Gender-Equality Concerns and Political Attitudes toward Women in the 2019 Legislative Election: Evidence from Pelalawan

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Abstract

The presence of women in Indonesian politics remains underrepresented whereas cultural and societal aspects pose critical influence in determining voter behavior toward female candidates. The aim of this article is to examine voter behavior regarding female candidates and the probability for them to be elected as members of parliament. We apply quantitative method by developing three models representing three combinations of predictor variables, (i) socio-demography, (ii) gender-equality concern, and (iii) political attitude towards female candidates as determinants towards female candidate electability. The study took place in Pelalawan Regency in Riau Province, by analyzing 400 respondents with equal numbers of men and women from various socio-economic backgrounds through clustered random sampling method. We tested these hypotheses and our three models by utilizing logistic regression analysis. The result shows that political attitude toward female candidates (Model 3) are the strongest coefficient and most significant determinant for female candidate electability. The study also revealed that female candidate's electability in Pelalawan Regency is lower than male candidate's electability among male respondents. On the other hand, female candidate's electability is higher than male candidate's electability among female respondents. Moreover, we also found that education determines female candidate's electability where the more educated an individual is, the more he/she tends to vote for female candidates.

Keywords:
gender-equality concerns; Pelalawan Regency; political attitudes; socio-demography; female candidate electability.

Introduction

Democratization in 1998 has marked a new phase of Indonesian politics. Several characteristics of contemporary Indonesian politics that can be identified consist of the emergence of new political parties (Ufen, 2009), the decline of the army's roles in socio-political and economic affairs (Croissant et al., 2013), freedom of the press (Kakiailatu, 2007), decentralization (Ostwald et al., 2016), direct presidential and local elections (Baswedan, 2007), the increase of legislative power (Sherlock, 2010), and particularly an increased opportunity for Indonesians to participate in politics and government (Mujani & Liddle, 2015; Mujani et al., 2018). Another important feature in current democratic politics is the growing importance of women's political participation in both national and local politics. Government has passed laws formally regulating and guaranteeing women's participation in politics. Accordingly, this has elevated the number of

female legislators in national parliament since 1999 even though the percentage still remains lower than male legislators.

Historically, the presence of female legislators in Indonesian parliament is underrepresented. Sharon Bessell (2010) explained that the development model during the New Order that "expected women's contribution through their domestic and community roles, not male preserve of political power and decision making" (p. 223) has contributed to gender gaps in Indonesia's political representation. The introduction of Law No. 32/2002 on Political Party; Law No. 12/2003 on General Election; Law No. 2/2008 on Party Politics; and Law No. 10/2008 on Elections for Members of Parliament at national and local levels has brought a new hope for activist who have concerns in enhancing women's political roles. For example, Law No. 2/2008 states that there should be 30% female representation as one of the requirements in establishing a new political party that acts as members of party's board in national and local branches. Furthermore, Article 55 Line 2 in Law introduced a zipper system, which required that at least one out of three candidates for members of parliament (MPs) proposed by political parties be female. Theoretically, the existence of these laws is a positive step in reducing the gender gap in male dominated Indonesian politics. As a result, these efforts have contributed to the increase in the number of women elected as MPs from 1999 to 2019. The percentage of the female representatives in People's Legislative Council *(Dewan Perwakilan Rakyat*/DPR) after 1998 is 8.8 % in 1999, 11.82 % in 2004, 17.86 % in 2009, 17.32 % in 2014, and 21 % in 2019 (BPS, 2019a; Ramadhan, 2019). Even though the 30 percent quota for women in parliament has not been fulfilled, this positive trend indicates that public space for women to take part in political activities is available.

Indonesian elections in 2019 widely attracted scholars' attention due to a number of interesting phenomena following this political process. Discussions on 2019 elections mostly covered political polarization among Indonesians (Aspinall, 2019; Pepinsky, 2019; Tapsell, 2019; Warburton, 2019) because of the political rematch between Jokowi and Prabowo for presidential contestation (Gueorguiev et al., 2019). Highly competitive struggles among political actors in which presidential and legislative elections were held at the same time also led to stories on patronage and clientelism in gaining electoral supports (Berenschot, 2019; Fachrudin, 2019) where vote buying applied by politicians would be as massive as the previous election (Aspinall & Berenschot, 2019; Aspinall, Rohman, Hamdi, Rubaidi, & Triantini, 2017; Aspinall & Sukmajati, 2015; Muhtadi, 2019). But the cases of women's political participation in this election were not extensively talked about by scholars as topics on clientelism, political polarization and identity politics. As a matter of fact, the percentage of female representation in politics is a crucial problem in new democratic states in as much as democratic quality cannot be fully enhanced and deeply consolidated as long as women that are equal to men as citizens are heavily under-represented in politics.

