The Political Communications of Khofifah Indar Parawansa to Obtain Support of the Golkar Party, the Democrat Party, and Nahdlatul Ulama Figures in the 2018 East Java Governor Election

DOI: <https://doi.org/10.47175/rissj.v2i4.290>

| Ahmad Tamrin Sikumbang¹ | Syukur Kholil² | Ramdeswati Pohan³ |

^{1,2,3}Universitas Islam Negeri
Sumatera Utara, Medan,
Indonesia

Corresponding E-mail:
des_medan@yahoo.com

ABSTRACT

Identity politics is often seen as preventing a woman from becoming a leader. In fact, the potential for leadership is a gift from God that must be managed wisely, responsibly, and full of trust. In the Qur'an sura Al Baqarah verse 228 Allah SWT gives His signal that women have equal rights with men in all matters including leadership. Twice failed in the East Java Governor Election did not stop Khofifah Indar Parawansa's determination to return to participate in the for the third time. This study has the aim of knowing the political communication efforts carried out by Khofifah Indar Parawansa in gaining the support of the Golkar Political Party and the Democratic Party as well as NU figures so that they win the 2018 East Java Governor election. The research method used in this study is to use qualitative analysis with a phenomenological approach that uses a phenomenological approach. Relies on data collection, including interviewing key informants and several other key informants, as well as conducting in-depth analysis of a series of studies. The results of this study conclude that the political communication process of Khofifah Indar Parawansa before becoming the Governor of East Java for the 2018-2023 period, the main thing is to build intensive political communication to the Kiai Nahdlatul Ulama (NU) as informal figures who are influential in East Java. Through the role of the NU (Nahdliyin) East Java clerics, strategies and patterns of political communication were developed with local political figures from major political parties to win the 2018 East Java Governor election contestation.

KEYWORDS

Political Communication; Khofifah Indar Parawansa; Political Parties; NU Kyai; East Java Governor Election

INTRODUCTION

One indicator of the success of a women's movement is the high attention and participation of women themselves in the political area. In Indonesia, the gender gap 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 not able to be fulfilled. In a broader scope, this issue is also related to women's leadership. Because it must be admitted that throughout civilization, the area of politics and leadership is the public domain and has often been the domain of men. Even if there are female leaders in the history of world civilization, that too can be counted on the fingers.

However, in a mapping on women's leadership, it is stated that political issues and women's leadership are quite significant, namely 51 articles or around 9.1% of the articles studied. Although of course not all of these articles talk about the achievements of women in the political area, what is interesting here is the commitment and movement of thought on the importance of this issue for women and civilization.¹ The theme of women and politics, of course, is a broad and flexible area to talk about. As illustrated by the articles in this study, the issues discussed were very diverse, ranging from the role of women in national politics, the role of women in conflict resolution, to the agenda of women's political struggle in parliament and in local government.²

Building civil society means fighting for a public space that includes all citizens, both male and female, without exception. In our political system so far, policies apply to place women only as second persons.³ The low participation of women in political institutions has resulted in the various interests of women being less accommodated in a number of political decisions, because a number of political decisions made tend to be masculine in nature and lack gender perspective, while most of the political decisions made always involve women as the target.⁴

The regulation on a 30% quota for women's representation which aims to increase the number of women sitting in the legislature has been regulated in several laws related to elections, even when compared to several previous elections, the laws and regulations governing this in the 2014 elections are more numerous and detailed.⁵ Nevertheless, the number of women who eventually became Members of the Indonesian House of Representatives for the 2014-2019 period actually decreased from 101 people or 17.86% to only 79 people or 14% of the total 560 elected members. This needs to be examined critically because the results obtained are inversely proportional to the level of candidacy for female legislative candidates which has increased in the 2014 General Election. Women and men have their respective places in social life. And the two types of humans can occupy their respective places without being less equal, because the mind, intelligence, determines the equal value between men and women.⁶

Political history in Indonesia after the holding of the first General Election in 1955, only Megawati Soekarno Putri became the only female leader, as the fifth President of the Republic of Indonesia. Likewise, government leaders at the local provincial level. After Ratu Atut Choisyah became the first governor in Banten Province from 2007-2014, now there is only one other female governor, namely Khofifah Indar Parawansa who is the Governor of East Java.⁷

¹Juwito and Syfa Syarifa Alawiah, "Pola Komunikasi Politik Perempuan Dalam Pemilu," *Jurnal Ilmu Komunikasi* 1, no. 2 (2018).

²Witriani Witriani and Bayu Mitra A. Kusuma, "Mapping Isu Jurnal Berbasis Pengarusutamaan Gender Dan HAMPada Perguruan Tinggi Di Indonesia," *Musāwa Jurnal Studi Gender dan Islam* 18, no. 1 (2019).

