batu City and Malang Regency) as the second largest city and an education city located in East Java province, where East Java province is known as a province with mature political maturity in Indonesia because several stakeholders important power is women. With the help of some descriptive data that shows the level of participation or representation of women in government in Malang Raya, the researchers focused on how the strategies of these women in enabling themselves to assume power. The results of the study show that various strategies used by women in Malang Raya in winning legislative seats can be used as further studies as points that allow for an increase in the realization of women's representation in government.

**Keywords:** strategy; women; politics; Malang Raya.

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## INTRODUCTION

Women's participation in politics is very important, because their presence in the political arena to reach the position of policy makers can improve the welfare of women's groups by representing, guarding and influencing the agenda and process of policy making and making (Prati, 2018); (Powell & Greenhaus, 2012); (Jones, 2010). The more women in parliament or the political arena, the more their existence can improve the welfare of women themselves. because with this they are able to represent, oversee and influence the agenda and policy-making process, as well as participate in the development process that is friendly to women (Resurrección, 2013); (Perlaviciute & Squintani, 2020). The positive effects when women are more involved in politics and become qualified representatives of the Party and the People are such as a reduction in the number of corruption, economic strengthening, equality for the marginalized and security and peace (Holden & Ghebru, 2016); (Wolf, 2013).

The results of the survey released by the women research institute, stated that 74% of Indonesian people believe and agree to support and provide opportunities for women to participate in the political arena, and 47% in the survey the reason women can be elected as members of the DPR is because women have the ability to fight for the aspirations and needs of the community.

Barometer Global Corruption Transparency International also claims its findings show that women are less likely to pay bribes and are more likely to condone

corruption. The World Bank study shows that an 8% increase in the number of women sitting in parliament will reduce the country's corruption rate by 20%. Women Research Institute, conducted a survey conducted on 1,200 respondents in 33 provinces with a margin of error of 2.8%. Of the total respondents, as many as 58% of respondents agreed that the more women in parliament, the faster justice for women and men. The existence of women as representatives of the people and political parties provides greater hope for the struggle for issues that are the basic needs of society.

In Indonesia, the majority of governing institutions are dominated by men who clearly prioritize their own interests over women's interests (Chuenpagdee & Song, 2012), they also do little to promote women and women's issues. So, it is very important that women are able to organize and mobilize their networks, by increasing their own representation.

Based on data from the 2010-2035 Indonesian Population Projection, of the total 261.9 million Indonesian population in 2017, the female population is 130.3 million or around 49.75 percent of the population. Unfortunately, the large female population is not represented in parliament. Data on women who occupied the DPR seats in 1999-2004 were 46 (9%), men 500 (91%), while in 2004-2009 women were 61 (11.09%) and 489 men (88.9%) (Kobayashi et al., 2011); (Sarilita, Rynn, Mossey, Black, & Oscandar, 2020).

One of the provinces in Indonesia that has become a barometer of women's politics is East Java. East Java is a province that is currently considered very mature in

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terms of women's politics. ten leaders in East Java are women, coming from 38 districts and cities plus one province of East Java. The composition of regional heads is the most in Indonesia. This means that women's political awareness in choosing and providing opportunities for women in politics and becoming regional heads in East Java is very high (Prihatini, 2018). However, this is not directly proportional to the representation of women in legislative seats. In 2014, East Java's female legislative candidates received the lowest vote (9.81%), with the highest percentage of representation achieved by Central Java, namely 44.23%. One of the areas in East Java that has a good percentage of women's representation compared to other regions in terms of politics is Malang Raya (Malang City, Malang Regency and Batu City). The data obtained from the KPU explains the representation of women in Malang Raya in the 2014-2019 period. in Batu City the representation of women in legislative seats is 32%, in Malang City as much as 20%, and in Malang Regency 12%.

The strategies used by women in politics are also not inferior to men, perhaps even more interesting due to differences in experience and how to solve problems and develop strategies themselves (Hong, Suh, & Koo, 2011). Like the research that will be conducted at this time is regarding the strategy of winning female legislators in the 2019 general election in Malang Raya.

