Voices Unveiled: Social Media's Role in Empowering Indonesian Muslim Women Politicians

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Abstract: This study investigates the role and strategies of Muslim women politicians in utilising social media during local head elections in post-conflict regions in Indonesia. By employing a mixed-methods approach integrating both qualitative and quantitative data, this research analysed 371 comments from Twitter that were captured using the Netlytic platform, a cloud-based tool that assesses social media dynamics. The findings reveal that social media platforms significantly amplify the political voice and influence of Muslim women, providing them with a vital tool for overcoming traditional barriers in political communication. The study contributes to the broader understanding of digital communication in political campaigns, particularly highlighting how gender and cultural dynamics influence political participation in Muslim-majority regions. It also suggests strategic directions for future campaigns to enhance the visibility and effectiveness of women politicians.

Keywords: Communication; Women Muslim; Politicians; Social Media; Election.

Abstrak: Penelitian ini mengkaji peran dan strategi politisi perempuan Muslim dalam menggunakan media sosial selama pemilihan kepala daerah di daerah pasca-konflik di Indonesia. Dengan menggunakan pendekatan metode campuran yang mengintegrasikan data kualitatif dan kuantitatif, penelitian ini menganalisis 371 komentar dari Twitter yang ditangkap menggunakan platform Netlytic, sebuah alat berbasis cloud yang menilai dinamika media sosial. Temuan menunjukkan bahwa platform media sosial secara signifikan mengamplifikasi suara politik dan pengaruh perempuan Muslim, memberikan mereka alat vital untuk mengatasi hambatan tradisional dalam komunikasi politik. Studi ini memberikan kontribusi pada pemahaman yang lebih luas tentang komunikasi digital dalam kampanye politik, terutama menyoroti bagaimana dinamika gender dan budaya mempengaruhi partisipasi politik di daerah mayoritas Muslim. Ini juga menyarankan arah strategis untuk kampanye di masa depan untuk meningkatkan visibilitas dan efektivitas politisi perempuan.

Kata Kunci: Komunikasi; Wanita Muslim; Politisi; Media Sosial; Pemilu.

1. Introduction

Online media play a crucial role in the lives of adults, serving as a community space and an effective communication tool. According to Liedfray (2022), social media has transformed into an arena for political campaigns, providing a platform for persuasion, relationship formation, and development. Further, Siagian (2021) asserts that social media facilitates the dissemination of information swiftly, effectively, and efficiently, surpassing direct media in the context of political campaigns. Imamah, Arimi, and Susilowati (2023) illustrate how social media and political campaigns are interconnected, with an emphasis on the popularity and low cost of internet campaigns (Hamdan, Ratnasari, Sofyan, & Tandika, 2017). This reflects a shift in how individuals and political organisations reach voters and build support.

Political campaigns face numerous challenges, notably the limited participation of women in politics, which is a persistent issue (Utami, 2001). Feminist theory highlights that the inequality in relationships between men and women serves as evidence of women's subordination, particularly in roles, behaviours, mentalities, and emotional characteristics that evolve in society (Karman, 2021). Despite achieving professional success, owning income, and sharing domestic responsibilities equally with men, women continue to be perceived as weaker and are thus often exploited. In the political arena, this perception manifests as women being deemed unsuitable for the supposedly corrupt and intrigue-ridden world of politics. This issue stems from ineffective political communication by legislatures, which fails to address or elevate women's issues adequately. According to Masitho Batubara (2019), in a patriarchal culture, women's roles are typically confined to the domestic sphere (Nurhakki, 2015). Consequently, the political environment is biased towards men, and studies in political communication further reinforce the dominant roles of men over women.

Biological differences between men and women influence their lives from social, cultural, economic, and political perspectives. The lack of gender equality and adequate justice results in minimal political participation by women, as evidenced by their underrepresentation in executive, legislative, and judicial roles, where they hold less than 20% of positions (Utami, 2001). Despite women constituting 57% of the electorate in Indonesia, their exclusion from political decision-making effectively sidelines the majority of the populace from political processes (Imamah et al., 2023). According to Haryati (2013), women who contend for positions through online media are often already famous, either due to their artistic achievements, incumbency, or connections with key officials. Additionally, women's political communication is shaped by patriarchal norms (Imamah et al., 2023). In the realm of Islamic political thought, the role of women is highly contested. Rohimi (2021) highlights that Islamic scholars are divided: some traditionalists oppose women holding significant political power, whereas some modern scholars, including Yusuh Qardhawi, advocate for their active involvement in politics.

According to Rush and Althoff, political communication is pivotal within any political system. It fundamentally shapes the processes of political socialisation, participation, and recruitment. Open political communication fosters active engagement among citizens and can either promote or inhibit political participation (Nimmo, 2011). This form of communication is crucial for crafting a political image and ensuring social stability by aligning with public demands. Specifically, political communication seeks to enhance women's roles and participation in decision-making, not merely to satisfy quotas but to actively advocate for their rights and aspirations within the governmental arena. The Ratnawati study further identifies that women's representation is significantly influenced by the electoral system, the structure of political parties, cultural acceptance, and the support derived from affirmative action measures.

Numerous studies have explored the nature of women's political campaigns. Women's campaign is a campaign influenced by characteristics (Sirait, Maryam, & Priliantini, 2018). Instagram is considered capable of being an effective social network in the process of delivering electoral political messages (Gamir-Rios, Cano-Oron, & Lava-Santos, 2022; Santos, 2023; Senova, 2016). Media content is basically the result of a reconstruction of reality with language as a basic tool (Sobur, 2013), characteristic of the community in the camp (Ismandianto, 2019). Further research by Senova (2016) on the communication strategy of the Jokowi-Kalla volunteer team during the presidential election revealed that Instagram was particularly effective in disseminating political messages in 2014, significantly influencing public opinion.

