

## Women's Issues in the Campaign of Incumbent's Wife in the Regional Head Election

Titin Purwaningsih<sup>1\*)</sup>, Tri Hastuti Nur Rochimah<sup>2</sup>, Arrisi Jorgi Sutan<sup>3</sup>,  
Danang Kurniawan<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup>Department of Government Affairs and Administration, Jusuf Kalla School of Government,  
Universitas Muhammadiyah Yogyakarta, Jl. Brawijaya, Bantul, 55183, Yogyakarta, Indonesia.

<sup>2</sup>Department of Communication Science, Faculty of Social and Political Sciences,  
Universitas Muhammadiyah Yogyakarta, Jl. Brawijaya, Bantul, 55183, Yogyakarta, Indonesia.

<sup>3</sup>Master of Government Affairs and Administration, Jusuf Kalla School of Government,  
Universitas Muhammadiyah Yogyakarta, Jl. Brawijaya, Bantul, 55183, Yogyakarta, Indonesia.

Received: 29 March 2022; Revised: 12 August 2022; Accepted: 18 August 2022

### Abstract

*The representation of women in politics aims to deputize their interests. The problem is whether a female regional head candidate is more committed to women's interests and represents women's aspirations. What issues are raised in the campaign of a female candidate? This study aims to analyze women's issues promoted by a female candidate in the 2020 Bengkalis Regional Head Election. The argument for taking the case study in Bengkalis is that a female candidate being the incumbent's wife won the Regional Head Election, even though her husband had committed corruption and was sentenced to prison. Political family nominations are often based on popularity and family name, not on the candidate's quality. This study analyzed women's issues in the Regional Head Election with qualitative, descriptive, and NVivo analyses. The data were collected by documenting news in the media and the vision and mission presented by the candidate pairs. By taking the case of women's issues in the political, economic, public service, social and legal sectors, the study results unveiled that all actors involved in the campaign, whether candidates, success teams, society, and public figures, were interested in women's issues. Women's issues becoming a concern in the campaign encompassed women's economic empowerment, social security, health services, education, and domestic and children violence. Meanwhile, sanitation and the environment were not the issues in the campaign. The findings of this study reinforce previous studies that female candidates tend to raise issues related to social policy and redistribution and women's services in the domestic sector.*

**Keywords:** Women's Issues; Regional Head Election; Women Candidates; Political Family

**How to Cite:** Purwaningsih, T., Rochimah, T. H. N., Sutan, A. J., & Kurniawan, D. (2022). Women's Issues in the Campaign of Incumbent's Wife in the Regional Head Election. *Otoritas : Jurnal Ilmu Pemerintahan*, 12(2), 162-178.

**Permalink/DOI:** <https://doi.org/10.26618/ojip.v12i2.7415>

<sup>\*)</sup>Corresponding Author.

E-Mail : [titinpurwaningsih@umy.ac.id](mailto:titinpurwaningsih@umy.ac.id)

## INTRODUCTION

Political dynasties have become a phenomenon that contradicts democracy and even gives it a new term called dynastic democracy (Smith, 2012). Egalitarian democracy that upholds equality is trapped in dynastic politics that tend to be elitist and oligarchic. However, from the perspective of women's representation, dynastic politics provides opportunities for female candidates in political contestation. In the 2020 simultaneous regional elections, 124 candidates were from dynastic politics, consisting of 67 males and 57 females. Of the 57 female candidates, 29 were wives of the incumbents (Rahmatunnisa, 2021).

Some of the 29 candidates won in several areas: the regencies of Mojokerto, Banyuwangi, Sukoharjo, Sleman, Burru, Bengkalis, and Riau Islands Province. The representation of women refers to the number of women holding political positions, which is highly associated with their commitment to women's interests. This phenomenon is often a question. The capacity of women in political positions is often doubted, being in the shadow of the family brand's name, such as husbands or fathers. Doubts about the candidate capacity are not only subjected to female candidates but also male ones coming from political families.

Along with implementing decentralization, the regional head election aims to elect the best regional leaders representing local communities' interests. However, one of the problems in the regional head election is the existence of problematic candidates, either as suspects or convicted of corruption cases (Dwiranda et al., 2020). The presence of a candidate who is a corruptor does not always affect voters. The morality and integrity of the candidate are not always the determinants of victory in the regional head election. Voter awareness (Klašnja, 2017), affiliation, and proximity to political parties

and candidates (Anduiza et al., 2013) affect voters' choices. Some corruptors won the election. Bengkalis regional head election is a case in which the candidate is the wife of the incumbent who has been convicted of a corruption case. She won the election. On a descriptive representation, the election of Kasmarni increased the number of women leaders at the local level. But on the substantive side, does the election of a regional head candidate represent the interests of women and have attention to women's issues? It will be the focus of discussion in this article.

Referring to KPU Regulation No. 13 of 2020 concerning the Second Amendment to KPU Regulation No. 6 of 2020 regarding the Implementation of Elections for Governors and Deputy Governors, Regents and Deputy Regents, and Mayors and Deputy Mayors Simultaneously Continuing in Conditions of a Non-Natural Disaster of Corona Virus Disease 2019 (Covid-19), there are six debate materials: improving the welfare of the community, advancing the region, improving services to the community, resolving regional problems, synchronizing the implementation of regional development in the Regency/City or Province with the National, and strengthening the Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia and nationality. Based on KPU Regulation no 465/2020, there is an additional topic of campaign debate regarding the handling of covid-19. The seven debate materials are not specifically about women's issues but are highly relevant to women's interests. KPU regulations also require pairs of candidates to participate in open debates. Therefore, they held open debates on local and national TV channels.

The research of Sundari (2015), entitled Distribution Map and Perspectives on the Issues of Female Candidates for the 2015 Simultaneous Regional Head Elections, discovered that, out of 1,644 candidates who participated, 123 were female (7.4%). However, not all of these female

candidates had a perspective of taking sides on women's issues. Of the 123 women, only 65 (53%) had a perspective of taking sides with women's issues in the vision, mission, and programs offered as candidates for regional head and deputy regional head, leaving the other 42 (34%) not having such a perspective.

