

**The Political Role of Women in the City of *Santri*, Situbondo
(Overview of Political Communication)**

Nur Ainiyah

Faculty of Da'wah and Communication Ibrahimy University

Email: Nurainiyab078@gmail.com

Abstract

This study aims to show how the role of women's political communication in the city of santri (a student in Islamic boarding school) in facing political power that is dominated by men in Situbondo. It becomes a development in women's political communication in a practical and scientific manner. The reality of the political climate in Situbondo is inseparable from the influence of the kyai as religious and cultural figures, so each of his political perceptions and views certainly has its own perspective and far from gender justice. Consequently, this affects the political space for female santri in Situbondo. In this research, building theoretical interconnections from building theoretical frameworks used such as political communication, gender analysis and phenomenology, related to the focus of research. With a qualitative-explorative research approach, several steps in the procedure of collecting observational data, interviews and documentation are applied consistently and continuously. The results of the research are firstly Santri woman has a political outlook with the benefit of minimizing conflict; secondly cultural barriers as a medium of political communication are effectively overcome by female santri. Besides, female santri tend to override political choices by preferring the political choices of the figures they envision for benefit purposes.

Keywords: *women, political communication, santri city*

INTRODUCTION

It has been three periods since 2004 that Indonesia has conducted direct elections for general elections. Direct elections provide separate political education for the community, including women. The process of democratization in state life is gradually understood by the community including women at the technical level. Women's involvement in determining political choices in elections provides an extraordinary contribution in the process of democratization of the life of the nation and state.

The segmentation of women's involvement in politics consists of several things, firstly, women as the subject of voters who determine the vote acquisition in elections; secondly women as strategic actors in the political field and thirdly women as legislative members or candidates in elections. These three segments at least bring women into the political sphere.

Of these three segments, women as the subject of voters are the most compared to the other two things. This cannot be separated from the assumption that women voters are very "easy" to be influenced for several reasons since women have an understanding of politics that is different from men. Women are considered to be more honest and afraid of sin if she does not to vote, especially if women voters have received something from candidates. The candidates understand very well the inner situation of women voters.

At present, women's understanding of the political world can be quite good. Direct elections are sufficient to contribute to the transformation of political education for society and women. The conversation is rarely used as a theme by women and mothers in the grass root. Suddenly, it became an interesting conversation when the election is going to be held. Women become proactive in accessing information about who are candidates for Regent, Governor candidates and even Presidential candidates. Likewise in legislative elections, women's understanding of candidates for the People's Representative Council (DPR) and Regional Representative Council (DPRD) members becomes more open when women's groups are visited by legislative candidates in the campaign or gathering forums.

Situbondo women with the tradition of monotheism are of course "*sami'na wa atbo'na*" (being obedient) to the *kyai* or *sangi* in Situbondo. *Kyai* is religious and cultural

figures who is followed and heard due to his expertise in the teaching of Islam. They are usually a part of Nahdlatul Ulama (NU), a leading Islamic organization in Indonesia. One of the Nahdlatul Ulama women's organizations, which is a place for situbondo women to organize and hone knowledge or skills is Fatayat. As a large mass organization Fatayat is always looked at by various interest groups to be able to work together in politics especially before the legislative and regional elections. Although Fatayat is not an organization engaged in politics, but in the political climate of Situbondo, its contribution must be taken into account.

This organization is quite massively organized at the level of the Situbondo branch, 17 sub-branch and approximately 170 village branches. Overnight leadership can be said to be quite professional, where all branch subsidiary and branch leaders are quite active in communicating and doing activities together in social life.

This good condition is actually not without problems and obstacles. The role of women in the political world faces many things that become obstacles, both cultural barriers and knowledge. Culturally, women are stereotyped as people who are: shy, afraid, emotional. In contrast, men are identified with: brave, never give up, and strong. This is what causes women to have obstacles in conducting political communication because women are often inferior, discourage and not easy to accept criticism. Situbondo's socio-cultural life is quite patriarchal and has not yet provided opportunities for women, especially in strategic positions in the political world. The notion that politics is a public world and only deserves to be controlled and owned by men. The situbondo which has religious culture and has many Islamic boarding schools further strengthens the patriarchal atmosphere.

Other cultural barriers of women are also stereotyped as housewives, domestic workers, inappropriate to appear in the public . This stereotypical perception causes women to get and face a lot of criticism when appearing in public. They are also stereotyped as people who do not deserve to lead. This identity causes women to be reluctant to talk openly. They are often talk shyly and not confidently. In America, there is a stereotype about *cinderella complexe* for a woman who is identical with a person with

shyness and have no confidence and then become a princess because she is married to a rich nobleman.

