

SOCIAL CAPITAL AND FEMALE POLITICIANS' NETWORKING STRATEGIES IN THE 2024 INDONESIAN LEGISLATIVE ELECTIONS

CAPITAL SOCIAL E ESTRATÉGIAS DE NETWORKING DE POLÍTICAS NAS ELEIÇÕES LEGISLATIVAS DE 2024 NA INDONÉSIA

Article received on: 10/9/2025

Article accepted on: 1/9/2026

Sujatno*

*Universitas Negeri Surabaya, Surabaya, Indonesia
sujatnosujatno096@gmail.com

Sarmini*

*Universitas Negeri Surabaya, Surabaya, Indonesia
Orcid: <https://orcid.org/0000-0003-0388-9100>
sarmini@unesa.ac.id

Agus Suprijono*

*Universitas Negeri Surabaya, Surabaya, Indonesia
agussuprijono@unesa.ac.id

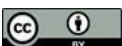
The authors declare that there is no conflict of interest

Abstract

Women's political representation serves as a crucial metric for assessing the quality of democracy and gender equality; nevertheless, in Indonesia, the percentage remains significantly below the ideal, despite the implementation of a 30% quota policy since 2004. This study intends to examine the networking tactics employed by female politicians to secure victory in the 2024 Legislative Election in Magetan Regency, East Java, a local environment that embodies the challenges of patriarchy, socio-religious dynamics, and transformations in digital communication. Employing a qualitative case study methodology, data were collected via in-depth interviews with female candidates, party representatives, and community supporters, with field observations, and subsequently analyzed using NVivo theme coding. The findings delineated four principal strategies: (1) establishing formal political networks via internal and external party coalitions; (2) cultivating community social networks through religious study groups, social events, and fitness groups; (3) leveraging gender-specific networks to gain access to women's communities and families; and (4) enhancing social media networks for tailored messaging, voter mobilization, and broadening cross-generational support. These four techniques cultivate social capital that empowers female candidates to surmount structural obstacles, broaden their

Resumo

A representação política das mulheres é um indicador crucial para avaliar a qualidade da democracia e a igualdade de gênero; no entanto, na Indonésia, a porcentagem permanece significativamente abaixo do ideal, apesar da implementação de uma política de cotas de 30% desde 2004. Este estudo pretende examinar as táticas de networking empregadas por mulheres políticas para garantir a vitória nas eleições legislativas de 2024 na Regência de Magetan, Java Oriental, um ambiente local que incorpora os desafios do patriarcado, a dinâmica sociorreligiosa e as transformações na comunicação digital. Empregando uma metodologia de estudo de caso qualitativo, os dados foram coletados por meio de entrevistas aprofundadas com candidatas, representantes partidárias e apoiadoras da comunidade, com observações de campo, e posteriormente analisados usando a codificação temática NVivo. Os resultados delinearam quatro estratégias principais: (1) estabelecer redes políticas formais por meio de coalizões partidárias internas e externas; (2) cultivar redes sociais comunitárias por meio de grupos de estudo religioso, eventos sociais e grupos de ginástica; (3) alavancar redes específicas de gênero para obter acesso às comunidades e famílias de mulheres; e (4) aprimorar as redes de mídia social para mensagens personalizadas, mobilização de eleitores e ampliação do apoio



electorate, and enhance political legitimacy. These findings highlight the necessity of combining affirmative action policies with capacity-building and digital literacy initiatives to facilitate the more inclusive adaptation of political networking techniques throughout Indonesia.

Keywords: Women's Politics. Political Networks. Social Media. Legislative Elections. Magetan.

intergeracional. Essas quatro técnicas cultivam capital social que capacita as candidatas a superar obstáculos estruturais, ampliar seu eleitorado e aumentar a legitimidade política. Essas descobertas destacam a necessidade de combinar políticas de ação afirmativa com iniciativas de capacitação e alfabetização digital para facilitar a adaptação mais inclusiva das técnicas de networking político em toda a Indonésia.

Palavras-chave: Política feminina. Redes políticas. Mídias sociais. Eleições legislativas. Magetan.

1 INTRODUCTION

The representation of women in parliament is a vital measure of gender equality and the overall integrity of democracy. In 2023, women occupy around 26.4% of seats in national parliaments globally, indicating a slow increase in political participation, but still significantly short of parity (Firdaus & Wulandari, 2023). The importance of women's political representation goes beyond statistics; it highlights their ability to impact legislation and policymaking, therefore promoting inclusivity and enhancing governance. Research consistently demonstrates that increased representation of women is associated with enhanced democratic processes and the implementation of policies that cater to the distinct needs of women and other marginalized groups, in accordance with Sustainable Development Goal 5 (SDG 5) on gender equality (Monati *et al.*, 2023).

Progress in the Southeast Asian region has been inconsistent. Despite implementing a 30% gender quota for parliamentary candidates, Indonesia's female parliamentary representation remains inferior to that of neighboring nations, with the Philippines and Vietnam reporting approximately 28% and 27%, respectively (Yüce & Çatalbaş, 2023). Enduring patriarchal frameworks, cultural conventions, and institutional obstacles persistently inhibit Indonesian women's political participation, constraining their capacity to impact essential socioeconomic policies. Furthermore, evidence indicates that female legislators are more inclined to emphasize social welfare, healthcare, and educational initiatives, thereby underscoring the extensive democratic and

developmental advantages of women's active engagement in politics (Monati *et al.*, 2023)(White *et al.*, 2023).

In this regional and global context, Indonesia's legislative elections serve as a crucial platform for improving women's political involvement and representation. Despite the implementation of affirmative policies establishing a 30% quota for female candidates since 2004, women's electoral performance continues to be constrained. Data from the Komisi Pemilihan Umum (KPU) indicate that in the 2019 election, women constituted merely 20.8% of national parliament members, a statistic well below the quota target (KPU, 2019). Comparable representation deficiencies are apparent in other democracies, including Nigeria and the United States (Ngwu *et al.*, 2022; Corbett *et al.*, 2022). The ongoing gaps indicate that official regulations are inadequate; effective techniques and grassroots initiatives, notably the development and utilization of political networks, are crucial for attaining significant and enduring gender equality in Indonesian politics.

Female politicians struggle with the quantity of candidacies and the quality of their political approaches, notably their ability to build strong social, political, and economic networks. Furthermore, gender-related obstacles hinder women's parliament involvement (Artaç & Oğurlu, 2023). Political networks can mobilize support, spread information, and consolidate grassroots strength for electoral victory. Women's political networks are often limited by patriarchal cultural pressures, poor finances, and exclusion from masculine political parties. The lack of women in the Indonesian parliament hinders legislative inclusion and sustainable development by failing to meet the needs of half the people (Oktavriana, 2022). Thus, increasing women's political engagement is necessary for gender equality and a complete, representative, and responsive governance framework that may drive to social and economic reforms.

