

Social Construction of Society in the Decrease in the Electability of Female DPRD Members in the 2024 Election in Magelang Regency

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Abstract

This study aims to analyze the social construction underlying the decline in the electability of female DPRD members in Magelang Regency in the 2024 Election. Based on election data, women's representation in the Magelang Regency legislature shows a less than optimal trend even though the affirmative action policy (30% quota) has been implemented in the nomination process. This study uses a descriptive qualitative method with the Social Construction theory of Peter L. Berger and Thomas Luckmann to dissect how women's political reality is shaped through the processes of externalization, objectification, and internalization in society. The results show that the decline in electability is influenced by social construction that is still dominated by patriarchal values, where political leadership is still constructed as a male domain. The main inhibiting factors include: (1) societal stigma that limits women's political space, (2) public perception of women's low political capabilities, and (3) the lack of social and economic capital of female candidates compared to male candidates. The conclusion of this study emphasizes that formal policies alone are not enough without being followed by a deconstruction of public perceptions of gender roles in politics.

Keywords: Social Construction, Women's Electability, Magelang Regency DPRD, 2024 Election.

Paper Type: Research Paper

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INTRODUCTION

In 2024, Indonesia will hold simultaneous elections. is a form of general election conducted by the entire community simultaneously. According to Law Number 7 of 2017 concerning general elections, the community elects the President or Vice President and legislative candidates (DPR, DPD, Provincial DPRD, and Regency/City DPRD). The success of elections is influenced by the involvement of many individuals in politics. This political participation refers to a group of individuals seeking to achieve a goal and a shared sense of responsibility. Individuals seeking to engage in an organization with political direction can join a political party (Aulbeliau Putri, 2022). A political party is an organized group of people with shared orientations, values, ideals, and goals aimed at gaining political power and implementing established programs. These political parties will ultimately produce prospective male and female members for positions of power. Political power is closely tied to government. This political power fosters the government's commitment to involving women in politics, a true manifestation of a democratic state. Democracy is defined as the will of the people and the common good (Syahputa & Ahmadi, 2021).

The involvement of women in politics is supported by Law Number 7 of 2017 concerning general elections which provides an opportunity for political parties (Parpol) to nominate women to increase women's representation by at least 30% (thirty percent) as explained in Article 245. With this, women's representation in the legislature can be achieved.

The election of women as candidates for the Regional People's Representative Council (DPRD) requires greater effort to achieve victory. The low electability of women in the political sphere can be explained by at least two factors. First, society still views women as subordinate to men, a phenomenon categorized as patriarchal. This position places women in a position of inadequacy in all areas, including politics. Second, the political system in general is not truly committed to women's involvement. For example, political parties consider female legislative candidates merely an additional requirement for election. Patriarchy is a result of gender inequality, where women are denied the same opportunities, equality, and rights and obligations as men. This can hinder women from pursuing their opportunities to emerge and contribute in the public sphere.

Wednesday, 14 (fourteen) February 2024 is a historic day for all people Indonesians exercise their right to vote at polling stations (TPS) in general elections. In these polling stations, the public elects the President/Vice President and legislative candidates (DPR, DPD, Provincial DPRD, and

Regency/City DPRD). The ballots are colored gray for the President/Vice President, yellow for DPR legislative candidates, red for DPD candidates, blue for Provincial DPRD candidates, and green for Regency/City DPRD candidates. The color difference is shown on the top of the ballot paper when voters or members of the public open the ballot paper.

Magelang Regency is a region with 21 sub-districts and 372 villages or sub-districts. The total population is approximately 1,299,859, with a breakdown of 654,989 males and 644,870 females (Central Statistics Agency and Population Census, 2020). The people of Magelang Regency have diverse occupational backgrounds, religions, and political orientations. According to the official KPU website, in politics, according to the voter turnout figures, 89% of the Magelang Regency population used their voting rights, a figure higher than in the previous election period. This demonstrates the level of public awareness of Magelang Regency in political participation is already good.

