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Received
28 February 2021

Accepted
23 September 2021

Published online
1 November 2021

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Women and Kinship Politics in the 2020 Regional Head Elections in Central Java

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Abstract: One of the entrances for women in politics is through kinship. In the 2020 regional head elections in Central Java, the nomination of women from incumbent families or political elites took place in various regions. Some have political experience; some have less experience. This paper examines how the nomination and victory of female candidates, whether because of kinship, or the need for experience, personal qualities, or other reasons. This research is descriptive with a qualitative approach, using data from the results of the vote, candidate data, and some related information. This study found that female candidates with kinship relations do not always win elections, but must have political capital, social capital, and competence, as well as support from political parties.

Keywords: Central Java; elections; women; kinship politics

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I. Introduction

Democracy is an inclusive space for various opinions and perceptions for both men and women (Maulana, 2013, p. 34). Basically, women have the same abilities as men, both experience and knowledge, supported by education and experience in social/political organizations (Pandiangan, 2017, p. 154). Sometimes women are more successful in leadership than men because they have the strength of assertiveness, toughness, and the ability to make the right decisions (Hendrarto, 2019, p. 68).

The presence of women in politics in Indonesia is now increasingly open and has opportunities that are part of the strengthening of the movement and awareness of gender equality, including in politics (Widiyaningrum, 2020, p. 127). On the other hand, Indonesian politics is still overshadowed by gender discrimination, where women are still blind to political discourse, minimal roles, and positions in policymaking (Wahyudi, 2018, p. 65). The discourse on women's subordination is indeed very common in many countries in Asia, Africa, and the Middle East (Fikriyah & Hidayati, 2016).

There is an assumption that politics is identical to the world of men (dirty, loud, and full of intrigue) so that fewer women are involved in politics, even in countries with good democracy and human rights (Zamroni, 2013, p. 104). The marginalization of women in politics is due to the patriarchal social structure discriminating against women, the lack of political education for women, and the lack of support from political parties (Rasyidin & Aruni, 2016, p. 75). There are internal and external obstacles for women to enter politics, including education, employment, gender justice and equality, domestic roles, patriarchal culture, religion, and family relations (Habibah, 2015, p. 353). Some views that hinder women in the political arena include the "domestication" of women's public roles in organizations with women's stereotypes, on the other hand, women's political roles are contrary to their nature (Listyaningsih, 2018, pp. 162–163). On the other hand, Kiftiyah's research (2019, p. 66) finds that it is not because of religion or culture that causes a lack of women's roles in politics, but men who have an interest in power who use religion to discriminate against women. In the social construction of society, the role of women is domestic so that the issue of gender inequality arises (Hasanah & Musyafak, 2017, p. 425).

The existence of obstacles for women in politics has given rise to several phenomena, one of which is the path of kinship politics. Fitriyah (2018, p. 39), linking the phenomenon of kinship politics with women's representation, that "nomination of women" as kinship-based candidates are inevitable when faced with internal and external obstacles to women in politics, and the formal space is not provided by regulations. The 2015 regional head elections in Central Java were conducted in 21 regencies/cities involving seven female regional head candidates and eight female deputy regional head candidates who had family ties to the incumbent and former regional head, which also happened in the previous period (Fitriyah, 2018, p. 44). In Southeast Sulawesi, there are at least two things that underlie parties carrying women, namely the electability factor (dynastic politics, kinship) and capital strength, not based on quality and competence through inclusive recruitment (Machmud, 2019, p. 104). Affirmative politics of women in politics becomes a red carpet for the authorities by nominating women from "their own circle" (Wardani, 2011, p. 169).

There is a link between kinship politics as an effort to maintain power "for one's own circle" and the obstacles of women in politics. Kinship politics is one way for women to enter politics. Kinship politics or political dynasties has recently become increasingly warm and has become a public secret (Haboddin, 2013, p. 139) which causes power to only be centered on certain groups and prone to corruption (Irianti, 2020, p. 48). Kinship politics is interpreted almost the same as nepotism, in that power is distributed among family members (Haboddin, 2017, p. 3). The direct regional head elections system that focuses on candidates, benefits political families because they are better known (Purwaningsih, 2015, p. 99). Neopatrimonialistic symptoms (little kings in the regions) are indicated by experts as a result of reform, decentralization, and regional autonomy that create local elites or local bossism (Rusnaedy & Purwaningsih, 2018, p. 302).

Kinship politics is marked by the participation of husbands, wives, children, and other relatives of incumbents in the political arena, whether in regional head elections, legislative elections, or other important positions (Rusnaedy & Purwaningsih, 2018, p. 302). Incumbent regional heads usually have the power of influence and take advantage of the opportunities or "*aji mumpung*," so that a power oligarchy can emerge without competence (Prianto, 2016, p. 116).

Family politics is seen as "strengthening and perpetuating power" and saving the economic "coffers" of the family and the economic elite, often ignoring the interests of the people (Hady, 2018, p. 497). The phenomenon of oligarchy and immature politicians born from dynastic politics is a big threat to democracy, where the government is a tool to maintain power, democracy is defined as procedural and formal, without substance (Hakim & Jurdi, 2017, p. 353). Political dynasties not only create injustice but also tend to corrupt (Suharto et al., 2017, pp. 39–40). Kinship ties with the previous ruler have many advantages such as popularity to encourage electability (Pamungkas, 2018, p. 12).

Several studies have been conducted to examine how kinship politics grows in several regions in Indonesia. In North Sulawesi, family names (fam) with political backgrounds are very influential for the success of children, wives, brothers, sisters, nephews, and in-laws (Lotulung & Mulyana, 2018, p. 142). In Banten Province, political dynasties have proliferated, not only the executive and the legislature but also associations and organizations outside the government (Sutisna, 2017, p. 102). Political kinship is growing rapidly in Banten due to a strong pattern of patron-client leadership and a lack of social control due to low education (Suranto et al., 2019, p. 49). In West Sumatra, matrilineal kinship is used because it has a wide social network in the community (Putri, 2017, p. 177). In South Sulawesi, there is an "assajingeng" kinship strategy in maintaining the status quo of Arung groups (Hijjang & Amelia, 2019, p. 121). In Bantul, the influence of Idham Samawi when he became regent with his populist policies became political capital for the family to win the election (Aninda, 2012, p. 28). The ability and charisma of politicians are non-material assets that are often used to build political dynasties (Fitri, 2019, p. 110). In Klaten Regency, Central Java, the couple Sri Hartini (wife of the former Klaten Regent in 2000–2005) and Sri Mulyani (wife of the former Klaten Regent for the 2005–2010 and 2010–2015 periods) won (Pamungkas, 2018, pp. 11–12).