This woman in a strategic position in Malang Raya comes from various parties, by applying the strategies brought by the party and the strategies that are owned by her personally. It can be used to seize and

compete with men in legislative elections. the involvement of women in Malang Raya as members of the legislature or in strategic positions can also last up to two periods. The complete winning strategy for these women legislators is something that is not widely disclosed. In fact, the strategies of these legislative women are useful as guidelines for other female legislative candidates, in order to achieve their political goals. From the description of the background above, the researcher decided to explore how the strategy for winning female legislators has been carried out in Malang Raya.

## METHODS

This study uses a qualitative-descriptive research methodology with a phenomenological approach. The phenomenology in this study serves to find out about the experiences of women as candidates and elected legislative members to the winning election strategies of these women in power-oriented politics. The research location is Malang Raya, which includes Malang City, Batu City and Malang Regency based on the consideration of the high level of women's participation in legislative elections. Geographical reasons such as the proximity of the 3 regions of Malang Raya, similar demographic characteristics and Malang as an education city and the second largest city after Surabaya in East Java are other important considerations.

This study uses Field Research data collection techniques by collecting data related to research and then grouping them into discussions according to the

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needs and research, while the data collection techniques in the field are semi-structured interviews that will be conducted with female legislators and female legislative candidates. In Malang Raya, interviews will also be conducted with party representatives who meet the criteria. To support the data, interviews will also be conducted with male legislative candidates and members of the legislature in Malang, the head of the KPU in Malang Raya and political consultants who handle the legislature in Malang. The second is documentation of documents in the form of writing, which can be in the form of diaries, life histories, regulations, policies. Documents in the form of images such as photographs of the legislative activities of the incumbent women, as well as recordings of the activities carried out. The last is moderate participatory observation, ie there is a balance between researchers being insiders and outsiders ([Burns, Fenwick, Schmied, & Sheehan, 2012](#)), so that researchers can collect data by participating in some activities, but not all of them. Observations in this study were carried out at the legislative office for women and men, the Office of Political Parties in Malang Raya, KPU Malang Raya, political consultant offices in Malang Raya then the observation data were collected to be a source of data which would then be processed. According to Spradley ([Sale & Thielke, 2018](#)), the object of observation in qualitative research consists of three components, namely, place, namely Malang Raya and , actor.

In determining the validity of the data (trustworthiness) an inspection technique is needed based on several criteria, namely

(Moleong, 2018), the degree of trust (credibility), transferability (dependability) and certainty (confirmability). In testing the validity of the data technique, the researcher includes steps such as; Extended participation is required in research. Diligent and detailed observation of the object of in-depth observation, checking and comparison using triangulation, Peer-to-peer examination through discussion, this technique is carried out by exposing temporary or final results obtained in the form of discussions with knowledgeable colleagues with the aim of validation, Negative case analysis to improve knowledge discourse, Checking the members involved in the data collection process, detailed descriptions and auditing. In qualitative research with the data collection method that the researcher chooses, data collection will be carried out continuously until the data is saturated, which will result in a high variation of data, so data analysis is needed to systematically organize the data obtained into categories, describing them into units, synthesizing, compiling into patterns, choosing which data are important or needed and which are not ([Mehta & Pandit, 2018](#)).

## RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

### A. Percentage of Women's Wins in the 2019-2024 General Elections in Malang

The women's legislative victory, especially in the Malang Raya area in the 2019-2024 legislative election, has not been able to meet the 30% representation threshold, even though it has been encouraged by affirmative

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action policies or positive discrimination in the form of unequal treatment within a certain period of time, as stated in the provisions of the Law. Law Number 2 of 2008 and Election Law Number 7 of 2017. Since it was first implemented in the 2004 elections, affirmative policies have actively provided opportunities for female legislative candidates in Indonesia, especially at the DPR level. Iqbal and Kurniawan (2019) found an increase in the number of women elected to the DPR in the 2004 election, namely 65 members out of a total of 550 seats (11.8%). The number of women members in the DPR increased in the 2009 elections through the implementation of the affirmation plus policy (30% and placement of 1 of 3), with the figure at 18% or 101 women members from a total of 560. The 2014 elections

implemented the same affirmation plus policy, but the number of women members was elected. reduced to 97 people from 560 members of the DPR (17.3%). The absence of affirmative action at the legislative level is due to many reasons, considering that every political party has tried to implement this policy in the process of selecting candidates for the general election.