While extensive research has been conducted on the role of social media in political campaigns, the specific impact and strategies of Muslim women politicians in regional elections in Indonesia remain underexplored. Previous studies have primarily focused on general social media usage without delving into the unique challenges and opportunities faced by Muslim women in these political landscapes. This research aims to fill this gap by examining how these women navigate political communication within the constraints and possibilities presented by their socio-cultural and religious contexts. It seeks to uncover the specific strategies employed by Muslim women politicians to enhance

their visibility and influence through social media platforms, particularly in the context of post-conflict regional elections.

This study posits that Muslim women politicians in Indonesia employ unique social media strategies that reflect their cultural and religious identities, which significantly influence their political engagement and effectiveness. It argues that these strategies are crucial for overcoming the barriers traditionally faced by women in political spheres, particularly in Muslim-majority regions. By employing a mixed-methods approach and netlytic analysis, this research will provide a comprehensive understanding of the intersection between gender, religion, and political communication. The findings are expected to offer insights into the ways in which these politicians can leverage social media to not only participate but effectively compete in the political arena, thus reshaping traditional narratives about gender roles in politics.

2. Method

The research focused on the social media activities of Muslim women in local head elections in Indonesia, specifically examining the period from 4 to 11 October 2022. This timeframe was selected due to the heightened political activity on social media platforms, which was close to election dates, providing a rich source of real-time data. The primary data consisted of 371 comments collected from Twitter, identified using specific political hashtags relevant to Muslim women's campaigns. These comments served as a direct source of information on the public's reactions and interactions with the political content posted by or about the women candidates.

In terms of methodology, the study employed a mixed-methods approach combining both qualitative insights and quantitative analysis. The initial phase involved collecting data through the Netlytic platform, a cloud-based tool that facilitated the aggregation and analysis of social media data based on predefined keywords and hashtags (Gruzd, Wellman, & Takhteyev, 2016). The participants in this study were users who engaged with the campaign content, whose interactions were publicly available and could be analysed without the need for direct contact or consent. The quantitative data included metrics such as network diameter, density, reciprocity, centralisation, and modularity, which were calculated to understand the structure and efficacy of the communication networks formed around the political campaigns (Tjahyana, 2021). This data was further analysed to segment the text into positive and negative sentiments, providing a nuanced understanding of public sentiment towards Muslim women politicians in Indonesia.

3. Result and Discussion

Political processes cannot be separated from political communication. In the terminology of political science, political communication is known to be one of only seven functions in a political system. Political communication itself means something that serves to connect the political system that lives within both the internal minds of groups, institutions, associations, and sectors of government political life (Syarifudin, 2015). Nimmo argues that political communication is the process of communicating opinions, attitudes, and behaviours of people, institutions, or political forces that influence political decision-making. At the same time, what is meant by politics is nothing but the life of the country. According to Rush and Althoff, political communication plays an important role in the political system. The dynamic role becomes a decisive element in the process of political socialisation, political participation and political work. Open political communication can influence people to engage actively, as well as suppress political participation (Nimmo, 2011).

Political communication is interested in trying to shape the political image and create social stability by meeting the demands of the people. Political communication in this regard aims to encourage the participation of women, one of them in decision-making by placing women on the political stage of government and entering the political sphere so that women's representatives not only meet the quotas but also be part of the struggle for the rights of women and aspirations and functions (Dewi & Shalisa, 2020).

Table 1 is the data containing the number of political participants in the head of the region in Indonesia in the range of 2016-2025:

Table 1. Female Regional Leader

Name	Position	Period
Khofifah Indar Parawansa	East Java Governor	2019-2024
Faida	Jember Regent	2016-2021
Sri Sumarni	Grobogan Regent	2021-2025
Mirna Annisa	Kendal Regen	2016-2021
Anne Ratna Mustika	Purwakarta Regent	2018-2023
Cellica Nurrachadiana	Karawang Regent	2016-2021
Tri Rismaharini	Surabaya Mayor	2016-2020
Dewanti Rumpoko	Batu Mayor	2017-2022
Kasmarni	Bengkalis Regent	2021-2025
Rezita Meylani Yopi R	INHU Riau Regent	2021-2025

Source: researcher, 2022

Figure 1 shows an increase in the number of female regional head and deputy regional head candidates in 2015, 2017, 2018, and 2020. Although the number of female nominations in the local elections is deficient when compared to male nominations, data compiled by Cakra Wikara Indonesia (CWI) in 4 simultaneous regional elections showed an increasing trend in the percentage of female nominations.
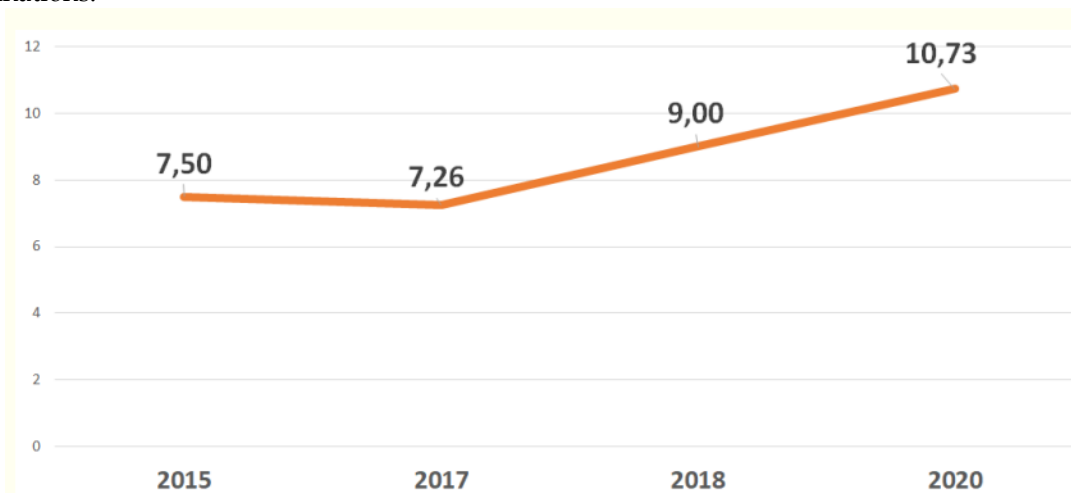

