

CHAPTER I

1. Background

Based on the rules in Law No. 10 of 2016 concerning the Election of Governors, Regents, and Mayors, in Article 109 Paragraph (1) it is written, "The spouses of the governorship candidate and the deputy governor candidate who obtain the most votes are determined as the spouses of the governorship candidate and the elected deputy governor candidate," followed by Paragraph (2) which reads, "If there is an equal number of votes for the governor and deputy governor elections, Pairs of candidates who gain more evenly distributed voter support across districts/cities in the province are designated as spouses of governorship candidates and elected deputy governorship candidates". With four pairs of candidates in place and the equal social capital of the candidates' spouses against voters, the fight for votes in the 2018 Lampung Governor's Election will be tight. Regarding regional head elections, there are two democratic problems in the simultaneous regional head elections volume three in Indonesia, especially in Lampung Province. The choice in the local elections is due to monetary rewards. Women's political strategy in regional elections is to show the community that women are not inferior to men and convince the public with various programs that will be fought for when they get the office.

Local elections are a means for the people to determine leaders for the people and their regions. The hope is that through the elections, it will produce leaders who can fulfil the people's will and improve the welfare of their regions. The discussion of direct elections cannot be equated with legislative elections because direct elections do not provide affirmative action against women. That is, there is free competition between women and men to seize the position of regional head. This is a challenge for women.

The discussion of women and politics is a fascinating study these days. One of the problems women face when they want to run for office is that there is still a patriarchal culture in society, namely the social system that places the primary power holders as men, not women. The dominance of men over women causes a threat to the existence of women in society. This dominance becomes a new social problem if it causes harm to women. The problem of problems surrounding men and women in the public and political spheres is the issue of Gender or gender equality.

In Indonesia, gender injustice in public and political life is still a challenge that continues to be faced today because the number of women's involvement in every public and political activity is still incapable of meaning that in this realm, it is still dominated by men. Because politics has always been identified with the world of men who do not deserve to be entered by women. Politics is synonymous with something strange from the view of femininity because politics is related to power, authority, mass deployment and competitions that are not inherent in women who prioritize peace and harmony.

It is necessary to actively involve and participate both men and women in a country's decision-making and political processes. With the active involvement of women in policy-making, it is hoped that they can channel their aspirations, especially related to policies related to women's issues. Various national and international regulations are the legal basis for achieving women's participation in decision-making. To achieve this participation, various women's empowerment programs by the government, various associations of international organizations and various women's movements are serious about empowering and mobilizing women in the importance of women participating in various strategic government policies.

According to Salim, (2019) However, seats in parliaments or houses of representatives worldwide are occupied by only 21,7% of female representatives. Women's participation has

differed from women's, with only 21,7% of parliamentary or representative seats worldwide. This means that women's participation in public and political forums is minimal in various countries. In the political sphere, efforts must be taken before the existence of gender equality. Various efforts to advance women's participation, not only for the participation of women but their participation, illustrates that women have potential and their potential is equal to men's in domestic issues.

The existence of protection of women's rights is one of the principles of human rights that must be protected. In addition, providing opportunities and women's involvement in politics is not without reason. The first reason is that the characteristic of a democratic country is a country that guarantees citizens free speech; there are no gender restrictions, meaning that men and women have the right to express their opinions in public. Women are part of a country's population, and if their rights are not observed from participation in the political decision-making process, it indicates that the country is not yet fully democratic. The ratification of the Convention on Women's political rights in Indonesia has long been ratified, namely Law No. 68 of 1958 concerning ratification of the Convention on the Political Rights of Women. In the ratification of the Convention, it contains rules regarding equality of position, the guarantee of equality of choice and choice, the guarantee of participation in formulating a policy, the guarantee of the opportunity to occupy a bureaucratic position, and the existence of guarantees in participation in social and political organizations.

The representation of women began to increase after the government enacted changes to the 1945 Constitution, namely Article 28 H paragraph (2). The provisions of the article above become the primary basis for citizens of all groups to escape from discrimination in various kinds of life, including the participation of women in politics in Indonesia. It is hoped that the provisions of the 1945 Constitution and laws related to elections can accommodate legal norms aimed at increasing the representation of women in the legislature.

The representation of women in politics in Indonesia is urgent but keep in mind that besides this urgency, there are still many obstacles for women to sit in the parliament itself. This is the background for the author to analyze the urgency and barriers to women's representation in the face of politics in Indonesia. Local elections in Lampung were conducted to elect governors and regents in two districts, namely Pesisir Barat and Tanggamus. Female Regent candidates excelled by gaining superior votes in Tanggamus and the West Coast. In provincial gubernatorial elections, the only female deputy gubernatorial candidate obtained the lead vote alongside her running mate.