Other research revealed that women's descriptive representation in government would become substantive representation (Norris & Lovenduski, 1989), but this is not always the case. Research on women in the 2019 elections in Indonesia does not show it (Wardani & Subekti, 2021). The background experience of the candidates will influence substantive representation. Both female and male candidates with domestic experience in their background tend to understand the substantive interests of women. Research in the United States unveiled that women's leadership would impact more lavish spending on pro-women programs, such as elderly-friendly social policies (Giles-Sims et al., 2012; Enns-Jedenastik, 2017). Meanwhile, in Sweden, female legislators have paid greater attention to children's health (Swiss L & Burgos G, 2012; Enns-Jedenastik, 2017) and family leave and childcare (Kittilson, 2015). Female candidates prefer social and redistributive issues over males (Lloren & Rosset, 2017; Norris & Lovenduski, 1989). Female candidates who carry women's issues make it easier to be elected (Herrnson et al., 2003).

From various studies on female candidates and their programs, this study examines whether the female candidate pays attention to women's issues in her campaign. Moreover, the female regional head candidate in Bengkalis Regency is the wife of the incumbent. Her position as the incumbent's wife is usually considered only to use her husband's big name to win the election and maintain her family's power.

This study involves five issues: polit-

ical, health, education, social, and economic, and all are related to the gender perspective. The study disclosed women's political leadership as the most often brought-up issue.

This background leads to the questions of (1) How are the issues of women in the 2020 Simultaneous Regional Head Election in Bengkalis Regency? (2) Does the incumbent's wife bring up women's issues in her campaign? Moreover, based on previous research, social policies usually affect the vote, especially those from incumbents (Giger & Nelson, 2011). This study aims to analyze women's issues in the 2020 Bengkalis Regional Head Election. This research departs from the low representation of women in politics, and women's issues have not been considered significant for women in politics. Subsequently, such issues are interesting to study because the political dynasty phenomena provide quantitative opportunities for women to advance in politics, but qualitatively, the representation of women's political interests is still low.

#### Literature Review

The quota policy has increased women's representation in politics, although it is not yet on target. There was an increase in women's representation after the quota policy from around 11% to 20.5% in 2019 (Umagapi, 2019). The effect of the quota policy on increasing women's representation does not only occur in Indonesia but also in other countries, including Singapore (Tan, 2015). The multi-member district system provides more significant opportunities for the inclusion of women in politics. Various factors influence the unattainable quota of women in politics. To begin with, the motivation or ambition of women is lower than men's (Fulton et al., 2006), (Fox & Lawless, 2014). Although there have been more than 30% of female legislative candidates in Indonesia, their electability rate is still low because their

nominations are only to fulfill the quota policy, and they have no motivation to win the elections.

In addition, based on the research in Europe, female candidates were less exposed to media than males (Lühiste & Banducci, 2016) (Van der Pas & Aaldering, 2020). When media access provides information to the public about the candidates, this low exposure to women politicians reduces their chances of being elected. Moreover, the gender gap factor in party management tends to nominate male rather than female candidates. The limited political opportunities for women have prevented many women from engaging in politics due to gender bias in party management (Verge, 2015).

However, decentralization, multi-party and direct elections have allowed female candidates to enter politics, especially for women from the political elite or political families. Decentralization and democratization provide opportunities for the development of dynastic politics (Smith, 2012), including its female members. By increasing the number of family members holding political positions and involving several generations, they made an effort to build a political dynasty. From the perspective of political socialization theory (Almond & Sidney Verba, 1963), there is a long inheritance of political values and knowledge from family to children or other family members, making it easier to enter politics. Political knowledge and skills are beneficial in political recruitment.

The development of dynastic politics in Indonesia is not merely a process of political socialization but can also occur instantaneously due to the support of the political structure. Several factors influence the development of dynastic politics, both external and internal factors from the political family. External factors include the opportunity structure (Norris & Lovenduski, 1993), whether related to political institutions, political systems

(Smith, 2012), and the electoral system (Siavelis & Morgenstern, 2008). Cultural factors also affect the rise of dynastic politics, such as patronage network (Purdey et al., 2016).

Internal factors cover the desire of the political family to expand and maintain its power, among others, as a survival strategy by utilizing family networks and family identity as resources (Aspinall & As'ad, 2016). Thomson stated that the prevalence of dynastic political succession in Asia is not an accidental result of ingrained cultural mores but rather a conscious strategy to exploit heredity to serve the survival of a regime, party, or movement (Thompson, 2012). External and internal factors are interrelated, and there is a mutually reinforcing relationship. The weak institutionalization of political parties causes them to depend on political elites, making them oligarchic and dependent on specific figures with high popularity. Moreover, with the majority of the election system highly dependent on figures, parties prefer figures already known to the public or specific family figures to have high electability to win votes.

Although dynastic politics provides opportunities for women to be engaged in politics, a descriptive representation regarding the numbers and substantive representation is essential. Voters choose not only women candidates but also those representing women's interests. The policies should represent women's interests. Female political officials should represent women's interests more than the male ones (Osborne & Slivinski, 1996). The vision and mission or programs offered during the campaign have shown alignment with women's interests. The results of the Nordic parliamentary research unveiled that women MPs balance work and family more. Nature works; they interact more with ministers and non-governmental organizations focusing on women's empowerment issues



(Wängnerud, 2009). With the presence of women in politics and quota policy, the election contestation becomes more competitive. The quota policy has increased the competence of candidates, not only female but also male because competition has become more competitive. Less competent men will be eliminated (Besley et al., 2017).

Furthermore, Hayes and Lawless (2016) analyzed candidates' campaigns and revealed that both male and female candidates carried the same political issues and used them in their respective election-winning strategies. Candidates no longer offered gender-specific political agendas as they did 40 years ago. Women's issues were no longer used to attract constituents by both male and female candidates. The candidates carried more issues following the ideology of the supporting parties. They also focused more on the primary needs of their constituents, not on specific gender issues, except on extremely gender-specific things.

In Indonesia, studies on women in politics are also widely carried out. From VosViewer's analysis of women's issues in politics from 260 journals on Google Scholar, there are 6 clusters, as shown in the figure 1.

The six clusters include 1) studies on feminism, gender equality, identity, construction, and discrimination. 2) studies on the election, democracy, woman candidate, policy, government, and Islamic politics. 3) studies of the history and role of women. 4) studies education, practical politics, children, and human rights. 5) studies of policy, law, criminal law, and government. And 6) studies on corruption and democracy. Based on the six clusters, this research related to the 2nd cluster regarding elections, democracy, women candidates, and policy. This research is more specific about women's issues in the campaign, whether female candidates carry women's issues or, as stated by Hayes and Lawless, prefer issues related to all

constituents.