In 2020, of the 21 regions holding simultaneous regional head elections in Central Java, there are 11 female regent/mayor candidates and 7 female deputy regent/mayor candidates. Some of these women are incumbents who also have family ties to the regent of the previous period. In Klaten Regency there is Sri Mulyani who is the incumbent (wife of Sunarna, Klaten Regent 2005–2010 and 2010–2015). In Sragen Regency

there is Kusdinar Untung Yuni Sukowati who is the incumbent (daughter of Untung Wiyono, Sragen Regent 2001–2006 & 2006–2011), and in Purbalingga Regency there is Dyah Hayuning Pratiwi who is the incumbent (daughter Triyono Budi Sasongko, Purbalingga Regent 2000–2005 & 2005–2010). In the 2015 regional head elections, they were women who built political careers and were later nominated in the regional head elections due to their familial closeness to the ruling elite (Fitriyah, 2018, p. 46).

The new candidate listed in Semarang Regency is Bintang Narsasi, who is the wife of Mundjirin ES (Semarang Regent 2010–2015 & 2016–2021). In Blora Regency there is Umi Kulsum who is wife of Joko (Blora Regent 2010–2015 & 2016–2021). In Sukoharjo there is Etik Suryani who is wife of Widjaja (the Regent of Sukoharjo for the 2016–2021 period). Purworejo Deputy Regent candidate Yuli Hastuti (wife of Kelik Sumrohadi, former Purworejo Regent) accompanies Agus Bastian. In Kebumen, Ristawati Purwaningsih (wife of Cipto Waluyo, former Regional House of Representatives chairman) who accompanied Arif Sugiyanto.

Another female candidate comes from the political path. In Grobogan Regency, Sri Sumarni (elected in 2015) is an incumbent who is advancing from a political career path. In Demak Regency, Eisti'Anah also went through the party route. In Magelang City, there is Windarti Agustina and in Semarang City, Hevearita Gunaryanti Rahayu who is the vice mayor for the 2016–2021 period.

In the 2020 elections, the number of women who come from incumbent and political elite's families is increasing. Therefore, it is quite important to examine how the relationship between kinship politics and the involvement of these women is. Previous studies have discussed the negative impact of kinship politics. Fitriyah's research (2018, p. 42) analyzes the advantages of nominating women from the kinship route, namely as a way of representing women in politics in Central Java.

In contrast to previous studies that analyzed the advantages or disadvantages of nominating women from the kinship line, this paper focuses on how female candidates from the kinship line win or not in the regional head elections, and what about women outside the kinship line. This paper examines how female candidates get the support of voters in the regional head elections, whether it is enough by kinship, or needs support for

personal qualities, some resources, or for other reasons.

II. Methods

This type of research is descriptive with a qualitative approach and is included in the type of meta-analysis review or study. These methods and approaches are used in order to generalize from the various events studied. The data used is secondary data in the form of vote counting results, nomination data, the results of studies of other parties, and some related news. Data were obtained from the KPU website, scientific journals, and several other media by downloading them from the internet. The analysis used in this study is the Spradley model (Sugiyono, 2018, p. 346), namely the unity of domain analysis (doing an overview of objects), taxonomic analysis (deepening/detailing each subject), componential analysis (looking for specific characteristics) and analysis of cultural themes (looking for a common thread). The analysis begins with classifying data and information into each subject, then deepening or detailing each subject, as well as looking for the specific characteristics of each and looking for common threads or links between subjects and events. The research was conducted from December 2020–January 2021.

III. Results and Discussion

According to previous research, the low participation of women in politics is caused by two factors, namely: women's internal factors, external factors (Rahim, 2016, p. 279). Internal constraints include the weak quality of human resources, the limited number of women who have qualities and qualifications in the political field, and a lack of self-confidence, as well as the low interest and awareness of women (Kollo, 2017, p. 317; Rahim, 2016, p. 279; Wahyudi, 2018, p. 82). External constraints include a patriarchal culture, party elites are reluctant to open up space for women's involvement, and an attitude that underestimates women's abilities in politics (Wahyudi, 2018, p. 82). Several things that hinder women include men having more access, women in politics being seen as awkward, causing inferiority and demoralization, and the superiority of men who feel competitive or uncomfortable if their wives play a role outside the household (Masitoh & Yuliawati, 2016, p. 217; Rahim, 2016, p. 83).

The low involvement of women in politics is also influenced by various factors, such as the general election system and recruitment of party

cadres, women's interests, misperceptions of women in politics, patriarchal culture and religious doctrine, women's incompetence, and the reconstruction of social media culture (Malihah, 2011, p. 372). The patriarchal culture in politics is one of the factors that prevent women from being involved in decision-making (Muslimat, 2016, p. 27). Women are perceived as second-class people and are judged to be unable to lead because they prioritize feelings of rationality too much (Purnamasari & Zubaidah, 2017, p. 26). The position of women in politics is still marginalized because of social culture, having to share household roles, natural conditions (pregnancy, childbirth, breastfeeding, etc.), political assumptions that are not suitable for women, and underestimate the presence of women (Widiyaningrum, 2020, pp. 132–133).

On the other hand, women's involvement in politics is important in order to fight for special needs that can only be understood best by women (Nelli, 2015, p. 255). Due to these obstacles in politics, kinship networks with party elites and public officials (dynastic politics) are an important factor for women to be nominated (Fitriyah, 2018, p. 49). Women face barriers and are marginalized in politics, because of culture, socio-political structures, and various stereotypes. Kinship is a fast track for women to enter politics. In addition to kinship capital, various other capital is also needed by women. There is a link between kinship politics and women's barriers in politics, where kinship politics is one way for women to enter politics. On the one hand, kinship politics is also increasingly found in the era of democratization in Indonesia.

Zuhro's research (2009, pp. 268–269) found that democratic and non-democratic values grow together and sustainably in society. Haynes and Soemitro (2000, p. 147) states that in most third-world countries, democratization is still formal in nature. On the other hand, there is a dualism of political culture in developing countries where a small portion of the elite is modernized, specific, universal, and pragmatic orientation, while the majority remains bound to rigid, widespread, and presumptive traditional patterns (Chilcote, 2007, pp. 302–303).

Election regulations become a legal loophole for kinship politics, even though they are contrary to the spirit of reform (Irianti, 2020, p. 40). On the other hand, the strengthening of family politics, apart from being supported by positive law, is also a product of human rights (the right to vote and be elected), as well as being part of the culture in

Indonesia (Mukti & Rodiyah, 2020, p. 537). The transformation of the pattern of power that is centralized and hereditary finds a legal way and develops in the era of democratization. This is due to the phenomenon of incumbent advantage, decentralization in political recruitment, and a candidate-centered electoral system (Purwaningsih, 2015, p. 99).