Situbondo women face more complex problems related to cultural, religious, social and political perceptions. The influence of the kyai's political power in Situbondo certainly limited women's involvement in politics. The transfer of power from the village head level to the regent is inseparable from the political power of the kyai. Thus, women must have their own political communication strategies so that women's involvement in politics can be considered not only as a voter but also as a strategic actor in the political climate of Situbondo.

This reality is certainly an obstacle in women's political communication including women members of SANTRI, so women santri must create their own communication strategies that are persuasive to reach common goals. Apart from being culturally, women also have many barriers to knowledge. Inadequate education of women is caused by many things. Many women do not have the time and opportunity to study, organize, do activities or read books because they are responsible domestically. Women who work outside also do not have much access to communicate / network / seek knowledge because they also have to take care of domestic affairs. Not to mention the identification of dirty and corrupt politics also causes women to be afraid to take part in the political world. In communicating politically, on the one hand this is an obstacle for women to become politicians.

The lack of knowledge and mentality of these women certainly makes it more difficult for women to access information and convey information in public. Feeling inferior and not having enough knowledge make women speak reluctantly in front of the media. This is definitely an opportunity for men who fill the media to communicate politically.

In the 2014 General Election, for example, some political parties were very difficult when they had to meet the 30% of women legislative candidates. As a result, some political parties tend to be "inconsequential" in selecting female candidates. This shows that actually some parties have failed in the regeneration of women. Understanding gender justice does not really touch the political sphere. Although in the 2009 legislative election the

Situbondo's Regional Representative Council (DPRD) was led by the chairperson of women but it has not been able to provide significant changes in women's political communication in Situbondo. The inability of women in political communication ultimately only makes women's involvement as voters and not yet in a strategic position but seems to be a complement.

The existence of women's organizations in Situbondo is expected to bring change in the world of women's politics. by creating persuasive-strategic communication facing the challenges of the Kyai's political power which controlled the social and political life in Situbondo. On the reality of this problem, researchers view women *santri* with various political barriers both knowledge and culture use the media as a political communication hence women can play a political role both as voters and "elected".

Research Methods

This research is about political roles of female students with a political communication approach both as voters, as a strategic actor in political parties and as members of parliament by considering gender analysis in political communication.

The subjects of this study are female *santri* who are members of the People's Representative Council (DPR), *fatayat* women who are known as active *santri*. With using a qualitative research approach, the data collection techniques will be carried out in several ways including; observation techniques, in-depth interview techniques and data collection/written documents. With several approaches to the concepts of political communication, gender and dramaturgy, qualitative-exploratory data analysis is applied. After the researchers collect secondary and primary data, socio-political and communication data related to *Fatayat* women, the researcher will sort out the data by data reduction and data display. According to Miles and Huberman in Moloeng (2007: 308), basically the analysis of this data is based on the view of the positivism paradigm. Data analysis is done by basing themselves on field research whether: one or more than one site. Data reduction is important to sort and classify data according to the domain of analysis. Furthermore, the researcher will do the qualitative data analysis. In brief, the researchers can find and formulate the formulation of political communication strategies of *Fatayat*

Women in Situbondo. This step is the first step in the inductive analysis method to get the truth of the results.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

Political climate which takes side on men

Situbondo political power is in the strength of religious and cultural figures, *kyai*, community leaders and leaders of social groups. The power between the Walisongo boarding school and the salafiyah/safiyah boarding school extraordinarily contributes to the future of Situbondo. These two large *pesantren* (Islamic boarding school) are descended from KHR. As'ad syamsul Arifin which recently won the title of national hero. Accordingly, political power as well as various policies and local government decision-making still listen to advice from situbondo political elders.

The patriarchal culture has been going on for a long time in Situbondo. *Kyai* and cultural figures' voices are very meaningful. There is an expression of one of the situbondo *kyai* "if there are still men who are able to lead, women are not encouraged to join."¹ This expression is interpreted that there is no equal opportunity and competition between men and women in the world of politics. Men still have the first and foremost opportunity when compared to women politicians.

The dominant role of the *kyai* in the social system in Indonesian society makes the position of the *kyai* very important so that the community often makes the *kyai* as a source of solution of daily life problems such as worship, work, marriage and even political affairs. In Indonesia, most people are muslims and put *kyai* in the honorable position and have a great influence on the development of the society. *Kyai* is as one of the strategic figures in society because of his character who has extensive and in-depth knowledge about the teachings of Islam.² The charisma of the *kyai* causes them to occupy leadership positions in their environment. Aside from being a religious leader and village community leader (even national), the *kyai* also leads the *pesantren* (Islamic boarding school) where he lives. The

¹ Salah satu petikan wawancara dengan kyai MR

² Ainur Rofiq "Peran kyai dalam perubahan social politik di situbondo . skripsi UIN sunan Ampel 2006

words of a *kyai* are usually heard. He is followed by many people, often without questioning what is the basis of that opinion and how it is valued.