This is an interesting discussion because we have known so far that the representation of women in the Lampung political scene is minimal. Since the regional elections were held directly, from 2005 to 2014, no female regional head was elected in Lampung province. Politics is dynamic, hence the term political dynamic. Researchers are interested in their political dynamics, especially in the regional election constituency in Lampung Province. This dynamic can be seen in the politics of women in the 2005-2018 elections. In 2005-2014 there was no female candidate who ran in the contestation of the regional elections in Lampung Province, while for 2015-2018, there has been progress for women to participate in the contestation of regional elections in Lampung Province, and the results are pretty satisfactory for women's elections. The existence of contestation in the regional elections gave rise to political dynamics, especially related to the obstacles and strategies used by women to participate in the contestation of regional elections in Lampung Province.

According to Kurniawan, (2018) Lampung finally got four pairs of candidates for regional heads, a phenomenal number judging by the size of the number of seats available as well as the coalition of political parties. The four pairs of candidates started from the Arinal Djunaidi-Chusnunia Chalim pair, candidates from the Golkar Party (10 seats), PAN (8 seats), and PKB (7 seats) with a total of 25 Lampung DPRD seats; the Mustafa–Ahmad Jajuli pair

carried by the NasDem Party (8 seats), the PKS (8 seats), and Hanura (2 seats) for a total of 18 seats; the Herman HN–Sutono pair carried solely by the PDIP (17 seats); and incumbent pair M Ridho Ficardo– Bachtiar Basri who is carried by the Democratic Party (11 seats), Gerindra (10 seats), and PPP (4 seats) with the total support of 25 seats of the Lampung Provincial Parliament. The star war occurred in the Lampung Governorate, this time when referring to the political position of each candidate. M Ridho Ficardo is the current governor of Lampung, Herman HN is the two-term mayor of Bandar Lampung, and Mustafa is the regent of Central Lampung. For the position of the deputy governor, incumbent Deputy Governor Bachtiar Basri ran again, and Chusnunia was the regent of East Lampung. The position of Arinal Junaidi and Sutono, who are former secretaries of Lampung Province, of course, has a vast network with various voting communities in Lampung. Not to forget Ahmad Jajuli, a senior PKS politician and a two-term DPD RI member. The battle in the 2018 Lampung Governor's Election with four pairs of candidates will be fierce because Lampung is one of the main barometers in the contestation of the 2019 Presidential and Legislative Elections on the island of Sumatra. The fight for votes will be exciting because three active regional heads (mayor and regent) in Lampung are competing for votes in their respective regions, namely Bandar Lampung, Lampung Tengah, and Lampung Timur. These three regions are among the top four most voting barns besides South Lampung Regency in Lampung Province.

Table 1: Acquisition of party seats supporting the Governor Candidate and Deputy Governor Candidate of Lampung for the period 2019 to 2024

No	Names of Candidates for Governor and Deputy Governor	Supporting parties	Chair	Percentage
1	H. Muhammad Ridho Ficardo, S.Pi., M.Si Bachtiar Basri, SH., MM	DEMOKRAT GERINDRA PPP	(11) chair (10) chair (4) chair	25%
2	Drs. H. Herman Hasanusi, MM Ir. Sutono, MM	PDI	(17) chair	15%

3	Ir. Arinal Djunaidi Hj. Chusnunia, Ph.D	GOLKAR PAN PKB	(10) chair (8) chair (7) chair	25%
4	Dr. H. Mustafa H. Ahmad Jajuli, S.IP., M.Si	NASDEM PKS HANURA	(8) chair (8) chair (2) chair	18%
Total		10	85 seats	100 %

Source: Processed By The Author (2023)

Before the end of his term as the Regent of East Lampung, he again tried his luck in contesting the regional head election. This time he participated in the Regional Head Election as a candidate for Deputy Governor of Lampung in a pair with Arinal Djunaidi. Luck returned to Chusnunia with the success of the couple supported by Golkar, PKB, and PAN as Governor and Deputy Governor of Lampung for the 2019-2024 period.

Table 2: Votes for Governor Candidates and Deputy Governor Candidates for Lampung for the 2019 to 2024 Period

No	Names of Candidates for Governor and Deputy Governor	Votes	Percentage
1	H. Muhammad Ridho Ficardo, S.Pi., M.Si Bachtiar Basri, SH., MM	1.043.666	25,45%
2	Drs. H. Herman Hasanusi, MM Ir. Sutono, MM	1.054.646	25.73%
3	Ir. Arinal Djunaidi Hj. Chusnunia, Ph.D	1.548.506	37,78%
4	Dr. H. Mustafa H. Ahmad Jajuli, S.IP., M.Si	452.454	11,04%
Total		4,179,405	100%

Source: Processed By The Author (2023)

The pair's victory, often called Arinal - Nunik, earned 1,548,506 or 37.78% of the 4,179,405 ballots. With this gain, they managed to subvert the incumbent pair of numbers, namely Ridho - Bachtiar ranked third with 1,043,666 votes or 25.46%.

