

Candidate Process and Political Marketing of the Khofifah - Emil Dardak Candidate Pair in the East Java gubernatorial Election 2018

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Abstract

This article examines the 2018 East Java Governor Election in which Khofifah-Emil and Gus Ipul-Puti participated. This article aims to understand how the process of candidacy and political marketing in the 2018 East Java Governor Election, especially the candidate pair Khofifah Indarparawansa-Emil Dardak. This research uses qualitative research methods with data collection techniques through documentation, observation, and interviews with one member of the Khofifah-Emil campaign team. The conclusion is that the Khofifah-Emil candidacy process in the 2018 East Java PILGUB went through a process of selecting and determining candidate pairs carried out by Political Parties and Kiai (Islamic clerics) who are members of Team 9, which is based on positioning research, survey analysis, candidate pair candidacy capital (motivational capital, social capital, political capital) and religious spirituality. In the political marketing process, Khofifah-Emil is involved in close relations with Islamic social and women's organizations such as Muslimat NU and Nasyiatul Aisyiyah Muhammadiyah. The Khofifah-Emil campaign team used open-closed political campaigns, land and air campaigns, and the involvement of celebrity endorsers.

Katakunci:

Pemasaran Politik,
Candidate Khofifah-
Emil, Pemilu Jawa
Timur 2018

Abstrak

Artikel ini mengkaji Pemilihan Gubernur Jawa Timur 2018 yang diikuti oleh Khofifah-Emil dan Gus Ipul-Puti. Artikel ini bertujuan untuk memahami bagaimana proses kandidasi dan pemasaran politik dalam Pemilihan Gubernur Jawa Timur 2018, khususnya pasangan calon Khofifah Indarparawansa-Emil Dardak. Penelitian ini menggunakan metode penelitian kualitatif dengan teknik pengumpulan data melalui dokumentasi, observasi dan wawancara salah satu anggota tim kampanye Khofifah-Emil. Kesimpulannya adalah proses kandidasi Khpffifah-Emil pada PILGUB Jawa Timur 2018 melalui proses penjaringan dan penentuan pasangan calon yang dilakukan oleh Partai Politik dan Para Kiai yang tergabung dalam Tim 9 yang berbasis pada riset positioning, analisis survei, modal kandidasi pasangan calon (modal motivasi, modal sosial, modal politik) dan spiritualitas keagamaan. Dalam proses pemasaran politik, Khofifah-Emil melibatkan kedekatan hubungannya dengan organisasi sosial-keperempuan Islam seperti Muslimat NU dan Nasyiatul Aisyiyah Muhammadiyah. Tim kampanye Khofifah-Emil menggunakan kampanye politik terbuka-tertutup, kampanye darat dan udara serta pelibatan celebrity endorse.

INTRODUCTION

The General Election of Regional Heads is one of the state's instruments for organizing the democratization process in the election of leaders in a region. The process of democratization in the regions began with the decision of Law No. 32 of 2004 by President Megawati at that time, which required holding the General Election of Regional Heads directly. Then, the Law was strengthened by Government Regulation No. 17 of 2005 with Article 18 Paragraph 4 of the 1945 Constitution, which states that the Governor, Regent, and Mayor, respectively, as the heads of provincial, district, and city local governments, are democratically elected. In historical records, the General Election of Regional Heads simultaneously, later better known as the Simultaneous Regional Elections, was only held by the General Election Commission in 2015 with three waves, and it is predicted that this simultaneous Regional election can be carried out nationally in 2024. The first wave of simultaneous regional elections was held in December 2015, with a number of participants in the Regional Elections in as many as 269 regions. Then, the second wave in 2017 was held for 101 regions, and currently, in 2018, in June, a total of 171 regions participated in the Regional Elections (Perludem, 2017) (Chabibi, 2018).

One of the implementations of the 2018 simultaneous PILKADA is the Governor Election (PILGUB) in the East Java area. There are interesting things to follow in the 2018 East Java gubernatorial election because it is followed by two gubernatorial candidates who have competed three times in the contest of the democracy party in the region. Governor candidate Khofifah Indar Parawansa, who is paired with Emil Elistyanto Dardak with the number of pair one, this year is challenged by the candidate for governor Saifullah Yusuf joining hands with Puti Guntur Sukarnoputri with the number of pair two. It is said to be interesting because both Khofifah and Saifullah Yusuf are former fighters in the previous two periods (2008-2013 and 2013-2018) in the Regional Elections at that time, Khofifah as a candidate for governor and Saifullah Yusuf as a candidate for deputy governor accompanying Soekarwo so that the current Regional Election in 2018 is their third term competition (Chabibi, 2023). It is like the word can be termed PILGUB El-classico - if we term it with terms in the world of football - or it can also be said as PILGUB, "an old face-to-face battle with different years." Both Khofifah and Saifullah Yusuf are sons and daughters born from the womb of the Nahdlatul Ulama (NU) organization. Both of them have a strong NU mass base structurally and culturally (Sofyan dkk., 2020). One of the efforts to strengthen the votes of the NU community is to approach and seek blessings from the NU Kiai (Yusuf Adam, 2018). The approach and blessing of the NU Kiai are expected to mobilize the community of the Santri group, which is a society that is culturally close to the NU community organization (Ridwan, 2018). For the Khofifah-Emil candidate pair, there are at least three factors why

Khofifah is running again in the East Java Regional Head General Election. First, the Khofifah-Emil couple is supported by kiai from the Nahdlatul Ulama, who are members of Team 9 and have several figures that can be considered promising representations. Among them is KH. Solahuddin Wahid (Gus Solah/Gus Dur's Sister), KH. Afifuddin Muhajir Situbondo, Lily Wahid (Gus Dur's sister), KH. Suyuti Thoha Banyuwangi, KH. Asep Saifuddin Chalim Surabaya, KH. Mutam Muchtar Madura, KH. Yazid Karimullah (Jember), KH. Hisyam Syafaat, and KH. Yusuf Nuris (Banyuwangi) (Sunaryo & Jatiningsih, 2021). Community mobilization through the call of the NU Kiai culturally and structurally is not always a determining factor in a person's voting behavior. There are people who are still actively and consciously using their rational choices in choosing a leader rather than the choice that comes from the call of community leaders and Kiai (Santri dkk., 2018).

