

Why is There Zero Women Candidate for Governor Election in West Java, Indonesia?

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Abstract

Democracy requires active public political participation. In Indonesian democracy, however, the number of women who run their candidacy in an election is still limited. For instance, in West Java Province Regional Election, there are no women candidates for governor or vice governor. The political sociology perspective sees these phenomena as the patriarchal culture that the community prefers male leader to women. This research aims at understanding causes of why there are no female candidates in the general election in West Java. This research makes use of quantitative approach with survey method aimed to explain political views of West Java society about female candidates in a gubernatorial election. The research involves 500 respondents. The data was collected by using the questionnaire distributed by Google Form to people living in this area. The data were then analyzed by inferential statistics. This study indicates that West Java residents still hold strong ideology on gender differences, believing that a good leader should be male. Even in the smallest scope of institution, man is supposed to be a leader. In addition, there is a dichotomy between the public and the personal space for male and female duty. Women are suggested to stay at the private space, while male has a duty at the public sphere. It is also evidenced in the research that women voters have little tendency to elect the female candidates. This occurs not just because of their patriarchal cultural background, but also due to their education. It is indicated that even female voters had higher education, their tendency to elect the women candidate was still low.

Keywords

candidate for governor; election; woman

INTRODUCTION

As one of the developing countries, Indonesia is still on its struggle for democracy. It is indicated, for instance, by limited number of woman candidates on an election, as in West Java gubernatorial election, where neither governor nor vice-governor candidates are women. From the point of view of political sociology, this is seen as a patriarchal culture in which a particular community prefers male leaders instead of female. This has made women who run her candidacy for

gubernatorial election have often to face resistance from their communities.

The gubernatorial election should be honest, fair and open indicated by unrestricted access to the whole community to be elected as candidate for governor or deputy governor. In the Indonesian context, there are two aspects that make a woman be nomi-

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nated in a regional head elections. First, the candidate for the regional head is a member of a political party, who is active in various activities and obeys the rules established by the party leaders. Second, non-party women who want to nominate as a candidate must have high electability and is widely known by most people. In this case, they will be nominated as a candidate for regional head by a political party.

Those aspects indicate that the limited space for women to run for candidacy for governor or vice governor is worsened by a sentiment implying that as men are capable to run their candidacy, women have to give in. Social attitudes of people who always put men as leaders can limit women's space in the constellation of local elections (Harrison, 2010; Palici in Suni, 2012; Golosov, 2001; Cesur & Mocan, 2018).

The ideals of democracy in Indonesia are actually aimed at ensuring human rights for all communities (Baker & Chandler, 2005); (Donnelly, 1999); (Iskandar, 2016). This is not only legally stated, but should also be implemented in the life of the community. Currently, the Indonesian Constitution (also known as the '1945 Constitution') has stipulated the issue of human rights, especially on the political freedoms of society (Valentini, 2012; Human Rights Watch, 2017), which aims at providing wider access to all parties to be actively involved in political constellation. On the actual reality in the society, however, human rights-related rules as stipulated in the State Constitution cannot be properly. This fact again shows that the ideals of democracy have not been realized optimally (Pausch, 2014; Fung, 2003; Hu, 2015).

Efforts to optimize the values of democracy have always made and are present in the life of society, nation and state. However, the people of West Java Province need to revive democracy by fostering women as candidates for regional leaders. This is an attempt to eliminate the stigma that democracy in West Java is still restricted by gender, and thus raising female figures as leaders in the small community need to be supported. However, the way in which women are en-

couraged to run their candidacy in regional elections, as governor and vice governor candidates, should be in line with religious values, culture and morality, as democracy essentially must be in harmony with those values that live in society (Sen, 1999; Diamond, 1999; Fearon, 2011).

In revealing present condition of West Java society about female candidate of governor and vice governor two fundamental questions are posed: 1) how is view of West Java society about female candidates for governor and vice governor? and 2) what the factors are there that caused no female candidates for governor and deputy governor in the 2018 regional elections?. These two questions are proposed to reveal the circumstances of society and the factors that cause the absence of female candidates in the regional election. This has becomes vitally important to ask the community, because they are in fact the holder of the highest sovereignty in Indonesia (Latham, 2000; De Benoist, 1999).

The purpose of this article is to demonstrate how West Java society view political democracy in the hope of providing political understanding through further research, revealing the reality of access for women in the political constellation in West Java and at the same time trying to build a superior democratic culture. All of these objectives can be analyzed from research articles conducted through a systematic and measurable study in understanding the political situation in West Java province.