The issue on women's political participation in contemporary Indonesia is frequently portrayed from affirmative perspectives – enhancing their political engagement by allocating a particular percentage in political parties and parliament. Discussions on women and politics are mostly conducted with normative and descriptive explanations. For instance, even though the 30 percent quota was introduced in 2004, it did not automatically increase female's representations in parliament and politics which remain vigorously dominated by men (Siregar, 2005). The strong culture of masculinity and women's perception of politics as dirty games are widely perceived as the biggest obstacles to elevate female's representations in parliament (Rahmatunnisa, 2016). Allocation for female's

representation is merely utilized by political parties as administrative requirements to contest in the election (Ardiansa, 2016). Institutional factors particularly such as the voting system and campaign funding also present formidable challenges for female representatives in Indonesian politics (Hillman, 2017). Even the introduction of the 2017 Electoral Law could decrease the vote share for women in the competitive electoral system due to the fact that district magnitude, nomination, balloting and electoral formulae as the main components in the 2019 election do not give many advantages to female candidates for Parliament (Prastiwi, 2018).

Like men, women are able to engage in populist politics where it has opened up spaces for them to contribute in delivering social welfare through public policies they made and activities in civil society organizations they are involved in (Marwah, 2019). For women's political activities, wearing veils as a symbol of Islamic piety have become "progressive socio-political tool opening spaces to maneuver and participate" in a highly patriarchal society (Dewi, 2017, p.354). Islam in fact does not have significant influence in hindering women's political participations in the Indonesian case (Dewi, 2015) as quoted by Buehler (2015). Both Indonesia's Islamist and pluralist parties have good performance in achieving a 30 percent quota for female candidates; what makes female candidates succeed in elections is mostly influenced by the "overall party's performance in garnering electoral support" (Prihatini, 2019a, p. 19). Experiences and female candidate distributions are matters for females' probability to get selected as MPs. As one expert observed, female incumbent candidates are more highly nominated by parties in districts with female incumbents than districts without one, "as well as in districts surrounded by female incumbents compared to districts surrounded by no female incumbency" (Shair-Rosenfield, 2012, p. 586). Another study also

revealed that candidate name-order, age and incumbency have affected female electability for parliamentary councils although political dynasty and kinship are strong determinants for female nomination in election by political parties (Prihatini, 2019c).

Most studies on women and politics mentioned above primarily analyzed the issue from structural and politician aspects where in political representation it is usually known as supply sides. On the contrary, investigations from demand sides (voter behaviors) explaining people's political preference for female candidates are, as far as the authors are concerned, still understudied. To fill the gap, our study offers behavioral perspectives to critically analyzed discourses on women and politics in contemporary Indonesia by measuring gender concerns unfolded in society. There is a study from White & Aspinall (2019) describing voter perception about the presence of female candidates in the 2019 election. But the discussion only covered national context, the study did not tell us about the degree of public perception about the issue at the local level and how individuals' background that we identified as socio-demographics in this study drives their decision making in voting for either female or male candidates. Furthermore, it did not inform us about the full story on voter behavior toward female candidates for local legislative council. By focusing on local legislative council in this case, we would be able to see the degree of female candidate popularity for voters because the area coverage is not as big as national parliament. We are also able to measure how strongly patriarchal culture is understood by the grass-root mass. Therefore, the purpose of this study tries to bridge this gap along with enriching literature on gender equality in politics by presenting data on voters' political behavior as empirical evidence.

Regarding the electoral process, the issue of female political representations has been broadly known by voters since the 30

percent female quota for parliamentary was first initiated legally in the 2004 election. With the open-list system in Indonesian legislative elections, it is actually not a big surprise for voters to see female candidates running for legislative elections at national, regional, and local levels. They are used to dealing with female candidates who approach them during public campaign to gain electoral support and could easily identify them by seeing candidate's names in the ballot papers. But the question is will the voters automatically choose them?. What is the likelihood that voters will give their electoral support for them? With this background, we try to fill the gap in the literature on female candidates and Indonesian politics by analyzing the influence on gender equality concerns and female candidate electability. We analyze how socio-demographic backgrounds drive voters' behavior in electing legislative candidates. Through this study, we are able to draw conclusions and compare three models to predict patterns about what extent people accept and have enthusiasm to vote for female candidates in the last legislative elections and the probability that women will be elected as MPs.

This study took place in Pelalawan Regency in Riau Province, as a locus of the study based on some considerations. We first use the Gender Development Index (GDI) and Gender Empowerment Index (GEI) from the Central Bureau of Statistics *(Badan Pusat Statistik/BPS)* to briefly see women's development and empowerment in this place. GDI depicts the level of gender equality by employing life expectancy, education and per capita income as main indicators; gaps in gender equality will be absent, if GDI's total score is equal to the Human Development Index; on the other hand, GEI shows whether women can actively participate in economic and political aspects by measuring gender gaps in economy, political representation and decision making as primary variables (BPS, 2018). In the

