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## The Political Communication Movement Called 'Emak-Emak' of the Presidential Election in Indonesia 2019

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### ABSTRACT

Political events do require political communication, either through media or direct action in the form of practical movements and activities. Even The 2019 presidential election was not missed from this actions. It can be seen that there was a political communication movement called "*emak-emak*" initiated by a group of women who felt that their rights were harmed by the incumbent regime. This "*emak-emak*" movement emerged due to political awareness and solidarity, and not by the political engineering from the opposition camp. When referring to historical experience, the appearance of such movements is a natural thing. As happened in the previous part of Europe which became the forerunner of the International Women's Day on March 8. This study used a descriptive method of empirical analysis by collecting data from the realities that occur in the field.

**Keywords:** Political Communication, Movement, *emak-emak*

### INTRODUCTORY

Politics is defined as a strategy or tactic used by humans to get their wishes. Humans have an orientation towards politics, both through political organizations and through policies according to their aims and objectives. No wonder if humans are categorized as *Zoon Politicon*<sup>1</sup> creatures. The majority of countries in the world opt the political system of democracy in carrying out its government system. Democracy also has several systems that can be implemented in a governmental system, including presidential systems, parliamentary systems, and through a referendum system<sup>2</sup>. Indonesia was applying a presidential democratic system based on the Pancasila ideology in implementing the system of government.

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<sup>1</sup> Eko Digdoyo, *Ilmu Sosial Dan Budaya Dasar*, Ghalia Indonesia: Bogor, Cetakan Pertama: Juli 2015, p. 16.

<sup>2</sup> Kaelan; Achmad Zubaidi, *Pendidikan Kewarganegaraan Untuk Perguruan Tinggi* (Berdasar SK Dirjen Dikti No. 43/DIKTI/KEP/2006), Paradigma: Yogyakarta, Edisi 2010, p.54.

Ramlan Surbakti stated in an introduction that there are two function of election in Indonesia, *first* is as a procedure as well as a mechanism for conversion from vote to seats of the legislative and executive institutions, both at the local and national levels, and *second* is as an instrument of a democratic country<sup>3</sup>. In a democratic country, election is a consequence that must be practiced in sounding people's aspirations. Election is even referred to a democratic party. Indonesia holds elections every five years, where each elections has different challenges and obstacles as in the current 2019 election.

This 2019 election is different from the previous elections. Community participation can be stated has increasing compared to the previous election. Unfortunately, the political participation was not balanced with maturity of opinion, thus giving birth to a disharmony in democracy. Some problems also appeared as a reaction from the ongoing campaign. Differences in choices that should be a mirror of democratic society actually turn into a sharp divide that has the potential to threaten the unity of the nation. The rise of hoaxes, the existence of black campaigns, the role of social media in political campaigns, and the movement of *emak-emak* who actively participated as volunteers also became the separate phenomenon in this election.

*Emak* is another name from mother, *mama*, *umi*, or *simbok*. *Emak's* call is frequently used as a term for a mother in a rural area. Lately, *emak's* call has become a trending topic, specifically when coming into the political season in the 2019 Indonesian's presidential election. The term of *emak-emak* is oftenly used by mothers who are active in social media, even before the presidential election was held. This can be seen from Facebook accounts of mothers who frequently use greeting words between them to show familiarity. The *emak-emak* movement in the 2019 Presidential Election became one of the hottest issues and the spotlight in this 2019 political season. The emergence of *emak-emak* militancy in practical politics this year has become a distinctive feature compared to the previous years' elections. Therefore, there are several questions that uses as the basis of this research, those are; What is the role of *emak-emak* in the 2019 presidential election? How big is the impact of women's participation in the practical political realm today?

### **WOMEN IN GENDER THEORY OPTICS**

According to the Indonesian Large Language Dictionary (KBBI), gender is defined as sex,<sup>4</sup> by referring to the physical and biological conditions of humans. While the Central Bureau of Statistics defines gender as a term used to distinguish roles between men and women whose nature is inherent as God's creatures. Differences in roles, positions, and responsibilities are based on the nature of both which are considered appropriate by the community according to norms, customs, habits, and beliefs.<sup>5</sup>

Basically, gender is a term that has born from the cultural construction of society based on the function of men and women in relation with the developing norms, customs, traditions, culture, and public trust. Sarifa Suhra<sup>6</sup> also argues that gender is a concept in identifying differences

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<sup>3</sup> Indra Pahlevi, *Sistem Pemilu di Indonesia: Antara Proporsional dan Mayoritarian*, P3DI Setjen DPR Republik Indonesia: Jakarta Pusat bersama Azza Grafika: Yogyakarta, 2015, p. iii

<sup>4</sup> KBBI Daring, <https://kemdikbud.go.id/> accessed on 20<sup>th</sup> March 2019, at 05.48 WIB

<sup>5</sup> Badan Pusat Statistik, Tujuan Pembangunan Berkelanjutan: Konsep Gender, accessed through <https://www.bps.go.id/subject/40/gender.html> on 20<sup>th</sup> March 2019, at 06.09 WIB.