The percentage of women's representation quota has basically been fulfilled at the party level. Every political party that participated in the 2019 legislative elections has fulfilled the minimum quota of 30% representation of female candidates as DPRD (Regional House Of Representative) members in the Malang Raya area, as shown in the following table of women's representation at the party level:

**Table 1.** Representation of Temporary Female Candidates in the 2019 Legislative Election *or pileg (pilihan legislatif)* Malang City 2019 Kota Malang

| No. Urut | Partai Politik                        | Calon Legislatif |       | % Keterwakilan Perempuan |
|----------|---------------------------------------|------------------|-------|--------------------------|
|          |                                       | P                | Total |                          |
| 1        | Partai Kebangkitan Bangsa             | 14               | 45    | 31%                      |
| 2        | Partai Gerakan Indonesia Raya         | 14               | 45    | 31%                      |
| 3        | Partai Demokrasi Indonesia Perjuangan | 17               | 45    | 38%                      |
| 4        | Partai Golongan Karya                 | 16               | 42    | 38%                      |
| 5        | Partai Nasdem                         | 14               | 43    | 33%                      |
| 6        | Partai Gerakan Perubahan Indonesia    | 0                | 0     | 0                        |
| 7        | Partai Berkarya                       | 15               | 34    | 44%                      |
| 8        | Partai Keadilan Sejahtera             | 14               | 42    | 33%                      |
| 9        | Partai Persatuan Indonesia            | 14               | 44    | 32%                      |

|    |  |            |            |            |
|----|--|------------|------------|------------|
| 10 | Partai Persatuan<br>Pembangunan            | 14         | 33         | 42%        |
| 11 | Partai Solidaritas Indonesia               | 6          | 18         | 33%        |
| 12 | Partai Amanat Nasional                     | 15         | 42         | 36%        |
| 13 | Partai Hati Nurani Rakyat                  | 15         | 35         | 43%        |
| 14 | Partai Demokrat                            | 15         | 40         | 37%        |
| 19 | Partai Bulan Bintang                       | 7          | 21         | 33%        |
| 20 | Partai Keadilan dan<br>Persatuan Indonesia | 0          | 0          | 0          |
|    |  | <b>190</b> | <b>529</b> | <b>36%</b> |

**Table 2.** Representation of Temporary Women Candidates in the 2019 Legislative Election or *pileg* (*pilihan legislatif*) Batu City

| No.<br>Urut | Partai Politik                             | Calon<br>Legislatif |            | % Keterwakilan<br>Perempuan |
|-------------|--|---------------------|------------|-----------------------------|
|             |  | P                   | Total      |                             |
| 1           | Partai Kebangkitan Bangsa                  | 12                  | 30         | 40%                         |
| 2           | Partai Gerakan Indonesia<br>Raya           | 13                  | 30         | 43%                         |
| 3           | Partai Demokrasi Indonesia<br>Perjuangan   | 12                  | 30         | 40%                         |
| 4           | Partai Golongan Karya                      | 14                  | 30         | 47%                         |
| 5           | Partai Nasdem                              | 12                  | 30         | 40%                         |
| 6           | Partai Gerakan Perubahan<br>Indonesia      | 0                   | 0          | 0                           |
| 7           | Partai Berkarya                            | 9                   | 16         | 56%                         |
| 8           | Partai Keadilan Sejahtera                  | 10                  | 25         | 40%                         |
| 9           | Partai Persatuan Indonesia                 | 12                  | 29         | 41%                         |
| 10          | Partai Persatuan<br>Pembangunan            | 3                   | 4          | 75%                         |
| 11          | Partai Solidaritas Indonesia               | 3                   | 7          | 43%                         |
| 12          | Partai Amanat Nasional                     | 14                  | 30         | 47%                         |
| 13          | Partai Hati Nurani Rakyat                  | 0                   | 0          | 0                           |
| 14          | Partai Demokrat                            | 12                  | 30         | 40%                         |
| 19          | Partai Bulan Bintang                       | 9                   | 16         | 56%                         |
| 20          | Partai Keadilan dan<br>Persatuan Indonesia | 3                   | 6          | 50%                         |
|             |  | <b>138</b>          | <b>313</b> | <b>44%</b>                  |