According to Tobing, (2021) Prof. Dr. (HC). Hj. Chusnunia Chalim, S.H., M.Si., M.Kn., Ph.D. born on July 12, 1982 in Karang Anom, Waway Karya, East Lampung Regency, Lampung. She was the first daughter of KH. Abdul Halim and Kholisoh. His childhood was spent in Central Java with his family. After graduating from IAIN Wali Songo Semarang in 2005, he moved to Jakarta to continue his post-graduate studies. Her political career started when she became a female student by actively organizing. In 2001-2002 he joined as a secretary in the Editorial Division of the Justisia Journal in Semarang. He continued to be the Head of the External Division of the Independent Committee for Election Monitoring (KIPP) of Central Java in 2004. Chusnunia Chalim officially became a cadre of the Central Java partai Kebangkitan Bangsa (PKB) in 2004. He was immediately trusted to be the Head of Administration and Finance of the PKB faction in the DPRD of Central Java Province for 2004-2005. After that, he was appointed as the management staff of DPP PKB in Jakarta from 2005-2008. In the era of President Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono, Chusnunia was seconded to a particular staff of the Minister of Manpower in the United Indonesia Cabinet, namely in 2007. At that time, he was trusted to be the Zone Coordinator at the State Ministry of Development of Disadvantaged Regions. In Pileg 2009, Chusnunia was elected as a member of the Indonesian House of Representatives for 2009-2014. Then in Pileg 2014 was again elected as a member of the House of Representatives of the Republic of Indonesia for the 2014-2019 period and served in Commission X in charge of education, culture, youth and sports, tourism and creative economy. In September 2015, Chusnunia resigned from the DPR because he wanted to run in the regional elections to become the Regent of East Lampung paired with Zaiful Bokhari. Winning unanimously with 54.07 per cent of the vote, she became the first woman to become a leader on the island of Sumatra. After only two years in office, Chusnunia was appointed by Arinal Djunadi as a companion in the 2018 Lampung Governorate. Although there were several loans, he chose to be side by side with Arinal. The reason is that they have

the same vision; they are both farmers' children who care about the fate of farmers and the agricultural sector.

Ir. H. ARINAL DJUNAJI was a native son of Lampung Province, born on **June 17, 1956**. There are a few journeys of Arinal Djunadi in the political field. He was once the chairman of the Golkar party DPD in 2017. However, before he served as governor of Lampung Province in the field of government, he was involved in many vital positions in the regional government of Lampung Province, namely the Head of the Lampung Provincial Forestry Service (2005–2010), Development Assistant to the Regional Secretariat of Lampung Province (2010–2011), Assistant for Welfare of the Regional Secretariat of Lampung Province (2011–2012), Assistant to the Government of the Regional Secretariat of Lampung Province (2012–2013), Development Assistant of the Regional Secretariat of Lampung Province (2013–2014) and Regional Secretary of Lampung Province (2014–2016). so that he understands the ins and outs of the problem of Lampung Province, that is 2018, Arinal Djunadi ran for Governor of Lampung Province and carried a representative female gender who, at that time, was the first woman to become a deputy candidate for governor in Lampung Province, namely Chusnuninia Chalim's at that time still serving as the regent of East Lampung, this candidate couple carried the theme of his campaign "Sincerely Serving the People" with this slogan the spouse of candidate Arinal Djunadi and Chusnuninia hopes to win the hearts of the people of Lampung.

Researchers assess that women must enter politics to provide a new nuance or atmosphere for politics in Indonesia, especially in Lampung Province. Kartini taught that women have equality in all aspects, such as politics, but in Indonesia, especially in Lampung Province, women still need to be considered vital and should not become regional leaders. For this reason, Chusnuninia is the benchmark that women can be trustworthy leaders. This researcher is interesting because he wants to know the factors that caused Arinal - Chusnuninia to win as Governor and deputy governor of Lampung Province in the 2018 Lampung Province

gubernatorial election. Because in every change of leader/governor of Lampung, there are different winning factors and aspects of candidates, there are also differences in the regional elections for the previous candidates carrying the same gender candidates, while for the current one carrying candidates with the female gender as representatives by bringing different visions, missions, and ideas to be applied to the province of Lampung. This research takes a case study in Bandar Lampung City because, as the centre of government, it has a plural society and the centre of the political party supporting the Arinal - nudnik candidate, so data collection makes it easier for researchers.

2. The problem formula

Based on the problem above, the problem is:

What are the factors of the Victory of Arinal Djunaidi - Chususnia Chalim In the Local Governor Election Of 2018?

3. Research objectives

To find out the factors of the Victory of Arinal Djunaidi - Chususnia Chalim In the Local Governor Election Of 2018.

4. Benefits of research

Order for people to know that the leader is not only intended for men but women can be fair in the world of politics and government, and also this research can provide solutions for candidates to get public support.

