Local Political Strength in Khofifah Indar Parawansa's Win in the 2018 Governor Election for the Electoral District of East Java

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Abstract
The purpose of this writing is to analyze the political power of the caliph as a whole. Muslimat Nahdlatul Ulama (NU) is an organization that has always been active in supporting the khiffah in making political contention successful, this is also evidenced by the election of the Governor of East Java in 2018, nahdiyin residents participated in the victory starting from mass mobilization at the grassroots level to consolidation at the nahdiyin elite level. The research method used is a qualitative method that seeks to understand social phenomena in depth. The results of this discussion are concrete evidence that the NU organization is the largest community organization in Indonesia and that strong solidarity has become a source of political strength for the caliph. Apart from that, identity branding as a woman has succeeded in becoming a source of Khofifah’s political strength. Khofifah is a successful female figure, even though Khofifah’s brand identity is not instantaneous. There are many things that must be taken by Khofifah, including massive communication, also known as a clean political actor. Corruption, with a clean track record, is certainly a strength for Khofifah in increasing her electability, this will add to the weight of the voter's decision, especially in the rational voter segment.

Keywords: Khofifah, Women, Political Power.

1. INTRODUCTION
We know about the election on June 27, 2018, a General Election for the Governor of East Java was held, this election was to determine who deserved to be the leader of the East Java community, for the 2018-2023 period. If we look at this, the East Java region has held direct elections using the system we are familiar with or know, namely voting, and this is the third year that the East Java region has held elections for the Governor and Deputy Governor.
General elections or what are called elections are a form of democracy that has existed since 2005. These elections have become a procedure in direct elections, especially for electing leaders in various regions, starting from mayors, and regents, to governors. So that there is community involvement to take part in this election and each of the people will provide benefits to their region. Therefore, there is an assumption that those who will be elected are those who have a good reputation and political image. Therefore, our country adheres to a democratic system so that elections are considered to be a way and a link in the principle of people's sovereignty and also several practices carried out by the political elite.

If we look at 2004, at that time the president was elected by the MPR which was carried out and directly elected by the people, and also the regional head who was previously elected by the DPRD, then in 2005 the regional head was directly elected by the people through an election. So that this becomes a form of perfecting the new regional autonomy law. This makes regional autonomy the best, where people can directly carry out elections involving leaders who will become their government during the term of office of the regional head, and regional heads are only given one period or within 5 years. Except for regional heads who have succeeded in making a good and prominent impact on the success of their region or it could be 2 periods if the community is satisfied with the results of the work.

At a time when Indonesia was undergoing a reformation period since 1998 after President Soeharto stepped down from office due to a demand from the people, this democratization was carried out. With this process, things were different during the New Order era. This radically changes the basis of politics. Therefore, there is an institutional form that is carried out to improve the quality of democracy in the area by increasing the participation of local communities to be able to determine who will become their regional leader.

Political forces that make their political actors are individuals who have the advantage of being able to have intelligence, maturity, and no less importantly, namely a sincere heart and conscience so that they can lead and direct society towards a better, independent, and advanced. These political actors have a relationship between the power they hold and the influence on what policies are made by the government so that these actors see how the policy-making process so that a policy can side with the interests of actors, not just political interests so a policy greatly influences the actors and politics.

Political power becomes an institution that plays a role in the implementation process which has the aim of influencing the process of deciding in the world of politics. So that the development of an Indonesian political system gave rise to many actors and institutions that became political forces in Indonesia. These actors and institutions are capable of incarnating and guaranteeing that they become political forces that refer to strength for political development itself.

Elections in East Java with a local political concept and community participation in the area brought Khofifah Indar Parawansa to become the Governor of East Java, with President Joko Widodo's inauguration of Khofifah in 2019. Khofifah was able to target several votes to achieve her victory by working on an election segment that gives potential to himself so that he can build a superior identity from the people and can provide product socialization with promotions. So Khofifah can determine promotions so that she can reach voters. So that he succeeded by meeting the price of campaign funds and the psychological price by using the convenience of voters who are a background of religion and ethnicity. By providing this strategy, Khofifah carried out a comprehensive and structured political campaign so that she was able and successful in bringing victory in the 2018 gubernatorial election. President Jokowi Appoints Khofifah Emil as Governor and Deputy Governor of East Java, 2019).

