

Género y dinámica de la comunicación política en Java occidental: Retos y oportunidades en la participación política

Gender and Political Communication Dynamics in West java: Challenger and opportunities in political Participation

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Resumen: Las cuestiones de género en la política siempre se asocian con la participación y representación desigual de las mujeres en las actividades políticas. Los partidos políticos se convierten en un foro para que las mujeres muestren su potencial, basándose en su capacidad para convertirse en recursos políticos que les permitan construir e incrementar el apoyo político para sí mismas y sus partidos. La capacidad de las mujeres se manifiesta en su habilidad para construir relaciones a través de sus estilos y acciones comunicativas. Esta investigación tiene como objetivo describir las cuestiones de género, las preferencias, los estilos y las acciones de comunicación política de los políticos del PKS y el PPP con el fin de obtener apoyo político de la ciudadanía. Esta investigación utiliza un método descriptivo que describe de forma exhaustiva y sistemática los eventos reales y los estilos y acciones comunicativas de los políticos del PKS y el PPP. Las técnicas de recolección de datos se llevaron a cabo mediante entrevistas en profundidad con políticos del PKS y el PPP. La técnica de muestreo se realizó intencionalmente con 3 políticos. Los resultados mostraron que el PKS y el PPP apoyan la igualdad de género, tanto en la participación política como en la representación de las mujeres en el parlamento. Las preferencias políticas de las mujeres se basan en el espacio que les brinda el partido para involucrarse en la política, de modo que se sientan lo suficientemente seguras como para defender los derechos de las mujeres. El estilo de comunicación de las mujeres es bidireccional, íntimo, abierto y

colaborativo. La comunicación es directa, tanto a nivel personal como grupal. Los medios de comunicación tradicionales y las redes sociales que utiliza son limitados. Su público se basa en la comunidad. La evaluación de sus acciones de comunicación política se centra más en intereses personales, en su cautela, su imagen positiva de sí misma y su forma de interactuar socialmente. **Palabras clave:** género, preferencia, estilo de comunicación, acción comunicativa, estrategia de comunicación política.

Abstract Gender issues in politics are always associated with the unequal participation and representation of women in political activities. Political parties become a forum for women to show their potential based on their capacity and capability to become political resources to build and increase political support for themselves and their parties. Women's capacity and capability can be seen from their ability to build relationships through their communication styles and actions. This research aims to describe gender issues, preferences, styles and political communication actions of PKS and PPP politicians in an effort to gain political support from the public. This research uses a descriptive method that describes actual events or events comprehensively and systematically the communication styles and actions of PKS and PPP politicians. Data collection techniques were carried out through in-depth interviews with PKS and PPP politicians. The sampling technique was carried out purposively on 3 politicians. The results showed that PKS and PPP support gender equality, both in political participation and women's representation in parliament. Women's political preferences are based on the space given by the party to be involved in politics, in order for them to feel secure enough to advocate for women's rights. Women's communication style is two-way, intimate open, and collaborative. The communication action is direct, both personal and group. The media used by mass media and social media are limited. The audience is community-based. Evaluation of her political communication actions is more for personal interests, seeing her caution, positive self-image, and the way she interacts socially.

Keywords: gender, preference, communication style, communication action, political communication strategy.

1. INTRODUCTION

Gender and politics have become an actual issue, especially in the run-up to general and regional elections. The issue raised is the equality factor. In politics, gender equality must be a guarantee for women in obtaining the same rights as men to engage and influence the political process, elect and be elected as members of parliament or public officials. The results of the 2019-2024 elections showed that women's representation in parliament was still below 30% (Rahmanto et al., 2021). The establishment of a 30% quota for women is only a formality, because the concept of patriarchal politics is still dominant, so full support is still given to men (Lestari et al., 2023). Women are affected by the pressure to maintain the patriarchal status quo (Valdini, 2024).