As a religious elite, the *kyai* have an obligation to uphold religious values by way of *amar ma'ruf nabi munkar* (invite people to do good deeds and prevent them from sins). At the same time, the *kyai* is as one of the sources of religious teachings whose views and thoughts become references. As a social elite, the *kyai* serve as role models and protect the public from government arbitrary actions. He is the most respected figure in the community who make every behavior and speech followed by the community.

There are at least three substantive behaviors of a *kyai* who become reference in his leadership. Among them are the *mass base* which is a social structural pattern, the *islamic scholar (ulama) base* which represents the *kyai's* leadership structure and the *tradition base* which is culturally a kind of cultural system that binds Islam and the science they profess. The *kyai* and its adherents are an emotional relation pattern like the feudal tradition but without the structure and political level like in royal government. Because the mass base is easily raised by a *kyai*, the *kyai* is considered as the spearhead by the electoral officials participating in the election. The political parties compete to approach and mobilize the people to support it because the fatwa issued by the *kyai* will always be followed by every *santri* and general public.

In the internal of *Nahdlatul Ulama (NU)*, the *kyai* and *pesantren* figures were the cultural pillars. A number of political parties emerged to claim the *kyai* to be a political representation of the party. Each also attempted to place a number of religious scholars and leaders of the *pesantren* as the driving force. For example, during the 1977 election campaign, *Kyai Bisyrri Syamsuri*, with his capacity as a NU scholar

and chairman of the Union and Development Party (PPP) Advisory Council issued a "political fatwa", that every Muslim was required to vote for PPP. His radical attitude in political theory is called Counters-Hegemony.³ The political orientation of the *Nahdlatul Ulama (NU)* as an organization of islamic scholars from traditionalist muslims, including in the accommodation group. Nevertheless, in politics, some NU scholars sometimes also

³ Martin Van Bruinassen, *NU Tradisi Relasi-relasi Kuasa* (Jogjakarta:LKIS, 1994. p. 105

resort to militant political strategies, depending on the conditions faced. However, in general, the political views of the kyai and NU were more accommodating.

From the very beginning NU had dealt with politics. its involvement in the *kantoor voor inlandsche zaken* session in Jakarta in 1929 discussed the issue of community marriages and improvement of the headship organization. Even in 1938 in its conferences determined the role of a kyai is as a guide and director in terms of religious scholarship to the community or people. Because of his role in a very active society, they become very vulnerable in political arena. The existence of a *kyai* in mobilizing the community in terms of science is often utilized by the political party as a partner in winning his party, with the reason kyai as religious elites can be a benchmark of the happening period.

Several dimensions of *kyai* involvement in politics in social and economic contexts are expected to have an effect on resulting in the birth of variations in the *kyai*'s response in politics itself. Some express that they do not want to be involved in politics; some are openly supporting one political party with various kinds of reasons since more participation provides an active feel and is done on purpose.

Politics in a broad sense is an activity of seeking and maintaining power in society. Therefore political science is formulated as a study of the nature, position and use of power wherever that power is determined. While the meaning of power itself is the ability to influence others to think and behave in accordance with the will of who influences them.

Hegemony controlled by the authorities, leaders, ulama 'which is related to politics is a political step taken and must be followed by followers or the general public because political decisions are decisions that bind the community.

However, for the Islamic world, politics is usually used as a way to regulate the ummah (society). In addition, from the Islamic thinkers themselves, politics has various understandings about how to regulate the people.

As stated by Ar-Raghib Al-Ashfihani, the author of the book *Mufradat Al-Qur'an* states that politics is of two kinds. First, human politics for humans themselves, both

regarding the needs of their body or other needs. Second, human politics towards other parties, both to their relatives or to society in general.⁴

So it can be concluded that politics is the ability to organize or regulate patterns of social interaction in society, including regulating the lives of the community as a whole. Therefore, one of the most effective ways of managing society is through politics and when people who are trusted in regulating community, policies are chosen through political mechanisms, both by voting and by deliberation for consensus. There are several concepts related to power: 1) *Influence*, that is how a person is able to influence others hence they change voluntarily. Manipulation is the ability to influence other people but those who are not aware of it, 2) *Coercion* is a threat that make other people follow the will of the power, 3) *Force* is physical pressure, such as limiting freedom. These are usually equipped with weapons, so others experience fear.

It can also be developed in the form of hegemony theory which means that power and domination are held by one social group over another group or *kyai*, society and their students. The tendency to attract the support of the *kyai* and *pesantren* figures shows even the political value of the *kyai* in the face of politicians in their efforts to build a support base or just legitimize their interests.