Candidate pair Khofifah Indar Pawaransa and her deputy, namely Emil Elestianto Dardak, managed to win the 2018 East Java Pilkada. In the results of a recapitulation of the people's votes and the results of calculations carried out by Bawaslu that he managed to win 10 million more votes, while the candidate pair Yusuf-Puti he only succeeded in whistling 9 million votes. If seen in detail, the vote...
results were obtained in 105 regions and 100 more consisting of several districts in the East Java region. (Rachman Aprilaldo, 2018)

Khofifah apart from succeeding in becoming the Governor of East Java, it turns out that she also has a Warehouse of achievements and it turns out that Khofifah’s achievements can make miniature Indonesia rise more quickly because if we examine East Java there is no price fluctuation so she has monetary capabilities which might be considered quite good. The people of East Java have their satisfaction with the achievements that Khofifah has made, for example, inflation can be reduced and become so controlled, that Khofifah, with her achievements and abilities, is said to be able to make a miniature for our beloved country. But behind all that, these achievements will not be easy, because if we look at it in comparison with DKI Jakarta, East Java is likened to an airplane, and DKI Jakarta is likened to a Cessna. So that this achievement in Khofifah brings a new history to the people of the East Java region because he already understands very well about journalism and he is not so exaggerated. That is a small part of Khofifah’s achievements, therefore it is not surprising that he succeeded in becoming Governor of East Java, not just talk but has been proven by the facts on the ground. (Satriadi, 2022)

The success and achievements in the success of political actors in a concept of political power turned out to be able to influence the politics that were developing in the area so that with this there were participants in the community towards debates in general elections and they determined their choice of a figure they believed in and was able to represent their voice properly. so that this belief generates support in the community for those who will become leaders in their area. If we look at the future steps compared to the previous candidates, the East Java region was able to achieve electoral success. After the political series, the election process for the governor will be determined by the KPU and the KPU stated that Khofifah Indar Parawansa is capable and appropriate to become a community leader for the East Java region.

2. METHOD

The qualitative methodological approach used in this study is based on the analysis carried out in writing this article using qualitative methods. (Moleong, 2017) confirms that through the use of various natural methods, qualitative research seeks to understand phenomena about the subject’s experience such as behavior, perception, motivation, action, etc. holistically and through description. in word and language. According to (Hendryadi et al., 2019) Qualitative research is a naturalistic inquiry method that aims to understand natural social phenomena in depth. In electoral politics, political figures or actors are the most important thing. Nevertheless, the role of political parties remains significant, especially in convincing the public, as shown by the Democratic Party’s open letter to East Java residents encouraging them to support Khofifah based on their abilities, where members of the Democratic Party have many followers in Mataraman and the Kyai and can contribute to the voting for the Khofifah.

This study is focused on the political forces that support Khofifah in the governor’s political battle in East Java in 2018 and discusses how to party collaboration upholds Khofifah as Governor of East Java 2018. Therefore, some individuals are capable of intelligence, maturity, and equally important, conscience is a political force that makes them an actor in the world of politics, then they can guide the community to be better, independent, fair, and advanced for the future. Then the existence of entertainers in the world of politics has a relationship between the power they have and how the impact of strategies are made by public authorities, so that these entertainers see how the process of making this strategy occurs so that with this strategy it can side with the interests of the entertainers, not just for political purposes. she is a successful woman. Khofifah also has to take care of many things, including communicating effectively and also taking care of her personal affairs.
Khofifah is known as a clean political actor in addition to her success in government. The fact that Khofifah is not involved in a corruption case is undoubtedly a strength for her to increase her electability; this will add weight to the scale of voter decision-making, especially in the rational voter segment.