sense of GDI, Riau has the lowest score – 88.37 % in 2018 (BPS, 2019b), but it has the highest score for GEI, 75.73 % (BPS, 2019c), compared to other provinces in Sumatra Island. For Pelalawan, the score for GDI shows a positive trend about 88.5 % in 2018 (BPS_Riau, 2019a). But the score for GEI in this region is 54.59 % (BPS_Riau, 2019b) which is lower than its GDI. This means that women in this regency are not able to optimally play their roles in economic and political affairs yet. Another interesting fact is that the number of female candidates for local legislative council in this regency was 38.11 percent (KPU, 2019) which exceeded the 30 percent female representative quota required by electoral regulations. Yet vote share for female candidates in this region remains below male candidates. Instead, there are no women representatives in the parliament of Pelalawan for the period 2019-2024 (TribunPelalawan, 2019), and of course this is still far away from the ideal composition on gender equality as required by the laws. As a matter of facts, we seek explanations by testing the hypothesis whether or not people's understanding on gender equality significantly correlates with a large number of vote shares for female candidates or electability in 2019 elections for the legislative council of Pelalawan.

Political representation, as we have stated above, is a crucial issue for democratic discourse. This essentially underlines the inclusion of all social groups in politics in which women are involved. However, as democracy is a political process involving people's participation, women's active engagement in politics has faced a more difficult trajectory than men's due to the fact that voters often favor men to take strategic positions in government offices compared to women (Dolan, 2010; Sanbonmatsu & Dolan, 2009; Schneider & Bos, 2014). For the purpose of academic discussion, scholars usually use the term of gender referring to social construction "attached to biological and demographic differences

between men and women" (Lovenduski, 2005, p. 6). Then, it has brought a consequence on characterization between male and female where the former tends to be masculine and the latter is feminine. Furthermore this has also caused a division of labor between them in which males are focused on jobs in public affairs and females are primarily engaged in domestic works. Moreover, when it comes to politics, the condition that frequently emerges is 'activism gap' in men and women in terms of political activities and participation (Norris, 2007).

Politics is mostly dominated by men while women are poorly underrepresented commonly due to bias perception in society viewing women's lack of capacity to hold leadership roles in political affairs. In this sense, women's ability to be leaders are often underestimated because "people tend to assume that leadership is masculine trait" (Paxton, Kunovich, & Hughes, 2007, p.271). To deal with the issue, gender quotas for women proposed by activists are generally perceived as an alternative mechanism to bridge gender gap between men and women in politics. To some extent, this attempt has successfully enhanced women's descriptive representation in politics (Krook, 2014). Yet it leaves another important question, does gender quota as affirmative policy for women automatically reduce gender bias in electoral voting? This remains a tricky issue to be addressed due to the fact that cultural and other societal aspects that thwart women's political participations have critical influence in determining voter behavior over women's candidacies in political offices. However, it does not narrow the possibility for academicians to extensively develop and systematically examine a number of determinants and models regarding voter's political preferences over gender equality.

Gender stereotype is a starting point mostly used by scholars as analytical sets to clarify and test voter's perceptions toward female's candidacies for political positions. This stereotype ranges from their social backgrounds to what kind of decisions or policy preference that they are interested in (Gottlieb, Grossman, & Robinson, 2016). Generally, people tend to assume that gender stereotypes play a crucial influence to automatically direct voter preference to elect male rather than female candidates. Nonetheless, empirical evidence from Kathleen Dolan's study based on political behavior of American voters revealed that the stereotype has limited influence over voter decisions regarding male and female candidates, and it is political party and incumbency that possess significant effects driving voter behavior in giving their electoral support (Dolan, 2014). Kage et al., (2019), based on their study on Japanese politics, also exposed similar results portraying that gender bias provides weak basis for voters' decisions in choosing candidates. This simply tells us that the low level of female representation is rooted in socio-cultural thoughts that attach women to family obligations and household works (Kage et al., 2019). Accordingly, women remain reluctant to run for government offices because they tend to perceive that their roles as housewives are more important than political careers. To a certain degree, it has been common perceptions that appear in society where people often depicts women who work properly at raising children, serving their husband's needs, caring for family and taking all responsibilities for domestic jobs as ideal housewives. In this sense, division of labors between men and women has generated not only different conceptions about male and female roles in society but also gaps in political engagement. Consequently, many scholars often view female candidates who are married and have children are in disadvantaged position compared to men due to the double tasks they carry out at the same time, as both politicians and mothers. Experts treat these as a barrier that creates a 'double bind' of women's political

participations having created an unequal gap in male's and female's political ambitions because women have to deal with more work at home than men (Teele, Kalla, & Rosenbluth, 2018).

The degree of electoral support for women's political candidacies is also affected by political values evolved in society (Barnes & Córdova, 2016). Features which give unique characteristics for candidates – political experience, family status, policy focus and gendered kinship – are useful tools to measure the level of gender bias among voters (Clayton et al., 2019). Moreover, certain attributes of countries such as development, religious belief, legacy of previous regime, and the extent of democracy, have influence on citizens' perception on women's ability to govern (Alexander, 2012). Voters frequently consider principal values obtained from religion, culture, ideology, education, and candidate's popularity along with their track records or performances and other societal aspects as the main consideration in voting for particular candidates. If we sum up these points into a brief statement on politics, we can say that it is social backgrounds that provide the main sources for individuals' preference. Moreover, when we move to the discussion on women's political participation, social values and norms play critical roles in shaping people's perception on the existence of female candidates in the political competition. We admit that social traits invoking women's underrepresentation and low level of their political engagement, as it is widely contended by political scientists, are the product of individuals' socialization regarding social norms and values during their lifetime (Fraile & Gomez, 2017).

