

The Women Candidates without Political Kinship Support: What Capitals Should You Utilize to Win The Election?

Andi Ilimi Utami Irwan^{1*}, Sri Budi Eko Wardani²

¹ Department of Political Science/ Social and Political Sciences, University of Indonesia, Depok

² Department of Political Science/ Social and Political Sciences, University of Indonesia, Depok

Author's email: taminisme@gmail.com; sbe_wardani@yahoo.com

*Corresponding author: taminisme@gmail.com

Abstract. *Women's representation of South Sulawesi Regional People's Parliament Council reached 30 percent in the 2019 election, but more than half of them came from political kinship. The large number of women members with political kinship affiliation in three periods from 2014-2019 is the consequence of political patriarchy domination in South Sulawesi. Politics and elections were only for men, so women can access as they came from high-level families, dynasty, and politician leaders' families. Although women without kinship supported have small electability, two women candidates from non-political kinship won in the 2019 election. This research wants to analyze how the two women candidates without political kinship support can utilizing their capital to secure the seat in their first election. The research method is qualitative with a case study, the data were collected through in-depth interviews with two women of South Sulawesi parliament members, political party leaders, campaign teams, and organization leaders from the electoral districts of the candidates. The research uses the theory of social capital from Robert D. Putnam. The findings reveal that those candidates utilized their connection with the social and religious base community leaders. They came from a big family network, and their closure with grass-root can encourage their votes. Their ballot number placement in ballot paper did not have a significant influence. The economic capital has not given large contributions for building their popularity.*

Keywords: Women Candidates, Social Capital, Political Capital, South Sulawesi.

1. INTRODUCTION

The first authorized Affirmative Action through the *UU Nomor 12 Tahun 2003* (Law of Number 12 of 2003) then refurbished with the *Undang-Undang Pemilu Nomor 12 Tahun 2008 Pasal 53* (Election Law of Number 12 of 2008 Article 53) has opened the women's opportunity to involve in the politic sphere. The regulation obliges each political party to propose women legislative candidate at least 30 percent. It has positive impact on the enhancement of women's elections, because the more of women enter the candidate list, then the more their opportunities to become the elected candidate in *DPR* and *DPRD* (Indonesian Legislative Election). There is a positive correlation between the amount of women candidate and elected women in *DPR* (Wardani, 2013). The political party hold a central role of its position as a political motor for the legislative candidates to battle in the election. It should encompass many

more women to fight in election, and can give opportunity for which women candidate can win the contestation. However, the 30 percent of candidacy by the political party has just meant as administrative requirement, without regarding an equality interest. It shows that the women were still meant only as their body identity and not their gender (Panjaitan, 2017).

The candidacy of women candidate that is understood as limited to formal requirement implicates in a bad mechanism of recruitment in the political party. The conducted research of *Puskapol UI* about the election results of *DPR RI* 2014-2019, shows a kinship network with political elite as basis of *caleg* (legislative candidate) reaching 36 percent. Esti Ekawati (2017) who conducted a tracing of women's background whom elected becoming legislative member in the center and region after the *Orde Baru*, finds that women from political dynasty or as part of dominated political kinship network. The political dynasty becomes a problem in the political development, because the elected candidates only base themselves on family relationship, whereas the aspect and ability of *caleg* capacity in representing susceptible group and voicing gender interest, are merely not become a main priority.

The phenomenon of power circulation in the hand of elite is also widely occurred in the regions, one of those in South Sulawesi. The followed polemic of the elected 25 women members from 85 members in the *pileg* of *DPRD* of South Sulawesi in 2019, namely a composition of the women member's seats who also dominated by the family of political elite, officials and principals of political party. Based on background inspection, there are 19 women members who have affiliation with the regents, the speakers of party, and the national till local officials.

Political kinship is general phenomenon in South Sulawesi that has been last longed (Purwaningsih, 2015). The phenomenon not only occurs in the parliament level of province, but also in regency/city in South Sulawesi. It ordinarily occurs in the regions like South Sulawesi with a construct of feudal and patriarchy characteristic that still roots strong in the social society system. Most of political family derive from noblesse. Their obtained power is the kingdoms legacy in South Sulawesi that has stayed till now. Besides, the kinship not only derives from one family, but several families.