<sup>6</sup> Sarifa Suhra, Kesetaraan Gender Dalam Perspektif Al-Qur'an Dan Implikasinya Terhadap Hukum Islam, dalam *Jurnal Al-Ulum*, Volume 13 Nomor 2, Desember 2013, ISSN 1412-0534, p: 377

between men and women based on socio-cultural influences in society, as a form of social construction and not natural. The actual meaning of gender does never changes, but the understanding of role in a gender perspective that always different along with the development of socio-cultural societies, including the role of women in a gender perspective.

The duty of women in classical times is always identically with domestic household work. This role has now undergone many changes in society. There are many functions and responsibilities of men can be taken over by women. This ultimately triggered the emergence of several women who demanded their rights to gender equality in all matters. The demand for equal rights of women and men gave birth to the concept of Feminism in the West, which was originally becoming an attempt to oppose the view of the Patriarchy in England (1550-1700) that women were weak and irrational.<sup>7</sup> Later, it developed and became a massive movement with the advent of the French revolution in 1789.

In 1980, the phenomenon of feminism eventually taken place in the study room of International Relations because of its impact on the social culture of global society. This was become a reaction to the concerns of the realists. The arrival of the international feminism movement was the reason for positivism in criticizing realism. This phenomenon is in line with Nur Azizah's opinion as explained in the discussion of feminism in International Relations, that most feminists are post-positivists.<sup>8</sup> In the study of International Relations, positivism is considered as a notion that responds to and contradicts the realist views. The emergence of feminism is also considered as an indicator of changes in the structure of interaction between countries that do not render the country as the only actor in international relations, but the role of individuals begins to show its role in the global scope.

### **THE STANDING OF WOMEN IN THE INTERNATIONAL VIEW**

March 8 is a special day for women in the world, since that day is celebrated as an international day for women all over the world. The birth of women's international day is in tone with a long historical process more than 100 years ago. The commemoration of the National Women's Day was first held on February 28, 1909 in New York, United States. This agenda was initially brought by the United States Socialist Party to celebrate the year of the passing of women's demonstrations in New York on March 8, 1908. This movement was carried out by women garment factory workers who demanded the right to opinion and politics.<sup>9</sup>

Two years later, in 1910, International socialist organizations gathered in Copenhagen to determine Women's Day. This proposal was agreed by 100 women from 17 countries. However, it has not been specified about what date the day is celebrated. Rolling into the following year, International Women's Day was marked on March 19 and commemorated in Austria, Germany, Switzerland and Denmark. At that time, more than 1 million women and men were involved.

Around 1913-1914, International Women's Day was used as a refusal movement in World War I. In a number of European countries, International Women's Day was used to protest world war or as a solidarity action among women. Then the events of 1917, where Russian women

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<sup>7</sup> Nur Azizah, *Feminisme dalam Hubungan Internasional*, Universitas Muhammadiyah Yogyakarta: Diskusi Feminisme dalam Hubungan Internasional, 26 Februari 2013, p: 12.

<sup>8</sup> Mina Elfira, *Perempuan Rusia Pada Era Komunisme*, Depok: Penerbit Fakultas Ilmu Pengetahuan Budaya, 2002, p: 81

<sup>9</sup> Asma' Muhammad Ziyadah, *Peran Politik Wanita Dalam Sejarah Islam*, Pustaka Al-Kautsar: Jakarta Timur, Cetakan Pertama: September 2001, p: 24.

protested the war with a movement entitled 'Bread and Peace' on the last Sunday in February. The day coincided with March 8 in the Christian calendar. In 1975, for the first time the United Nations commemorated International Women's Day on March 8. Since then on March 8, it has been celebrated as International Women's Day.

The celebration of women's international day in Russia becomes a tradition that is no less solemn in interpreting international women's day, even a national holiday. Large shops are filled with preparations for welcoming the day. Flower stalls are also preparing a variety of flower variants.. Generally, for Russian citizens, celebrating international women's day is an important moment on how they can reflect and interpret solemnly the lives of women, particularly for their closest mothers and families. They really appreciate the moment of togetherness with their family and the people they really love.