Figure 1 The nomination rate of women in regional elections

In its implementation, representation at the local level, both in the Provincial DPRD and in the Regency/City DPRD, women's representation is still far from expectations. Several reasons include the lack of interest of women at the local level to enter politics, although they have competence, therefore many parties recruit women to become legislative candidates, regardless of quality, even though what is needed is women who have the competence and are sensitive to gender issues and other social issues in society.
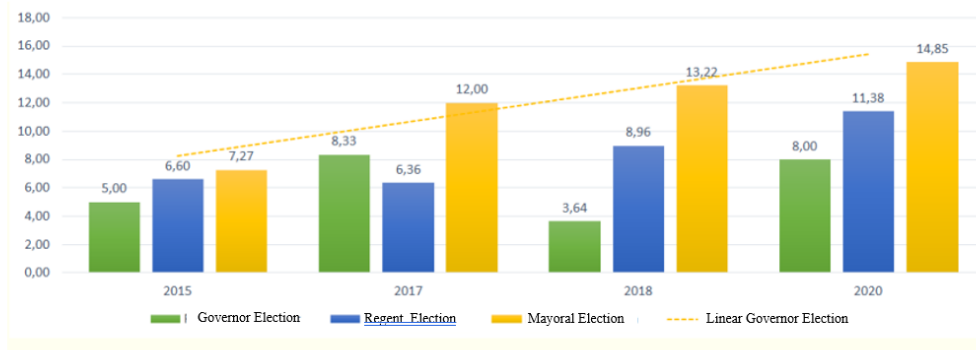
Figure 2 The nomination rate of women in elections (cakrawikara.id)

Based on Figure 2, there is a significant increase in the participation of women politicians at provincial and district/city levels every year.

Muslim Women Politicians Twitter Communication Network on Social Media

Usually, political power and political position are obtained through constitutional means to influence and implement public policies (Budiardjo, 2010). The role of women in politics is often attached to the side of femininity and attribution to domestic labels (Asysyddiqi & Iqbal, 2020). Elections are an arena for candidates from political candidates to occupy seats in government through a voting mechanism. To get as many votes as possible, political candidates are certain to carry out a series of political communication strategies. A number of political communication activities colour the evils of mass media, such as news, advertisements, propaganda, campaigns, and others. Putri (2015) explained that the existence of political communication in society is an important part of the occurrence of a political dynamic. The political dynamics that occur during the election momentum, especially during the campaign period, is the use of political communication to attract voters' sympathy by utilizing the mass media space, especially social media. Especially social media has become an indispensable tool for implementing campaign strategies.

Digital netnography can provide an understanding of culture and habits based on the patterns sought according to the research objectives. This pattern can be seen from the sociocultural network infrastructure obtained from the results of data analysis (Kozinets, Scaraboto, & Parmentier, 2018). Data retrieval through Netlytic tools has provided measurement data for the structure of the Dogecoin community communication network on Twitter.

Furthermore, users can also interact with other users who post tweets about the topic, followed by likes, replies, retweets, quotes, and mentions. Of course, the interaction can only be done with users who have a public account type. So that the community interactions that are formed on Twitter are not limited to certain accounts.

Based on the data obtained by the researcher using the social media text and social network analyser application, netlytic.org, 371 datasets have been recorded. The data collected consists of tweets, retweets, and mentions using the hashtag #politikperempuanmuslim. The communication network for spreading #campaign tweets is shown in Figure 3.
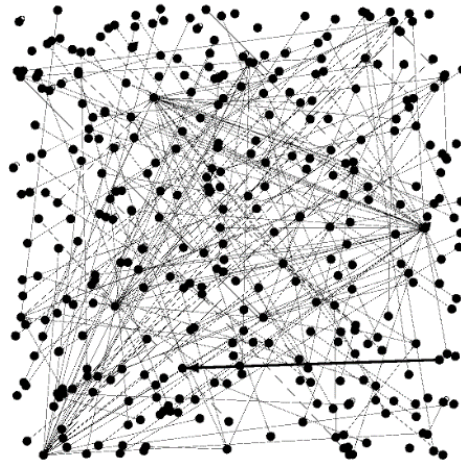
Figure 3 371 Tweets about women's political campaigns in 2022 (results using Netlytic tools, 2022)

Figure 3 is a visualization of the #kampnyeperempuanmuslim tweet distribution network, which is visualised using a 0.9.2 software application with a Fruchterman Reingold layout. The activity of spreading the hashtag #kampnyeperempuanmuslim became a topic on Twitter social media as a form of criticism of the equal role of Muslim women in the political sphere in Indonesia through social media.

Social media is an important mass media in attracting a wider audience. In the 2019 election, social media became a very massive means of political communication. One of the social media platforms that is widely used for cyber-political communication is Twitter. Research from Stier (2018) German state federal election campaigns found that candidates prioritise different topics based on their audience. The analysis also shows that politicians use Twitter for different purposes.

Data from Twitter itself states that there are about 371 tweets with the topic of the 2022 Muslim women's campaign. This means that hundreds of Twitter users have interacted through political communication. Research from Yuliahsari (2016) states that social media, such as Twitter, is one example of mass media that is popular among the younger generation and has become a means of political socialisation regarding the current election.

