BARGAINING POSITIONS OF WOMEN & FEMALE CANDIDATES IN POLITICAL CONTESTATION:
Sociological Analysis from the perspective of Marx, Durkheim, and Weber
Projections towards the 2024 Election

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ABSTRACT

It can be said that the quota of 30% representation of women as legislators - both at the national level (DPR RI), as well as at the regional level (Provincial DPRD) and Regency/City DPRD, has never been fulfilled. In the 2019 election, women's representation in the DPR RI only reached 20.8% or 120 people out of the 575 members of the DPR RI. This fact, of course, raises questions. The fact that several elections have taken place and the level of women's representation in parliament (central/regional DPR) has not yet reached the ideal minimum level (30%) is an interesting phenomenon and needs to be explained. The aim of the research is to examine and explain women's representation in legislative institutions from the perspective of Classical Sociology, namely from a Marxist, Durkheimian and Weberian perspective. By analyzing the problem using a sociological approach, it is intended to provide a theoretical and empirical picture regarding the phenomenon of women's low bargaining power in the political arena that still occurs. It is hoped that the results of this study can provide constructive input for more equal contemporary political dynamics, especially for increasing women's representation in the field of practical politics. The method used in this research is the Qualitative Descriptive Method with the results of the research showing that there is the phenomenon of women's voices, then the phenomenon of female legislative candidates, the existence of political parties and female legislative candidates, as well as the existence of problems in the political arena (Political Barriers).

Keywords: *bargaining position of women, female candidates, general elections, sociological analysis*

INTRODUCTION

Political contestations (elections) are not " *zero sum games* ". *The heroes are not born, almost of them are created.* Likewise, the position of women in the political arena, we cannot hope too much that women will immediately be actively involved in the world of politics, even though the opportunities are equally open , both for women and men.

In fact, it has been 25 years since the Reformation has passed and several elections have been carried out, and it can be said that the 30 % quota for women's representation as

legislators - both at the national level (DPR RI), as well as at the regional level (Provincial DPRD) and Regency/City DPRD, has not yet been implemented. never fully fulfilled.

The ratio of the female population in Indonesia since 2000 has been (+) 51 % of the male population. Until the 2004 election, the percentage of women's representation in the MPR was 9%, in the DPR 8.8 % , in the Provincial DPRD 6%, and in the Regency/City DPRD only 1%. Even though the number of women and female voters is greater than men (Purnamawati, Yulia and Moh. Samsul Arifin, 2003: 15 and 21). In the 2019 election, women's representation in the DPR RI only reached 20.8% or 120 people out of the 575 members of the DPR RI (http://www.dpr.go.id 26 July 2023).

Formally, women's representation in political contestation (legislative elections) has been clearly regulated in Law Number 12 of 2003 Article 65 paragraph 1 which states: "Each *political party participating in the election can nominate candidates for members of the DPR, Provincial DPRD and Regency/City DPRD for each Electoral District taking into account women's representation of at least 30%* ."

Even though there has been an increase in the number of women's representation from the 1999-2014 elections, in reality, the level of women's representation in legislative institutions has still not been able to reach the minimum number of 30% mandated by law, of course this reality raises a number of questions. What's going on?

The main question of this study is: " *Why has women's representation in legislative institutions not been able to reach the minimum number of 30%?*". Strengthening the role and representation of women in the political arena was then implemented through political policies in the form of *Affirmative Action.* This political policy was realized by the People's Representative Council of the Republic of Indonesia through a legislative package by releasing Law Number 22 of 2007 concerning Election Organizers, Law Number 2 of 2008 concerning Political Parties, and Law No. 10 of 2008 concerning DPR, DPD and DPRD elections. The three packages of laws containing policies to strengthen women's representation (*Affirmative Action* quota of 30%) then began to be implemented since the 2009 elections.

Affirmative Action policy can gradually encourage parties to take a serious role in involving women to run as legislative candidates. The percentage of male and female legislative candidates up to the 2014 election can be seen from the following table:

Table 1. Percentage of Male and Female Legislative Candidates

Gender	1999 - 2004	2004 - 2009	2009 - 2014
Woman	9% / 44 people	11.8% / 65 people	18% / 100 people
Man	81%	88.2%	82%
	Before *affirmative action*	With *affirmative action* quota of 30% women	With *affirmative action* quota of 30% women and *zipper system* 1 in 3 prospective candidates.