Thus, it is important to follow and learn how Khofifah Indar Parawansa takes advantage of the 2018 East Java gubernatorial election process to get and gain as much support as possible, considering that Khofifah in the East Java gubernatorial election has been recorded as a participant in the election three times so that what kind of campaign mechanism and political machine is carried out by the Khofifah-Emil pair and its winning teams to be able to win the Regional Head General Election this year 2018. Here, the researcher does not examine it in terms of the Khofifah-Emil political marketing strategy with the 4 P's theory (*product, place, promotion, and Price*) (Winda, 2018). Nor is it a study related to the mass mobilization of East Java Muslims to win the Khofifah-Emil candidate pair (Umamah, 2023), including the issue of news of the 2018 East Java gubernatorial election, which was analyzed by *Framing Theory*. *Framing Theory* It is itself a way of framing or packaging news to influence the way the audience interprets it. The problem can be presented in ways that determine its political impact (framing the news) (Newton & Van Deth, 2016). Nor is it about analyzing religious sentiments (Buntoro, 2019; Zulaikha, 2019). Even though the 2018 East Java gubernatorial election has passed, the Khofifah-Emil couple has its own interesting side. Khofifah himself is the Minister of Social Affairs in Joko Widodo's cabinet, while Emil E. Dardak is also a Regent of Trenggalek who has been in office for two years. Candidacy decisions need to be balanced with rational and scientific considerations so that candidacy and winning see their own capacity and visibility that can attract as many supports and votes as possible in the East Java Regional Elections, which, of course, are also related to the 2024 East Java Regional Elections. Therefore, this article aims to see the social media of the candidacy of Khofifah - Emil Dardak and understand the political marketing process of the Khofifah - Emil Dardak candidate pair in the 2018 East Java Regional Elections(Chabibi, t.t.).

RESEARCH METHODS

This research is qualitative-exploratory research in which the researcher as an individual conducts several processes of understanding and seeking clarity exploratively (Moelong, 2000) on the political and marketing processes of candidates for the purpose of obtaining victory and support as many votes as possible from a number of East Java communities. The Khofifah-Emil candidate pair has a fairly promising reputation and figure record in the world of communication media and political career records at the regional and even national levels, so the researcher seriously devotes his focus to qualitative data collection on the two candidates. In addition, when data processing and analysis are carried out both when data collection is carried out and when data collection is completed, researchers use interactive analysis (Miles & Huberman, 1984). The process of finding clarity in an interactive manner is also carried out through a process approach that was launched and implemented by the winning team and the Khofifah-Emil campaign team so that here it is not enough for the research team to only devote concentration to things that are actions but also meanings that appear in photos, advertisements, billboards, banners, music jingles, supporting artists, programs and campaign materials and debates conducted by the Commission The East Java Regional General Election as well as those scheduled by the winning team itself have been recorded in the mass media, electronic media (television and radio) and internet media.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

Research on Positioning Candidates of Khofifah - Emil Dardak in the 2018 East Java Gubernatorial Election

Surveys on voting behavior in the election of regional heads (Pilkada) at both the provincial and district/city levels are very crucial. This is because voters are the basis of the legitimacy of the leadership of regional heads for five years. Why is that because the survey itself has a reciprocal effect both for candidates for regional heads who need empirical-academic references to improve themselves and for voters who need a channel of interest? There are at least three things that explain this. First, the movement of votes against regional head candidates is political control for the elite to produce leaders from the public. Second, public satisfaction with the incumbent explains whether there is a need for a change in leadership in the regions and, more importantly, whether there is a need for policy reform in the areas of government performance. Third, the selection of candidates is sometimes not only explained by the good or bad work program platform or the personality of the candidate but can depend heavily on sociological variables such as religion and region, psychological factors such as personal appeal from the candidate, and indeed the rational-economic choices of the voters. This is why the results of the

survey are important to know, both for election stakeholders such as candidates and party elites, for the election organizers themselves, and for voters. Surveys will be very useful for candidates; this is because the effect of the survey will have an impact on the candidate's confidence in front of his voters and his party's elite; for this reason why, many survey results issued by survey institutions have many differences in results.

a) Prediction of Pairs of Candidates for Pre-Determination of KPU

In October 2017, the Center for the Study of Public Opinion (PKSOP) released the results of its survey regarding the candidates for Governor and Deputy Governor of East Java who will compete for the Governor and Deputy Governor seats of East Java. A survey was conducted from October 16 to October 27, 2017, in 9 cities and 29 districts in East Java. The results of the survey indicated four strong candidates who would advance in the 2018 East Java regional elections.

The four candidates are the two-term Deputy Governor of East Java, Saifulla Yusuf, who is paired with the Regent of Banyuwangi, Azwar Anas, supported by the PDI-P and PKB, then Khofifah Indar Parawansaa who at that time was still serving as the Minister of Social Affairs and had received support from the Golkar and Nasdem parties, then the Chairman of the East Java Chamber of Commerce, La Nyalla Matalitim and finally Tri Rismaharini as the Mayor of Surabaya. The survey was conducted with a questionnaire and question poll involving 1,142 East Java residents who were randomly selected and proportional based on the number of DPTs in the 2014 Presidential Election in East Java using the Multistage Random sampling method with a confidence level of 95 percent and resulting in a Margin Error of approximately 2.9 percent.

In another event, Team 9, led by KH Salahuddin Wahid or Gus Sholah, held an important meeting to discuss prospective companions for Khofifah; in the meeting, the names of candidates who will accompany Khofifah in the 2018 East Java Regional Elections will be proposed. And the results of the closed meeting on Thursday, October 19, 2017, which took place at the residence of KH Asep Syaifuddin Chalim at the Amanatul Ummah Islamic Boarding School complex, Jalan Siwalankerto, Surabaya. The friendship produced eight names, each representing the party supporting Khofifah, but the submission of these names will be completely submitted to Khofifah as the advancing party. Then, from the eight names, Khofifah added two names of his companion candidates so that the total names of Khofifah's companions amounted to ten candidate names.

And from these names, Team 9 will then conduct a survey in the community to measure who has the highest electability in the eyes of voters from the ten candidates. After conducting internal research between the supporting

parties and kyai kyai from October 19 and will produce a unanimous vote before November 15, 2017. As a result, Team 9 narrowed down the ten names into two names, namely Emil and Ipong. Meanwhile, the results of a survey from the IT Research Politic Consultant (iPol) Indonesia revealed that the most powerful names who will accompany Khofifah to advance in the 2018 East Java Regional Elections are Trenggalek Regent Emil Dardak, Ponorogo Regent Ipong Muchlissoni, Hassan Aminudin and Agus Harimurti Yudhoyono.