Barriers to political communication of female *santri*

In this study there are several factors that hamper the political communication of female *santri* in Situbondo including things that influence and forms of women's political communication strategies in the management of Santri NU Situbondo in 2016. From the research, it will be known what factors are underlying and hindering political activities and what forms of political communication were conducted by women who became administrators at Santri Situbondo in 2016.

Based on the research that the author has done, from several sources, there are various kinds of factors that can motivate or become an obstacle for women to participate in political communication strategy in politics, especially as Santri Situbondo administrators. Motivations and obstacles that arise both from internal women and the

⁴ Nanang Tahqiq, Politik Islam . jakarta: prenada media ;2004. Hlm. 189

external environment. For more details, the researcher will explain related matters, such as what are the motivations and internal constraints of women as well as the motivations and constraints of the external environment that influence women's political communication strategies in political communication in Santri Situbondo in 2016.

Besides, how women can play a role in political communication, especially in the Santri Situbondo environment need to be elaborated. For more details, researchers will explain the questions. What forms of political communication are carried out, what media or channels are used, what types of messages and their audiences to the effects of political communication that they expect as a result of their political communication strategies in Santri Situbondo in 2016.

Looking at data on the low participation of women in politics, it implies that there are obstacles for women to enter politics. These constraints can be grouped into four ideologies: psychological barriers, barriers as human resources, institutional structural barriers and financial barriers.

The first obstacle is culture and psychology. Cultural values that exist in society are very stereotyped and patriarchal so that various interpretations of religious texts are also gender biased. Men as figurrs who deserve to be leaders and decision makers.

The next obstacle is human resource constraints. From an early age women have been raised and conditioned to feel "uncomfortable" in the political world because politics is considered not their world. This causes women to be insecure and "indifferent" to the political world so that they are unable to actualize their public responsibilities as citizens. As a result of different treatment, generally women are less educated than men and lack access to information. A further impact is the departure of women in all fields of life.

In addition, other obstacles come from institutional and structural. The Indonesian political system is masculine and not gender responsive. Affirmative 30 percent in the Election Law which is still not care, is a serious obstacle for women to enter politics. The state administration system is not yet gender responsive and the internal system of political parties is undemocratic and gender insensitive. This is a formidable challenge for women to break through and change it.

Another big barrier is financial constraint. Being involved in politics means involving substantial funds, especially since the political world is prone to "money politics". All cultural, psychological and resource constraints must be supplemented by funding problems. As a result, if they have sufficient funds, they will support women in politics. From the description above it can be said that in theory and reality, women who want to take part in the world of politics need precise political motivation and strategy in order to achieve the stated goals.

Several factors inhibit the political participation of female santri

Women as the majority of the population in Indonesia have various limitations to be more active in the public sphere, especially the political world and policy makers. Some related aspects such as environmental conditions and the personal condition of women themselves still limit the communication or participation of women in the public sphere, especially politics. Various social and psychological obstacles become barriers to communication in politics.

From the results of the study, it can be said that the obstacles faced by women in Santri Situbondo to be able to communicate in political communication are grouped into two:

a) Internal Factors That Hinder Women in Political Communication

There are quite a lot of obstacles that arise from internal women themselves. Among them are the following problems that are recognized by women in the management of Santri Situbondo as obstacles to women's communication in politics.

1) Double Female Role

The double burden of women as someone who is 'required' to take full responsibility in the domestic environment (home and family) while being motivated in the public sphere requires women to sacrifice more time or must be good at time management. This must be done so that the domestic area as the 'main responsibility' remains controlled while still playing an active role in the public sphere, especially politics.

"But indeed not all women are ready to go into politics. I think the obstacles are the same, there are not many women who are ready to enter politics. The obstacles are back home, about the dual

function. Everyone has the capacity or physical strength because he must be able to play more. Thus, not all women are ready to play that dual role, "(Zeiniye)

In line with this statement, Zeiniye also experienced obstacles to do political communication because of her job as a responsible person in the domestic sphere of the household.

"Personally, family. We have obligations at home, caring for children. Our job as mothers is also main at home, so that's how we divide our time. It is often difficult, especially when children cannot be left behind, when ill, for example. That is where we prioritize our duties at home. But we try so that everything can work well, God willing, all of the downliners also help each other. For example, we provide child care to accommodate children who must participate," explained Zeiniye.

A similar reason was expressed by Muslihatun. He claimed that the domestic or family domain provided obstacles in his communication in political communication both as party officials and Santri Situbondo administrators. Even so, he admitted that the domestic domain was an obstacle, but he tried not to see it merely as an obstacle but also as encouragement and motivation and support.