These studies demonstrate the practical application of Bourdieu's and Putnam's (Pisani & Micheletti, 2020) social capital theories to the political participation and representation of women, emphasizing the strategic deployment of a variety of capital assets by female politicians to circumvent structural obstacles. For example, feminist activists in Taiwan generated social capital by employing confrontational strategies and political opportunities to promote gender mainstreaming (Hwang & Wu, 2019). In the Pacific Islands, women leaders leveraged symbolic capital to secure electoral victories (Spark *et al.*, 2019). Similarly, in Italy, women's advancement is hindered by persistent

gendered hierarchies within parties, despite their accumulation of capital (Bordandini & Mulè, 2021). This corpus of research emphasizes that social capital, which includes networks, trust, and resources, empowers women to challenge ingrained power dynamics, despite the fact that its efficacy varies depending on the cultural and institutional context.

Bourdieu emphasizes relational capital within social fields, while Putnam emphasizes civic engagement that fosters collective trust (Pisani & Micheletti, 2020). These concepts empower individuals in socio-political structures. Theoretically, political networks can be conceptualized in this vein. This framework frequently enables successful women politicians in elections to establish and maintain strategic alliances with political parties, local communities, religious figures, women's organizations, and social media platforms. This approach expands their support bases and generates the social legitimacy that is essential for electoral processes. This is corroborated by empirical evidence: quotas improve the overall capital of women and alter their social statuses, older women in Kyrgyzstan employ political capital as informal mediators (Satybaldieva, 2018), and Indonesian women candidates leverage social networks and gender issue ownership to overcome obstacles. In the end, gendered power structures persistently influence the functionality and outcomes of these networks in electoral arenas, despite the fact that social capital provides pathways for women's political empowerment.

It is essential to examine the networking strategies of female politicians, as elections are not merely a contest of ideas and programs, but also a conflict of networks and structures. This paper endeavors to identify the socio-political relationship patterns that contribute to the success of female politicians in the 2024 Legislative Elections, as well as the obstacles they encounter in a political environment that is still dominated by males, by analyzing the networking strategies they employ. This research is pertinent not only for the advancement of gender politics studies but also for the development of affirmative action policies that are more contextual and effective.

In summary, while numerous studies have emphasized the significance of social capital and political networks in enhancing women's representation, there is a dearth of comprehensive research that investigates the ways in which Indonesian female politicians, particularly those at the local level, such as those in Magetan Regency, use and design socio-political networks to win legislative elections (Artaç & Oğurlu, 2023). This divide is essential because Magetan's socio-cultural context, which is deeply rooted

in political dynamics and patriarchal traditions, can offer novel perspectives on the strategic adaptations of women in a region with a masculine power structure. Consequently, this investigation addresses the following research question: What are the factors that influence the effectiveness of the political network strategies that female legislators in Magetan Regency develop and implement in order to secure victory in the 2024 Legislative Elections? The research endeavors to elucidate the patterns of socio-political relations and the obstacles they encounter, as well as to expand the discourse on gender politics by establishing an empirical foundation for more contextual and impactful affirmative action policies in Indonesia.

2 LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 Women's political participation in elections

Women's representation is substantially affected by electoral systems, with candidate-focused systems resulting in an increase in women's representation. Diverse perspectives for legislative candidates are the consequence of quota policies for women's participation in elections (Sanjaume-Calvet *et al.*, 2023). These policies are essential for illustrating the representation of women in politics (Forman-Rabinovici & Nir, 2021). Clark & Kroska (2024) identify patriarchal culture, restrictive religious interpretations, and barriers as these obstacles. Consequently, the representation of women in parliament is contingent upon gender equality (Leung *et al.*, 2020; Artaç & Oğurlu, 2023). These studies underscore the necessity of more effective strategies to enhance the representation and participation of women in Indonesian elections.

Despite major hurdles, Indonesian female candidates have increasingly increased ahead of the 2024 elections. This contrasts with the 2019 elections. Indonesia's parliament has 20.5% female representation, indicating a slow but persistent increase in women's political engagement (Luca *et al.*, 2023). These quotas have increased women's political participation, but their effectiveness may depend on regional cultural and social conditions, which may hinder genuine political engagement. Given socioeconomic determinants, education and economic position are vital for improving women's political participation in urban and rural locations. Research shows that higher education increases

women's political participation (Lavizzari & Portos, 2022). However, the urban-rural divide means that urban women have more resources and opportunities than rural women, who often face cultural expectations and socioeconomic barriers that limit their political engagement (Lin & Trujillo, 2022). In Magetan, Indonesia, existing cultural norms and rising local governance issues impede women's political roles. Despite improvements, systemic inequities and social conceptions in Indonesian political landscapes require continual examination and effort to increase women's equity. The confluence of these factors shows this.

2.2 Social and political networks as electoral strategies

Electoral expansion is affected by political networks and social strategies (Silvester *et al.*, 2021). Social media is essential for the direct communication between candidates and electors during elections and for the dissemination of political information (Kofi Frimpong *et al.*, 2022; de-Oliveira *et al.*, 2022). Social media platforms have enabled political campaigns to adjust to the digital era (Rathje *et al.*, 2021). Politicians frequently engage in the development of their political image and identity in order to garner public support (Jost *et al.*, 2020). In order to address issues concerning political image and identity, it is necessary to establish platforms for dialogue among groups with varying political identities and to enhance comprehension of political issues. Social media has contributed to an increase in political engagement (Yang *et al.*, 2020; Bäck *et al.*, 2021). These strategies underscore the changing nature of political communication and campaigning in the digital era.

In understanding political mobilization through networks, Bourdieu and Putnam can help evaluate social capital, a key notion in political sociology. Bourdieu's social capital concept highlights that social network resources can affect an individual or group's political participation (Luca *et al.*, 2023). Putnam emphasizes civic participation, saying strong community networks promote participatory democracy (Lavizzari & Portos, 2022). This theoretical framework suggests that candidates' networks, including formal political affiliations and informal community bonds like cultural and religious networks, can influence election outcomes.

Community leaders and informal volunteers in these networks are crucial to electoral success. Community and religious leaders often connect candidates and voters through trust and influence (Cassidy, 2021). Disinformation campaigns, online harassment, and unequal access to digital platforms perpetuate gender inequalities, which can hinder female candidates' electoral efforts (Lin *et al.*, 2022). These concerns underscore the urgent need for policies to improve digital literacy, protect female political candidates, and promote more inclusive technology access (Medagbe *et al.*, 2023). Thus, social capital, network interplay, and important actor roles highlight the complexity of female political engagement and the unique problems of modern election situations.