Studies on issues promoted by female candidates in Indonesia are still rarely carried out. The figure 2 analyzed by Vosviewer above shows that studies on women's issues in politics are more about women's representation (Hardjaloka, 2012; Adeni & Harahap, 2017), women's political participation (Widiyaningrum, 2020; Parwati & Istiningdiah, 2020; Priandi & Roisah, 2019), political communication (Parwati & Istiningdiah, 2020; Handoko, 2009), campaign strategy (Sagala et al., 2015; Tobing, 2022; Milana & Muksin, 2019), and women's empowerment (Abdurrahman & Tusianti, 2021). Studies on women's candidate campaigns are more about campaign strategies carried out by women, not on campaign issues.

## RESEARCH METHODS

This study utilized a qualitative research approach by NVivo analysis (Bazeley, 2002). Qualitative data analysis with NVivo is more accessible because the study is not done manually but based on software.

This research focuses on women in the 2020 Simultaneous Regional Head Elections by taking the case of the Bengkalis Regency Regional Head Election. The area was marked by the advancement of the incumbent's wife managed to win the election. In addition, the husband was caught in a corruption case and received a criminal sentence. This study utilized documentation to collect the data from news in online media during the campaign period regarding the visions and missions of the candidate pairs and issues in the campaign. The descriptive qualitative analysis examined women's issues in the campaign and between dynastic and non-dynastic candidates. Data analysis of women's issues networks employed NVivo (Bazeley, 2002), specifically with crosstab, actor analysis, and map features. There are five

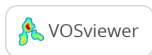
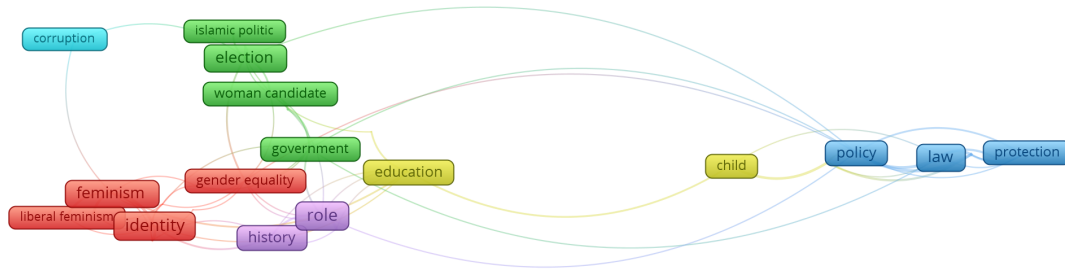


Figure 1. Women issues in Politics  
Source: Processed by the Authors (2021)

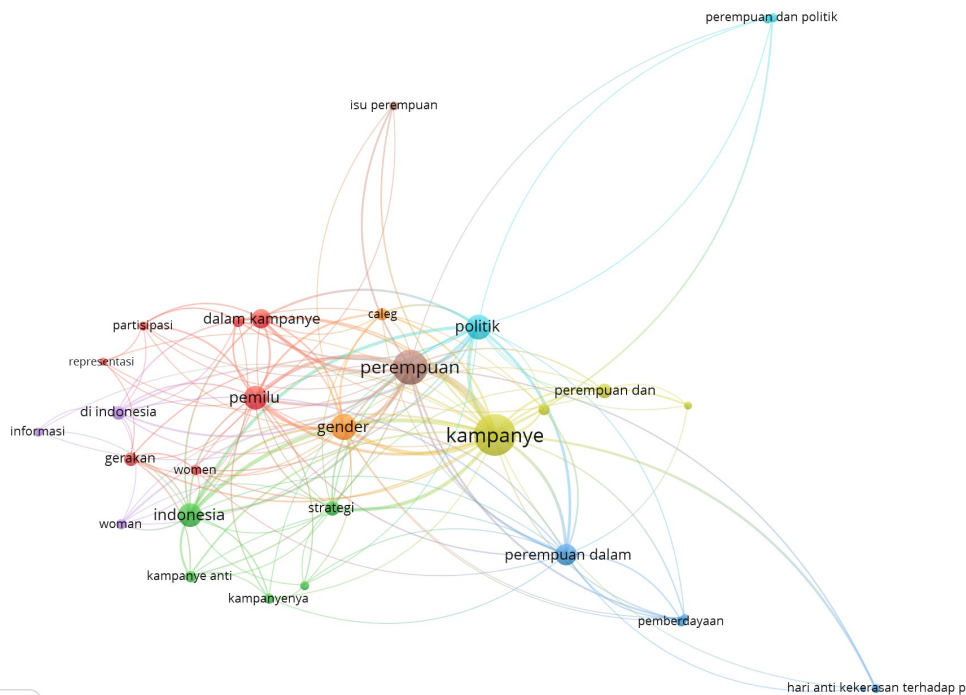


Figure 2. Women issues in Campaign in Indonesia  
Source: Processed by the Authors (2021)

stages in using Nvivo as an analytical tool namely (1) capturing data, (2) importing data, (3) coding data, (4) data classification, and (5) displaying data, and data results code comparison.

## RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

Bengkalis is one of the regencies in Riau Province, Indonesia. It covers the mainland and islands with a population of 553,938 people. The highest income in this regency comes from oil and gas (BPS, 2020). As stated in the Regional Regulation No. 11 of 2016 concerning the Medium-Term Development Plan for the 2016-2021 area of Bengkalis Regency, its vision is "The Realization of Bengkalis Regency as a Model for an Advanced and Prosperous Country in Indonesia".

Bengkalis carried out a simultaneous regional election in 2020, with four pairs of candidates displayed in Table 1.

Gunawan Eet was a politician in Bengkalis Regency who has been active for more than 20 years. Before becoming a candidate for Bengkalis Regent, Eet served as the Chair of the West Sulawesi Regional People's Representative Council (DPRD) for the 2019-2024 period (Hasbullah Tanjung, 2020). Indarwan Gunawan Eet's partner, Samsu Dalimunthe, was a Bengkalis Regional People's Representative Council (DPRD) from the Prosperous Justice Party (Partai Keadilan Sejahtera/PKS), although he was not a PKS cadre, in the sense that he has never participated in regeneration as a condition to become a PKS cadre (Hendri, 2020).