In this article, we consider various characteristics existing in society, that we call socio-demography (religion, race, occupation, education and gender), as crucial factors in influencing voter attitudes towards male and female candidates. Religion and race are often viewed by activists and scholars as the main source of patriarchal culture that rates men superior to women. This is because religious thoughts and cultural values provide behavioral guidelines for individuals in society. Here for example, Alexander and Welzel (2011) depicts Islam, as the religion of majority in Indonesia, inherent to patriarchal values which discriminate against women due to the fact that leadership roles are considered men's business and the possibility for women to be leaders remain closed. Similarly, ethnicity or race contains cultural barriers for women's political rights because of its social construction on different tasks between male and female roles (Prihatini, 2019b). As a manifestation of these barriers, people's acceptance in various regions toward the presence of women in politics remains low (Ruedin, 2012). Education and employment as results of development and modernization also play important roles particularly in awakening individual awareness on equality between men and women and reducing gender bias in political activities. Experience in education and employment increases awareness of gender equality due to the level of fair competition to pursue achievement, particularly in education. Ideally, the more educated a person is, the more he or she is aware of the equal position between men and women in all aspects of life. And if translated to voter behavior, it will create a favorable condition that will translate into a higher possibility for women to be elected in government offices.

Based on the literature review, we can now state the following hypothesis.

H0: *There is no probability that female candidates will get elected based on either socio-demography, gender equality concerns and/or political attitudes.*

H1: *Socio-demography determines the probability that female candidates will get elected.*

H2: *Gender equality concerns determine the probability that female candidates will get elected.*

H3: *Political attitudes determine the probability that female candidates will get elected.*

Methods

This study applied quantitative method to investigate the effect of gender-equality concerns toward female candidate electability for local legislative council in the 2019 election in Pelalawan Regency. Our data are collected through surveys by distributing questionnaires to 400 respondents determined through clustered random sampling. Polls are post-election surveys conducted in May 2019. The surveys were administered in Pelalawan Regency (*kabupaten*), conducted in 12 sub-districts (*kecamatan*) for one month. In total, 400 surveys were administered providing 100% of the total sample size. Surveys were administered in pencil-and-paper format via an interview method. We were assisted by 10 trained research assistants (RAs) who administered the surveys to participants in the location and the whole process of the surveys was supervised by 2 of the authors. After the surveys were administered, RAs sent the questionnaires to 1 of the authors—as survey coordinator—who was in charge of collecting data and created the dataset for the analysis. Collected data was coded numerically to obscure identifying information on participants.

In this study, we identify socio-demographic, gender equality concerns, political attitude as independent variables, and electability of female candidates as dependent variable. Moreover, we arrange indicators for each variable. Socio-demographic variable consists of gender, age, education, job/occupation, religion, and race. Gender-equality concerns include five indicators, i.e., men tend to be masculine and women are feminine; gender equality; gender position – men are often perceived above women; gender-based leadership capability – women are apt to lead; household restrictions where women do not have to be always at home; and gender-based role – men's roles are greater than women's. And women electability as dependent variable involves popularity–recognizing all female candidates; acceptability–good reputation of female candidates; male and female candidates have the same qualities; acceptability–female candidates bring positive trends; equal capability between male and female candidates; and electability—vote for female candidates.

To gauge research instruments for the purpose of data analysis, we use two measurement scales at the same time. We utilize Likert Scale for independent variables by giving score 1 (strongly disagree), 2 (disagree), 3 (neutral), 4 (agree), and 5 (strongly agree); and Guttman Scale for dependent variable by providing "Yes" (score 1) and "No" (score 0) questions. We then analyze the data by using the IBM SPSS Statistics Version 26 software to examine whether there is a significant impact among these three variables or not. We tested the hypothesis by applying binary logistic regression analysis to comprehend the effect of covariates (independent variables) toward the probability to elect female candidates (dependent variable). We utilize three models, (1) social demographic variable; (2) socio demographic and gender equality concerns; (3) socio-demographic, gender equality concerns, and political attitudes related to female candidates. For the socio-demographic variable, we use a number of categorical variables or nominal level of measurement. Therefore, in logistic regression analysis, each indicator in the categorical variable is reinterpreted and retransformed to a new variable or covariate. See the explanation following table 1.