2.3 Gender campaign strategy

Strategies that are gender-responsive in a variety of settings. The implementation of gender mainstreaming was found to be inadequate during the COVID-19 pandemic, with limited women's involvement in decision-making (Leung *et al.*, 2020). Regulations mandating 30% female representation on legislative candidate lists have been shown to increase women's participation in political campaigns through the use of gender-neutral language and inclusive symbols (Kettler, 2022). In order to improve their roles within the family and community, women's empowerment strategies incorporate economic, social, political, and legal domains (Sanjaume-Calvet *et al.*, 2023). Despite the fact that males continue to dominate high-level positions, gender remains a significant factor in leadership. Gender differences exist in leadership styles, with males emphasizing tasks and authority, while women are inclined to adopt a participatory and relationship-building approach (Spark *et al.*, 2019). These results underscore the ongoing necessity of gender-responsive strategies in all sectors to advance women's empowerment and equality.

Indonesian female politicians must blend "feminine" and "masculine" campaigning to appeal to diverse electorates. According to (Bauer, 2019), female politicians emphasize compassion while demonstrating leadership and authority. This dichotomy helps candidates get support but risks reinforcing misconceptions that could assist or hinder their campaigns, depending on culture. Javanese cultural norms, like those in Magetan, affect gender-based marketing success. Local values of modesty, respectability, and hierarchy can affect how candidates who cross genders are received

(Masykuroh, 2021). Political and Javanese values must be balanced in female candidates' public identities.

Because age, class, religion, and ethnicity strongly impact voters' perceptions and candidates' strategies, intersectionality complicates Indonesian female candidates' campaigns. Younger candidates may target tech-savvy voters on social media, while older candidates may emphasize traditional values (Bauer, 2019). Women from certain religious or ethnic groups may face unique challenges and opportunities that affect their marketing and demographic targeting. Understanding local cultural factors and intersectional terrain is essential for measuring gendered campaign techniques' efficacy in expanding female political representation in Indonesia.

This study, in accordance with the literature review provided above, establishes socio-political networks as the primary conceptual framework for comprehending the success of female politicians in the 2024 Legislative Election in Magetan. In addition to the electoral system and quota policies, the strength of social capital that is established through formal networks, such as political parties, and informal networks based on community, religion, and digital media also influences women's political participation (Kofi Frimpong *et al.*, 2022). Bourdieu's interpretation of social capital as a resource derived from network relations and Putnam's perspective on citizen engagement that fortifies participatory democracy serve as the analytical framework for investigating the methods by which female candidates garner support (Lavizzari & Portos, 2022). In contrast, gender-responsive campaign strategies necessitate that candidates maintain a balance between feminine and masculine imagery and account for intersectional factors, including age, class, and Javanese cultural identity, which are highly prevalent in Magetan. As a result, the conceptual framework of this research integrates three critical dimensions of women's political participation: the power and dynamics of socio-political networks, gender-based and digital campaign strategies, and the patterns, opportunities, and challenges that female politicians encounter in modern electoral contests.

3 METHOD

This investigation employs a qualitative phenomenological methodology (Mohajan, 2018), to investigate the experiences and viewpoints of female politicians in

the establishment of political networks during the 2024 Legislative Elections in Magetan Regency, East Java. Magetan is an agrarian region with competitive local political dynamics, as evidenced by the PKB's dominance over the PDIP in the 2024 Elections and the issue of women's empowerment. The research subjects were two active politicians who were selected through purposive sampling (Gill, 2020). The selection process was based on a minimum of five years of experience in political parties and representation from key parties, with the intention of capturing a diversity of perspectives. The investigation concentrates on the political networking strategies of women that are employed to secure electoral victories.

In-depth interviews, participant observation, and documentation with two informants were employed to collect data for this study (Miles *et al.*, 2018). The objective of the in-depth interviews was to investigate the communication strategies employed during the campaign process and the experiences of female politicians in establishing political networks. The actual activities of female politicians in the field were observed through participatory observation, without the researcher's direct involvement. The researcher directly observed a variety of events and interactions that transpired during the campaign process and the consolidation of political networks. The information collected for this study was sourced from both printed and electronic newspapers that were pertinent to the research topic.

Thematic analysis was employed in the data analysis process, with the assistance of NVivo 12, which iterative coding was employed to identify themes, including gender-based network formation and structural barriers (Lochmiller, 2021). Subsequently, political feminist theory was employed to interpret the findings. Method triangulation and member verification were implemented to guarantee credibility during the validation process.

4 RESULT AND DISCUSSIONS

4.1 Winning network strategy for female politicians in the legislative elections

In Magetan Regency, East Java, women won the 2024 parliamentary elections after a complex political process affected by local social, cultural, and structural variables.

Women won legislative elections by developing political, community, gender, and social media networks. Each finding is detailed below. Building political networks helps female politicians win. Field data shows that these networks are developed through a multi-layered process that incorporates formal and informal party and socio-political links. Political parties give structural legitimacy, but electoral success depends on the candidate's ability to manage party relationships. Based on interviews below.

"I'm happy with my other colleagues from the same party... they like us... we've had a successful team for a long time." (CLHW/RH/28-05-2025)

Party support alone isn't enough; we also diligently build relationships with other party cadres and community leaders to expand and solidify our network." (CLHW/AN/30-05-2025)

The interview results suggest that the primary approach for women to win legislative elections is to establish political networks. The success of female politicians in a variety of countries is significantly influenced by this approach to establishing political networks. In Indonesia, Islamic boarding school networks generate social capital that is converted into political influence, whereas in India, women's grassroots engagement, which is bolstered by affirmative action policies, fortifies their position within political parties (Anwar *et al.*, 2022; Goyal, 2024). Nevertheless, the gendered division of political labor in Argentina restricts women's access to political resources (Daby, 2020). In this context, the success of female politicians is significantly influenced by their capacity to establish effective networks, community support, and communication strategies that are tailored to local gender norms. Women may be more readily accepted by the public and may challenge male political dominance when this networking strategy is implemented in conjunction with meticulous political communication that strategically integrates masculine and feminine attributes during political campaigns (Bauer & Santia, 2021). This demonstrates that the success of women in political contestation is contingent upon their capacity to capture political space and form alliances through intelligent adaptation to social and cultural contexts, in addition to affirmative policies.

In addition to formal political networks, female politicians actively build community-based social networks. This strategy demonstrates their ability to infiltrate

informal social spaces, yet exert a significant influence on the formation of opinion and electoral loyalty. Data shows that women's communities, such as religious study groups (Koran), exercise groups, *dasawisma* (household associations), and social gatherings (*arisan*) are primary targets for building a support base. This approach is pursued not only through political communication but also through the provision of concrete assistance such as food for activities, art equipment, and support for socio-religious activities. This is consistent with the interview results below.

