
Commodifying Women in the Digital Creativity Sphere of Political Marketing Communication

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Abstract. The 2019 Indonesian presidential and vice-presidential election displayed not only fierce competition among candidates, but also the creativity of political supporters throughout the campaign period. In addition to the emergence of buzzers, volunteers, producers, and hoax spreaders, the participation of mothers and other adult women in enlivening social media was fascinating. This community, some of whom were referred to as '*emak-emak*' (connoted as an uneducated mother) and others as '*ibu bangsa*' (connoted more educated), actively campaigned for their candidates in the political contestation. No wonder chants on social media such as "the power of *emak-emak*" were so popular. This study examines the phenomenon of women's political participation in Indonesia and concludes that the commodification of women in practical politics cannot yet be interpreted as a permanent exchange of use-values. On the one hand, it creates political space for women, but it does not eliminate stereotypes of women as emotional creatures. This ambivalent participation is underrepresenting the interests of the majority of female voters. Even though it seems creative, efforts to 'revive' women in the political marketing communication space à la 'the power of *emak-emak*' only position women as 'decorative attributes of teasers', cheerleaders, not as a central and significant role in mainstreaming Indonesian politics.

Keywords: redefining women, decorative attribute, digital campaign, political creativity, practical politics

Introduction

The discussion of women in politics in Indonesia is inextricably linked to efforts to promote democracy. Every citizen in this country, including women, has equal rights and opportunities to participate in politics. However, it is clear that women's political participation has yet to reach its full potential. Despite a long history of women's involvement in Indonesian politics, the current reality paints a less encouraging picture. Women's participation in the legislative sector, in particular, falls short of expectations. This is evident when comparing the estimated female population, which accounts for roughly half of the total population, to the number of women actively participating in politics.

Based on the refined results of the General Election Commission's (Komisi Pemilihan Umum) open plenary meeting of the second phase of the Permanent Voters List Improvement, the total number of voters, both domestic and foreign, was 192,828,520. The domestic region had 190,770,329 voters, with 95,368,749 men and 95,401,580 women. Furthermore, there were 2,058,191 registered voters abroad, with 902,727 male voters and 1,155,464 female voters (Primastika, 2019). Therefore, it is not surprising that each candidate team worked hard to gain voter support in order to increase their electability.

In Indonesian history, the position, role, and activities of Indonesian women in the public sphere have grown in size over time. This amount, however, is not represented and reflected proportionally and significantly in institutions or strategic sectors when formal policies or laws are made or laws are passed. For example, in the history of elections, the Indonesian people's preference for political women has remained the second choice for positions in political office. According to Putra (2012, p. 97), evidence supporting these assumptions can be found in Indonesian political data dating back to the first election.

Furthermore, Nursal (2004, p. 55) contends that society can be divided into distinct social groups that can be classified from a sociological standpoint. Mustika and Arifianto (2018, p. 140) add that when selecting candidates for legislative positions, political parties frequently prioritize persona and popularity over intellectual ability, track record, and integrity. This social group has a large influence on the community's political decisions. This occurred as a result of the still strong patriarchal culture embraced by people who saw women as weak and unworthy of being in such a difficult political world. Women continue to be dominant as political tools rather than political actors.

Political actors frequently use women as a means of political communication in order to gain sympathy and popularity among the public. By gaining such sympathy and popularity, these political actors hope that affected community groups will exercise their voting rights in favor of the legislative or presidential candidates they support. Unfortunately, in the pursuit of public sympathy, political parties tend to prioritize the promotion of their candidates' vision, mission, and perceived superiority over emphasizing the role and representation of women in politics.

The persistence of traditional cultural norms and women's limited access to socioeconomic opportunities have contributed to the perception that women are naturally subordinate to men. This study aims to look into the factors that contribute to the commodification of women in practical politics. The study specifically investigates: 1) the transformation of women's involvement in the realm of practical politics, 2) how the process of political work influences the production of meaning, and 3) how the audience's role is commodified by those who produce meaning.

The significance of women's participation in the 2019 Indonesian General Election was significantly greater than in previous years. During the campaign period, each candidate pair frequently highlighted the women who supported them. In her study titled "Gender, Presidential Election, and Public Policy: Making Women's Votes Matter," Burell (2005) asserts that since the 1980 U.S. presidential election, gender has been a central issue in political campaigns. According to a Pew Research Center survey titled "A Closer Look at the Gender Gap in Presidential Voting" (Chaturvedi, 2016), women in US politics tend to prioritize issues concerning racial and ethnic minorities, the environment, abortion, and the rights of lesbian, gay, bisexual, and transgender (LGBT) individuals.

