

## Rationality Of Nominating Ethnic Semende Women As Legislative Members

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### Abstract

*Woman who elected as a member of the Tanggamus legislative, but was not elected in 2019. There was a man who was elected in 2014 and was re-elected in 2019. What is the cause, even though the social, economic and political capital are almost the same? The data were analyzed using the gender mainstreaming approach. The research shown that women's vote acquisition does not involve social, economic and political capital. For men those capital is very important in electability. For man and woman candidates do not have capital, then the vote share will be low. For men whose modality is high, the level of choice will be high, and for men with low modality, the level of choice will be low. A gender aspect was found regarding men's use of modalities, whereas there was a gender bias towards women's use of modalities.*

**Keywords:** legislative, election, capital, gender

### 1. Introduction

An open proportional electoral system provides an opportunity for each individual to win the same opportunity for control of political resources for each candidate. This system regulates that political parties that receive as many votes as the parliamentary threshold of 4% in the 2014 elections will be included in the seat calculations. If a political party wins one seat, the candidate who gets the most votes within that party becomes the chosen candidate. Indonesia made fundamental political changes in 1998, through amendments to the 1945 Constitution which were intended to strengthen the democratization process. In the political sector, the enactment of Law Number 12 of 2003 concerning elections is intended to change the electoral system from closed proportional elections to open proportional elections. It also regulates affirmative action so that women's representation increases in people's representative institutions, as well as in political party management. In the 2004, 2009, 2014, 2019 elections affirmative action was implemented through the regulation that it was mandatory for every political party to fill out a candidate list of at least 30 percent women (DCT). This effort is still failing in increasing women as legislative members by up to 30%. However, this rule should be appreciated because it increases the number of women in the nominations.

**The Table 1. The Number Of Women's Representation In The Legislatif Members Since The 1971-2019 Elections.**

| Period    | Woman (Total/%) |      | Man (Total/%) |       |
|-----------|-----------------|------|---------------|-------|
| 1971-1977 | 36              | 7,8% | 460           | 92,2% |
| 1977-1982 | 29              | 6,3% | 460           | 93,7% |
| 1982-1987 | 39              | 8,5% | 460           | 91,5% |

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|           |     |       |     |       |
|-----------|-----|-------|-----|-------|
| 1987-1992 | 65  | 13%   | 435 | 87%   |
| 1992-1997 | 62  | 12,5% | 438 | 87,5% |
| 1997-1999 | 54  | 10,8% | 446 | 89,2% |
| 1999-2004 | 46  | 9%    | 454 | 91%   |
| 2004-2009 | 65  | 11,6% | 435 | 87%   |
| 2009-2014 | 101 | 18 %  | 459 | 82%   |
| 2014-2019 | 97  | 17,3% | 463 | 82,7% |
| 2019-2024 | 118 | 20,5% | 457 | 79,5% |

Source: Central Statistics Agency, 2014 and 2019

The table above shows that there is a significant gap between genders, where the number of women members is very low compared to men as members of the DPR. This gap is decreasing along with the affirmative action policy, but until the 2019-2024 election, the number of women who are members of the DPR has not yet reached 30%. In other words, the failure rate for female legislative candidates is very high (around 10% in the 2019-2024 elections); 12.7% in the 2014-2019 elections; and so on with a tendency to increase. At the district level, affirmative action has opened up access for women to nominate legislative members. However, the research results show that there are still psychological barriers and socio-cultural constructions that make it difficult for women to participate in politics; women do not yet dare to break through patriarchal boundaries in the form of their husband's permission; For those who have become legislative members, they have not demonstrated their ability to resolve gender-sensitive issues and have not appeared to represent Indonesian women (Sulastri, 2020). Much research has been conducted on the barriers of patriarchal culture to women's choice.