Role of Women on the Democracy Constellation

Democracy views women have equal right to men, and there is no difference in rights or responsibilities (Dalton & Ong, 2004; Brockman, 2014; Dovi, 2008; Baldez, 2003; Caprioli, 2004). Therefore, women also hold the right to vote or be elected in an election (Durante, Rae, & Griskevicius, 2013; Ley, 2017; Sanbonmatsu, 2002), which implies that women have roles in the democratic constellation (Edlund & Pande, 2002; Urbinati & Warren, 2008). On a practical political level, they are often used as a strategy to

gain public sympathy (Frers & Meier, 2017), which can be seen during the campaign when women can shape opinions of prospective leaders with a good image in society. Even during demonstrations, they are influential in changing government policy (Irani & Ghoneim, 2007; Richardson, 2000).

The role of women in the democratic constellation is closely related to the election of state leaders. They always play an important role, although in different dimensions with their male counterpart, which means the role of women is always behind the success of men in the election of state leaders. State female leaders are therefore limited in numbers. There are a number of indicators on the absence of female candidates for regional election. In the Middle East there has never been any female national or regional leaders (Hausmann, Tyson, & Zahidi, 2010; Abu-Lughod, 1998; Charrad, 2011; Le Renard, 2008), since the socio-cultural conditions in the Middle East do not allow women to be a state leader.

Women's obstacles to becoming a state leader are not only felt by countries in the Middle East, even in the United States, which is a democratic country, it is difficult to get prospective leaders of women-based countries (Deere & Leon, 2003; Smith, 2008; Medved, 2008), this is because in every election of candidate country leaders among women always lose the number of votes. Thus, it can be seen that the role of women in the democratic constellation is no different from men, based solely on forming a belief in society that women can become leaders.

West Java People's View of the Prospective Head

The people in West Java province are very closely related to cultural and religious values, and thus this phenomenon has influenced their perspective in determining candidates for their leaders. In the view of West Javanese culture, a dichotomy between the roles of men and women still exists up to the present day in the people's lives (Qurotul Uyun, 2002; Amin, 2015; Ahdiah, 2013; Hanapi, 2015; Seda, 2017). Men are consid-

ered to play their roles in public sector, i.e. in the realm of work, while women have a more private sphere in the domain of household. In addition, men are the dominant breadwinner in the family (Snowden & Boone, 2007; Maxwell, 2012). This view has therefore influenced their choice in electing candidates for Governor and vice Governor. Additionally, this cultural view also resulted in the preference of Governor or deputy governor in West Java who should be from local ethnic of Sunda, provided that they are considered to have better understanding of the problems that are closely related to culture.

At the religious level, people living in West Java believe that a leader must be male (Haddara et al., 2009; Beekun & Badawi, 1999; Wang, Chiang, Tsai, Lin & Cheng, 2013; Wan Kamal et al., 2012). This strongly influences the public view to prefer men rather than women as Governor and deputy Governor.

Research Objectives

This research aims at providing an overview and data about the views of the community that is closely related to the public view of the ideal woman figure as leader in West Java, knowing the possibility of the election of governor and deputy governor of West Java in the future from among women and understand the factors - a factor that resulted in the absence of a candidate for governor and deputy governor of women in the 2018 regional election.

METHODS

Research design

This study attempts to understand the reasons why there are no female candidates in the general election in West Java. Using a quantitative approach (Creswel, 2008, Williams, 2007), this study makes use of survey methods (Kahneman, Krueger, Schkade, Schwarz, & Stone, 2004) which aims to explain the political views of West Java society about female candidates in the gubernatorial election.