Source: RI KPU, 2014

Furthermore, the seats obtained by each political party and the number of women who succeeded in becoming members of the DPR RI (2014), can be observed in the following table:

Table 2. Percentage of Female Legislative Members

No	Party	Women's Representative	Percentage ; total members of the DPR
1.	Democrat	35	23.65%
2.	PDIP	17	18.09%
3.	Golkar	18	17.65%
4.	CLA	7	25%
5.	PAN	7	15.22%
6.	PPP	5	13.16%
7.	Gerindra	4	15.38%
8.	Hanura	3	16.67%
9.	MCC	3	5.26%
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Source: RI KPU, 2014

Social facts and political facts are quantitative, therefore political facts may be measured (*predictive*) by calculating numbers (numerics). Through statistical data as stated above, we can examine the development of social facts and political facts. The problems in this study are articulated in the form of questions related to the central theme or main focus of the study, namely:

" *Why has women's representation in legislative institutions not been able to reach the minimum number of 30%?* "

Furthermore, from the central theme emerge sub-theme questions related to four (4) phenomenal aspects: 1. Women's voices; 2. Female legislative candidates; 3. Female political parties and legislative candidates; 4. Problems in the political arena (*Political Barriers*).

1. Why does the phenomenon appear that women tend to be politically apathetic and are seen more as "voices of the floating masses"?
2. Why do many women not take the open opportunity to be involved in the political sphere, which is an arena for strategic policy making, even though there is a 30% quota which is formally mandated by law?
3. How do political parties support female legislative candidates?
4. What obstacles/problems do women face in national political contestation?

METHODS

In this research, the method used is a qualitative descriptive method, where the researcher wants to describe in more depth the problems found in the research based on the results of observations, interviews and documentation that the researcher has carried out while in the field in accordance with the required information.

Theoritical Review

According to the academic tradition, a researcher or reviewer of events or phenomena should locate a problem based on a framework of assumptions that underlie the study work they carry out. In this study, the author places the problem (central theme/focus) "Women's Bargaining Position in Political Contestation" based on *the Order Paradigm* , which is one of the paradigms of Classical Sociology.

Paradigm is defined as a point of view on a problem based on the views, opinions, thoughts of a group of expert scientists, in this case expert scientists in the field of Sociology (Karl Marx, Emile Durkheim, and Mark Weber). Thus, the study of a theme/problem is viewed from the background of certain interests and assumptions. The position and function of the study of other sciences, such as anthropology, geography, political science, social psychology, philosophy, etc., are auxiliary and complementary sciences in explaining social phenomena.

The reason for choosing the study via the grand theory perspective of Marx, Durkheim and Weber is because based on the author's observations the sociological thoughts of these three figures can describe three phases of development of Indonesian society, namely the traditional agrarian society phase, the industrialization society phase and the modern society phase. The three phases of development are not aligned linearly, but are unlinear , where the main characteristics of the three are still in progress, ongoing, and starting to move towards further development.

The fundamental assumptions in *the Order Paradigm* that researchers use, namely: (1) Assumptions relating to the basic nature of humans (*human Nature*), (2) Assumptions relating to the basic nature of society (*the nature of Society*), and (3) assumptions that with regard to the basic nature of politics (*the nature of politics*).

Basic Human Nature

Rather than being social creatures, humans are essentially individualistic creatures, so they tend to be competitive rather than cooperative. The orderliness of social life is possible because of *the power of reason* in humans. Even though humans are basically selfish (self-serving), humans also have the ability to build control mechanisms that are useful for their survival in the midst of human group/society interactions.

This rationalism becomes a human modality in building social bonds among a number of people (*societal cohesion*)—the embryo of groups/society, and as a consequence, previously selfish individuals are willing to let go of their *egos* to obey social authority.

The existence of disparities between individuals is seen as something normal in the order of social life. This is because basically humans have basic differences in terms of talents, interests, potential, or the personal values they adhere to.

The Basic Nature of Society

Guaranteeing the survival of individuals in human groups/society through integration and institutionalization (the presence of institutions) which will regulate the roles and tasks that each element of society contributes to the survival of all parts. These interdependent institutions then produce a system of consensus norms that will hinder the tendencies of individual egoism and anarchism ; -- this assumption in sociological theory becomes one of the theoretical historical basis assumptions for the formation of systemic institutions which later became known as "the state".