The Magelang Regency regional government (Pemda) for the 2019-2024 period launched 10 (ten) programs focused on development, dubbed the Dasa Cita. These Dasa Cita include:

1. Improve the quality of religious and noble life
2. Increasing equality in education and improving quality
3. Improve health services
4. Reduce poverty rates
5. Developing Integrated Superior Sectors (SUST) in the MSME, tourism and agriculture sectors
6. Improve public facilities and infrastructure
7. Improve the quality of the living environment
8. Improve bureaucracy and governance
9. Increase peace, order and preparedness in facing disasters
10. Increasing opportunities for the younger generation to excel in the field of sports.

The 10 (ten) Dasa Cita in number 5 (five) explains that there are efforts to develop the MSME, tourism and agriculture sectors, one of which is when the Magelang Regency Education and Culture Office (Disdikbud) held the Women's Empowerment Movement (GP3M) which aims to improve the quality of life of women where the Magelang Regency Government (Pemkab) came and supported. Furthermore, there was socialization of Participatory Supervision. (students) aimed at increasing the participation of women and people with disabilities in politics, conducted by the Magelang Regency

Election Supervisory Agency (Bawaslu) in Mertoyudan District. It can be concluded that Magelang Regency is a region that supports women in various fields. The programs launched by the Regency Government for the 2019-2024 period have been completed.

Based on initial observations, data from the 2024 Regency-Level Recapitulation Results show that 5 (five) women were elected to the Magelang Regency DPRD out of a total of 50 elected DPRD members. This represents a decrease in the number of women elected compared to the previous period (2019-2024). In the 2019-2024 period, 7 women were elected with 50 seats. Meanwhile, in the 2024-2029 period, 5 women were elected with 50 seats.

Women who nominate themselves to become members of the DPRD certainly have background Education. Where education is one of the efforts to drive electability. According to data from the official KPU website from the Permanent Candidate List (DCT), there are profiles of each DCT. One of these profiles concerns educational history. The educational history of women elected in the 2019-2024 and 2024-2029 periods is different. This difference can be explained by the fact that 7 women were elected in the 2019-2024 period. The 7 (seven) women who studied at universities (PT) include: Hibatun Wafiroh (PKB), who studied up to a Master's degree, Eling Aneka (PDIP), who studied up to a Bachelor's degree, and Arifah Aprilani (PKS), who studied up to a Bachelor's degree. In addition, 4 (four) women who do not have a degree from a university include: Tri Wahyuningsih (PDIP), Pipik Dewi Susana (Nasdem), Eti Nurfaizah (PPP), and Erni Damayanti (Democrat).

Meanwhile, 5 (five) women elected in the 2024-2029 period, there are 2 women with educational history up to university level, such as Hibatun Wafiroh (PKB), who studied up to Master's level, and Arifah Apriliani (PKS), who studied up to Bachelor's level. 3 (three) women who do not have a university degree include: Kartika Budi (PDIP), Erni Damayanti (Democrat) and Endang Winaryani (PPP). DPRD members and DPRD candidates who do not have an educational history up to university level have diplomas up to Junior High School (SMA).

The participation of the people of Magelang Regency can be seen from the Permanent Voter List (DPT) data for the 2024 election, with a total of 1,007,591, of which the total number consists of 502,780 male voters and 504,811 female voters. Furthermore, the total number of Polling Stations (TPS) in Magelang Regency is 4,407 TPS with each sub- district having approximately 1 to 21 TPS. With 6 electoral districts (Dapil). Dapil 1 consists of Mertoyudan, Mungkid, and Borobudur Districts. Dapil 2 consists of Tempuran, Salaman, and Kajoran Districts. Dapil 3 consists of Bandongan, Kaliangkrik, and Windusari Districts. Dapil 4 consists of Secang, Grabag, and Ngablak Districts. Dapil

5 consists of Sawangan, Candimulyo, Pakis, and Tegalrejo. Finally, Electoral District 6 consists of the districts of Muntilan, Ngluwar, Srumbung, Dukun, and Salam.

