

consent in decision-making. The economic capital owned by Minang Women due to inheritance issues places women in a strong position in the social environment. This makes Minang Women strongly believe in occupying strategic positions in the public sphere (p. 52). Meanwhile, there are three dialectic dimensions in Minang women's understanding of politics. The importance of politics for the Minang women lies in the three views of Sri Zul Chairiyah (2020): *First*, Minang women see politics as equal to power, and women must have the courage to gain that power (Elfira, 2016). *Second*, the political understanding of Minang women is influenced by their experiences in social or political organizations and the work environment. And *third*, the contribution of matrilineal culture to women politicians. This political understanding ideally benefits Minang women in homogeneity society that follows a matrilineal system.

In Padang, the homogeneity of the population with the majority coming from the Minangkabau ethnicity can be seen in the following table:

Table 1.
Padang City Population According to Ethnic Groups

| NO | Ethnic Groups | Amount | % |
|--------------|------------------|-----------------|------------|
| 1 | Minangkabau | 756.408 | 92,40 |
| 2 | Jawa | 24.675 | 3,01 |
| 3 | Cina | 8.769 | 1,07 |
| 4 | Nias | 8.531 | 1,04 |
| 5 | Melayu | 7.744 | 0,95 |
| 6 | Batak Mandailing | 4.584 | 0,56 |
| 7 | Sunda | 2.574 | 0,31 |
| 8 | Batak Tapanuli | 2.231 | 0,28 |
| 9 | Batak Toba | 2.216 | 0,27 |
| 10 | Mentawai | 864 | 0,11 |
| TOTAL | | 818.596* | 100 |

Note : This number includes non-permanent residents (homeless, seafarers, houseboats and commuters).
*Amounts recorded by BPS in the 2010 Population Census. As of the 2020 census, this data is not available.

This is because the Covid-19 pandemic has limited the number of questions on the BPS questionnaire.

Source : (BPS Sumatera Barat, 2011) and based on the author's chat with the BPS operator of the Province of West Sumatra on November 10, 2021.

From table 1, the population of Padang City based on the 2010 population census comes from the Minangkabau tribe, namely 756,408 people or 92.4% of the 818,596 people recorded by BPS. While other ethnic groups are only in small numbers, namely Javanese 3.01%, Chinese 1.07%, Nias 1.04%, Malay 0.97%, Batak Mandailing 0.56%, Sundanese 0.31%, Batak Tapanuli 0, 27%, Batak Toba 0.27% and Mentawai tribe 0.11%. This shows that the majority of the population of Padang City applies a matrilineal kinship system and places women in strategic positions in decision-making within their families. Based on this, it can be assumed that the residents of Padang City, in particular, have no problem when they have to participate in the legislative body, a political institution with roles and duties in making political decisions on behalf of society. However, this raises the question of women's political representation in the legislature in a homogeneous society, when the national representation of women in the legislature is less than 30%, the critical limit for women's political representation. The same problem also occurs in Padang City.

This study uses the concept of political representation presented by Hanna Fenichel Pitkin (1967 in Soeseno, 2013), who sees political representation in four forms. Namely: *First*, formal representation. Formal representation is defined as institutional management carried out before representation and which initiates its formation. *Second*, descriptive representation. This descriptive representation is based on the similarity between representatives and their voters (or between those who elect and

those who are elected). In this representation, the representative does not act for other people, but on his behalf, so the representative presents something by reflecting the similarity with the person represented. *Third*, symbolic representation. Symbolic representation is how a representative 'stands for' - defends - his constituents. *Fourth* is substantive representation. Substantive representation is also known as "acting for" representation is a concept that indicates the activities carried out by a representative are done so on behalf of or for the interests of the representative. This Pitkin concept was chosen because it is a simple concept in explaining political representation. In the next research on women's politics, the general concept of Pitkin was followed by Anne Phillips in looking at women's representation in particular.

The concept of representation by Anne Phillips (1995) is categorized into two concepts of political representation, namely politics of idea and politics of presence. Political representatives bring different ideas from the people they represent but are minimal in representations (Budiatri, 2011). From the theory of Phillips, political representation in Indonesia is more in the form of politics of ideas than politics of presence. This can be seen from the implementation of the electoral system through political parties so that voters only vote based on parties without knowing the background of their representatives. This condition makes legislative members become party representatives instead of representatives of the people so that they tend to convey the interests of certain communities or political parties (p. 1-7). According to Phillips (1995), this will impact the disadvantages of minority groups such as women's groups. This factor makes Phillips put forward the form of politics of presence as an ideal concept in political representation because the interests of marginalized groups such as women, for

example, can only be channeled when members are involved in the legislature (Budiatri, 2011).

With the concept of descriptive representation or the politics of women's presence in the legislature, this paper specifically aims to answer research questions about how women are elected in the Regional People's Representative Council of Padang City in a homogeneous society with an absolute majority being the Minangkabau tribe? Does the homogeneity of the people of Padang City affect the electability of women in the legislative body, and why? It is important to know what women's political representation looks like in a homogeneous society like Minangkabau, who practice matrilineal culture in everyday life that positions women as decision-makers within the community.

Methods

Based on research questions, to describe the data and facts obtained in the field and to describe the political representation of women's electability in the Regional People's Representative Council of Padang City, this research uses a qualitative approach with a case study method. According to Sugiono (2019), qualitative research is done when the research problem is not clear. An understanding of the meaning and truth of data and social interactions can be gained through qualitative research. Meanwhile, a case study is a research strategy in which the researcher carefully investigates a program, event, activity, process, or group of individuals. Cases are limited by time and activity, and researchers collect complete information using various data collection procedures based on a predetermined time (Yin, 2005). In this case, what is being studied is the political representation of women legislative members in the Regional People's Representative Council of Padang City, especially the results of the 2014 and 2019 elections. The data collected was then

analyzed descriptively to provide an overview of women's electability in the Padang City legislature so that conclusions were obtained about the political representation of women in a homogeneous society such as Minangkabau.