"Obstacles certainly exist, but I do not take it as a big deal. The most priority is the children. I work cooperatively with families so we can carry out. But thank God, family support is always there." He explained.

The obstacles faced by women may be greater than those faced by men to be able to communicate in the public sphere, especially politics. The domestic domain which is considered culturally as a women's responsibility makes the position of women a bit restricted. Women are considered only capable of being responsible for household chores and must be in the house to take care for children. In other words, in the public domain women are only used as second person.

Lack of understanding about sharing roles between men and women in the household must be well communicated with all family members. With appropriate communication and division of roles in the household, it is expected to reduce the obstacles for women to be active in the public sphere, especially politics.

2) Human Resources

Human Resources (HR) become one of problems faced by the santri. Lack of skills or personal capabilities are emerging factors addressed among Santri Situbondo

administrators. The large number of female members with minimal skills contribute to the hindrance of the programs. This is what Zeiniye revealed:

"By occupying a position on the council, we want to improve the condition of society, country, and the welfare of society. On the other hand we have to face ridicule, while there may be many who support it too. Some people still disagree with our way, while for others it might be a matter of funding, secondly is HR. But God willing, we can still overcome it," explained Zeiniye. (Interview on September 3, 2016)

Sofi also has a similar opinion, that the lack of women's skills is one of the obstacles that is quite difficult for female Santri Situbondo to actively communicate in political communication.

"The obstacle besides the funds is skill. On average, we are young people and not many graduates from tertiary institutions. When you graduate, you just organize yourself and skills. Organizing time for the Ummah is very influential skill that is also limited. We also cannot force ourselves. To overcoming it, we usually save little expenditure by finding sponsors from established cadres. For the skills, we are still not optimal," (Interview on 10 September 2016)

3) The Low Level of Women's Education and Economy

Economic and educational constraints are also a major challenge for efforts to improve women's communication in the public sphere. Economic factor makes it difficult for women to be totally involved in politics. Economic dependence on others makes women unable to make decisions separately in political budgeting. Zeiniye said:

"The political costs I spent were quite expensive. In the 2014 election, for example, the funds I spent were quite a consequence of my candidacy. To be honest the constituent community was not enough with the program that I provided, but there had to be money to replace their work time. I do this so they don't abstain," said Zeiniye. (Interview on September 3, 2016).

Likewise expressed by Zeiniye who was very worried about the lack of confidence in women to actualize themselves due to the lack of education and skills possessed by women.

"If they have sufficient education, they can express their opinions, they are brave. That is actually one thing that is really needed, but for the time being they can only keep quiet or talking behind. That is what I think is the result of empowerment which is very lacking in terms of intellectual empowerment. And I think the issue of education is very urgent to deal with," added Zeiniye (interview on September 3, 2016)

The loss of educational opportunities and economic limitations create both physical and mental violence as well as obstacles that prevent women from growing and developing.

Culturally, the image of a woman is still related to a housewife who is struggling with the domestic environment.

Both education and economics were well realized by the Santri Situbondo administrators. The lack of Human Resources which became an obstacle in the organization, especially the santri itself was also indirectly a result of the lack of education and economic security of women. These two issues have been voiced so far by them. How women can get a minimum of basic education and also is provided with teaching skills or business skills so that women will be more economically independent is need to be solved.

b) External factors that hamper women's communication in political communication

Women in Santri Situbondo admit that there are many obstacles that come from outside, the external environment around women's lives. Women's external environment also provides a barrier for them to be more active in the public environment, especially politics.

1) Misunderstanding of Political Society

The public's view of politics is wrong making the community have underestimated the role of women in politics. It was also found in this study, that some Santri Situbondo administrators were quite disturbed by the negative views of society about women's participation in politics. The public's view that politics is dirty is something that threatens women, dwarfing the courage of women to appear politically. The wrong understanding that politics is only for people who want power and has extraordinary financial ability also fences the idealism of women who generally still depend on men.

"The most difficult thing is to correct the perception that politics is dirty. For example yesterday I was on the list of candidates for the legislature, that's where it was difficult, how to re-explain "politics is dirty" and "wealthy candidate that must have a lot of money, "want to occupy certain position." "want materials". That makes us sometimes feel hard to walk because it is overshadowed by what people say, "(Interview on 03 September 2016)

Zeiniye's expression provides a description of the stigma and the assumption that politics is dirty and full of defamation that makes some women do not dare to fight intimidation, insults, and rude words from the people around them. The lack of support

from the people around him who have misperceptions about politics certainly becomes a significant obstacle for the continuation of women's communication.

2) The Lack of Opportunities for Political Women

The lack of opportunities for women to be active in political life is also seen as an obstacle. Opportunities for women to be involved in politics are less so that at least that was revealed by Silina.