5. Literature review

The following will describe some literature reviews taken from previous research. The literature review will be explained as a discussion related to the background of the problem in this study. Some of the literature reviews related to this research include the following:

Table 3: Literatur Review

NO	Author	Title	Summary
1	(Pambudi, 2012)	Perempuan dan Politik Studi tentang Aksesibilitas Perempuan Menjadi Anggota Legislatif Di Kabupaten Sampang	Democracy gives a liberties to the people to be able to channel the rights that are chosen and elected, especially in women with a quota of 30% listed in Law No. 10 of 2008 about general elections members of the House of Representatives, The Regional Representative Council, and the regional House of Representatives (legislative elections)
2	(Ahdiah, 2013)	Peran – Peran Perempuan Dalam Masyarakat	Not many people have included students who know the roles of women in society. The woman is more visible in her physical position which later affects her position in society, from which it accumulates on the status of women in patriarchy culture placing her as "second human beings".
3	(KHOFIFAH INDAR PARAWANSA, 2002)	Hambatan Terhadap Partisipasi Politik Perempuan di Indonesia	Women can occupy Parliament with a long history of struggle with struggling women's struggle in marking with the start of the first female Congress in 1928 with the Congress raising feminism against women and Women can fight for rights.
4	(Marhaeni & Astuti, 2008)	Citra Perempuan Dalam Politik	It is a picture that women have a less good image to plunge into the realm of politics in the country of Indonesia, women in view can not afford to lead, in this concept women do not fit in political but more suitable is in Kitchen.
6	(Salim, 2019)	DINAMIKA POLITIK PEREMPUAN DALAM KONTESTASI PILKADA DI PROVINSI LAMPUNG	Based on the results of the study it can be concluded that the political dynamics of women in the Lampung elections are very closely related to the influence of figures, political communication and the mass base they have. Women who enter politics can defeat various

			stereotypes about women even though there are societies that give choices in the elections because of monetary rewards. Women's political strategy in the elections is to show the community that women are not inferior to men and convince the public with various programs that will be fought for when they get a position.
7	(Dr. Drs. Muhadam Labolo, 2019)	Politik Gender Dan Keterwakilan Perempuan Dalam Pilkada Provinsi Lampung	The number of discriminatory regulations is certainly inseparable from the low quantity of decision-makers who belong to the same gender. It's no secret that women's participation Indonesia's in the political field is still very low.
8	(Dwisusanto, 2013)	kajian tentang feminisme: pengertian, sejarah, teologi dan aliran-aliran dalam feminisme	In interpreting feminism, feminists disagree on this matter, this is because feminism does not take the conceptual and theoretical basis from the formulation of a single theory, therefore the definition of feminism always changes according to the socio-cultural reality behind it, the level of consciousness, perception, and actions carried out by feminists themselves.
9	(Hasanah & Musyafak, 2017)	GENDER AND POLITICS : Keterlibatan Perempuan dalam Pembangunan Politik	Gender issues are an issue that demands social and cultural construction justice between men and women. In the demands of this construction, the balance of functions, status, and nature of the sexes is expected to be realized. Instead, development is a construction of the changes that take place in society from certain socio-cultural conditions toward something that is considered more valuable.
10	(Gusmansyah, Wery, 2019)	Dinamika Kesetaraan Gender dalam Kehidupan Politik Di Indonesia	In Indonesia, the issue of gender equality has recently become an endless issue and is still trying to be fought for both at the

			executive and legislative levels. This issue of gender equality includes a substantive understanding of the gender perspective policy itself. Therefore, the gender movement then became mainstream in developing countries, including Indonesia.
11	(Handoko, 2018)	Strategi Politik	the enactment of new regulations, the establishment of a new structure in government administration or the implementation of deregulation, privatization or decentralization programs. Without a political strategy long-term change or major projects are completely unrealizable.
12	(Nampir, 2016)	Strategi pemenangan fahmi massiara-lukman dalam pemilihan kepala daerah serentak tahun 2015 di kabupaten majene	This study aims to find out the winning strategy and what factors influenced Fahmi Massiara-Lukman's victory in the 2015 simultaneous regional elections in Majene district.
13	(Samsa, 2021)	Pendahuluan Studi ini akan menjelaskan strategi politik identitas yang digunakan oleh calon anggota legislatif (caleg) dalam konstelasi pemilihan umum (pemilu) legislatif 2019 . Strategi merupakan unsur penting dan menjadi elemen pertama yang harus di	This study describes the identity politics strategy of legislative candidates in the local political constellation. The focus of this study is about the victory of Ade Kartika in the electoral area II with the composition of the Districts of Kertajati, Jatitujuh, Ligung and Jatiwangi. This
14	(Rachmawati, 2007)	PENGUMPULAN DATA DALAM PENELITIAN KUALITATIF: WAWANCARA	There are several methods of data collection in qualitative research, the most frequently used of which is the interview. This article describes interviewing as a data collection method including interview type, question type, length of interview time, and interview procedure.
15	(Agusta, 2003)	Teknik Pengumpulan dan Analisis Data Kualitatif	Qualitative data is descriptive, in the form of spoken or written words about human behavior that can be observed

Source: Processed By The Author (2023)

Through the explanation of previous studies or literature studies described by researchers, it is known that previous studies and research to be carried out by researchers have several variable similarities and differences. The thing that can be compared between previous and future research is the object of research, which is undoubtedly different, where the current research will be carried out in the Bandar Lampung city area. This research will also discuss the factors behind Chusnuninia's victory in the Lampung gubernatorial election contest in 2018. As for the similarities in these studies, it discusses the strategies used for Chusnuninia's victory.