Furthermore, this study was chosen because it is a more suitable strategy when the main research question is how or why, if the researcher has little opportunity to control the events to be investigated, and when the focus of the research lies on contemporary phenomena in the context of real life. Based on the type of case study presented by Robert K. Yin (Yin, 2005), this study uses a case study with a descriptive type, namely by providing an in-depth or more detailed description of certain cases (p. 20).

Results

The KPU of Padang City held the 2014 General Election in Padang City with the same provisions as another regency/city KPUs in Indonesia. With a population of 927,168 Padang City, based on Law Number 8 of 2012 article 26 paragraph (2) letter f, the number of seats up for grabs for the Regional People's Representative Council of Padang City is 45 seats. The General Election Commission of Padang City, in the implementation stages of the 2014 Election, also determines the voter lists for each district. Of the 876,678 inhabitants of Padang City in 2013, only 630,827 were appointed as voters in Padang, or 71.96% of the total population of Padang City. This number does not include those recorded in the special voter list of 3,880 people. The final voter list (DPT) can be seen in the following table 2.

From table 2 above, it is known that the number of voters in Padang City during the 2014 Election was 630,827 people. This means that 71.96% of the total 876,678 inhabitants of Padang City are registered as permanent voters. Of the 630,827 people registered in the DPT, 316,629 people, or 50.19%, were women voters. Comparing the number of women

Table 2.
Padang City Permanent Voters List in the 2014 Election

| No | Districts | Number of Voters | | TOTAL |
|--------------------|---------------------|------------------|----------------|----------------|
| | | Male | Female | |
| 1 | South Padang | 21.489 | 21.661 | 43.150 |
| 2 | East Padang Timur | 30.868 | 31.037 | 61.905 |
| 3 | West Padang | 17.328 | 17.502 | 34.830 |
| 4 | North Padang | 20.170 | 21.690 | 42.400 |
| 5 | Bungus Teluk Kabung | 9.435 | 9.103 | 18.538 |
| 6 | Lubuk Begalung | 39.455 | 39.999 | 79.454 |
| 7 | Lubuk Kilangan | 17.566 | 17.703 | 35.269 |
| 8 | Pauh | 20.014 | 20.217 | 40.231 |
| 9 | Kuranji | 52.877 | 51.553 | 104.430 |
| 10 | Nanggalo | 20.927 | 22.593 | 43.520 |
| 11 | Koto Tangah | 63.529 | 63.571 | 127.100 |
| PADANG CITY | | 314.198 | 316.629 | 630.827 |

Source: (KPU Padang City, 2014).

voters to male voters from 11 sub-districts in Padang City, 8 sub-districts had more women voters than men with Koto Tangah Subdistrict, which had the most women voters. Meanwhile, 3 sub-districts whose male voters were more than women voters were Bungus Teluk Kabung and Lubuk Kilangan Sub-districts in electoral district 3 and Kuranji District in electoral 2.

Now onto looking at the permanent voters based on the electoral districts in the 2014 Election. It is known that electoral district 2 has the largest number of permanent voters compared to other electoral districts, namely 144,661 people or 22.93% of the total permanent voters. This means that from the total population of Pauh and Kuranji Subdistricts who became electoral districts 2, there were 72.1% who became permanent voters in the 2014 Election. South and East Padang, namely 76.37% followed by electoral 1 (Koto Tangah Subdistrict) at 72.81%.

Meanwhile, the implementation of elections in the nomination process is carried out based on the provisions of Law no. 8 of 2012 articles 52-57. Each internal political party conducts a democratic and open selection of candidate candidates according to the

requirements stipulated by Law no. 8 of 2012 article 51 and political party internal regulations. Candidates for the Regency/City Regional People's Representative Council are determined by the political parties participating in the district/city level elections provided that they contain at most 100% of the number of seats in each electoral district. This means that from 12 political parties participating in the 2014 General Election, the Regional Representative Council of Padang City must arrange a maximum of 45 people divided for each electoral district of each political party in the list of prospective candidates arranged by serial number.

The composition of the prospective legislative candidates must also fulfill a 30% representation of women, provided that for every three candidates, there is a minimum of one woman. After the candidate list, candidates are compiled by political parties and then

submitted to the General Election Commission. The General Election Commission conducts administrative verification of the prospective candidate from each political party. This includes verification of the fulfillment of the number of prospective candidates at least 30% women representation. If the political parties do not fulfill the requirement of 30% women representation, the General Election Commission then allows the political parties to improve the list of candidate candidates.

The list of candidates compiled by the party and then determined by the General Election Commission is known as the Permanent Candidate List (DCT) for the election of the Padang City Regional People's Representative Council members. It is known that the number of political party candidates in the 2014 Election is as follows:

From table 3 above, it can be seen that the total legislative candidates for the Regional

Table 3.
Number of Political Party Legislative Candidates for the Regional Representative Council of Padang City in the 2014 Election