When Ronald Reagan won the presidency in 1980, there was a surge in interest in gender issues in the United States. Reagan's ascension to the presidency was smooth, but there were eight percent gender gaps in the votes he received, with 46 percent of women voting and 54 percent of men voting. One of the causes of the gender gap in elections is women's economic position, which is lower than men in employment and financial problems. Reagan's inability to persuade female voters of his commitment to equality marked a watershed moment in recognizing the significance of women in general elections. Since then, efforts have been made to involve women in campaigns and policymaking. This is due to two key factors: their numerical strength and distinct perspectives. Women not only make up the majority of voters, but they also bring a variety of perspectives to the table when addressing societal issues. Indonesia, like the United States, has a greater proportion of female voters than male voters.

Huntington and Nelson (2014, p. 54) emphasize the significant advantages of elections as a vehicle for political participation. Political participation is the active involvement of citizens in influencing government decision-making processes. The public's participation as voters in selecting the country's leaders is critical in shaping future policies. Furthermore, general elections serve as a manifestation of popular sovereignty, in which ultimate power rests with the people, making them the primary force in shaping the

nation. Furthermore, general elections facilitate the constitutional change of leaders, allowing for the introduction of new ideas and perspectives. Importantly, elections allow political leaders to establish legitimacy and public approval for their positions of authority.

Elected leaders gain the mandate and legitimacy to represent the people's aspirations through the electoral process. The election season is extremely important to many different segments of society, which has led to the use of psychological warfare, also known as "psy-war," by political actors and supporters of presidential and vice-presidential candidates. This psychological warfare uses social groups to amplify public figures' views and support for the General Election. When these figures express their opinions and arguments about the government, they are frequently published in the media, making them available to a wider audience. The internet, in particular, provides a platform for political figures to express their views and disseminate their ideas beyond traditional mass media channels. Through the influence of these community leaders, the aim is to shape public perceptions and gather supporters.

Effendy (2003, p. 5) highlights the influential role of communication media, particularly the mass media, in shaping public opinion. Wodak (2009) further emphasizes the symbiotic relationship between politics and culture within the media, leading to certain negative consequences. This includes the blurring of boundaries between real and fictional, and the transformation of informative content into entertainment. Consequently, the media's improprieties continue to captivate audiences with unethical and sometimes illogical content (Wijaya, 2019). Luhmann (2000: 63-64) acknowledges this symbiotic relationship, characterized by mutual borrowing between different media types, each with its own functions and contributions.

Women's participation in all aspects of political activity is fraught with difficulties. Indonesian women face barriers that prevent them from participating in politics. One of the internal barriers is the reluctance of many women to participate in politics. This reluctance stems from socio-cultural conditions that discourage women from actively voicing their opinions and aspirations in the political arena. Political activities are frequently deemed inappropriate for women due to stereotypes and societal expectations. The political sphere is perceived as "harsh," "corrupt," and "filled with deception," which contradicts the traditional image of women. This sociocultural environment is not conducive to the development of women's potential, as evidenced by parents' perspectives, customs, misinterpretations of religious teachings, family income levels, and discriminatory education systems. The persistence of traditional culture and women's limited access to the mastery of socioeconomic factors have resulted in the formation of the notion that women are inherently inferior to men. Suharyanti et al. (2016) found that even when managing client relationships in the context of intercultural business communication, women are still regarded as inferior to men.

External constraints include a paternalistic bureaucracy, uneven economic and political development patterns, and a lack of functioning political parties. The socio-cultural environment, which is less supportive of women's potential development, is one of the main obstacles to women's low political participation. Inadequate political development policies and a lack of functioning political parties can also contribute to it. Increasing women's political participation can be pursued, for example, through political education, which can develop women's abilities and awareness of their political rights and obligations. In this case, it is inextricably linked to the existence of men who vastly dominate the political arena, men who are very dominant in formulating the rules of political games, and men who frequently define standards for evaluation.