The research conducted by *iPol* is by monitoring news in 352 mass media using iPOL Media Monitoring Big Data Political Technology, which tracks media news trends based on index, sentiment, influencers, passion, tone, and news distribution in various regions. The result is from the probability of 38.9 percent of the highest position to Emil Dardak. Followed by Ipong with 37.6 percent points and Hasan Aminuddin with a probability of 33.7 percent www.IpolIndonesia.com, October 16, 2017.

b) Candidate Electability from Various Surveys

Based on the findings of the Poltracking Indonesia survey, the Electability of the Khofifah and Emil couple is still superior. To be able to assess how accurate the survey results are, we tried to find out how they conducted the survey, and the results of the method were:

- By taking a survey of the population of Indonesian citizens in East Java Province who already have the right to vote based on applicable regulations, namely residents who are at least 17 years old or married at the time of the interview and are not members of the TNI/POLRI. This survey uses a stratified multistage random sampling method.
- The sample size was 1200 respondents with a margin of error of +/- 2.8 % at a 95% confidence level.
- The data collection method is that selected respondents are interviewed face-to-face using a questionnaire by trained interviewers. Each interviewer is in charge of interviewing ten respondents for each village/sub-district.
- Survey quality control is a minimum of the student or equivalent field interviewers who receive intensive training (workshops) in each survey implementation.
- Survey data collection (determination of respondents and interviews in the field) was carried out on March 6-11, 2018. Validation of sample data was carried out by comparing the demographic characteristics of the

sample obtained from the survey with the population obtained through the latest census data (BPS).

The survey showed that in terms of popularity, Khofifah Indar Parawansa (85.3%) was the most popular candidate, followed by Saifullah Yusuf (Gus Ipul) (82.7%) at the time of the interview (data collection was carried out). In terms of acceptability, Khofifah Indar Parawansa (76.3%) was the most preferred candidate by the public at the time of the interview (data collection was carried out), followed by Saifullah Yusuf (Gus Ipul) (74.6%). The survey also found that in the question of single (unpaired) Governor candidates, Khofifah Indar Parawansa (42.6%) was superior to Saifullah Yusuf (Gus Ipul) (39.6%). The trend of candidate electability in the last 2 (two) periods of the survey shows that Khofifah Indar Parawansa increased by 5.5 points and Saifullah Yusuf (Gus Ipul) decreased by 3.7 points. As for the electability of the single candidate for Deputy Governor, the electability of Emil Elistianto Dardak (35.2%) is superior to Puti Guntur Soekarno (27.7%). Regarding the simulation of the Governor-Deputy Governor candidate pair using ballot paper, the electability of Khofifah Indar Parawansa – Emil Elistianto Dardak (42.4%) is superior to the pair of Saifullah Yusuf (Gus Ipul) – Puti Guntur Soekarno (35.8%), with undecided voters (21.8%). The trend of candidate electability in the last 2 (two) periods of the survey (using ballot paper) shows that the pair of Khofifah Indar Parawansa – Emil Elistianto Dardak increased by 3.9 points, while the pair of Saifullah Yusuf (Gus Ipul) – Puti Guntur Soekarno decreased by 4.1 points. Another survey conducted by *the Populi Center* showed similar results in terms of the electability of the candidates for the Khofifah and Emil pair. The research conducted by Populi Indonesia was carried out by:

- Face-to-face interviews in 80 villages/villages in 38 regencies/cities of East Java Province, starting from April 22 to 28, 2018.
- The sample size was 800 respondents, randomly selected in multistage random sampling.
- Margin of error + 3.39% at a confidence level of 95% Ø Respondents are randomly selected in stages, starting from randomization for the village, RukunTetangga, family, and finally, the selected respondents.
- To ensure adequate sample distribution, each selected village is allocated ten respondents from two RTs.
- The gender ratio is determined 50:50
- The sample size of each region is allocated according to the proportion of the population from the BPS population census data.

- Funds for this survey come from the internal cash of the Populi Indonesia Foundation.

The findings from the Indonesian Populist survey are as follows: For the April 2018 survey, the electability of Khofifah-Emil increased from 39.6 percent (January 2018) to 44 percent. Meanwhile, the electability of Gus Ipul-Putih tends to be flat from 39.5 percent (January 2018) to 38.8 percent. This shows that in the last three months, there has been an increase in the electability of Khofifah-Emil. From a survey conducted measuring electability, 75.5 percent of respondents claimed to be part of Nahdlatul Ulama. Meanwhile, of all people with a preference for NU Islamic organizations, most people chose the Khofifah-Emil pair (45.5 percent) compared to the Gus Ipul-Putih couple (39 percent). These findings are indicative, considering the limited number of respondents. In terms of acceptability, among the two candidates for Governor, Khofifah and Gus Ipul still have a balanced level of acceptability. Although Khofifah is dominant in first position and Gus Ipul is in second position, in several aspects of acceptability, such as the figure who is the most daring to eradicate corruption, the most religious, the most decisive, and the most able to lead, is still in the range of margin of error. Based on region, Khofifah-Emil is superior in the Mataraman (44.3 percent) and Pendalungan (46.9 percent) areas compared to the Gus Ipul-Putih pair. Meanwhile, the Gus Ipul-PuX pair has quite high electability in the arek 1 (Greater Surabaya) and Madura Island (41.3 percent) areas. These findings are indicative, considering the limited number of respondents.

Political Marketing of the Khofifah-Emil Candidate Pair in the 2018 Gubernatorial Election

The Khofifah-Emil Candidate Pair in the 2018 gubernatorial election at that time had a vision of "The realization of a fair, prosperous, superior, and moral East Java society with inclusive, participatory governance through joint work and the spirit of mutual cooperation" with seven main focuses in its mission. Among them is the balance of economic development, both between groups, between dirty, and between regions, and the creation of "welfare with basic justice by paying attention to vulnerable community groups." Fulfilling the basic needs of the people of East Java, which includes health insurance, education guarantee, and building food sovereignty. Ease of access to jobs and regional connectivity. Clean, open, and participatory governance. Strengthening civic democracy to present a social space that respects the principle of diversity. Environmentally friendly development to ensure the harmony of ecological space, social space, economic space, and cultural space. The candidate pair Khofifah-Emil Dardak tends to use political campaign jargon with the words "Wis Wayahe," "Working Together-

East Java Prosperous," and "Nawa Bakti Satya." The term "Wis Wayahe" in Javanese means "it's time." The term contains a philosophical meaning that the couple of Khofifah and Emil Dardak is in time to become the governor of East Java, so victory is the absolute price for him to achieve. With the philosophical words "Wis Wayahe," it is hoped that it will be able to provide an injection of moral strength and positive stimulus for the winning teams and volunteers of Khofifah-Emil Dardak to always fight for the aspirations of the community in the points of vision, mission, and flagship work program of Khofifah-Emil not only in the struggle for victory but also in the continued political struggle when actually getting victory in the 2018 East Java Regional Elections.