In the strengthened political kinship domination from the center to region, has given small opportunity for the candidates whose not derive from the circle. In the legislative level of *DPRD* of South Sulawesi, the number of elected women without kinship network are very small, namely just nine people where the majority of them are incumbents or seats of party. The electedness of women members of *DPRD* of South Sulawesi without the political kinship and the new once following this *pemilu* (general elections) has become interesting to do. If the aspect of gender identity as women, their successes in the election show the presence of particular indicators that have encouraged their electedness. They differ with the established men, the women candidates have hampered heavier to go forward to the political fight. Women face with various constraints, either ideologically or psychologically to get into the parliament gate. Gender ideology and cultural patterns as well as social role in the community not at all prosper the women's position (Shedova, 2002).

There are several reasons of why the writer raises a topic of capital utilization by the women candidates without political kinship network on this article. 1) The election of the women without political kinship becomes an anomaly in the region with the high-level political kinship. The majority of previous researches raise the phenomenon of the women's elections with kinship background, whereas the elected women without the kinship should be given a space in discussions to be an object of evaluation and

advocation to make a political tap has more widely opened and can be accessed by the women from various of society levels. 2) It is very interesting to see the modality factor for the women candidates who firstly followed the *pemilu*. They have succeed placing the self in political fight that all this time has been identical as a 'dirty and hard' field, and also limited to the men or women from the elite circle. 3) The comparison of ownership significancy and capital utilization, give the most effective effect in supporting the electedness of women candidate. This article uses Ernesto Dalbo's political kinship definition as reference that the political dynasty occurs if a politician has a family relationship with the former politician, and Kimberly Casey's political kinship definition of which it occurs when there is a blood relation or marriage in two generations of political officer candidate.

2. LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 *Politic and Woman*

The women's presence in political sphere is trusted able to encourage the enhancement of women's participation in general sphere and enhancing their confidences after various unfair deal of gender whose they experienced so far. Two big theories related to the women's presence in the political sphere through parliamentary face from Philips (1995), namely Politic of Idea and Politic of Presence. The political idea has paved the way for women's political presence who have not a voice previously. Nowadays, political representation is a form of political idea, namely the representatives in parliament represent the idea, hope and aspiration from the side or group of what they are represented. That is why subordinated women all this time very need to have representatives to voice their interests and aspirations.

Women's backwardness in the political field is expected to be able to solve though the policy of Affirmative Action with a quota system for women candidate. The quota system aims to ensure that women, at least, constitute a critical minority to be able to be represented from 30 to 40 percent from the total number of parliament members. It is expected to be updated solution until the women's obstacles to enter the political field can be removed. (Dahlerup, 2012). However, the political representation is still becoming problem when this policy is merely meant as administrative requirement by the political party to follow the *pemilu*. Outshoorn and Kantola (2007) criticize this policy because after almost one decade of the boisterous of policy process of women has been enacted, the expected progress has not yet occurred in the women's equality.

Ishiyama and Breuning (2013) depict an illustration of how the implementation of women's quota policy tends to slow. It can be caused by the difficulty finding capable candidates or conveying women's identity needs and their compound experiences. Encouraging women's representation is an effort to create democracy life in the practice of politic. The community who have a bond or linkage to their representatives in the parliament is the form of democratized representation. According to Castiglione and Warren (cited in Suseno, 2013), give three important characteristics of democratized representation:

- a. The representation has had the form of principal-agent relation, namely the relationship inside contains the representatives who act on behalf of their representations. The relationship is based on territorial and in formal;
- b. The representation is the responsible and accountable political power area by giving opportunity to the citizen to be able to affect and take control;
- c. The right to vote the representatives as the form of political equation measured modestly.

2.2 Social Capital

In the context of general election, social capital in the meaning of social network has a main role to support candidate, either individual or political party. The more social network possessed by the candidate, is also the more supports to the candidate to be obtained. Theoretically, according to Lin (2004) that is based on classical Marx's theory, the capital is the resource infestation by expecting an outcome that can be used in the market. Lin describes the evolution from the classical theory of capital becoming what it is called as neo-capital theory that categorizes various components such as human capital, cultural capital and social capital. Lin also defines that the social capital as infestation in the social network by expecting a profit in the market. But on the other hand, it really presses the presence of social network like the access and usage of resources held in the networks.