³Zaenal Mukarom, "Perempuan Dan Politik: Studi Komunikasi Politik Tentang Keterwakilan Perempuan Di Legislatif," *Mediator: Jurnal Komunikasi* 9, no. 2 (2008).

⁴Yuli Purwanti, "Kiprah Perempuan Dalam Kepemimpinan Di Panggung Politik (Studi Anggota Dewan Perempuan Di DPRD Kota Bandar Lampung)," *Journal of Chemical Information and Modeling*, 2013.

⁵Silfia Hanani, "Keterlibatan Perempuan Dalam Kepemimpinan Publik: Studi Kepemimpinan Ketua RT Perempuan Di Desa Dendun Kepulauan Riau," *Kafa'ah: Journal of Gender Studies* 7, no. 1 (2017).

⁶Very Wahyudi, "Peran Politik Perempuan Dalam Perspektif Gender," *Politea: Jurnal Politik Islam* 1, no. 1 (2018):63-83.

⁷Fardan Mahmudatul Imamah, "Social Network Analysis Terhadap Komunikasi Politik Perempuan Di Twitter," *ORASI: Jurnal Dakwah dan Komunikasi* 11, no. 2 (2020).

One of the Indonesian female figures from East Java who was determined to seize leadership in the government of East Java Province was Khofifah Indar Parawansa. Since 2008, Khofifah had participated in the contestation for the East Java Governor Election in East Java Province. Two defeats when faced with the same candidate, namely Soekarwo who was paired with Syaifulah Yusuf (Gus Ipul), did not make Khofifah despair. Khofifah's candidacy in the 2018 East Java Governor Election is her third candidacy, fighting against Syaifullah Yusuf, who was previously the Deputy Governor, Sukarwo. Khofifah's persistence in winning the East Java seat is interesting for researchers to note. In addition to tireless and bored efforts three times to participate in the fight and about Khofifah's political communication in gaining the support of Political Parties and Nahdlatul Ulama figures. As it is known that East Java is an area with a Muslim majority population where almost the entire Muslim community is Nahdliyin (NU) residents. The purpose of this study was to find out the political communication efforts carried out by Khofifah Indar Parawansa as an effort to break through the myth that so far women should not be regional leaders in Muslim-majority areas such as East Java. How did he win the support of the Golkar Political Party and the Democratic Party as well as cleric figures and clerics of the mass organization Nahdlatul Ulama (NU) so that he could win the 2018 East Java Governor election.

LITERATURE REVIEW

In political communication, social facts are always associated with the events and times in which the social facts occur.⁸ This understanding is abbreviated as momentum. Momentum is a social construction that occurs through an engineering as a reality that is constructed to create an imaged condition to give a certain impression to the audience or political opponents. Of the two, the most important is a description of socio-political reality that is meaningful and can be conveyed to the public. The problem then becomes wider because the descriptive text, when it goes through the publicity process, becomes something that is detached from its context.⁹

According to Littlejohn, there are at least five axioms of political communication, including: (1) People cannot not communicate. This axiom emphasizes that we always influence the perception of others, whether we want it or not. This axiom also emphasizes that every visible behavior is potentially communicative; (2) Every conversation, however brief, includes two messages, a message relates when two people are interacting, each attaching information to the other, and simultaneously, each also commenting on the information at a higher level. The relationship of simultaneous conversation, which is often non-verbal, is meta-communication; (3) Interaction is always organized into meaningful patterns by the communicator. This is called a grouping of interaction stages. Just as a sentence cannot be understood as a series of discrete elements in order to be accepted it must be grouped together; (4) People use digital and analog codes. The relationship between sign and clue is strictly optional; (5) Axioms about communication relate to matching or replacing messages in an interaction. This axiom sees that communicators may respond in the same or different ways to each other. When two communicators in a relationship behave the same and differences are minimized, the relationship is said to be

⁸Gary Rawnsley and Qian Gong, "Political Communications in Democratic Taiwan: The Relationship Between Politicians and Journalists," *Political Communication* 28, no. 3 (2016).