Studies on gender and political communication have been widely conducted in different national contexts, showing varying dynamics depending on institutional structures and socio-cultural environments. In Western democracies such as Sweden and the United Kingdom, gender equality in political participation has been relatively more institutionalized, supported by strong party systems and gender-sensitive

policies, although challenges in leadership representation persist (Kantola, 2024). In contrast, in countries such as Turkey and Egypt, gender participation in politics is shaped by the interaction between religious values, political institutions, and socio-cultural norms, resulting in more complex negotiation processes for women politicians (Kadriyah, 2024).

Compared to these contexts, Indonesia presents a unique case where democratic mechanisms coexist with strong patriarchal and religious influences, particularly within Islamic-based political parties such as PKS and PPP. However, limited studies have specifically examined how female politicians construct and perform political communication strategies within this hybrid socio-political environment.

Important steps taken to build gender equality are to eliminate gender discrimination, political education and training, participate in political organizations, increase representation quotas, and so on. The discussion of gender and politics has received increasing attention along with efforts to fight imbalances in political participation (Fakih & Sleiman, 2022). These gendered reports tend to marginalize and subordinate women over men in the realm of political leadership in Indonesia (Andini, A. N., & Akhni, 2024).

Women's participation in politics is very important, because being able to represent, oversee, and influence the policy-making process can improve women's welfare. Women's involvement in politics has strong normative value, but also comes with the expectation that it will improve governance outcomes (Mechkova et al., 2024). Gender equality implies that every individual regardless of gender should have equal access to political and economic participation (Höhmman, D., & Kroeber, 2024). Gender equality describes the process of equal access to resources and opportunities regardless of gender (Alexander et al., 2022).

However, the accommodation of gender interests is still facing obstacles, so that women's representation in parliament is still low, which has an impact on the inability of women to encourage accommodative and substantial political decision-making. This is due to the weak formal structure of political parties in implementing formal regulations, so that every decision-making consideration cannot be separated from gender bias. (Prastiwi, J. H., & Hakim, 2024).

This reality is a challenge as well as an opportunity for women to show that they are able to participate in political dynamics, including in West Java. Women's preferences in politics are still moving dynamically, in quantity and quality the presence of women in every election / regional election in West Java is increasingly showing an increase, so that it becomes an asset for political parties to make women a political resource in winning votes.

The empowerment of women as political resources is carried out by two Islamic-based political parties, namely the Prosperous Justice Party (PKS) and the United Development Party (PPP). Both political parties have prepared women cadres to support women's representation in various public institutions. Political parties provide opportunities for women who have the quality and capability to determine

strategic policies to participate in politics and increase the level of women's representation in parliament. (Hayat, 2018)

The challenges of a patriarchal culture that is still strong in Indonesia do not stop female politicians from showing their identity as human beings who have the same rights, opportunities and abilities to take part in politics. They then maneuver to convince the public that they are ready and able to do politics to be part of the nation's solution. Although patriarchal culture is still inherent in Indonesia, female politicians still have brilliant careers in various public sectors. (Fitrianti, R., Fiska Rahayu, L., & Saepudin, 2023). Political communication in this study can also be understood as a socially embedded practice, where interactions are shaped by community networks, cultural values, and relational trust rather than purely strategic messaging. This aligns with findings from studies on small-scale entrepreneurship in Indonesia, which highlight how communication practices often operate through hybrid modes that combine direct interaction and digital platforms within culturally grounded contexts (Subekti, Komariah, et al., 2026).

The maneuvers carried out are communication actions with various communication styles to gain public sympathy. Women politicians interact with various communities through communication actions, both directly interpersonal (*door to door*), and groups (meeting forums). This orientation towards the larger community is positively associated with political participation in civic forums (McLeod, J. M., Scheufele, D. A., & Moy, 1999). Furthermore, communication actions are carried out through social media and mass media according to the ability of the politician. Social media has fundamentally changed the way individuals interact with each other in political affairs (Supriyanto, 2024). Meanwhile, the mass media plays a role in supporting and strengthening women's political participation in the public sphere. (S. Alam, 2017).