In addition to community participation, the presence of political parties is also no less important in the continuity of the implementation of political activities in government. There are 16 political parties that nominate their members to be elected as members of the Magelang Regency DPRD. The 16 (sixteen) political parties include PKB, PDIP, PKS, GOLKAR, NASDEM, PPP, Labor Party, Gelora Indonesia, HANURA, GARUDA, PAN, GERINDRA, DEMOKRAT, PSI, PERINDO, and the Ummat Party. Reported from the official KPU website, women's representation in Magelang Regency has reached 30%. This is in accordance with what has been stipulated in Law Number 7 of 2017 concerning general elections. The fulfillment of the 30% quota in women's representation in each political party can be seen from the Recapitulation of the Permanent Candidate List (DCT) of Magelang Regency DPRD members and the Fulfillment of Women's Representation 2024.

Based on the overall DCT data, the number of women elected for the 2019-2024 period was 215. For the 2024-2029 period, the total number of women elected was 217. There was an increase in the DCT of two women. Quantitatively, there was an increase in the DCT, but qualitatively, women's electability decreased. The DCT for the 2019-2024 and 2024-2029 periods can be outlined in the following table:

Table 1:
Final Candidate List (DCT) Recapitulation Data Member of the Magelang Regency DPRD

No	Political parties	2019-2024 period	2024-2029 period
		Woman	Woman
1	PKB	22	21
2	GERINDRA	19	17
3	PDIP	20	21
4	GOLKAR	15	21
5	NASDEM	15	27

6	LABOR PARTY	11	5
7	INDONESIAN GELOR	0	3
8	PKS	19	22
9	HANURA	0	0

Data Source: JDIH KPU Magelang Regency

Based on data table 1.1, the Permanent Candidate List (DCT) for Magelang Regency DPRD members for the 2019-2024 period totals 215 women. Meanwhile, the DCT for the 2024-2029 period totals 217 women. Of which, the electability of female DPRD candidate members in the 2019-2024 election period was 7 (seven) women, while for the 2024-2029 period, the number was 5 (five) women. If seen from the data, there was an increase in the DCT, but the data shows a decrease in the electability of women in the 2024 election period.

The political parties (Parpol) elected in the 2024 Magelang Regency election were 7 (seven) political parties, including PKB, GERINDRA, PDIP, GOLKAR, PKS, PPP and DEMOKRAT, which can be seen in the following table:

Table 2:
Overall Data of Prospective Members of the Magelang Regency DPRD 2024 Election

Name of Political Party	Seat Acquisition
PKB	12 Chairs
GERINDRA	7 Chairs
PDIP	15 Chairs
GOLKAR	4 Chairs
PKS	6 Chairs
PPP	5 Chairs

Demokrat	1 Chairs
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Data Source: Results of the 2024 Election Recapitulation Plenary Meeting by the Magelang Regency KPU

Table 3:
Vote Acquisition Data for Female DPRD Candidates in the Election 2024 in Magelang Regency

No	Names of DPRD Candidates	Political party	electoral district	Vote Acquisition
1	Hibatun Wafiroh	PKB	3	8,187 Votes
2	Kartika Budi Arifyanti	PDIP	2	9,569 Votes
3	Arifah Apriliyani	PKS	5	4,604 Votes
4	Endang Winaryani	PPP	4	6,894 Votes
5	Erni Damayanti	DEMOCRATS	1	4,746 Votes

Data Source: Results of the Plenary Meeting of the Magelang Regency KPU

Based on the data in Table 1.2, it is presented in tabular form to clearly show the total number of seats won by the Regional People's Representative Council (DPRD) in the 2024 election, with both men and women totaling 50. Seven political parties will secure seats in the DPRD. The data above includes the National Awakening Party (PKB) (12 elected), Gerindra Party (7 elected), PDIP (15 elected), Golkar Party (4 elected), PKS Party (6 elected), PPP (5 elected), and Democrat Party (1elected).