| No | Political Parties | TC | Quota for Women Filled by Political Parties based on Total Number of Legislative Candidates | | | | Quota for Women Followed by Political Parties based on Election Areas | | |
|--------------|-------------------|------------|---|-------------|------------|-------------|---|------|-----|
| | | | MC | % | FC | % | ED | QWED | % |
| 1 | NasDem | 45 | 30 | 66,7 | 15 | 33,3 | 5 | 5 | 100 |
| 2 | PKB | 45 | 30 | 66,7 | 15 | 33,3 | 5 | 5 | 100 |
| 3 | PKS | 45 | 30 | 66,7 | 15 | 33,3 | 5 | 5 | 100 |
| 4 | PDI-P | 44 | 27 | 61,4 | 17 | 38,6 | 5 | 5 | 100 |
| 5 | Golkar | 44 | 28 | 63,6 | 16 | 36,4 | 5 | 5 | 100 |
| 6 | Gerindra | 45 | 30 | 66,7 | 15 | 33,3 | 5 | 5 | 100 |
| 7 | Demokrat | 45 | 30 | 66,7 | 15 | 33,3 | 5 | 5 | 100 |
| 8 | PAN | 45 | 30 | 66,7 | 15 | 33,3 | 5 | 5 | 100 |
| 9 | PPP | 44 | 29 | 65,9 | 15 | 34,1 | 5 | 5 | 100 |
| 9 | PPP | 44 | 29 | 65,9 | 15 | 34,1 | 5 | 5 | 100 |
| 10 | Hanura | 45 | 31 | 66,7 | 14 | 31,1 | 5 | 4 | 80 |
| 14 | PBB | 45 | 29 | 64,4 | 16 | 35,6 | 5 | 5 | 100 |
| 15 | PKPI | 36 | 23 | 63,9 | 13 | 36,1 | 5 | 4 | 80 |
| TOTAL | | 528 | 347 | 65,7 | 181 | 34,3 | | | |

Note : TC (Total of Candidates), MC (Male Candidates), FC (Female Candidates), ED (Electoral District), QWED (Quota of Women in Electoral District). Arranged based on the political party serial number.

Source : Recapitulation (Model DB-1 DPRD Kota Padang Propinsi Sumatera Barat Pemilu 2014, 2014). It has been reprocessed (KPU Padang City, 2014).

Representative Council of Padang City in the 2014 Election were 528 candidates with 181 people or 34.3% were women candidates and 347 people or 65.7% male candidates. Of the 12 political parties participating in the 2014 General Election for the Regional People's Representative Council for the City of Padang, 4 political parties nominated less than the maximum limit of 45 people, namely PDI-P, Golkar Party, PPP, which nominated 44 people and PKPI at least 36 people. The Golkar and PPP parties are empty of one candidate in electoral 5, while the PDI-P and PKPI are in electoral 2. PKPI did not fill in the 9 names of candidates in electoral district 2. This is the cause of the not maximum number of PKPI candidates in the 2014 elections. Apart from that, in general, from all political parties, the provisions of Article 55 of Law no. 8 of 2012 about 30% of women's representation has been fulfilled. PDI-P is a political party with the most women representation in the Permanent Candidate List (DCT), 17 people or 38.6%, followed by the Golkar Party and PBB. The party with the least number of women candidates is PKPI, namely 13 people. However, in percentage terms, this figure is already more than the stipulation of women's representation of 36.1% because PKPI nominated fewer candidates than other political parties.

Based on the provision of 30% women representation, all political parties participating in the 2014 Election have fulfilled these requirements with the lowest percentage of 31.1% from the Hanura Party. In equalizing the quota for women candidates in each of the 5 electoral districts in Padang City, 2 political parties do not meet the equal quota for women candidates, namely the Hanura Party and PKPI. Although the Hanura Party has women candidates in electoral districts 5, only 4 electoral districts meet the 30% quota for women's representation; meanwhile, PKPI only fills in 4 electoral districts and is empty in district 2. This means the Hanura Party and

PKPI only fulfill 80% of the quota for women in the electoral districts which exist.

The nomination of women candidates who have met the 30% quota for representation does not impact women's electability in the Regional People's Representative Council of Padang City. Although the 30% quota system for women's representation in the nomination list has been in effect since the 2004 General Election, it does not affect the percentage of women's electability in the Regional People's Representative Council of Padang City. The composition of the Padang City Regional People's Representative Council members, especially since the 30% quota provision for women's representation in the political party nomination list, has fluctuated in each period. These fluctuations can be seen in Table 4

From table 4, from the 2004 Election to the 2009 Election, there was a decrease in women candidates by 8.89%, but then this percentage increased again in the 2014 Election. However, this percentage of women's representation did not increase again in the 2019 Election because it fell again even though from 7 women legislative members. The results of the 2014 Election were reduced to 6 people in the 2019 Election. This paper focuses on the results of the 2014 General Election, where, from the 12 political parties participating in the 2014 Election, there were 528 candidates for the Padang City Regional People's Representative Council, there were 181 women candidates or 34.4% who were later elected only from 11 parties. However, only 4 political parties placed women as legislative members. The 45 candidates elected in the 2014 elections consist of 38 men and 7 women. The increase in the number of women came from NasDem, Gerindra and PPP 2 each, but Democrats fell to 1 person while PKS no longer represented women in the 2014 elections. This can be seen in Table 5.

From table 5, it is known that the seats of the Regional People's Representative Council for the City of Padang are dominated by

Table 4.
Members Composition of the Padang City Regional People's Representative Council in the 2004 elections to the 2019 elections

| Political Parties | Number of Seats in Period | | | | | | | |
|-----------------------------------|---------------------------|----------|-----------|----------|-----------|----------|-----------|----------|
| | 2004-2009 | | 2009-2014 | | 2014-2019 | | 2019-2024 | |
| | M | F | M | F | M | F | M | F |
| PKB | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| Gerindra | | | (New) 2 | 0 | 4 | 2 | 9 | 2 |
| PDI-P | 1 | 1 | 1 | 0 | 3 | 0 | 3 | 0 |
| Golkar | 8 | 0 | 5 | 0 | 5 | 0 | 3 | 0 |
| NasDem | | | | | (New) 2 | 2 | 1 | 0 |
| Berkarya | | | | | | | (New) 2 | 0 |
| PKS | 7 | 4 | 5 | 1 | 5 | 0 | 9 | 0 |
| PPP | 5 | 0 | 3 | 0 | 2 | 2 | 2 | 1 |
| PAN | 8 | 1 | 5 | 0 | 6 | 0 | 6 | 1 |
| Hanura | | | (New) 4 | 0 | 5 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| Demokrat | (New) 5 | 0 | 15 | 2 | 4 | 1 | 4 | 2 |
| PBB | 2 | 1 | 2 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| PKPI | 2 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| Total M dan F | 38 | 7 | 42 | 3 | 38 | 7 | 39 | 6 |
| Total of member | 45 | | 45 | | 45 | | 45 | |
| Total of Political Parties | 8 | | 9 | | 11 | | 9 | |

Source: Processed from (KPU Padang City, 2004); (BPS Padang City, 2009); (KPU Padang City, 2014) and (Ikhwan, 2019).