The following is a graph of the distribution of Muslim women's political communication topics on Twitter social media, which was built during the 2022 election period phase.
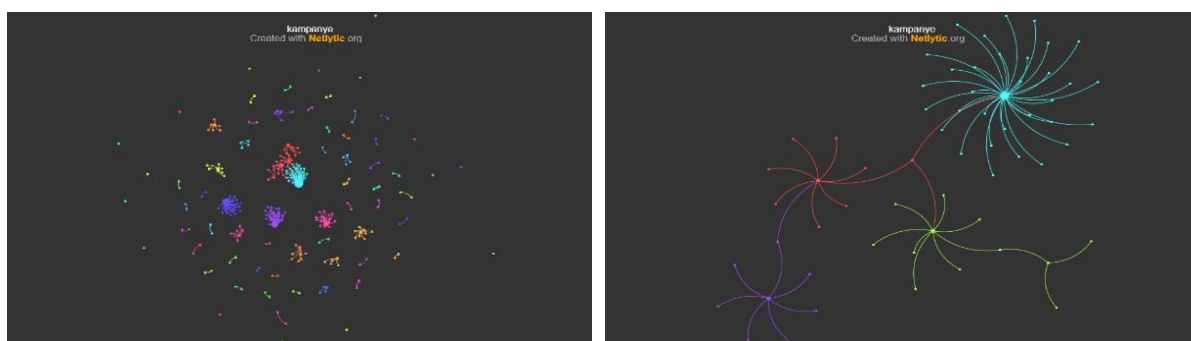

Figure 4 Visualisation of communication networks

Based on Figure 4, at the number of nodes and edges in the image, there are also five most popular main characters, namely on Twitter accounts @abalbuku, @melikul1001, @muslimah, @anpenclub, there are several nodes and edges. Participate in the distribution of information on the account. Twitter @abalbuku turned out to be able to display the most powerful node or main participant when disseminating information on the Twitter social network on the @abalbuku account via network mode.
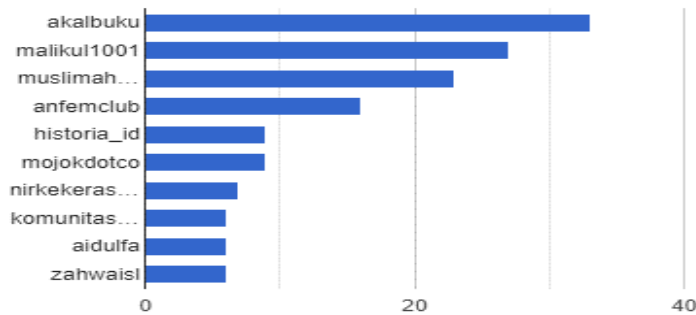
Figure 5 Graph of the percentage of women's political comments (Processed by Netlytic Researchers, 2022)

This pattern was also found in 5 clusters in the distribution of information about the government of Muslim women's political campaigns on the @abalbuku Twitter account through Netlytic. A cluster is a tightly connected group of nodes that are more likely to communicate with each other than nodes outside the cluster. The crucial momentum in the last few moments leading up to the election is the increasing wave of campaigning. At this phase, campaign content cannot be annulled on the negative side, nor can it indeed provide political education.

Social media shows the distribution of political tweets about the 2022 election. If interpreted, social media is able to reach a very wide audience, even the whole world. There are no limitations of space and time, making social media a space for today's political communication. However, the breadth and freedom of social media are undeniable to include all content without filtering it first. Millions of political communications on Twitter social media can hoard a lot of misinformation, hoaxes, and fights without adhering to political morals and ethics.

The Dilemma of Women Politicians and Political Communication Patterns

Management is the activity of influencing who to call to achieve organizational goals (Hartanto, Hidayat, & Sazali, 2018). If groups cannot, therefore, represent other groups well, they must themselves be represented in the political arena (Pillai & Williams, 1998). According to this argument, women differ from men because of their different socialization and life experiences. Therefore, it is assumed that women will bring different values, experiences and skills (Hughes & Paxton, 2007).

The presence of women on the Indonesian political stage has started to stir since the reforms were rolled out. Furthermore, after the government implements affirmative policies, like it or not, parties must involve women in party management and must reach a quota of 30% (only at the central level) as in the nomination policy. In addressing the context of developing women's empowerment in the political field, it is necessary to improve the political structure and increase women's representation in the legislature as well as decision-makers and other public positions in the executive and judiciary.

World and regional averages of women in parliament

	Single house or lower house	Upper house or Senate	Both houses combined
World average	**22.2%**	19.5%	21.8%
Regional averages			
Regions are presented in descending order of the percentage of women in unicameral parliaments or the lower house of parliament. The regional groupings used are those of IPU.			
Nordic countries	**42.1%**	—	—
Americas	**25.2%**	25.3%	25.2%
Europe (Nordic countries included)	**25.1%**	22.8%	24.6%
Europe (Nordic countries not included)	**23.5%**	22.8%	23.3%
Sub-Saharan Africa	**22.9%**	18.9%	22.5%
Asia	**18.9%**	13.9%	18.4%
Arab States	**17.8%**	7.7%	16.0%
Pacific	**13.4%**	38.6%	16.2%

Figure 6 Representation of women in the world (IBCWE, 2022)