Because this research used several categorical variables in logistic regression analysis, we have done coding for each existing indicator toward the independent variable, socio-demography. Indicators which are filled with number 0.000 mean that those are treated as Reference Level. For instance, in Race variable, its reference level is *"Melayu"*. In our example, the coefficient for Race (1) would be the mean of dependent variable (female

Table 1.
Categorical Variable Coding

Variables	Indicators	Parameter Coding					
		(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
Job/Occupation	Teachers	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000
	Temporary Labors	1.000	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000
	Housewives	0.000	1.000	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000
	Students	0.000	0.000	1.000	0.000	0.000	0.000
	Entrepreneurs	0.000	0.000	0.000	1.000	0.000	0.000
	Civil Servants	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000	1.000	0.000
	Private Company Employees	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000	1.000
Race	*Melayu*	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000	
	Batak	1.000	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000	
	Jawa	0.000	1.000	0.000	0.000	0.000	
	Aceh	0.000	0.000	1.000	0.000	0.000	
	Minang	0.000	0.000	0.000	1.000	0.000	
	Tionghoa	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000	1.000	
Religion	Islam	0.000	0.000				
	Protestant	1.000	0.000				
	Budha	0.000	1.000				
Gender	Female	1.000					
	Male	0.000					

Source: author's 2019 political survey data calculation

candidate electability) for the *Batak* group minus that of dependent variable for the *Melayu* group. Likewise, the coefficient for Race (2) would be the mean of dependent variable for the *Jawa* group minus that of dependent variable for the *Melayu* group, and so on[1].

In term of preliminary analyses, in order to test the construct validity of the variable, a principal r-table analysis was conducted over its 12 items with 42 pilot test respondents. The test shows strong validity for 9 item's r-score which are higher than r-table score of 0.3044 for 40 of degree of freedom while the other 3 of them are a little bit less than r-table score. A reliability analysis was also conducted for the instrument as well in order to check its reliability for the target population. The reliability analysis shows a high result of Cronbach's alpha score ($\alpha = 0.848$). Therefore, the research instrument is valid overall and highly reliable.

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[1] For further explanation, see "Coding System for Categorical Variables in Regression Analysis" at https://stats.idre.ucla.edu/spss/faq/coding-systems-for-categorical-variables-in-regression-analysis/.

Models and Results

This section analyzes the results regarding the determinants of female candidate(s) electability for local legislative assembly of Pelalawan based on the 2019 legislative election. In order to assess the impact of covariates at an individual level, we present binary logistic regression analysis. Logistic Regression is a kind of distinction, classification or diversification algorithm as the extension of standard regression analysis. Binary Logistic Regression is applied to create a prediction on a binary outcome variable (e.g. 1/0, yes/no, true/false, win/lose, alive/dead, etc.) as the dependent variable dealing with predictor variable(s) to estimate probabilities (Christensen, 1997, p. 54). By using logistic regression, we predict the occurrence probability of a case by adjusting data to a logit function.

We apply the three models of binary logistic regression – (1) social demographic variable; (2) socio demographic and gender equality concerns; (3) socio-demographic, gender equality concerns, and political attitudes

toward female candidates – at the end of this section. The models are utilized to highlight the strongest factors and most statistically significant in determining dependent variable. We asked respondents about their socio-demographic status. We then asked respondents to rank their concern about gender equality issues and their perceptions about political attitude toward female candidates. The summary statistics for all variables and covariates are listed in the table 2 below.

From 400 respondents, the number of men and women is 50% respectively where minimum age is 19 years old and maximum is 56 years of age and the average ages are 35.97 years old. Our respondents consisted of 1.3% elementary school graduates, 1.5% junior high school graduates, 77.8% senior high school graduates, and 19.5 undergraduates; 4.0% teachers, 6% temporary staffs at government offices, 18% housewives, 0.8% undergraduate students, 25.3% entrepreneurs, 8.5% civil

services, and 37.5% workers at private companies. Respondent's religion is mostly Muslim. And races are 2.5% Acehnese, 10.8% Batak, 25.0% Javanese, 40% Malay, 21.3 % Minang, and 0.5% Chinese.

Table 3 shows logistic regression result in accordance with female candidate electability. The dependent variable is voting for women as binary variable. Model 1 allows us to estimate the role of the socio-demographic variable to explain the likelihood that an individual will vote for female candidates. Model 2 uses Socio-demography and Gender Equality Concern as independent variable to estimate its role on explaining the likelihood that an individual will vote for female candidates. And Model 3 estimates the role of socio-demography, gender equality concern, and political attitude towards voting for female candidate variable to explain the likelihood that an individual will vote for female candidates. *B* indicates the likelihood coefficient of the independent variables or