In its history the women's movement in Russia has made history in changing a country's policies. How the Russian Tsar finally gave the right to vote for women, after a protest from women related to war. Their involvement in giving changes to their country is greatly appreciated. Since women can make a change either consciously or unconsciously and this certainly applies to other countries. Even the slightest movement spearheaded the lives of Russians and they will be deeply remembered and respected in honor of their services which have contributed greatly to the life and progress of the current Russian nation.

### **THE ROLE OF WOMEN IN THE POLITICAL SCENE**

In Indonesia, the names that play a major role in contributing to the lives of Indonesian people are also inseparable from female leaders such as R.A Kartini, Dewi Sartika, Cut Nyak Din, Cut Meutia and others. R.A Kartini at that time with her intelligence in criticizing social conditions revealed the veil of darkness about the world of women who were still supported by tradition and limited by circumstances without a little resistance. Kartini's struggle and other Indonesian women fighters were able to provide a glimmer of hope for Indonesian women of an ability to contribute in fighting against ignorance, *minazhulumati ilannur* or after darkness rose.

While in the history of Islamic politics, the role of women cannot be forgotten either. Among *Assabiqunal Awwalun* there were names of women, they are Khadijah binti Khuwailid the wife of the Prophet Muhammad SAW, Fatimah binti Khatab, Ummu Aiman, Ruqayyah, and Sumayyah. Sumayyah besides being one of the women including *Assabiqunal Awwalun*, she was also the first *shaheed* in Islam.<sup>10</sup> In some wars also mentioned several names of women who participated in the war, including Aisha bint Abu Bakr in the war of Jamal, Khaulah bint Al-Azur in the conquest of Sham,<sup>11</sup> and Khansa in the war against Persia. Apart from her involvement in the war in Jamal, Aisyah r.a. also known by her intelligence, so that the role of Aisha during accompanying the Prophet in building Islamic political civilization in Medina cannot be ignored.

In modern era, a number of female figure were able to become leaders in several countries, Elizabeth's queen in England, Corazon Aquino in Philippines, Hilda Heine in Marshall Islands, Tsai Ing-wen in Taiwan, Indira Gandhi in India, Benazir Bhutto in Pakistan, Megawati in

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<sup>10</sup> Ibid, Asma' Muhammad Ziyadah, p: 223-225.

<sup>11</sup> Daud M. Liando, *Pemilu dan Partisipasi Politik Masyarakat (Studi Pada Pemilihan Anggota Legislatif Dan Pemilihan Presiden Dan Calon Wakil Presiden Di Kabupaten Minahasa Tahun 2014)*, dalam Jurnal LPPM Bidang EkoSosBudKum, Edisi Oktober, Volume 3 Nomor 2 Tahun 2016, p. 22.

Indonesia and many others. This shows that the role of women in the current political sphere is quite relevant and has an influence in a country's public policies.

Women have the same role and rights in a political system in Indonesia. This is in accordance with what was agreed upon by the countries in the Convention on the Political Rights of Women in 1953, that women have equal degrees with men in elections without discrimination, even having the right to be elected by public administrators through ratification of legislation. Every citizen has voting rights without distinguishing gender, this is a manifestation of the political active implementation participation in society. Countries without political active participation are usually authoritarian and centralistic. Political participation here includes participation, aspirations, as well as involvement in the process of policy formulation, both directly and indirectly.<sup>12</sup> This means that the phenomenon of the emergence of *emak-emak* is essentially becoming a manifestation of an increase in the political participation of the community, specifically for the mothers, who have so far been impressed only as passive voters in each election. This is one indicator of the development of the democratic process in Indonesia.

### THE ROLE OF WOMEN IN THE DIMENSION OF GENDER ANALYSIS

In Islam, women have an essential role in a civilization, both directly and indirectly. In the Arabic *sya'ir* it is said, "*Al-Ummu madrasatul ula, idza a'dadtaha a'dadta syaaban thayibal a'raq*" which means mother is the main school, if you prepare it, then you have prepared the best generation. The poet wanted to emphasize how primary role of a mother is, because the pros and cons of the generation of the nation cannot be separated from the good and bad role of a mother. Islam provides a very dynamic and proportionate male and female role. Islam also has egalitarian principles or human equality in *taklifi* law regardless of gender, status, ethnicity, and others. This is as explained in the Qur'an surah al-Hujurat verse 13.