The table above shows that Arab countries are the countries with the lowest political representation of women in parliament, followed by countries in Asia. The Executive Director of the Indonesia Business Coalition for Women Empowerment (IBCWE) revealed that Indonesia was ranked fourth with the most female leaders in the world, with a 37% percentage.
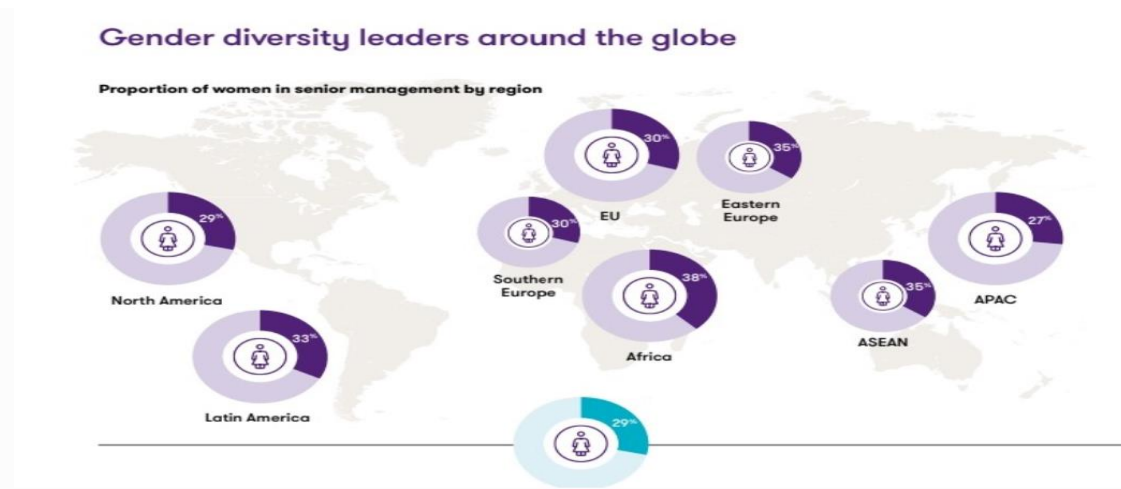

Figure 7 Percentage of female leaders in the world (IBCWE, 2022)

Mexico ranks 4th with the highest percentage of women in top management positions at 37 per cent. The Philippines ranked highest at 43 per cent, followed by South Africa at 40 per cent and Poland at 38 per cent. The political communication ability of legislators in official meetings or committee meetings is quite good (Mardhiah, Hidayat, Rahmat, & Sjafirah, 2020). The main requirement in influencing the audience of the message is to be able to generate attention (Arifin, 2011). Data on the above discussion shows that in the current digital age, there is much development in the level of participation of women in the political world. It becomes the data assumption that there has been a development of participation in the world in general.

This regulation is contained in Law no. 31 from 2002, "On Political Parties", Law no. 12 of 2003 ", On General Elections", and Act no. 2 of 2008 ", On Parties", and general elections of members of the House of Representatives. It is formulated in law no. 10 2008. Regional Council of People's Representatives, which also regulates the 2009 elections. Law no. Law no. Article 2 of 2008 includes a policy of at least 30% representation of women in the establishment and leadership of political parties at the central level. This number is based on a study by the United Nations (UN), which allows for a variation of at least 30 per cent and affects the quality of decisions made in state institutions.
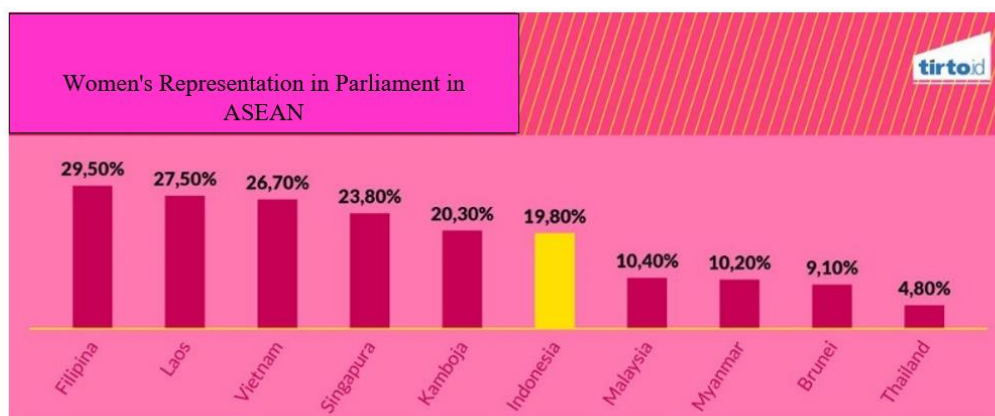

Figure 8 Women's Representation in ASEAN Parliament (Inter Pelementry Union)

First place goes to the Philippines with 29.5%, or 86 women out of 292 countries. Laos ranks second with 26.7% or 41 women out of 149 seats in parliament. Vietnam ranks third with a 26.7% share in parliament or 132 seats out of a total of 494 deputies.
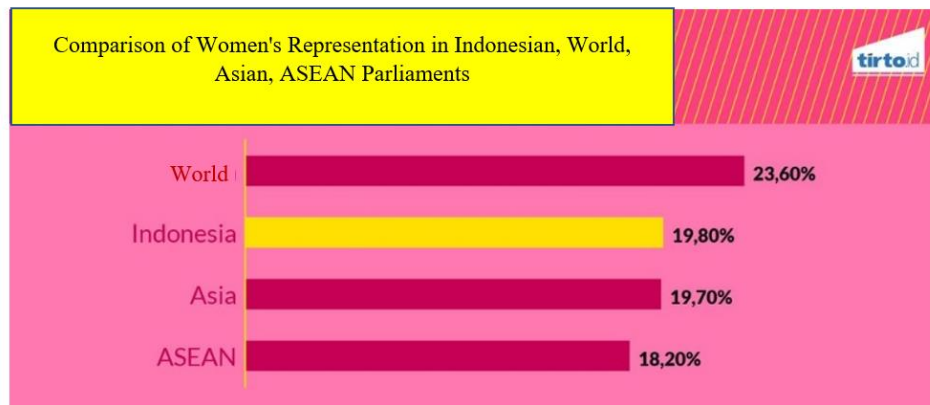

Figure 9 Comparison of Women's Parliamentary Representation in ASEAN (Inter-Parliamentary Union)