Table 2.
Descriptive Statistics of Dependent Variable and Covariates

Variables	N	Minimum	Maximum	Mean	Std. Deviation
Electability: vote for female candidate(s)	400	0	1	0.42	0.494
Gender	400	0	1	0.5	0.501
Age	396	19	56	35.97	9.262
Education	400	1	4	3.16	0.486
Job/Occupation	400	1	7	5.13	1.867
Religion	400	1	3	1.1	0.317
Race	400	1	6	3.68	1.019
Men tend to be masculine and women are feminine	400	2	5	3.88	0.503
Gender Equality	400	1	5	3.34	0.939
Gender Position: men are perceived above women	400	1	5	3.66	0.847
Gender-based leadership capability, women are apt to lead	400	1	5	3.33	0.891
Household restrictions that women do not have to be always at home	400	1	5	3.5	0.835
Gender-based role: men's role are greater than women	400	1	5	3.79	0.747
Popularity: recognize women legislative candidates	400	2	5	3.02	0.778
Acceptability: women legislative candidates have good reputations	400	2	5	3.3	0.721
Legislative candidates, men and women, are equal	400	2	5	3.24	0.77
Acceptability: women legislative candidates bring positive trends	400	2	5	3.7	0.705
Equal capability of legislative candidates, either men or women	400	1	5	3.18	0.922
Electability: vote for female candidate(s)	400	1	5	3.08	1.022

Source: author's 2019 political survey data calculation

Table 3. Logistic Regression Analysis of the Determinants to Elect Women Candidates

Covariates	Model 1 Socio-demographic			Model 2 and Gender Equality Concern			Model 3 and Political Attitude		
	B	S.E.	Sig.	B	S.E.	Sig.	B	S.E.	Sig.
Gender(1)	1.016	0.288	**0.000**	0.786	0.301	**0.009**	0.245	0.362	0.499
Age	0.016	0.014	0.235	0.021	0.014	0.146	0.011	0.017	0.507
Education	0.054	0.253	0.831	0.035	0.263	0.893	-0.157	0.330	0.634
Job/Occupation			1.000			1.000			0.981
Job/Occupation(1)	-0.340	0.692	0.623	-0.163	0.721	0.822	-0.190	0.791	0.810
Job/Occupation(2)	-0.199	0.620	0.748	-0.114	0.645	0.859	0.252	0.713	0.724
Job/Occupation(3)	-0.188	1.417	0.895	-0.159	1.461	0.913	-0.814	1.625	0.616
Job/Occupation(4)	-0.239	0.607	0.694	-0.195	0.642	0.761	-0.028	0.713	0.969
Job/Occupation(5)	-0.224	0.657	0.732	-0.094	0.689	0.892	-0.110	0.774	0.887
Job/Occupation(6)	-0.210	0.585	0.719	-0.116	0.616	0.851	0.077	0.684	0.910
Religion			0.975			0.867			0.961
Religion(1)	0.209	0.926	0.822	0.501	0.939	0.594	0.355	1.265	0.779
Religion(2)	22.173	40192.969	1.000	20.775	40192.969	1.000	19.612	40192.969	1.000
Race			0.950			0.887			0.864
Race(1)	-0.478	0.875	0.585	-0.625	0.884	0.480	-0.261	1.206	0.829
Race(2)	-0.053	0.278	0.849	-0.068	0.292	0.816	0.317	0.345	0.358
Race(3)	0.379	0.682	0.579	0.493	0.692	0.476	-0.320	0.885	0.717
Race(4)	0.009	0.296	0.976	-0.011	0.313	0.973	0.201	0.363	0.580
Men tend to be masculine and women tend to be feminine				0.167	0.229	0.468	0.098	0.267	0.714
Gender Equality				0.108	0.135	0.425	-0.121	0.162	0.454
Gender Positionality: men are perceived to be above women				-0.081	0.146	0.579	-0.092	0.169	0.587
Gender-based leadership capability, women are apt to lead				0.416	0.146	**0.004**	0.265	0.170	0.119
Household restrictions that women do not have to be always at home				0.474	0.144	**0.001**	0.160	0.169	0.344
Gender-based role: men's role are greater than women				-0.018	0.161	0.909	-0.301	0.183	0.101
Popularity: recognize female legislative candidates							0.192	0.188	0.308
Acceptability: female legislative candidates have good reputations							0.821	0.219	**0.000**
Legislative candidate's quality either men or women, are equal							0.703	0.196	**0.000**
Acceptability: female legislative candidates bring positive trends							0.376	0.213	**0.077**
Equal capability of legislative candidates, either men or women							0.839	0.155	**0.000**
Constant	-1.368	1.357	0.314	-5.166	1.876	0.006	-10.227	2.290	0.000
Chi-Square (Omnibus)	23.992		0.065	31.197		0.000	158.161		0.000
Cox & Snell R2	0.059			0.130			0.329		
Nagelkerke R	0.079			0.175			0.442		
Chi-Square (Hosmer and Lemeshow)	3.424		0.905	5.827		0.667	4.273		0.832

Source: author's 2019 political survey data calculation

covariates on explaining the possibility of the dependent variable. *S.E* indicates the standard of error and *Sig* indicates the p-value to show how statistically significant the related covariate is in the model.