"Maybe it's also a matter of opportunities not given to women too much. That's also what might cause women to not be much active outside the home. There is an opportunity to return to ourselves. In the field of femininity, her task is to prepare female cadres who are ready to go into politics. So it is not possible to be prepared directly. So it will build the capacity of women, "interview on 05 September 2016)

Opportunities for women to do politics must at least be given not only from the government, but women themselves. We need to encourage women to develop their potential, to have the opportunity to be active in the public and political spheres, not just fulfill the quantity, but also supported by capability and self quality.

Lack of Support

Support from a higher structural level is actually quite influential for the sustainability of the *santri* in each region. Structural support from the party is an important motivation for women's communication in Situbondo women's political communication. In addition to being motivated, the existence of administrators who claimed the lack of party support showed that coordination between structures was not sufficiently well developed.

From the description above, in general, it can be said that internal obstacles faced by women in political communication are a double burden to be responsible in the domestic and public environment. Lack of education, economic difficulties, skills and lack of opportunities are addressed to women to be more active in political communication. Meanwhile, external constraints faced by women in Santri Situbondo in political communication are the geographical conditions of the Situbondo region, mistakes in understanding political politics, difficulties in cooperating with organizations or institutions for women's empowerment, and lack of structural support, both parties and governments.

Generally, the results of this study divide the barriers of women to participate in politics into two types. First, internal constraints which include weak mental attitude of women, marginal position, and weak funding for political activities. While the second external constraints include the limited involvement of women in public policy making, the weak relationship of government partnerships with institutions that have a vision of women's empowerment, and the ambiguous format of women's empowerment.

Cultural obstacles in women's political role

Other cultural barriers of women are also stereotyped as housewives, domestic workers, inappropriate to appear in the public . This stereotypical perception causes women to get and face a lot of criticism when appearing in public. They are also stereotyped as people who do not deserve to lead. This identity causes women to be reluctant to talk openly. They are often talk shyly and not confidently. In America, there is a stereotype about *cinderella complexe* for a woman who is identical with a person with shyness and have no confidence and then become a princess because she is married to a rich nobleman.

Situbondo women face more complex problems related to cultural, religious, social and political perceptions. The influence of the kyai's political power in Situbondo certainly limited women's involvement in politics. The transfer of power from the village head level to the regent is inseparable from the political power of the kyai. Thus, women must have their own political communication strategies so that women's involvement in politics can be considered not only as a voter but also as a strategic actor in the political climate of Situbondo.

The lack of knowledge and mentality of these women certainly makes it more difficult for women to access information and convey information in public. Feeling inferior and not having enough knowledge make women speak reluctantly in front of the media. This is definitely an opportunity for men who fill the media to communicate politically.

In the 2014 General Election, for example, some political parties were very difficult when they had to meet the 30% of women legislative candidates. As a result, some political

parties tend to be "inconsequential" in selecting female candidates. This shows that actually some parties have failed in the regeneration of women. Understanding gender justice does not really touch the political sphere. Although in the 2009 legislative election the Situbondo Regional Representative Council (DPRD) was led by the chairperson of women but it has not been able to provide significant changes in women's political communication in Situbondo. The inability of women in political communication ultimately only makes women's involvement as voters and not yet in a strategic position but seems to be a complement.

The political role of female santri in the political climate with a male domination

Female santri's presence in Situbondo is expected to be able to bring change in the political world of women. By creating persuasive-strategic communication strategies facing the challenges of the kyai's political power which controlled the social and political life in Situbondo. Based on the reality of this problem, our research team tries to uncover the problems, obstacles, and challenges faced by female santri and how female santri develop political communication strategies with gender perspectives in Situbondo, so that the reality of the political climate in the power of the kyai can support and accept women's involvement in political situations. in situbondo.

Politics is basically a variety of activities in a state system involving power structures in the decision making process and policy formulation relating to the lives of many people, or the process that determines who gets what, when and how, which contains an understanding of relations power between individuals, women and men, community groups, government, and all its problems.

Although in 2000 Presidential Instruction No. 9 regarding PUG (Gender mainstreaming) was born and there was an affirmative action for setting a 30 percent quota for women in the party, optimizing the role of women in the executive and legislative institutions has yet to show the desired results. The facts show that even though Indonesia has been 59 years of independence, 12 general elections, women's representation in the power structure and decision making process and the formulation of public policy remains

low, both in the legislative, executive, judiciary and other political institutions - including political parties .

The marginalization of women in the political and governance process will directly affect the resolution of various women's central issues such as the problem of violence against women and children, trafficking in women, or the low ability of women's human resources because of limited access to education and training. As a result, the low representation and presence of women in public institutions or political institutions can also be interpreted as the lack of women involved in power structures and decision-making processes in policy formulation, discussion and determination of development program priorities. This means that the allocation of resources and the acquisition of development benefits that are not shared equitably and evenly, especially regarding the needs of women and men.