Compared to the world average, the percentage of women in the Indonesian parliament is still very low. The world average is 23.6% women in parliament. Meanwhile, compared to Asian and ASEAN countries, Indonesia's position is higher. The average percentage of women in Asian parliaments and Asian countries is 19.7 and 18.2 per cent, respectively. Between the 1999 and 2014 elections, the number of women members of the Indonesian House of Representatives did not reach 30%, however, due to the political influence of Law No. 31 of 2002 on political parties and Law No. 2002 from 2003. For the general elections of 2012, the percentage of representation of women in the DPSH shows an upward trend. In the 1999 elections, the number of women in office in DR Congo was 44 or 8.8%. This percentage rose from 47.7% to 65% during the 2004 elections, or 11.82% in the DRC. In the last four constituencies, in the 2009 elections, women's representation was higher, with a share of 17.86%. Unfortunately, between 2014 and 2019, the number of women who became members of the DPR fell to 97 people or 17.32% of the 560 members of the DPR RI.
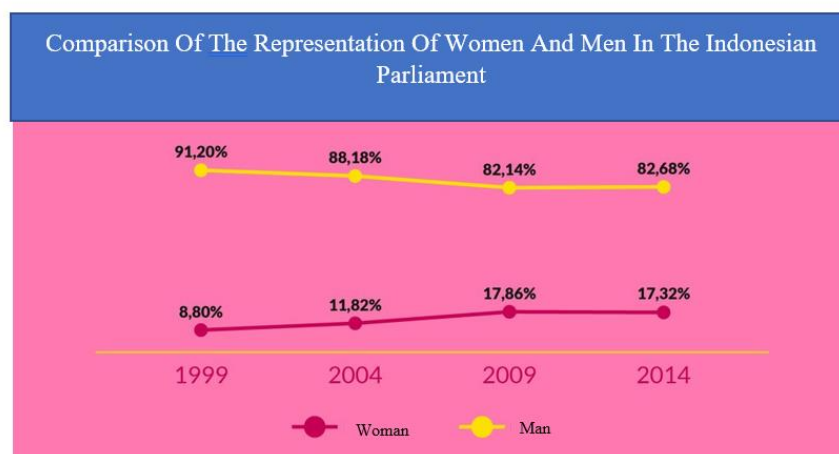

Figure 10 Comparison of Representation in the Parlement (Tirto.id)

The involvement of women and men in politics is an integral part of the democratisation process. Linking gender issues with the democratisation process is something that is commonly accepted by the community because it integrates political rights for both men and women, which are the most basic human rights.

In an effort to minimise the gap between men and women in politics, as well as in relation to efforts to increase the role of women in the House of Representatives (DPR) institutions, various efforts have been made. Although many efforts to promote women's equality through campaigns have been carried out, the results do not appear to be optimal. Women are still seen and positioned as the second person or creature number two after men, whose roles are always domesticated. The involvement of women in politics so far is still very minimal when compared to the number of female voices that exist, this is one of the causes of the bias in policies produced by political institutions in Indonesia in general. As a political product, a policy is certainly loaded with various interests, as a result, the policy is not at all neutral. This is not only for the various political and economic interests that underlie its birth but also for the dominant values adopted by the community, especially the policy and lawmakers themselves. When the dominant values are patriarchal, the resulting policies and laws will also strengthen patriarchal biases. Public opinion is understood as a kind of public response to the thoughts and efforts of the aristocratic minds that create new thoughts, new ideas, new arguments (Nimmo, 2011). Islam eliminates all forms of discrimination by giving women an exalted position. From the Islamic point of view, the position of women in society is not of great importance. Islamic teachings give women great attention and respect (Putri, 2015).

The existence of men and women is for the benefit of humans themselves. The main goal of Islam is to improve humankind, as the Prophet said: "I was appointed to be an apostle solely to improve noble character." The political role of women in Islam is very different from politics in the view of secularism. The purpose of politics in Islam is not merely to gain power, but *ria'yah ash-syu'un al-ummah* (regulating the affairs of the ummah) means ensuring that all problems of the people are resolved by Allah's rules. Politics is a right and a duty because all Muslims, including women, also have the right to decide their own fate and that of their country. Because everyone has the right to elect the head of state and to hold offices in the government (Nasir, 2010).

Politics is an arena where the distribution and allocation of power and decision-making processes to achieve certain goals in a country occur. Politics is not a dirty, ugly, and taboo process; it contains basic rules (ethics and law) that must be obeyed by the actors so that common goals can be achieved. Unfortunately, the daily events that occur in executive, legislative and judicial institutions illustrate the low level of political ethics and morality. There are still corrupt practices, irresponsibility, commendable behaviour such as issuing harsh words, hedonistic and so on. Islam does not believe in one type of right, one type of obligation and one type of punishment for both men and women in all matters. Islam takes the same attitude and takes a different attitude (justice, equality and equality and courtesy). The phenomenon of women who always try to carry out "enlightenment" even though it seems endless. Become obstacles in women's political communication, including female members of the *Santri* (Ainiyah, 2019). The segmentation of women's participation in the political field consists of several issues, namely, on the one hand, women as voters who determine the number of votes in elections, women as strategic actors in the political field, and thirdly, women as members or candidates in legislative elections. At least these three segments bring women into the political arena (Anangkota, 2017).

The right of women to participate in politics is a human right because democracy cannot be built without the participation of women. It shows the views of political parties on the political role of women and the idea of quotas. Political parties seem to be less concerned about the importance of women's active role in politics. There is even an impression that for these parties, the advancement of the condition of women in Indonesia will come automatically along with the realisation of democracy in this country and respect for the issue of Human Rights, which will automatically have an impact on improving women's human rights.

Indonesia, which still adheres to a patriarchal system, is one of the reasons for the limited opportunities for women to participate in the political process. This is because of the public perception that still divides roles between men in the public sphere and women in the domestic sphere (Parwati & Istiningdiah, 2021). Women seem to have problems in the political arena (Adeni, 2018). Women in

carrying out political communication, including campaigning with their constituents (voters), certainly want the right feedback (Sartika, Lidya, & Susanto, 2016).