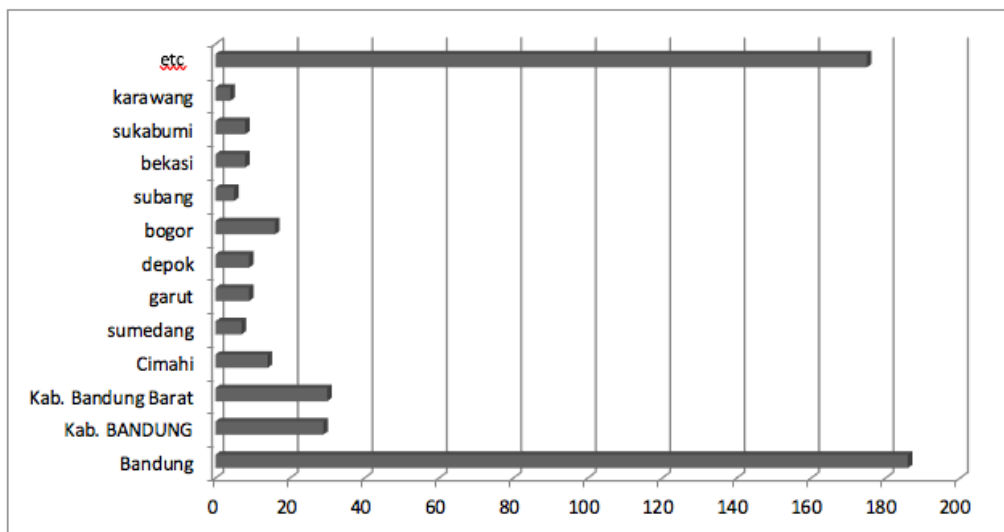


Figure 1. Participants' Origin of Region

Participants

The research area for this study is West Java Province, involving 500 respondents. Data collected using questionnaires distributed by Google to people living in this area.

Participants involved in the research survey are those who live in the area of West Java, which is intended to obtain results relevant to the state of society. The condition of society in West Java region is very diverse. Bandung area, for instance, is marked by reality of society who already understand politics or can be included in participant voter category. On the other hand, in the region like Sukabumi the society still have primordial political view. Thus, the distribution of participants' geographical origin should be evenly distributed and adapted to the characteristics of the community.

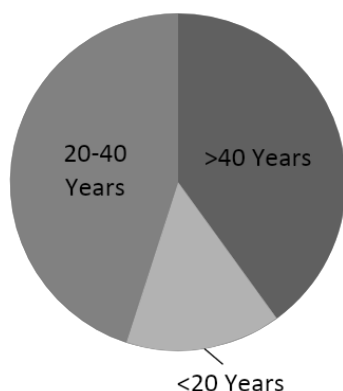


Figure 2. Participants' Age

The age range of the participants is between 20-40 years, due to the fact that the number of registered voters in the 2018 regional election is predominantly productive ages, and participants aged over 40 years who have conservative political views, especially those related to gender politics. It is important, therefore, to obtain data from participants over the age of 40 years.

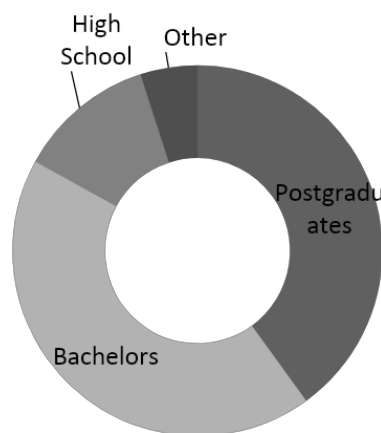


Figure 3. Participants' Education

Participants who were involved in the study have relatively good level of education, indicated by 40% postgraduates and 43% bachelors. This is because the view that highly educated people will be followed by other community members. Thus it is important in the survey research to know the political views of society based on the level

of education about women in the regional election in West Java.

Data Collection Instrument

The data were collected through questionnaires distributed to respondents utilizing Google Forms (Dutton, 2015; Gehringer, 2010), which is focused on two aspects: the public view of the ideal female leader and factors that resulted in the absence of female candidates in the Java West gubernatorial election in 2018. Google Forms are used since the scope of this study covers all districts and cities in West Java province.

Data collection techniques are performed to find references on appropriate questions to answer the problem formulation (J. Cresswell, 2006; Ingleby, 2012; University of Texas, 2002). The reference is derived from literature in the form of books, journals and newspapers. Subsequently, the obtained data were then compiled on 28 items focusing on the ability to answer the views of the public about the ideal female figure as the leader of West Java and factors behind the absence of female candidates in the election. The items in the question focus on the aspects of family, community, social, community organizations, religious views and women's choice in each election of regional election.

Data Analyses

The data of this study is interpreted by inferential statistics, which is characterized by the effect that makes them more likely to show certain results than others (Allua & Thompson, 2009; Dilevko, 2007; Marshall & Jonker, 2011). Influences are also analyzed, whether natural or man-made aspect leads to the choice of answers related to politics. Data analysis is also conducted whether the distribution of the questionnaire corresponds to the distribution of the participants, so as to prevent the tendency of imbalance distribution.