3. RESULT AND DISCUSSION

Miriam Burdiardjohe said that what is meant by political power is a power that can enter in the individual sense or an institutional sense so political power is nothing but political actors or people who play a role in political life Person. This person consists of successful individuals who are even able to influence the depths of the political world. If seen institutionally, the political power here is the power of the institution which has the aim of being able to influence voices in making the political system itself. The most important thing is an indicator that can win regional election elections by having strong capital, namely, social media capital, cultural capital and political control, social capital, and not forgetting symbolic capital, namely political actors who can occupy strategic seats in the government system by utilizing what makes my resources natural and human resources in the area.

Political power in Indonesia has a very large impact on the contribution of development and gives a style to the Indonesian political system. So that in the development of the political system. Therefore, giving rise to an actor or institution that turns out to be a political force in our country. The existence of actors or institutions that make an incarnation of this political power is nothing but a milestone in the struggle for better political development in our country and the creation of harmony and harmony for society, not forgetting how justice is included in the values of Pancasila, namely social justice for all people of Indonesia. So in this case it will be explained further about Khofifah’s political strength which made her successful and able to win votes from the people of East Java in the East Java general election in 2018.

Khofifah’s Political Strength Supports Her Victory in the 2018 East Java Governor Election.

The victory of the pair of former Minister of Social Affairs Khofifah Indar Parawansa and Emil Dardak in the 2018 East Java gubernatorial election, of course, cannot be separated from the strategies that have been implemented prepared to get as many votes as possible from East Java residents. couple supported by several parties, such as the Democratic Party, the Golkar Party, the NasDem Party, the People’s Conscience Party, National Mandate Party, and United Development Party, above the victory cannot be separated, of course, from supporting factors, both internal and external.

In electoral politics, figures or figures of political actors are of course the main points, but political parties certainly still have a role that cannot be said to be small, especially in convincing the public (Andriansyah, 2018). An example is the step taken by the Democratic party which issued an open letter to East Java residents to support the Khofifah pair on consideration of the capacity of the candidate, where this step of the Democratic party has a strong basis in Mataraman and Kyai circles to contribute to the vote acquisition for this pair (Friederich, 2018). Political parties as ideological factors which then carry candidates are one of the factors that can influence the decision of which candidate the majority of the people’s votes will be given to (Wijaya, 2008).

The exit of the Khofifah and Emil pair as winners of the 2019 Governor Election in East Java is the result obtained from campaign management and a mature political marketing strategy, using existing resources (Badrul, 2012). The victory obtained is proof that the Khofifah-Emil success team implemented good political marketing, political marketing, and campaign management or what can be called a strategy marketing mix this is one of the supporting factors for the pair’s victory.
A good political campaign is, of course, a campaign that can reach voters so that voters provide support for the candidates being campaigned for (Sari, 2018), one of the ways Khofifah took at that time was through social media, of course, this method was one of the most effective ways. Effectively, the existing content can build the identity of the candidate and this can be a separate force to attract public interest in line with technological developments. And the use of social media itself is no longer a secret how actors and political parties are use it to be able to interact with the wider community (massive)(Berliani, 2016).

With her victory, Khofifah can be considered to have mastered the problems in East Java compared to her opponent, where the Khofifah-Emil pair has mastery over data and solutions to problems in East Java (Aziz, 2018). This is a plus point for the political power possessed by political actors Khofifah and Emil. Where the strength of the political actor itself becomes important in electoral elections.

Apart from the factors owned by actors to attract voters psychologically and rationally, external factors are also things that cannot be underestimated, in the case study of the victory of the Khofifah Emil pair, one of which was mass mobilization by mass organizations. Pancasila Youth Organizations, for example, provide support for this pair, a person's involvement in political activities can be divided into two, namely those who participate on their encouragement (autonomous participation), then those who receive encouragement or direction from outsiders (mobilized participation). (Huntington & Nelson, 1994).

In Indonesia, in political practice, there is involvement from Community Organizations, Pancasila Youth is a mass organization with a youth base which of course has a large mass of people, making Pancasila Youth the choice of political stakeholders to get involved in regional democratic parties. The inclusion of Pancasila Youth in supporting the Khofifah candidate has created a domino effect indirectly which has spread support for the candidate, this involvement is also proof that not only political parties have the power to mobilize politics, but even non-parties also have a network of forces to mobilize (Ibrahim, 2019).