In addition to the above, the reason why women need to be involved in the political process or in the structure of power and the process of decision making and public guarantees is because women are citizens whose rights and obligations, like men, are guaranteed by the 1945 Constitution. Women in people's representative institutions can be considered as a threat to the validity of the system of organizing a democratic state because at any time constituents who are mostly women can withdraw their trust if elected representatives do not fulfill promises to defend and fight for the aspirations and interests of women. Then political participation is related to fighting for and upholding the rights and interests of all people equally and fairly. From the results of research in countries where the representation of women in political institutions has exceeded 30%, there is an indication that there is a change in the focus of development towards more prosperity. This shows the important role of women legislative members in the life of a country.

Effective and efficient political communication opens opportunities for true political socialization and is expected to bring about communication in society. In other words, it can be said that political socialization and political communication depend on the success of political communication.

As a process, political communication can be understood at least by involving five elements. Firstly, actors, participants all parties involve or take part in the process of delivering and receiving messages. Political communication actors can be individuals, groups, organizations (political parties, youth organizations, schools, trade unions, etc.), institutions or governments. The second element is the message. The character of the message of political communication always has a relationship with politics. Thirdly, the channel or media, through which channels, the messages must be disseminated. The mass media is a channel of political communication that is very widely used and very important. Organizations or institutions and groups in addition to acting as actors, to some extent, can also play a role as a channel. Fourthly, the situation or context is the circumstances and environmental tendencies that surround the process of political communication. The last is the influence or effect where political messages conveyed by the communicator will be responded by the parties concerned, or at least those who have an interest. This is where certain influences occur.

In this research, referring to Laswell's opinion about the element of communication and Pawito about the element of political communication, it will be discussed how the role of women in Fatayat Situbondo in their communication to carry out political communication. To facilitate discussion, we will look at communication capabilities in political communication into their roles as political communicators, political messages, political communication audiences, political communication channels, communication effects expected by women and the political communication context of female students in Situbondo.

Women as Political Communicators

Apart from various forms of communication in political communication that can be done by both women and men, women can also play a role as political communicators. From the results of observation and research, women in Fatayat Situbondo do their role as political communicators and do not have the freedom to give political messages. The political message is already a "political setting of men" so that women just continue according to the political message. For the purpose of the benefit of women through various activities, conveying political messages through active involvement is also required.

They are professionals or administrators and activists in political parties and community organizations. Likewise, what was done by the female santri of Situbondo. This is where women's political communicators play a role, how it becomes a liaison between society and the party so that a rational relationship is created between the two. In addition, this is also how women's political communicators can bridge the interests of society with the government.

Women's political role is as a political communicator by filtering aspirations and trying to roll out crucial issues in the community to then advocate for interested parties to find a solution.

"That's what we just built. So as I told Fatayat women, often the community did not give their opinions or did not dare to express their opinions. In fact, we are very accommodating if there are aspirations from the community, but often, especially women do not want to propose even if offered. That's what we just built. We welcome women to have opinions, proposals or maybe problems that can be conveyed. So we convey to the top, maybe to the parties concerned. Actually, we have already opened it, but often they themselves have not submitted it," Zeiniye explained. (Interview on September 3, 2016)

Women as party political communicators who carry out party promotions are a common phenomenon. From the large number of Indonesians who are dominated by women, gender issues often arouse women's political audiences. In this way, women's political communicators are seen as better understanding of women's problems and in accordance with the struggle of women in upholding their rights.

Women in Fatayat Situbondo perform their roles as political communicators by being the liaison between the community, the party and the government. Women's activities in the management of Fatayat Situbondo as political communicators include contacting policy makers, as well as conducting political communication through other media such as party meetings or consolidating with other interest organizations that are in line with their interests.

The political role of the female santri benefits

When the situation and political climate become an area for men or at least in Situbondo as a city of santri, political power belongs to the santri, *kyai, bu nyai* (kyai's wife) and other community and religious leaders. Female santri with their sublime views put

forward the ethics of political communication without putting up a fight or conflict with determining the direction of situbondo politics. This is simple understanding of female santri in Situbondo.

"Why fight for political matters? for me, the choice of a kyai and as a teacher is of course the best choice, either party or regional head election. For me politics is to participate in every process of democracy organized by the government. Respecting differences in choice is a good thing "jek atokaran because of the election of five sakalean taon, amoso ben tatangge ben sampek lema taek society" (when we fight because of the election every five years, we will also lost our neighbors for five years). "(Interview with Hanik, 5 September 2016).