The basic assumptions of society as mentioned above became the basis for the thinking of Plato and Emile Durkheim who viewed society as an organic organization. Meanwhile, Talcott Parsons views society as a form of mechanical/systemic organization.

As a result of consensus, social order is achieved. All members of society can be expected *to conform* (accept and follow) the existing order. In this way, the validity of the institutions and order of a society exists as a result of consensus. Furthermore, with the

existence of valid social order, it is possible to adapt mechanisms in the social system and social change is assumed to be a natural evolutionary process.

The Basic Nature of Politics

The state is a systemic manifestation resulting from community consensus (social integration) which has the consequence of handing over authority and governance mechanisms for shared life which aims to ensure that people in a territory in their social life experience systemic order and achieve the goals of shared life. JJ. Rousseasu terms it " *le contract social* ".

The form of large-scale social governance called the state is then divided into three (3) authorities/powers (Trias Politika): 1. Judiciary, holding the authority to enforce laws and norms (MK , MA, KY), 2. Legislative, holding the authority making laws (MPR/DPR), and 3 . The executive, holds the authority for governance and administration of state life which is part of the life of the community/people (Government). In the exercise of its authority/power (Tansey: 2004:3-4), the Government carries out a governing role (*government*) through two (2) functions, namely (1) selecting and determining governance policies (*policies*) and (2) government governance (*form, organization* and *administration*). In carrying out these two functions, the Government is supervised by the DPR.

The term politics from a state administration perspective refers to legislative and executive activities in the process of determining goals and implementing state goals (*decision making/policy and implementation*). The term politician refers to individuals who serve as members of the MPR/DPR representing elements of society (*constituents*).

Due to their position and position, individuals in the three realms of division of authority (judicial, legislative, executive) automatically obtain *legitimacy* (recognition) , *privilege* and *power* . And when legitimacy, special rights and power are exclusive to a number/group of individuals, and these individuals inherently carry the basic human nature of being social/selfish, then authority and power *can* be misused: " *Power tend to corrupt* "; " *Politics is a market* ".

Paradicmatic Elements	Assumptions	Ideal Type
Image of human nature	Self-interest, person inequality, reason	Hobbes's state of nature
Image of society	Cohesion, integration, consensus, self-correction,	Organic organization [Plato's republic]; Durkheim

	social inequality	
Image of politics	Syatematic, positive, empirical, quantitative, predictive	Comte's positivism Durkheim Functionalism

Aspects of Thought	Karl Marx	Emile Durkheim	Max Weber
Aras thought	Realism	Positivism	Conventionalism
Social facts	Society is controlled by *power* and social structure where economic power dominates social values.	Society is dominated by social consciousness (*collective consciousness*) There are legal and moral forces that regulate individuals in society.	Society is a network of individual understandings that have 'meaning '; relations and bargaining between social structural forces, institutions, and social actors.
Sociological theory of public phenomena	Explaining social relations with the analogy of the materialist model.	Explain about collective consciousness.	Interpretation of individual ' *meaning'* .

Karl Marx (1818-1883)

At Karl Marx's level of thought about the development of human society is based on the philosophy of materialism. According to him, what actually changes society over time is material. Thus, according to him, human behavior is determined by material position or material factors, not ideas, because ideas for Marx are also part of matter. According to Marx, ideas are far from the earth, while matter is rooted in the earth.

All dynamics of human society are based on *economic structure.* Economic factors will be the source of movement for change, including social and political change. How economic conditions (economy) will influence people's actions and behavior.

According to Marx, the economy and society will run based on *the mode of production* (: production, distribution, trade/exchange/transactions, and consumption). The development of communist society projected by Marx will be based on three (3) types of interactions that influence each other, namely: 1. *Force of production* : *natural resources, tools and technology* , *labor* , and *capital* ; 2. *Social relations of production* : transactional relationships between capital owners and workers; 3. Social relations develop into long-term production contracts. Therefore, according to Marx, whoever controls the economy will control other social aspects.