Before joining the candidacy for the Bengkalis Regent, Abi Bahrhun was a member of the Bengkalis DPRD who had occupied two terms (Lira, 2020). Abi Bahrhun has also been involved in politics for a long time through the PKS. His partner, Herman, served as the Head of the Bengkalis Cooperative, the Young Commander of the United Malays Laskar Bengkalis and the United Development

Partai (Partai persatuan pembangunan/PPP) Cadre. With the recognition of Abi Bahrhun as a PPP cadre, the party carried him as a candidate for the Bengkalis Regent for 2021-2026. Herman Achmad - Abi Bahrhun was promoted with the PPP and PKS parties (Hasbullah Tanjung, 2020).

Indonesian Democratic Party of Struggle (PDIP) and National Awakening Party (Partai Kebangkitan Bangsa/PKB) promoted the candidate pair Kaderismanto - Iyeth Bustami. Kaderismanto was a PDIP Cadre and Deputy Chair of the Bengkalis DPRD (2019-2024), before resigning as a member of the Bengkalis DPRD. He has been known for respecting differences, and a populist character has been permanently attached to him (Nurul Hadi, 2020). Iyeth Bustami was a Malay singer and Indonesian national dangdut singer. Through the single *Laksamana Raja di Laut*, Iyeth received three awards at the Dangdut Anugerah event, the best female dangdut song recording singer, the best conventional dangdut song arrangement, and the best video clip (Ratu, 2021). In 2014, Iyeth chose to enter politics. She became a legislative candidate for the PKB in the constituency of Riau I but has not succeeded (Ratu, 2021).

Kasmarni and Bagus Santoso were supported by National Mandate Party (Partai Amanat Nasional/PAN), Gerindra Party, Nasdem Party, Democratic Party, and Star Moon Party (Partai Bulan Bintang). Kasmarni is the wife of the incumbent, Amril Mukminin, who was sentenced to prison for bribery. Kasmarni is a career bureaucrat; where before becoming a candidate for the Regional Head, she was an expert staff of the Regent in community and human resources during her husband's tenure as Regent. Meanwhile, Bagus Santoso had an entrepreneurial background and was a PAN cadre.

In the Bengkalis Regency Regional Head Election contestation, the Kasmani-Bagus Santosa pair won the election. The

Table 1. Candidate Pairs and Supporting Parties  
Source: Processed by the Authors (2021)

No	Name of Candidate Pairs	Supporting Parties	% Parties in Local Parliament
1.	Indra Gunawan Eet - Samsu Dalimunte	Golkar Party, Perindo	20 %
2.	Abi Bahrhun - Herman	PPP, PKS	20%
3.	Kaderismanto - Iyeth Bustami	PDIP, PKB	20%
4.	Kasmarni - Bagus Santoso	PAN, Nasdem, Gerindra, Democrat, PBB	40%

Table 2. Vote acquisition of Candidate Pairs  
Source: Processed by the Authors (2021)

No	Name of Candidate Pairs	Vote Acquisition	%
1.	Indra Gunawan Eet - Samsu Dalimunte	71,283	26%
2.	Abi Bahrhun - Herman	64,276	23%
3.	Kaderismanto - Iyeth Bustami	50,575	18%
4.	Kasmarni - Bagus Santoso	91,291	33%

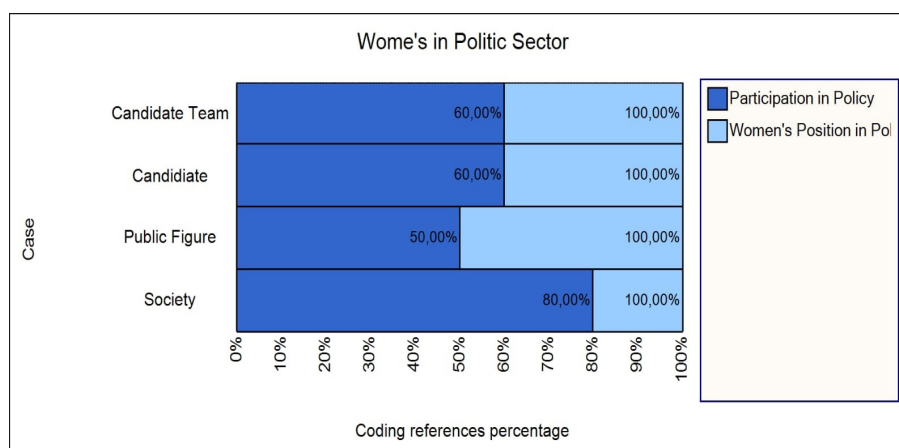


Figure 3. Women's Issues in Political Sector  
Source: Processed by the Authors (2021)

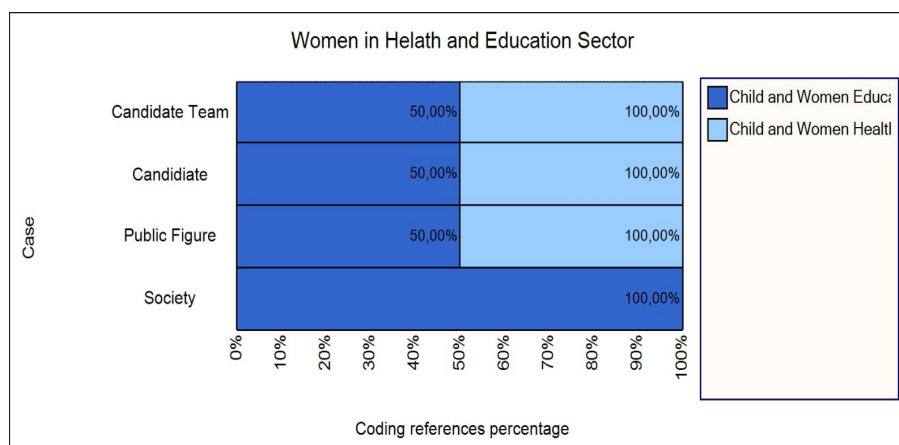


Figure 4. Women's Issues in Health - Education  
Source: Processed by the Authors (2021)



votes acquired by the candidate pairs are depicted in Table 2.

The table exhibits that the vote acquisition of each candidate pair is not much different from the level of support for political parties. However, the votes for the Kasmarni-Bagus Santoso pair are lower than the level of support for political parties, 7% adrift.