6. Theoretical framework

1. Gender

According to Dwisusanto, (2013) Broadly, the flow of Feminism is divided into 2 (two) clusters that change the nature of women and who preserve the nature of women. The transforming women's nature cluster consists of traditions of existentialism, Liberal Feminism, socialist/Marxist Feminism and feminist theology. The clusters of preserving women's nature consist of the streams of radical Feminism and ecofeminism.

According to Hasanah & Musyafak, (2017) Gender is also an excellent analytical tool for understanding the issue of discrimination against women in general. It is affirmed that gender is a socially and culturally constructed division of men and women. And as it turns out, gender differences between men and women occur through a long process through socialization, strengthening, construction, socio-culture even through state power. So long and long is the process of socio-cultural "genderization" that the gender differences between men and women as socio-cultural constructs become as if they were provisions from God or are irreversible natural, and biological. There is a presumption that most societies whose name is female nature result from social and cultural or gender constructions. Gender influences human beliefs and

societal cultures about how men and women should think and act following these social provisions.

According to Gusmansyah, Wery, (2019) Gender equality has recently become an endless issue and is still trying to be fought for both at the executive and legislative levels. This issue of gender equality includes a substantive understanding of the gender perspective policy itself. Therefore, the gender movement became mainstream in developing countries, including Indonesia. In the democratization process, the issue of more excellent women's political participation, representation, and accountability issues are absolute requirements for realizing a more meaningful democracy in Indonesia. A meaningful democracy is a democracy that pays attention to and fights for the interests of the majority of the Indonesian population consisting of women. The idea that politics is not a region for women is an idea that has always been echoed for centuries, and it turns out that it is indeed efficient to restrict women from entering this territory. Public and private terminology, closely related to gender, gender roles, and stereotypes, has created inequalities and injustices between women and men. The most obvious result of such a political situation is the marginalization and exclusion of women from formal political life. For this reason, various efforts are needed to fight for gender equality in political life, which is expected to provide a change in views on Patriarchy culture for the community so that the possibility of electing a female political pinner will be the same as the possibility of being elected a male political pinner. So that gender equality in the world of politics will be more advanced and the side effects of the progress of efforts to eradicate corruption can be felt immediately.

This research also refers to several theories that focus on the victory factors of candidate pairs or candidates in regional head elections. The first theory put forward by

Firmanzah in his book entitled "Competition, Legitimacy, and Political Marketing" in his book he explained that political strategy is crucial in contesting regional elections.

"Political strategies need to be carried out by contestants to be able to win regional elections; contestants need to conduct studies to identify the size of their supporters, floating masses and other contestant supporters" (Firmanzah, 2008). For this reason, researchers included the theory in the thesis *The Victory of Arinal Djunaidi - Chususnia Chalim In The 2018 Gubernatorial Election* in the sub-chapter of the theoretical foundation as a benchmark in taking thesis data, to get essential points also add some definitions to the theory of political strategy in winning regional head elections.

The second theory was developed by Masdiyan Putri and Zuly Qodir in their journal entitled "The Victory Factor of the Suharsono-Halim Coalition in the Winner of the Regional Head Election of Bantul Regency" In his journal, he explained what supports the victory of candidate candidates or candidate pairs in regional elections is political participants.

"Political participation is one of the important aspects in the implementation of democracy" (Putri & Qodir, 2015) In his journal, also quoted in a book by Rahman entitled "Indonesian Political System."

According to Rahman (2007) political participation is the activity of a person or group to actively participate in political activities, such as electing a leader or efforts made to influence government policies.

According to Putri & Qodir (2015) These activities include filing demands, paying taxes, implementing decisions, submitting criticisms and corrections for the implementation of a policy, supporting or opposing specific leadership candidates, proposing alternative leaders, and electing people's representatives in a general

election. For this reason, researchers included the theory in the thesis *The Victory of Arinal Djunaidi - Chususnia Chalim In The 2018 Gubernatorial Election* in the sub-chapter of the theoretical foundation as a benchmark in taking thesis data, to get essential points also add several definitions to the theory of voter decisions in winning regional elections.