Table 5.
Electability and the Percentage of Men and Women in the Regional People's Representative Council of Padang City according to the Political Party in the 2014 Election

| No | Political Parties | The 2014 Election | | | | Total | |
|----|-------------------|-------------------|--------------|----------|--------------|-----------|---------------|
| | | M | % M | F | %F | M+F | % |
| 1 | Hanura | 5 | 11,11 | - | - | 5 | 11,11 |
| 2 | Gerindra | 4 | 8,89 | 2 | 4,44 | 6 | 13,33 |
| 3 | PKS | 5 | 11,11 | - | - | 5 | 11,11 |
| 4 | PAN | 6 | 13,33 | - | - | 6 | 13,33 |
| 5 | Golkar | 5 | 11,11 | - | - | 5 | 11,11 |
| 6 | PPP | 2 | 4,44 | 2 | 4,44 | 4 | 8,89 |
| 7 | PDI-P | 3 | 6,67 | - | - | 3 | 6,67 |
| 8 | Demokrat | 4 | 8,89 | 1 | 2,22 | 5 | 11,11 |
| 9 | PBB | 1 | 2,22 | - | - | 1 | 2,22 |
| 10 | PKB | 1 | 2,22 | - | - | 1 | 2,22 |
| 11 | NasDem | 2 | 4,44 | 2 | 4,44 | 4 | 8,89 |
| | JUMLAH | 38 | 84,44 | 7 | 15,56 | 45 | 100,00 |

Source: (Model EB-3 DPRD Kota Padang Propinsi Sumatera Barat Pemilu 2014, 2014) and (KPU Padang City, 2014).

Gerindra and PAN, namely 6 or 13.33% of the seats, although the difference with other political parties is not big. Of the 11 political parties that obtained seats, only 4 or 36.36%

had women representatives, namely 2 each from NasDem, Gerindra and PPP, while the Democrats had 1 representative. Meanwhile, PDI-P, Golkar and PBB, which nominated

women candidates the most compared to other political parties, did not pass women representatives in the 2014 elections.

NasDem and PPP in the 2014 Election each passed 4 of their representatives in the Padang City Regional People's Representative Council, and two of them were women. This means that 50% of the NasDem Party and PPP representatives are women. Meanwhile, Gerindra, who managed to get 6 seats, passed 2 or 33.3% women candidates. At the same time, the Democrats succeeded in placing 5 representatives but only placed 1 woman candidate or 20% in the Regional People's Representative Council of Padang City in the 2014 Election. In the 2014 Election, the Regional People's Representative Council of Padang City was only in 3 electoral districts, namely the 1, 2, and 3 of 5 electoral districts in Padang City. 7 women candidates were elected in the 2014 Election who were in Electoral District 1, 2, and 3 if viewed based on the serial number, which can be seen in Table 6.

From table 6 it is known that the 7 elected women candidates, each of which is 3 people in the Permanent Candidate List (DCT) are in serial numbers 2 and 9 while 1 person is serial number 1. This shows that in the 2014 Election, women's electability in the Regional People's Representative Council of Padang City and the provisions for the most votes following Law 8 of 2012. the serial number of candidates in small

numbers such as 1 and 2 is also important as a determinant of women's electability in Regional People's Representative Council Padang City because of the 7 elected women candidates, there are 4 people or 57.14% who are in serial numbers 1 and 2.

The electability capital of women candidates with serial numbers such as 9 can occur. This can be seen in table 6 above if it is supported by assets other than social capital from party networks. The electability of women legislative members in the 2014 Election and the internal party network factor are also due to relations with networks outside the party. Networks outside the party include being a member of organizations in society to become one of the social assets for women's electability in the legislature. Network outside the party of women legislative members for the Regional Representative Council of Padang City for the period 2014-2019 can be seen in Table 7.

Based on table 7, it is known that only Yuhilda Darwis has organizational experience with a wider scope or at the provincial level concerning the community of women legislative members in Padang City. However, it is not in the province of West Sumatra, so it has no relationship with the community in its electoral district. 3 women legislative members who are actually members or administrators of organizations in the electoral districts of the women legislative member. Mailinda Rose

Table 6.
The Serial Number of Elected Female Candidates in the Padang City DPRD in the 2014 Election by Electoral District

| No | The Name of the Elected Women Candidate | Political Party | Electoral District | The Serial Number of Elected Women Candidates |
|----|---|-----------------|--------------------|---|
| 1 | Mailinda Rose, | NasDem | | 2 |
| 2 | Gustin Pramona | Demokrat | I | 2 |
| 3 | Yuhilda Darwis | PPP | | 9 |
| 4 | Dian Anggraini | NasDem | II | 2 |
| 5 | Elly Thrisyanti | Gerindra | | 1 |
| 6 | Dewi Susanti | Gerindra | III | 9 |
| 7 | Nila Kartika | PPP | | 9 |

Source : Recapitulation (Model EB-3 DPRD Kota Padang Propinsi Sumatera Barat Pemilu 2014, 2014).

Table 7. Outside Network of Women Legislative Members Party The Regional Representative Council of Padang City for the Period of 2014-2019

Table with 4 columns: No, Name, Parties, and Organization experiences. It lists 7 members with their respective parties and professional backgrounds, such as 'Member of KPA Galapagos IKPS' for Mailinda Rose.