Sarifa Suhra brings on Nasaruddin Umar's opinion on gender equality in an Islamic perspective. According to Nasaruddin Umar, that the principle of gender equality in Islam are (a) men and women alike as servants of Allah, (b) men and women both have duties and responsibilities as caliphs on earth, (c) both men and women share primordial ties with God since they were in the womb.<sup>13</sup> In some cases there are differences in rights between men and women in Islam, but these differences are a form of improvement between one and others, which each has a natural difference. Mujahidah emphasized the role of women as motivators, auditors, managers, tax officers, and stakeholders in the family economy.<sup>14</sup> This function cannot be underestimated because women are the support of family life. She acted as an auditor and a manager of family finances, so it was *emak-emak* who first felt the impact of rising prices for basic necessities, basic electricity, water, and other prices or tariffs. This is what currently raises a different atmosphere in the 2019 election, the *emak-emak* feel called to convey their aspirations to the government in various different forms. Not a few of *emak-emak* who play an active role in voicing their aspirations, both on social media and as volunteers one of the pairs of candidates for the election directly.

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<sup>12</sup> Opcit, Sarifa Suhara, p: 379-381

<sup>13</sup> Mujahidah, *Dinamika Gender dan Peran Perempuan dalam Ekonomi Keluarga*, dalam *Jurnal Al-Ulum*, Volume 10, Nomor 1, Juni 2010, p: 21.

<sup>14</sup> Ignatius Mulyono, *Strategi Meningkatkan Keterwakilan Perempuan*, dalam dokumen DPR RI hal: 2-4 [http://www.dpr.go.id/dokakd/dokumen/makalah\\_STRATEGI\\_MENINGKATKAN\\_KETERWAKILAN\\_PEREMPUAN\\_Oleh-Ignatius\\_Mulyono.pdf](http://www.dpr.go.id/dokakd/dokumen/makalah_STRATEGI_MENINGKATKAN_KETERWAKILAN_PEREMPUAN_Oleh-Ignatius_Mulyono.pdf) accessed on 22th March 2019, at 01.40 WIB

In gender analysis, it is understood that role inequity between men and women is not caused by sex, but by social construction. The community makes different role categories between men and women, so that the status and role of women become male sub-ordinates. Social construction also builds the assumption that male life is based on production, so the responsibility for improving family welfare is on his shoulders. In many cases in the community, the active role of women in production activities turned out to be able to improve family welfare. Many women take over the duties of men, especially in the informal work sector without losing their role and identity as housewives. This should be the common sense of the community to empower women in various sectors of social and economic life, including the heated political space ahead of the current Presidential Election in Indonesia.

### **2019 PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION AND THE CONTRIBUTIONS OF POLITICAL COMMUNICATION OF *EMAK-EMAK***

In Indonesia, women's rights in politics are also provided directly through the quota of legislative candidates. Several affirmative policies have been agreed and stipulated regarding women's representation in the political sphere, especially through government legislative institutions. Beginning with Law number 12 of 2003 concerning Election of the DPR, DPD and DPRD article 65 paragraph (1), Law number 22 of 2007 about Election Administrators Article 6 paragraph (5), Law number 2 of 2008 on Political Parties Article 2 paragraph (1), and Law number 10 of 2008 about the Election of Members of the DPR, DPD and DPRD Article 8 paragraph (1), Article 20, and Article 53, all of which explain the representation of women from each party participating in the General Election. These articles explain the conditions for submitting legislative candidates for each party in the General Election to reach a minimum of 30% from each party, 3 to 1 between male candidates and female candidates, with a minimum age of 21 years.

Various policies continue to be refined, including the application of zipper systems in party representatives as stated in Law number 10 of 2008 Article 55 paragraph (2) and the obligation to report the percentage in national daily printed and electronic mass media as mentioned in Article 66 paragraph (2).<sup>15</sup> This is shown enough to the government's seriousness in increasing women's participation in the realm of practical politics in Indonesia. In the 2019 simultaneous elections women's representation in politics became increasingly complex, women's cross-party solidarity was more needed because in elections simultaneous attention to women in the legislature was marginalized a little along with public attention to prospective executives.<sup>16</sup> However, the representation of women in government institutions is very much needed as an effort to realize the representation of women's voices which have always seemed to be ruled out in the realm of political policy.

Political socialization as a process of internalizing political values, patterns, and behavior requires agents in the process. In this case, parents or family, neighbors or community, school or workplace, and community environment are present as agents of political socialization. The

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<sup>15</sup> Usep Hasan Sadikin, *Menarik Kerah Keterwakilan Perempuan*, dalam Jurnal Pemilu & Demokrasi #9: Kodifikasi Undang-Undang Pemilu Pembaruan Hukum Pemilu Menuju Pemilu Serentak Nasional dan Pemilu Serentak Daerah, Yayasan Perludem (Perkumpulan Untuk Pemilu Dan Demokrasi): Jakarta Selatan, Agustus 2016, p. 140-141

<sup>16</sup> Kristian Erdianto, *"Prabowo: Kalau Emak-Emak Berpolitik, Pasti Revolusioner"* dalam KOMPAS.com, Rabu, 20 Februari 2019, 21:42 WIB. Accessed on <https://nasional.kompas.com/read/2019/02/20/21425251/prabowo-kalau-emak-emak-berpolitik-pasti-revolusioner> on tuesday, 26th March 2019, at 16:05 WIB

role of *emak-emak* is a central role in political socialization in the community, because the earliest political socialization is family and mother as the main actors in a family.