Including a comparative study between Indonesia and Korea, that even though Korea has improved the Gender Empowerment Index, it has not been able to overcome patriarchal obstacles (Syafputri, 2017). Other research by Boro & Kale (2020) shows that female candidates only rely on successful teams to take the field, and do not utilize grassroots organizations that support their competition with male legislative candidates. There is also minimal media support in promoting women as legislative candidates. (Taufik, 2018). Even though it has not reached expectations (30%), more and more women are becoming legislative members. So far, many studies have stated that women's failure to become legislative members is due to patriarchal culture (Alip, 2016; Taufik, 2018; Boro & Kale, 2020; Putri & Fatmariza, 2020). **Research also shows the success of women as legislative members shows that it is not because of their nature as women that women fail to become legislative members. The research results of Ramadhani & Rahmawati (2020) show that affirmative action does not automatically result in women being elected as legislative members, but as long as the habitus, terrain and modalities are controlled by men, it will be difficult for women to succeed in politics (Ramadhani & Rahmawati, 2020).** The research results also show that the regent of East Lampung is elected because he has social, economic and political capital (Hertanto & Mulyaningsih, 2017); modalities and professionalism of the winning team (Efendi, n.d.). This research will describe aspects of the modalities of political, economic and social capital for both male and female candidates which contribute to the votes obtained by the candidates. The use of a gender mainstreaming approach will differentiate this research from previous ones.

### Literature Review

Gender, is it true that naturally they have differentiated status and roles? The theory of nurture and nature is a theory that is widely used to discuss this. The nature theory explains that the differences in male and female behavior are natural or biological. Women naturally become pregnant, give birth and breastfeed, so the activities carried out by women are related to their biology (Purnomo, 2019). Household activities such as taking care of children, cleaning the house, washing clothes, are often considered as a woman's nature.

Even though these activities are interchangeable (Islam Ats-Tsauri, 2020). In the past, household work was considered natural and taboo for men. However, nowadays men do even paid work. This condition shows that roles that were previously considered natural are in fact not natural (Shintya, 2009); (Pratiwi & Wiyanti, 2017). This is due to social changes because industrialization forces women to be involved in work outside the household. (Astuti, 2022). This change has not been accepted by all parties, some women still consider the emergence of conflict because women's work outside the home results in changes in the distribution of work within the household (Marsella & Afrizal, 2022). In the end, women are forced to carry a double burden, if there is no awareness of sharing the burden between men and women (Ainul Luthfia et al., 2021).

Even though women who work outside the home receive approval from men, dual roles still occur (Puspitarini & Femilia, 2018). Nurture theory states that differences in the roles and status of women and men are due to cultural construction. Women are not stereotyped rational, emotional, weak and so on. On the other hand, men are strong, rational, and so on. This social construction is given the name gender. This social construction has an impact on the creation of women as objects of decision making by men. The social construction of women as irrational and always emotional causes women to only be recipients of decisions. Women with these characteristics are ultimately not suited to be in a political space that is full of violence, competition and conflict (Kiftiyah, 2019). Islamic feminists emphasize that gender-biased construction is because interpretations that hate women are believed to be the truth of the Islamic religion. In fact, humans were created to be equal, understand and respect each other, not to hurt each other. To achieve equality between the sexes requires a study of Islamic teachings (Muqoyyidin, 2013); as well as gender-biased interpretations of the Quran or hadith. Gender equality fighter Amina Wadud (Dewi, 2013) stated that gender inequality was caused by the interpretation of the Quran by traditional ulama whose thinking was colored by patriarchal culture. Even though the basic principles and spirit of the Quran do not differentiate between women and men. Cultural differences in interpretation often result in conflict (Alidmat & Manjet, 2020).

The principles and spirit of the relationship between men and women are distorted because of patriarchal interpretation (Nuraini, 2019). Amina Wadud emphasized that a mufassir must have a worldview. According to Fatima Mernissi, the concept of equality between men and women is based on the values in the texts, while the marginalization of women in public life is a social construction (Afif et al., 2021). So gender equality means equal conditions between men and women to obtain the same opportunities in various aspects of life so that women have the freedom to enter this sector (Saputra et al., 2021). The gender that creates the gender gap appears in societies with a patriarchal culture. This culture positions men as the main creatures in decision making. This culture has proven to be detrimental to women because many decisions do not provide benefits for women. Many regulations and policies are not beneficial for women due to the low number of women in political institutions who play a role in formulating regulations. Meanwhile, the men were inside decision making in a patriarchal society may not be in favor of women. Affirmative action is a method used to anticipate open access, increasing women's control in the political realm which is still limited due to patriarchal culture. Limited access for women will have an impact on women's low participation in politics. So that political participation increases and provides benefits for family welfare. Efforts to reduce the strength of patriarchal culture are also carried out through development aimed at reducing gender gaps in the fields of education, economics and health. This was done to reduce internal and external barriers for women in their participation in politics (Fauziyah, 2020). And then, the resulting decisions are beneficial to local regulation (Sintara et al., 2020)

According to Bourdieu, capital is needed to win in competition, namely cultural, social, economic and symbolic capital, all of which are interconnected and influence each other. Social capital is capital in the form of networks within and outside the party, internal

networks, dominance in society, and institutional leaders. This social capital is significant in success. Political capital in the form of experience leading society, capacity to control the public, track record, fame, incumbent. Economic capital is in the form of the availability of personal funds and those of other parties. Symbolic capital is a person's position in society (Ramadhani & Rahmawati, 2020). Symbolic power often trumps great power for social and cultural reasons (Yasini et al., 2018).