The social capital according to Putnam (2008), is social institution that involves networks, norms and social trust that encourage the social collaboration (coordination and cooperation) for mutual interests. This view contains an understanding of which it is needed the social network in the society, and the norms encouraging creativity. It bridges the community in collaborating and decreasing social disunity.

It refers to the social network with the presence of norms and trust. Whom gain the profit from this networks should be determined empirically, not definitionally. The understanding relates to the political participation conventionally, but this is un-identical. The political participation refers to our relationship with political institutions. The social capital refers to our relationship with each other. Putnam called it as a civic engagement. The social capital theory presupposes that generally, the more we connect with others, the more we believe them and otherwise. The social trust and community's participation like this tightly correlate.

The social capital can materialize in the smaller social group like family, but it can also materialize in the bigger social group like country. It is created and transmitted through effort mechanism, such as tradition and custom. The community which has the mechanism of substantial inheritance of social capital in the form of rules, usually becomes community with strong social network which enables a willingly collaboration. This is usually created if the equal participation level in the community has materialized (Lubis in Prayitno, 2004).

2.3 Political Capital

The political capital is considered as an extension of Pierre Bourdieu's social capital cited by Kimberly L. Casey (2008) in *Defining Political Capital: A Reconsideration of Bourdieu's Interconvertibility Theory*. According to Casey, political capital is marketed in the three main market in the government process, namely, electoral, policy and institution. In the electoral process, if someone wins the *pemilu*, then he/she is said having a surplus of political capital. Otherwise, if someone loses, then he/she is said having a deficit of political capital. This political capital can be possessed by anyone, either individual or group, as long as they can do organizing, utilizing connection, raising vote, and affecting resource distribution. Definitionally, Casey explains that political capital is an empowerment all kinds of capital possessed by the politicians or political institutions to generate political acts which prospers and reinforces them.

According to Chery Jacobs (Fields, 2007), it can be achieved through some ways, by becoming the part of group, school board, voluntary of political party, and also various other social and brotherhood organization. Involving in political issues,

can also increase political capital in the community. It is also achieved through the development of work relationship with the country or federal politicians and officials. The workers in the union reach the political capital through the membership in organization. The groups have a more power, voice and leverage because they act together to one general reason. The political capital is considered as the citizen's usual activity for the sake of power and democracy. It can also be shown in the form of individual ability like a leadership achievement of women *caleg* where has placed them as patronage from various community group. The wide network, either by entrepreneurs, bureaucrats, mass organizations, political parties, community leaders even marginal group also reinforce political capital and give significant contribution like voice acquisition when *pemilu* held.

3. RESEARCH METHODS

This article used qualitative method with data collection technique through interview and literature review. The literature review stage was conduct by browsing written sources, either mass media reports or documents such as legislation and regulations products related to general election, local leaders election and democracy. It was importantly conducted in the early stage of research to overview how the elected women legislator's used strategy obtaining the vote support.

The interview was conducted by using the prepared interview guideline. The guideline was arranged based on the research questions. The informant determination technique used non-probability purposive sampling, where the chosen informants had a special criterion who can answer the problem (Neuman, 2014, h.278). The deep interview with women candidate was conducted to obtain data related to biography and political experience, candidate motivation to enter the field of politic, candidate's passed processes in candidacy, campaign and polling till won the parliament seat. Besides, the interview to the women candidate was conducted to delve used capital utilization. It was also conducted to the seat of political party to delve information about prerequisite and mechanism of candidacy. Besides, the informants also consisted of the campaign team and women's activist in South Sulawesi

Data collection used snow-ball method thus obtained data from related parties according to the research topic. The data validation used triangulation method to obtain valid resume to the findings. The collected data was selected based on the general or particular questions. The primary data of deep interview results and secondary data of literature review results had same important position. Both the data can be used to one another. The primary data was used to confirm the secondary data, or otherwise, the secondary data was used to validate the informants of research. This research process was conducted after the members appointment of *DPRD* of Province South Sulawesi of 2019, to ensure the informants occupied in the seat of *DPRD* of Province South Sulawesi for validating their electedness. This research was conducted for seven months from the March 2020 to the Oktober 2020.

4. RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

Women voter's participations in *pileg* of 2019 in South Sulawesi reached 83,43 percent or about 3.307.697 people. While men voter who attended in the polling station were only 78,99 percent¹. Though, the number of women voter's participation is bigger, but in *pileg* of 2019, the women's vote percentage was lower than men. Based on data of *KPUD* of South Sulawesi, from 132 women *caleg* (sum of 334 *caleg*) fighting

¹ Data source of *KPUD* (Regional General Election Commission) of South Sulawesi of 2019

for *pileg* of *DPR RI*, women *caleg* collected 1.142.210 votes or about 24,51 percent from 4.659.502 legal votes.

South Sulawesi in *pileg* of 2019 sent women representatives as many five people (20,83 percent) from 24 elected legislative members of *DPR RI* for *dapil* (electoral area) in this region. The number not very differs in the previous *pileg*. Besides the less of women's electedness in each *pileg*, the following problem is the women's domination with political kinship background. Since the *pileg* 2009 with opened proportional system, elected women from *dapil* of South Sulawesi has been dominated by the politician's relatives (Table 1.1)

Table 1.1 Women's Legislative Member in *DPR RI* with Political Kinship Network

No.	2009	2014	2019
1	Oelfah A. Syahrullah Harmanto The Coordinator of Welfare People Field of <i>DPP Golkar</i>	Dewie Yasin Limpo Syahrul Yasin Limpo's sister, Governor of South Selatan (2008-2018).	Andi Yuliani Paris Andi Yusran Paris's brother, Vice Chairman of <i>DPW PAN</i> South Selatan (2005-now).
2	Andi Timo Pangerang Andi Alfian Mallarangeng's relative, Spokeperson of President of RI (2004-2009) and Minister of Youth and Sports (2009-2012).	Fatmawati Rusdi Rusdi Masse's wife, Regent of Sidrap (2008-2018).	Hasnah Syam Suardi Saleh's wife, Regent of Barru (2016-2025)
3	Indira Chunda Thita Syahrul Yasin Limpo's daughter Governor of South Selatan (2008-2018)	Indira Chunda Thita Syahrul Yasin Limpo's daughter Governor of South Selatan (2008-2018)	Eva Stefany Rataba Yosia Rinto Kadang's wife, Vice-Regent of Toraja Utara (2016-2020)
4		Andi Fauziah Pujiwatie Andi Hatta Murakarma's daughter, Regent of Wajo (2003-2015).	Andi Fauziah Pujiwatie Andi Hatta Murakarma's daughter, Regent of Wajo (2003-2015).
5		Aliyah Mustika Ilham Arief Sirajuddin's wife, Mayor of Makassar (2004-2014).	Aliyah Mustika Ilham Arief Sirajuddin's wife, Mayor of Makassar (2004-2014).

Source: Data from *KPUD* of Sulawesi Selatan and various resources.

The political kinship domination in women members in parliament have impacted on unbalancing of political opportunity for women comprehensively. Women candidate from the politics of non-kinship, although the better capability but their opportunity to elect are actually small. Women with political kinship bound who plunge into politic stage toward the election, are very minimum who started a cadre from bottom. From the five elected women members in *pileg* of *DPR RI* for South Sulawesi, all of them have elected since following *pileg*. Minimum experience not become a problem for

them to occupy the parliament seat in the center level. Through kinship network and power resource utilization, they tend to ease to reach votes in *pileg*².

According to elected women members of *DPRD* of South Sulawesi in *pileg* of 2019 without political kinship network, the majority are cadre of party who started their political career from bottom as seat or parliament member of *DPRD* of Region/City (Table 1.2). Totally, seven from nine women members of *DPRD* of South Sulawesi of politics of non-kinship have had good experience in *pileg* seat or experience in parliament seat. Whereas, the two more are newcomers and first time fighting in *pileg* but successfully gaining votes and supports to sit in the seat of *DPRD* of Province South Sulawesi, they are Isnayani from *Partai Keadilan Sejahtera* (PKS) and Rismayanti from *Partai Persatuan Pembangunan* (PPP).