The second jargon is "Working Together-Prosperous East Java," where the main concentration for the Khofifah-Emil candidate pair is on three serious affairs in East Java where the achievements of the East Java provincial government are extraordinary, but the problems of poverty, inequality, and unemployment are the top priorities and big homework for the provincial government who will take office in 2018. Therefore, the jargon "Working Together-East Java Sejahtera" is a campaign issue promoted by Khofifah-Emil Dardak to overcome and eradicate poverty, inequality, and unemployment, especially at the rural level. The third jargon is "Nawa Bakti Satya," which is almost similar to the jargon of President Joko Widodo's central government with his "Nawa Cipta." Mrs. Khofifah was originally the Minister of Social Affairs of President Joko Widodo, who was quite successful together with the president in reducing the Gini ratio (gap) where, based on BPS data, the level of inequality in the Indonesian population in September 2017 was in the position of 0.391. This figure decreased by 0.002 points when compared to the Gini ratio in March 2017 of 0.393, which led Mrs. Khofifah to receive awards from several foreign academics. "Nawa Bakti Satya" is one of the nine flagship programs of Khofifah-Emil Dardak that we want to prove in East Java. In general, "Nawa Bakti satya" includes East Java Prosperous, East Java, East Java Kerja, East Java Smart and Healthy, East Java Access, East Java Blessings, East Java Agro, East Java Empowered, East Java Amanah and East Java Harmony.

In addition, Mrs. Khofifah, who was also the former Minister of Social Affairs at that time, prepared a welfare program for underprivileged families with a model similar to the Family Hope Program (PKH) that she had implemented during the administration of President Joko Widodo in his first period. The Family Hope Program (PKH) was launched in 2007 by the Indonesian government. The Family Hope Program (PKH) is the first conditional cash assistance program in Indonesia. The purpose of this program is to improve human quality by providing conditional cash assistance for poor families in accessing education and health services. This program is managed by the Ministry of Social Affairs (Kemensos). The implementation of this program is still continuing during

the administration of President Joko Widodo (Jokowi). During President Jokowi's administration, Khofifah Indar Parawansa was trusted to serve as Minister of Social Affairs. Where the Minister of Social Affairs is responsible for the management of the Family Hope Program (PKH). With Khofifah's background as Minister of Social Affairs, it is quite advantageous for him to advance in the 2018 East Java Governor Election. The Family Hope Program (PKH) is one of the selling points of Khofifah Indar Parawansa in the 2018 East Java Governor Election. As can be seen, the Khofifah-Emil couple also offers PKH Plus on several priority programs that they offer.

Successful Team Formation

In order to support the victory of Khofifah Indar Parawansan and Emil E. Dardak in the 2018 East Java gubernatorial election, it is necessary to form a successful team or winning team chaired by a political marketing leader. A marketing leader (candidate marketing manager/winning team) is assisted by the campaign team and the winning team. He has a very central role in marketing the candidate or party he is carrying. Among his duties are 1) giving certain topics or issues that must be raised by the candidate in his speeches, 2) determining the schedule when the candidate will appear in public and who are the Kuncul figures who must accompany him, 3) determining the places he visits in consultation with the research and R&D team (Cangara, 2016, p. 244). The Winning Team of the Khofifah-Emil Dardak Couple in the 2018 Governor Election was chaired by a former Regional Head of the Ministry of Religion (Kemenag) of East Java Province named H. M. Roziqi. He was appointed as the leader of the winning team because he is an experienced figure in the bureaucratic network and has a strong network in East Java Islamic boarding schools. The winning team of the "Wis Wayahe" couple has a Khofifah-Emil Winning Post located on Jalan Diponegoro No. 9 Surabaya.

Meanwhile, the secretary is Renville Antonio, who concurrently serves as the Secretary of the East Java Democratic Party DPD, a young and energetic political, intellectual figure who is expected to be able to read the interests and attention of the millennial generation. The jingle entitled "Wis Wayahe," which is often sung by Klantink, is the result of Antonio's initiative. In addition, Martono, one of the senior politicians from the Golkar Party, is also the coordinator of the expert team. In his hands, realizing a successful victory led the Soekarwo-Saifullah Yusuf pair to victory for two consecutive periods.

a) Determination of Campaigners

To achieve significant support vote results, the seven political parties supporting Khofifah-Emil (Democrat et al., PKPI) both carried the theme of victory

to smooth the Khofifah-Emil pair to become the Governor and Deputy Governor in 2018. For example, the United Development Party (PPP) consolidated to win the Khofifah-Emil pair in the 2018 East Java Regional Elections. Secretary of the East Java PPP Winning Team, A. Baidlowi, explained that one of the consolidations was to conduct socialization in the East Java XI Madura constituency. This consolidation meeting mainly carried out the branch consolidation meeting (Rakorcab) for the victory of the Regional Elections in Pamekasan Regency, the formation of a Cyber Team, socialization in the NU community, as well as socialization in the pesantren and madrasah environment. Golkar as one of the parties supporting Khofifah-Emil Dardak has prepared its cadres to become campaigners. There are at least three to 4 campaigners who have been prepared in each city or district by Golkar. One example will be from the daily chairman and from the head of the election division there are seven people who can be assigned to be campaigners.

The Democratic Party also participated in enlivening the political campaign agenda of the Khofifah-Emil Dardak couple. One of them is the Chairman of the Democratic Party, Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono, who visited two ways to win candidates for regional heads in East Java to become a campaigner for governor candidate Khofifah Indar Parawansa. The culmination was a grand open campaign at Jombang Square on April 1, 2018, attended by all supporting party leaders to become campaigners. This grand campaign was enlivened by a gathering concert with Rhoma Irama and Sonata. Top political figures present at this event included the 6th President of the Republic of Indonesia Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono (SBY), Agus Harimurti Yudhoyono (AHY), Airlangga Hartanto (Chairman of Golkar), and Romahurmuzy (Chairman of PPP), while the chairman of Nasdem Surya Paloh was represented by his secretary general Johnny G. Plate and also the chairman of Hanura was represented by his deputy chairman Imam Nawardi.

b) Volunteer Formation

For the volunteers of the Khofifah and Emil Dardak couple, there are several volunteers who are directly coordinated with the winning post and are not directly coordinated. Among them are Baguss volunteers or Barisan Gus Sholah volunteers who continue to make strategies and gather support for the Khofifah-Emil Dardak couple in the 2018 East Java Governor Election, where the Baguss volunteer secretariat is headquartered at the Graha Astraawa Building, Gayungsari Surabaya. The majority of these Baguss volunteers consist of alumni of the Tebuireng Jombang Islamic boarding school who have carried out various

forms of coordination in forming a work team starting from the bottom branch. Another volunteer is a community of young people who call themselves as Blitar Raya Millennial Youth. This community comes from different interest tendencies, some from the Youtuber community, music, motorcycles, and other youth organizations. In Madura, there are also Khofifah-Emil Dardak volunteers who are engaged in the field of humanitarian and immigrant care and this volunteer calls himself *Madura Migrant Care*. The declaration of support for the Khofifah-Emil Dardak couple also emerged from volunteers who represented themselves with ReKOD or Khofifah-Emil Dardak Volunteers, where these volunteers established posts in crowd centers in 38 regencies/cities in East Java; the posts were like being in malls, markets, and others. These ReKOD volunteers are from various elements of East Java society, ranging from village kiai, academics, creative young people, farm workers, traders, small entrepreneurs, and so on. The target of ReKOD volunteers is millennial youth.