Efforts to prevent political dynasties or political kinship have been carried out and stated in Article 7 letter r of Law Number 8 of 2015 concerning the election of governors, regents, and mayors, but was later revoked by the Constitutional Court (MK) on July 8, 2015, with Decision number 33/PUU-XIII/2015, which annuls Article 7 Letter r of Law Number 8 of 2015 (Prianto, 2016, p. 106). This decision further enriched the birth of political dynasties, which ignored the values of integrity, competence, and capacity, to seize power (Hady, 2018, p. 497).

On the other hand, political parties play a very important role in producing leaders with integrity, but this role is still poor, the process of recruiting candidates is still elitist, recruitment is poor, using dowry money, and kinship politics in the regions (Hanafi, 2014, p. 15). The regional head elections are an arena for contesting the economic resources of candidates because candidates have to "buy" tickets, campaign funds, and vote-buying funds so that they become commonplace in the local democratic process (Hartati et al., 2019, p. 123).

Women's candidacy through parties does not go through transparent procedures, is predictable, and opens up space for affirmation (Dewi et al., 2018, p. 268). Pamungkas (2018, p. 12) found that in the case of the 2015 Klaten regional head election, the election of the Sri Hartini-Sri Mulyani pair illustrates that the community considers kinship politics as a matter of course.

This kinship line is also used by some parties in the nomination and winning of female candidates in the regional head election in Central Java in 2020. The 2020 simultaneous regional head elections in Central Java will be held in 21 regions, where there are 11 female regional head candidates and 7 female deputy regional head candidates spread over 15 regencies/cities, as shown in Table 1.

Blora Regency has the most female candidates, namely 2 regent candidates and 1 deputy regent candidate. One of the female regent candidates in Blora Regency is the wife of the previous regent (2 terms incumbent), while the

Table 1. Candidates in the 2020 Regional Head Elections in Central Java by Gender

No.	Region	Regional Head Candidates		Deputy Regional Head Candidates	
		male	female	male	female
1	Blora	1	2 ^(1*+)	2	1*
2	Pekalongan	1	1*	1	1
3	Semarang	1	1*	2	
4	Purbalingga	1	1*	2	
5	Klaten	2	1*	3	
6	Sukoharjo	1	1*	2	
7	Sragen		1*	1	
8	Grobogan		1*	1	
9	Pekalongan City	1	1*	2	
10	Demak	1	1*	2	
11	Kebumen	1			1*
12	Purworejo	3		2	1*
13	Semarang City	1			1*
14	Magelang City	2		1	1*
15	Kendal	3		2	1*
16	Wonogiri	2		2	
17	Wonosobo	1		1	
18	Boyolali	1		1	
19	Rembang	2		2	
20	Pemalang	3		3	
21	Surakarta City	2		2	
Total		30	11	34	7

Source: KPU (processed)

Description:

* kinship;
+ political career

other candidate is a member of the Regional House of Representatives from the PDIP who is promoted by other parties (Golkar, Demokrat, and Hanura).

Pekalongan Regency has 1 female candidate for regent and 1 female candidate for deputy regent. The candidate for Regent is the chairman of the Golkar Regional Leadership Council of Pekalongan Regency, as well as a public figure. The candidate for deputy regent is the chairman of the PDIP Regional Leadership Council of Pekalongan Regency. In Semarang Regency, the female candidate is the wife of the incumbent (2 terms) but was carried by a different party from the one that carried her husband. The opponent was the previous deputy regent who was carried by PDIP.

The female candidate in Purbalingga Regency is an incumbent, who previously ran as deputy regent, then replaced the regent. The candidate is

a PDIP cadre who is also the daughter of the leader of PDIP in Purbalingga. In Klaten Regency, the candidate for regent is also an incumbent who previously ran as deputy, then replaced the regent. The candidate is also the wife of the former regent (two terms) and is the head of the local PDIP. In Sukoharjo Regency, the female candidate is also the wife of the incumbent (2 terms) and is the leader of PDIP.

In Sragen and Grobogan Regencies, female candidates are incumbents and have started their political careers as PDIP cadres. The female candidate in Sragen Regency is also the daughter of a former regent for 2 terms. In both regions, the female candidates faced an empty box.

In Pekalongan City, the female candidate is the chairman of the Regional House of Representatives as well as the leader of the Golkar Party. The candidate is also the wife of the former Mayor of Pekalongan 2 terms who was carried by Golkar. In Demak Regency, the female candidate is a PDIP cadre and starts her career from the bottom, and without direct kinship with the previous ruler.

In Purworejo Regency, the candidate for deputy regional head is the incumbent. The candidate is also the wife of the former Regent of Purworejo in the previous period. In Kebumen Regency, the candidate for deputy regional head is the wife of the former chairman of the Regional House of Representatives, as well as the PDIP cadre and administrator.

In Magelang City, the candidate for vice mayor is the incumbent, she is also a PDIP cadre. In the 2020 election, she is paired with the son of the previous mayor. In the city of Semarang, the female vice mayor candidate is also incumbent who come from professional circles as well as political parties. This candidate faces an empty box opponent because all parties support this pair of candidates. In Kendal Regency, the female deputy regent candidate comes from non-party circles, namely entrepreneur.

Some of the female candidates were incumbents who also had a kinship with the previous regional head, and some were not incumbents. Some of the female incumbent candidates came from party circles (cadres/management), such as Sri Sumarni in Grobogan Regency, Windarti Agustina in Magelang City, and Hevearita Gunaryanti in Semarang City. In Demak Regency, there is Eisti'Anah who is a party cadre and a new candidate.

In Purbalingga, Klaten, and Sragen regencies, female regional head candidates are incumbents. Dyah Hayuning Pratiwi in Purbalingga Regency and Sri Mulyani in Klaten Regency have in common where previously they were candidates for deputy regional heads and won the 2015 election. Both were appointed regents because their partners were caught in a corruption case. Meanwhile, Kusdinar Untung Yuni Sukowati in Sragen was elected as regent in 2015, and in 2020 faced a blank column.

Dyah Hayuning Pratiwi is the daughter of Triyono Budi Sasongko, the Regent of Purbalingga for the 2000–2005 & 2005–2010 periods, who is also a PDIP elite. In 2015 Dyah Hayuning Pratiwi advanced through the path of deputy regent accompanying the incumbent at the time, namely Tasdi (Fitriyah, 2018, p. 47). Tasdi stumbled upon a corruption case so that the position of regent was occupied by Dyah Hayuning Pratiwi. In 2020 Dyah Hayuning Pratiwi again ran as a candidate for regent who was accompanied by Sudono, they were carried by PDIP, Golkar, PAN, and PKS. The pair faced their rivals, namely Muhammad Sulhan Fauzi and Zaini Makarim Supriyatno who were carried by PKB, Gerindra, PPP, Demokrat, and Nasdem. This nomination shows that women from political families and occupying positions (incumbents) have a strong political position.