"The women are the attraction... We feed them, we provide them with *hadroh* instruments. We help with exercise and religious studies; we can all participate." (CLHW/RH/28-05-2025)

We try to be present at every activity, whether it's a social gathering or a small religious study group. We don't just provide assistance, but we also chat and participate in activities so they feel close and trust us." (CLHW/AN/30-05-2025)

The strategy of establishing social and community networks has been highly effective in attracting female legislators, particularly in politically challenging environments, as evidenced by the interview results. In Indonesia, research has demonstrated that female politicians who are based in Islamic boarding schools (*pesantren*) have successfully converted social capital into political capital by leveraging their networks, expanding their voter base beyond their core communities, and gaining elite support and female solidarity. This has enabled them to win elections in regions dominated by nationalist parties (Anwar *et al.*, 2022). In the digital realm, female politicians can enhance their visibility, establish trust, and fortify community engagement by utilizing social media platforms like Twitter and Instagram. However, they are hesitant to publicly disclose their campaign strategies (Prihatini, 2020).

In another study, it was noted that female politicians tend to generate more engagement and support on social media than their male counterparts, which makes digital platforms an essential instrument for extending networks and influence (Yarchi & Samuel-Azran, 2018). Additionally, the establishment of women's communities or constellations, both online and offline, offers moral support, facilitates the exchange of information, and fortifies the position of female legislators in the face of social and political obstacles (Pedersen, 2022). Therefore, the success of female legislators is

predicated on the strategic utilization of social media, women's communities, and traditional social networks.

Furthermore, gender identity plays a central role in the networking strategies of female politicians. In the culturally conservative context of Magetan, being a woman opens up certain social accesses, particularly to family-based, religious, and women-based communities. An informant explained:

"Women are more accepted into the community... But they have to be smart about managing their time, because they have to take care of the house too."
(CLHW/RH/28-05-2025)

The strategies employed by female politicians to establish successful political networks are significantly influenced by their gender, which frequently presents distinctive challenges and opportunities. Research indicates that women encounter structural obstacles in the political clientele. The gendered division of political labor and restricted access to resources limit the opportunities for female brokers to expand and maintain networks, which can impede their capacity to effectively recruit and mobilize supporters (Daby, 2020). Campaign strategies are also influenced by gender stereotypes. Female candidates frequently emphasize traits and issues that are consistent with traditional gender expectations, despite the fact that success may necessitate emphasizing "masculine" qualities, particularly in local elections where such traits are recognized as advantageous (Schneider, 2014; Bauer, 2018). Donor networks are influenced by partisanship and gender, with female Democratic candidates benefiting from gender proximity among donors, whereas Republican donor pools are less influenced by candidate gender (Thomsen & Swers, 2017). The implementation of gender quotas has resulted in an increase in the number of female candidates and elected officials. However, this has not necessarily translated into leadership positions, as a result of persistent local gender norms and higher frequencies of female resignation (Lassébie, 2020).

The credibility and effectiveness of female politicians' campaigns can be compromised by the objectification and scrutiny they are frequently subjected to due to their appearance (Sanghvi & and Hodges, 2015). Mixed results have been observed in attempts to motivate political ambition among women by exposing them to female role models, indicating that the content and context of such interventions are crucial (Foos &

Gilardi, 2020). In general, although gender-based strategies can assist female politicians in navigating the electoral landscape, it is still essential to overcome entrenched stereotypes and institutional barriers in order to establish robust and effective networks.

In conclusion, female politicians are using social media to gain popularity and develop public interactions. Instagram, WhatsApp, and Facebook are employed as one-way communication tools and interactive platforms to share legislative successes and performance in real time. They contact young voters, a crucial portion of today's voter base, and educate and teach them about political topics through entertaining and relevant content. Social media also lets female politicians exhibit their humanity, create trust, and demonstrate their responsiveness to the public, especially digitally active millennials and Gen Z.

"We post daily status updates about our activities, struggles, and achievements so people know we're working. We're getting to know them, especially those we've never met in person." (CLHW/RH/28-05-2025)

Based on the interview findings, the strategy of establishing social media-based networks to facilitate the success of women in legislative elections encompasses numerous critical components. First and foremost, the utilization of social media platforms can enhance public satisfaction and social participation, particularly when female candidates establish a sense of fairness and community on digital platforms. However, the impact of security and social interaction on this participation is not necessarily substantial (B. M & Suresh, 2023; Ongo Nkoa *et al.*, 2023). In an effort to challenge gender stereotypes and broaden their support base, female candidates also frequently employ social media to broaden their policy agenda beyond women's issues (Russell, 2021; Tsihla *et al.*, 2021). In addition to ignoring attacks from opposing groups, other effective strategies include forming local and international alliances, engaging public figures, and establishing networks with ideologically aligned social groups (Yüce & Çatalbaş, 2023).

In addition, by employing personalized, dialogic communication, and expressive visual content, women can enhance voter engagement (Tsihla *et al.*, 2021). Nevertheless, they must also be prepared to confront obstacles such as stereotypes regarding gender and assaults based on social norms or appearance that frequently occur

on social media (Bennett *et al.*, 2024; Tembo, 2024). Interestingly, the likelihood of being elected can be increased by engaging in women's issues and using assertive language on social media, despite the potential for verbal assaults (Mechkova & Wilson, 2021). It is also essential to guarantee that women have access to social media and information technology in order to enhance their political empowerment (Ongo Nkoa *et al.*, 2023). As a result, women's electoral strategies through social media must be inclusive, adaptive, and daring in their challenge of norms, while simultaneously establishing broad and robust networks.

The analysis of interviews with NVivo categorized the findings into four key networking strategies that supported victory in the 2024 legislative elections in Magetan. Each strategy demonstrates a different way female politicians leverage social capital to overcome cultural and structural barriers.

Table 1

Summary of Research Findings Analysis Results

Key Strategies	Subthemes/Codes	Sample Quotes	Meaning/Interpretation
Political Networks	- Formal & informal alliances	"I'm happy with my fellow party colleagues... we've had a successful team for a long time." (CLHW/RH/28-05-2025)	The foundation of legitimacy and structural support; the ability to maintain party relations determines electoral opportunities.
Community Social Networks	- Internal party negotiations	"The women are the attraction... we help with exercise, religious studies, and all of that." (CLHW/RH/28-05-2025)	Utilizing social gatherings (arisan), religious study groups, and exercise groups as spaces for electoral consolidation and public trust.
Gender-Based Networks	- Women's community base	"Women are more accepted into the community... But we have to manage our time wisely." (CLHW/RH/28-05-2025)	Gender identity opens access to family and religious networks, but requires adaptive strategies to address stereotypes.
Social Media Networks	- Social activity assistance	"We post daily status updates about our activities, struggles, and achievements so people know we're working." (CLHW/RH/28-05-2025)	Digital platforms expand reach, attract young voters, and challenge gender norms through real-time communication.