There are several exciting things from the Bengkalis Pilkada: first, Kasmarni is the incumbent's wife, and her husband is a suspect in a corruption case, but she won the regional head election. Second, Kasmarni's advancement is a form of effort to form a political dynasty at the local level. Third, Kasmarni is an elected female Regional Head, so she is expected to pay more attention to women's issues in her campaigns and work programs.

#### Women's Issues in the Election Campaign

In her campaign, Kasmarni delivered eight excellent programs: financial assistance of Rp. 1 billion for each district, empowering women with prosperous families, special education scholarships and achievements, access to social security and total health for the community, optimizing inter-island transportation services, making local guesthouses a house of aspirations, online-based population system services, as well as economic stimulation and increasing employment opportunities (Leo, 2020). Kasmarni has explicitly included women's empowerment in her programs.

This content analysis is divided into two parts: the Crosstab analysis and Map analysis of the relationship between actors and content.

#### Women's Issues in Politics

The political issue includes the issue of women's representation or women's involvement in politics. Women's involvement in politics is divided into two activities that are electoral and non-electoral (Ardiansa, 2017). Figure 3 illustrates the

issue of women's involvement in politics in the Kasmarni pair's campaign.

The content analysis on women in politics is divided into "participation in policy" and "the position of women in politics." The analysis of the issues raised by various actors, including candidates, success teams, society and public figures, unveiled that the issue of "women's position in policy" has been more often carried out than "women's position in politics".

In other words, the position of women in policy-making has become a more critical issue. On the other hand, the position of women in politics has a lower share, meaning that their position in politics is no longer a significant issue. Women's opportunities in politics tend to be equal to men's. Whether candidates, success teams, society, and public figures, all actors have agreed that women's position in policy has become the main issue (Table 3). In fact, in the electoral, women's representation in politics is still low. In Bengkalis, women in parliament were 8.89%, lower than the national rate of 20.5% (Umagapi, 2019).

This issue has been undoubtedly beneficial for Kasmarni as a candidate for a female regional head who later became the regional head, making her position as the regional head essential in policy-making. Although there were two female candidates in the regional head election in Bengkalis, Kasmarni's position as a regional head candidate was more substantial than Iyeth, who ran for deputy regional head from another pair. The Indonesian Political Women's Caucus supports Kasmarni's position as a policymaker. In an interview, KPPI chairman Ade Rahmat Hartati asserted that women should play a role in leadership to develop Indonesia.

#### Women's Issues in Health and Education Services

Public service problems that become an issue in empowering women are education and health services for mothers

Table 3. Women’s Issues in Political Sector  
Source: Processed by the Authors (2021)

Actors	Participation in Policy	Women Position in Politics	Total
Candidates	60%	40%	100%
Society	80%	20%	100%
Success Teams	60%	40%	100%
Public Figures	50%	50%	100%
<b>Total</b>	<b>60.87%</b>	<b>39.13%</b>	<b>100%</b>

Table 4. Women’s Issues in Health – Education  
Source: Processed by the Authors (2021)

Actors	Women and Children Health	Women and Children Education	Total
Candidates	50%	50%	100%
Society	0%	100%	100%
Success Teams	50%	50%	100%
Public Figures	50%	50%	100%
<b>Total</b>	<b>45.45%</b>	<b>54.55%</b>	<b>100%</b>

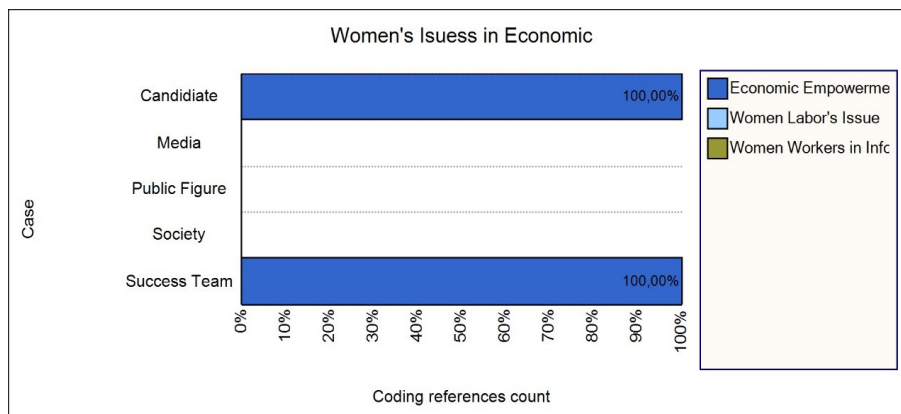


Figure 5. Women’s Issues in Economic  
Source: Processed by the Authors (2021)

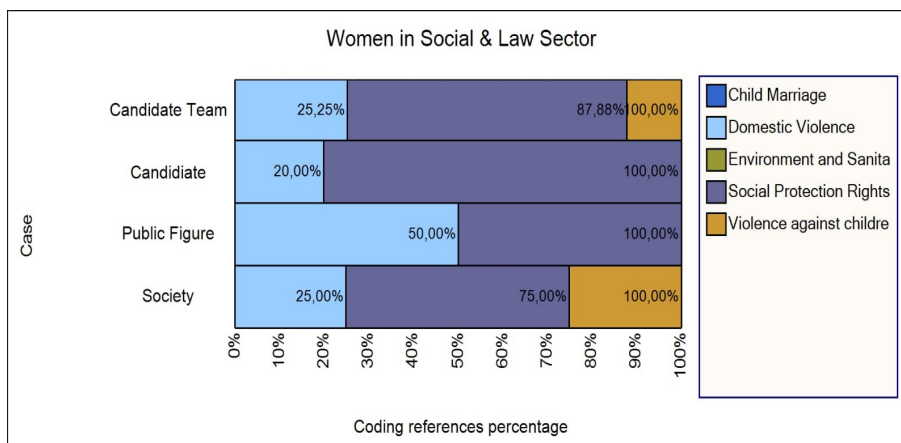


Figure 6. Women’s Issues in Social–Legal  
Source: Processed by the Authors (2021)

and children. Health and education services have become issues of concern to women politicians (Swiss L & Burgos G, 2012). Both issues are crucial in realizing sustainable development goals (SDGs).

Figure 4 shows that candidates, success teams, and community leaders are concerned about women's and children's health issues. Nevertheless, the education issue is a more significant concern for the public.