c) **Celebrity Endorsers and Jingle Songs in Political Campaigns**

In an effort to win the Khofifah-Emil pair in the 2018 East Java Governor Election, there are several celebrities involved in their campaign activities. Among them are: 1) *Rhoma Irama* is a legendary dangdut singer, and it is believed that she is a *vote-getter* from the dangdung music-loving community; 2) *Arumi Bachsin* is the wife of East Java Deputy Governor Candidate Emil Elistianto Dardak. Before becoming Emil's wife, Arumi was a well-known Indonesian celebrity. He has starred in several films, soap operas, and commercials. In the effort to win the Khofifah - Emil pair, Arumi Bachsin was named as the Brand Ambassador of the Khofifah - Emil Optimistic Movement volunteers (GOK1L); 3) *Anang Hermansyah* along with Asyanti (wife) and Aurel Hermansyah (his son) also participated in the effort to win the Khofifah - Emil couple. In addition, Anang Hermansyah is a PAN politician who is known as one of the parties supporting Khofifah-Emil. Anang Hermansyah specially created a song for the Khofifah - Emil couple entitled "Hompimpa," which was sung by Anang, Ashanty, Aurel, and Emil. 4) *Klantink* is a music group from Surabaya that won a talent search event on one of the national TV stations. In an effort to win the Khofifah - Emil couple, Klantink participated in making radio advertisements. Klantink was also present at the inauguration of the Barisan Khofifah - Emil Volunteer House Post on JL. Progo No 5 Surabaya.

Discussion

Candidate Process of Khofifah and Emil E. Dardak in the 2018 East Java Gubernatorial Election

Khofifah Indar Parawansa, born in Surabaya on May 19, 1965, is a Muslimat Nahdlatul Ulama figure who has had a lot of experience as a politician and bureaucrat in Indonesia. Khofifah's political career on the national stage includes being the 27th Indonesian Minister of Social Affairs since October 2014 in the cabinet of President Joko Widodo. She was also the 5th Minister of State for Women's Empowerment in the National Unity Cabinet or the Cabinet of President Abdurrahman Wahid (1999-2001). In addition, he has also been in the legislative environment such as Chairman of the PPP Faction of the House of Representatives of the Republic of Indonesia (1992-1997), Chairman of Commission VII of the House of Representatives (1995-1997), Member of Commission II of the House of Representatives (1997-1998), Deputy Speaker of the House of Representatives (1999), Chairman of Commission VII of the House of Representatives (2004-2006), Chairman of the National Awakening Faction of the People's Consultative Assembly of the Republic of Indonesia (2004-2006), Member of Commission VII of the House of Representatives (2006), Chairman of Commission VII of the House of Representatives Commission VIII of the PPP of the House of Representatives of the House of Representatives (1997-1998), House of Representatives from PKB (1999-2004), House of Representatives from PKB (2004-2009), Member of Commission VII from PKB Faction (2006-2007). Meanwhile, as a bureaucrat, Mrs. Khofifah was the Head of BKKBN from 1999 to 2001. Meanwhile, Emil Elistianto Dardak, commonly known as Emil Dardak, was born in the capital city of Jakarta on May 20, 1984. He oversees his career in the world of voice acting as an Indonesian pop singer; besides that, he is a politician from the Indonesian Democratic Party of Struggle (PDI-P) until through the PDI-P political vehicle, Emil was able to win the Regional Head Election in Trenggalek Regency in 2015 with 292,248 votes or around 76.28 percent. Emil served as the Regent of Trenggalek in pairs with Mochammad Nur Arifin and was inaugurated as the Regent and Deputy Regent of Trenggalek on February 17, 2016. The two Regent pairs were then named as the youngest pair of candidates for Regional Head in the 2015 simultaneous regional elections.

1) Candidate Preparation and Consolidation of Supporting Parties

The candidacy of Mrs. Khofifah began with the granting of a mandate for Prospective Governor by Team 9, consisting of a number of Kiai caretakers of large Islamic boarding schools in East Java as a result of a meeting of the East Java Kiai at the Tebu Ireng Jombang Islamic Boarding School on Sunday, October 15, 2017, chaired by Dr. (HC) KH. Salahuddin Wahid, Gus Dur's younger brother. Team 9 was then changed to Team 17 as a representation number for Independence Day on August 17. According to Prof. DR. KH. Asep Saifuddin Chalim, MA Team 17 will carry out several important tasks for victory in the 2018 East Java gubernatorial election. Among his several tasks is

to communicate with political parties to make it possible to provide support and political vehicles, as well as to choose several names that have criteria that have capacity and credibility as Khofifah's partner as well as being able to become a *vote-getter* who can improve. Assuming that Mrs. Khofifah is seen as a *vote-getter* in Horseshoe, then we will think about looking for a *vote-getter* in the Mataram area. The status of Mrs. Khofifah was only determined in an open plenary meeting to determine candidates for the East Java Regional Elections at the East Java Regional Election Office in Surabaya on Monday, February 12, 2018. In this case, Mrs. Khofifah is supported by the Democratic Party, where this party at the East Java regional level is chaired by Soekarwo, who at the same time is still serving as the Governor of East Java. In addition, there are the Golkar Party, Nasdem, PPP, Hanura and PAN. With details, the Democratic Party has 13 seats; the Golkar Party has 11 seats; NasDem has four seats; PPP has five seats and Hanura has two seats, and the PKPI party so the total number of seats of the party supporting Khofifah-Emil is 35 seats in the East Java DPRD.

On the other hand, the candidacy process of Emil E. Dardak has experienced complexity for a number of circles, both from the political parties of Emil cadres or PDI-Perjuangan as well as from the state elite, namely the Minister of Home Affairs Tjahyo Kumolo, who said that Emil Dardak lacked ethics in his candidacy in the 2018 East Java gubernatorial election accompanying Mrs. Khofifah while at the same time still serving as the Regent of Trenggalek. What is interesting to observe is the maneuver carried out by the Leader of the Democratic Party, Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono, who proposed candidates for Governor and Deputy Governor of East Java, not from the results of the regeneration of the Democratic Party but to nominate Khofifah and Emil, which incidentally were the result of education and regeneration from other parties. Especially Emil Dardak, during the election candidacy process, PDI-Perjuangan cadres can be said to have a high level of militancy and compliance with party instructions. This means that Emil Dardak's willingness to run for Cawagub with Khofifah is considered a defection from PDI-Perjuangan, which is considered to violate the rules of the candidacy tradition in the PDI-Perjuangan party.