Apart from the Pancasila Youth as a non-party force that supports Khofifah, there are also religious-based community organizations that are also involved in this democratic party, namely Muslimat NU. Even though the votes were split for the two candidate pairs for support from Muslimat NU, this did not fail to contribute its support to the Khofifah and Emil pairs. Apart from mobilizing the masses, the Nahdliyin segment also provides support and other strategies, such as reinforcement image as well as political image, campaigning through the ta’lim assembly, and guarding the vote. Based on facts sometimes the presence of people who are not affiliated with a particular political party makes the role of non-party organizations such as social organizations a force that is quite effective as well as strategic in touching various levels of society. The relationship between Khofifah and Muslimat NU is very solid because there are similarities in views, interests, and goals, apart from that Khofifah is also listed as a former leader of the autonomous women's body Muslimat NU since 1999 (Adhim, 2019).

Currently, political actors as political figures have greater influence than the influence that comes from political parties (Sofianto, 2013). Khofifah herself as a political actor who is also a former activist certainly has her strengths, where psychologically voters tend to vote based on similarity, for example with the candidate's background, ethnicity, and religion. Khofifah, who was born in Surabaya with the specificity of the Arek tribe, with her ethnicity Khofifah can be accepted by the people of East Java with similarities. Apart from that, Khofifah also started her journey from being a student at Fatayat NU, even now she is leading Muslimat NU, as previously mentioned. With the figure of Khofifah coming forward to represent Nadiyin, it is also a plus for voters to vote for her (Sari, 2018).
Another strength of Khofifah is in her gender, where women tend to be loyal voters (Setiawan, 2018), so the female voter segment is considered a potential voter segment with similarities to Khofifah's candidates, but you can't simply get votes from women voters, therefore during the political campaign marketing was carried out to traditional markets, which one incidentally the majority of these places are women/mothers (Sari, 2018). Also to attract rational voters, Khofifah marketed her previous performance (post record) with the existence of the Family Hope Program (PKH) program at the Ministry of Social Affairs for People with Social Welfare Problems (PMKS) which is appreciated by the world. Apart from his success in government, Khofifah is also known as a clean political actor. Track record This clean system is undoubtedly a strength for Khofifah in increasing her electability, this will add weight to the voters’ decision, especially in the rational voter segment (Azmi, 2022). Khofifah also has the political power that she gained when she was minister of social affairs, because her position requires Khofifah to be close to the community, Khofifah’s existing duties intersect with the community directly, from this, it can be used as an opportunity to win the hearts of the people (Wulandar et al., 2022).

**Bureaucracy**

The bureaucracy is no less important concerning political power, so the power in political parties is bureaucracy, which has historical roots that cannot be separated from political influence. If seen in history, this bureaucracy can record and give the position to the local political system. In this case, the 2018 Pilkada took place in East Java where this political control is a network within the government that focuses on the conditions of the bureaucratic environment so that this government can make bureaucrats within the East Java government.

Pilkada in 2018 has more room for movement in implementing campaign strategies carried out by candidate pairs. This becomes a framework that has the advantage of controlling access to civil society. So that mastery of access can increase social and loyalty becomes important because it can provide a stability effect for candidates to be able to maintain power.

If we look at the election of a Governor, someone who will vote will see a person's ability and how he can become a leader for his region. Then policies that have been trusted and tested directly become social capital because a person who provides policies is someone who has become a well-known figure in the community and people know him for a myriad of achievements, although some people have not seen his work performance firsthand, he already believes. Then the holder of the highest authority, namely the government and a person who becomes a policy maker. So that the people will recognize him as someone who has an interest in the community, although it is still taboo whether this policy is really for the people or not. But at least, this policy can become a program that can be implemented, and this is a record for the community. Then the condition of someone who usually has considerable resources, both in terms of material or the accumulation of leadership seen so far, also has a network that is not too difficult but someone who practices this can optimize these resources.