⁹Burhan Bungin, *Penelitian Kualitatif: Komunikasi, Ekonomi, Kebijakan Publik, Dan Ilmu Sosial Lainnya (Edisi Ke2)* (Jakarta: Prenada Media Group, 2014), 172.

symmetrical. But the difference in the communicator's response is maximized, so it is said that a complementary or complementary relationship occurs.¹⁰

According to Hendry and Ida, the meaning of political communication is largely determined by the purpose of delivering political messages, namely to make the recipients of messages behave in a certain way. Experts and scholars provide limitations regarding political communication as a communication activity that has political consequences or consequences for the functioning of the political system. According to Brian McNair, the study of political communication directs us to the relationship of the three elements in the process of realizing and understanding political action. The three elements are political organizations, political parties, and public organizations.¹¹

RESEARCH METHODS

This research method focuses on the study of political communication carried out by political figures as well as influential female political figures in Indonesia, especially at the local level in East Java against political parties and Nahdlatul Ulama figures in the region. The research method used by this researcher is descriptive qualitative analysis which relies on data collection, interviewing key informants and other informants in a series of studies. The main premise is the use of a qualitative approach to provide an understanding of the research problem.

According to Bungin, qualitative analysis rooted in a phenomenological approach is considered more relevant to be used to unravel the problems of human subjects, which are generally always changing, have individual subjectivity, tend to be emotionally unstable, and so on. Thus, qualitative analyzes tend to use an inductive logic approach. Where the syllogism is built based on specific things or field data and leads to general or inductive conclusions.¹²

Meanwhile, according to Creswell, the purpose of qualitative research is generally to include information about the main phenomena explored in research, research participation, and research locations. The purpose of qualitative research can also state the selected research designs. This objective is written in "technical" research terms that come from the language of qualitative research.¹³ The informants in the research are as listed in the following table:

Table 1. Names of Research Informants (Subjects)

No	Informant	Position	Address	Age	Information
1	Khofifah Indar Parawansa	Governor of East Java	Surabaya	56 years old	Key informant
2	Zainuddin Amali	Chairman of the East Java Golkar Party DPD (currently serving as Ministry of Youth	Surabaya	60 years old	Informant

¹⁰Stephen W. Littlejohn and Karen A.Foss, *Teori Komunikasi: Theories of Human Communication (Terjemahan, Edisi 9)* (Jakarta: Salemba Humanika, 2014), 110.

¹¹Henry Subiakto and Rachmah Ida, *Komunikasi Politik, Media, Dan Demokrasi*, 2nd ed. (Jakarta: PT PrenadamediaGroup, 2014), 6.

¹²Bungin, *Penelitian Kualitatif: Komunikasi, Ekonomi, Kebijakan Publik, Dan Ilmu Sosial Lainnya (Edisi Ke 2)*, 147.

¹³John W. Creswell, *Research Design: Qualitative, Quatitative, and Mixed Methods Approaches. Third Edition(Terjemahan)* (California, USA: SAGE Publications, 2014), 167.

		Affairs And Sports)			
3	Hinca Panjaitan	Chairman of the Democratic Party DPD	Jakarta	54 years old	Informant
4	KH.Solahuddin Wahid (Gus Solah)	Nahdlatul Ulama (NU) Central Executive, grandson of the founder of NU, Caretaker of the Tebuiyeng Islamic Boarding School, Jombang, East Java.	Jombang	He died in 2020 Islam at the age of 76 years. However, researchers interviewed him when he was still alive.	Informant
5	Illiza Sa'aduddin Jamal	Former Mayor of Banda Aceh	Banda Aceh	48 years old	Informant

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

Research Result

There are only two pairs of candidates who will compete for the leadership seat of the Governor of East Java. They are Khofifah Indar Parawansa and her partner Emil Dardak, respectively, and her opponent is Syaifullah Yusuf and his partner Puti Guntur Soekarno Putri. In the 2018 *East Java Governor election*, the East Java KPU announced the number of votes obtained by each contestant. The number of votes obtained by the pair Khofifah Indar Parawansa and Emil Dardak was 10,465,218 votes or about 53.55 percent. Meanwhile, Syaifullah Yusuf received 9,076,014 votes or 46.45 percent. The pair Khofifah and Emil controlled the votes in almost all districts and cities in East Java, including: Sampang (Madura), Bangkalan (Madura), Sumenep (Madura), Pacitan, Trenggalek, Tulungagung, Ponorogo, Ngawi, Bojonegoro, Tuban, Lamongan, Nganjuk, Jombang, Mojokerto, Sidoarjo, Gresik, Surabaya City, Probolinggo, Lumajang, Jember, Bondowoso, and Banyuwangi. Meanwhile, the pair Syaifullah and Puti Guntur only managed to win votes in nine regencies/cities, namely Madiun, Kediri, Blitar, Batu City, Malang, Malang City, Pasuruan, Situbondo, and Bangkalan (Madura). The East Java KPUD also announced the results of the recapitulation of votes from a number of regional head elections, including East Java Governor election. Based on East Java KPUD data, for the East Java Governor election Number of voters: 30,155,719 voters Number of valid ballots: 19,541,232 votes, while the number of invalid ballots: 782,027 votes.