### Research Methods

This research is a qualitative descriptive. The research data is secondary data from the Electoral Commission and Central Bureau of Statistics, as well as interviews with informants who were legislatif members of the Tanggamus Legislatif. Data is processed by classifying, percentageing, and comparing data between genders. Data were analyzed using a gender mainstreaming approach on the dimensions of Access, Control and Participation of men and women in aspects of economic, political and social capital. However, the analysis does not compare the social, political and economic capital of women and men between one party and another.

### Result and Discussion

There are several unique things about the relations between Semende ethnic men and women in the struggle for political resources. The relationship between men and women of the Semende ethnic group is different from research which states that the relationship between men and women in Indonesia shows that women are lagging behind due to patriarchal culture that women are second class citizens, whose role is to take care of the domestic area. This status and role is glorified, and becomes a measure of dignified family or society. Only great women who play male roles are recorded in history (Qibtiyah, 2019); Men use religion and culture to discriminate against women in politics (Kiftiyah, 2019); Female characters are loving, dependent, emotional, timid, non-political, fashionable, traditional patriarchal, unprofessional, doubted and underestimated, unfit as candidates, sexy, perpetrators of failure, victims of failure, not news subjects (Adeni & Harahap, 2017); resulting in the emergence of internal, external and communication barriers (Parwati & Istiningdiah, 2021); occurs locally (Boro & Kale, 2020). This culture results in discrimination against women in various aspects, including increasing fertility due to gender-biased regulations (Hasanah, 2018). The problem is that this backwardness is considered natural (Purnomo, 2019); considered natural (Kusmana, 2014) so women must fight to increase their role in politics (Tedjo, 2022); Fighting patriarchy and oligarchy during elections (Maemunah, 2017), strategizing to increase quotas for women (Karmanis, 2022), because women's representation is very important (Kiranantika, 2022). The struggle for women in leadership takes a long time because supporting activities such as the involvement of female students in organizations are still limited (Putri & Fatmariza, 2020); the low position and role of women in political parties due to strong patriarchy and oligarchy (Sulaiman & Padang, 2021), (Nurchahyo, 2016), (Subuatningsih, 2013). So even though there is affirmative action, in practice the dominance of patriarchal political habits controlled by class structures in society does not allow female legislative candidates to get more votes than men (Ramadhani & Rahmawati, 2020).

**Table 2. Map of Serial Numbers of Male and Female Candidates in Electoral District 4 Tanggamus Regency in the 2019 Election**

| Political Party | Candidate Serial Number: Male (M) and Female (F) |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |
|-----------------|--|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
|                 | 1  | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 |
| PKB             | M  | M | F | F | M | F | M | M |
| Gerindra        | F  | M | M | M | M | F | F | M |
| PDIP            | M  | M | F | M | M | F | M | F |
| Golkar          | M  | M | F | M | M | F | F | M |

|          |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |
|----------|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Nasdem   | M | M | F | M | M | F | M | F |
| Garuda   | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - |
| Berkarya | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - |
| Perindo  | M | M | F | M | F | F | M | F |
| PPP      | M | M | F | M | M | F |   |   |
| PSI      | M | F | - | - | - | - | - | - |
| PAN      | M | M | F | M | F | M | M | F |
| Hanura   | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - |
| Demokrat | M | M | F | M | M | F | - | - |
| PBB      | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - |
| PKPI     | M | F | - | - | - | - | - | - |