Table 1.2 Women Members of *DPRD* of South Sulawesi of *Pemilu* 2019 Results without Political Kinship Background

No.	Nama	Latar Belakang	Status	Dapil
1	Risma Kadir Nyampa	<i>DPRD</i> of Gowa 2009-2014, <i>DPRD</i> of South Sulawesi 2014-now.	Incumbent	Gowa and Takalar
2	Andi Sugiarti M.K	Chairman of <i>DPC PPP</i> Bantaeng, <i>DPRD</i> of Bantaeng 1992-2009, <i>DPRD</i> South Sulawesi 2009-now.	Incumbent	Jeneponto, Bantaeng, Selayar
3	Henny Lathief	Vice Chairman VI of <i>DPD Gerindra</i> South Sulawesi, <i>DPRD</i> of South Sulawesi 2014-now.	Incumbent	Soppeng and Wajo
4	Misriani Ilyas	Former Vice Chairman of <i>Demokrat</i> Makassar/Former Chairman of Women Organization of <i>Demokrat</i> (moved to <i>Gerindra</i> ahead of <i>Pileg</i> 2014)	Incumbent (DPRD Sulsel 2009-2014)	Makassar B
5	Rismayanti	Chief of <i>Dharma Wanita</i> of <i>Kemenag Kanwil</i> of South Sulawesi	New	Gowa and Takalar
6	Meity Rahmatia	CEO <i>Travel Meida Wisata</i>	New (Mengikuti <i>Pileg DPRD Kota Makassar</i> 2014)	Gowa and Takalar
7	Isnayani	Housewife, Member of <i>Badan Komunikasi Pemuda Remaja Masjid Indonesia</i> (BKPRMI)	New	Sinjai, Bulukumba
8	Vera Firdaus	Entrepreneur, <i>DPRD</i> of Pinrang 2004-2014	New	Sidrap, Pinrang, Enrekang
9	Kartini Lolo	Chairman of <i>DPC PDIP</i> Pinrang, <i>DPRD</i> of Pinrang 2004-2014	New	Sidrap Pinrang Enrekang

² Delivered by Titin Anggraini (Chairperson of Perkumpulan untuk Pemilu dan Demokrasi) in a Political Seminar at the University of Indonesia in August 2019.

Source: The polling results of *KPU* of South Sulawesi 2019, and from various resources.

4.2 The Sosial Capital Utilization

Isnayani successfully reached 8219 votes eliminating incumbent from hers party. Initially, Isnayani entry in the *pileg* as surrogate candidate who resigned (Darmawati) in *caleg*'s file verification phase. Isnayani was entered by the party into *DCT* (Final Candidate List) to fulfil minimum women candidate requirement of 30 percent of *PKS*. The same thing also occurred in Rismayanti as *caleg* of *pileg* from *PPP*. She was not including superior candidate, entered as a complement by hers party because the bigger electedness opportunity was on Asrul Makkarasu as incumbent and the national politician Amir Uskara's brother. Rismayanti's voting for 15.681 votes also surpassed Andi Muhammad Aras Halid's voting, *caleg* from *Golkar* and national Politian Nurdin Halid's brother.

Isnayani's network as the officer's wife of *Tentara Nasional Indonesia (TNI)* is obtained through hers involvement in *Persaudaraan Istri Tentara (Persit)* organization since 1998. Isnayani is actively in various union in hers husband's duty area, covering Central Java, *Kabupaten* Bulukumba, Bantaeng and Bone. The ability and experience become hers capital to be managed in interacting and facing community. It relates to hers ability to understand about society. The involvement in organization also become self-capital for women candidate to be confident to deal with the election. The goog bond and relation between the group members become social capital affected on candidate's popularity and electedness. Though, Isnayani has moved domicile from Bulukumba for more five years, but hers contributions and good relation with *Persit* members facilitated the supports in *pileg*.

Rismayanti utilized the network of *Dharma Wanita Persatuan (DWP)* and *Pemberdayaan Kesejahteraan Keluarga (PKK)* organization to encourage hers popularity in community and to raise supports to go forward in *pileg*. Rismayanti's popularity in community was collected as hers liveliness in various activities in *Kabupaten Gowa*, either through *PKK* or *DWP*. Both organizations was utilized to build network to collect votes. Rismayanti believed that in the members of *Dharma Wanita* or women *PNS* (civil servants), herself has popular enough. This happened because herself was almost involved by the local state official to make religious development in her *dapil*. The activities affected hers popularity in the women activists and society, also in the official till ordinary people. It became the social capital for Rismayanti.