This research aims to describe gender issues, preferences, styles and political communication actions of PKS and PPP politicians in an effort to gain political support from the public

2. METHODS

This research uses a descriptive method that describes actual events or events comprehensively and systematically by viewing the phenomenon as a set of variables not as a relationship between variables with the aim of collecting actual information in detail that describes existing symptoms, identifies problems or examines conditions or practices that apply, and makes comparisons or evaluations.

Data collection techniques were carried out by observing communication activities carried out by female PKS politician administrators, and female and male politicians from PPP, conducting in-depth interviews related to their perceptions of gender, preferences, communication styles, and communication actions carried out by these politicians, and literature review and document analysis relevant to gender political communication of female and male politicians in both parties.

The informants studied were politicians who were in the management structure of the PKS and PPP political parties in West Java Province, and 4 people were selected purposively. Data analysis techniques are carried out by systematically compiling data obtained from interviews, field notes, and other materials, classifying data, analyzing data related to the reality under study, sharpening the analyzed data, then drawing conclusions.

3. RESULT AND DISCUSSION

Gender history today is more about mapping women and recognizing their achievements in some fields that were previously male-dominated. (https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Gender_history/20/09/2024, n.d.). One of the achievements of women is the efforts of political parties to fight for women's rights (Aryanti, M. W., & Haryaningsih, 2022). The Indonesian government has made rules regarding women's representation of 30% in the management of political parties. (Yusnaini, Y., & Ginting, 2023)

According to Byrne and Schnyder (2005), Gender is not "sex". (The biological differences between men and women), nor is gender something that is exclusively about women. Gender is a socially constructed definition of women and men, so the gender perspective takes into account the different roles and powers of men and women in society. (Utaminingsih, 2017).

According to Wilson (1989), gender is the basis for initiating different contributions made by men and women to culture and collective life based on the differences they have as men and women. (Siti Maryamah Kadriyah, 2024). According to Johnson, the role of gender in society is related to the equality of the social and structural roles of women and men in political life. As emphasized in the OECD report, achieving gender equality has been an "uphill battle" although significant progress has been made (Kantola, Johana, 2024).

One of the struggles undertaken by women is the issue of gender discrimination. The mismatch between gender roles and leaders leads to less favorable evaluations of actual and potential leaders' performance in traditionally male fields such as politics (Lust, E., & Benstead, 2024).

Political preference is understood as the tendency or alignment of individuals in political choices based on their belief in certain values, such as religion, to respond to important politics. (Deluhula et al., 2024). These preferences are manifested in political actions, such as participation in elections. (Meilinda, 2021). Political preferences of the community are influenced by sociological factors, such as candidate figures, family and social relations, solidarity with political parties, religion, traditional values, experience and track records. (Firmansyah, M., & Putra, 2024).

Political communication is a complex process in political life in which there is an exchange of information, ideas, and opinions between individuals, groups or political institutions. (Putranto, 2022). The complexity of communication activities,

involving many factors and components in it ranging from language, symbols, main actors, media, society, and various public policies. (Malik, 2022). To carry out this political communication, legislators really need an effective communication strategy. Political communication according to Almond and Powell (2009) is a function of articulation, aggregation, socialization and recruitment in a political system and political communication as a prerequisite for the functioning of other political functions. (Gantiano, 2018). Communication strategy is a combination of communication planning and communication management that is operationalized tactically to achieve a goal. (Utomo et al., 2013).

Gender issues that hit Islamic political parties such as PKS and PPP basically arise because there are still disproportionate assessments from some parties, both from men and from women themselves. Usually for men who are still strong in patriarchal culture, and in large numbers tend to consider gender issues to participate in politics. Meanwhile, from the women's side there are still those who lack confidence for various reasons of course. There is a gender stereotype that women have low political stance, and are apolitical because of their association with the public sphere. (Jiang, X., & Chen, 2023).

However, in its further development, the two parties really appreciate and appreciate by giving women the opportunity to take part in politics, both as party cadres, legislative members, and executives. PKS as an Islamic-based party really appreciates women. They are invited to think and also involved to provide input. PKS is also increasingly opening itself in accordance with the demands of the times by not leaving the basic spirit of the party.