Sri Mulyani in Klaten is the deputy regent who accompanied Sri Hartini in the 2015 election. Sri Hartini is the wife of the Regent of Klaten for the 2000–2005 period (the late Haryanto Wibowo) and Sri Mulyani is the wife of Sunarna, the Regent of Klaten for the 2005–2010 and 2010–2015 periods (Pamungkas, 2018, p. 3). In the 2015 Pilkada, this pair was carried by PDIP and the Nasdem Party, where the head of the success team was Sunarna (Pamungkas, 2018, p. 8). According to Pamungkas (2018, p. 11), the carrying of Sri Hartini and Sri Mulyani in 2015 was thick with kinship politics, a political strategy to win the contestation. Sri Hartini stumbled on a corruption case, so Sri Mulyani took her place as regent. In 2020, Sri Mulyani re-elected herself by cooperating with Yoga Hardaya through the support of the PDIP and Golkar coalition. They faced One Krisnata-Muhammad Fajri who was carried by PKS, Gerindra, and Demokrat, and the pair Arif Budiyo-Harjanta who was carried by PKB, PAN, PPP, and Nasdem. This phenomenon in Klaten shows that women who have a kinship with the previous elite, even though their political careers are not very prominent, are currently

occupying positions (incumbents) are considered to have strong electability.

Kusdinar Untung Yuni Sukowati is the daughter of Untung Wiyono, the regent of Sragen for the 2001–2006 & 2006–2011 periods. Kusdinar Untung Yuni Sukowati is already familiar with the world of politics and has been active since 2009 by occupying a seat in the Sragen Regional House of Representatives through PDIP. In 2011 Kusdinar Untung Yuni Sukowati who was carried by PDIP failed to win the regional head election, but in 2015 she won the regional head election carried out by the Gerindra and PKS coalition, with her companion Dedy Endriyatno (PKS). In 2020, Kusdinar Untung Yuni Sukowati ran as a candidate for regent accompanied by Suroto, and was again supported by PDIP, along with PKB, Golkar, PAN, and Nasdem, this pair faced a blank column. Kusdinar Untung Yuni Sukowati has a political family background, political experience, and is an incumbent (2016–2021 period). In Grobogan Regency, Sri Sumarni is a party cadre (PDIP) who has a career from the bottom, actively building networks and cooperation between actors even though the network structure is dominated by men (Dewi et al., 2018, p. 286). Women from political families, with strong political careers, and occupying positions (incumbents) have the potential for strong political positions.

Women with kinship backgrounds also exist in Sukoharjo Regency, Semarang Regency, and Blora Regency. They are the wives of the incumbent regent (served for 2 terms), and some of them are dealing with the incumbent deputy regent (their husband's deputies), while others are dealing with new candidates. Some are supported by the same party that supported her husband, but some are carried by a different party because the party that previously carried her husband chose the incumbent deputy regent as its candidate.

In Sukoharjo Regency, Etik Suryani is the wife of Widjaja, the Regent of Sukoharjo 2010–2015 & 2016–2021. Etik Suryani, accompanied by Agus Santosa, was brought up by a coalition of PDIP, Golkar, Nasdem, and Demokrat, faced Joko Santosa (a member of the Sukoharjo Regency Regional House of Representatives), paired with Wiwaha Aji Santosa, carried by a coalition of Gerindra, PAN, PKS, and PKB. Bintang Narsasi is the wife of Mundjirin ES, Regent of Semarang 2010–2015 & 2016–2021. Bintang Narsasi is paired with Gunawan Wibisono, carried by the PPP, PKS, Golkar, Gerindra, PAN and Nasdem coalition. They faced Ngesti Nugraha who is the incumbent deputy regent (2016–2021) paired with Basari (a

member of the Semarang Regency Regional House of Representatives) supported by PDIP, PKB, Hanura, and Demokrat. In the 2015 election, Ngesti Nugraha accompanied Mundjirin ES who was carried by PDIP. In 2020, PDIP chose Ngesti Nugraha as a candidate, while Bintang Narsasi sought support from other parties.

Most of the female candidates are in Blora Regency, whereof the 3 pairs that came forward, all of them have a woman, namely 2 regent candidates and 1 deputy regent candidate. Umi Kulsum is the wife of Djoko Nugroho, the Regent of Blora for the 2010–2015 & 2016–2021 periods. Umi Kulsum was accompanied by Agus Sugiyanto, carried by Nasdem, PPP, and Gerindra. Arief Rohman (PKB) accompanied by Tri Yuli Setyowati (PDIP cadre, member of the Blora Regency Regional House of Representatives) was carried by a coalition of PDIP, PKB, PKS, and Perindo. The other woman is Dwi Astutiningsih who is a member of the Blora Regency Regional House of Representatives from the PDIP, accompanied by Riza Yudha Prasetia, carried by the Golkar, Demokrat, and Hanura coalition.

The female candidates in Pekalongan City and Pekalongan Regency are also quite interesting. Balgis Diab is the chairman of the Pekalongan City Regional House of Representatives and is the wife of M. Basyier, the Mayor of Pekalongan for the 2005–2010 & 2012–2015 periods. Balqis Diab is side by side with Moch. Machrus carried by the coalition of Golkar, PKB, PKS, Gerindra, and Nasdem. This pair faced off against Achmad Afzan Arslan Djunaid who was the incumbent vice mayor, side by side with Salahudin who was carried by PDIP, PPP, and PAN. Ahmad Afzan Arslan.

In Pekalongan Regency, Fadia Arafiq, who is the daughter of artist Arafiq and chairman of the Golkar Party Regional Leadership Council of Pekalongan Regency, became a candidate for regent alongside Riswadi (chairman of PDIP Branch Leadership Council), carried by a coalition of PDIP, Golkar, PAN, and PKS. They faced Asip Kholbihi who is the incumbent regent accompanied by Sumarwati, carried by PKB, PPP, and Gerindra. The appearance of Fadia Arafiq shows that a family background known to the public also has potential. Fadia's nomination shows that the popularity of a person or her family, supported by a political career/network, can be an asset in political competition.