Procedure

Data which is collected online through Google Forms, which begins with the socialization

on to graduate and undergraduate students, and socialization through high school teachers to invite high school students to fill out questionnaires in the Google Forms. The obtained data is then tested for its validity.

RESULT AND DISCUSSION

The results show that residents of West Java still have a strong ideology of gender differences. They believe that a good leader should be male. Even within the scope of the smallest institution, men must perform as leaders. In addition, there is a dichotomy between society and private space for duty between men and women. Women are advised to stay in a private room, while men perform their responsibility in the public sphere. This research also suggests that women's voices are slightly inclined to choose female candidates. This occurs not only because their cultural background is patriarchy, but it is also caused by their education level. This shows that even if women voters have higher education, their tendency to vote for female candidates is still low.

West Java People's View of Female Candidates for Governor and Vice Governor

West Java community is very diverse and plural in understanding practical political activities, caused by different socio-cultural background. Among them are academics, Islamic boarding school environment (or the *Pesantren*), metropolitan society, traditional people. Different conditions of community life has made varied perspective of politics, especially those related to gender politics, since it relates to social culture, customs and even religion.

The results of this study, which is related to the view of the people of West Java on female Governor and Vice Governor candidates focus on reviewing the integrity of ideal woman figure to be nominated as governor or vice overnor, and existence of linkage between woman ability within social condition of society.

Table 1. Perception on Female Candidates for Governor and Vice Governor

| Perception on Female Candidates for Governor and Vice Governor | West Java has potential women to run their candidacy as regional leaders | | Honest, smart, responsible, and fair | | High education level | | Political party's activist | | Activist of community/religious/professional organization | |
|--|--|-----|--------------------------------------|----|----------------------|-----|----------------------------|-----|---|----|
| | Yes | No | Yes | No | Yes | No | Yes | No | Yes | No |
| | 72% | 28% | 99% | 1% | 87% | 13% | 87% | 13% | 91% | 9% |

This research shows the view of West Java residents about the ideal woman to be nominated as Governor or vice governor, namely the human resources in West Java about the potential of women to become candidates for Governor and Vice Governor of 72% or 360 people answered "Yes" which implies the ability to become the Governor and Vice Governor. This shows the potential of human resources in West Java is quite good in the eyes of the community. In addition, the significant results seen from indicators of honesty, intelligence, responsibility and fair about women in West Java as much as 99% almost perfectly provide the answer "Yes", which signifies the capability of women in West Java who deserves to be a candidate for Governor or Vice Governor.

Another indicator that can be seen from the criteria of the West Java community regarding the candidates for female candidates for Governor and Vice Governor is related to the educational aspect. There are as much as 87% or as many as 435 people who prefer candidates for governor or deputy governor who has higher education, which means that they are capable in solving problems in the region.

Activity in political parties is also an important consideration of the West Java community in determining the ideal woman who is eligible to be nominated as Governor or deputy governor. They consider that women who are active in political parties after

they become Governors or Vice Governors will be able to establish better communications with the legislature, so that they are perceived to be able to make the rules quickly and appropriately to fulfill the needs of the community. Pragmatic view of people who consider women actively involved in political parties to have a great opportunity to be nominated to head the region also exists.

Significant results are addressed on the aspect of women's activeness in community organizations. As much as 91% choose "Yes" and only 9% choose "No". This is because the West Java residents believe that women who are active in community organizations understand the needs of the community better, and can feel the actual life of the community. This activity in the social organization also indicates that women are able to communicate well to the community.

In another aspect, in order to find out deeply about the figure of women in accordance with the needs of the community, there are four aspects that need attention, i.e. family conditions, shelter, commitment and care for the needs of the community.

The society's view of the criteria of a woman who deserves as a candidate for governor or vice governor is influenced by family circumstances. As much as 82% of participants even said "Yes" when answering the ideal female candidate for governor or vice governor must be those who have got

Table 2. People's Perception on Female as Candidates for Governor and Vice Governor

| People's Perception on Female as Candidates for Governor and Vice Governor | Having family | | Reside in the region where the candidate live | | Commitment to develop her region | | Having awareness on community-related problems | |
|--|---------------|-----|---|-----|----------------------------------|-----|--|-----|
| | Yes | No | Yes | No | Yes | No | Yes | No |
| | 82% | 18% | 84% | 16% | 87% | 13% | 74% | 26% |

married or not divorced. These have been considerations for the people since women who are able to build a good family can be harmonious to build harmony in West Java province.