Walter J. Stone developed the third theory in his journal entitled "Candidate Quality and Voter Response in U.S. House Elections" In his journal, he explained that what supports the victory of candidates or pairs of candidates in regional elections is the quality of candidates. "That the quality of the candidate has a strategic dimension consisting of the skills and resources the candidate needs to run an effective political campaign and a personal dimension that reflects the qualities and skills that ordinary citizens value in their leaders" (Stone, 2006). For this reason, researchers included this theory in the thesis *The Victory of Arinal Djunaidi - Chususnia Chalim In The 2018 Gubernatorial Election* in the sub-chapter of theoretical foundations as a benchmark in taking thesis data to get important points also add some definitions to the theory of candidate quality in winning regional head elections.

2. Factors Affecting Election Victory

According to Dr. Drs. Muhadam Labolo, (2019) Factors Influencing Victory in an Election is a thing (situation, event, strategy) that contributes to causing (influencing) the occurrence of something in the election by making the candidate pair achieve its goal, obtained by fighting in a voting contest to achieve the goal of victory of the candidate pair or institution.

So, what is meant by factors that affect victory in elections in this study is the success of a person, organization, group, or government agency in influencing the achievement of a goal. He obtained this victory by competing in local election contests

and doing various ways to win competitions or battles between political opponents to achieve the goal of victory of a person or institution.

2. Political Strategy

According to Handoko, (2018) Political strategy is the science of techniques, tactics, methods, and tips managed by politicians to obtain and maintain sources of power and formulate and implement political decisions as desired. For example, the enactment of new regulations, the establishment of a new structure in government administration or the implementation of deregulation, privatization or decentralization programs. With a political strategy, long-term change or significant projects are entirely realizable.

According to Napir, (2016) A political strategy is a series of planned, strategic but also tactical, long-term, and short-term dimensions to spread political meaning to voters. The goal is to shape and instil voters' expectations, attitudes, beliefs, orientations, and behaviours. The expected behaviour of voters is an expression of support with various dimensions, mainly dropping the choice of a particular party or candidate. Political strategy, what researchers mean here, is a political way or tactic that couples have. A coalition of parties, successful teams, and volunteers in winning pairs, the strategy is divided into two aspects: offensive and defensive.

According to Samsa, (2021) Identity politics, if examined from several points of view, will produce three points of view that are not of the same view. This relates to the existence of several things surrounding the characteristics of using such identities in certain political constellations. At least three theoretical views can be used to study identity politics: primordialism, constructivism, and Instrumentalism. The following explains the three points of view of Identity politics: First, Primordialism, Identity as Given the core argumentation. The argumentation of political identity in the perspective

of primordialism is that a particular social group is identified with the description of the territory, religion, culture and social organization as one thing that has been given, obtained or 'given' cannot be refuted and rejected. This type of identity is more characteristic of striking differences, including ethnic identity and gender. Second is Constructivism; Identity is a situational Social Construction that can be constructive and constructed. At its core, this identity of constructivism is the identity that occurs over social constructs society towards certain political phenomena and helps to build the image that is happening in those social phenomena. Usually, this identity is tied to religious identity, and even ethnicity can be included. Last but not least is the Identity of Instrumentalism, Identity as a tool of manipulating and mobilizing argumentation that Instrumentalism focuses more on the attention of the process of political manipulation and mobilization. What is meant is when the social group arranges a struggle for social aspirations or is related to the placement of one person in a specific public office, and it is based on the initial attributes of ethnicity such as nationality, religion, race, and language. So at that time, the group was mobilizing their interests.

According to Dr. Drs. Muhadam Labolo, (2019) There are several factors in winning the Lampung Provincial election for the Arinal Djunadi and Chusnuninia pair, namely first, Determining the segment of voters. Looking at the demographics of Lampung, the majority of which are immigrants from Java, the target voters of this pair of candidates are migrants and also pockets of votes in densely populated areas, including East Lampung and Bandar Lampung Regencies, which are the support base of Arinal - Nunik from the beginning. In addition, with his young age, Nunik's campaign strategy is also directed at attracting novice voters and young voters who are primarily domiciled in urban areas. Not only that, women, especially recitation mothers, are also included in the target voters for this number three pair. Second,

Determining the priority scale of delivery Although the spread of the internet in Indonesia is quite large, for the Lampung Province, smartphones still need to be improved in urban areas.