4.2 Actors involved in the victory of women's legislative elections

The female politicians interviewed have extensive experience in local political contests, most having been active since the 2014 elections. They view women's involvement not simply as a quota, but as a representation of the community's voice, a truly inclusive one. This is consistent with the interview results below.

"We're not just filling the 30% quota, but truly championing the people's aspirations. We instill this through our concrete work and social media posts so the public knows what we're doing in the Regional People's Representative Council." (CLHW/RH/28-05-2025)

"For me, sitting on the council isn't just a symbol of women in parliament, but also about ensuring that health and education programs for mothers and children are championed." (CLHW/AN/30-05-2025)

Despite the structural and cultural obstacles they encounter, the role of female party actors in securing legislative elections is essential. Although the effect of "gender affinity" has been demonstrated to be small but consistent across countries and elections, the participation of women as candidates or party leaders can increase female voter turnout (Ortega *et al.*, 2023). Women can enhance their influence and positions within parties by establishing networks and disseminating campaign resources to other party actors. This has been demonstrated to significantly increase their likelihood of securing legislative leadership positions (Kettler, 2022). Nevertheless, the "glass cliff" phenomenon frequently results in the placement of women in electoral districts with lower success rates. Consequently, winning strategies must take into account the character of the contest, rather than merely the number of female candidates (Robinson, Sarah *et al.*, 2021; Sarah L Robinson *et al.*, 2021). The impact of women's presence in strategic positions is also inconsistent across parties. For instance, progressive parties have a higher likelihood of success when there are more women candidates, whereas conservative parties are more influenced by the "winnability" of their constituency (Manento & Schenk, 2021). Additionally, the influence of female role models on the political engagement of other women can be either enhanced or diminished by the central role of parties in the candidate selection process (Castorena, 2023). In general, the success

of women in legislative elections is significantly influenced by a combination of internal party strategies, network support, and the ideological context and opportunity structure within each party.

At the same time, the endorsement of religious and community leaders is indispensable to the accomplishments of female politicians. Social and political legitimacy are facilitated by positive relationships with Nahdlatul Ulama (NU), Muhammadiyah, mosque/prayer room (musala) leaders, and other religious communities. This is in accordance with the interview that follows.

"If we can join the religious study community, hadroh, and Muslim women's groups, that's a huge draw. We help, we provide equipment, and that's a form of our concern." (CLHW/RH/28-05-2025)

In religiously dense areas, community and religious leaders help female legislative candidates succeed. Indonesian women's involvement in Muslimat and Fatayat Nahdlatul Ulama (NU) can provide grassroots support, social capital, and help female candidates overcome cultural and structural barriers, even without resources or political connections. Candidates can win money politics and clientelism-dominated elections by harnessing women's networks and addressing gender issues that matter to women (Mahsun *et al.*, 2021). In broader contexts like the US, research shows that a community's religiosity can lower women's chances of running and winning legislative elections, but "women-friendliness" still positively affects women's electability. Despite institutional and cultural barriers, community and religious leaders, particularly faith-based women's organizations, are essential for strengthening women's legislative representation (N. L. Pyeatt & Yanus, 2020; N. Pyeatt & Yanus, 2021). Women's communities also provide a solid social and political base. Exercise groups, social meetings (arisan), dasawisma (home gatherings), and religious study groups (pengajian) function as gathering places, habitual activities, and electoral consolidation spaces. Women can share information, strengthen social networks, and build solidarity in these groups. Through intensive and ongoing interaction, political or campaign messages can be more personally and convincingly conveyed, influencing their preferences and electoral participation.

"The women's community is strong, so we often participate in their activities. Otherwise, it's hard to get recognized. Women are easier to collaborate with once they feel close." (CLHW/RH/28-05-2025)

"We don't just attend once or twice, but regularly attend social gatherings (arisan) and religious study groups, even helping prepare events. From there, they feel like we're part of their group, and support naturally follows." (CLHW/AN/30-05-2025)

The legislative victories of women in the 2024 elections are significantly influenced by the female community's function as an electoral base. Research indicates that proportional electoral systems and gender quotas can enhance the representation of women; however, the effects are more apparent in proportional systems than in quotas themselves, which occasionally fail to significantly increase the number of young female legislators (Stockemer & Sundström, 2021; Kweon & Ryan, 2021). Additionally, political parties frequently emphasize gender-related policies to appeal to female voters. However, the relevance of the issues raised is crucial to the efficacy of mobilizing female communities, as there is a disparity between the actual needs of women and the political promises that are made (Sanders & Gains, 2024). Data from Indian elections also indicates that women's political participation is on the rise, and there is a propensity for women to establish autonomous constituencies that vote based on gender interests rather than merely on other identities, such as religion or class (Deshpande, 2024). Nevertheless, the level of competition and regional political structures also have an impact on the success of women in the legislature. The dominance of male elites makes it more challenging for women to obtain legislative access as the political authority of a region increases (Gushchina & Kaiser, 2021). In general, women's communities can serve as a substantial force in the legislative victories of women, provided that the issues they address are in accordance with their needs and are bolstered by an inclusive electoral system.

In accordance with this, informal loyalists and networks of volunteers are a concealed force that is instrumental in achieving victory. They frequently support a common cause by working selflessly and dedicating their time and energy. Their presence not only facilitates the dissemination of information and campaign resources, but also fortifies the collective spirit and solidarity on the ground. Volunteers and informal

loyalists are capable of communicating with the public in a more intimate and effective manner, as a result of their strong community base and close relationships. This facilitates the acceptance and belief of their messages. Additionally, they are at the forefront of creating a critical social dynamic, mobilizing the populace, and garnering support in the winning process. The success of a movement or campaign is frequently determined by the crucial foundation that their function, which is sometimes unseen formally, provides.

"We have fans. They're not an official team, but they always come along and help without being asked. They usually join us on their own during political moments." (Interview, 14:32)

"They join us out of trust, not money. Even after the election is over, they often still help with our social activities." (CLHW/AN/31-05-2025)

Volunteers and informal loyalists support candidates during the campaign and build long-term trust networks that promote legitimacy, legitimacy, and political support. Four themes emerged from NVivo interviews with key actors in Magetan's 2024 Women's Legislative Election triumph. This shows that female politicians' social capital comes from political parties, community-based social networks, religious leaders, and informal volunteers.