Some women from political elite relatives also take part as deputy regents. In Purworejo Regency, Yuli Hastuti, who is the wife of Kelik

Sumrahadi, the Regent of Purworejo 2005–2008 ran for deputy regent accompanying Agus Bastian in 2015, and again in 2020. Yuli Hastuti's political career began when she joined Golkar where at that time her husband was the chairman of the Golkar Party Regional Leadership Council of Purworejo Regency, was later elected as a member of the Regional House of Representatives in 2009, and became the chairman of the Purworejo Regency Regional House of Representatives for the 2009–2014 period (Fitriyah, 2018, p. 47). In 2020 Yuli Hastuti again accompanied Agus Bastian, supported by the coalition of Demokrat, Golkar, and PKS, against Agustinus Susanto-Kelik Rahmad Kabuli Jarwinto who was carried by PDIP, Gerindra, and PAN, and the Kuswanto-Kusnomo pair carried by PKB, Nasdem, and PPP.

In Kebumen Regency, Ristawati Purwaningsih (wife of the former chairman of the Kebumen Regency Regional House of Representatives, administrator of the PDIP Branch Leadership Council) became a candidate for deputy regent accompanying the previous deputy regent (incumbent) Arif Sugiyanto, supported by a coalition of PKB, Gerindra, PDIP, Golkar, Nasdem, PKS, PPP, PAN, and Demokrat, and this pair is fighting an empty box. The candidacy of Ristawati Purwaningsih, who is a woman from a political family and has a political career, is seen as increasing her electability and having a chance to win.

On the other hand, there are women who reach positions through political careers that they build themselves. Sri Sumarni in Grobogan Regency is a PDIP cadre (chairman of the Branch Leadership Council) as well as a member of the legislature. At least there is a political, social, and economic network capital in Sri Sumarni (Dewi et al., 2018, pp. 275–276). Political capital starts from the family where her father is an activist defending farmers and village heads, Sri Sumarni's economic capital is to have CV Tani Jaya as a fertilizer provider, so that she has close relations with farmers and farmer groups and is able to build networks with NU members in her daily life (Dewi et al., 2018, pp. 275–276). In 2020, Sri Sumarni and Bambang Pujiyanto carried by PDIP in a coalition with all parties (PKB, Gerindra, PPP, Hanura, Golkar, PKS, Demokrat, and PAN) faced a blank column. In Demak Regency, Eisti'anah, who is a PDIP cadre, along with Ali Makhsun, stepped forward as a candidate for Regent and Deputy Regent of Demak who was carried by PDIP, PKB, Golkar, PPP, PAN, and Demokrat. This pair faced

off against the Mugiyono-Muhammad Badruddin pair that was carried by Gerindra and Nasdem. Women are able to advance to the political stage without going through kinship channels, but with sufficient individual competence capital, political, social, and economic networks.

In Magelang City, Windarti Agustina, who is the incumbent vice mayor, accompanied Aji Setyawan (son of the incumbent mayor 2010–2015 & 2016–2021, Sigit Widyonindito). Windarti Agustina as a PDIP cadre and has served as vice mayor returned to run for vice mayor candidate to accompany Aji Setyawan (son of the incumbent mayor). This pair was carried by PDIP, Perindo, Gerindra, and Hanura. They faced Muchamad Nur Aziz-M. Mansyur who was carried by PKB, Golkar, PKS, and Demokrat. In Semarang City, Hevearita Gunaryanti Rahayu, who is also the incumbent deputy (PDIP administrator & professional), was still nominated as vice mayor accompanying Hendrar Prihadi who was carried by PDIP, Gerindra, Demokrat, PKB, PAN, Nasdem, PSI, Golkar, and PKS and faced a blank column. In Kendal Regency, Yekti Handayani (an entrepreneur) accompanied Ali Nurudin who was carried by PKB, Nasdem, and Gerindra. The pair faced Dico M. Ganinduto-Windu Suko Basuki who was supported by Golkar, Demokrat, PAN, PKS, and Perindo, and the pair Tino Indra Wardono-Mukh Mustamsikin who was carried by PDIP and PPP.

From the data above, the incumbent's family or political elite has a greater chance of being nominated. The inheritance of resources from the previous regional head has an impact on public support (Rusnaedy & Purwaningsih, 2018, p. 319). The regional head elections is used by those who have a material base, namely past political investments, extensive networks, and wealth (Haboddin, 2017, p. 13). Carrying candidates who have family ties to the previous ruler is a strategy for political dynasties to regenerate power (Pamungkas, 2018, p. 12). A person's political position is influenced by strong family connections, financial support, and psychological morale from the family which has the role to produce a political leader (Anggariani, 2013, p. 5). This condition is an implementation of a form of familism concept, building a family political dynasty based on direct blood relations in the family and marital relations (Fitri, 2019, p. 98).

Political parties are the main channel and the most important and responsible institutions in the recruitment of quality leaders, but this function has not run well (Sudewo, 2017, pp. 336–337). The

strengthening of kinship politics cannot be separated from the poor recruitment process by political parties, where kinship actually becomes a winning weapon in the elections (Pamungkas, 2018, p. 2). There is a mutualism symbiosis between political parties and candidates, political parties need popular candidates, and candidates use political parties as political vehicles to gain power (Purwaningsih, 2015, p. 116).

The process of nominating women in the 2020 Central Java regional head elections as stated above has several paths, namely political kinship, political careers, public figures, or a combination of several paths. Sri Mulyani (Klaten), Diah Hayuning Pratiwi (Purbalingga), Yuli Hastuti (Purworejo), Kusdinar Untung Yuni Sukowati (Sragen), are examples of women who build political careers and advance in the elections because of their close family relationship with the ruling elite (Fitriyah, 2018, p. 46). There is a phenomenon that incumbents will usually nominate their wives or children, and if they do not get a recommendation from their party, they will look for other parties, for example in Semarang Regency.

Candidates are most likely to be elected when they have three main capitals, namely political capital (support from the people and political power), social capital (known and trusted by the public), and economic capital, for campaigning, building relationships, and for money politics (Marijan, as cited in Fitriyah, 2018, p. 49). According to Haboddin (2017, pp. 5–7), to achieve victory, there are at least three capitals, namely First, past political investment, second, formal and non-formal power networks, third, wealth to buy political parties and voters' votes.

Female candidates who have a kinship with the previous leader on average already have economic capital and some political capital. Re-election to the electorate, kinship politics gets space when the community supports by voting for it.