Furthermore, Table 1.3 outlines the female DPRD members in the 2024 election. If broken

down by political party, they include PKB (1 elected), PDIP (1 elected), PKS (1 elected), PPP (1 elected), Demokrat (1 elected). Of the many female representatives in each electoral district, 5 women were elected to the Magelang Regency legislative body for the 2024-2029 period. The vote count for the Magelang Regency DPRD candidate members as a whole used the Sainte Lague method. The Sainte Lague method is a calculation technique using a fixed divisor (BPT) in the form of an odd number to distribute seat allocations to political parties (Madyan et al., 2024).

The five female DPRD candidates not only come from different political parties but also have different political statuses. These political statuses refer to incumbents (old candidates) and non-incumbents (new candidates).

Table 4:
Female DPRD Candidates for the 2024 Election

Names of DPRD Candidates	Political status	Amount
Hibatun Wafiroh	Incumbent	3 times
Arifah Apriliyani	Incumbent	1 time
Erni Damayanti	Incumbent	3 times
Kartika Budi Arifyanti	Non-incumbent	-
Endang Winaryani	Non-incumbent	-

Data Source: KPU Official Website

Data from Table 1.4 explains that the electability of candidates for the Magelang Regency DPRD has characteristics of backgrounds from different political statuses. Where experience of having served as a legislative member and then running for the next period is an incumbent or long-standing candidate. The data is vulnerable to incumbents in the 2009-2014, 2014-2019 and 2019-2024 election periods. If added to the experience of having been elected previously with the current electability in the 2024 Election, it can be described as follows: Hibatun Wafiroh (4 times), Arifah Apriliyani (2 times), and Erni Damayanti (4 times).

Incumbent members can build broader political relations compared to non-incumbents, such as 2 (two) female DPRD members, namely Kartika Budi Arifyanti (PDIP) and Endang Winaryani (PPP),

who can prove that even though they have never had experience serving as DPRD members before, the 2 women can be elected in the 2024 election.

The opportunity for women to be elected to public office is a women's right, and there are no restrictions on this right. Human Rights is a legal concept that adheres to applicable norms and regulations (normative) inherent in every human being. Then, there are constitutional rights where the Law guarantees the rights of every citizen. There are 27 constitutional rights stipulated in the 1945 Constitution, one of which is political rights. These political rights are enshrined in political policies that are gender-neutral. These policies are formulated with a holistic perspective that does not give rise to gender injustice, discrimination, inequality, and disparities. Seeing the five female DPRD members in the 2024 election with different political party backgrounds, electoral districts (Dapil), and number of votes obtained, as well as the decline in electability from the 2019-2024 period to 2024-2029 is a unique phenomenon that has attracted researchers to conduct research on the electability of female DPRD candidates in the 2024 election in Magelang Regency.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

Table 5:
Findings

Informant	Types of Social Construction		
	Externalization	Objectification	Internalization
1. Andono /Figure Public/ 53 Years	Political experience Ever trust the vision prospective member's mission female DPRD, which is not implemented after being elected	The experience make evidence objective that women don't competent	Believe and implement by not choosing women during the period furthermore

2. Kiki / Voters Beginner / 18 Year	Firmness, bravery, as well as flexibility is in male (masculine)	The labeling form assumption women don't able as in male perception the more capable maintain argument	Believe and confirm that stereotypes in society are indeed the best
3. Olive / Student / 22 years	Looking at politics as a practice money politics	Focus on understanding if in politics, always based on from money	Convincing himself that he will receive money from the results of money politics during the election
4. Sulastri / Housewife Stairs / 29 Year	Politics is considered a “hard” and “logical” things that refer in the male realm not a woman	Society with patriarchal culture consider things mentioned as truth	Believing that men men are the ones who can power especially in legislative politics
5. Rofiq / Inhabitant	Understanding regarding the nature of men	The nature of women who must obey	Believe and implement