**Table 3.** Representation of Temporary Female Candidates in the 2019 Legislative Election or *pileg* (*pilihan legislatif*) Malang Regency

| No. Urut | Partai Politik                          | Calon Legislatif |            | % Keterwakilan Perempuan |
|----------|---|------------------|------------|--------------------------|
|          |   | P                | Total      |                          |
| 1        | Partai Kebangkitan Bangsa               | 24               | 50         | 48%                      |
| 2        | Partai Gerakan Indonesia Raya           | 21               | 48         | 44%                      |
| 3        | Partai Demokrasi Indonesia Perjuangan   | 21               | 50         | 42%                      |
| 4        | Partai Golongan Karya                   | 21               | 50         | 42%                      |
| 5        | Partai Nasdem                           | 21               | 50         | 42%                      |
| 6        | Partai Gerakan Perubahan Indonesia      | 0                | 0          | 0                        |
| 7        | Partai Berkarya                         | 19               | 41         | 46%                      |
| 8        | Partai Keadilan Sejahtera               | 21               | 50         | 42%                      |
| 9        | Partai Persatuan Indonesia              | 16               | 37         | 43%                      |
| 10       | Partai Persatuan Pembangunan            | 28               | 50         | 56%                      |
| 11       | Partai Solidaritas Indonesia            | 6                | 13         | 46%                      |
| 12       | Partai Amanat Nasional                  | 26               | 49         | 53%                      |
| 13       | Partai Hati Nurani Rakyat               | 15               | 37         | 41%                      |
| 14       | Partai Demokrat                         | 24               | 47         | 51%                      |
| 19       | Partai Bulan Bintang                    | 11               | 25         | 44%                      |
| 20       | Partai Keadilan dan Persatuan Indonesia | 7                | 15         | 47%                      |
|          |   | <b>281</b>       | <b>612</b> | <b>46%</b>               |

Based on the table above, it can be seen that the three major regions in Malang Raya as a whole have complied with the affirmation policy, with a minimum representation of 30% female candidates for each political party. The number of women's representation as legislative candidates does not yet represent the results of the same quota as elected

members. It is known that the 2019 Malang Raya election resulted in the number of female members being represented in the DPRD (Regional House of Representative) for each region which was still below the 30% quota. Malang City DPRD (Regional House Of Representative) represented 13 female members from 45 seats (29%), Batu City DPRD (Regional House Of Representative) produced 4

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female members from 30 seats (13%), and Malang Regency produced 7 female members from a total of 50 seats in DPRD (Regional House Of Representative) (14%).

It is understood that the 30% quota for female legislative members in Malang Raya has not been achieved because the number of votes obtained by several female candidates is less than the votes obtained by male legislative candidates. The superiority of the number of female voters over men also does not have a significant influence in the process of winning female candidates. This can be seen through several factors, including the general public's understanding of the gender-based division of labor as a social construct, as well as the political communication strategy adopted by each female legislative candidate. Sirajuddin and Sudjono (2018) concluded that the non-optimal affirmation policy in political parties and representative institutions in the 2009 legislative elections was caused by the following:

1. The political context is dominated by men, so it does not accommodate women's political interests.
2. The male-dominated social context produces masculine practices.
3. The cultural context that is dominated by men through patriarchal traditions produces social constructs about the division of labor between women and men.
4. The decision of the Constitutional

Court that requires the determination of candidates for legislative members based on the majority of votes, not based on the serial number of the candidates.

Purwanti (2015) also stated that the representation of women in politics was not optimal in the 2014 – 2019 legislative elections due to the patriarchal culture that still exists in all stakeholders. Therefore, socialization related to the importance of women's involvement in the legislature still needs to be done. Sirajuddin and Sudjono (2018) suggest that there is a women's strategy in encouraging affirmative action quota of 30% in political parties and regional representative institutions in Malang City in 2009, through political education for women voters and policy advocacy that favors women's aspirations and interests.