Both candidate utilized their involvement in religious group to encourage electedness. South Sulawesi with high religious value, particularly *Kabupaten* Gowa and Bulukumba, made these women candidates have long congregated in religious group. When deciding following the election, their organization also helped raising votes and campaigning. *Khalwatiyah* group was felt by Rismayanti as the bigger supporting network, as the thousand worshipers³ of this group solid to aid Rismayanti victory. Besides, *Majelis Taklim* support in *Kemenag* of South Sulawesi also contributed. This given contribution with support and socialitation by recitation mother, religious instructor non-*PNS*, and mosque *takmir* around several sub-region in Gowa and Takalar.

"Rasanya itu sudah luar biasa jaringan bercabang itu dari majelis taklim dan Khalwatiyah. Karena akhirnya menjadi luas semuanya itu. Kelompok tarekat

³ Based on data of Ministry of Religion of South Sulawesi, the network of *Khalwatiyah al Makassar* is about 25.100 people in South Sulawesi, whereas in Gowa touches 2000 people.

Khalwatiyah al Makassar juga mendukung penuh" (interview with Rismayanti, 2020).

Isnayani also utilized her affiliation with *Majelis Taklim* like *Badan Komunikasi Pemuda Remaja Masjid (BKPRM)* of South Sulawesi. Through BKPRM networks, Isnayani approached the teachers and *Taman Baca Quran* facilitator in Bulukumba and Sinjai. Through this network, moreover, Isnayani can collect votes in *Kabupaten* Sinjai for more than 2000 votes, though the regions have maximally untouched because herself has a minimum family network in the region.

Developing Trust and Hope

The developed trust between Isnayani with community in her *dapil*, utilized her husband's figure. Although her husband was not on duty anymore in Bulukumba but her husband's figure was a puller votes and supports from the community. By the network as social capital constituted candidate's figure by utilizing the network of candidate's family. The developed trust factor aimed to candidate or family member's figure who supported women *caleg*. Isnayani obtained constituent's trust by giving hope that she would elect then she will become the first member of *DPRD* of South Sulawesi from the organization since the reformation. The hope was developed by stating that will give support for *Persit* activities if her elected.

"Tapi saya ndak memaksakan ji (dukungan) juga. Artinya saya pikir, kan bangga juga kalau ada anggota Persit yang lolos, belum ada loh istri (prajurit) Angkatan darat yang duduk di DPRD Provinsi. Jadi itu saja sih, Walaupun tidak 100 persen dukungannya. Mungkin kurang lebih, 50 persen lah. Terpecah juga kan suara, karena saya sudah tidak aktif di Persit Kodim Bulukumba, karena saya wilayah tugasnya di Persit Bone" (interview with Isnayani, 2020).

Rismayanti, besides, utilized her proximity with community, shown her gender and religion identity as *muslimah* who wanted to contribute to the society. The role as mother in family and leader in *DWP*, given constituent's belief to make herself believed as legislative member. Besides the identity of religion and religiosity, Rismayanti also embedded gender value and brought women issues. The supports was given to Isnayani since herself has long paced in organization and helped community development related to woman issues.

4.3. The Political Capital Utilization

The Supports of Political Party

The initial of Rismayanti's plunge into the election, began from the proposal of Vice Chairman of *PPP* and incumbent for *Pileg* of *DPR RI*, Amir Uskara. Rismayanti's popularity as activator team of *PKK* of Gowa and Chairman of *DPW Kanwil Depag* of South Sulawesi made Amir Uskara deciding to propose Rismayanti for vote basis enhancement of *PPP* in Gowa and Takalar, and adding party votes to bring his brother, Asrul Makkarasu back to the seat in *DPRD* of South Sulawesi. On her candidacy, Rismayanti like got a red carpet in the candidacy process. Moreover, the internal team of *PPP* prepared special team to assist her in preparing administrative registration to the *KPU*, including recommendation and cost aid.

The supports from *PKS* in candidacy process to registration actually ungave for women candidate. Isnayani realized herself who must take care all by self, including pleading to the *Bawaslu* (Election Supervisory Agency) when herself threatened nor included to the *DCT*. The minimum of political party supports for women candidate like Isnayani, often happened. The newcomers or un-power tended to be ignored by their party. Though, the party obtained benefits from the joined cadre who have potential to

rake many votes in election. Besides, the potential cadre in well in organization will more ease to prepare the processes of candidacy, registration and socialization in community.