Commodification is a concept that builds on Marxist theories and investigates how capitalism profits from surplus value (Mosco, 2009). Commodities are goods or services that have both use and exchange value in this framework. Marx's analysis of social structure, particularly in relation to commodification, draws on various forms of art and cultural production within capitalist societies, including cinematography. Political elites construct communities or constituents through political organizations, using cultural products as political tools to increase their appeal and popularity among prospective voters.

Commodification is the process of assigning a monetary value to an object or concept. Every object has a use value, which is its inherent worth or purpose. In the context of women in politics, their use value lies in their ability to contribute to political parties' efforts to gain constituent support. The exchange value, on the other hand, represents the value assigned to an object based on its measure or perceived worth. In the case of women's political participation, their participation becomes a means for political parties to gain power and influence. The exchange value is derived from the instrumental role that women play in the political arena, contributing to the party's objectives and electoral success.

In this study, the emphasis is on examining the commodification of women, specifically how female figures are used to increase the popularity of political parties and presidential and vice-presidential candidates during general elections. The depiction of women in developing nations, such as Indonesia, reflects the prevalence of patriarchal cultural norms in the political sphere and frequently objectifies women's bodies. Two parties, Jokowi-Ma'ruf and Prabowo-Sandi, competed in the 2019 Indonesian presidential election.

This study focuses on the role of women's groups in the implementation of the 2019 general election in Indonesia, including: 1) Involvement of women in participation as members of groups under the auspices of political parties; 2) Involvement of women in giving political aspirations; and 3) Factors that support women's political participation in elections.

The concept of commodification, popularized by Mosco (2009) in "The Political Economy of Communication," refers to the commercialization of media content. Within the media's political economy, commodification takes many forms, including the commodification of content, labor, and audiences. Mosco emphasizes that communication has become a potential space for commodification, as it is a highly influential commodity with the capacity to generate surplus value. This is due to the fact that messages transmitted through communication contain symbols and images that are advantageous to the message recipients.

The Commodification of Content is the process of transforming messages from a collection of information into meaning systems in the form of marketable products. In another definition, it is the process of converting messages in a set of data into systems of meaning in such a way that they become marketable products.

The Commodification of labor is a transformation of work processes in capitalism in which workers' expertise and working hours are turned into commodities and rewarded with pay. Labor is a unified concept of conception, or the ability to imagine, design, and implement work, or the ability to carry out.

The Commodification of Audience is the process by which media companies and advertisers change the role of readers/audiences from their initial function as media consumers to consumers of the audience in addition to media consumers. In this process, media companies create audiences through a program/show, which are then sold to

advertisers. There is a mutually beneficial cooperation process between media companies and advertisers, in which media companies are used to attract audiences, which are then sold to advertisers. There are two types of audience commodification: intrinsic commodification and extrinsic commodification. Intrinsic commodification is an attempt to determine the characteristics of audiences as well as the specific desires of each audience. This commodification requires procedures and measurements that accurately determine all stages of production, exchange, and consumption. Extrinsic commodification is a commodification process that occurs and expands in educational institutions, government, culture, and telecommunications, among other things. This commodification includes the transformation of public space to private ownership.

The communication process, using new media technology, contributes significantly to the commodification process in general in the overall economic field, in the form of message visualization, which strengthens the meaning created. The commodification process operates in society as a whole by infiltrating communication and institutional processes, so that the progress and contradictions of society's commodification process influence social practice. In the context of capitalism, the commodity itself is the creation of illusions and manipulations in order to dominate people's tastes through the use of sensuality in women's features. The role of women is very dominant in this article, and it can even be a factor of attraction in politics. Therefore, in the world of practical politics, female figures are used to entice potential voters.

Methodology

This study employed a qualitative descriptive method, which aims to precisely describe a phenomenon or social reality by describing the problem being interpreted in an interpretative manner. The research procedure generates descriptive data in the form of speech, writing, and observed behavior. Furthermore, the collected data is thoroughly examined, resulting in conclusions that explain the problem in the study.

This study analyzes data from the standpoint of commodification. The commodification of women in politics is explained in three layers: the first layer is mapped into the transformation of women's roles into the world of practical politics, the second layer is when political organizations act as producers of meaning, and the third layer is when people act as political consumers. The data for this study were gathered through the study of literature sourced from social media accounts @pepes_official and #pertwi.