Figure 1. Map of the Winning Pair of Khofifah Indar Parawansa-Emil Dardak in the 2018 the Governor of East Java.

After the official announcement of the recapitulation of the results of the 2014 Legislative General Election by the Central General Elections Commission (KPU) on Friday 9 May 2014, there were 100 names of members of the East Java Province Regional House of Representatives. The announcement of the 100 names of the East Java Regional Representative Council members was based on the announcement made after the issuance of the General Elections Commission RI Decree Number 441/kpts/KPU/2014 concerning Determination of the Election Results for People's Representative Council, Regional Representative Council, Provincial Regional Representative Council and Regency/City Regional Representative Council 2014. Citing the official website <http://kominfo.jatimprov.go.id/>, Commissioner of the East Java KPU, Choirul Anam, said that according to the schedule set by the General Elections Commission RI, the announcement of the candidates who passed the 2014 legislative elections for provinces and districts/cities simultaneously was set on 12 May 2014. Furthermore, for the People's Representative Council of the Republic of Indonesia will be announced on May 14, 2014 by the General Elections Commission RI.

"Human duty is to try and fight. The final decision is in the hands of Allah. I remember Gus Dur's words (former General Chairman of PB NU, the late KH Abdurrahman Wahid) that fighting does require sacrifice, and every sacrifice has great rewards. Gus Dur always reminded him that. So the task of man is endeavor, struggle and the decision is in the hands of Allah. Yes, if we see it like that, if we have tried our best, God will determine what is best for us." (Khofifah Indar Parawansa)

From the beginning, the informant Khofifah realized that there were parties who did not approve of her participating in the East Java East Java Governor Election contestation since the period she first participated in. However, at the request of the NU clerics who are considered charismatic and influential in East Java, that is what causes him to keep trying to win the contest. Apart from Gus Dur or the late KH Abdurrahman Wahid, there were at least 16 NU Kyai who asked and encouraged him to become one of the contestants for the 2018 East Java Governor Election.

I have been a member of the People's Representative Council of the Republic of Indonesia four times. Suddenly in 2008, Kyai Hasyim Muzadi (late) and Kiyai Wahid As'ad Syamsul Arifin called me. "Khofifah please 'run' for governor of East Java?" And I answered: "Why should I? But if I have accepted the assignment, I have to go 'all out'. Likewise for the second period, and the same for the third period. Then I said: "Kyai if I 'run' (then) I have to resign from the post of social minister. I said if I don't back down how can I control the court. It's a long process. But in the end I said yes, if this is what the Kyai-Kyais think is the area of devotion that is mandated by me, then I will make an effort. And let's make an effort 'together' (together with NU Kyai). (Khofifah Indar Parawansa)

There is another one of the three NU Kyai who is considered the most influential who is no less influential than the informant to compete in the 2018 East Java Pilkada against Syaifullah Yusuf. He was KH Solahuddin Wahid, an NU figure who was also the younger brother of the late Gus Dur. The other Kyai is

Kyai Hasyim Muzadi and Kyai Wahid As'ad Syamsul Arifin. KH Hasyim Muzadi (former Chairman of PB NU and now deceased) is an important figure who is also considered to have played a major role in the nomination of the informant Khofifah Indar Parawansa, especially in the 2008 regional elections. However, he always remembered the encouragement from KH Hasyim Muzadi and KH Wahid As'ad Syamsul Arifin and became an inspiration for Khofifah's informants to keep fighting to win the East Java

gubernatorial election. To respond to the encouragement of the two charismatic NU clerics, the informant Khofifah was forced to completely focus on achieving leadership succession in East Java, including his decision to leave the mutual cooperation cabinet led by President Joko Widodo. The informant proved that he was not playing games and was half-assed in interpreting the wishes of the charismatic NU Kyai so that East Java Province was led by NU figures from among women. The informants are well aware that this task is not an easy task. To realize the Kyai's order, it is realized that he has to sacrifice a lot of material and non-material.

The total loyalty by Khofifah's informants to the old NU Kyai made the Kyai have deep sympathy for Khofifah. This attitude of glorifying the NU Kyai by Khofifah's informant seemed to force him to keep moving forward even if he took a step, even though he lost twice and felt cheated in the two previous East Java Pilkada periods. Her determination and enthusiasm to 'fight' with male regional head candidates further showed that Khofifah's informant was a female figure who did not give up easily and was easily defeated by any strong male.

Informant KH Solahuddin Wahid (Gus Solah) really admired Khofifah's persistence and patience in seizing political leadership in East Java Province, after years of being dominated by male figures. Among NU's senior ulema and Kyai, the name Khofifah is the main capital to gain the support and voice of the nahdliyin in East Java. Moreover, coupled with the national achievements that have been achieved by Khofifah, namely being Minister of Women and Children Empowerment under President KH Abdurrahman Wahid, and having been Minister of Social Affairs in the era of President Jokowi. Another position as General Chairperson of Muslimat NU, became another portfolio for Khofifah to ensure that she appeared dashing as a local leader defeating men.