The development of Marx's version of communist society proceeded linearly from: Primitive Communism > Ancient > Feudal > Bourgeois Capital > Scientific Communism (classless society). The pattern of individual-collective relationships at the level of primitive-

traditional society will change to ownership and transactional relationships in modern capitalist society in an impersonal market system. Man must create his own " *material history* ."

Emile Durkheim (1858-1917)

Emile Durkheim's thinking was based on the industrial revolution in England and mainland Europe. The rapid and radical social change from a traditional agrarian society to a modern industrialist society has had far-reaching social impacts.

Durkheim analogized society as *a living organism* (an ecosystem of living things) which can be analyzed based on *the structure of function* (parts and functions of elements of society); *the way society works could be analogous to a living organization* . He believes that society is like a natural biological ecosystem where all elements work in a system order, each of which has its own function and cannot be separated from one another because all living systems influence each other. *System Theory* includes six (6) rules:

1. *The whole structure* : society as a whole whose parts form a complete system.
2. *Consist of parts* : society consists of parts that have their own functions.
3. *Interrelation* : sub-systems in society are interconnected so that they constitute a working mechanism.
4. *Integrative* : integration between sub-systems in society.
5. *Highly interdependent* : the relationship between sub-systems/parts of society is a relationship of interdependence.
6. *As a whole producing certain unique product* : the overall performance of the community's living system produces output (civilization) that is distinctive/unique.

The further development of society according to Durkheim is towards *evolutionistic unlinear* , namely society that grows from mechanical solidarity towards organic solidarity. Change or further development of society according to Durkheim starts from population density (*population size/population density*) which has an impact parallel to *moral density* and *division of labor* (division of labor) which results in demographic concentration with the development of cities supported by advances in transportation and communication technology; *urbanization of occupation group* (urbanization based on type of work). As a result, society experiences social differentiation due to the growing division of labor. In this differentiated situation, the struggle to survive remains difficult, conflicts between individuals are increasingly widespread and at the same time, competition is becoming tighter (*segregation / moral denunciation*).

Urbanization and the growing division of labor result in individuals no longer being part of a large collectivity that agrees on basic values, but then becoming the *ultimate quantity* (individuality). Society's individual identity is no longer based on race, ethnicity, or any dominant idea but is replaced by a professional code of ethics based on various types of division of labor. (Giddens, 1986).

Max Weber (1864-1920)

Max Weber's social thought departed from the rationalism of Western society which was technical operational in nature. Western rationality refers to the way of life of Western society which bases its behavior on ratio/reason, namely behavior that is carefully chosen and calculated.

This Western rationality bases action on the concepts of " *ends* " and " *means* ". *Ends* , namely how to work effectively and efficiently so as to achieve the main goal and for this the most technical-strategic work procedures must be considered. In short, it can be called " *practical pragmatism* ". Meanwhile *, means* means looking for reliable steps so that something can work/take place. As a result, Westerners sought to find a system while recognizing certain limitations.

Rationality in society according to Weber includes four (4) types, namely: 1. *Traditional Rationality* - the lowest level of rationality, such as traditional ceremonies; 2. *Value Oriented Rationality* - values as an orientation to life, even if they are not actual in everyday life (for example: corpse burning ceremonies; 3. *Affective Rationality* - rationality resulting from special relationships in deep emotional bonds, such as husband-wife, parent-child bonds; 4. *Purposive Rationality* - or instrumental rationality, namely the highest form of rationality in connection with the consideration of an action: ways, choices and means to achieve a goal. Among the popular examples of this rationality is economic rationality (related to profit/loss). Economic rationality can drive social change In this case Weber agrees with Marx.

Max Weber's thinking was also influenced by Calvinist ideology: *Protestant-Ethics* (Protestant ethos) . If the Catholic church, as recommended by Thomas Aquinas, views work as a necessity for survival, Protestant Christians, as recommended by Calvin, view work as a calling to life (living for the world and religion). The Protestant ethos encourages humans to work hard, be frugal, and save, and God will open heaven to servants who are brave, honest, and tenacious.

Elective affinity , namely the meeting of two conceptions that move together, between *purposive rationality* and the Protestant ethos, sparked Western capitalism. Which then developed from merchant capitalisme - trading in natural products to industrial capitalisme, and then monopoly capitalisme - control of raw materials, control of markets, control of capital, and control of technology.