Source: Curriculum Vitae of the Members of Regional People's Representative Council Padang For the period 2014-2019, 2018.

from electoral district 1 (Koto Tengah district) as the Board of Trustees for the Community Empowerment Institution (LPM) of Koto Tengah District and Dian Anggraini from electoral district 2 (Pauh and Kuranji District) who are the Secretary of Aisyah, Pauh District. Although Elly Thrisyanti is a member of Bundo Kanduang, she is still at the village level and smaller than her constituency, namely electoral district 3, which consists of 3 districts. Likewise, Nila Kartika became the chief of the Majelis Taqlim in her domicile area. Meanwhile, Gustin Pramona became Secretary of the LPM of East Padang District even though she was the representative of electoral district 1 in the 2014 Election, even though she was domiciled in the East Padang District area and in the 2004 Election she was running in electoral district 4 (East Padang and South Padang). However, in general, the experience of non-party organizations of women candidates for the 2014-2019 period did not include high activeness, and even tended to not have a major influence on electability in the legislature.

As seen from their ability to make decisions, reputation and popularity are beneficial political assets for incumbent candidates. However, in the Regional Representative Council of Padang City in the 2014 Election, the incumbent tendency to be re-elected was low because only one person from 3 incumbents in the previous period managed to return to become a legislator. It is different from the political capital owned by Yuhilda Darwis, personally, she was a former legislator in the 2009-2014 period but in different electoral districts and provinces from her candidacy in the 2014 elections. However, it is still a political asset that affects his election in the Padang City Regional People's Representative Council in the 2014 General Election.

Candidacy in election administration with a long process ranging from registration in political parties to election by the community and being appointed as a legislature member requires a lot of economic capital. Economic support, both personal and family, is needed because registering nominations with parties

requires a "dowry" fee. To introduce oneself to the public in organizing elections also requires money to make pamphlets, billboards, leaflets and so on ranging from small to large, not to mention providing accessories and souvenirs such as clothes, headscarves and even vests to be distributed to the voters. Sometimes even giving money for transportation or a dawn attack on election day. This giving can be done directly by candidates or the success team.

Economic capital can be an important factor in the electability of women legislative members, especially in holding elections. Suppose you look at the economic level of the women legislative member. In that case, it is known from the work history of each of the previously elected women legislative member. This can be seen in Table 8.

From table 8, it is known that one incumbent and one former legislator were elected to the Regional Representative Council of the City of Padang in the 2014 General Election. The economic levels of Gustin Pramona and Yuhilda Darwis as legislators in the previous period can be said to be very good, especially since both husbands are entrepreneurs. Dian Anggraini, before running as a candidate for the election of the Regional Representative Council of Padang City, is a Lecturer at STKIP PGRI West Sumatra, and her husband is also an intellectual and

entrepreneur. Economically, Dian Anggraini is also very good.

Meanwhile, 4 of 7 women legislative members in the Regional Representative Council of Padang City in the 2014 election worked as entrepreneurs. Mailinda Rose, having worked as an Account Executive in Jakarta, then became a Marketing Management of PT. Tarania Bara Indonesia until as Commissioner of CV. Fajar Alam Abdi Padang. Then Dewi Susanti is the director of a cosmetics company and the wife of a former board member who is also a businessman. It can be said that Dewi Susanti's family's economic support is very good. Likewise, Nila Kartika is the Deputy Director of CV. Ratu and Director of CV. Aditya Multi Teknindo before running to become a legislative candidate in the 2014 elections. Plus, the family's economic support where the husband, apart from being a former member of the council, is also a former regional official.

Furthermore, Elly Thrisyanti, before becoming a legislative candidate in 2014, worked in the private sector with a lot of work experience as an auditor, Operations Manager RSIA Sukajadi Bandung, Finance Manager at PT. Pembina Abadi Permai Padang and PT. Kurnia Jagat Andalas Padang and most recently as Commissioner of PT. Andi Berlin Success. This personal economic capital is further supported by the profession of an

Table 8.

Work Experiences of Women Legislative Members of the Regional Representative Council of Padang City for the period 2014-2019

| No | Name | Political Parties | Work Experiences |
|----|-----------------|-------------------|--|
| 1 | Mailinda Rose | NasDem | Entrepreneur |
| 2 | Gustin Pramona | Demokrat | Members of the Regional Representative Council of Padang City for the period 2009-2014 |
| 3 | Yuhilda Darwis | PPP | Members of the Regional Representative Council of Bengkulu City for the period 2009-2014 |
| 4 | Dian Anggraini | NasDem | Lecturer |
| 5 | Elly Thrisyanti | Gerindra | Entrepreneur |
| 6 | Dewi Susanti | Gerindra | Entrepreneur |
| 7 | Nila Kartika | PPP | Entrepreneur |

Source: Curriculum Vitae of the Members of Regional People's Representative Council Padang For the period 2014-2019, 2018.

entrepreneur's husband. Overall, it can be seen that the economic capital of women legislative member for the Regional Representative Council of Padang City in 2014 is very good, both personally and with family. This shows that the women legislative members have a middle to upper economic level and are able to support their election in the legislature

The capital of women's electability in the legislature is inseparable from the inherent symbols of the women legislative members. In simple terms, the symbol attached to individual women legislative members elected in the Regional Representative Council of the City of Padang in 2014 can be seen from the age at the election, the level of education, and the ethnicity and religion adopted. In terms of age, women legislative members elected by the Regional Representative Council of Padang City in 2014 have the youngest age ranges, namely 33 years and 47 years. The age range of 33-47 years is the range of productive and mature ages in thought. The age range of women legislative members elected in the 2014 Election at the Regional People's Representative Council of Padang City can be seen in table 9.