The state should not be viewed as a stage akin to those depicted in films and soap operas, as it is confronted with numerous multidimensional problems and persistent issues that require immediate resolutions. This study is based on literature reviews, pertinent documents, secondary data, and the personal experiences of the female researchers. The discussion centers on the transformation of women's political roles as seen through the lens of commodification (Mosco, 2009). Specifically, the research examines how women were positioned in the 2019 general election campaign. This understanding is essential for political parties as they seek to replenish their human resources and cultivate a culture of political recruitment that seeks capable and popular cadres. The analysis is predicated on an examination of the construction and underlying meanings underlying the reality of the commodification of women during the 2019 general election in Indonesia.

Various manifestations of the concept of commodification exist, including: 1) Recycled signs such as symbols, images, and scenes that depict the profiles or backstories of other participants or supporters. They are used repeatedly in various contexts to evoke

particular feelings or associations; 2) Signs created artificially in the form of symbols, images, and scenes that serve as stage effects for the political drama. They consist of scenes, colors, and events that serve as the backdrop for the political sessions in an effort to create a particular atmosphere or narrative; 3) Superlative signs: in the form of symbols, images, and scenes that highlight the performances of the participants with visual, audible, and kinetic elements. They are intended to emphasize particular themes or messages and frequently employ captivating visuals and captivating presentations. Interviews were conducted with several resource persons who serve as triangulators. They are political observers and women who are actively engaged in political communication on social media.

Results

Transforming Women into Practical Politics

On August 18, 2018, a group of women in East Jakarta's Duren Sawit district officially announced the formation of the "Partai *Emak-emak* Pendukung Prabowo-Sandi" (PEPES or the Women Supporting Prabowo-Sandi) party. Wulan chaired the group, which included members who had known each other since the 2014 Presidential Election, though they did not have a group name or knowledge of Prabowo's running mate at the time. The formation of this group was inspired by a statement made by Sandiaga Salahudin Uno, the vice-presidential candidate, on August 10, 2018, during his registration with the General Election Commission (KPU). Sandiaga described PEPES as an expression of mothers' aspirations and concerns about recent economic conditions in Indonesia, which resonated with many and drew attention.

In Indonesian, the word "pepes" refers to a recipe for spice-rich processed foods, usually made from fish and wrapped in banana leaves. However, everything has changed since Monday, February 25, 2019. The top search engines' search results are no longer a delicious appetizing recipe, but one of Prabowo-Sandi's support groups.

PEPES gained popularity after the arrest of three housewives who spread fake news on Sunday, February 24, 2019, around 23.30 in Karawang, West Java. According to a video posted by the account @citrawida5, these women are attempting to persuade the community to support Prabowo Sandi. They said in the video that if Jokowi-Ma'ruf Amin wins, residents will no longer hear the call to prayer, there will be no more veiled women, and same-sex marriage will be legalized.

Badan Pemenangan Nasional (BPN or The National Winning Body) Prabowo-Sandi did not deny that PEPES was a registered group of volunteers, but they did deny that PEPES spread a negative campaign. BPN denied the woman's claim that she was one of its victims. According to them, the statement was prompted by ignorance and enthusiasm. BPN asserts that it has permissible information that is absent from the campaign.

Since 2014, PEPES was founded by a group of friends who shared a common vision. They would gather for a variety of activities, including social gatherings, tutoring, and recitation. PEPES has grown over time and now has 3,000 members dispersed throughout various regions of Indonesia. BPN has instructed these volunteer women to be militant and actively engaged. This indicates that not only are they active on social media, but also on the ground. PEPES members are committed to sacrificing their time, resources, and energy to implement the programs designed by BPN (Prabowo-Sandi National Campaign Team). They organize activities such as Mak Preneur, which provides entrepreneurial training for mothers, Mak Education, which provides parenting workshops, and Mak Health, which offers free health screenings in multiple regions. PEPES also conducts the

"Pepes Kepung" program, in which they go door-to-door in villages to introduce villagers to the candidates they support.

In addition to the Prabowo-Sandi camp, there is also a group led by General Chairperson Putri K. Wardani called "*Perempuan Tangguh Pilih Jokowi*" (PERTIWI, Strong Women Choose Jokowi). Since 2011, PERTIWI members have actively supported Joko Widodo, and the organization was formerly known as "Jokowi Center". Joko Widodo and PERTIWI share the same platform and ideals. They have believed that they are heading in the right direction for more than four years. Within the Jokowi Center, PERTIWI operates as an underground community with a focus on women's issues.