A very famous Weberian thinker is Talcott Parson (: *The Structure and Social Action*). The Western rational model is applied in individual and institutional networks. According to him, modern individuals will look for " *means* " that they feel are most appropriate to achieve their goals. According to him , values and norms are the result of the accumulation of past experiences that do not match today's situations and conditions. Therefore, individuals must choose and determine actions with high awareness. In rational modern life, planning is needed that is general, impersonal, and based on the applicable legal system (Salim, 2003).

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

The study of the central theme of why *women's representation in legislative institutions has not been able to reach a minimum of 30 %* includes four phenomenal aspects, namely:

1. The phenomenon of the female voice

Women's voices can be studied from two perspectives, namely from the perspective of women as voters *and* women as candidates (*voted*). From the perspective of women as *voters* , the question arises: *Why do women tend to be politically apathetic and women's voices are seen as the "voice of the floating masses"?*

Based on views Marx , society, whether male or female, is controlled by power and structure, both in the form of infrastructure and superstructure, especially by the power of capital and economic structure.

From the aspect of capital power and economic infrastructure, the majority of women in Indonesia do not own capital in production systems and mechanisms. This applies in both rural and urban areas. In the agricultural and plantation sectors, for example, women are more likely to be workers or laborers, not land owners or agribusiness owners. This condition continues down to the production and processing stages of agricultural products and trade. Likewise in the maritime and fisheries sectors, as well as private manufacturing industrial sectors in urban areas. Even at the household level, most

women do not determine the family's economic authority. In domestic life, women are more likely to play reproductive and domestic functions.

This fact (subordinate position) of women is influenced again by other factors (superstructure), such as education and cultural factors . Although it has long been said that learning opportunities are equal for women and men, the results of surveys and research show that women's learning spans are shorter than men's. Most women in Indonesia "stop studying" at the age of 25. BPS data also shows that the highest level of formal education that women go through is at the secondary school level (SMP-SMA). This fact is related to the culture (customs and customs) that apply in most societies which "set" the stigmatic norm that the age range of 20-30 years is the "ideal" age for women to marry. Women who pass the productive age limit often receive the social stigma of " *casip* " (-).

In urban areas and also developing cities, there is a phenomenon of young women after completing junior/high school education—if they are not married or even married, driven by economic factors, they throw themselves into work in the industrial and manufacturing sectors as laborers/ employee.

As a result, there are a large number of women who do not have time to develop their intellectual level adequately and at the same time women are required to come to terms with the gender norms that apply in the socio-cultural structure that "determine" how they should live their life as a woman. Such norms do not apply to men and instead apply: " *Go to school as high as possible !; Get married when you are settled!* "The expression " *established* " which is meant by the norm is when a person has sufficient capital and capital.

As a result of the inadequate intellectual level and the power of socio-cultural norms (: internalization of feminine values), most women - in this case women voters, based on the perspective Weberian , only reaches the capacity *of affective rationality* and never reaches the capacity of *purposive rationality* which is more likely to enable individuals to achieve independence in expressing their opinions and choices, including in terms of political opinions and choices.

Emile Durkheim's thoughts which are based on social change from a traditional agrarian society to a modern industrialist society, it can describe the ongoing conditions of Indonesian society which is also experiencing social change from a traditional agrarian society to a modern industrialist society. Some of our society is still in traditional agrarian conditions and others are migrating to modern industrialist social conditions. There is a value gap between the two phases. There are categories of people who still adhere to and

are influenced by community (socio-cultural) values and there are categories of groups who already live modern values and patterns/lifestyles. However, both categories (agrarian cultural background and industrialist cultural background) - especially the majority of women who have not yet achieved the capacity for *purposive rationality* - show apathy towards political affairs.

Weber's theory of cognitive development most women reach the level of *affective rationality* , then in Kaplan's theory of gender cognition (1997) it is said that the level of thinking of most women reaches the level of *procedural knowledge* with the *connected way of knowing type* ; looking for reasons but not necessarily rejecting the facts - believing and understanding (affectionistic). Therefore, women tend to be less able to see the big picture of symptoms and phenomena. They tend to view things in partial terms. They also tend to get easily involved emotionally and are less able to examine a case objectively.