Kasmarni has focused on creating a healthy and prosperous society for all, especially women and children. The second issue is inclusive education to address the gender gap in education. These two issues, from various actors, received a relatively balanced emphasis. Only the community prioritized the issue of education for women and children, while other actors emphasized both issues (Table 4).

Kasmarni was a candidate for the regional head, with one of her visions being access to social security and health for the community. While in education, her

vision is special education and educational achievement scholarships. Her two visions reinforce previous studies on the tendency for female politicians to prioritize redistributive and social policies (Lloren & Rosset, 2017; Norris & Lovenduski, 1989). However, in practice later, it is necessary to evaluate whether the visions offered are realized and implemented.

#### Women's Issues in Economics

Women's issues in economics are closely related to women's employment issues. The issue of women's labor is also an essential agenda for women's activists. There are several issues related to women's employment, including the issue of salary gaps, migrant workers (Asriani & Amalia, 2016), employment opportunities for women, and the protection of women's rights in the workplace. Many women work in the informal sector whose rights often escape the provisions of formal regulations. The estuary of women's economic issues is to empower women's econo-

Table 5. Women's Issues in Economic  
Source: Processed by the Authors (2021)

Actors	TKW Issue	Women in the Informal Sector	Economic Empowerment for Women	Total
Candidates	0%	0%	100%	100%
Society	0%	0%	0%	0%
Success Teams	0%	0%	100%	100%
Public Figures	0%	0%	0%	0%
<b>Total</b>	0%	0%	100%	100%

Table 6. Women's Issues in Social-Legal  
Source: Processed by the Authors (2021)

Actors	Social protection on Right	Domes-tic Violence	Violence Against Children	Sanitation and Environ-ment	Early-age Marriage	Total
Candidates	80%	20%	0%	0%	0%	100%
Society	50%	25%	25%	0%	0%	100%
Secceed Teams	62.5%	25%	12.5%	0%	0%	100%
Public Figures	50%	50%	0%	0%	0%	100%
<b>Total</b>	63.16%	26.32%	10.53%	0%	0%	100%

my so achieve the welfare of women and their families.

Figure 5 shows that the economic analysis is divided into three: “women labor issues”, “women workers in the informal sector” and “women economic empowerment”. The issue of female workers may not be prominent in Bengkalis Regency, but women working in the informal sector has become an issue faced by all regencies in Indonesia. Women in Indonesia are the backbone of the family economy, many of whom work in the informal sector. However, the issues offered in Kasmarni’s campaign are more macro, namely women’s economic empowerment. This issue has not been described in detail in the campaign. However, her vision, which budgets 1 billion for each district, is used for education, health, transportation, and women’s economic empowerment services. It further strengthens that women politicians prioritize aspects of social policy and redistribution.

The issue of women’s economic empowerment is only a concern of candidates and success teams, not of the society or public figures.

Although the issue of female labor, migrant workers, and women's informal workers has become a women's economic issue, they have not become an issue and concern for the actors in the Bengkalis regional head election campaign. Table 5 above shows that the candidates and the success team only have attention to the issue of women's economic empowerment as a whole.

#### Women’s Issues in Social-Legal

The prominent women's issues in the legal field are the existence of equality before the law or the elimination of all forms of discrimination against women (Rahayu, 2012). Some of the legal issues for women include legal protection and problems in marriage relations, including issues of domestic violence, early marriage for women, and violence against

children.

From Figure 6, of the five issues, social security right has become the concern of all actors. It is crucial because it becomes a buffer in overcoming social problems, especially poverty and public services. One of Kasmarni’s visions is access to social security and health for the community. In general, the Indonesian people do not have independent social security, making them highly dependent on the social security provided by the government.

The second issue concerning all actors is domestic violence. It is still common and perpetrated by the closest people, such as husbands to wives. This issue certainly needs concrete action in Kasmarni’s programs and activities after being elected as the Regent of Bengkalis.

The third issue is violence against children, which only became the attention of the success teams and the community (Table 6), while Kasmarni and public figures did not raise this issue in the campaign. Domestic violence and violence against children are usually inseparable from economic problems in the family. Hence, it needs comprehensive handling.

Meanwhile, the fourth issue, sanitation and the environment, was not a concern of all actors. It is a problem in almost all regencies/cities in Indonesia. This issue is long-term, causing it to be missed in the campaign.

#### CONCLUSION

The analysis of Kasmarni’s campaign program uncovered that Kasmarni, a female candidate in the regional head election in Bengkalis Regency, has been interested in women’s issues. Her seven programs lead to community empowerment programs and social policies that touch on problems in society. It reinforces previous studies that women politicians have greater attention to social policies, women’s and children’s issues, and redistributive policies. The programs offered have been more comprehensive than their



male rivals.

Besides being influenced by her position as a woman, she is also inseparable from her previous work background as a civil servant familiar with public service issues. Kasmarni was the only candidate with an executive background, while the three rivals had a background as politicians in the Regional People's Representative Council. It is undoubtedly one of Kasmarni's strengths apart from her position as the incumbent's wife. Despite being the incumbent's wife, Kasmarni had a supportive work background for her victory. However, the most crucial thing is how she can fulfill her campaign promises after being elected and not follow in the footsteps of her corrupt husband and go to jail.

#### ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

The authors would like to thank the Research and Innovation Institute of Universitas Muhammadiyah Yogyakarta, which has funded this research and assisted in this publication process.