In Sragen Regency, Kusdinar Untung Yuni Sukowati won against a blank column with a fairly high score of 80.19 percent against 19.81. Not only family background, political experience, social capital because it is known and trusted, and the availability of economic capital also strengthens its position. The same thing happened in Grobogan Regency, where Sri Sumarni also won a landslide victory against a blank column (86.25%). Incumbent women with political, social, and economic capital also have a strong position, have a very high level of electability and dominate. Both

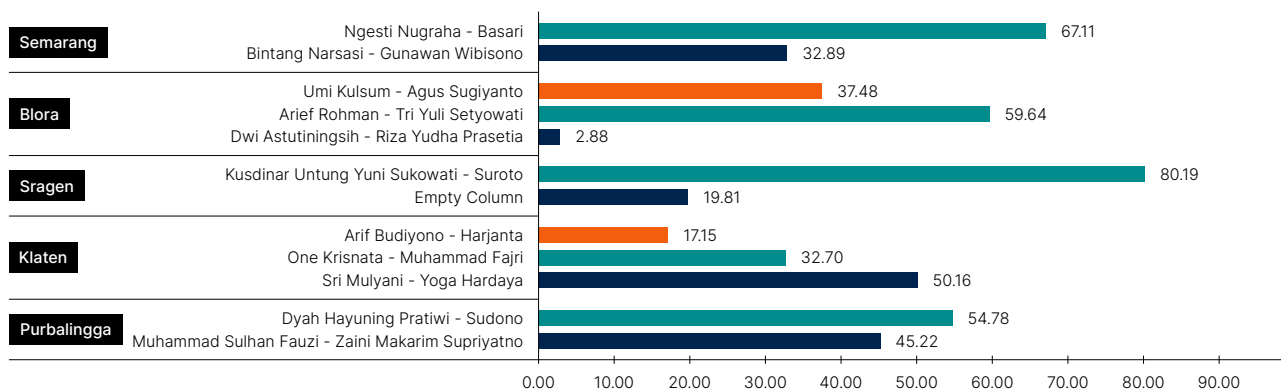
figures are women who struggle through political career paths, although on the other hand there are kinship relationships with political figures.

Sri Mulyani also won the 2020 election in Klaten, this victory repeats the victory in 2015 with Sri Hartini. The results of the Pamungkas study (2018, p. 3) that the victory in 2015 could not be separated from the attitude of the people who were still stuck in primordial ties, considering kinship politics as a matter of course. This kinship politics is considered to have a unique pattern because it is not a division of positions, but rather continues the chain of power through regional head elections (Pamungkas, 2018, pp. 8–9). The victory was inseparable from the role of the incumbent regent (also chairman of the PDIP Branch Leadership Council) who acted as the leader of the success team (Sunantri & Verdana, as cited in Fitriyah, 2018, p. 46). In the 2020 regional head election, Sri Mulyani-Yoga Hardaya's victory, which was only supported by PDIP and Golkar, was even higher than 2015's 48.90 percent, while in 2020 it reached 50.16 percent (Figure 1).

In Purbalingga Regency, Dyah Hayuning Pratiwi-Sudono also won the regional head election with 54.7 percent. The pair carried by PDIP, Golkar, PAN, PKS continued the victory of Tasdi-Dyah Hayuning Pratiwi in 2015 where the main supporting party was PDIP. Dyah Hayuning Pratiwi's family background and political career, as well as a social network, strengthen her position in the 2020 election.

All of the winners in the three regions were incumbents, who had political family backgrounds, and were supported by the major party, PDIP. Political investment, political affinity with parties, family background, and economic capital have a big role in winning, in addition to social capital. Women win elections when they are incumbents, have close ties to political parties, are supported by major political parties, have political family backgrounds, and have adequate social and economic capital.

The results of the regional head election in Semarang Regency, Bintang Narsasi (wife of the regent for the 2010–2015 & 2016–2021 periods) lost to her rival, Ngesti Nugraha-Basari who was the deputy regent for the 2016–2021 period. Bintang Narsasi-Gunawan Wibisono, carried by PPP, PKS, Golkar, Gerindra, PAN, and Nasdem only received 32.89 percent of the vote, far less than Ngesti Nugraha-Basari who is supported by PDIP, PKB, Hanura, and Demokrat with 67.11 percent of the vote. Bintang Narsasi with a background as



Source: KPU (processed)

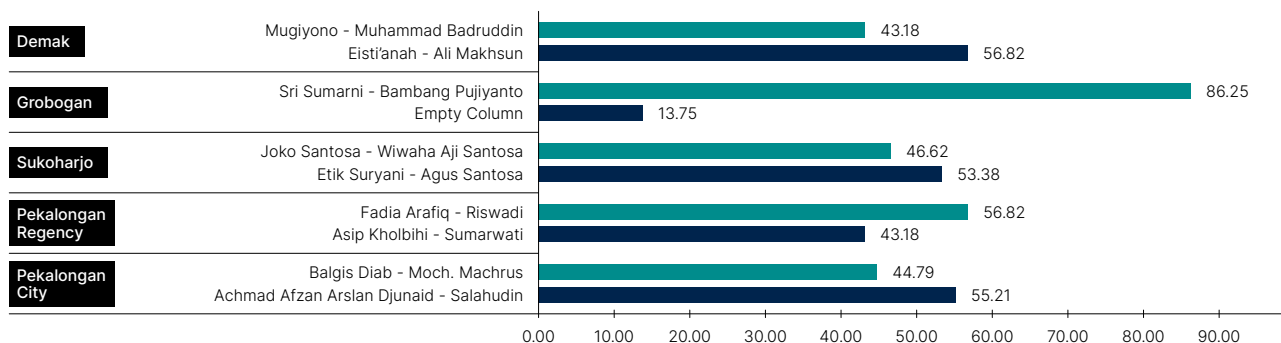
Figure 1. The 2020 Regional Head Elections Results in Purbalingga, Klaten, Sragen, Blora, and Semarang Regencies

the wife of the regent of the previous period (2 terms) was not elected. On the other hand, Ngesti Nugraha-Basari with the support of PDIP in a coalition with PKB, Hanura, and Demokrat won.

In Blora Regency, Umi Kulsum (wife of the incumbent regent 2010–2015 & 2016–2021 periods) only received 37.48 percent votes, while the incumbent deputy regent Arief Rohman-Tri Yuli Setyowati received by 59.64 percent (Figure 1). Umi Kulsum as the wife of the 2 terms regent was not enough to build political and social capital for her victory. Political party support is very important for regional head candidates, even if they come from political family backgrounds. Family background is quite influential, but not enough if it is not supported by the dominant political party. Family background and supporting parties, apart from the candidate's personality factors, are enough to influence voters in making their choices. Dwi Astutiningsih, who was supported by Golkar, Demokrat, and Hanura, only got 2.88 percent of the vote. Women with political careers without direct kinship, and then taking other paths, have low electability rates. The vote acquisition data for the four regions are shown in Figure 1.