"A good leader has been proven by him (Khofifah). He has held various positions, so he has been a minister twice, he is also the chairman of the People's Representative Council of the Republic of Indonesia commission, he is also the General Chair of Muslimat NU. So there is no need to question it, we need as many people as Khofifah. There are a lot of Muslim women like Khofifah in Muslimat NU now, the Regent of Bojonegoro, the Mayor of Mojokerto, Mrs. Risma (Mayor of Surabaya), there are also quite a number of female ministers. So it doesn't matter." (KH Solahuddin Wahid, senior NU figure)

Informant KH Solahuddin Wahid is one of the NU Kyai who claims to have no problem with women's leadership at all, like Khofifah Indar Parwansa. According to the informant KH Solahuddin Wahid, it is strange that nowadays there are still parties who oppose women becoming leaders. Because there is a lot of evidence that many women who are mandated to become leaders are also successful in leadership at the local and national levels. Moreover, organizationally, in the 1997 NU ulema deliberation, NU no longer had a problem if there was a female figure who was able to appear in the arena of national and local leadership.

"First of all, I find it strange that nowadays there are still people who forbid it (women's leadership). The 1997 NU Ulema National Conference had allowed female leaders. And that's not a problem anymore. It's the people who don't allow it

that's the weird one. In today's context, there is no need to question why we allow women to lead in Indonesia, starting with the village head, then the sub-district head, regent or mayor, governor, minister, or president, vice president. So there's no problem." (KH Solahuddin Wahid, senior NU figure)

According to informant KH Solahuddin Wahid, the figure of Khofifah is a true NU cadre who is considered very loyal to senior NU Kyai. The patience, tenacity, seriousness, and politeness in Khofifah Indar Parawansa made the NU Kyai in East Java feel that there was no reason not to go all out to support and lead Khofifah to sit in the East Java Governor's seat. The support given by the senior NU Kyai for Khofifah is manifested by always accompanying him when he is involved in political communication with the general chairmen of political parties and figures in East Java and Jakarta. Of course, the efforts of the NU Kyai are still accompanied by prayers that are said day and night so that Khofifah does not fail again for the third time. And also did not feel cheated and wronged by his political opponents as experienced by Khofifah in the previous period.

In 2013 it was Khofifah Indar Parawansa for the second time running as a candidate for governor of East Java with her deputy candidate for deputy Inspector General of Police (Ret.) Hermawan Suryadi Sumawirya. Meanwhile, Khofifah's competitors are Soekarno and Syaifullah Yusuf. Informant KH Solahuddin Wahid felt very disappointed with PB NU because he was considered unable to reach an agreement in 2018 regarding the nomination of two NU cadres in the East Java election. Although informant KH Solahuddin Wahid should be grateful that the NU Kyai supporting each candidate did not do anything destructive, for example by not carrying out violent attacks in the form of sharp hurtful statements or open comments in the mass media regarding the 2018 East Java Governor Election.

"I started in 2008 supporting Khofifah even though I was not openly involved and not too directly involved. But in 2013 I was involved in supporting Khofifah, even though it was Pak Hasyim Muzadi who supported him. But in 2018 I was at the forefront of supporting Khofifah." (KH Solahuddin Wahid, senior NU Kyai)

The attention and total support of informant KH Solahuddin Wahid and other NU Kyai to Khofifah Indar Parawansa was not only shown by desperately fighting for Khofifah to become the female governor of East Java Province, but the NU Kyai also showed that when they also gave various careful considerations so that Khofifah decided on the choice of the Regent of Trenggalek Regency, Emil Dardak, as a candidate for Deputy Governor of East Java to accompany Khofifah. According to informant Solahuddin Wahid, Emil Dardak is a 33-year-old youth figure who was considered by the informant as a great and accomplished figure while serving as Regent of Trenggalek. The informants even hope that one day Emil Dardak will continue the leadership of Khofifah Indar Parawansa in East Java. Meanwhile, it is estimated that Khofifah will be projected to become a candidate for President of the Republic of Indonesia in 2024. The informant's hope was expressed by noting that Khofifah would not run again as a candidate for Governor of East Java for the second period in 2023-2028.