Data source: Bawaslu Tanggamus, processed 2023

The table above shows that all legislative candidates in the 4th electoral district of Tanggamus district whose serial number is one are men, there is only 1 woman; All legislative candidate candidates whose serial number is 2 are men except for 2 female candidates. All the girls were at number 3 except for one boy. So in accordance with election rules that for every three candidates there must be one woman, the response was by placing women at number three or at the end. Furthermore, in the next three numbers, namely 4, 5, and 6, all men occupy number 4 except 1 woman; all men occupy number 5 except 2 women; all women were placed in number 6 except 1 man. So for serial numbers 1, 2, 3 and 4, 5, 6, there is a gap in the placement of serial numbers for women and men. Equality between men and women can only be seen in serial numbers 7 and 8. This reality shows that the affirmative action arrangement increases the number of female legislative candidates by at least 30% according to the zipper system. The regulation for every 3 candidates must have at least 1 woman, if the political party does not fulfill it then their participation in the electoral district will be excluded. This arrangement was made to increase women's access to become legislative members by up to 30%.

Table 1 shows that there is only one party, namely the Gerindra party, which gives trust to female candidates from the Semende ethnic group at number one. There are two new parties participating in the 2019 election, namely PKPI and PSI which have entrusted women as candidates in number 2 (two). The remaining female candidates are in serial numbers 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8. Old parties that have existed since the New Order until before the 2019 election, such as PKB, PDIP, Golkar, Democrat, PAN, entrust men as candidate numbers. one and two, while women are at number 3 and so on. Political parties believe more in men as number one and two candidates because they are considered to have the ability and courage to compete in elections, while women do not have the experience and ability, as well as the courage to compete. The reason for this ability and courage is also what makes Gerindra place women at number one. Meanwhile, the majority of women are placed at number 3 (three) because the regulations stipulate that for every 3 candidates there must be 1 woman. If men have been placed in numbers 1 and 2 then number 3 must be a woman. These reasons show that women are not yet trusted as candidates who have the capacity and courage to compete. Such as affirmative action in the Golkar, PDIP, PSI parties in Surakarta City in increasing women's representation is still lacking. The causes are gender injustice which subordinates women to the superiority values that men have more capacity for politics, lack of self-confidence of female cadres, the double burden between domestic and political affairs, internal and external marginalization of women, remaining in peripheral or unimportant positions ( Listiyani et al., 2021).

For example, female legislative candidates in Bali in the 2019 elections have limitations and obstacles in the form of (1) financial limitations, little political experience, limited social networks, limited space and time, low motivation of female politicians in pursuing a political career.(Amanda Gelgel & Dwita Apriani, 2019). Another factor is that it is difficult

to find qualified female candidates (Saili & Suryanef, 2005). Many political parties compile candidate numbers on the basis of kinship and money (Saputra, 2015). Apart from that, number 1 is being contested because voters tend to choose the number one candidate (Ramadhan, 2022); Resistant voters chose female candidates (Widiastuti & Yuliawati, 2018), and after being elected as members of the DPR, DPR leadership positions were given to men which was considered a form of gender injustice for women (Ratnasari et al., 2021).

Women who are in whatever serial number are not the determining candidates, but are determined by political parties whose leaders are predominantly men. One of the female candidates from the Semende ethnic group stated that she became a candidate because she was asked to, not on her own initiative. So after becoming a candidate he did not campaign, did not put up banners or other campaign props, and on the day of the event he did not appear at the polling station to vote because he had interests that could not be abandoned. This shows that there are women who are candidates but do not yet have the capacity to become candidates. There are obstacles that prevent her from campaigning, namely economic limitations and her social status as a widow which makes her uncomfortable with the widow stereotype. Women experience many cultural barriers, such as it is not good to go out alone at night, far away, in a quiet area, especially alone with a man other than their husband. Women also feel that they are not free to use their time to gather for the campaign, use family money for campaign purposes, and are not free to use family property such as cars for the campaign. Women experience ideological obstacles in the form of gender ideologies such as politics is not suitable for women, it is suitable for men. Apart from that, there are psychological obstacles in the form of a culture of fear, a lack of confidence in women to run for office (Wahyudi, 2019).