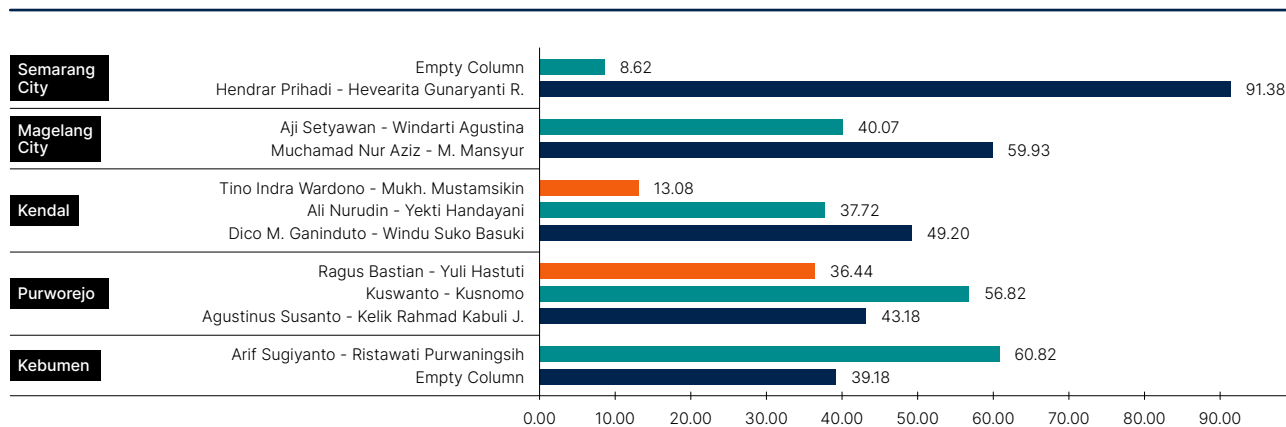
In Pekalongan City, Balgis Diab (wife of M. Basyier mayor of Pekalongan 2005–2010 & 2010–2015 periods) lost against the incumbent vice mayor Achmad Afzan Arslan Djunaid-Salahudin. Balgis Diab together with Moch Machrus with the support of Golkar, PKB, PKS, Gerindra, and Nasdem received 44.79 percent of the vote, while Achmad Afzan Arslan Djunaid as the incumbent vice mayor took Salahudin with the support of PDIP, PPP, and PAN received 55.21 percent of the vote (Figure 2). Balgis Diab, who is a high-ranking member of the Golkar Party and holds the position of chairman of the Regional House of Representatives and has a kinship with the previous regional head, has not been able to win the election. Achmad Afzan Arslan Djunaid who was the incumbent vice mayor and was nominated by PDIP was able to win. Balgis Diab has a history of political career and holds a fairly strong political position, so this defeat shows that there is not enough political and kinship capital to win.

In Pekalongan Regency, Fadia Arafiq managed to win against the incumbent regent Asip Kholbihi. Fadia Arafiq-Riswadi, carried by Golkar in a coalition with PDIP, PAN, and PKS, received 56.82 percent of the vote, while the Asip Kholbihi-



Source: KPU (processed)

Figure 2. The 2020 Regional Head Elections Results in Pekalongan City, Pekalongan, Sukoharjo, Grobogan, and Demak Regencies



Source: KPU (processed)

Figure 3. The 2020 Regional Head Elections Results in Semarang City, Magelang City, Kendal, Purworejo, and Kebumen Regencies

Sumarwati pair, supported by PKB, PPP, and Gerindra, only received 43.18 percent (Figure 2). Fadia Arafiq is a public figure who is also a cadre of a political party (Golkar). In addition to personal figures, political party support is also very important, where Fadia Arafiq is the chairman of the Golkar Party Regional Leadership Council accompanied by Riswadi (Chairman of the PDIP Branch Leadership Council of Pekalongan Regency) getting strong support from PDIP and Golkar.

Unlike women from the previous regions, Sri Sumarni in Grobogan Regency and Eisti'anah in Demak Regency entered the nominations through career paths in political parties. Support from all political parties and Sri Sumarni's landslide victory against the blank column shows Sri Sumarni's strong political position. There are at least 4 things that make Sri Sumarni a strong position, first, the presence of individual capital (financial, social skills, family, and social background), secondly, the network, namely the ability to communicate and maintain relationships, thirdly, as a party cadre and build a career from the party, the fourth, is able to utilize the network even though it is dominated by men (Dewi et al., 2018, p. 285). Eisti'anah also had almost the same advantage in Demak Regency, together with Ali Makhsun getting 56.82 percent of the votes (Figure 2). Both Sri Sumarni and Eisti'anah are PDIP cadres, who started their careers through the party and were supported by the PDIP to advance in the regional head elections. Both political capitals are quite strong coupled with individual capital both socially and economically. Thus, the nomination and victory of Sri Sumarni and Eisti'anah show that women do not always have to use kinship channels to gain positions in politics.

In regions where women are candidates for deputy regional heads, the results are quite

surprising. In Magelang City, Windarti Agustina, who accompanied Aji Setyawan, supported by PDIP, Perindo, and Gerindra, lost against Muchamad Nur Aziz-M. Mansyur supported by PKB, Golkar, PKS, and Demokrat. Aji Setyawan-Windarti Agustina received 40.07 percent of the vote, while Muchamad Nur Aziz-M. Mansyur got 59.93 percent (Figure 3). Although Aji Setyawan-Windarti is supported by major parties (PDIP, Perindo, and Gerindra) and has a relationship with the incumbent, this does not guarantee victory. This shows that family background, political party support, and incumbent position do not fully guarantee victory, but there are other things such as political trust from the community. In the end, the determination of victory rests with the people's choice. The defeat of Aji Setyawan-Windarti also shows how the position of women in regional head elections, especially those who run as deputy, is greatly affected by the perception of the voting community towards their partner (candidate for regional head). The presence of women even though incumbents have not been able to encourage voters, especially women, to choose them. The number of female voters is large, but they do not choose women, women do not want to give trust to women themselves (Silaban, 2015, p. 81).

In the city of Semarang, Hevearita Gunaryanti Rahayu, who accompanied the incumbent Hendrar Prihadi, supported by all political parties, won a landslide victory over a blank column. One of the reasons for this victory was the strong political position of Handrar Prihadi in the city of Semarang. In both cases, the victories and defeats of women who are candidates for deputy regional heads are strongly influenced by the regional head candidates they accompany.