Table 2

Summary of Analysis Results of Findings on Winning Actors

Main Themes	Subthemes/Codes	Sample Quotes	Meaning/Interpretation
Female Party Actors	Long-term experience; substantive role	"We're not just filling the 30% quota, but truly fighting for the people's aspirations." (CLHW/RH/28-05-2025)	Women strengthen the party's internal position and promote substantive policies.
Community and Religious Figures	Socio-religious legitimacy support	"If we can get into the religious study community... that's a big draw." (CLHW/RH/28-05-2025)	They provide access to religious-based voters and strengthen social capital.
Women's Communities	Electoral consolidation; emotional closeness	"The women's community is strong... support comes naturally." (CLHW/AN/30-05-2025)	They serve as a space for intensive interaction that facilitates voter solidarity.
Volunteers & Informal Loyalists	Voluntary support; trust networks	"We have fans... they help without being asked." (Interview, 14:32)	They are field mobilizers who maintain long-term support and candidate legitimacy.

5 CONCLUSION

The results of this study indicate that the networking strategies of female politicians in the 2024 legislative elections in Magetan Regency are constructed through four primary layers: formal political networks, community social networks, gender-based networks, and social media networks. The amalgamation of these four elements generates robust social capital that can surmount structural, cultural, and patriarchal impediments, all while simultaneously broadening electoral support. The results underscore that the success of female politicians is contingent upon their capacity to strategically manage gender identity, utilize digital media, and establish cross-community alliances, in addition to their adherence to affirmative action policies. In order to ensure that women's representation is not restricted to numbers but is demonstrated in quality leadership, the government and political parties must establish community-based initiatives that enhance women's political capacity and digital literacy. Additionally, they must review quota policies to incorporate tangible support into the recruitment and mentoring processes.

REFERENCES

- Anwar, M. Z., Imam, K., Hadziq, A., Akmaliah, W., & Sunesti, Y. (2022). Women Politicians Based on Pesantren in Nationalist Based Voters in Indonesia. In *Al-A'raf: Jurnal Pemikiran Islam dan Filsafat* (Vol. 19, Issue 1). <https://doi.org/10.22515/ajpif.v19i1.5264>
- Artaç, N. H., & Oğurlu, E. (2023). A qualitative study on the attitudes of women politicians toward their roles in politics: a case of Northern Cyprus. *Frontiers in Psychology, 14*. <https://doi.org/10.3389/fpsyg.2023.1304905>
- B. M, D., & Suresh, K. (2023). Social Media-Enabled Sustainable Communities: A Case of Indian Elected Women Representatives (EWRs). *Sustainability (Switzerland), 15*(15). <https://doi.org/10.3390/su151511485>
- Bäck, H., Renström, E. A., & Sivén, D. (2021). The Social Network: How Friends' Online Behavior and Belongingness Needs Influence Political Activity. *Policy and Internet, 13*(2), 209–232. <https://doi.org/10.1002/poi3.240>
- Bauer. (2019). A Feminine Advantage? Delineating the Effects of Feminine Trait and Feminine Issue Messages on Evaluations of Female Candidates. *Politics & Gender, 16*(3), 660–680. <https://doi.org/10.1017/s1743923x19000084>
- Bauer, Nichole M. (2018). Running Local: Gender Stereotyping and Female Candidates

- in Local Elections. *Urban Affairs Review*, 56(1), 96–123. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1078087418770807>
- Bauer, Nichole M, & Santia, Martina. (2021). Going Feminine: Identifying How and When Female Candidates Emphasize Feminine and Masculine Traits on the Campaign Trail. *Political Research Quarterly*, 75(3), 691–705. <https://doi.org/10.1177/10659129211020257>
- Bennett, A. M., Connor, R. A., Bryant, M. M., & Metzger, S. M. (2024). What is she wearing and how does he lead?: An examination of gendered stereotypes in the public discourse around women political candidates. *Technological Forecasting and Social Change*, 205, 123454. <https://doi.org/https://doi.org/10.1016/j.techfore.2024.123454>
- Bordandini, P., & Mulè, R. (2021). Varieties of capital and gender party office in Italy. *Modern Italy*, 26(1), 79–98. <https://doi.org/10.1017/mit.2020.76>
- Cassidy, R. (2021). *Attitudes Towards Digital Health Technology: Introducing the Digital Health Scale*. <https://doi.org/10.1101/2021.09.03.21262482>
- Castorena, O. (2023). Female Officeholders and Women's Political Engagement: The Role of Parties. *Political Behavior*, 45(4), 1609–1631. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s11109-021-09765-z>
- Clark, R., & Kroska, A. (2024). Free to represent you and me: Gender attitudes and women's share of parliament, 1995–2021. *Social Science Research*, 122, 103051. <https://doi.org/https://doi.org/10.1016/j.ssresearch.2024.103051>
- Corbett, C., Voelkel, J. G., Cooper, M., & Willer, R. (2022). Pragmatic bias impedes women's access to political leadership. *Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences of the United States of America*, 119(6). <https://doi.org/10.1073/pnas.2112616119>
- Daby, Mariela. (2020). The Gender Gap in Political Clientelism: Problem-Solving Networks and the Division of Political Work in Argentina. *Comparative Political Studies*, 54(2), 215–244. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0010414020926194>
- de-Oliveira, M., de Almeida, C. M., & Mainardes, E. W. (2022). Politics and social media: an analysis of factors antecedent voting intention. *International Review on Public and Nonprofit Marketing*, 19(2), 309–332. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s12208-021-00301-7>
- Deshpande, Rajeshwari. (2024). Shaping of the Woman Constituency in Indian Elections: Evidence from the NES Data. *Studies in Indian Politics*, 12(2), 303–317. <https://doi.org/10.1177/23210230241293562>
- Firdaus, F., & Wulandari, R. A. (2023). Implications of Low Women's Representation: Strategies and Challenges Towards Gender Equality in Indonesian Politics. *Indonesian Journal of Religion and Society*, 5(2), 138–153. <https://doi.org/10.36256/ijrs.v5i2.383>