The role of political party that facilitated the candidacy, gave the opportunity for women to fight in *caleg* process. While, the given supports by *PPP* to rake votes in *pileg* of 2019 significantly unfelt its effect for Rismayanti in the campaign. Each *caleg* from *PPP* individually focused on collecting votes for the party to be able to carry the party to the parliament. The party handed off when the campaign has held.

The utilization of Islamic party as political motor also became the capital for Rismayanti and Isnayani in raising supports. *PPP* and *PKS* identity as the muslim party in line with majority of muslim population in South Sulawesi. The muslim in this region has classified fanatic. The close affiliation of *PPP* and *PKS* with the muslim organization leaders in this region also became separate advantages for both candidates. The closeness of Islamic-based party, eased the candidates to get close with the ulama to gain supports. The ulama's support factor gave big contribution as political capital for Isnayani and Rismayanti.

The Role of Ballot Number and Electoral Area

Both candidate, Isnayani and Rismayanti obtained different ballot number in the *pileg* of 2019. Isnayani who placed in the big ballot number unbecame problem for herself. She felt the *dapil* and ballot number became something to get because of hers high commitment to win the *pileg*. While, for Rismayanti who got small ballot number felt helpful. It proved that she was accounted in the fight of *pileg*, although she was newcomer.

Based on findings that the proximity with party principals still become a determinant factor to get ballot number as candidate's desire. Therefore, *caleg* with political kinship tend to be able to get top ballot number. Rismayanti's proximity with the party principal without kinship, makes herself advantaged. But, the candidates realize the ballot number not significantly affected on their electedness. The constituents tend to see their self-profile to determine support. Although, *dapil* stipulation highly affects the electedness. Isnayani stated hers involvement in development activities in Gowa affected hers electedness. The same thing is also experienced by Rismayanti, where hers big family basis covering Bulukumba.

The Contribution of Campaign Team

The contribution of campaign team (*timses*) for the candidate's victory is big enough in *pileg* of *DPRD* of South Sulawesi of 2019. The *timses* is needed by candidates to help in mapping vote potency, arranging strategy, managing budget, doing socialization, and approaching voter. The presence of *timses* is central by becoming the right hand and extension of hand at once by the candidates. Besides, the solid *timses* becomes big political capital for candidates. Both candidates utilize the relatives and family as *timses*. Big *timses* or small *timses* not affect the team's victory. The solidness is the strong capital for the elects in election.

The amount of candidate number in *pileg* of 2019 in the *DPRD* level of South Sulawesi make the competition between candidates high enough. Besides, there are potency of unfair *timses* make the campaign not held maximal. *Timses* has particular goals in raising and giving trust for the candidates: same tribe, religion, family member or economy factor. The candidates usually promise economy reserve for *timses* if they elected.

4.4 The Economical Capital Utilization

The meant economical capital in this article is the campaign cost usage. Both candidates admitted spending cost big enough to fund their candidacy, though their cost was still very low than other candidates. Besides, both candidates recognized since the beginning that the money factor not the main factor in victory to fight in the election. Therefore, they more collect the other capital as alternative for their limitation.

The fund issued by Isnayani was no more than 300 million rupiah. Besides, Rismayanti actually spend campaign cost almost double from Isnayani. The personal fund issued from the savings, and the outcome of selling land assets by her parent almost same with Rismayanti. The rest was the donation from her supporters and relatives. The meant donation from family was a consumption and operational things for the campaign team.

“Kalau saya mau kalkulasi itu kemarin, mungkin saya paling banyak itu cuma 300an sampai hampir 500-an, sekitar segitu saja. Saking minimnya, saya terus terang. Saya pikir-pikir itu, kalau dari sumbangan teman teman juga termasuk barang barang saya hitung hitung, paling banyak 500” (interview with Rismayanti, 2020).