Model 1 clearly demonstrates that, of all variables, the gender variable has the most striking coefficient toward female candidate electability in the 2019 election for legislative council of Pelalawan while others are statistically insignificant (p>0.005). Model 2 exposes the gender variable that is statistically significant has correlation with female candidate electability. For model 2, covariates "Gender-based leadership capability, women are apt to lead" and "Household restrictions that women do not have to be always at home" are covariates which are statistically significant among all groups of gender-equality concern variables. For Model 3, four out of five groups of political attitude variables added are statistically significant where only the variable "Popularity: recognize female legislative candidates" is statistically insignificant. On the other side, two variable groups, socio-demographic and gender equality concern, turn out to be statistically insignificant over female candidate electability.

Discussion

Another approach to test those three models in explaining their relationship with individual's tendency to vote for female candidates is by looking at *chi-square* and R^2 in each model. The models on table 3 above utilize two types of tests, *chi-square* (Omnibus Test and Hosmer and Lemeshow Test) and R^2 test (Cox & Snell R^2 and Nagelkerke R^2). If we look at those three models, when gender equality concern variable is added to Model 2 and political attitude is attached to Model 3, there is an increase of test results of *chi-square* and R^2 indicating the addition of variables in Model 2 and 3 strengthens the position of the independent variable in explaining

dependent variable. R^2 at the three models displays a strong enough relationship between independent and dependent variables. Overall, the null hypothesis is rejected in which there is correlation among socio-demography, gender equality concern and political attitude toward female candidate electability.

Collectively, 58 % of all respondents did not vote for female candidates for legislative council of Pelalawan and the rest, 42 %, did (see chart 1). Model 1 (socio-demography) explains that gender has positive coefficient where women tend to elect female candidates and this is statistically significant. On the contrary, men tend to choose male candidates running for legislative seats of Pelalawan. Because the socio-demographic variable is dominated by the categorical variable, descriptive explanation will reveal the differences between categories.

Chart 1.
Electability: Vote for Female Candidate(s) by Gender
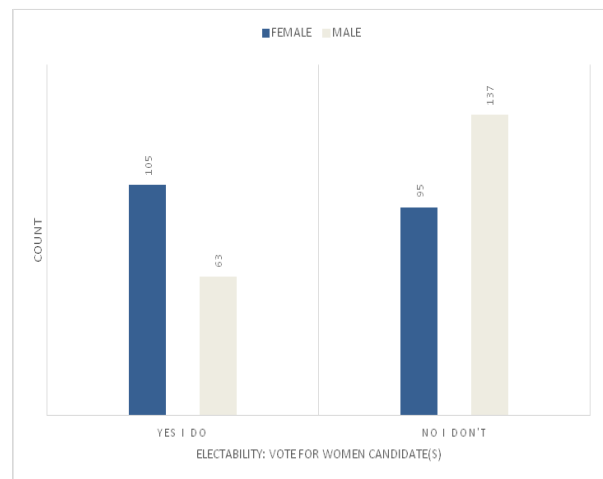
Source: author's 2019 political survey data visualization

Related to age, the older the people are, the higher the probability for them to vote for female candidates. In relations to education, Model 1 shows a fact that the more educated an individual is, the more he or she chooses women running for positions in legislative council. If we see the coefficient

Chart 2.
Electability: Vote for Female Candidate(s) by Job/Occupation
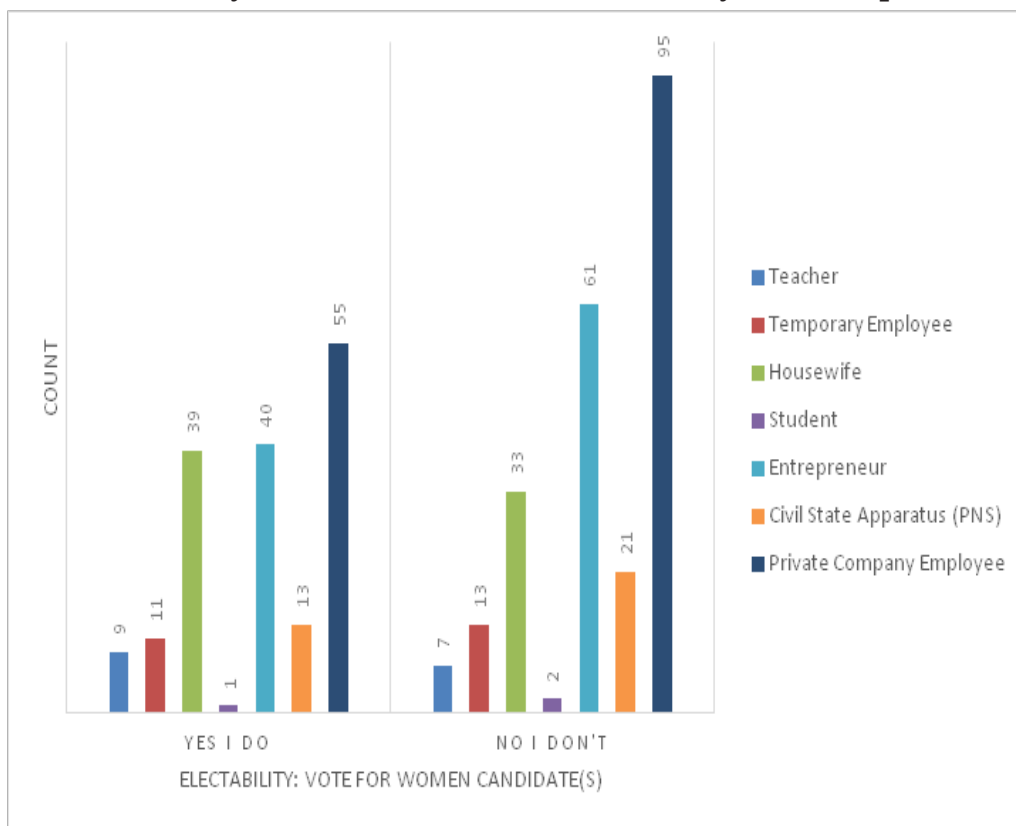
Source: authors' internal data visualization