- Foos, F., & Gilardi, F. (2020). Does Exposure to Gender Role Models Increase Women's Political Ambition? A Field Experiment with Politicians. *Journal of Experimental Political Science*, 7(3), 157–166. <https://doi.org/DOI: 10.1017/XPS.2019.21>
- Forman-Rabinovici, A., & Nir, L. (2021). Personalism or party platform? Gender quotas and women's representation under different electoral system orientations. *PLoS ONE*, 16(9 September), 1–14. <https://doi.org/10.1371/journal.pone.0257665>
- Gill, S. L. (2020). Qualitative Sampling Methods. *Journal of Human Lactation*, 36(4). <https://doi.org/10.1177/0890334420949218>
- Goyal, T. (2024). Local political representation as a pathway to power: A natural experiment in India. *American Journal of Political Science*. <https://doi.org/10.1111/ajps.12840>
- Gushchina, K., & Kaiser, A. (2021). Multilevel governance and women's legislative representation. *European Journal of Political Research*, 60(4), 934–953. <https://doi.org/10.1111/1475-6765.12431>
- Hwang, S., & Wu, W. (2019). Social capital and feminist power: promoting gender mainstreaming in Taiwan. *International Feminist Journal of Politics*, 21(5), 724–745. <https://doi.org/10.1080/14616742.2019.1606724>
- Jost, P., Maurer, M., & Hassler, J. (2020). Populism Fuels Love and Anger: The Impact of Message Features on Users' Reactions on Facebook. *International Journal of Communication*, 14, 2081–2102.
- Kettler, J. J. (2022). Buying their way in: Redistribution of campaign resources as a path to state legislative leadership for women. *Social Science Journal*, 59(3), 341–356. <https://doi.org/10.1080/03623319.2020.1727219>
- Kofi Frimpong, A. N., Li, P., Nyame, G., & Hossin, M. A. (2022). The Impact of Social Media Political Activists on Voting Patterns. In *Political Behavior* (Vol. 44, Issue 2). Springer US. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s11109-020-09632-3>
- Kweon, Yesola, & Ryan, Josh M. (2021). Electoral Systems and the Substantive Representation of Marginalized Groups: Evidence from Women's Issue Bills in South Korea. *Political Research Quarterly*, 75(4), 1065–1078. <https://doi.org/10.1177/10659129211028290>
- Lassébie, J. (2020). Gender quotas and the selection of local politicians: Evidence from French municipal elections. *European Journal of Political Economy*, 62, 101842. <https://doi.org/https://doi.org/10.1016/j.ejpoleco.2019.101842>
- Lavizzari, A., & Portos, M. (2022). Urban Rebels? A Gendered Approach to Domicile and Protest Participation in Nine European Countries. *Sociology*, 57(5), 1078–1100. <https://doi.org/10.1177/00380385221129945>
- Leung, T. Y., Sharma, P., Adithipyangkul, P., & Hosie, P. (2020). Gender equity and

- public health outcomes: The COVID-19 experience. *Journal of Business Research*, 116, 193–198. <https://doi.org/https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jbusres.2020.05.031>
- Lin, J., & Trujillo, K. L. (2022). Urban-Rural Differences in Non-Voting Political Behaviors. *Political Research Quarterly*, 76(2), 851–868. <https://doi.org/10.1177/10659129221119195>
- Lin, Jung, I., & Sharma, A. (2022). The Impact of Culture on Small Tourism Businesses' Access to Finance: The Moderating Role of Gender Inequality. *Journal of Sustainable Tourism*, 32(3), 480–499. <https://doi.org/10.1080/09669582.2022.2130337>
- Lochmiller, C. R. (2021). Conducting thematic analysis with qualitative data. *Qualitative Report*, 26(6). <https://doi.org/10.46743/2160-3715/2021.5008>
- Luca, D., Terrero-Dávila, J., Stein, J., & Lee, N. (2023). Progressive Cities: Urban–rural Polarisation of Social Values and Economic Development Around the World. *Urban Studies*, 60(12), 2329–2350. <https://doi.org/10.1177/00420980221148388>
- Mahsun, M., Elizabeth, M. Z., & Mufrikhah, S. (2021). Female Candidates, Islamic Women's Organisations, and Clientelism in the 2019 Indonesian Elections. *Journal of Current Southeast Asian Affairs*, 40(1), 73–92. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1868103420988729>
- Manento, C., & Schenk, M. (2021). Role Models or Partisan Models? The Effect of Prominent Women Officeholders. *State Politics & Policy Quarterly*, 21(3), 221–242. <https://doi.org/DOI: 10.1017/spq.2020.3>
- Masykuroh, Q. (2021). A Study on Javanese Learners of English and Compliment Response Strategies. *Proceedings of the 1st International Seminar on Teacher Training and Education, ISTED 2021, 17-18 July 2021, Purwokerto, Indonesia*. <https://doi.org/10.4108/eai.17-7-2021.2312397>
- Mechkova, V., & Wilson, S. L. (2021). Norms and rage: Gender and social media in the 2018 U.S. mid-term elections. *Electoral Studies*, 69, 102268. <https://doi.org/https://doi.org/10.1016/j.electstud.2020.102268>
- Medagbe, F. M. K., Floquet, A., Mongbo, R., Aoudji, A. K. N., Mujawamariya, G., & Adjovi, N. R. A. (2023). Gender and Access to Complex and Gender-Biased Agricultural Technology Information and Knowledge: Evidence From Smart-Valleys in West Africa. *Outlook on Agriculture*, 52(1), 22–33. <https://doi.org/10.1177/00307270221150659>
- Miles, M. B., Huberman, A. M., & Saldaña, J. (2018). *Qualitative data analysis: A methods sourcebook*. Sage publications.
- Mohajan, H. K. (2018). Qualitative research methodology in social sciences and related subjects. *Journal of Economic Development, Environment and People*, 7(1). <https://doi.org/10.26458/jedep.v7i1.571>