The success of the Democratic Party in bringing Emil E. Dardak in his lap and pairing it with Khofifah Indar Parawansa can be said to be a strategic step that emphasizes the political scenario planned by the joint party Gerindra, PKS, and PAN in the possibility of forming a central axis. In this central axis, it turns out that it intends to carry the Regent of Trenggalek into the 2018 East Java gubernatorial election contest as a new gubernatorial candidate against Saifullah Yusuf and Khofifah Indar Parawansa. However, after Emil officially decides to come forward to accompany Mrs. Khofifah, the news of this central axis is no longer heard on the surface of the media and mass news.

2) Candidacy and Involvement of Islamic Socio-Women's Institutions

Nahdlatul Ulama is an Islamic community organization based on a cultural and national approach. Nahdlatul Ulama, better known by the abbreviation NU, has a strategic role in the process of influencing vote acquisition. This is in accordance with the theory of obtaining electoral votes, which states that in order to influence the masses in a competitive situation, political marketing is needed as a strategy and step toward a winning goal (McNair, 2003, p. 7). In Firmanzah's view (2012), the use of political marketing is a marketing strategy that facilitates politicians or candidates in marketing political initiatives, political ideas, political issues, party ideology, characteristics of party leaders, vision and mission of candidates, and work programs of the party or candidate to the public. In addition to NU, there is also an Islamic community organization in East Java that has a large population of followers, namely Muhammadiyah. These two mass organizations have an extraordinary influence on their followers and concern for the nation and society. For Mrs. Khofifah herself, NU is the spirit and soul of its establishment in tackling all issues related to religion, ideology, society, and politics. In addition, other institutions that are full of NU-an colors are traditional Islamic educational institutions in East Java, namely Islamic boarding schools and madrasah diniyah. The students and teachers of the madrasah diniyah are considered to be a representation of many that should be contested by the two pairs of gubernatorial candidates, considering that both are born from the same womb, namely Nahdlatul Ulama. As a women, social and political fighter, Mrs. Khofifah views social women's and Islamic institutions under the auspices of Nahdlatul Ulama, such as Fatayat NU and Muslimat NU, as a forum for women's aspirations from the Nahdliyin to show their potential, competence, and capabilities that are not only engaged in religious studies and religious rituals but also in the field of women's empowerment and economic units at the micro and medium levels.

In addition to Fatayat and Muslimat NU being a vehicle for friendship between the Khofifah-Emil candidate couple, on several occasions, Emil Dardak, accompanied by his wife Arumi Bachsin, approached young female cadres from Muhammadiyah mass organizations known as Nasyyatul Aisyiyah. On May 1, 2018, at the Mas Mansur Hall of PW Muhammadiyah East Java, Emil Dardak attended the socialization activity of the 2018 East Java gubernatorial election with hundreds of Nasyyatul Aisyiyah female cadres. The event was themed Strengthening the Role of Women in Counteracting SARA Politics and how women can play an important role in public *speaking*, aptitude tests, and academics. As a young political cadre, Emil Dardak shared his knowledge and various experiences both when working at UCLG Asia Pacific (*United Cities and Local Government*) as Vice President and after becoming a politician in several events, such as the meeting

of the Indonesian Renewal Youth Force (AMPI) East Java, the Progressive Youth Movement (GPP), the Indonesian Democratic Youth Organization and seminars at private universities in East Java. As a representative of the millennial generation – because other candidates are in their 50s and 50s less – the presence of Emil is expected to increase the electability of votes among millennial voters in the range of 40 percent of all voters in East Java. The millennial generation is said to be a critical, responsive, creative, innovative, spontaneous, and often *out-of-the-box* generation in various communities, becoming a magnet for Emil E. Dardak to be able to get as close as possible to them and prove himself to be able to answer the expectations of the millennial generation as well as Emil Dardak, together with a community of young people who call themselves Blitar Raya Millennial Youth, which consists of a community of Youtubers, music, motorcycles, and other youth organizations. In addition, he gave his views in the Pacitan Millennial Youth Dialogue forum to invite youth to participate in building the Southern Region as he did to build a new city in Trenggalek, namely Panggul District, which now has its own square and even the Health Center, has been transformed into a primary hospital.

Candidate Capital for Khofifah-Emil Candidate Pair

1) Candidate Motivation Capital

The reappearance of Khofifah Indar Parawansa as a candidate for Governor of East Java is an interesting phenomenon, considering that in the year of 2018 simultaneous regional elections, he was a Minister of Social Affairs of the Republic of Indonesia in Joko Widodo's Work Cabinet. In fact, Khofifah suffered two consecutive defeats in the East Java Regional Election, which was held between 2008 and 2013 and the 2013 and 2018 periods. At that time, Khofifah lost twice against the Soekarwo-Saifullah Yusuf pair, so many people doubted his chances of winning in the 2018 East Java Regional Election, which was also against the incumbent of the Soekarwo pair, namely Saifullah Yusuf (Gus Ipul). From the issue of Mrs. Khofifah's candidacy in the 2018 East Java gubernatorial election, suddenly narratives of lack of wearing clothes have emerged on social media and mass media where Saifullah Yusuf's candidacy has been officially announced in advance with the Mayor of Banyuwangi Azwar Anas at first. These bad narratives appear as a black assumption on the issue of Mrs. Khofifah's candidacy at the same time that she is a Minister of Social Affairs in Joko Widodo's Work Cabinet, so the issue simply emerges in the media that Mrs. Khofifah is greedy for power and crazy for office.

However, these bad narrative issues were quickly responded to by Mrs. Khofifah that her re-candidacy was not due to lust for power and responded to it as something that cornered her in her political career. Mrs. Khofifah said that if Mrs. Khofifah wants to enjoy the position, then now is the time to enjoy it because Mrs. Khofifah has become a

minister, a position that exists at the national level, not the regional (provincial area or city/regency).