Meanwhile, in rural areas, the level of use still needs to be improved. So that in the past campaign, Nunik and the candidate's successful team have been working more from village to village. As mentioned by representatives of the Arinal-Nunik Winning Institution from PKB, they put forward canvassing and door-to-door strategies to introduce the couple during the campaign period. Not only promoting Arinal and Nunik figures directly, but they are also actively conveying what work agendas will be implemented if Arinal-Nunik is elected governor and deputy governor. One of their work agendas is the farmer and women's empowerment programs. Third, The preparation of campaign issues. Although not included as a poverty area in Indonesia, Lampung Province still faces various thorny problems that cause the level of welfare of its people not to be too high, including in terms of public services, socio-economic, and education. These three areas that have yet to be maximized impact the occurrence of conflicts and the level of crime. Considering these conditions, the issues raised by the campaign team then touched on these three issues by promoting dialogue and holding forums with residents. About the socio-economic programs they raised, the victorious team also showed off farmer cards initially given to farmers in the Lampung area (after they were selected) to assess the needs to support their agricultural activities. Meanwhile, in the field of public service, the work of Arinal, who has long sat in the ranks of the bureaucracy, and Nunik, who previously served as the regent of East Lampung, helped boost their reputation in bringing this critical issue into the public domain. In the last field, namely education, many agendas to improve the quality of

education were carried out by Nunik when he served in East Lampung Regency, then promoted when he campaigned as a candidate for deputy governor of Lampung.

A political strategy is a series of planned, strategic but also tactical, long-term and short-term dimensions to spread political meaning to voters. The goal is to shape and instil voters' expectations, attitudes, beliefs, orientations, and behaviours. The expected behaviour of voters is an expression of support with various dimensions, mainly dropping the choice of a particular party or candidate. Political strategy, which the researcher refers to here, is a political way or tactic that the couple Arinal Djunadi and Chusnuninia have. The coalition of parties, as well as the team, succeeded, and the team of volunteers won the pairing of Arinal Djunadi and Chusnuninia.

3. Candidate Quality

According to JACOBSON & KERNELL, (1983) The candidate's quality is a characteristic that makes it possible for him to be elected to political office and shows his capabilities as a politician. The quality of the candidate is measured by previous *political experience*.

According to SARI, (2021) The quality of candidates is the result of an evaluation of candidates. Evaluation of candidates is strongly influenced by the candidate's history and past experiences in both state and community life. Some indicators commonly used by voters to judge a candidate, especially for candidates for office who want to nominate, include *work programs* and *vision and mission*.

From these various opinions, the quality of candidates in this study includes three variables: the work program, vision and mission, and political experience possessed by the candidate.

4. Influencing voter decisions

According to Meliala, (2020) Voter behaviour in elections is a form of political behaviour. Argues that voter behaviour and political participation are two inseparable things. Political participation can take many forms. One form of political participation is electoral activities that include votes, donations, donations to campaigns, working in an election, and seeking support for a candidate or any action to influence the outcome of the electoral process. Trying to understand what factors are behind why and how the community (voters) decide to choose a leader (President / Regional Head) who is considered to be able to accommodate and realize his dreams and expectations. To understand this, several factors can be used as reference material for a candidate or election contestant, including:

1. *Public programs* or policies offered and fought for by the candidate (President / Regional Head) if he wants to win the hearts of the people in elections or regional elections.
2. *Social Imagery* is the image of candidates and parties in the eyes of the public.
3. *Emotional feeling*, which is the visible emotional dimension of a candidate indicated by the behavior or policies offered, which is generally seen from the activity, and comments of the candidate on a certain event that can touch the heart of his voters.
4. *Candidate Image*, are special traits inherent in one candidate, and that distinguishes him from other candidates. His behavior, he said, his charisma, his intellectual abilities, and the ability to adapt to the community in which he is located.
5. *Current events*, including a collection of events, issues, and policies that developed during the campaign period until the eve of the general election.

6. *Personal events*, namely personal life and events experienced during a career that was lived before being elected as a candidate.
7. *Epistemic issues*, namely specific electoral issues that can spur voters' curiosity about new things, for example, contestant figures who can eradicate corruption, can lift the living standards of weak economic people from various poverty and backwardness, can improve the quality of life of the people and their nation, can create a just, honest, and dignified national and state life, and so on.

According to Kaesmetan, (2014) Meanwhile, voter behaviour according to voting activities by individuals is closely related to decision-making activities. The decision-making here is to vote and not to vote in an election. Then voters will vote for or support a specific candidate.

From these various opinions, a candidate or contestant can communicate effectively with the public by understanding the behaviour of voters in this study. Understanding this will also greatly help contestants transfer political messages to the public effectively and help position themselves during the existing competition. The point is that by understanding the characteristics and behaviour of these voters, a contestant can formulate and implement the right strategy to win the competition.

7. Conceptual Definition

1. Gender

Gender refers to the debate over the role of women and men in politics, and in developing countries, gender politics is intended to encourage the participation rate of women to participate actively, one of which is through affirmative action.

2. Factors Affecting Election Victory

A factor, according to the extensive Indonesian dictionary, is a thing (situation, event) that contributes to causing (influencing) the occurrence of something to make a person successful in achieving his goals, has a high intellectual spirit, has mental resilience, and has a great fighting spirit. So, what is meant by the factor in this study is a success of a person, organization, group, or government agency in influencing the achievement of a goal.