The assumption of basic human nature works on most women, especially those who have not reached the level of *purposive rationality* or *constructed knowledge* , namely egoism, self-centeredness or being more concerned with fighting for personal self-interest rather than voicing and/or fighting for the interests of other people or the people at large. Women have realistic tendencies, like practical solutions, are short-term oriented and have a specific scope.

Therefore, women in the traditional and urban industrialist categories do not see political *events* as efforts to bring about rapid practical change. In groups of women with traditional cultural backgrounds, they tend to follow political choices based on the affinity of their socio-cultural community, such as mass organizations or religious study groups that they follow, while in urban groups (urban industrialists), such as female workers, tend to be affiliated with the client-patron model, *associations* . workers/professions, or their empathic preferences as free individuals (mass). So it is not surprising that SBY became the presidential candidate of choice for mothers in the 2004 elections - it is said that because of his posters and demeanor he was dashing and handsome. These two categories of groups submit political affairs to consensual authorities, which in this case are political parties and elites.

Votes women as floating masses ?

Women experience gender role socialization from an early age. He internalizes feminine values as traits and characters that are considered appropriate and natural for women. Therefore, women tend to adopt a soft, emotional and passive nature (Kaplan,

et.all., 1997). Women are at peace with their social environment. Even though they seem 'fussy' about something, most women tend to submit to authority.

Apart from being divided into two (2) socio-cultural categories (traditional and modern urban industrial), women's voices are also fragmented (: tend to be affiliated) in sub-authorities/cultures in women's close daily circles. At the family level, women tend to be affiliated with their husband's choice or extended family, and the affiliated choice of their extended family depends on what mass organizations the family joins.

Political party politicians recognize this tendency, therefore, before the election, they go on guerrillas, go on safari, and approach various parties (social organizations, foundations, Islamic boarding schools, religious congregations, communities, associations, etc.) to approach the pockets of women's votes . one by one, you can get a lot. With a strategy and a "special approach" towards the top leadership, an Islamic boarding school can even be set up to vote for one candidate, because in this sub-culture there are often norms of obedience and affirmative action regarding the leadership's affiliation. And the same thing can also happen in the client-patron mode in the private sector or associations and other sub-cultures through the transactional mode as predicted by Max Weber that values in society or individuals are a network of meanings that have 'meaning ' ; relations and bargaining between social structural forces, institutions, and social actors.

On the other hand, there is also the phenomenon that in the era of *information density* mediated by social media opinions, women's political voices or choices can be influenced by euphoria, trends and talkativeness. The act of determining women's political choices can be similar to their tendencies or preferences when shopping *for skincare* (cosmetics). Another interesting phenomenon is that the majority of female voters do not give their vote support to female legislative candidates (this phenomenon will be discussed further in the section on *the Phenomenon of Female Legislative Candidates*).

2. The phenomenon of female legislative candidates

Why do many women not take the open opportunity to get involved in the political sphere, which is an arena for strategic policy making, even though there is a 30% quota which is formally mandated by law - even many potential female figures are reluctant to enter the political arena?

From the 2019 Election, it can be observed that there is a phenomenon of women running as legislative candidates consisting of four (4) groups with four (4) types of modalities. *First,* legislative candidates with political modalities who come from the

politician breed; *second* , legislative candidates with strong capital modalities because they come from rich families (entrepreneurs); *third* , legislative candidates with popularity as artists/celebrities; and *fourth* , legislative candidates with socio-cultural modalities from among religious figures or ulama breeds. The four categories of legislative candidates have the same capital background.

The assumption that doing politics (becoming a legislative candidate) will require large capital/financial expenditure (money *politics*) and political contestation is seen as having a high level of speculation, whether we realize it or not, has helped shape the public's perception of politics and interest in getting involved in practical politics.

It is public knowledge that the practice of selecting legislative candidates and nominating candidates via political party support involves the practice of bargaining for "political dowry". This kind of underhand transactional practice is classified as hidden *money politics* . And even if there is a political party that states that the selection and nomination of legislative candidates is free, campaign funds, etc. are free . However , it will still be a consequence borne by the legislative candidate and the amount of financial accumulation will not be small. Therefore, even if he has social capital or character or high popularity or is actually competent, someone who does not really have strong capital will think and calculate in such a way as to decide whether he will run as a legislative candidate.