The first political education was in the family, so the active participation of the mother in the political sphere was something that could not be overlooked. This was also recognized by the number two of presidential candidate, Prabowo Subianto. Prabowo in the support declaration for the Indonesian Blue Wednesday Community stated that the emergence of the *emak-emak* movement could become a revolutionary movement of a nation, in response to the irregularities of a country. It's the *emak-emak* who first felt various social economic problems in the community.<sup>17</sup> In the book initiated by Jasmin K. Setiawan entitled '*Prabowo Subianto in 67 emak-emak Speeches*', Prabowo also emphasized that the role of *emak-emak* in his line became an 'injection' of strength for him. This was stated by Imelda Bachtiar to the Republika reporter. The book is one of examples of *emak-emak* political movement through the literacy movement, which explained the *emak-emak's* militancy in line 02.<sup>18</sup>

While in the incumbent team, the *Suara Perempuan* Movement for Jokowi-Ma'ruf Amien or abbreviated as "Super Jokowi" Movement led by Ida Fauziyah, a senior politicians of PKB also targeted that the Super movement is not only entered the city, but had to enter villages. Ida also explained in the event the declaration of support for incumbents, that the Super movement had spread in 34 provinces.<sup>19</sup> The term war also took place between the two contestants in the 2019 presidential election. The term *emak-emak* was identically referred to the supporters of pair number 02 and the national mother term or the term of *Srikandi* appeared in the incumbent camp. The terms addressed to supporters of candidates pairs from groups of mothers make the aura of the 2019 presidential election more lively.

The movement of the action and reaction between the two camps which together raised the role of women in strengthening the two parties showed that the role of women which is currently better known as *emak-emak* became a massive movement that could not be overlooked. The role of women which is currently better known as *emak-emak* and the millennial generation gives its own color in the 2019 elections, both directly and indirectly. This can be traced through social media accounts dominated by women who are 'excited' with the conditions surrounding this year's presidential election. The political uproar tickled the *emak-emak* in the election this time to make a huge contribution in guarding the 2019 election. There were many emerge of *emak-emak* volunteers whose involvement was not as big as their strength in this year's election. The *emak-emak* volunteers in guarding the 2019 presidential election from both sides looked fierce.

The noise also occurred when one of the resistance groups recited prayers about Badar war where it was considered very extreme and seemed to challenge the Almighty, in addition, the intrigue of arresting resistance sympathizers from Karawang which was considered detrimental to the incumbent in disseminating related hoaxes on the issue of prohibition in proclaiming Azan if the incumbent wins in the election. The bondage of the IT Law has always

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<sup>17</sup> Andri Saubani, "*Emak-Emak Luncurkan Buku tentang Prabowo*" dalam REPUBLIKA.co.id, Sabtu 23 maret 2019, 19.00 WIB accessed from <https://m.republika.co.id/berita/nasional/politik/potio9409/ememakemakem-luncurkan-buku-tentang-prabowo> on tuesday, 26th March 2019, at 16:18 WIB

<sup>18</sup> Abdul Rochim, "*Gerakan Emak-Emak Jokowi Targetkan Tersebar Hingga ke Desa-desa*" on SINDONEWS.com, thursday 23<sup>rd</sup> August 2018, at 19.11 WIB, accessed from <https://nasional.sindonews.com/read/1332558/12/gerakan-emak-emak-jokowi-targetkan-tersebar-ke-desa-desa-1535026252> on tuesday, 26th March 2019, at 16:37 WIB

<sup>19</sup> Abu Ridha, *Karakteristik Politik Islam: Seri Tarbiyah Siyasah*, Buku-6, PT. Syamil Cipta Media: Bandung, Agustus 2004, p. 154-156

been a common sight in the face of the current democratic party. They formerly were friends, but now has becoming opponents, once gentle yet nowadays used to being fierce and more challenging, struggling to win their respective camps.