Discussion

Political Communication of Khofifah Indar Parawansa

The political communication process carried out by Khofifah's informant to win the East Java Governor's seat for the 2018-2023 period is quite tough. The difficulty of the political communication process was due to the tug of war to get the support of the Nahdlatul Ulama (NU) kiai who were considered quite influential in the people of East Java. The problem is that the two contestants or candidates who will compete for leadership seats in East Java are both NU's best cadres, namely Khofifah Indar Parawansa and Syaifullah Yusuf. For Khofifah herself, this 2018 regional election is the third regional election she has participated in, after two East Java regional elections and Khofifah lost and failed to

become the Governor of East Java. Khofifah suffered two defeats in a row against the same pair, Soekarwo and Syaifullah Yusuf. Khofifah's failure twice in a row did not stop her from taking part in the 2018 Regional Head Elections for the third time. For Khofifah's informants,

there is no term to stop fighting in the East Java Pilkada as long as he feels sure that he is really trying (effort) as much as possible. The motivation of Gus Dur (Alm. KH Abdurrahman Wahid) became the capital of Khofifah's informant for the third time participating in the 2018 East Java Pilkada contestation.

Political Communication of Khofifah Indar Parawansa with Political Parties

The Golkar Party for the last two periods has always supported and fought for the victory of the pair Soekarwo and Syaifullah Yusuf in every East Java gubernatorial election. However, in the 2018 East Java gubernatorial election, the Golkar Party changed its political direction to become the main supporter of Khofifah Indar Parawansa. Golkar Party gave his support to Khofifah along with a number of other supporting parties, namely the Democratic Party, Nasdem Party, United Development Party (PPP), National Mandate Party (PAN), Hanura Party, and the Indonesian Justice and Unity Party (PKPI).

For this reason, the informant, Zainuddin Amali, is serious about fighting for Khofifah to become the Governor of East Java for the 2018-2023 period. Not only did they not ask for a 'political dowry', the Golkar Party claimed to have paid for it themselves in order to win Khofifah in East Java Governor Election 2018. In fact, the informant Zainuddin Amali claimed to have participated in mobilizing a number of Golkar Party cadres throughout East Java for the winning process.

"The Golkar Party is less popular in East Java. Why did we decide to support Khofifah? We hope that the people of East Java believe that the Golkar Party is very 'committed' to the progress of the people of East Java, so that Golkar's vote acquisition in the future will be better. In fact, we went directly to campaign for Khofifah by mobilizing all Golkar cadres to the ranks of branches throughout East Java. We also pay for all the needs that go out for it. From candidacy to campaign to election. We didn't ask what did you say? Mahar huh? There's no that. But after we expressed our support, communication between the Golkar parties in East Java and Central Java was very intense." (Zainuddin Amali, Chairman of the East Java Golkar Party DPD).

Apart from the Golkar Party, other parties such as the Democratic Party support women to become leaders, both at the local and national levels. The mandate of the law that requires a quota of 30 percent for women has been completed. The Democratic Party highly respects women who are ready and qualified to become leaders. The Democratic Party can ensure that there are no gender barriers to lead in the Democratic Party or advance to become leaders in the regions. The Democratic Party claims to have proven 30 percent representation in the Democratic Party organization. This will be the case with the nomination of Khofifah Indar Parawansa as a candidate for Governor of East Java for the 2018-2023 period.

The process of political communication that was built between the Democratic Party and Khofifah Indar Parawansa and his team was quite long. When viewed from the political journey of the gubernatorial election in East Java, the Democratic Party has never carried the figure of Khofifah to become the Governor of East Java. Because the previous two periods the Democratic Party brought Soekarwo (Pakde Karwo) because he was a cadre of the Democratic Party and at the same time became the Chairman of the DPD of the East Java Democratic Party. However, before Pakde Karwo's position ended, the

Democratic Party had already considered which candidate the Democratic Party would carry as the candidate for Governor of East Java for the 2018-2023 period.

After the DPP of the Democratic Party studied together with the administrators of the Democratic Party in East Java, at that time the candidate who emerged and almost certainly was Syaifullah Yusuf paired with Abdullah Azwar Anas (Banyuwangi Regent). The Democratic Party at that time was quite careful to determine who the Democratic Party would carry. Even though the functionaries of the Democratic Party had heard from the start that Khofifah was determined to run again for the third time in the East Java Governor Election.

According to the informant Hince Panjaitan, who was always the Secretary General of the Democratic Party's Central Leadership Council (DPP), the Democratic Party's support for Khofifah was due to several factors.