- Monati, R., Oktavia, E. M., & Sa'dillah, S. A. (2023). Evaluation of the Zipper System in Efforts to Increase Women's Representation to 30 Percent in Parliament. *Jurnal Bina Praja*, 15(3), 581–592. <https://doi.org/10.21787/jbp.15.2023.581-592>
- Ngwu, C. N., Anthony Obinna, I., Legbel, O., Brian, E., Christian, I., Agnes, O., Ngozi, U., Chikwado, E., & Rahman, F. N. (2022). Socio-demographic predictors of gendered political participation and implications for social work practice in Enugu State, Nigeria. *Cogent Social Sciences*, 8(1), 2069907. <https://doi.org/10.1080/23311886.2022.2069907>
- Oktavriana, D. R. (2022). Women's Political Rights Context in Gender and Human Rights Perspective. *International Journal of Islamic Thought and Humanities*, 1(1), 51–65. <https://doi.org/10.54298/ijth.v1i1.15>
- Ongo Nkoa, B. E., Ondoua Beyene, B., Ngo Nsoa Simb, J. F., & Ngnouwal Eloundou, G. (2023). Does social media improve women's political empowerment in Africa? *Telecommunications Policy*, 47(9), 102624. <https://doi.org/https://doi.org/10.1016/j.telpol.2023.102624>
- Ortega, Carmen, Recuero, Fátima, & Oñate, Pablo. (2023). Gender affinity effects between female voters and women leaders in parliamentary elections: Cross-national evidence (1996-2016). *Party Politics*, 31(2), 335–350. <https://doi.org/10.1177/13540688231221124>
- Pedersen, S. (2022). 'They've Got an Absolute Army of Women Behind Them': the Formation of a Women's Cooperative Constellation in Contemporary Scotland. *Scottish Affairs*, 31(2), 1–20. <https://doi.org/10.3366/scot.2022.0394>
- Pisani, E., & Micheletti, S. (2020). Social capital and rural development research in Chile. A qualitative review and quantitative analysis based on academic articles. *Journal of Rural Studies*, 80, 101–122. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jrurstud.2020.08.002>
- Prihatini, E. S. (2020). Women and social media during legislative elections in Indonesia. *Women's Studies International Forum*, 83, 102417. <https://doi.org/https://doi.org/10.1016/j.wsif.2020.102417>
- Pyeatt, N., & Yanus, A. B. (2021). Gender, Entry, and Victory in State Legislative Primary Elections. *Journal of Women, Politics & Policy*, 42(4), 352–368. <https://doi.org/10.1080/1554477X.2021.1958667>
- Pyeatt, N. L., & Yanus, A. B. (2020). Religious Adherence, Women-Friendliness, and Representation in American State Legislatures. *Politics and Religion*, 13(2), 217–244. <https://doi.org/DOI: 10.1017/S1755048319000476>
- Rathje, S., Van Bavel, J. J., & van der Linden, S. (2021). Out-group animosity drives engagement on social media. *Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences of the United States of America*, 118(26). <https://doi.org/10.1073/pnas.2024292118>
- Robinson, Sarah L, Kulich, Clara, Aelenei, Cristina, & Iacoviello, Vincenzo. (2021).

- Political Ideology Modifies the Effect of Glass Cliff Candidacies on Election Outcomes for Women in American State Legislative Races (2011–2016). *Psychology of Women Quarterly*, 45(2), 155–177. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0361684321992046>
- Robinson, S. L., Kulich, C., Aelenei, C., & Lacobiello, V. (2021). Practitioner's Digest. *Psychology of Women Quarterly*, 45(2), NP1–NP6. <https://doi.org/10.1177/03616843211018033>
- Russell, A. (2021). Gendered Priorities? Policy Communication in the U.S. Senate. *Congress & the Presidency*, 48(3), 319–342. <https://doi.org/10.1080/07343469.2020.1841336>
- Sanders, A., & Gains, F. (2024). Weaponizing women and gender: Party appeals to women voters ahead of the 2024 UK general election. *Parliamentary Affairs*, February, 686–712. <https://doi.org/10.1093/pa/gsae021>
- Sanghvi, M., & and Hodges, N. (2015). Marketing the female politician: an exploration of gender and appearance. *Journal of Marketing Management*, 31(15–16), 1676–1694. <https://doi.org/10.1080/0267257X.2015.1074093>
- Sanjaume-Calvet, M., Vallbé, J.-J., & Muñoz-Puig, M. (2023). Can women take the floor in parliament? Evidence from the Spanish lower chamber. *Women's Studies International Forum*, 97, 102694. <https://doi.org/https://doi.org/10.1016/j.wsif.2023.102694>
- Satybaldieva, E. (2018). A mob for hire? Unpacking older women's political activism in Kyrgyzstan. *Central Asian Survey*, 37(2), 247–264. <https://doi.org/10.1080/02634937.2018.1424114>
- Schneider, M. C. (2014). Gender-Based Strategies on Candidate Websites. *Journal of Political Marketing*, 13(4), 264–290. <https://doi.org/10.1080/15377857.2014.958373>
- Silvester, J., Wyatt, M., Ellen III, B. P., & Ferris, G. R. (2021). Candidate Effects on Election Outcomes: Political Skill, Campaign Efficacy, and Intentions in a British General Election. *Applied Psychology*, 70(4), 1628–1668. <https://doi.org/https://doi.org/10.1111/apps.12292>
- Spark, C., Cox, J., & Corbett, J. (2019). Gender, political representation and symbolic capital: how some women politicians succeed. *Third World Quarterly*, 40(7), 1227–1245. <https://doi.org/10.1080/01436597.2019.1604132>
- Stockemer, D., & Sundström, A. (2021). Quotas, the Electoral System Type and the Election of Young Women. *Social Politics: International Studies in Gender, State & Society*, 28(4), 1025–1045. <https://doi.org/10.1093/sp/jxaa006>
- Tembo, N. M. (2024). Women, political violence, and the production of fear in Malawian social media texts. *International Feminist Journal of Politics*, 26(1), 81–99. <https://doi.org/10.1080/14616742.2023.2298217>

- Thomsen, Danielle M, & Swers, Michele L. (2017). Which Women Can Run? Gender, Partisanship, and Candidate Donor Networks. *Political Research Quarterly*, 70(2), 449–463. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1065912917698044>
- Tsichla, Eirini, Lappas, Georgios, Triantafillidou, Amalia, & Klefodimos, Alexandros. (2021). Gender differences in politicians' Facebook campaigns: Campaign practices, campaign issues and voter engagement. *New Media & Society*, 25(11), 2918–2938. <https://doi.org/10.1177/14614448211036405>
- White, S., Warburton, E., Pramashavira, Hendrawan, A., & Aspinall, E. (2023). Voting Against Women: Political Patriarchy, Islam, and Representation in Indonesia. *Politics & Gender*, 20(2), 391–421. <https://doi.org/10.1017/s1743923x23000648>
- Yang, H., Paul, N., & DeHart, J. L. (2020). Social Media Uses, Political and Civic Participation in U.S. Election 2016. *The Journal of Social Media in Society Fall*, 2020(2), 275–305.
- Yarchi, M., & Samuel-Azran, T. (2018). Women politicians are more engaging: male versus female politicians' ability to generate users' engagement on social media during an election campaign. *Information, Communication & Society*, 21(7), 978–995. <https://doi.org/10.1080/1369118X.2018.1439985>
- Yüce, Ö. D., & Çatalbaş, D. (2023). Fighting against Patriarchy with Tweets and Hashtags: Social Media Activism of the Women's Movement and Reactionary Counterpublics. *South Atlantic Quarterly*, 122(4), 763–778. <https://doi.org/10.1215/00382876-10779442>

Authors' Contribution

All authors contributed equally to the development of this article.

Data availability

All datasets relevant to this study's findings are fully available within the article.

How to cite this article (APA)

Sujatno, Sarmini, & Suprijono, A. SOCIAL CAPITAL AND FEMALE POLITICIANS' NETWORKING STRATEGIES IN THE 2024 INDONESIAN LEGISLATIVE ELECTIONS. *Veredas Do Direito*, e233188. <https://doi.org/10.18623/rvd.v23.n4.3188>