From a negative gender perspective, Sazali & Basit (2020), joining politics means joining women. The fund is quite large, especially the policy is in the direction of "monetary policy". All cultural, psychological and resource barriers must be added to the problem of funding to encourage women's political participation when sufficient funds are available. From the above description, it can be said that in theory and in reality, women who want to enter the world of politics need motivation and the right political strategy to achieve their goals. Restricting women will, directly and indirectly, affect politics (Nasir, 2010). First, the double burden of women. The double burden of the woman as someone who "must" be fully responsible for both the domestic environment (home and family) and for public life requires more time from women or good time management. Second, there is a low educational and economic level for women. Economic and educational constraints also pose significant challenges to efforts to improve women's public communication. Economic restrictions make it difficult for women to participate fully in politics. The gender gap between men and women continues to this day through a very long and complex history (Karman, 2021)

In elections, several types of campaign models are often used as political strategies, one of which is the attack campaign model. A candidate will conduct an offensive campaign if he is in an opposition position, the contestation followed by a candidate is at the national level, and when the candidate in condition lags behind the other candidates (Maier & Jansen, 2017). Public opinion is understood as a kind of public response to the thoughts and efforts of the aristocrats of the mind that create new thoughts, new ideas, new arguments (Nimmo, Rakhmat, & Surjaman, 2005).

In addition, personality is also a factor that influences the use of attacks. The campaign contains elements of dropping opponents, worsening the reputation of other candidates, and spreading false and irresponsible information. There are two types of attack campaigns, negative campaigns and black campaigns. In a democratic country, not all offensive campaigns are prohibited. In legislative regulations on elections, several aspects make campaigns illegitimate, for example, by lifting the element of SARA, insulting religion, and others. The campaign model will be valid if it is still in the corridor of the provisions of the electoral laws.

Attacking campaigns in the Indonesian election climate are frequently accommodated by the masses. Candidates conduct campaign strategies that attack both negative campaigns and black campaigns by taking advantage of mass media space, especially social media, due to the wider nature of information. In such conditions, the role of the buzzer as an information buzzer is very visible. Since the 2014 Indonesian elections, information surveillance services have been widely used by political candidates as a political communication strategy (Juditha, 2021). Negative campaigns have become commonplace in democratic parties all over the world, including in Indonesia. According to Mark & Kommers (2009) explains that a negative campaign is the action of a political candidate who wants to prevail in a general election by attacking an opponent through negative information.

According to Domore (2002), there are four variables why a negative campaign was chosen as a campaign strategy. The first is about the distance to the election. In the run-up to the election, the positive campaign reached a saturation point, and the public began to be flooded with negative campaigns. Second, it is related to the behaviour of the opponent's political camp. Attacking and subduing each other during the campaign period allows a counterattack by discrediting the opponent. Third, the power of electivity. If the built electability is still low then it is possible to create resistance by blowing up a negative campaign. Last on issues that can be brought and potentially enhanced voice support (Wisnu, 2014). The problem of dividing between the camps is assessed as being able to create supporting characteristics of each.

Switching to black campaigns as part of an assault campaign, the political communication pattern built is to beat the opponent's fortress and kill characters by releasing false information and tending to hoax (Hidayati & Handoko, 2022). Black campaigns are usually conducted anonymously. Such anonymous activities are prohibited because their practices are basically prohibited. The black campaign is covered by Law No. 1 of 2015 on the Establishment of Government Regulations in

Replacement of the Law (Perppu) Number 1 of 2014, in particular, which is included in Article 69 letter c. This article stipulates that in the campaign, it is prohibited to incite, defamatory offerings. The explanatory section of this article states that the action is nothing more than a black campaign practice. The electoral provisions in Law No. 7 of 2017 do not explicitly mention black campaigns are prohibited, but it is stated that in the campaign, it is forbidden to insult a person, religion, tribe, race, group, or opponent candidate. It is not permitted to incite and complain to the sheep of a person or society, and the violation of this provision is a criminal act. The content of the provisions of the law implies black campaign behaviour in its practice.

The black campaign was carried out by targeting voters who had not determined their choice because, according to political observers from the coffee shop agency, Kunto Adiwibowo considered this campaign effective for voters (Adnan, Nurhadi, Kurniawan, & Musaddad, 2020). Voters who tend to see political fortresses from narratives built in public spaces are more likely to be affected by black campaign incentives. One of the most famous black campaigns is about the "*sandiaga scandal*". The matter was raised through the site skandalsandiaga.com. In a statement, the site said that Prabowo Subianto isly having frequent relationships with three women. Although the General Election Supervisory Authority (Bawaslu) has monitored the news by blocking the site, the impact of the image of Prabowo is considered to have been damaged in the public eye. This is how the black campaign works, which is actually an unconstitutional act against the election and campaign provisions. The spread of black campaigns made elections lose their substance as part of a party of democracy. Elections are considered unhealthy if false information attacks and collective slander have ruined the built democracy.

The Status of Muslim Women and Barriers in Politics

Islam eliminates all forms of discrimination, placing women in a noble place. The position of women in Islam is not as practised in society. The Islamic teaching, in its actuality, gives great attention and an honourable position to women.

The existence of man and woman is for the perfection of man himself. The prophet (peace be upon him) said: "*I am the prophet of the people of the world, and I am the Prophet of all the worlds*." The purpose of politics in Islam is not to obtain power alone but to *ri'ayah asy-syu'un al-ummah* (regulate affairs of the community), which means to guarantee that the rules of God solve all the problems of the people. Politics becomes the right and duty of all Muslims, including women, to determine their own fate and the fate of their people. Since all individuals have the right to elect the head of the State and to hold positions in the level of government.