The *emak-emak* movement expresses its role through various means, both in programs in the fields of health, economics, and community empowerment. Moreover, it happened through social media, and there are attacks on each other and have an official account. It's very sad to see the current conditions. Is this considered as an improvement or a setback in the process of maturing in the face of politics in Indonesia?. However, this is a fact of how the political condition of a nation becomes a portrait of its political maturity. Attacks in words and sarcasm by using social media accounts are very common. The IT law in its implementation seems to still be selective in responding to changes in the style of Indonesian society in a democratic party. Chiding each other, hating each other so friends become opponents and family become enemies is a very unfortunate attitude.

In Islam, morals or *akhlak* become one of the characters in politics. Noble character becomes a value that must be prioritized in socializing with the community and in politics. Morality is an indicator that determines the solidity and sovereignty of a nation. Moral in politics becomes a necessity for both leaders and people in Islam.<sup>20</sup> The morals of a Muslim should show the perfection of his faith, among others, through socializing with fellow humans, including in matters of politics. The Prophet Muhammad SAW said, which means: "*The most perfect believer of faith is the best morality*" (*HR. Tirmidzi*). Moral goodness which mean here is including morals towards God, fellow human beings, and other creatures.

Morality is also used to distinguish between 'clean politicians' and 'rotten politicians'. This was explained by Abu Yasid<sup>21</sup> in his book Political Jurisprudence. In Islam, fanatics are forbidden in politics, because fanaticism in politics only causes more *mafsadat* (damage). Even though the achievement of *maslahat* in any case must be prioritized, because it is the key to achieving the goal of Shari'a (*maqashid Syariah*).<sup>22</sup>

Participating in elections can be classified as a testimony, a witness that his choice is best in representing his aspirations.<sup>23</sup> Socrates is a political figure who prioritizes soul or conscience. According to him, the soul will be preserved by the existence of moral life, so that one's behavior should be based on conscience in building a good tradition.<sup>24</sup> In tone with this, moral and morality are needed in addressing differences of opinion in political choices in order to create a democratic political tradition. Cursing especially blasphemy is something that must be shunned in addressing the current political season, especially for a mother who becomes an example for her children.

Political observers are now competing to provide an assessment of the heated situation in the involvement of women who enliven the democratic party in Indonesia. Even some of them still

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<sup>20</sup> Abu Yasid, *Fiqh Today: Fatwa Tradisional untuk Orang Modern*, Buku Dua: Fikih Politik, Erlangga: Jakarta, 2007, p. 6-10

<sup>21</sup> Ahmad Mukri Aji, *Urgensi Maslahat Mursalah Dalam Dialektika Pemikiran Hukum Islam*, Bogor: Pustaka Pena Ilahi, 2012, p: 66.

<sup>22</sup> Abu Yasid, *Fiqh Today: Fatwa Tradisional untuk Orang Modern*, Buku Dua: Fikih Politik, Erlangga: Jakarta, 2007, p. 6-10

<sup>23</sup> M. Judd Harmon, *Political Thought From Plato To The Present*, Mc. Graw Hill Book Company: New York, p. 26

<sup>24</sup> Barbara C. Burrell, *Gender, Presidential Elections and Public Policy: Making Women's Votes Matter*, *Journal of Women, Politics & Policy*, Volume 27, 2005 - Issue 1-2, p.31-50. DOI: 10.1300/J501v27n01\_03

discredit women's involvement and consider it as a sweetener in a democratic party that will be held. In fact, the women's movement in the election this time was provoked by the 212 Reunion movement that occurred last year. This opinion finally got a controversial response from other political observers. This is a fact that women today have started to mature and are smart in responding to the political situation that has occurred in the country lately. The *emak-emak* movement today is a result of disaffection with previous leadership.

### **THE POLITICAL ROLE ANALYSIS OF *EMAK-EMAK* IN THE 2019 PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION**

Responding to the case above, we can learn from the results of Barbara C Burrell's study in her study entitled '*Gender, Presidential Election and Public Policy: Making Womens Votes Matter*' explaining<sup>25</sup> that gender has been the main focus of campaigns in the United States since 1980. There are two basis of the reason which is related to number and opinion. The main reason is that in addition to women being the majority of voters, women also have the ability to present a different perspective in looking a problem. So that it can contribute in different ways.

Barbara explained further that in the case in the United States,<sup>26</sup> the initial concern about gender began to emerge when Ronald Reagan won the election in 1980. Reagan's success in taking the presidency at that time was fairly smooth, but there was an eight percent gender gap in the votes he received, those are 46 percent of women and 54 percent of men. The findings indicate that the causes of the gender gap in the election are one of them is the economic position of women who are standing below men in employment and financial problems. In this case, Reagan was deemed unable to convince female voters in equality. Learning from these cases in the end since then, women have become a major concern in elections, one of which is by involving them in campaigns and policy making.