#### REFERENCES

- Abdurrahman, A., & Tusianti, E. (2021). Apakah Pemberdayaan Perempuan dalam Ekonomi dan Politik Telah Meningkatkan IPM Perempuan Indonesia? Does Empowerment of Women in Economy and Politics Have Enhanced HDI of Indonesian Women?. *Jurnal Ekonomi dan Pembangunan Indonesia*, 21(2), 16.
- Adeni, S., & Harahap, M. A. (2017). KOMUNIKASI POLITIK DAN KETERWAKILAN PEREMPUAN DALAM ARENA POLITIK. *Jurnal PERSPEKTIF Komunikasi*, 1(2).
- Almond, G., & Sidney Verba. (1963). *The Civic Culture*. California: Sage Publications.
- Anduiza, E., Gallego, A., & Muñoz, J. (2013). Turning a Blind Eye: Experimental Evidence of Partisan Bias in Attitudes Toward Corruption. *Comparative Political Studies*, 46(12), 1664–1692. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0010414013489081>
- Ardiansa, D. (2017). Menghadirkan Kepentingan Perempuan dalam Representasi Politik di Indonesia. *Jurnal Politik*, 2(1), 71. <https://doi.org/10.7454/jp.v2i1.82>
- Aspinall, E., & As'ad, M. U. (2016). Understanding family politics: Successes and failures of political dynasties in regional Indonesia. *South East Asia Research*, 24(3), 420–435. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0967828X16659571>
- Asriani, D. D., & Amalia, E. (2016). Jejak Perempuan Buruh Migran dalam Masyarakat ASEAN 2015. *Jurnal Ilmu Sosial dan Ilmu Politik*, 18(2), 147. <https://doi.org/10.22146/jsp.13129>
- Bazeley, P. (2002). The evolution of a project involving an integrated analysis of structured qualitative and quantitative data: From N3 to NVivo. *International Journal of Social Research Methodology*, 5(3), 229–243. <https://doi.org/10.1080/13645570210146285>
- Besley, T., Folke, O., Persson, T., & Rickne, J. (2017). Gender Quotas and the Crisis of the Mediocre Man: Theory and Evidence from Sweden. *American Economic Review*, 107(8), 2204–2242. <https://doi.org/10.1257/aer.20160080>
- BPS, B. (2020). *Kabupaten Bengkalis dalam Angka 2020*. Bengkalis: BPS Kabupaten Bengkalis.

- Dwiranda, I. F., Anggoro, S. A., & Peneliti Independen, Menyelesaikan Magister Hukum di Universitas Brawijaya. (2020). Kandidat Problematik dalam Pilkada Serentak 2015-2018: Celah Hukum Pilkada Hingga Pragmatisme Partai Politik. *Jurnal Transformative*, 6(2), 224–253. <https://doi.org/10.21776/ub.transformative.2020.006.02.5>
- Ennsner-Jedenastik, L. (2017). How Women's Political Representation affects Spending on Family Benefits. *Journal of Social Policy*, 46(3), 563–581. <https://doi.org/10.1017/S0047279416000933>
- Fox, R. L., & Lawless, J. L. (2014). Reconciling Family Roles with Political Ambition: The New Normal for Women in Twenty-First Century U.S. Politics. *The Journal of Politics*, 76(2), 398–414. <https://doi.org/10.1017/S0022381613001473>
- Fulton, S. A., Maestas, C. D., Maisel, L. S., & Stone, W. J. (2006). The Sense of a Woman: Gender, Ambition, and the Decision to Run for Congress. *Political Research Quarterly*, 59(2), 235–248. <https://doi.org/10.1177/106591290605900206>
- Giger, N., & Nelson, M. (2011). The electoral consequences of welfare state retrenchment: Blame avoidance or credit claiming in the era of permanent austerity? *European Journal of Political Research*, 50(1), 1–23. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1475-6765.2010.01922.x>
- Giles-Sims, J., Green, J. C., & Lockhart, C. (2012). Do Women Legislators Have a Positive Effect on the Supportiveness of States Toward Older Citizens? *Journal of Women, Politics & Policy*. <https://www.tandfonline.com/doi/abs/10.1080/1554477X.2012.640614>
- Handoko, W. (2009). SEBAGAI STRATEGI KOMUNIKASI POLITIK KAMPANYE CALON DALAM PILKADA. *Jurnal Studi Gender & Anak*, 4(2).
- Hardjaloka, L. (2012). Potret Keterwakilan Perempuan dalam Wajah Politik Indonesia Perspektif Regulasi dan Implementasi. *Jurnal Konstitusi*, 9(2).
- Hasbullah Tanjung. (2020). Herman jadi Kader PPP, Paslon Abi Bahrūn—Herman Dipastikan Berlayar di Pilkada Bengkulu, Malam ini Deklarasi. *Goriau.Com*. <https://www.goriau.com/berita/baca/herman-jadi-kader-ppp-paslon-abi-bahrūnherman-dipastikan-berlayar-di-pilkada-bengkalis-malam-ini-deklarasi.html>
- Hendri, N. (2020). Samsu Dalimunthe Bakal Dipecat Partai, Maju Jadi Bacawabup Dampingi Ketua DPRD Riau: Bukan Kader PKS Artikel ini telah tayang di TribunPekanbaru.com dengan judul Samsu Dalimunthe Bakal Dipecat Partai, Maju Jadi Bacawabup Dampingi Ketua DPRD. Pekanbaru, *Tribunnews.Com*. <https://pekanbaru.tribunnews.com/2020/07/15/samsu-dalimunthe-bakal-dipecat-partai-maju-jadi-bacawabup-dampingi-ketua-dprd-riau-bukan-kader-pks>
- Herrnson, P. S., Lay, J. C., & Stokes, A. K. (2003). Women Running “as Women”: Candidate Gender, Campaign Issues, and Voter-Targeting Strategies. *The Journal of Politics*, 65(1), 244–255. <https://doi.org/10.1111/1468-2508.t01-1-00013>