Politics is the arena where the distribution and allocation of power and the process of decision-making to certain goals in a country. Politics is not a dirty, ugly, and taboo process; it contains many rules (ethics and laws) that its actors must follow so that common ideals can be achieved. Unfortunately in the day-to-day events in the executive, legislative and judicial bodies still depict low political ethics and morality. There is still corrupt, irresponsible, unpromised behaviour such as issuing harsh words, hedonism and so on. Islam does not believe in one kind of right, one type of duty, and one sort of punishment for males and females in all matters. Islam takes a similar attitude and a different attitude (justice, equality, and equality). The phenomenon of women who always seek to hold "enlightenment" though as if without end.

The segmentation of women's involvement in the political sphere consists of several things, namely, first, women as the subject of voting that determines the acquisition of votes in elections, both women as strategic actors in the field of politics and third women as members or legislative candidates in the elections. These three segments at least bring women into the political sphere.

The right of women to participate in politics is included in human rights because democracy cannot be built without the participation of women. It shows the political party's views on the political role of women as well as the idea of quotas. Political parties seem to consider the active role of women in politics less important. Even the impression arises, for these parties, the promotion of women's conditions in Indonesia will come by itself with the realization of democracy in this country and respect

for the issue of Human Rights, which will automatically impact the increase of Women's Human Rights.

Indonesia, which still adheres to the patriarchal system, is one of the reasons why women have limited opportunities to participate in political processes. It is due to the perception of society that still encourages the division of roles between men in the public space and women in the domestic sphere. Women seem to have problems in the political arena. Women conducting political communication, including campaigns to their constituents (elect), ignore the correct feedback.

In addition, an insurmountable obstacle is funding. Women politicians, from a gender-negative perspective (Basit, Kholil, & Sazali, 2022), involve themselves in a political arena where substantial financial resources are inevitably required, particularly in the "money politics" aspect of the political world. Financial issues must accompany all cultural, psychological, and resource barriers; hence, adequate funding would support women in the political sphere. From the discussion above, it can be said that theoretically and practically, women who wish to participate in politics need strong motivation and political strategies to achieve their set goals. Women's limitations will affect politics both directly and indirectly.

First, the double burden of women. The double burden of women as someone who is "forced" to take full responsibility in the domestic environment (home and family) while active in public areas requires women to sacrifice more time or to be good at managing time. Second, there is a low level of education and a low economy for women. Economic and educational barriers are also a significant challenge for efforts to enhance women's communication in public areas. Economic barriers make it difficult for women to plunge into politics fully.

The loss of access to education and economic constraints generate both physical and mental violence and barriers that prevent women from growing and developing. Culturally, the awakening woman's image is that of a housewife struggling with the domestic environment. The third is the misunderstanding of society. The public's view of wrong politics has made the public look at the role of women in politics. Other cultural barriers, women are also stereotyped as housekeepers and domestic workers, do not deserve to appear in public than men. This stereotypical perception causes women to face much criticism when appearing in public, between "fast and inappropriate." The independence of women in deciding political choices seems to be a more significant challenge than it is in family membership.

The gender differences between men and women have continued over a very long and complex history to the present day (Karman, 2021). In the millennium, women will surely change with global developments. Thompson describes the following elements of communication strategy (Figure 11). First, an organisation's vision or perspective must be used as a reference in further organising communication activities. Second, set up a set of plans derived from vision and mission, and proper planning also starts from the set of data and information found in the field. Third, tactics should be established, i.e., practical steps to be taken, taking into account internal capabilities as well as the situation or conditions of the field. Fourth, the position or position of the organisation or communication program should be placed in the context of the environment faced, including identifying various communication components such as communicators, sources, messages, and target targets. Fifth, a pattern of communication activity should be formulated so that the strategy is straightforward and can be followed or implemented by all communication actors.
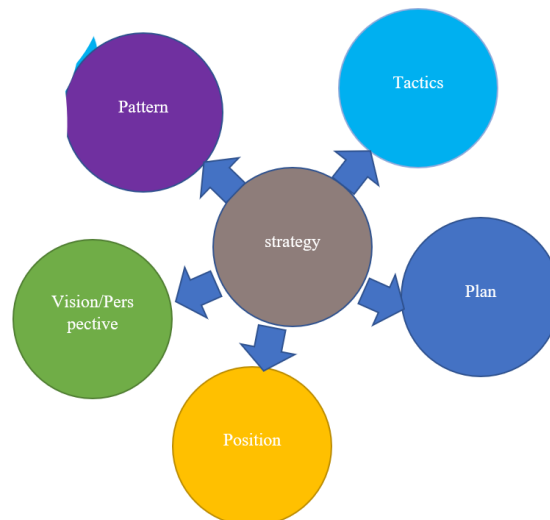
Figure 11 Five Views of Strategy (Thompson, 2001)

4.   Conclusion

The use of media in political campaigns means women, as political communicators, become media liaisons with society and bridge the interests of women in particular and society in general. The Islamic religious view in politics eliminates discrimination and places women in a noble position, in other words, Islamic teachings really pay attention to and respect women. While internal and external factors, cultural values, and the political system make Muslim women play a role in politics. On the other hand, in the world of politics, women are also stereotyped and have many limitations.

In SNA analysis using Netlytic, there were 371 comments on Twitter discussing Muslim women's politics. There is an increase in the participation of female politicians at the provincial and city district levels every year. Full participation of women is a basic principle in every development program that influences life from a social, cultural, economic and even political perspective.

Women's rights to participate in politics are included in human rights because democracy cannot be built without women's participation. This shows the views of political parties regarding women's political roles and ideas. In fact, the impression that arises is that the improvement in the conditions of women in Indonesia will automatically increase along with the realisation of democracy and respect for Human Rights issues, which will automatically have an impact on improving Women's Human Rights. Right.

Islam eliminates all forms of discrimination and places women in a dignified place. The research also found new knowledge that in today's digital developments, women can play an important and active role in the world of politics by utilising social media in conducting political campaigns. By utilising social media, they can actively communicate positively in their career in politics.

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