The women's group that has supported Bush since the elections in 2000 emphasized six areas of concern, those are making America safer, strengthening the economy through reducing family tax burdens, and small businesses, making health care more affordable and accessible to all Americans, reforming education so that there are no children who are left behind, empower religious and community based groups, and build a culture of responsibility. Under the direct leadership of Laura Bush at the time, the program was implemented to help women in particular and finally succeeded in helping Bush return to the presidency in 2004. This case certainly could be a lesson for those who support or reject Jokowi or Prabowo, bring conservative issues or emancipatory, that in this case a group of women will be better able to understand the language of their fellow human beings

In a communication perspective, it stated that the concepts offered by Laswell and Kaplan are concepts that are most often used as a basis in distinguishing power and influence. It is said that power is the ability of a person to influence others through communication, to do something, and if it is not done then sanctions will be imposed. Power in this case is a special form of influence, while self-influence is a central concept of power. Therefore, what distinguishes power from influence is the sanction given by the holder of power.

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<sup>25</sup> Barbara C. Burrell, *Gender, Presidential Elections and Public Policy: Making Women's Votes Matter*, Journal of Women, Politics & Policy, Volume 27, 2005 - Issue 1-2, p.31-50. DOI: 10.1300/J501v27n01\_03

<sup>26</sup> Шкель С.Н., "Процедурные Факторы Устойчивости Авторитарных Режимов: Концептуальная Рамка Анализа," *Право и политика* 6 (174), 2014, p: 800. DOI: 10.7256/1811-9018.2014.6.12192

In terms of power, Stanliv Shkel,<sup>27</sup> a Russian political expert, argued in his journal about the Concept of the Ruler in this case is the leader. Shkel mentioned that leaders can be seen functionally through three main strategies to lead politics in non-democratic regimes, those are forms of co-optation, repression and legitimacy. According to him, these three forms are the three main strategies that can minimize the risk of losing power in an authoritarian leadership.

The term of co-optation can be interpreted as a choice. In this case, Shkel<sup>28</sup> defined co-optation as a strategic step by authoritarian rulers in establishing the regime's stable relations with elites and social groups to preserve their loyalty. This strategy is the key to the formation of a coalition for the authorities. While the repressive term in this case, Duran (2003) explained<sup>29</sup> through the opinion of Sigmund Freud, psychologist of psychoanalytic view, who first developed the thought of self defense mechanisms or known as repression in 1926. In this case repression is defined as a self-defense mechanism most basic. In a repressive regime, placing all interests in danger, especially interests that are not protected by the system that apply to the privilege of power. The most obvious form of repression is the use of uncontrolled power to enforce orders, suppress those who do not obey or stop democracy. Miriam Budiardjo (1986) further stated<sup>30</sup> that if the urgency of leadership is accepted as it is, then what is referred to as power poverty, then when power holders are in a difficult situation, they will turn to the mechanisms of repression.

Regarding on the legitimacy according to Damanik,<sup>31</sup> who quoted Max Weber's opinion which explained three forms of authority or political authority. First is the traditional authority where people will obey all forms and contents of arrangements that have become part of culture or customs. Second is charismatic authority that fosters legitimacy based on the excess capacity of certain leaders, and not on compliance with institutional authorities. Third is the legitimacy based on legal-rational authority, that is compliance occurs to the system or institution. So this third form is based more on formal forms of politics and institutional arrangements. It was this third form of legitimacy which, according to Max Weber, was seen as more appropriate for the political system in the Modern country era.

Mosca,<sup>32</sup> stated that in society a class is always formed which is divided into classes which rule with small amounts and hold all political functions, monopoly power and ability to achieve the goals of their profits with the power they have, and the class that is governed by a larger and more regulated and controlled by the governing class. Furthermore, Mosca rejected all classifications of government forms that have existed such as aristocracy, democracy, etc., in the condition of any society, both in advanced societies and in the people whose national life is developing. According to him, there is only one type of government, that is an oligarchy led by a group of elites.

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<sup>27</sup> Ibid, Шкель С.Н., "Процедурные Факторы Устойчивости Авторитарных Режимов: Концептуальная Рамка Анализа," *Право и политика* 6 (174), 2014, p: 800. DOI: 10.7256/1811-9018.2014.6.12192

<sup>28</sup> Durand, V.M.; Barlow, D. H. *Intisari Psikologi Abnormal*, edisi 4. Yogyakarta: Pustaka Pelajar, 2007.

<sup>29</sup> Miriam Budiardjo, *Aneka Pemikiran Tentang Kuasa dan Wibawa*, Jakarta: Pustaka Sinar Harapan, 1986.