In Purworejo Regency, Yuli Hastuti (wife of Kelik Sumrohadi, Regent of Purworejo 2005–2008)

won the victory alongside Agus Bastian who was supported by Demokrat, Golkar and PKS. Agus Bastian-Yuli Astuti received 36.44 percent of the vote, while Kuswanto-Kusnomo supported by PKB, Nasdem, and PPP received 34.99 percent, and the Agustinus Susanto-Kelik Rahmad Kabuli Jarwinto pair supported by PDIP, Gerindra, and PAN received 28.57 percent of the vote (Figure 3). Agus Bastian-Yuli Astuti's position as the incumbent is still quite strong, like most incumbents in other regions who have gained a strong position.

In Kebumen Regency, Ristawati Purwaningsih accompanied Arif Sugiyanto, who was the deputy regent for the 2016–2021 period (incumbent) gain victory against a blank column. The Arif Sugiyanto-Ristawati Purwaningsih pair supported by all political parties (PKB, Gerindra, PDIP, Golkar, Nasdem, PKS, PPP, PAN, Demokrat) received 60.82 percent of the votes, while the blank column was 39.18 percent (Figure 3).

In Kendal Regency, Yekti Handayani who accompanied Ali Nurudin with the support of PKB, Nasdem, and Gerindra has not been able to win. None of the contestants who took part in the elections in Kendal Regency were incumbents and did not hold political positions. The Ali Nurudin-Yekti Handayani pair received 37.72 percent of the vote, while the winner was the pair Dico M. Ganinduto-Windu Suko Basuki who was supported by Golkar, Demokrat, PAN, PKS, and Perindo received 49.20 percent of the vote, and the other pair Tino Indra Wardono- Mukh Mustamsikin, who was supported by PDIP and PPP, only received 13.08 percent of the vote (Figure 3). The failure of the Ali Nurudin-Yekti Handayani pair in the 2020 Kendal Regency regional head election broke the regional leadership traditions from among women in Kendal Regency, after previously Siti Nurmarkesi, Widya Kandi Susanti, and Mirna Annisa.

From Figure 3, in general, there is a tendency that female regional head candidates who occupy the incumbent position, with political family background, individual capacity, and adequate social and economic capital, have a fairly strong position, even in some regions there are no challengers in the regional head elections. An example occurred in Sragen Regency and Grobogan Regency where the incumbent fought an empty box. In Kabupaten Klaten and Kabupaten Purbalingga where the female incumbent regional head won the election.

The incumbent's wife candidates who fought the incumbent deputy did not win, as in Blora

Regency, Semarang Regency, and Pekalongan City. In Semarang Regency, the incumbent's wife is promoted by a different political party from her husband, while their rival who is the incumbent deputy is promoted by the same party as her husband, namely PDIP. The female candidates in Blora Regency and Semarang Regency both did not start their political careers from parties but began to enter the public sphere when accompanying their husbands. Meanwhile, in Pekalongan City, the wife of the former mayor of the previous period, who is also the chairman of the Golkar Party Regional Leadership Council and chairman of the Regional House of Representatives, lost to the incumbent deputy. Balqis Diab started her political career through a political party through the Golkar party but has not been able to achieve victory, competing with the incumbent deputy. In Pekalongan Regency, women from artist families (Arafiq) won the election against the incumbent. Political career through the party, namely the Chairperson of the Golkar Party Regional Leadership Council of Pekalongan Regency and popularity can lead to victory.

While the women who are nominated as deputy regional heads, their position is greatly influenced by the regional head candidates they are accompanying. This tendency occurs both for candidates for deputy regional heads who come forward because of family backgrounds or through political careers, their victory or defeat is strongly influenced by public trust in the candidates for regional heads they are accompanying. This happened in Kebumen Regency, Purworejo Regency, Magelang City, Semarang City, Pekalongan Regency, Blora Regency, and Kendal Regency.

The involvement of women in politics is very necessary for providing input, as well as fighting for women's rights (Hendrawati, 2014, p. 140). On the other hand, according to various studies, there are many obstacles for women to enter politics. In a situation of many obstacles, kinship is one of the fast lanes for women to be able to enter politics. However, it is not enough only with kinship relationships that women can occupy political positions, but they must have political, social, and financial capital, as well as personal capacity. Women with adequate political, social, economic, and personal capacity, support from major parties, plus kinship relations have a high probability of winning the election. Although there were a few cases of losing like in Pekalongan City, most of them won, especially if they were in the

incumbent position. Women who struggle through political paths, with adequate personal capital and capacity even without the support of kinship relations also have the possibility of winning. On the other hand, there are cases where women have political careers but are in a disadvantaged position even though they are incumbents but suffer defeats. The potential of women to advance as candidates for regional head/deputy regional head and be successfully elected requires a combination of various aspects, including mastery of political, social, economic capital, support from political parties, as well as kinship relations, and being known (public figures). Kinship alone is not enough to bring female candidates to victory.

IV. Conclusion

Female candidates who gain the trust of voters, it is not enough just to have a political family background, women who advance in the regional head election arena must have political capital (career, political network), social capital (social network), and adequate economic capital, as well as adequate individual capacity. Women without a political family background, if they have adequate competence and capital (political, social, economic), and are known (public figures) can have a chance to win.

Women with kinship backgrounds are not entirely reliable in winning elections in all regions in Central Java. In the 2020 regional head elections in Central Java, female regional head candidates with kinship without a political career, and not supported by major political parties, did not win. On the other hand, there are cases where women who do not have political family ties but have political careers and are supported by major political parties, can win. Women who have family backgrounds, political careers, social capital, and as incumbents, and are supported by major parties win in all regions. Female candidates who have careers from political parties, with the political network, social network, and economic support can win, as well as women who have a popular background, supported by major political parties, can win. For female deputy regional head candidates, their wins and losses are influenced by the electability of the partner they are accompanying. Female deputy regional head candidates with political careers, incumbent representatives, and those supported by major political parties do not guarantee victory if the candidate they are accompanying has not received people support. On the other hand, if the candidate for the regional head she is

accompanying has a high level of trust, especially the incumbent, they will win easily.

Based on the conclusions above, it can be suggested that there should be an affirmation policy for women not only through political parties but also able to encourage the birth of female candidates through independent (non-party) channels. Making it easier for women to become candidates for regional heads either through political parties or independent channels will be able to attract more competent people who have been hampered by the nomination mechanism in political parties. The opportunity to become a leader is more open and does not only revolve around certain elite groups. Education or political education is also very necessary for voters so that they can determine their attitude better when kinship politics or political dynasties begin to strengthen. Through their voting rights, the people can exercise control over the strengthening of kinship politics which has the potential to produce less competent leaders.

Acknowledgment

The author would like to thank all those who have helped in the research process in the preparation of this manuscript. Thanks are conveyed to the Head of Regional Development Planning Agency of Central Java Province, as well as research colleagues at Regional Development Planning Agency of Central Java Province who has provided information, suggestions, and input.

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