Indicator of residence is also a main consideration of the people of West Java to choose women as a candidate for Governor or deputy governor. This is because of the regional views of the people of West Java that is still strong, and the view that the candidate for Governor or Vice Governor in West Java must originally come from West Java, since it is believed that they know the problem areas related to education, health and especially culture.

At the level of commitment to develop the province, significant results are also obtained although the percentage is lower than other indicators. This is because people have often heard promises of candidate for Governor or Vice Governor to advance West Java. Another reason is that the sensitivity of women to the problems of West Java is also a criterion for the people of West Java to make choices in the election of regional heads.

Factors That Cause No Candidate Candidate of Governor and Vice Governor of Women

This survey examines 14 questions that indicate a woman deserves to be nominated as a candidate for governor or deputy governor in West Java. The result shows that there are

socio-cultural and religious aspects that become the consideration of the community to choose the female candidate of governor or the deputy governor. This view makes the political party does not promote women in regional elections in West Java in 2018.

This results indicate that the absence of female figure to be a candidate for regional head in West Java is not confirmed based on public opinion. As much as 68% or as many as 340 respondents stated "No" which indicates that in terms of education, activity in political parties and community organizations, women in West Java is feasible to be a candidate for Governor or Vice Governor. Female figures in West Java who have the opportunity to become a candidate for governor or deputy governor should be already recognized by the community. However, socio-cultural prohibition still prevents them from being candidates. From 500 respondents as much as 57% and 43% replied "No". This indicates that the socio-cultural situation is very influential on the democratic constellation in West Java.

The results of a survey conducted to 500 responses from all districts and cities in West Java show that although women have academic ability, which is indicated by higher education level, it is very difficult to be a governor or vice governor candidate. This can be seen from religious factors that show 68% or as many as 340 people answered "Yes" that religion does not allow a woman to be a leader candidate as long as

Table 3. Factors Influencing the Appropriateness of Women in Regional Election

| Factors causing the absence of female candidates on gubernatorial election | No women deserve on the 2018 West Java Gubernatorial Election | | There are no popular women | | Inability of women to be leaders | | Unaccommodated on regulations | | Sentiment of socio-cultural prohibition | |
|--|---|-----|----------------------------|-----|----------------------------------|-----|-------------------------------|-----|---|-----|
| | Yes | No | Yes | No | Yes | No | Yes | No | Yes | No |
| | 32% | 68% | 40% | 60% | 39% | 61% | 37% | 63% | 57% | 43% |

Table 4. Factors Influencing the Appropriateness of Women in Regional Election

| Factors causing the absence of female candidates on gubernatorial election | Religious factor | | Distrust of capability | | Preference of political parties on male candidates | | Lack of socialization on women leadership | | Prohibition from the family (husband/child/orang tua/parents) | |
|--|------------------|-----|------------------------|-----|--|-----|---|-----|---|-----|
| | Yes | No | Yes | No | Yes | No | Yes | No | Yes | No |
| | 68% | 32% | 57% | 43% | 68% | 32% | 84% | 16% | 59% | 41% |

there are men who deserve to be Governor or deputy Governor. This religious factor is so difficult to resist that the people must be obedient and subject to religious rules.

The condition of women in West Java who are pressured by social circumstances that do not allow women to be a leader candidate has caused the society to think that women in West Java do not have confidence in their ability, indicated by as much as 57% respondents who answer "Yes". This situation is worsened by the choice of political parties who prefer men to be nominated as a candidate. This is confirmed factually that in the 2018 election in in West Java there is no female candidate.

The most significant factor as the cause of the absence of a women candidate for governor or vice governor is the lack of socialization of women leadership. As many as 84% of respondents replied "Yes" that the lack of socialization about the role of leadership to the community, so that people are doubt the capability of women as leaders. Another factor is internal condition of the family that makes women do not run as a candidate since in the view of society women are assigned to take care of household and family, so that if tthey take part in public affairs, their family and household will not be well managed.