"I applaud Mrs. Khofifah because she is a really focused and persistent person, besides that, she is also polite in her language and pithy. Even though he was never involved in Pak SBY's cabinet before, er.. I mean as a minister as in the era of the late Gus Dur or Pak Jokowi, yes. But with Pak Ketum (SBY) looks very familiar and close. To Pak Ketum (SBY), Mrs. Khofifah immediately conveyed her vision and mission. Indeed, prior to the meeting the kyai had communicated with the Democratic Party and Pak Soekarwo (Chairman of the East Java Democratic Party DPD) also gave support to Khofifah. Furthermore, Mrs. Khofifah always asked the opinion of the Ketum (SBY) at the time of entering the campaign period. Especially after the candidate for deputy governor that we proposed, Mas Emil, was finally approved by Pak SBY to accompany Khofifah." (Hince Panjaitan, Secretary General of the Democratic Party DPP)

According to Faiz Manshur (2015), Khofifah Indar Parawansa is a female character who is persistent, focused, patient, and never gives up. At least that's the most appropriate expression the researcher attaches to Khofifah Indar Parawansa in the 2018 East Java gubernatorial election. In a foreword to the publisher of the book that published Khofifah's book, editor Faiz Manshur wrote that Khofifah Indar Pawansa is one of the rare female figures in this country. He came forward as a public figure not because he had benefited from the political momentum, then skyrocketed. He is also not a narcissistic figure who has stage fright because he happened to get a space because of the vacancy of women's leadership. Khofifah is a leader who was born from the process and matured by experience. From organizational experience to experience as a State official, and the many professions he has played have made him have a distinctive character. Political parties at the theoretical and empirical levels function as communicators as well as political communicants who convey all information not only from the government related to regulations, decisions, and policies, but also the aspirations they receive from the community. The position of political parties that are between the community and the government makes political parties and their figures become a component that is considered the most important in the political system. Likewise, the position of informal figures in the community, such as Kyai and other religious scholars. The province of East Java is known as an area that is very thick with conservative religious traditions brought by the Kyai for a long time on the basis of pesantren. The presence of the Kyai has been considered as a balance between power (ruler/government) and the people. In East Java, the role of the Kyai can exceed the role of the ruler or government. The people of East Java, who are generally members of the

Nahdlatul Ulama (NU) sympathizers listen to the appeals or invitations of their kyai or ulama rather than obeying the government's advice. That's why in regional development in

various sectors in remote parts of East Java, the government generally informally includes the kiai or NU clerics. This is done as one of the efforts for the development process in the region to run smoothly as expected.

CONCLUSION

Khofifah Indar Parawansa is a very famous female figure in Indonesia. In every move and political step, Khofifah always relies on the ulama and clerics from the largest Islamic mass organization in Indonesia, namely Nahdlatul Ulama or NU for short. Since participating in the first East Java gubernatorial election contestation in 2008, Khofifah Indar Parawansa, who at that time served as Minister of Social Affairs under President Joko Widodo's government, never took the initiative to take part in the East Java Pilkada. However, at the suggestion and urging of a number of NU Kyai who are very influential at the national and local levels of East Java, Khofifah began to go all out and focus on seizing local leadership in the East Java region, including having to be willing to resign from the position of minister of social affairs, a position in the state apparatus that is considered prestigious. and often a dream of many people. Her status as a loyal NU cadre from a young age and has led the mass organization of Muslimat NU women for four terms and has been a minister twice from different government regimes has become her social capital to participate in the East Java Pilkada. Khofifah Indar Parawansa's politeness, patience, focus, and persistence are considered as one of the factors that became the main attraction for the senior NU Kyai so that they consciously and openly supported Khofifah Indar Parawansa to become the first female governor in East Java, regardless of the factors involved gender.

REFERENCES

- El Adawiyah, Sa'diyah, Aida Vitayala Hubeis, Titik Sumarti, and Djoko Susanto. (2019). "Strategi Komunikasi Politik Perempuan Dalam Meraih Kepemimpinan Daerah." *Metacommunication: Journal of Communication Studies* 4, no. 1, 2019
- Audi, Gilas. (2019). "Info Grafis: Kemenangan Khofifah Di Pilkada Jawa Timur 2018". Surabaya: <https://jatimnet.com/kenapa-suara-khofifah-di-madura-tak-mengalir-ke-jokowi>.
- Basri, Hasan, Sa'diyah El Adawiyah, and Wawan Hernawan. (2019). "Women And Politics." *Option* 35, no. Special Issue 21
- Bungin, Burhan. (2014). *Penelitian Kualitatif: Komunikasi, Ekonomi, Kebijakan Publik, Dan Ilmu Sosial Lainnya* (Edisi Ke 2). Jakarta: Prenada Media Group.
- Creswell, John W. (2014). *Research Design: Qualitative, Quantitative, and Mixed Methods Approaches*. Third Edition (Terjemahan). California, USA: SAGE Publications, 2014.
- Hanani, Silfia. (2017). "Keterlibatan Perempuan Dalam Kepemimpinan Publik: Studi Kepemimpinan Ketua RT Perempuan Di Desa Dendun Kepulauan Riau." *Kafa'ah: Journal of Gender Studies* 7, no. 1, 2017.
- Hasbiansyah, O. (2008). "Pendekatan Fenomenologi: Pengantar Praktik Penelitian Dalam Ilmu Sosial Dan Komunikasi." *Mediator: Jurnal Komunikasi* 9, no. 1, 2008: 163–180.
- Husserl, Edmund. (2012). *Ideas: General Introduction to Pure Phenomenology*. Routledge.
- Imamah, Fardan Mahmudatul. "Social Network Analysis Terhadap Komunikasi Politik Perempuan Di Twitter." *ORASI: Jurnal Dakwah dan Komunikasi* 11, no. 2, 2020.
- Izar, Shahibul. (2018). "Analisis Kegagalan Illiza Saauddin Djamal Pada Pilkada Kota Banda Aceh Tahun 2017 (Studi Kasus Pemilih Kota Banda Aceh). Skripsi." FISIP Universitas Syiah Kuala, Banda Aceh.