The strategy for winning female DPRD (Regional House Of Representative) candidates provides an opportunity to increase political literacy in society in general, in order to foster a more equal perception and space for women to compete in the legislature. The winning strategy is an important consideration for every female candidate, considering that the ideal number of women's representation according to the 30% quota is still at the political party level. Apart from not being optimal in representing aspirations and policies that are friendly to women, achievements at the party level can be said to be very vulnerable to the

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practice of political symbols. An effective political strategy is an absolute requirement for every member candidate to realize women's representation at the legislative level.

## **B. Strategy for Winning Women's Legislature in the 2019 General Election of Malang Raya**

The success of elected members in the struggle for council seats cannot be separated from the effective implementation of winning strategies. It is certain that each candidate has a certain method used to get the most votes in the legislative election. The implementation of each candidate's strategy is unique because of the different characteristics of the people in each electoral district.

### **1. Malang City**

One of the strategies commonly used by every legislative candidate in seeking votes is to utilize social networks, which are managed separately by a winning team or managed independently by each candidate. This is as done by elected DPRD (Regional House Of Representative) member Indah Nurdiana, STP, from the Democratic Party faction, who has served as a member of Commission B of the Malang City DPRD (Regional House Of Representative) since 2019. She said that her success in winning votes in the legislative elections could not be separated from the role of the winning team, as well as support from constituents. who

has been treated since the nomination of Mrs. Indah's husband, who previously also served as a member of the Malang City DPRD (Regional House Of Representative).

Mrs. Indah gained knowledge and understanding of the ballot map and approach to prospective voters since she participated directly in her husband's candidacy campaign in the previous period. The existence of Mrs. Indah and her husband in the same party provided an advantage because the public became more familiar with her figure. According to Mrs. Indah, both female and male candidates did not have a significant difference in winning strategies, apart from the motherly approach which was considered more flexible, especially to female voters.

Political communication with a direct approach through community activities is also the main strategy in the nomination of Dra. Wiwiek Sukesie DR, M.Sc., who both serve as members of Commission B DPRD (Regional House Of Representative) Malang City. The existence of relatives who are also involved as political practitioners is undeniable that they still have an influence on the vote acquisition of legislative candidates. Mrs. Wiwiek herself is known to be descended from a father who also has experience as a member of the council. The

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existence of a family in the political environment certainly has advantages for a candidate for legislative members, including better political insight, knowledge related to the world of politics on a local and national scale, to a figure who has the value of familiarity with prospective voters in certain electoral districts.

The winning strategy that was influenced by political awareness from the family was also an advantage for another member of the PDI-P faction, Amithya Ratnanggani Sirraduhita, SS, who served as a member of Commission D of the Malang City DPRD (Regional House Of Representative). In addition to the presence of a parent figure in the DPR RI seat, Mrs. Amithya also actively approaches the community in her constituency, which includes Kedung Kandang District through blusukan activities. The ability to optimize internet technology is also utilized by Mrs. Amithya in conveying her vision and political program. The use of social media is one of Mrs. Amithya's strategies, especially to attract voices from the millennial generation who have more insight into technology and media literacy.

## **2. Batu City**

The implementation of the winning strategy for each member of the legislature during the nomination campaign process is

carried out by adjusting the conditions of the people in each region. The differences in the traditions and culture of the local community become one of the important considerations in determining the right strategy to be implemented. The approach through socialization to the community by utilizing cultural closeness is the main strategy applied by the Deputy Chairman of Commission B DPRD (Regional House Of Representative) Batu City, Nur Aulia Ashanti. The implementation of this strategy even succeeded in getting him elected during the last two terms of the legislative election, through the support of the National Mandate Party. According to Mrs. Aulia, expanding the network in the community is a key winning strategy for her, and especially for women legislative candidates.

Mrs. Aulia also emphasized the important role of the winning team, which specifically managed the strategy to gain support for her, apart from the success team that came from the party. The majority of the personal success team came from residents in his neighborhood in the Pesanggrahan area, Batu. The support and enthusiasm from the residents was very enthusiastic because Mrs. Aulia was the first legislative candidate from Pesanggrahan. Strengthening social networks is still a priority in

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his campaign, as well as through the use of simple campaign props.