Their activities encompass a vast array of pursuits, including citizen engagement, social initiatives, and campaigns against hoaxes. Although PERTIWI does not receive specific instructions from Jokowi-Ma'ruf Amin's National Campaign Team (TKN), all PERTIWI activities are subject to the chairman's approval. As a form of campaign support for Joko Widodo-Ma'ruf Amin in the 2019 Indonesian presidential election, PERTIWI organized mass dance events in multiple Indonesian regions. Singing and dancing were performed at these events by PERTIWI members from different regions and members living abroad. The mass dance aimed to convey a message of joyous campaigning through a cultural approach, reflecting the President's recommendation that democratic parties should promote national unity and engage in joyful campaigning. The event symbolizes sincerity and loyalty to the nation, strengthening the nation's unity and working toward the shared objective of supporting Jokowi-Amin.

Between the PEPES and PERTIWI camps, slang terms have developed. The term "Kampret" or bat is used to refer to the PEPES camp, while "Cebong" refers to the PERTIWI camp. "Kampret" is a Javanese word that is commonly used as an insult or form of verbal abuse, and it has become an unwelcome part of social interactions. The term "Cebong" refers to a tadpole, which represents a young child with limited intelligence. These sarcastic phrases include "Kampret mulai panik" (bats begin to panic) and "Cebong mana ngerti" (tadpoles will never understand). The activities of the two women's political communities, mothers and adult women, are compared in Table 1 during the 2019 Indonesian presidential election campaign.

Transformation in Producing Meaning

In the history of independent Indonesia, the presence, involvement, and contributions of Indonesian women in the public sphere have gradually increased over time. Their representation in institutions and strategic sectors of public policymaking, however, remains inequitable and insignificant. At the very least, ensuring adequate representation of women can provide a valuable perspective, complement existing visions and missions, and aid in the creation of a balanced operationalization free of gender discrimination.

Many things happened and existed in Indonesia that required adequate representation of women in quantity and quality in state institutions and the public sectors in order to create fundamental changes in the life of the state and society. Political opportunities have been created for women to participate in politics, but when women do participate, many obstacles and challenges arise.

The political world operates like a transactional market. This means that anyone can enter and be bought when it comes to every 5-year general election cycle. Women, at least in the context of this study, have prepared the basic capital required by political organizations, both in the form of enthusiasm to join the campaign. This means that, conceptually, political parties with the value of fighting for a society based on party

ideology and mission have commodified the popularity of women in order to gain political support from their constituents. However, the success stories of women who have entered the political arena are few and far between. Their function is no longer as a boost to political parties' vote acquisition, or as a sweetener when elections are approaching, then disappearing like swallowed by the earth after the vote.

Modification of the Role of Audiences by Producers

In Indonesia and other developing countries, women's political participation has been relatively slow to develop. This is as a result of the prevalent stigma that associates women primarily with the domestic sphere, resulting in a small number of women participating in politics. The political arena is commonly perceived to be difficult, competitive, and requiring rationality rather than emotion, characteristics that are commonly attributed to men.

Despite the fact that women are rational beings, their abilities are identical to those of men; therefore, they must be granted the same rights as men. The problem is the result of state policies that are biased against women. Therefore, in the 18th century, women demanded the same education as men, in the 19th century, women fought for civil and economic rights, and in the 20th century, women's organizations were formed to combat sexual discrimination in the political, social, economic, and personal spheres. The participation of women in politics is crucial in order to represent the rights and responsibilities of women.

Indeed, many political parties in Indonesia only provide limited access to women, often meeting the minimum requirement of thirty percent representation. The greatest obstacle to women's political participation is the diversity of local political cultures, the constraints imposed by patriarchal norms, disparities in education levels, varying levels of awareness about the importance of their voices, and differing perspectives on politics itself. Understanding politics from a female perspective becomes a critical platform for advocating for improvement and bringing about change in the lives of women. It enables them to challenge the dominant masculine view of politics as a tool for gaining power and instead see it as an infrastructure and means of societal betterment.

Discussion

This dispute over the terms "*emak-emak*" and "*ibu bangsa*" reflects the efforts of the two presidential candidates to appeal to female voters. Half of the 197 million provisional voters are female, making women voters an intriguing demographic for both candidates. Several advantages that female voters possess in comparison to male voters are exploited to target female voters. They are viewed as more loyal and play a crucial role in the campaign. They engage in campaigning through their everyday actions, adopting a style reminiscent of mothers, with no need for explicit instructions. Utilizing their unique position to address the issues they face on a daily basis, they discuss politics during various social activities such as social gatherings, recitation groups, and family settings.