Gender issue still actually exists in West Java, which can be seen from the public opinion about the candidate of governor or vice governor that if there are men, women do not have to be leaders. It can be seen from 75% of respondents who answered "Yes" and only 25% who answered "No". The view is actually not the will of men, but women themselves who determine their political choices,

as evidenced by the results of a survey on the chance of regional election, that women do not choose female candidates. It can be seen from 72% who answered "Yes" and 28% respondents who replied "No". The present situation of existing gender-related views may, in the future, be vanished, if there is an ideal candidate for Governor and deputy governor. This is supported by results of a survey of prospective feamel leaders to be elected in a regional election, in which 76% respondents replied "Yes" while 24% choose "No".

This research reveals that West Java residents still hold a traditional view that concerns the criteria of leaders, especially those related to gender. Surveys concludes that women in West Java who have higher educational level and capability as a leader is hindered by values that exist in the community.

Reality in the West Java community indicates that women have higher capabilities, even if it is linked with gender, women in West Java who work in bureaucracy are clean from corruption (Olken 2007, Goetz, 2007; Alatas, Cameron, Chaudhuri, Erkal, & Gangadharan, 2009). It suggests that women in West Java show integrity and commitment to advance (Eagly & Johannesen-Schmidt, 2001), build and improve social issues in in their region. In addition, they are also active in the activities of political parties, which can be seen in every practical political movement in West Java, where women are always actively involved in it. Similarly, women show high awareness to actively build community through community organizations (Son & Lin, 2008; Sampson, McAdam, MacIndoe, & Weffer-Elizondo,

Table 5. Factors Influencing the Appriateness of Women in Regional Election

| Factors causing the absence of female candidates on gubernatorial election | Sentiment to prioritize male candidates | | Sentiment that women should not lead upon men | | In elections, women voters do not vote for female candidates | | If there is a female candidate who meets the aforementioned criteria, will you vote to choose women as a regional leader? | |
|--|---|-----|---|-----|--|-----|---|-----|
| | Yes | No | Yes | No | Yes | No | Yes | No |
| | 75% | 25% | 71% | 29% | 72% | 28% | 76% | 24% |

2005). This fact indicates that in terms of capability and integrity, women in West Java deserve to be candidates for Governor or Vice Governor.

Furthermore, the survey also signifies that the factor causing women not nominate themselves as candidates for Governor or vice governor remains the sentiment that socially and culturally they do not deserve to be a leader as long as there are men who are willing and worthy of being a leader (Reuben, Rey-Biel, Sapienza, & Zingales, 2012; Bierema, 2016). Additionally, religious aspect also affects the failure of women to run as candidates for governor or deputy governor in West Java. As widely believed by most people in West Java, women should not be a leader because it does not comply her very nature. They preferred to keep the house and focus on taking care of the household (Ross, 2008; Ong, 2013; Abu-Lughod, 1998).

Social and religious pressures have made women distrust their own ability to lead, and thus discouraging the prospect of becoming a regional leader. Based on the view of the local people in West Java who chose men as leaders, political parties prefer men to be promoted as candidates for governor or vice governor. This would therefore restrict the access for women to run for governor and deputy governor. In fact, if chronologically analyzed, the absence of women in the 2018 gubernatorial election is caused by lack of socialization about women's leadership, so that people are uncertain about the figure of women in leading their province.

A democratic condition that should be built on the basis of gender equality cannot yet be realized in West Java, though this is not the argument for the decline of democracy in West Java. It should be understood that the realities of political freedom (Lee-son, 2008, Miletzki & Broten, 2017, Rhue & Sundararajan, 2014) are highly respected and comply with democratic values (Schumpeter, 2010), such as press freedom, freedom of expression and community engagement in any government decision. However, it is important to note that amid human rights which are now faded, political freedom is only controlled by political parties to run as

candidates for governor and deputy governor although there is access for independent candidates. In order to accommodate the interests of local elections, it is important to strengthen campaign on the leadership of every citizen, irrespective of gender consideration, thereby raising equality of citizens' political rights.

CONCLUSION

The absence of female candidates for governor and deputy governor in West Java regional election from is due to socio-cultural factors, which do not support women as candidates of governor and vice governor. In addition, there is a religious view which holds that as long as there are men who are able to become a leader, women should remain on their domestic realm. In practice, political parties also prefer male candidates to run as candidates for gubernatorial election. In fact, from the point of view of academic capability which is proved by higher education and capability, woman in West Java are able to become candidate of governor and vice governor in West Java. Therefore, in order to to accommodate the representation of women in the regional election it is urgent to socialize about the leadership of women who are able to become leaders in West Java.

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