From table 9, it can be seen that there was one woman legislative member of the

Table 9.
Age of Women Legislative Members Regional People's Representative Council of Padang City On Election

| No | Name | Political Parties | Age at election |
|----|-----------------|-------------------|-----------------|
| 1 | Mailinda Rose | NasDem | 36 |
| 2 | Gustin Pramona | Demokrat | 40 |
| 3 | Yuhilda Darwis | PPP | 46 |
| 4 | Dian Anggraini | NasDem | 33 |
| 5 | Elly Thrisyanti | Gerindra | 47 |
| 6 | Dewi Susanti | Gerindra | 37 |
| 7 | Nila Kartika | PPP | 43 |

Source: *Curriculum Vitae of the Members of Regional People's Representative Council Padang For the period 2014-2019, 2018.*

Regional Representative Council of Padang City in 2014 who was less than 35 years old, as well as the age range 41-45 years. The largest number of women members in the age range of 36-40 years, namely 3 people, followed later those aged over 46 years. This means that the electability of the youth generation is higher in the Regional Representative Council of Padang City in the 2014 Election. The 7 elected women Legislative members, if seen from the level of education, also vary, but the majority already

Table 10.
Education Level of Women Legislative Members of Regional People's Representative Council Padang at 2014 Election Results

| No | Name | Political Parties | Education level | | | | Note |
|--------------|---------------------------------|-------------------|--------------------|----------|-----------------|------------------------|---|
| | | | Senior high school | Diploma | Bachelor degree | Post Graduate S2 S3 | |
| 1 | Mailinda Rose, SE | Nasdem | | | v | | |
| 2 | Gustin Pramona, S.Pt, MM | Demokrat | | | | v | |
| 3 | Yuhilda Darwis, SE | PPP | | | v | | |
| 4 | DR. Dian Anggraini, S.Sos, M.Si | Nasdem | | | | v | In 2018, he earned his doctoral degree at Unpad Bandung |
| 5 | Elly Thrisyanti, SE. Akt | Gerindra | | | v | | |
| 6 | Dewi Susanti | Gerindra | v | | | | |
| 7 | Nila Kartika, A.Md | PPP | | v | | | |
| TOTAL | | | 1 | 1 | 3 | 1 | 1 |

Source: *Curriculum Vitae of the Members of Regional People's Representative Council Padang For the period 2014-2019, 2018.*

have higher education. The level of education of this women legislative member of the Padang City Regional People's Representative Council can be seen in Table 10.

From table 10, it can be seen that the majority of the education level of women legislative members in the Regional Representative Council of Padang City in the 2014 General Election are graduates of higher education, even 2 of them have S2 and S3 degrees. The majority of the education level of these women legislators is undergraduate, while there are 1 diploma educated and only 1 senior high school.

If we look at the conditions at the time of the election, the education of women legislators is 4 bachelor's degrees and 1 a master's degree. Then in the 2014-2019 term, 2 women legislative members completed their Masters and Doctoral degrees. This means that in quality as seen from the education level of women members of the Regional People's Representative Council of Padang City were elected in the 2014 General Election are above average, and the minimum requirements for nomination are based on article 51 paragraph (1) letter e of Law no. 8 of 2012. With regional and community conditions that tend to be homogeneous in Padang City, it is also necessary to know the ethnicity and religion of the women legislative members of Regional People's Representative Council Padang City to know the ethnic representatives. The ethnicities and religions of the women legislative members of Regional People's Representative Council Padang City for the period 2014-2019 can be seen in Table 11.

Based on table 11, we knew that the community's homogeneity in Padang city was also reflected by the community's choice of elected women legislative members. The Minangkabau ethnicity and Islam are the absolute majority ethnic and religion of Padang City Society, also bring up to be elected women legislative members with the same homogeneity. This means that the symbolic

Table 11.
Ethnicity and Religion of Women Legislative Members
The Regional Representative Council of Padang City for the Period of 2014-2019

| No | Name | Political Parties | Symbol | |
|----|-----------------|-------------------|--------|----------|
| | | | Ethnic | Religion |
| 1 | Mailinda Rose | NasDem | Minang | Islam |
| 2 | Gustin Pramona | Demokrat | Minang | Islam |
| 3 | Yuhilda Darwis | PPP | Minang | Islam |
| 4 | Dian Anggraini | NasDem | Minang | Islam |
| 5 | Elly Thrisyanti | Gerindra | Minang | Islam |
| 6 | Dewi Susanti | Gerindra | Minang | Islam |
| 7 | Nila Kartika | PPP | Minang | Islam |

Source: Curriculum Vitae of the Members of Regional People's Representative Council Padang For the period 2014-2019, 2018.

capital owned by women legislative members in the Regional Representative Council of Padang City who was elected in the 2014 General Election is a young generation with very good quality education. It is represented by an absolute majority of the ethnic and religious communities of Padang City. Considering women's electability in the Regional People's Representative Council of Padang City in the 2019 Election, there is a difference compared to the 2014 Election. In the 2014 Elections, the legislative elections are separate from the executive elections nationally, but in the 2019 Elections, the presidential elections are held simultaneously with the legislative elections. In the 2019 Election, political representation in the Regional People's Representative Council of Padang City changed composition compared to the 2014 Election. 9 political parties succeeded in placing their representatives in Regional People's Representative Council Padang City, which means that there was a decrease in the number of political parties in Regional People's Representative Council Padang City are 11 political parties in the 2014 election.

In the Padang City Regional People's Representative Council, the Gerindra Party

obtained the highest votes and received a significant increase in the number of seats to 11 seats in the 2019 Election from only 6 seats previously. This increase is in line with the presidential election results in which West Sumatra in general is the basis for presidential candidate Prabowo Subianto who is promoted by the Gerindra Party. In West Sumatra, the presidential candidate Prabowo Subianto received a vote of 85.95%, which is directly proportional to the city of Padang with 85.82%. This impacted the political parties that have representatives in the Regional People's Representative Council of Padang City, most of which come from parties supporting the presidential candidate Prabowo Subianto. Of the 9 political parties that have representatives in Regional People's Representative Council Padang City in the 2019 Election, at least 5 political parties support the presidential candidate Prabowo Subianto and control the seats of the Padang City Regional People's

Representative Council, which is 35 seats. Meanwhile, 4 political parties are supporting Jokowi's presidential candidate and only managed to place 10 seats in Regional People's Representative Council Padang City.