Mrs. Khofifah's motivation to run again for the third time in the 2018 East Java Governor Election contest is purely what she said was a struggle for honor. Mrs. Khofifah feels like a regional son who always wants to advance the region and its people. This is not without reason because Mrs. Khofifah sees a challenge for her in the problem of poverty, and the Gini ratio in East Java Province on the island of Java is the highest. As of September 2016, for example, data from the National Statistics Agency (BPS) shows that the poverty rate in East Java is at the level of 11.85 percent, 1.15 percent higher than the national average. With the background of the Minister of Social Affairs, Mrs. Khofifah, knows the poverty map very well in the area where the highest rural poverty is in East Java, with 14 percent (BPS, 2016). His anxiety was communicated to the Governor of East Java, Soekarwo, until he was given a presentation forum room in Grahadi by Soekarwo to convey his anxiety in front of the Regency and City Governments throughout East Java. Finally, the social fund channels and assistance of the Hope Family have not been absorbed into the poverty rate in rural East Java due to the lack of promptness and responsibility for poverty alleviation, which is the authority of the Deputy Governor (Saifullah Yusuf who ran as Governor in 2018). The progress of development and industry in East Java Province is not balanced with the performance of Deputy Governor Saifullah Yusuf in balancing the poverty balance at the rural level of East Java. Therefore, this matter motivates Mrs. Khofifah to feel called back to accelerate the improvement of community welfare in the village with moral support from Governor Soekarwo, her former competitor in the previous two East Java gubernatorial elections.

Emil E. Dardak, before being nominated as a candidate for Deputy Governor accompanying Mrs. Khofifah, was a Regent of Trenggalek. Then, he decided to advance to the East Java gubernatorial election with Mrs. Khofifah because he saw Khofifah's track record. Emil E. Dardak conveyed his reason for wanting to become a Deputy Governor Candidate because he saw the figure of Mrs. Khofifah, whom he has known for a long time in the Indonesian political scene. In addition, Emil sees Mrs. Khofifah's vision and mission in eradicating poverty in ways that are "out of the box." Emil considered the programs carried out by Mrs. Khofifah as the Minister of Social Affairs at that time to have a close correlation with the vision of East Java's development. These personal tendencies are what motivated Emil E. Dardak to want to run with Mrs. Khofifah in the 2018 East Java Governor Election. In addition, there is moral support from seven parties supporting Emil E. Dardak in Trenggalek Regency where these parties have previously carried Emil to advance to become the Regent of Trenggalek in 2015.

2) Social Capital

Khofifah Indar Parawansa is not a woman with minimal experience in the field of social and political organization. Mrs. Khofifah is a politician on the one hand and a political bureaucrat on the other. As a politician, the peak of his best political career was serving as the Minister of Women's Empowerment in the Gus Dur era and the Minister of Social Affairs in the Jowo Widodo era. According to Idrus Marham, the current Minister of Social Affairs who replaces Mrs. Khofifah, we seriously observe that Khofifah is one of the female figures who has extraordinary socio-political capital. The second, Khofifah, is the former Minister of Social Affairs and Leader of the Nahdlatul Ulama Muslimat Center, a women's organization under the auspices of NU and under the auspices of other non-governmental organizations. In addition, Mrs. Khofifah is a female representative of nationalist students. The social capital she has is very easy to apply and disseminate to women of all age groups. The term nationalist santri means that Mrs. Khofifah can get along and cooperate with people from the pesantren background, which incidentally is a group of students in East Java and can cooperate easily with people with nationalist backgrounds, both from bureaucrats, politicians, and academics.

Emil E. Dardak, in terms of descent, socially has the Kiai family breed from the Nadhliyin group. His extended family in Trenggalek Regency was once a central and important figure in the NU family. In addition, he also has the capital of popularity, acceptability, and youthful style of millennials. From this, it can be seen that Emil E. Dardak is a potential cadre who is local but has become a figure filled with great social capital and popularity. Before entering the world of politics, Emil E. Dardak was a singer who appeared on television on several occasions. In addition, Emil E. Dardak married a beautiful woman named Arumi Bachsin, so this is not only popular in the world of astrology or entertainment but also the beginning of fame and popularity that can be seen by most people. Stardom in the entertainment world has indirectly become a social capital for the Indonesian people, especially the people of East Java.

3) Political Capital

In relation to political capital, Mrs. Khofifah can already be considered a person who eats salt. This means that he has followed politics and run the wheel of politics in the world of Indonesian politics since 1997, or a period when the New Order regime will end its period of power. At the beginning of his career, he was in the United Development Party (PPP), which used to still have a star symbol, and then switched to the National Awakening Party, a party founded by KH. Abdurrahman Wahid, who is a role model and, like his own parents, in politics and organization so Mrs. Khofifah occupies several important positions in the PKB party at the national level.

Her position as Minister of Social Affairs and Minister of Women's Empowerment at the national level makes her worthy of being considered to be paired with Emil Dardak by taking political issues on poverty alleviation, inequality, welfare, and women in the

province of East Java. The political capital owned by Mrs. Khofifah individually is strengthened by the political support of the Governor of East Java, Soekarwo herself, which is considered another US card that certainly produces a great profit in Khofifah's political capital. Mrs. Khofifah is a female representative of the "green-santri" voters, while Soekarwo is expected to attract voters, most of whom are abangan-nationalists. In addition, Mrs. Khofifah also targeted voters who are pro-Joko Widodo because of her close relationship with President Joko Widodo and several times on the occasion of polls held by National Private Television that Mrs. Khofifah if elected as the governor of East Java, she will give support to President Joko Widodo. In terms of political capital, Emil E. Dardak is a potential deputy governor pair. Once predicted to give a new color to the body of PDI-Perjuangan, Emil E. Dardak has attracted the attention of the people of East Java from the point of view of his personality and intellectualism. The personality of Emil E. Dardak, who started his career in the entertainment world with his wife Arumi Bachsin, is expected to provide positive capital for politics and the candidacy of the Khofifah-Emil couple. While Emil E. Dardak's intellectuality in several debate events, seminar invitations and polls on television and in open meetings, Emil E. Dardak was able to bewitch the audience who were not stunned by the handsomeness of Emil E. Dardak's face but rather fresh ideas and ideas that represented the politics of young executives and the politics of young millennial people.

In addition, Emil E. Dardak is a Regent of Trenggalek who has been in office since February 17, 2016. Even though he still served for 2 years in his leadership period, Emil E. Dardak was able to raise the morale of Trenggalek regency to be increasingly known by the Indonesian people throughout the region. Previously, Trenggalek Regency was a city that was not well known to people and even some East Javanese themselves felt heavy when visiting Trenggalek Regency, a city located on the south coast in line with Tulungagung and Pacitan Regencies. However, with the leadership of Emil E. Dardak, who is still fairly old as Corn rule, which is 2 years old, he has been able to raise the traditional values and riches of Trenggalek in the national and even international arena, such as Trenggalek Batik, Maritime-based Prigi Tourism Beach, making FTV for the Promotion of the Southern Region Arts Festival, SMEs that suit the tastes of young people, for example, former mushrooms that are packaged such as Korean or Japanese products, City Forest Development and sea fish auction on the Trenggalek coast. In fact, Emil E. Dardak as the Regent of Trenggalek once received an award from the International Council for Small Business (ICSB) together with the Ministry of Cooperatives and Micro, Small and Medium Enterprises (MSMEs) where this award is a manifestation of Emil E. Dardak who is responsible for advancing the welfare of Trenggalek residents. In addition, the Swasti Saba Wiwerda award was given by the

Ministry of Health and the Ministry of Home Affairs for the implementation of the Healthy City Regency Program (KKS).