The phenomenon above confirms *Marx's view* that whoever controls the economy (capital) will control other social aspects. At the same time agreeing with *Weber's* theory of Economic Rationality .The phenomenon of *money politics* makes the political stage both a commodity and a market, so that accompanying phenomena emerge in the form of 'political investment' and 'political barons'. This phenomenon is actually a threat to the democratic system, the representation of people's aspirations is at stake. Politics has become an arena *for games of interest* for the elite. The political arena is no longer an open arena, it is possible only for those who have achieved *financial freedom.*

Becoming a legislative candidate is like taking part in a gambling game that produces only two kinds of results: *win or lose.* If successful, it's better even if the costs still come out. And if it fails, loss of capital is guaranteed. In order to advance as legislative candidates and legislative candidates, even interested and competent women face a number of obstacles. They must obtain permission from their husband or family. Because as explained in the previous section, most women do not have full authority over family capital. Permission from the husband or family also means readiness to finance, either from

personal funds , support from family funds, or support from third parties and this carries risks. The involvement of money in elections removes competent figures from the heart of the governance of a country's common life.

Due to these conditions, many talented, intelligent and competent women do not choose politics as their field of struggle and prefer to persevere and contribute to their professional fields or through informal channels. Decisions like this are in line with the Weberian theory about individuals in the modern phase of society (Talcott Parson) that modern individuals will look for " *means* " that they feel are most appropriate to achieve their goals. According to him , values and norms are the result of experience and assessment of actual reality. Therefore, individuals must choose and determine choices and actions with high awareness. In the aspect of basic assumptions about humans, individuals also have basic differences in terms of talents, interests, potential, preferences, or affirmed personal values.

Another phenomenon of female legislative candidates is relying on external modalities. Some female legislative candidates who are supported by external modalities, such as support from racial modalities or capital modalities or other modalities, fail to gain voter support, even from among women voters themselves, because they have inherent obstacles in terms of capacity and modality. They experience obstacles in their capacity to master public communication, and quite a few are even less proficient in speaking in public (*public speaking*). Furthermore, female legislative candidates failed to get *votes* because they were not careful in formulating vision and mission/programs, productive campaign strategies, and were not sharp enough in selecting themes (public issues) that would attract attention and become voters' concerns.

Legislative candidates - whether male or female, must recognize the spirit of the era, *common sense* and the inner voice (*volonte generale*) of the general public or target groups by raising issues/discourse/programs that are in line with the aspirations of the community or more specifically. group interest. This is in line with the theory of social development of middle society (the transition from traditional society to modern industrial society) put forward by Emile Durkheim regarding *collective consciousness* . Another phenomenon of obstacles faced by female legislative candidates is related to half-hearted political party support.

3. Political Parties and Female Legislative Candidates

The minimum quota of 30% of female legislators in the DPR/DPRD has not yet been met, indicating the failure of the political parties participating in the election in terms of political education. At the same time questioning the parties' commitment to presenting quality female party cadres (legislative candidates). So, it is appropriate to simultaneously question the recruitment and cadre model that has been implemented so far.

The party's low support for female legislative candidates can be indicated, among other things, by the party's pragmatic actions in nominating artists/celebrities who have high popularity with the assumption that it will also be proportional to their electability, rather than preparing their cadre of legislative candidates long ago in a committed manner. In fact, for the task of cadre education in particular and public political education in general, parties receive subsidies for training funds from the state treasury.

Likewise, there is a phenomenon that political parties are more focused on supporting male legislative candidates than female legislative candidates. This is with the assumption that the opportunities and electability of male legislative candidates are more measurable and predictable. Male legislative candidates are seen as more ready to compete and have potential, both intellectually and financially. There is a gap in opportunities for female legislative candidates or party cadres to appear and gain a public stage in various party activities. This results in female legislative candidate cadres lacking in honing their internal capacity and competence as politicians. They participate in wara-wiri too often, but rarely get the opportunity to come forward.

Marx's perspective , it could be indicated that the relationship between legislative candidate cadres and parties has a client-patron nuance. Or from a Weberian perspective , political parties tend to use *pragmatic rationality* as a deviation from *purposive rationality* in their mode of relationship and support for female legislative candidates.