<sup>30</sup> Ahmad Taufan Damanik, "Relasi Kekuasaan, Kepentingan dan Legimitasi Dalam Analisa Politik," *Jurnal Politeia* Vol. 4 No. 1 Januari 2012. ISSN: 0216-9290, p: 33

<sup>31</sup> Gaetano Mosca, *The Rulling Class*. London: Hill Book Company, 1939.

<sup>32</sup> Mahardhika, *Mengatur Relawan Politik: Menegaskan Bentuk Partisipasi Masyarakat Dalam Pemilu*, dalam *Jurnal Pemilu & Demokrasi #9: Kodifikasi Undang-Undang Pemilu Pembaruan Hukum Pemilu Menuju Pemilu Serentak Nasional dan Pemilu Serentak Daerah*, Yayasan Perludem (Perkumpulan Untuk Pemilu Dan Demokrasi): Jakarta Selatan, Agustus 2016, p. 19

From the various theories above, it can be concluded that it seen how *emak-emak* political movement that occur in Indonesia today is a political portrait that happened in Indonesia today. The influence of *emak-emak* political movement cannot be overlooked because it can change the representational behavior of women who used to be passive in participating in a democratic party and are currently more active. Their various activities were carried out to convey a message to the women's community in particular that a form of dissatisfaction was caused by the previous government, so that this could endanger the incumbent camp. So, the reaction of the current incumbent who has carried out various strategies in maintaining its power. The like or dislike of the incumbent who is currently still in power, has also carried out three strategies that have been carried out and the tendency is to strengthen its position of power. Both in the form of co-optation, repression and legitimacy.

The role of *emak-emak* in the 2019 election was categorized as participation by Mahardhika<sup>33</sup> because it was outside the political party structure and the official winning team of the prospective candidates, but significantly contributed to the winning of the candidate who was expected to win. The mothers, or better known as *emak-emak*, the majority do voluntarily, so oftenly referred to as political volunteers. Unfortunately, the political volunteers existence, particularly in Indonesia, has not yet been legally covered, partly because there is no term volunteer in the legislation. The women's political movement is expected to be a empowering movement.

The *emak-emak* political movement in Indonesia, although framed by volunteers and still underestimated in its strength and even still considered accessories in elections, is certainly not just a movement formed by chance. Women who are commonly assumed to be emotional, weak, easy to give up, easily affected, and physically weak are apparently not entirely right.<sup>34</sup> Women are even able to revolutionize the situation, even women play a lot of roles in a change. In Islam it is also mentioned, "*Behind men who have influence, there is a role of women behind it.*"

### CONCLUSION

From the discussion above, it can be concluded that learning from historical experience is essential, such as historical experience of women's movements in Europe and East Asia. How a women's protest in the war in Russia could change a Tsar's policy at that time to give suffrage to women that had not occurred in the past. How was the women's movement when protesting due to unfriendly economic inequality towards the fate of women in Sweden and also in America. How do they mobilize the power to demand a state justice that is not on their side. So that, through reflection from International Women's Day it can provide lessons for political maturity and how women's strength cannot be overlooked in their work to contribute to changes and policies of a country.

Therefore, these women's movements can be portraits of the *emak-emak* movement in Indonesia who feel they have the same gait and fate. The work of the *emak-emak's* volunteers who enlivened the political scene in Indonesia today is a new model, which is a movement that is slow but sure. Women's loyalty can be tested in difficult conditions and in the initial stages of

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<sup>33</sup> Eti Nurhayati, *Memahami Psikologi Perempuan (Integrasi & Intercomplementer Perspektif Psikologi dan Islam)*, dalam Batusangkar International Conference I: Integration and Interconnection of Sciences "*The Reflection of Islam Kaffah*", 15-16 Oktober 2016, p: 248

<sup>34</sup> Eti Nurhayati, *Memahami Psikologi Perempuan (Integrasi & Intercomplementer Perspektif Psikologi dan Islam)*, dalam Batusangkar International Conference I: Integration and Interconnection of Sciences "*The Reflection of Islam Kaffah*", 15-16 Oktober 2016, p: 248

struggle. Just mention the volunteer support for passwords in the presidential election in 2019 with the group name "Pepes" (women supporting Prabowo-Sandi) and other communities that have networked and worked seriously by this couple. Turning around with incumbents is minimal in focusing on the *emak-emak* movement. Although they claim that they have actually created programs that tend to be friendly with women as in the *UKM* program and others.

The *emak-emak* political movement can be used as political learning for Indonesian women, not only formal but also informal. So, if this is done then the existence of women will be able to open new horizons for the progress of the nation and state.

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