Political representation in Regional People's Representative Council Padang City was also followed by the election of women in Regional People's Representative Council Padang City, which also decreased from the previous 7 to 6 people. 5 of them came from the party supporting the presidential candidate Prabowo Subianto. Only 1 person came from the party supporting the Jokowi presidential candidate who came from PPP and was an incumbent. There are 3 women incumbent members of Regional People's Representative Council Padang City, are 2 from the Gerindra and 1 person from the Democratic (previously a legislative member of the PPP but resigned before the election because they advanced from the Democratic Party in the 2019 Election).

Table 12.
Comparison Representation Political of Women Legislative Members at the Regional Representative Council of Padang City in 2014 and the 2019 Election

| No | Factor | 2014 Election | | 2019 Election | |
|----|---|---|---|---------------------------------|--|
| 1 | Total of Elected Candidates | % | | % | |
| a. | Male | 38 | 84,44 | 39 | 86,67 |
| b. | Women | 7 | 15,56 | 6 | 13,33 |
| 2 | Increase/Decrease number Women Member Legislature at the 2014 Election | From 3 to 7 people | | From 7 to 6 people | |
| 3 | Serial Number Women member legislature elected | Serial Number | | Serial Number | |
| | | 1 – 1 people | | 1 – 1 People | |
| | | 2 – 3 people | | 2 – 1 People | |
| | | 9 – 3 people | | 3 – 3 People | |
| | | | | 9 – 1 People | |
| 4 | Distribution of Elected Women Legislative Members in Electoral District | 3 of 5 Electoral District (60%) | | 4 of 5 Electoral District (80%) | |
| 5 | Electoral District with Most Women Legislative Members Elected | Electoral District of 3 | | Electoral District of 3 | |
| 6 | Political Parties Women Legislative Members Elected | 4 Political Parties | a. NasDem b. PPP c. Demokrat d. Gerindra | 4 Political Parties | a. Gerindra b. Demokrat c. PPP d. PAN |
| 7 | Incumbent who re-elected | 1 | 14,29% | 4 | 66,67% |
| 8 | Economic Capital 2 of new Women Legislative Members | Lecturer Bureaucrats Entrepreneur | | Bureaucrats Entrepreneur | |

Source: (KPU Padang City, 2014) and (Ikhwan, 2019).



This means 4 women incumbents were re-elected in the 2019 Election, while 3 were not re-elected, namely 2 people from NasDem and 1 person from the Democrats. When viewed from the serial number, the elected women legislative members in the Regional People's Representative Council Padang city in the 2019 Election are mostly in serial number 3, namely 3 people who are incumbents, then one person each on serial number 1 who is also the incumbent, then serial numbers 2 and 9. In addition, economic factors also show that the 2 newly elected women legislative members in the 2019 Election are bureaucrats, namely the former Kuranji district head and entrepreneurs who own several minimarkets. The table below shows the comparison of the political representation of women in the Regional People's Representative Council of Padang City from the 2014 and 2019 election results:

Discussion

If we look at the political representation of women in Padang City based on the above data, the electability of women, serial numbers 1 and 2 are still the highest. Even though the determination of elected candidates is based on a majority vote in the constitution, not the serial number. In addition, economic capital has a big influence on women's candidacy because all women legislative member, both 2014-2019 and 2019-2024, have middle to upper economic backgrounds.

If women's representation is not just quantity, what Anne Phillips says can be justified that the discourse that develops in society is only at the level of the political idea about increasing the number of women in the legislature even though the political ideas will produce better results when followed by the political presence or the number of women in the legislature. Likewise, when the political presence is not followed by knowledge of the background of representatives in the legislature, there is no meaning to the political idea.

Let's look at the responsiveness of Minang women legislators based on the opinion of Loewenberg and Patterson (1979 in Soeseno, 2013). There are three basic features of political representation that can be seen in several ways. *First*, the focus of representation refers to "who" is represented. It is known that Women legislative members in the Regional Representative Council of Padang City tend to represent parties but not certain groups of women. *Second*, the style of representation of women legislative members in the Regional People's Representative Council of Padang City acts as a delegate of its constituents because electability is more on behalf of women's groups but not in making decisions and attitudes based on self-assessment. *Third*, the homogeneity of society is also reflected in the electability of Women in the Regional Representative Council of Padang City, the majority of whom also come from the Minangkabau ethnic group but do not show any matrilineal influence and the *Bundo Kanduang* group as representatives of Minang Women in women's electability. This can be seen from the outside party network of Women legislative members who mostly do not come from the *Bundo Kanduang* of women's organization. In addition, it turns out that the matrilineal culture that places women in strategic positions in decision-making is only in the cultural domain but has no effect on women's decisions to be involved in political institutions such as the legislature. This can be seen from the electability of women in the Regional Representative Council of Padang City, which does not experience an increase in each election period.

Other than that if we look at the political representation of women from the 2014 and 2019 elections in the Padang City legislature, Lidya Victorya Pandiangan's opinion (Pandiangan, 2017) about the contribution of matrilineal culture for women politicians when they run for the legislature is not proven by the level of electability of Minang Women in the

legislature. Women who are *Bundo Kanduang* and are positioned like kings as decision-makers in Minangkabau cultural customs, do not influence women's political representation. This paper confirms the opinion written by Atmazaki that Minangkabau customs provide equal opportunities for men and women to be active in social, religious and customary institutions (Atmazaki, 2007). The role of Minang Women cannot be marginalized in these institutions, but it is different in political institutions.