The use of technology as a campaign tool is actually not a priority for Mrs. Aulia, because in addition to her preference for socializing directly with the public, she considers that the community of potential voters is not too familiar with the world of the internet and social media. The psychological impact of social media that can affect emotional conditions is also a consideration for Mrs. Aulia not to optimize internet facilities.

The existence of the network that has been built by Mrs. Aulia with the community is strengthened by the use of programs provided by the Regional Work Units in the Work Plan and Budget. According to Mrs. Aulia, collaboration with regional heads and service heads can be a solution to financial constraints in minimizing political costs, which generally hinder the success of legislative candidates. In the end, his direct proximity to the community actually became a source of input for him, because he could know the needs of the residents. Meeting the needs of the community like this will have an impact on increasing public confidence in members of the legislature.

The community approach based on social networks is also a major component in the Hj

winning strategy. Dewi Kartika, ST, who currently serves as Chair of Commission A of the Batu City DPRD (Regional House Of Representative) from the National Awakening Party faction. Strengthening social networks through direct communication with the public has an irreplaceable function, even through technological means. According to Mrs. Kartika, intense communication will foster public recognition, and can initiate collaboration with various regional apparatuses. The existence of recognition from the community itself is one of the keys to winning for each member of the council, both for members who are new to the legislative world and for members with incumbent status.

Other supporting components, such as providing adequate political costs, are undeniably still have a function that is no less important in the strategy of winning the legislature. However, according to Mrs. Kartika, the existence of political costs cannot absolutely win the trust of prospective voters, especially for an incumbent legislative candidate like him who has so far served as a member of the DPRD (Regional House Of Representative) for three terms. Mrs. Kartika also explained the differences in strategy implementation for new and incumbent legislative candidates, and emphasized the importance of

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the role of social networks to reduce obstacles for each legislative candidate.

Mapping the area based on the community group that is the target of voters' votes has a significant influence on the type of strategy that is right to be implemented. According to Mrs. Kartika, the targeted rural communities in her constituency still need a direct approach, because the use of internet media technology is not yet optimal. He also added that the political theory that developed in the academic sphere did not always apply in practical political reality. This contradiction is caused by the differences in the contours of society in each different area and the uniqueness of each, so that it requires a more cultural approach.

The use of social networks used by every legislative candidate as an election winning strategy does not have to be pragmatic. A social network based on the interests of sharing political knowledge is one example of the actions taken by a young member of the Batu City legislature from the Indonesian Democratic Party of Struggle, Amirah Ghaida Dayanara, S.IP. The existence of a senior figure who also competes in the same constituency is an opportunity for Mrs. Amirah to learn strategies to win votes. With a relatively young age, Mrs. Amirah who currently serves as a member

of Commission A DPRD (Regional House Of Representative) Batu City targets the voices of millennials and youth, as well as the cultural arts community in the designated electoral district.

Closeness to the community as stated by other informants previously was also the key to Mrs. Amirah's winning strategy in the 2019 legislative election in Batu City. For candidates for council members who are competing for the first time in political contestation at the legislative level, a direct approach through activities with the community has several positive values, namely recognition of the figure of prospective members, to knowing the main needs of the community. The fulfillment of these needs will have an impact on the emergence of public confidence in the performance of legislative candidates.

The role of political parties that oversee each candidate for council members during the campaign process is only general in nature, including regulations set by the general election commission and supervisory bodies, such as restrictions on the use of teaching aids and social media via the internet. The use of social media such as Instagram is a means of socialization considering that the target voice is youth who are considered more familiar with internet technology. While

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campaign props are certainly needed to identify potential voters against potential new members. Mrs. Amirah also emphasized that one of the efforts to compete in political competitions such as legislative elections is to strengthen the mentality to compete. This psychic ability must be possessed by every candidate.

### 3. Malang Regency

Malang Regency is the largest area of the unitary area of Malang Raya, with the majority of the population being rural communities. The distribution of the population and the characteristics of the community that are different from urban areas require that every legislative candidate is able to implement an ideal winning strategy for rural communities. Based on interviews with informants Hj. Masfufah, S.Pd. who serves on Commission IV of the Malang Regency DPRD (Regional House Of Representative) from the National Awakening Party faction, a direct approach is the best way to get votes in Dapil 1, which includes Gondanglegi District, Bululawang District, Kepanjen District, and Pagelaran District. Success in approaching the community can even reduce the psychological influence of the candidate's serial number in the election, which according to Mrs. Masfufah has a big influence on voting.