The problem is why the majority of men have more competitive ability and courage than women. Semende custom dictates that women must live in the inheritance house, taking care of their parents and younger siblings, for this reason the first daughter is given an inheritance. Meanwhile, men are given the authority to control women's roles. This arrangement shows that women are not given freedom of choice because their status is given from birth (ascribed status), this status obliges them to carry it out. However, men are given the role of controlling women, not as an obligation. This role gives men the power and ability to get used to making decisions. Men are better trained to understand rules, argue, consider, make decisions, because there is a demand to be fair in making decisions. This is different from women who in carrying out their obligations are required not to make mistakes. Women are trained to respect Meraje and obey his orders, as well as obey and carry out traditional rules. Women are trained and trained to be individuals whose behavior is maintained in obedience. Thus, Semende ethnic women are women who carry out their obligations based on the rules on a daily basis. Women are trained to obey because their non-compliance in carrying out their obligations will be controlled and evaluated by the male ranks (Payung Jurai). If the results of the evaluation show that many violations have been committed, sanctions will be given. Semende ethnic women do not have much freedom of choice or freedom of choice. In general, obligations are actions that someone must do. The action was carried out because of the rules and because of morals. Obligations are always imposed on people's lives, from children to adults. Fulfilling obligations helps maintain balance and order in society and builds healthy relationships between individuals and groups. Freedom according to Amartya Sen is the freedom to choose something that is beneficial for oneself without intervention or coercion. Semende ethnic women do not have the freedom to process this because custom has determined the roles they must carry out.

The distribution of roles between Semende ethnic men and women ultimately makes women lag behind in politics. The lag behind Semende ethnic women in politics is not due to the distribution of roles like men and women in a patriarchal society. The distribution of male and female roles among the Semende ethnic group is due to the fact that Semende ethnic women do not have freedom of choice, which ultimately prevents access, control and political participation. Semende ethnic women do not have the choice (freedom of

choice) to participate or not participate in politics. A woman's choice of whether to participate depends on the family. Politics in the Semende Ethnic context is family politics, which benefits the family.

The lack of freedom of choice complements the limitations of women in patriarchal culture in gaining access, control and participation in politics. Women who do not have or are limited in their access to politics, do not have control so their participation is low, and politics does not provide benefits for women. According to Sen (1985, 2002), the absence of freedom of choice will eliminate benefits or functioning that are valuable for life, which occurs because people do not have the opportunity to choose what is best for his life. If someone has little freedom of choice then the achievement of functioning will also be minimal. Freedom of choice or alternative choices in choosing opportunities/opportunities available to achieve functioning is determined by capability, namely the ability to do something. which is understood as a real opportunity.

Candidates from the Semende ethnic group hope that their candidacy will be successful in obtaining significant votes to obtain a seat. It turns out that this is not always the case, there are candidates whose nominations are not intended to obtain votes. Candidates are only required to meet the quota. Referring to Amartya Sen, this happens because women have no or little freedom of choice, including refusing to choose. Semende ethnic women do not have the ability to refuse their brother's request, or are obliged to fulfill their brother's (Meraje) request if asked to nominate. Meraje is like a king whose orders are never ignored. This aspect of the obligation to fulfill government orders is a form where women do not have freedom of choice.

For as an example, below is a table that can illustrate the comparison of vote acquisition between men and women in the internal PKB<sup>2</sup> for Electoral District 4 in the 2019 election.

**Table 3. Candidate Votes in PKB Electoral District 4 (Four) Tanggamus Regency in the 2019 Election**

| DR ISTRICK       |                 |                |       |                |      |                |       |                |       |
|------------------|-----------------|----------------|-------|----------------|------|----------------|-------|----------------|-------|
|                  |                 | Pulau Panggung |       | Ulu Belu       |      | Air Nanningan  |       | Total          |       |
| Candidat of Name | Candidat Name   | Candidate Vote | %     | Candidate Vote | %    | Candidate Vote | %     | Candidate Vote | %     |
| 1                | Zulki K         | 1855           | 42,01 | 373            | 8,45 | 252            | 5,71  | 2823           | 63,93 |
| 2                | Azharie         | 659            | 14,92 | 386            | 8,74 | 582            | 13,18 | 1077           | 24,39 |
| 3                | Ephilia Susanti | 17             | 0,38  | 66             | 1,49 | 352            | 7,97  | 53             | 1,2   |
| 4                | Weli Apriani    | 25             | 0,57  | 16             | 0,36 | 20             | 0,45  | 48             | 1,09  |
| 5                | Muas Zahrie     | 51             | 1,15  | 11             | 0,25 | 12             | 0,27  | 62             | 1,4   |
| 6                | Riri Nopianti   | 46             | 1,04  | 6              | 0,14 | 5              | 0,11  | 62             | 1,04  |