Although the role of Minang Women in the political arena has existed for a long time, as has been told in classic Minangkabau stories such as in *kaba*, *tambo* or myths and legends, it does not show a positive influence in quantity in the electability of women in modern political institutions such as the legislature (Nurwani, 2017). Nurwani Idris said that women's political leadership in Minangkabau is to be found in family, clan, and kin (Idris, 2010a). Minang women face two barriers to attaining political leadership at the political level. *First*, external barriers. External barriers come from the public, political, socio-cultural environment, which does not support women's empowerment in politics or the opportunities for women to assume political leadership positions. This happened because marginalization since Dutch colonialism influenced the thinking of the people and the government about the political role of women. The patriarchal cultural factors inherited by the majority of the Indonesian people and religion also hinder the political role of Minang women. The *second* obstacle is the internal barrier. Internal barriers are barriers that Minang women themselves have to make decisions to become active in politics so that they interfere with the Minang women's interest in engaging in practical politics (Idris, 2010b).

The obstacles for Minang women that Nurwani Idris conveyed concerning Berger's concept are three dialectical moments that

underlie the social construction in society, namely externalization, objectification, and internalization (Berger, 1991). The externalization process is evident in the efforts of Minang women to express themselves in politics and to build their world. This political role occurs through a process of objectification known from Minang women's views on politics, such as the view "Politics is a man's world" and "It doesn't matter who the leader is" because the most important thing for Minang women is the position as holder of power control in decision-making. This then influences the political behavior of the Minang women. Then Berger sees society as a formative factor for individual consciousness, which is internalized in individual understanding and consciousness so that it influences the Minang women's view that politics is not the world of women and reduces the political interest and consciousness of women to influence the updating of women's policies. In addition, MB Wijaksana (2004) mapped four barriers to women's representation, namely political, cultural, psychological and economic constraints. If you look at the issue of Minang women's representation in Padang city, the economy is not an obstacle because in matrilineal culture, wealth is inherited by women (Djalius, 2010), so Minang women have good financial resources economically.

Meanwhile, four obstacles to women's representation are presented in the writings of Misbah Zulfa Elizabeth (2019). *First*, the patriarchal culture that is strong in socio-cultural life in Indonesia. Although Padang City adheres to a matrilineal system, cultural constraints are also an issue. This is because the dominant position of women in decision-making is only in the realm of adat and not directed towards practical politics. *Second*, the selection process in political parties is conducted by party leaders, most of whom are men. The problem of the selection process by predominantly male party leaders is a problem

that occurs in all regions of Indonesia. The trend emerging in the nomination list is that women have close kinship with party leaders, which also happened in Padang City. *Third*, the role of the media in forming opinions on the importance of women's representation in the legislature, and *fourth*, the lack of cooperation between organizations and parties in the struggle for women's representation. This problem is the most prominent and is becoming an obstacle to the election of women to legislative in Padang City. Existing women's organizations have no concrete cooperation in the struggle for women's representation, so the women elected do not come from the support of women's organizations, including *Bundo Kanduang* organization.

Conclusion

From the explanation above, it can be concluded that women's political representation in the Regional People's Representative Council of Padang City is not influenced by the matrilineal culture adopted by the majority of Padang City residents Minangkabau ethnicity. Minangkabau women's privileges in decision-making reside only in the realm of adat, inheritance, and lineage but do not affect the political sphere. In addition, women's political representation is very important when more than half of the world's population is generally women. The extensive interests of women are related to women themselves and the interests of children and their families. So, the presence of women in political institutions such as the legislature is significant because there are many parties that women have to fight for. In the future, increasing women's political representation in a homogeneous society such as in the city of Padang must involve all elements of politics, government and society. Political elements relate to the participation of political parties in women's political education and the placement of women in strategic positions in management as one of the decision-

makers and placing of women in serial number 1 in nominations during elections. In addition, parties and the government in the city of Padang collaborate with the *Bundo Kanduang* institution to create a women's political education program and take a joint policy on the placement of women that is favorable for women's election in the legislature.

In increasing the electability of women in the legislature, according to the author, several things must be done, including: *first*, reducing the authority of political parties, especially party leaders, in the formulation and determination of serial numbers for women candidates by encouraging parties to establish party internal policies that pay attention to gender justice and gender mainstreaming. *Second*, providing strict sanctions against political parties that do not meet the quota for women's representation, such as prohibiting these parties from participating in elections. *Third*, political parties are obliged to carry out regular and continuous political education such as conducting political debates. Political education is important when the level of education of women as a general in Indonesia is still low. Experience through political education has a big influence on women's maturity in politics.

And then *fourth*, placing women in formal political institutions at strategic positions in decision making. *Fifth*, when serial numbers 1 and 2 still determine the electability of legislative members, it is better for political parties to place Women in serial numbers 1 to 3 or using a zig-zag system. *Sixth*, the presence of women in the candidacy must be followed by women's representation in the legislature. This must be followed by being firmly stipulated and including all components such as political parties and the legislative members' composition. *Seventh*, there needs to be a change in the Election Law and the Legislative Membership Composition Law, which binds the importance of legislative members who are gender equitable.

Meanwhile, Richard E. Matland (in National Democratic Institute, 2001) said there are three phases to electing women to the Legislature. In the first stage, women want to participate in the election of legislature members. This refers to personal political ambitions and opportunities in the political system through a selection process within the party. The second stage, the explicit support of women's organizations for the election of women and the third stage, the socialization and political education of female voters to elect female candidates.

However, this paper is still limited to political studies and based on the 2014 and 2019 elections. Based on the results of the two elections, it is concluded that there is no influence of matrilineal culture in the political representation of women in West Sumatra, especially Padang City in the legislature. There is a dichotomy between culture and women's political electability in Padang City. It is recommended in the future, research that combines the study of politics and matrilineal culture simultaneously in providing an analysis of the influence of matrilineal culture in practical politics.

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