- Kittilson, M. C. (2015). Representing Women: The Adoption of Family Leave in Comparative Perspective. *The Journal of Politics*. <https://doi.org/10.1017/S002238160808033X>
- Klašnja, M. (2017). Uninformed Voters and Corrupt Politicians. *American Politics Research*, 45(2), 256–279. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1532673X16684574>
- Leo, L. (2020). Bertemu Masyarakat Jawa Di Buluh Manis, Kasmarni Tegaskan Tak Mau Terperosok Ke Lubang Yang Sama. [www.riau-global.com](http://www.riau-global.com). <https://www.riau-global.com/read-18384-bertemu-masyarakat-jawa-di-buluh-maniskasmarni-tegaskan-tak-mau-terperosok-ke-lubang-yang-sama.html>
- lira. (2020). Perjalanan Abi Bahrhun Sebelum Mengikuti Pencalonan Bupati Bengkalis Periode 2021-2026. [Suara.Com](http://suaralira.com). <http://suaralira.com/news/detail/21466/ini-perjalanan-abi-bahrhun-sebelum-mengikuti-pencalonan-bupati-bengkalis-periode-20212026>
- Lloren, A., & Rosset, J. (2017). Gendered policy preferences? Candidates' views on political issues in a comparative perspective. *Comparative European Politics*, 15(6), 944–968. <https://doi.org/10.1057/cep.2015.4>
- Lühiste, M., & Banducci, S. (2016). Invisible Women? Comparing Candidates' News Coverage in Europe. *Politics & Gender*, 12(02), 223–253. <https://doi.org/10.1017/S1743923X16000106>
- Milana, R., & Muksin, N. N. (2019). KAMPANYE POLITIK CALON LEGISLATIF PEREMPUAN (STUDI FENOMENOLOGI PADA PEMILIHAN UMUM 2019). *KAIS Kajian Ilmu Sosial*, 2(1).
- Norris, P., & Lovenduski, J. (1989). Women Candidates for Parliament: Transforming the Agenda? *British Journal of Political Science*, 19(1), 106–115. <https://doi.org/10.1017/S0007123400005342>
- Norris, P., & Lovenduski, J. (1993). 'If Only More Candidates Came Forward': Supply-Side Explanations of Candidate Selection in Britain. *British Journal of Political Science*, 23(3), 373–408. <https://doi.org/10.1017/S0007123400006657>
- Nurul Hadi, A. W. (2020). Berikut Pengakuan Ajudan Kaderismanto, Soal Pribadi Calon Bupati Bengkalis Tersebut. [Gagasanriau.Com](http://Gagasanriau.Com). <https://gagasanriau.com/news/detail/43483/berikut-pengakuan-ajudan-kaderismanto-soal-pribadi-calon-bupati-bengkalis-tersebut>
- Osborne, M. J., & Slivinski, A. (1996). A Model of Political Competition with Citizen-Candidates. *The Quarterly Journal of Economics*, 111(1), 65–96. <https://doi.org/10.2307/2946658>
- Parwati, T., & Istiningdiah, K. (2020). PARTISIPASI DAN KOMUNIKASI POLITIK PEREMPUAN DI LEGISLATIF MENURUT KACAMATA POLITISI PEREMPUAN DI INDONESIA. *Interaksi: Jurnal Ilmu Komunikasi*, 9(2), 119–129. <https://doi.org/10.14710/interaksi.9.2.119-129>
- Priandi, R., & Roisah, K. (2019). UPAYA MENINGKATKAN PARTISIPASI POLITIK PEREMPUAN DALAM PEMILIHAN UMUM DI INDONESIA. *Jurnal Pembangunan Hukum Indonesia*, 1(1), 106–116. <https://>

[doi.org/10.14710/jphi.v1i1.106-116](https://doi.org/10.14710/jphi.v1i1.106-116)

- Purdey, J., Tadem, T. S. E., & Tadem, E. C. (2016). Political dynasties in the Philippines: Persistent patterns, perennial problems. *South East Asia Research*, 24(3), 328–340. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0967828X16659730>
- Rahayu, N. (2012). KESETARAAN GENDER DALAM ATURAN HUKUM DAN IMPLEMENTASINYA DI INDONESIA. *Jurnal Legislasi Indonesia*, 9(1).
- Rahmatunnisa, M. (2021). MENYOAL POLITIK KEKERABATAN DI INDONESIA DALAM PELAKSANAAN PILKADA SERENTAK 2020. *Jurnal Academia Praja*, 4(2), 295–316. <https://doi.org/10.36859/jap.v4i2.483>
- Ratu, R. (2021). Utamakan Kualitas daripada Popularitas. Viva.Co.Id. <https://www.viva.co.id/siapa/read/730-iyeth-bustami>
- Sagala, O., Astrika, L., Ip, S., Si, M., Fitriyah, D., & Soedarto, J. H. (2015). STRATEGI KAMPANYE CALON LEGISLATIF PEREMPUAN MENJELANG PEMILIHAN LEGISLATIF 2014 DI KOTA SEMARANG. *Journal of Politic and Government Studies*, 4(2).
- Siavelis, P. M., & Morgenstern, S. (2008). Candidate Recruitment and Selection in Latin America: A Framework for Analysis. *Latin American Politics and Society*, 50(4), 27–58. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1548-2456.2008.00029.x>
- Smith, D. M. (2012). Succeeding in politics: Dynasties in democracies [UC San Diego]. <https://escholarship.org/uc/item/1dv7f7bb>
- Sundari, A. (2015). PETA SEBARAN DAN PERSPEKTIF ISU PEREMPUAN PADA CALON PEREMPUAN PESERTA PILKADA SERENTAK 2015. *Jurnal Etika & Pemilu*, 1(4).
- Swiss L, F., & Burgos G. (2012). Does Critical Mass Matter? Women’s Political Representation and Child Health in Developing Countries. *Social Forces*, 91(2), 531–558.
- Tan, N. (2015). Party Quotas and Rising Women Politicians in Singapore. *Politics & Gender*, 11(01), 196–207. <https://doi.org/10.1017/S1743923X14000646>
- Thompson, M. R. (2012). ASIA’S HYBRID DYNASTIES. *Asian Affairs*, 43(2), 204–220.
- Tobing, S. M. (2022). STEREOTIP PARTAI DAN GENDER DALAM SERANGAN KAMPANYE. *Jurnal Sosiologi Indonesia*, 1(1), 14.
- Umagapi, J. L. (2019). REPRESENTASI PEREMPUAN DI PARLEMEN HASIL PEMILU 2019: TANTANGAN DAN PELUANG. *Kajian*, 25(1), 16.
- Van der Pas, D. J., & Aaldering, L. (2020). Gender Differences in Political Media Coverage: A Meta-Analysis. *Journal of Communication*, 70(1), 114–143. <https://doi.org/10.1093/joc/jqz046>
- Verge, T. (2015). The Gender Regime of Political Parties: Feedback Effects between “Supply” and “Demand.” *Politics & Gender*, 11(04), 754–759. <https://doi.org/10.1017/S1743923X15000483>
- Wängnerud, L. (2009). Women in Parliaments: Descriptive and Substantive Representation. *Annual Review of Political Science*, 12(1), 51–69. <https://doi.org/10.1146/>



annurev.polisci.11.053106.123839

Wardani, S. B. E., & Subekti, V. S. (2021). Political Dynasties and Women Candidates in Indonesia's 2019 Election. *Journal of Current Southeast Asian Affairs*, 40(1), 28–49. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1868103421991144>

Widiyaningrum, W. Y. (2020). PARTISIPASI POLITIK KADER PEREMPUAN DALAM BIDANG POLITIK: SEBUAH KAJIAN TEORITIS. *Jurnal JISIPOL*, 4(2), 17.