Victory, according to the extensive Indonesian dictionary, comes from the word win, which means to be able to defeat (enemy, opponent, rival), and be superior to the opponent, the victory he obtained by fighting and doing various ways to win the competition or battle between opponents to achieve the goal of victory of a person or institution.

8. Operational Definition

This study will explain how a variable can be observed and measured and some indicators that can affect the victory of the arinal - chusnuninia regional election in the city of Lampung.

Table 4: Operational Definiton

Variable	Indicator	Parameters
Factors Affecting Election Victory	Determination of voter segments	Looking at the target voters in Bandar Lampung city and a certain tribe or ethnicity in the Chusnuninia victory
	Determination of the priority scale of feeding	Seeing how much influence the media had in the Chusnuninia win
	Drafting campaign issues	The welfare of public services, socioeconomics, and education became the focus of the Chusnuninia campaign
	Candidate Quality	work programs vision and mission political experience

	Influencing voter decisions	Public programs Social Imagery Emotional feeling Candidate Image Current events Personal events Epistemic issues
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9. Research methods

Research methods generally show the truth and stages of problem-solving for what is a research study in this goal. An adequate and appropriate research method is needed to achieve the problem under study and get the answer.

1. Types of research

This research is a study using descriptive research type with a qualitative approach. The study uses an approach that describes the phenomenon accurately and in detail. Qualitative research methods seek to understand and interpret the meaning of an event relating to human behaviour interactions in certain situations based on the author's perspective. The reason for choosing a qualitative approach in this study is that the problems examined in this study require several actual and contextual field data that depart from issues of holistic, complex and dynamic nature. That cannot be researched using statistical or quantifying procedures.

2. Type of Data

Primary Data

Data obtained directly in the field are from sources through interviews, with sources considered to provide information related to research.

Table 5: Primary Data

No	Data Primer	Data Sources	Data Collection Techniques
1	Winning factor Chusnuninia	PKB, GOLKAR, PAN	interview
2	Political strategy Chusnuninia	PKB, GOLKAR, PAN	interview
3	Efektivitas strategi Chusnuninia	PKB, GOLKAR, PAN	interview

Secondary Data

Data is obtained indirectly from intermediary media through reports of records, documents, and archives through research sites or locations related to research.

Table 6: Secondary Data

No	Secondary Data	Data Sources	Data Collection Techniques
1	Number of votes of the Arinal-Nunik pair	Journal/Literature review	documentation
2	Total population of Bandar Lampung city	Journal/Literature review	documentation

3. Data Collection Techniques

a. The interview

According to Rachmawati, (2007) An interview technique is where the researcher collects his research data by seeking a resource to be interviewed. The interview in this study was conducted to discuss the informant's data related to the focus of the research, namely to know the fact cause of victory. The interview process is conducted with the interview structure, which is the researcher gives a limitation of questions on the informant by preparing the questions in writing so that the interview process does not deviate from the research focus and interviews were addressed to the people of Lampung Province. Interview data was collected by conducting interviews with successful teams from each party supporting the couple Ir. H. ARINAL DJUNAIDI and Hj. CHUSNUNIA, PhD, namely Golkar, PKB, and PAN parties.

b. Documentation

According to Agusta, (2003) A document is a record of past events written or printed can be anecdotal records, letters, diaries, and documents. Documentation studies are carried out to obtain a written data source to reinforce data obtained from informants. Data collection techniques with documentation studies, researchers collect data through documents and images to complement written data obtained through previous journals that discuss this research. Documentation data was collected by conducting photos, recordings and interviews with the successful team of each supporting party of the couple Ir. H. ARINAL DJUNAIDI and Hj. CHUSNUNIA, PhD, namely the Golkar, PKB, and PAN parties.

4. Data Analysis Techniques

a. The data reduction

According to Agusta, (2003) Reduction of data as the electoral process, centring attention on simplifying, disseminating, and transforming "crude" data from written records in the field. Data reduction goes on continuously as long as qualitative research-oriented projects take place.

The researchers collected data on gender and victory strategies in regional elections in Lampung Province, specifically in Bandar Lampung. Researchers interviewed informants, thriving teams of prospective couples, and community leaders in Bandar Lampung using the same questions to find answers that matched what was studied. Researchers discard answers that do not fit the focus of the study.

b. Data Display

According to Agusta, (2003) Data Display is a collection of information that will give a thorough overview of the research. A brief, clear, detailed and thorough

presentation of the data will make it easier to understand the idea of aspects that are researched both overall and partially. The data reduction results are compiled and presented in narrative-descriptive text form.

Researchers collect data through the reduction to draw events in the field. Note Important notes in the field, then present them as descriptive text to facilitate the reader to understand practically. Further research activities on display data is the data obtained is presented in the form of tables to combine information arranged in a solid form.

10. **Research Location**

This research took the object of research in Bandar Lampung, the capital of Lampung Province. In this case, the study analyzed the causes of Chususnia Chalim's victory in the Lampung Province regional head election 2018.