**Political Parties**

Several parties officially support Khofifah as Governor of East Java, Khofifah and her candidate pair have support from 3 political parties, namely the PPP, PKPI, and Nasdem parties, from these three parties they have confirmed and will support and participate in Khofifah's election as governor of East Java. However, it turns out that Khofifah is also still communicating with a party, namely the Nasdem party. However, it turns out that apart from carrying out intense communication with several parties that support him behind it, it turns out that Kjofifah has also strengthened herself to participate in other elements and become a volunteer in the East Java region. (Taselan, 2018)

It turns out that the figure of Khofifah herself in East Java has identity politics or people know that Khofifah is synonymous with NU but PKB, which already has a political base. from NU itself it is
certain and certain that they will support Khofifah to run using the PKB vehicle and support and elect him to run in the East Java Pilkada. Apart from political parties, it turns out that Khofifah is also supported by hundreds of Kiai.

One of Khofifah’s strengths is without parties or non-parties which is maximized by NU. NU prays for and strongly supports Khofifah to run and win this gubernatorial election, support for Khofifah is based on several reasons related to the selected cadres, and has become a leader in Muslimat NU for approximately the last 4 periods. Khofifah is also a figure who is always able to protect the NU organization. It turned out that Khofifah had also been a minister during the leadership of President Gus Dur and also during President Joko Widodo’s leadership.

The influence of political parties and the bureaucracy has become a political force that has potential, in this case, regional elections that can maximize certain political actors. So this political actor has characteristics that make him a person or figure to aspire to, he has power and as a candidate, he must have an advantage compared to other candidates, namely someone who has the characteristics of a leader who is liked by the people themselves, someone who is fair, has a conscience, and prioritize the interests of the people rather than their interests or those with power. Therefore, East Java is an area that can take advantage of the reputation, background, quality, and capacity of its regional leaders.

4. CONCLUSION

Regional autonomy turns out to be a road or gate within the existing and new government in the era since the reform era so it has a big money activity in creating prosperity in the development of the people themselves. One of the divisions within the power, among others, is the existence of controlled power within the center and the regions. The way to accelerate development in the area is by carrying out programs and services for the public itself. However, it turns out that along the way, there was a bureaucracy in the past that was very authoritarian so this condition worsened the situation and there was low behavior among bureaucrats who used the area only for their interests, not the interests of the people.

Relationships that occur because of the occurrence of power are not new things to be lived in our country. The use of bureaucracy is only used as a political tool if we look at the reality that is happening in the field, namely when the election takes place. So we see that in the regional election case, there were several irregularities because it was more concerned with the bureaucracy which focused on the interests of power. Therefore, there is a bargain that occurs in the world of politics and actors also become the most influential political actors in the power that occurs within a political system itself. In this case, Khofifah and her representatives have had a lot of influence on the people in the East Java region, because some people are easily influenced by some small groups in society. So all they can do is always deliver the best influence so that from that influence he is able and succeeds in occupying high positions in society. And also don’t forget that political support comes from the scope of society that has voting rights to elect leaders.

Elections for governors are carried out through elections known as general elections. This election was first held in 2004 in the 6th presidential period. At a time when Indonesia was undergoing a reformation period since 1998 after President Soeharto stepped down from office due to a demand from the people, this democratization was carried out. With this process, things were different during the New Order era. This has radically changed the basis of politics. Therefore, there is an institutional form that is carried out to improve the quality of democracy in the region by increasing the participation of local communities to be able to determine who will become their regional leader.
There is a political actor, namely a former social minister who served as governor of East Java and was directly elected by the people in 2018. He leads East Java which is supported by well-known parties, namely the Democratic Party, the Golongan Karya Party, the NasDem Party, the People's Conscience Party, the National Mandate Party, and the United Development Party, for their victory, cannot be separated from the supporting factors, both internal and external. Khofifah used social media as an introduction to herself in East Java. After his name rose and it was easier to interact, he made a public image of himself who was considered to have mastered it compared to his opponent. Apart from the factors owned by actors to attract voters psychologically and rationally, external factors are also things that cannot be underestimated, in the case study of the victory of the Khofifah Emil pair, one of which was mass mobilization by mass organizations.

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