Furthermore, many political parties are less interested in including feminist issues/discourses in their superior programs. This fact will of course make it difficult for female legislative candidates in their efforts to gain the support of female voters, because they will be considered less/not in favor of the interests or interests of women who are actually also targets. his *voters* . This phenomenon (: lack of interest in pro-women programs) even occurs in political parties whose top leaders are also women. So it can be said that political party policies regarding support for their legislative candidates seem to follow 'market law'.

4. Problems in the political arena (Political Barriers).

There are at least two phenomena *of political barriers* that have become the center of public attention: *Firstly* , the widespread practice of *money politics* and all its variations. This phenomenon produces *a high-cost political phenomenon* which then opens the door to various variants of moral deviation.

This high-cost political phenomenon not only has an impact on legislative candidates, both male and female, but furthermore it narrows opportunities for political participation, people's political rights, and even closes the tap for aspirations. Because, it gives the elite a great opportunity to hold power (executive/legislative) and misuse that power according to their interests. The destructive power of the practice of money politics can be massive and widespread.

For this reason, we cannot simply affirm the view of Marxism which accepts the dogma: " *Whoever controls the economy will control other social aspects* ." The Indonesian nation has the ability of auto-poesis (intelligent adaptation) to find the best synthesis of democratic civilization by developing collective consciousness (Durkheim) and formulating *a purposive intellectual vision* that is better than just *purposive rationality.* Weber led to liberal capitalism.

Second phenomenon , the commitment and quality of political education for citizens is still low. Without adequate political education, both for prospective politicians and the wider people, it will be difficult for democracy to develop towards collective consciousness and then mobilize productive power towards the goals of the nation and state.

Recommendation

Recommendations for Female Legislative Candidates

The results of Damayanti's (2023) research on feminist issues (women's issues , social issues , health, family, etc.) raised by female legislative candidates in elections provide greater opportunities for female candidates to win more votes from female voters.

The results of Damayanti's research strengthen the claims of Kahn's (1993) research which states that female candidates should utilize gender stereotype issues in their campaigns. It also strengthens the research conclusions of Herrnson et. al. (2003) who say female candidates benefit when they push issues "From women, for women". By raising the theme of gender stereotypes, their chances of being selected become greater.

Apart from that, the conclusions of the three research results also indicate that female legislative candidates will have a greater chance of winning (successfully becoming

legislators) if they participate in elections at a lower representative level (*regional or local legislative* / Regency/City DPRD).

Recommendations for Political Parties

1. Political parties, however, are part of people's lives. It has a role and function to ensure that the aspirations/voices of the people can be heard by the government so that the governance policies taken and implemented by the government are truly in favor of national interests and the interests of the people. For that reason and for that (Imawan, 1998: 9):

   a. Political parties must position themselves as the main instruments so that the interests of the people can be known and implemented by the government.
   b. Political parties must encourage transparency of the political process, so that all government activities from identification to assessment of the implementation of a policy can be known to the public.

2. To be able to carry out their roles and functions fairly in a democratic model, political parties should pay attention to eight (8) factors (lay, 1998: 12): 1 . *Pro-people leadership cum strong moral figure, 2. Clear social base, 3. Ideological base, 4. Material base, 5. Political infrastructure, 6. Cadres and cadre formation patterns and their distribution, 7. party program, and 8. From the author, internal transparency.*

3. Because legislative candidates from political parties in elections are elected directly by the people, it is the people's representatives who are responsible for the mandate of their constituents. Political parties can still give directions to people's representatives from their party, but they are not instructive (dictating) - let alone positioning people's representatives from their party as similar to party officers or employees. It must always be remembered that public office is impersonal. If this is not the case, various kinds of *vested interests will be intertwined* which, apart from being detrimental to the party, will also have a negative impact on the people and democracy, which in fact is the field of struggle for political parties.

4. However, parties have an important function as parties that select and recruit citizens (political recruitment), so that they take part in the call of political duty. People's appreciation for political parties will be positive as long as the political parties are able to show good performance in producing quality political cadres. And for this purpose, political parties must have transparent and clear cadre programs that are fair, both for female and male cadres. During the period of the election procession, this can be

implemented by providing committed support to legislative candidates, including by formulating good and attractive visions and missions and programs.

5. If political parties are able to exist as political instruments that are free from the practice of *money politics* , political parties will become solid and credible pillars of democracy and this will bring about very meaningful social change .

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