Political participation and role of female students in the city of santri is concerned to identity figure which outweigh the identity party (party figure). Culturally, each choice of a *kyai* and *bu nyai* will defeat a party choice that is not in line with the *kyai's* and *bu nyai's*.

The city of santri has particularities in politics where *pesantren* have power and influence because of their kyai's involvement in politics. A view and reason for KHR. Fawaid as'ad in politics is not to gain power but how to create and shape candidates of leaders who have the character of righteous *santri*. Both men and women can be involved and play a role in politics for the benefit of the Ummah.

The participation of women both as voters and elected has significance. Women as voters in elections for example, put forward the figures chosen by the *kyai* and have the assumption that the *kyai* and *bu nyai* are people who cannot vote wrongly. Then, women as people who will be "elected" in the election think that the religious view, the culture of the santri city where the *kyai* has an extraordinary influence is made a political figure that is extremely respected in all his decisions. The tradition of harmony is used as the etiquette of political communication by women. Wherever they are to gain islamic knowledge, they must remain in the ethics of charity. No matter how high a woman's political office is, a female santri will always bend her body when she meets with *bu nyai* and *kyai*, and other female santri.

CONCLUSIONS

The political role of women which is an obstacle to women's political communication strategies in political communication. Fatayat Situbondo is influenced by women's internal and external conditions. The double burden carried by women, the lack of Human Resources due to the low level of education and economy, errors in understanding politics and geographical conditions make women less confident to actively engage in political communication strategies in politics. Moreover, lack of women's political opportunities, difficulty in building coordination with other women's empowerment organizations, money politics, gender, and the lack of party support are other factors that contribute to the low level of women participation in politics.

Barriers to women's political communication, especially cultural barriers, are used as a medium of political communication to create political benefit by emphasizing the ethics of political communication. The role of political communication of female santri in the city of Situbondo is: (1) Women as political communicators, build communication with the audience of both Fatayat members, policy makers, and women's empowerment organizations for benefit purposes; (2) Women create messages and women become the messages themselves. The message delivered by women is more adapted to the goals or effects of political communication that they want such as for the socialization of political parties, empowering women, and influencing policy; (3) Women through the social organization Situbondo can also act as channels of political communication in addition to using personal communication media and mass media.

REFERENCES

- Alawi Dahlan, perkembangan komunikasi politik sebagai bidang kajian, makalah disampaikan pada diskusi panel korps mahasiswa ilmu social univesita gadjah mada yogjakarta, 30 maret 1990
- Affan Gaffar, 2004, politik indonesia transisi menuju demokrasi; Jogjakarta;pustaka pelajar.
- Atie Rahmiate, Yusuf Hamdan dan Zaenal Mukarom (2010), *dinamika Komunikasi Politik atas partisipasi dan keterwakilan perempuan di parlemen*,

- Hafid Cangara, 2009. Komunikasi politik, konsep teori dan strategi. Jakarta: Rajawali Press
- Idham Holik, (2005) *Strategi komunikasi partai politik peserta pemilu 2004: Evaluasi strategi komunikasi politik PKB kabupaten Bekasi tentang isu keterwakilan perempuan di lembaga legislative.*
- Nasution Zulkarnain, 1990, komunikasi politik suatu pengantar, Galia Indonesia.
- Nimmo 1993, komunikasi politik, komunikator, pesan dan media terjemahan Tjun Sujarman, Bandung: Remaja Rosdakarya.
- Dan Nimmo, 2005, political communication and public opinion, Good Year Publishing Company: California
- Pawito, komunikasi politik: media massa dan kampanye pemilihan, Jogjakarta: Jelasutra
- Yanti Hermawati, (2014) *pengelolaan kesan dalam komunikasi politik: Upaya meningkatkan peran perempuan di DPR RI dalam Pencapaian MDGs 2014*
- Bungin, Burhan. 2007. *Penelitian Kualitatif Komunikasi, Ekonomi, Kebijakan Publik, dan Ilmu Sosial Lainnya.* Jakarta: Kencana
- , 2007. *Sosiologi Komunikasi: Teori, Paradigma, dan Diskursus Teknologi Komunikasi di Masyarakat.* Jakarta: Kencana
- Effendi, Onong U. 2007. *Ilmu Komunikasi: Teori dan Praktek.* Bandung: Remaja Rosdakarya
- Littlejohn, Stephen W. 2004. *Theories of Human Communication.* Canada: Wadsworth
- Mulyana, Deddy. 2006. *Metodologi Penelitian Kualitatif: Paradigma Baru Ilmu Komunikasi dan Ilmu Sosial Lainnya.* Bandung: Remaja Rosdakarya
- Sukidin, Basrowi. 2002. *Metode Penelitian Kualitatif Perspektif Mikro.* Surabaya: Insan Cendikia