Election / 66 Year	man in charge in the public sphere then women are in domestic sphere	towards men	patriarchal culture in the domestic and political spheres
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Mr. Andono: A Community Figure Bound by Functional Stereotypes

Mr. Andono reflects on the tension between universal human rights norms and local, patriarchal interpretations.

1. Externalization: Mr. Andono began his narrative by stating that, in principle, women are "allowed" to participate in politics based on human rights. However, he immediately limited this idea by the public assumption that women tend to be "less agile" in solving problems.
2. Objectification: He transforms the experiences of one or two periods of female leadership, which he deems unsuccessful, into undeniable "general facts." He cites concrete cases of female legislators who he deems unfulfilled promises as objective evidence of this gender-based incompetence. In this process, he ignores structural factors like bureaucracy and limited funding, thus posing personal failures as gender-based failures.
3. Internalization: Mr. Andono eventually withdrew his support for female candidates and decided to vote exclusively for men, believing them to be more competent and more nurturing. This belief was absorbed by his community, where they began to vet female candidates with a bias toward scepticism, while male candidates were allowed to pass without rigorous social verification.

Informant Andono (Community leader, male)

"Politics is indeed more suitable for men. Women's natural role is to take care of the household, not to lead in the public sphere."

This quotation demonstrates how the notion of "women's natural role" is employed as a

cultural symbol that legitimizes the gendered division of social roles. The informant's statement does not merely reflect a personal opinion, but rather an institutionalized patriarchal system of meaning embedded in the social life of the community

Kiki: First-Time Voter and the Reproduction of Political Masculinity

Kiki the role of social media and the dynamics of campus social life greatly facilitate the reproduction of gender stereotypes in politics.

1. Externalization: Kiki developed the initial idea that assertiveness and the ability to defend arguments in parliament were masculine attributes. She acquired this discourse through school education, social media, and peer conversations.
2. Objectification: The view that men are better suited to parliament has solidified into a standard stereotype, perceived as a natural "truth." When Kiki observes that the majority of DPRD seats are filled by men, she considers this an objective standard. She ignores the variables of rhetorical training or party support, preferring to generalize one or two women's failures as a collective rule.
3. Internalization: Kiki has fully absorbed this stereotype as a rational criterion for her choice. She now believes that her choice will only be "on target" if it's given to a male candidate, leading her to disregard the track record or work programs of other candidates..

Informant Kiki (Female voter):

“There was once a woman serving as a member of the local parliament, but in my opinion she was just ordinary. That's why now I trust male candidates more.”

This statement illustrates how a single experience with one female politician is reduced into a broader social generalization. Such experience is subsequently reproduced as a voting logic that disadvantages women in politics.

Olive: Economic Pragmatism Over Political Idealism

Olive shows the shift in social construction from gender issues towards economic dynamics or money politics.

1. Externalization: Olive views elections as a "money-making field." This notion arose from observing campaign teams that pay honoraria, portraying politics as an arena for

business transactions, not a struggle for values.

2. Objectification: The reality that "there is no politics without money" is considered by Olive as a fact that existed before he was involved (pre-existent). *money politics* which is ethically wrong, in his eyes turns into a functionally legitimate mechanism for getting a candidate

elected.

3. Internalization: Olive adopted a pragmatic approach as her personal moral compass: it was better to wait for the person who gave the most money than to abstain. This lowered expectations for democracy and shifted the selection criteria from vision and mission to purely financial rewards.

Informant Olive (Young voter):

"If there is no money involved, then it doesn't look serious. After all, the others are giving something."