When Sandiaga Uno first declared his vice-presidential candidacy, he recognized the potential of female voters and sought to establish a connection with the broader public by using the term '*emak-emak*' (mothers). This term was inspired by the prevalent trend on social media, where the phrase "the power of *emak-emak*" had become popular and resonated with netizens. In addition, the term was intended to draw attention to contemporary issues that have a direct impact on women, such as rising commodity

prices and the cost of daily necessities. Sandiaga Uno aimed to connect with female voters and address their concerns by employing this relatable term.

The Joko Widodo-Ma'ruf Amin faction, on the other hand, intended to target the same proportion of female voters, but chose a different term: "ibu bangsa" (mothers of the nation). It is important to note that neither of these terms is intended to diminish or elevate women. The use of these terms is a deliberate strategy to recognize the significant influence and voice of female voters. Both political parties understand the significance of attracting the interest and support of women in their campaigns.

The race between the two candidates in the 2019 general election was extremely close. The two candidates made a concerted effort to appeal to a wide range of voters, particularly women and older voters. The two parties attempted to form identical voter groups representing each group. It would not be very effective if it only stopped at the mother-mother, the nation's mother group, without seriously responding to women's issues or answering the aspirations of women's groups. Table 2 shows how women and mothers were commodified in the general election and Indonesian presidential campaign of 2019.

Both candidates are expected to present real programs and solutions to the country's problems. The opposition has the opportunity to criticize the government's current programs and propose alternative solutions. However, it is critical that these criticisms be accompanied by concrete proposals and viable alternatives. The defending candidate, on the other hand, should be able to respond to the criticisms' weaknesses and offer comprehensive solutions to the issues raised. Candidates must engage in meaningful and substantive discussions that provide voters with educational and useful information. Voters must be presented with clear alternatives and well-thought-out discourses that address the community's actual problems. It is the responsibility of leaders to demonstrate their ability to understand and respond to the needs and concerns of the people. Candidates can demonstrate their competence and gain voters' trust by offering effective solutions and engaging in constructive debates.

During general elections, registered citizens have the fundamental right to participate and vote based on their own preferences and judgments. Women's participation, as a significant and sizable group, is crucial in this process. Their participation can be measured in terms of quantity, as their involvement has a direct impact on the outcomes of the democratic process. Women, who account for half of the population, wield significant power and can influence election outcomes (Nursal, 2004: 88). However, women's political choices are influenced by a variety of factors, not just their mere presence. The relationship between women and politics is a unique phenomenon that involves researching the patterns of women's political behavior as well as the various social factors that influence it.

According to Huntington and Nelson (2014), political participation is the engagement of citizens in the decision-making processes of the government. This participation can take various forms, including individual or collective actions, organized or spontaneous initiatives, peaceful or violent demonstrations, legal or illegal activities, with varying degrees of effectiveness.

During the 2019 presidential election, a series of democratic processes unfolded, and individuals reacted in various ways to these events. The dissemination of information played a crucial role, with both election organizers (political parties and legislative candidates) and election participants (voters) sharing their contributions and plans if elected. Individuals had varying access to information about the electoral process. In the elections held between 1987 and 1992, women's representation in the Central House of

Representatives (*Dewan Perwakilan Rakyat* or DPR) did not exceed 13 percent, and it is currently around nine percent. Similarly, the representation of women at the regional level is only about three percent (Nimrah & Sakaria, 2015).

Soetjipto (2011) shows the irony of affirmative action in Indonesia. First, the current women parliamentarians have adequate financial and network capital, but lack political capital. The second irony is the gap in political meaning that "does not connect" with the public between those who struggle at the grassroots level and those who struggle in the political arena, namely political parties and the legislature. Women in Indonesia are still bound by a political culture that prevents them from playing a full role in political life. The movement of women involved in politics has been constrained and structured. But many women who entered the political sphere were unaware of this.