- Juwito, and Syfa Syarifa Alawiah. (2018). "Pola Komunikasi Politik Perempuan Dalam Pemilu." *Jurnal Ilmu Komunikasi* 1, no. 2, 2018
- KPU. Info Pemilu. Jakarta, 2020.
- Littlejohn, Stephen W., and Karen A. Foss. (2014). *Teori Komunikasi: Theories of Human Communication* (Terjemahan, Edisi 9). Jakarta: Salemba Humanika.
- Manshur, Faiz. *Terobosan Khofifah*. (2015). (Pengantar Penerbit Nuansa Cendekia, Yang Menerbitkan Buku Yang Ditulis Khofifah Indar Parawansa Berjudul: "NU, Perempuan, Indonesia: Sudut Pandang Islam Tradisional). Bandung: Penerbit Nuansa Cendekia.
- Moleong, L.J. (2011). "Metodologi Penelitian." *Kualitatif Sosial*
- Mukarom, Zaenal. (2008). "Perempuan Dan Politik: Studi Komunikasi Politik Tentang Keterwakilan Perempuan Di Legislatif." *Mediator: Jurnal Komunikasi* 9, no. 2, 2008.
- Okpe, Victor Vincent, Muhammad Fuad Othman, and Nazariah Binti Osman. (2021). "An Assessment Into Women Political Participation In Malaysian Democratic Governance." *e-Bangi: Journal of Social Sciences and Humanities* 18, no. 5, 2021: 21–36. <https://ejournal.ukm.my/ebangi/article/view/49481>.
- Pohan, Ramdeswati. (2019). "Wawancara Peneliti (Ramdeswati Pohan) Dengan Illiza Sa'aduddin Jamal Di Banda Aceh." Banda Aceh, Indonesia.
- _____. (2020). "Wawancara Peneliti (Ramdeswati Pohan) Dengan Zainudin Amali di Surabaya.
- _____. (2020). "Wawancara Peneliti (Ramdeswati Pohan) Dengan Hinca Panjaitan melalui sambungan telepon
- Purwanti, Yuli. (2013). "Kiprah Perempuan Dalam Kepemimpinan Di Panggung Politik (Studi Anggota Dewan Perempuan Di DPRD Kota Bandar Lampung)." *Journal of Chemical Information and Modeling*.
- Rais, Muhammad Dhiauddin. (2001). *Teori Politik Islam* (Judul Asli: *An Nazhariyatun As-Siyasatul Islamiyah*). Cetakan Ke IV. Jakarta: Gema Insani Press.
- Rawnsley, Gary, and Qian Gong. (2016). "Political Communications in Democratic Taiwan: The Relationship Between Politicians and Journalists." *Political Communication* 28, no. 3, 2016.
- Subiakto, Henry, and Rachmah Ida. (2014). *Komunikasi Politik, Media, Dan Demokrasi*. 2nd ed. Jakarta: PT Prenadamedia Group.
- Wahyudi, Very. (2018). "Peran Politik Perempuan Dalam Perspektif Gender." *Politea: Jurnal Politik Islam* 1, no. 1, 2018: 63–83.
- Wijaya, Andy Arya Maulana. (2016). "Key Success Factor Kepemimpinan Perempuan Di Pemerintahan Daerah." *Kybernan: Jurnal Studi Pemerintahan* 1, no. 2, 2016.
- Witriani, Witriani, and Bayu Mitra A. Kusuma. (2019). "Mapping Isu Jurnal Berbasis Pengarusutamaan Gender Dan HAM Pada Perguruan Tinggi Di Indonesia." *Musawa Jurnal Studi Gender dan Islam* 18, no. 1, 2019.