Political Campaign Model of the Khofifah-Emil Candidate Pair

1) Open and Closed Political Campaigns

In the open campaign, the Khofifah-Emil couple held a grand campaign openly at Jombang Square, which was attended by the leaders of the supporting political parties and enlivened by Rhoma Irama and Sonata. Meanwhile, the open campaign that was caught in the public debate held by the 2018 East Java Regional Election Commission has at least run up to 2 rounds or 2 waves, which were attended by the Khofifah-Emil Dardak candidate pair. The first round was held on April 10, 2018, with the theme raised in the East Java gubernatorial election debate, which is the welfare of the people, including health and education. Regarding the welfare of the community, the Khofifah-Emil Dardak couple appeared straightforward in explaining concrete programs and directly related to the solution of economic equity. The second round of public debate in the 2018 Governor election was held on May 8, 2018, with the theme Economy and Development. With subthemes including policies in the fields of agriculture, plantations, and fisheries; policies in the field of micro, medium and cooperative enterprises; policies in the field of investment and investment; and policies in the field of regional infrastructure and infrastructure. Here the efforts that will be made by the Khofifah-Emil couple are:

- a) Farmers are given protection during harvest by maintaining price stability
- b) Infrastructure is evenly distributed, both in the outermost areas and the southern ring
- c) Ampung Hospital for Islands
- d) Increasing the Human Development Index (HDI) of East Java by reducing inequality and poverty in East Java
- e) Economic empowerment

Closed campaigns were carried out by the Khofifah-Emi Dardak couple in several places and events, depending on the situation and conditions that could be beneficial for increasing Khofifah-Emil vote support. For example, the blusukan campaign on the line commuter train carried out by Emil Dardak with the aim of finding out the problems of line commuter customers who come back and forth from Sidoarjo to Surabaya, both workers and students. The content of the campaign material here talks about the services and facilities available on the commuter line to the issue of passenger comfort from a gender perspective.

In another closed campaign, Emil Dardak did a nobar or watched together with young people the Champions League football final match between Liverpool and Real Madrid. Here Emil Dardak mingled and mingled with the spectators of the football final,

the majority of whom were millennial youth in the city of Ponorogo. In addition, *blusukan* was also carried out by Khofifah on a visit to Tuban, East Java. Khofifah promised to guarantee the welfare of local cattle farmers in East Java. According to him, there must be synergy between the government and the community, the Highest Retail Price (HET) must be maintained, and the stabilization of product prices from cattle farmers must be protected. Governor candidate Khofifah also touched on the issue of the ban on the slaughter of productive female cows, which was regulated in Law No. 41 of 2014 concerning livestock and animal health. The target of the campaign carried out by the Khofifah Governor Candidate is the community from the cattle traders' association.

On May 6, 2018, Governor Candidate Khofifah made a visit to the Plaosan area by visiting the Maospati Market in Magetan. In the traditional market, Khofifah buys a large number of carrots from traders. According to him, the quality of carrots in the Plaosan area has better quality compared to imported carrots. The *blusukan* carried out by Governor Candidate Khofifah targets market traders and carrot or vegetable farmers in Magetan. *Blusukan* is one of the ways for Governor Candidate Khofifah to gain the sympathy of voters from the lower middle class.

Governor candidate Khofifah Indar Parawansa attended the 72nd NU Muslimat Harlah at the Srengat Stadium in Blitar on Saturday, March 31, 2018. On this occasion, Governor Candidate Khofifah invited Muslim mothers to pay attention to the continuation of their children's education because according to him, the continuity of children's education is an important part. The event was also attended by HJ. Masruroh Wahid who helped socialize the program offered by the Khofifah - Emil couple. HJ. Masruroh is confident that Blitar Muslimat will be able to give all its votes to the couple.

2) Ground and Air Campaigns

Land campaigns have often been carried out by most candidates, so land campaigns are common and not a new thing, such as public campaigns such as public debates, gatherings of religious and political figures, or in front of their constituents such as social and sports activities with their supporters. Campaigns can also be carried out by *blusukan* or going directly to targeted places such as Mrs. Khofifah, who goes directly to traditional markets, terminals, and other public places. The air campaign was also implemented by the Khofifah-Emil Dardak couple, where Khofifah Tak is not inferior to young people; East Java governor candidate Khofifah Indar Parawansa turns out to be a hobby of vlogging. Khofifah's vlogs during the campaign were uploaded to his Instagram account, starting from the moment he cut dragon fruit to when he visited the mangrove forest. While holding a cell phone, Khofifah talked to East Java residents. At the same time, sharing information, innovations, and inspirations that, according to Khofifah, can be used as role models. The air campaign of the Khofifah-Emil Dardak couple has Facebook,

Instagram, and YouTube accounts such as FB; Khofifah Emil East Java, IG; @khofifahemil, YouTube account; Khofifah Indar Parawansa.

CONCLUSION

The findings of this article show that the candidate pair Khofifah and Emil Dardak have used political marketing to persuade and influence constituents and voters from various circles to be the target market (market segmentation) such as political campaigns carried out by supporting political parties, celebrities and endorser groups, as well as the efforts of the Khofifah-Emil candidate pair themselves by utilizing land and air campaign media (cyber). In addition, both also use conventional campaigns such as open and closed campaigns. The marketing process begins with networking, candidacy, and candidate processes, and it then moves to the formation of a political campaign model that will later be applied to the public. Khofifah, as a representative of women, personally has its own attraction because, before her candidacy as a candidate for governor, Khofifah was a Minister of Social Affairs in President Joko Widodo's work cabinet. Even though Khofifah has twice run as a gubernatorial candidate against the Soekarwo-Saifullah Yusuf pair and was declared defeated, Khofifah is still enthusiastic about running for the third time in the 2018 East Java gubernatorial election with the motivation of political struggle over his anxiety about the Gini *ratio* or the gap contained in three important problems in East Java, namely poverty, inequality and unemployment. While Emil Dardak's candidacy also did not go as smoothly as expected, Emil Dardak is a cadre from the PDI-Perjuangan Party which incidentally has a structural tradition of obeying the instructions of his superiors. However, for the East Java Governor Election this time, Emil Dardak continues to advance as a partner of Khofifah Indar Parawansa because of the similarity of vision and mission in the issue of poverty and welfare.

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