The economical capital has still considered important by the both candidates, but the number not became main factor for the candidate's victory to sit in the *DPRD* seat. Hence, each candidate's expenditure became different. The minimum budget used by Isnayani made herself should be creative and very economized in campaigning. Isnayani has lot to plunge into the arena without an assistance of big team. She also used sober props which almost the campaign tools, she worked herself. The low campaign cost usage also demanded extra works for the candidates. Based on Febrianto's findings (2015), in the women candidate's campaign cost usage of *pileg* of *DPR RI* of 2014 based on political kinship, shows that the money force not the main factor in their victory and candidacy. It is because most of them used governance budget in the process of their candidacy and campaign.

CONCLUSION

Both women candidate's electedness, Isnayani and Rismayanti in the *pileg* of *DPRD* of South Sulawesi, though without the political kinship and first time following *pileg*, are affected by both abilities managing their capital. The social capital possession, such as networks, norms and trust, can increase candidate's opportunity to be elected. The involvement both candidate in women organization, namely *Persiti*, *Dharma Wanita*, and *PKK*, also religious organization like *majelis taklim* and *dhikr* group significantly affect both candidate's electedness. Through the organization networks, both candidate can build their popularity. Besides, the family networks also affect the candidate's victory. Although, without the family relation with public officials and political leaders, their kinship background are big enough.

The candidate with big social capital get big attention and support from political party. The less social capital, the supports also become smaller. The political party supports simplify women candidate to pass through the candidacy. While the *caleg's* ballot number significantly un-affects to the candidates. Isnayani with big ballot number (5) and Rismayanti with little ballot number (2), can be equally elected. However, the *dapil* determination significantly affects, because the candidates utilize the vote basis from their family relationship and community network. Whereas, the economical capital like campaign cost is important to encourage electedness, but the amount of cost un-affects women's electedness. It also significantly un-affects in the *caleg's* popularity

level. Indeed, the strong social capital possession can minimize the amount of candidate's political cost.

The possession and utilization of social capital strategically need to be conducted by women candidate to encourage their electedness in *pileg*. The involvement in social group like women organization or religious institution can increase candidate's popularity in the community. The family network must be treated and expanded to get benefits and supports in the election. Relative and family are utilized by women candidate as the solid campaign team and aided campaign financing. Sticking particular values, such as religion, tribe and gender affect the enhancement of constituent trust to encourage women candidate. It is caused by the same value that is seen by the candidates with the constituent's held value, facilitate them to obtain supports.

REFERENCES

- Casey, Kemberly L. (2008). *Defining Political Capital: A Reconsideration of Bourdieu's Interconvertibility Theory*. St. Louis: University of Missouri Neuman, W. L. (2014). *Social Research Methods: Qualitative and Quantitative Approaches*. Peason.
- Dahlerup, dkk (2013). *Breaking Male Dominance in Old Democracies*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Ekawati, E. (2018). Keterwakilan Perempuan Pada Pemilu Pasca Orde Baru. *Musāwa Jurnal Studi Gender Dan Islam*, 16(1), 67.
- Field, John. (2011). *Modal Sosial*. Bantul: Kreasi Wacana.
- Ishiyama, J.T, Breuning, M. (2013), *Ilmu Politik dalam Paradigma Abad ke 21*. Jakarta: Kencana Media Group
- Lin, N. (2004) *Social Capital: A Theory of Social Structure and Action*. Cambridge University Press,
- Panjaitan, Y. (2017). Perempuan dan Jebakan Oligarki Partai. *Tempo*, 11.
- Prayitno, U.S,(2004), *Modal Sosial dan Ketahanan Ekonomi Keluarga Miskin*. Universitas Indonesia.
- Philips, Anne.(1995). *The Politics of Presence*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- Purwaningsih, T. (2015). *Politik Kekerabatan dalam Politik Lokal di Sulawesi Selatan pada Era Reformasi (Studi tentang Rekrutmen Politik paa Partai Golkar, Partai Amanat Nasional dan Partai Demokrat Sulawesi Selatan Tahun 2009)*. Universitas Indonesia.
- Putnam, R. (2008). *The Handbook of Social Capital*. Oxford University Press.
- Outshoorn J., Kantola J. (2007) *Changing State Feminism*. Palgrave Macmillan, London.
- Suseno, Nuri. 2013. Representasi Politik Perkembangan dari Ajektiva ke Teori. Depok: Puskapol UI
- Wardani, dkk, (2013). *Potret Keterpilihan Perempuan di Legislatif pada Pemilu 2009*. Jakarta: Puskapol UI.