An understanding of the

diversity of community characteristics in each region is one of the keys for Mrs. Masfufah to find out which areas are the voices of her supporters. Mapping the area of the ballot box serves to sort out the intensity of the approach, so that each program can run efficiently. He added that female candidates have an advantage that male candidates do not have in terms of approaching rural communities.

Political costs are one of the aspects considered by candidates for legislative members during the campaign period. Efficient management of cost politics will have an impact on the implementation of a more effective winning strategy. For Mrs. Masfufah, the existence of a success team that works more voluntarily is a positive side of her closeness to the community, which also has an impact on spending on campaign needs. Minimizing political costs will be realized when a candidate for legislative member has been able to build a political network in the area that becomes the ballot box.

One of the approach programs to the community carried out by Mrs. Masfufah is by utilizing recess activities, as regulated in the Regulation of the House of Representatives of the Republic of Indonesia Number 1 of 2014 concerning Orders. The involvement of all elements of

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society in activities during recess has an impact on public recognition of figures and performance, as well as development programs implemented by the legislature.

During the process of searching for votes in the community, Mrs. Masfufah tried to stay out of the reach of her political opponents. According to him, this method was used to avoid detection, so that the ongoing political maneuvers could not be read by his competitors. One of Mrs. Masfufah's efforts in guerrilla warfare is to continue to move and add networks in other areas, while ensuring the voice of her supporters. This strategy to stay below the surface has finally succeeded in making Mrs. Masfufah a member of the council for the last two terms.

The strategy for winning the final stage carried out by Mrs. Masfufah a few days before the election period was to increase the intensity of campaign socialization, as well as to hold a "definite vote" that would support her in the vote count. As for this intense step that was carried out constantly for the past two months before

The social network that was built as a means to implement the strategy of winning the legislature was also carried out by the Deputy Chairman of Commission I DPRD (Regional House Of Representative) Malang Regency,

Ninik Nurmiati, S.Pd., in the first election he participated in 2019. The closeness and service to the community that Mrs. Ninik has carried out since before the nomination of the legislature, while still playing the role of Mrs. Lurah and Chair of the PKK in Kanigoro Village, he was the capital of the vote. As explained by previous informants, a strong social network will be able to cover the shortcomings of prospective members, for example the problem of limited political costs.

The habit that was applied during her time as Chair of the PKK and the wife of the Village Head to always try to be involved in activities with the community ultimately fostered public trust in Mrs. Ninik's performance, especially in accommodating the aspirations of the community. The relationship based on mutual trust between Mrs. Ninik and the community that is mutualism has a positive effect, with voice support coming from the social network chain that she built with the residents of Kanigoro Village, to connect with residents in other areas in Dapil 1.

Berkecimpung secara aktif dalam kegiatan sosial bersama masyarakat juga berdampak pada keterbatasan waktu Mrs. Ninik dalam hal keanggotaan Partai Nasional Demokrat. Prinsip dalam memprioritaskan dukungan suara untuk pemilu justru berhasil

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menggalang dukungan, dengan lebih dari 60% suara dihasilkan beliau dari Desa Kanigoro dari total perolehan mencapai 10 ribu suara pada pemilihan umum legislatif.

Characters with characteristics that are culturally close to the community have values that are considered by every political party, especially in terms of selecting potential legislative candidates. A strong character can be an asset for a candidate for a board member, when supported by the existence of a political network around him. Mrs. Ninik's social network ultimately widened her chances of being elected as a "candidate", thus paving the way for a board seat in the Malang Regency DPRD (Regional House Of Representative).

## CONCLUSIONS

This study shows descriptively the results of data collection collected from informants related to women's winning strategies in the legislative realm in Malang Raya. The results of the study show various instrumentalistic and social-based strategies that were carried out by the candidates before being elected. This research is important to observe considering that women's representation in the legislature has not been fulfilled so that this research can be a reference for women politicians and for academic development related to social relations that support women's winning strategies.

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