This quotation reveals that money is understood as a symbol of seriousness and attention from political candidates. Money politics is internalized as part of local political culture rather than being viewed merely as a rational economic consideration.

Mrs. Sulastri: Gender Solidarity Clashes with "Nature"

Mrs. Sulastri's narrative shows the tension between the desire for unity and the strong constraints of local culture.

1. Externalization: She expressed solidarity, arguing that women should support each other. However, she also confronted cultural and religious narratives about "nature" that relegated women to the domestic sphere (taking care of the home and children).
2. Objectification: This traditional division of roles is objectified into a fixed gender stereotype through the term "nature." For Sulastri, a social structure in which the majority of leaders are men is objective evidence that male dominance is the supposed standard.
3. Internalization: Sulastri absorbed this narrative of nature as a moral obligation. She

subjectively began to harbor suspicions or negative labels toward women active in the public sphere, assuming they might neglect their families.

Informant Sulastri (Female voter):

“When I see coverage in the media, what is often discussed about women is their appearance or their family, not their political programs.”

This quotation demonstrates the effect of media framing in shaping public perceptions of female candidates, in which personal aspects are emphasized more than leadership capacity or political competence.

Mr. Rofiq: Legitimacy of Patrbeliaurki through Moral Framework

Mr. Rofiq affirms patriarchy as the sole legitimating framework that closes off space for discussion on changing family duties.

1. Externalization: He conveyed the meaning that men are breadwinners and leaders, while women are in the domestic sphere based on the division of labor. He also internalized the collective fear that "children will be neglected if mothers work."

2. Objectification: For Mr. Rofiq, the term "nature" is a non-negotiable law of nature. He

objectifies women's ambitions as a threat to the balance of the household, not as a form of self-actualization.

3. Internalization: Mr. Rofiq absorbed this objective reality so deeply that he believed

gender equality only fueled domestic conflict. He felt his self-esteem was threatened if women took public roles and used his personal values to judge women who didn't fit the traditional mold.

Informant Rofiq (Male voter):

“At home, we often talk about it as well people say that women are not firm enough when it comes to politics.”

This statement illustrates how interpersonal communication within the family environment plays a role in reproducing gender stigma and influencing individual

political choices.

Patriarchy as a System of Meaning in the Local Political Arena

In this study, patriarchy cannot be understood merely as an individual attitude or personal view held by society toward women; rather, it functions as a system of meaning that operates collectively and is institutionally embedded. From the perspective of cultural sociology, patriarchy operates as a cultural framework that shapes how society interprets leadership, rationality, and the legitimacy of political power.

Informants' statements suggesting that political leadership is "more suitable for men" or that women possess a "natural role in the domestic sphere" cannot be interpreted as mere personal opinions. Such language constitutes culturally legitimized symbols that are socially sanctioned and transmitted through institutions such as the family, religion, education, and local political practices. In this sense, patriarchy functions as a symbolic structure that defines the standards of political leadership considered legitimate.

This condition has direct implications for women's electability. The low level of women's electoral success in the 2024 General Election in Magelang Regency is not the result of women's individual incapacity, but rather of the symbolic dominance of masculinity that governs the political arena. Politics has been socially constructed as a masculine space, requiring female candidates to confront cultural standards that are not gender-neutral.

Stigmatization of Women as a Process of Cultural Reproduction

The findings indicate that stigma against women in politics is not the result of isolated individual experiences, but rather a product of cultural reproduction processes. In this context, the failure of one or two female politicians is reduced into a collective narrative that is subsequently accepted by society as a form of "common truth."

Perceptions that women are incompetent, insufficiently assertive, or unfit for political leadership are continuously reproduced through everyday social interactions. This process occurs when limited experiences are transformed into social generalizations and transmitted across generations as a logic of political choice. Society does not merely evaluate female

candidates but actively reproduces meanings that disadvantage women in politics.