at Job/Occupation variable, it clearly tells us that it does not become a strong determinant for voters to elect female candidates except teachers and housewives who gave their electoral support for female rather than male candidates (see chart 2).

Religion and tribes are not significant in driving individuals to vote for female candidates where in each group of those two variables, voters who elected male candidates are higher than those who elected female candidates.

Model 2 at table 3 shows that individuals who believe that women have capability to take political position (gender-based leadership capability) are inclined to vote for female candidates. So, by holding the perception that women do not always need to be in the home, voters tend to select female candidates. If viewed from the strength of the relationship,

two coefficient covariates that are statistically significant expose a positive correlation toward electability of female candidates. Likewise, variables of gender equality and masculine vs. feminine, even though the statistics are insignificant, instead the coefficient reveals a positive relationship toward female candidate electability. On the other hand, voters who perceive that males are often placed above female (gender positioning) have no tendency to vote for female candidates like individuals seeing that the roles of men are much more important than women (gender-based role).

Model 3 at table 2 demonstrates larger findings. Four out of five variables that are statistically significant toward electability of female candidates prove that political attitude toward women crucially determines individuals' orientation to vote for them. Equal capability, acceptability and candidate's quality

variables have the highest coefficients. This indicates that people believing that women and men have equal capability, female candidates are as good as male candidates, and female candidates have the same quality as males tend to vote for female candidates. This is in accordance with two other variables whereas popularity variables from female candidates will determine their electability in legislative election along with the degree of people's acceptance that will drive voters to vote for female candidates.

Conclusion

Women's political representation in both local and national parliaments is one of the critical challenges for Indonesia democracy. On the one side, the government has accommodated women's aspirations to participate in political activities by allocating a particular quota and other affirmative policies to enhance their political engagement. But since the political process through election gives freedom to voters to elect which candidate is good to represent their aspiration and interests, electability for female candidates remains a crucial issue to be addressed. This is because there are many factors that drive voter's behavior during election toward candidates running for government office. For female candidates, the situations become more difficult due to the fact of societal stereotype on women's active engagement in political affairs. We have drawn the three models to analyze voter's political preference toward the presence of female candidates. Of the three variables that we have identified, political attitude toward female candidates has the highest coefficient and most significant statistics. This means that political attitude is the most crucial variable in determining whether female candidates are voted for by voters or not. Then based on our data simulation, when political attitude variable is excluded, at Model 1, the result clearly demonstrates that, among indicators

in socio-demographic variable, it is the gender covariate that holds the strongest coefficient and is statistically significant. In contrast to Model 2, perception towards capability to lead and female position in the households highly determines people's orientation to whether or not they would elect female candidates at the last legislative election.

Through this study, our data also underline a general perception that cultural and social factors providing sources of gender stereotypes pose critical barriers toward the probability for female candidates to win parliamentary seats. This can be seen from our evidence that voters, particularly men, are more inclined to vote for male candidates rather than female candidates. Yet this issue is moderated by the education level of individuals which drives their political behavior to vote for female candidates. And this is of course good news for enhancing women's political representation in the near future. In this case, education has proven its main function in opening individual's awareness to see various socio-political issues and phenomena objectively. On the other hand, religion often perceived as primary obstacle for women's active political participation has no significant impact for voting behavior in our study.

The problem of women under-representation in politics, however, cannot be totally blamed on voters who mostly still hold gender bias by perceiving women's lack of ability to take political leadership. It is the responsibility of all individuals and institutions particularly politicians and political parties to educate their followers at the grass-root level. Political education on gender equality is an important task to be done because it will be able to change voter's perception on the issue. It can also be used to eliminate gender stereotypes that will finally change voter's objective consideration in voting for candidates based on their ability and good performance. Moreover, it will likely determine female

candidate electability in the future election whereas voters have already been much more aware of equality between males and females in terms of rights, professional and political careers as well. In this case, parties and politicians should take the issue seriously as a problem of equal political representation between men and women and not treat it as merely a tool for serving their political survival by accommodating government regulation on female candidacy in future elections.

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