Political issues as public spaces are typically viewed as male territory, posing an obstacle for women who are perceived to be responsible for domestic territory. This makes information accessibility unique. The process of the emergence of women's political behavior is influenced by a number of factors. The process of selecting, comprehending, and reacting to a variety of political phenomena is influenced by a variety of things and social variables. This includes the dimensions of cognition as well as the dimensions of affection in the form of emotional things. In addition, there are evaluative dimensions that transform into preferences during the subsequent attitude process.

Conclusions

In terms of numbers, female voters outnumber male voters by more than half. This proportion undoubtedly influences election outcomes. Choosing behavior is a social product, and various social factors interact with one another to produce a variety of reactions to political objects. In addition to identifying participation in disseminating information received about the process of selecting advanced presidential candidates in the 2019 general election.

The concept of market law is applied in the system of nominating legislators in each political party prior to general elections. In this concept, political parties present how they are sold to the public market by packaging the image of popularity. To meet this public market demand, political parties have generally been unable to provide a stock of capable militant political cadres. Political parties also pay little attention to the integrity and capability of some of their cadres. This concept can affect and even harm the mental cadres of political parties that are ready to fight but are underappreciated, such as women's communities, which are referred to as political instruments in political jargon.

The popularity of women's communities is gender-based by nature. Because their fans adore their physical appearance, sense of style, and concern for others, they can attain popularity. This indicates that women enhance their own popularity. Incorporating women into the realm of politics seems to create an attractive image in the eyes of society. The new image demonstrates the political parties' commitment to showcasing the political potential of women, thereby attracting female voters and newcomers to society. Along with its rise in popularity, women have not only become a magnet for voters, but political parties have also recruited them to serve as party activists for legislative candidates. From the preceding discussion, it is evident that the entry of women into politics is driven by political parties and not by their qualifications as political professionals, which should be the primary prerequisites for their entry. Not much is known about the origins of women who enter politics, whether they come from a wealthy family, a position of power, or simply to participate in social media activities.

The female form is commodified to attract the audience's attention in order to increase voter turnout. Nonetheless, commodification will be ineffective if it is not accompanied by an increase in the involvement of educational institutions, the government, culture, and the use of adequate telecommunications communications. Consequently, based on the findings of this study, it is anticipated that political party programs in the future will provide motivation and awareness of women's political participation by giving them the ability to comprehend the political system, encouraging their participation in practical political activities, and increasing their knowledge of regulations that mandate women's rights and responsibilities in politics.

Table 1. Comparison of two women's groups in the 2019 general election

| Category | PEPES | PERTIWI |
|-------------------------------|---|---|
| Declaration | August 18, 2018 | November 17, 2018 |
| Salutation | <i>Emak-emak</i> | <i>Ibu bangsa</i> |
| Position of chairman | Not a member or management of BPN | Member or management of TKN |
| Working program | Women's business-based economic empowerment | Building a network of women and millennials |
| Group image | Middle- and lower-class women | Middle- and upper-class women |
| Social activities | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Mak Preneur - Mak Education - Mak Health - Pepes Kepung (keliling kampung) | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Building social networks for women at home and abroad - Empowering women in the fields of economy, education, health, social and culture - Art performances |
| Political campaign activities | Door-to-door campaign | A happy campaign through a cultural approach |
| Mockery | <i>Kampret</i> | <i>Cebong</i> |

Table 2. Modification of women in general elections

| Category | Display Symbols, Images, Scenes | Meaning |
|------------------|---|--|
| Recycled sign | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - An overview of woman in everyday life who is concerned with domestic issues such as finance, education, and health. - What women talk about is about various things that women feel in general. | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - A feminine female who pays attention to family problems, such as economics, education, and health. - The female character that is identical to motherhood is very concerned with the fate of other women. |
| Artificial sign | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - The use of settings from the background of events that use the village as a picture of a popular, simple, and real life. - On the other hand, the opponent uses a glamorous background to represent a higher social class. | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - The village is a lower-class picture that reflects women's concern for the fate of ordinary people. - Upper-class women are portrayed as independent and capable of bringing change to the class below. |
| Superlative sign | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - The use of various symbols in terms of mutually insinuating between two parties, such as "<i>kampret</i> and <i>cebong</i>". - Woman as a political campaign media to increase | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Mental reinforcement of female by dropping the opposing camp using common satire words that are already well known. |

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| the popularity of the party and the presidential candidate. | – Woman is used as a valuable political tool with an exchange rate, which is expected to increase the electability of political parties and presidential candidates. |
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