Drawing on Peter L. Berger's social construction framework, this stigma can be understood as the result of the externalization of patriarchal values, their objectification in the form of social stereotypes, and their internalization by individuals as taken-for-granted realities. Consequently, gender inequality in politics is no longer questioned but is instead accepted as a normal condition.

Money Politics as a Transactional Political Culture

Findings related to money politics, particularly from young voter informants, indicate that this practice cannot be understood merely as a form of economic pragmatism. From a cultural sociology perspective, money politics constitutes part of a transactional political culture that has become deeply rooted at the local level.

Within this political culture, elections are no longer interpreted as arenas for contesting values, ideas, and leadership capacity, but rather as spaces of symbolic exchange. Money functions not only as an economic instrument but also as a symbol of attention, proximity, and a candidate's seriousness toward voters.

The implications of this transactional political culture are particularly detrimental to women. Female candidates, who generally possess more limited economic capital, are culturally disqualified not because of a lack of vision or competence, but because they fail to meet the standards of local political culture. This money-based political culture reinforces gender inequality as it aligns with patriarchal structures and the dominance of male economic capital in politics.

Media, Framing, and the Construction of Gender Stigma

In addition to patriarchal culture and money politics, mass media and social media play a significant role in shaping public perceptions of women's electability. In political communication studies, this process is known as framing that is, the way media construct social reality to influence how the public understands political candidates.

Women in politics are frequently represented through personal attributes, feminine characteristics, or domestic roles rather than through leadership capacity, political track records, or policy visions. Such framing reinforces gender stigma and indirectly shapes

perceptions that women are less suitable for political leadership positions.

Media do not merely reflect social reality but actively participate in reproducing social meanings of leadership. When media consistently represent politics as a masculine domain, women's opportunities to gain public legitimacy become increasingly limited.

Interpersonal Communication and the Reinforcement of Electability Perceptions

Beyond the role of media, interpersonal communication at the community level exerts a significant influence on shaping political preferences. Everyday conversations within families, neighborhoods, and local communities serve as primary spaces for the reproduction of gender stereotypes.

Voter preferences, as reflected in the statements of informants Andono and Kiki, are not formed individually but emerge through small-group communication processes that reinforce gender bias. In this context, interpersonal communication functions as a social mechanism that affirms the belief that political leadership is more appropriate for men.

Through repeated social interactions, stigma against women continues to be reproduced and legitimized. This process demonstrates that women's electability is determined not only by structural factors or policy frameworks but also by the dynamics of social communication embedded in everyday life.

CONCLUSION

The decline in the electability of female DPRD members from seven in the 2019–2024 period to five in the 2024–2029 period confirms that the 30% quota alone is insufficient to guarantee women's representation. Although the number of women on the Permanent Candidate List (DCT) has increased, on-the-ground realities, including ballot number placement patterns, campaign resources, and public perception, hinder the effectiveness of formal quotas.

The externalization of patriotic norms is evident in Magelang Regency. Community leaders assert that politics is "a man's domain" and relegate women to the domestic sphere. This reinforces the perception that women are less agile and less suitable for holding

legislative positions.

At the objectification stage, the failures of one or two female DPRD members are treated as objective evidence of women's incompetence. Structural faults such as limited campaign funding and bureaucratic red tape are blamed on the candidate's gender, reinforcing the collective negative stigma.

Furthermore, the internalization of stereotypes is evident among both young and general voters. Generation Z views elections as a "money pit," and adults associate political capacity with debating skills, which are considered more masculine. This is also evidenced by voters' emphasis on patriotic culture.

As a result, political choices are more influenced by gender and financial incentives than by the candidate's vision, mission, and track record. Overall, the social reality in Magelang Regency demonstrates a cycle that perpetuates inequality: patriarchal norms are externalized, then objectified as "facts," and then internalized as rational voter criteria. Without systemic intervention, this pattern will continue to suppress women's opportunities to be elected and perform optimally in the legislature.

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