<sup>2</sup> One of the parties participating in the 2019 election

|       |                        |      |           |     |           |      |           |      |          |
|-------|------------------------|------|-----------|-----|-----------|------|-----------|------|----------|
| 7     | Elik<br>Zulkiia<br>nto | 48   | 1,0<br>9  | 9   | 0,2       | 7    | 0,1<br>6  | 69   | 1,5<br>6 |
| 8     | Budi H                 | 19   | 0,4<br>3  | 1   | 0,0<br>2  | 20   | 0,4<br>5  | 222  | 5,0<br>3 |
| Total |                        | 2720 | 61,<br>59 | 868 | 19,<br>66 | 1250 | 28,<br>31 | 4416 | 100      |

Data source: Tanggamus KPU, processed in 2023

The table above shows that there is a large gap in vote acquisition between male and female candidates. The very small number of votes cast by women is not entirely due to patriarchal culture as studies have previously understood that men have greater power and authority than women. In a patriarchal culture, norms, values and institutional structures tend to support male domination and restrain or constrain women, and do not empower them. As a result, gender inequality is created which is manifested in many sectors. The support of patriarchal culture is very clear in the dominance of men in obtaining votes and seats. The research results show that men can get a large number of votes because patriarchal culture does not hinder men from participating in politics. Women in a patriarchal culture place men as the chosen one, but women are resistant to women (Pillado, 2023), This is different from Pillado (2023), what happens to the Semende ethnic group is that if the candidate is not from the family, they will not get support from their family, let alone other families; Voter votes are spread across many female candidates (Widiastuti & Yuliawati, 2018); there is no government concern for improving education (Talaohu, 2021); Patriarchal culture, lack of popularity of female legislative candidates, lack of women's activeness in public spaces, low participation of women in party membership (Rajab, 2018). The influence of patriarchal culture in politics also occurs in ASEAN countries (Intentilia, 2020); The study outlines how women have strategized pathways through patriarchal structures by deploying their femininity in Nigeria (Ette & Akpan-Obong, 2023); The Moroccan socio political conditions directly contribute in hindering women from reaching higher political positions (Abartal & Boutkhill, 2023); Women do not get elected to parliament in Melanesia emphasize structural barriers to participation, including prohibitive costs and patriarchal norms (Spark & Corbett, 2016). Patriarchal culture places women as not being chosen to be leaders, although that does not mean they are not allowed to do so. Patriarchal culture also makes women feel that being in the domestic sphere is something natural or a destiny that must be accepted. When women step into the world of politics (public) they cannot leave their domestic world. As a result, women cannot maximize their activities in these two domains. This dual role is often criticized when women fail to make their families happy, so women bear this failure (Saputri, 2016).

Slightly different from the analysis above, the large number of votes obtained by Semende ethnic men is not due to men's dominance over women as in the results of the research above. The dominance of the male vote is due to the Semende ethnic family choosing candidates who come from their family (blood lineage). The gap in women's votes from men is not because women are unable to compete with men due to patriarchal culture. This gap occurs because the values that apply to the Semende ethnic group are collective family values. Family plays an important role in the selection of candidates. Family or relatives or primordial is an important political resource because it is able to raise "voters' sociological awareness" (Agusmawanda, 2018). Even though voters are individuals, voters are tied to their families.

This shows that there are aspects that determine a man's election that are not caused by the serial number in the nomination. The aspect that contributes to the selection of Semende ethnic men is family and relatives. If the candidate is family, the family will choose him. Although this is not absolute because when there is more than one candidate of a different gender in the family, the family prioritizes the male they will choose. Unless there is only one candidate in the family and that candidate is a woman, then the woman candidate is



chosen.

### Conclusion

This research is very important because it provides a new concept for analyzing women's lagging behind in politics. So far, the concept of patriarchal culture has been the sole reference for analyzing women's backwardness in politics. However, the results of this research explain that women's lagging behind in politics is not only due to patriarchal culture which hegemonizes the behavior of men and women in the domestic and public spheres. The results of this research show that the Semende ethnic culture places family as the determinant of victory for candidates who come from the family. If the only candidate is male then the entire family supports that candidate. If the only candidate is a woman, the support of the entire family is given to that candidate. If there are two candidates of different genders, the family determines which man will be chosen. Thus, the political culture of the Semende ethnic group emphasizes that the family is an obstacle for women in politics if there are male competitors. However, the family fully supports women from their family to take up politics until they win.

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