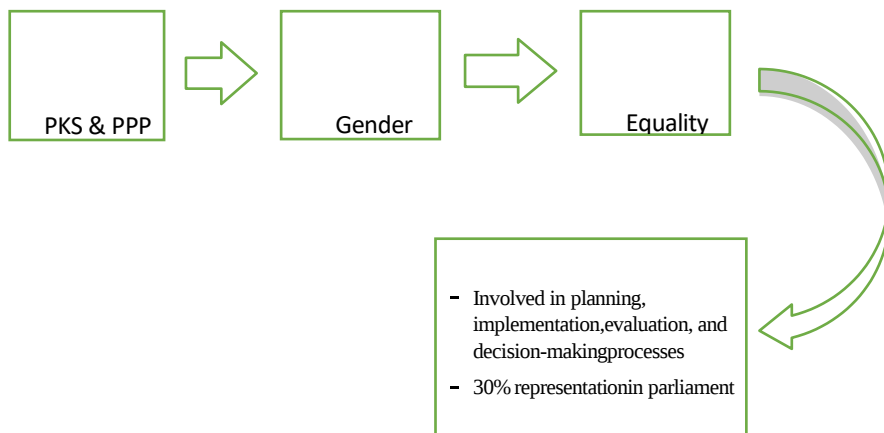


Figure 1: Gender equality in PKS and PPP

Figure 1 shows that appreciation of women in PKS is based on individual willingness and ability, especially with regard to their role in family resilience as a fundamental role. PKS provides opportunities to play a political role, but must not

abandon family culture, family roles. so the role of wife of the husband, the role as a mother of children, and the role as a child of parents becomes the foundation when joining the party. Personal support from the nuclear family and extended family is a driving force and requires sacrifice but nothing is sacrificed. Family support can motivate women to get involved in politics. (Kusuma et al., 2024)

The gender issue in PPP has been addressed with gender already exceeding women's representation when becoming legislative candidates by looking at their potential and also in the executive. At the West Java level, both central and provincial, district, city, there are many women who are number one, for example for the DPR RI. This means that the issue of the role of women in politics at PPP is really appreciated and given, but everything returns to the women themselves who are still worried about participating in politics, especially before the election.

Women's representation and legitimacy in elections remain a concern, leading to gaps in political participation. Gender gaps in participation raise concerns about women's representation and electoral legitimacy (Liang, 2024). However, PPP does not question gender, as it is inseparable from the universal Islamic values that PPP embraces. This means that men and women have equal rights based on the level of ability and quality of each individual (Andrianika, 2022).

The concern of women in political participation is appreciated by the PPP by motivating them with the courage to appear, and take a role. To that end, PPP through its Autonomous Bodies, strengthens its management with "Women of United Development to fight for women's rights in various fields. To further enhance women's participation and their role in the advancement of society, it is important to utilize their potential in the political, economic, cultural, and social fields. (Khaliji, 2024). Women are more liberal than their party counterparts in terms of cultural dimensions, but policies regarding economic issues do not differ from those of men (Lloren, A., & Rosset, 2017).

Women who have the ability to communicate, and establish relationships with audiences, and are willing to enter politics will be considered for positions in political parties, legislatures, or executives. Political parties will support candidates' preferences and attributes (profession and social status) (Galuh Larasati et al., 2023). Women's representation in parliament is very important. This gives women the authority when making policies that contribute to the achievement of women's rights, especially gender equality (Yusnaini, Y., & Ginting, 2023). The existence of women in politics is able to significantly promote gender equality (Acheampong, A. O. et al., 2024).

The political preferences of women in West Java who have become politicians and hold certain positions in political parties (PKS and PPP) have similar tendencies regarding their background, beliefs, and views, as well as opportunities about politics. These preferences illustrate how women make decisions in various situations just like what men do. Political preferences of diverse formations, demographics, social media usage, and economic factors play an integral role in the

political decision-making process. (Ahmad & Shahzadi, A., 2024). This suggests that every individual in a society has equal rights, equal opportunities for political and economic participation, and enjoys equal prospects for their personal and professional development. (Höhmnn, D., & Kroeber, 2024).

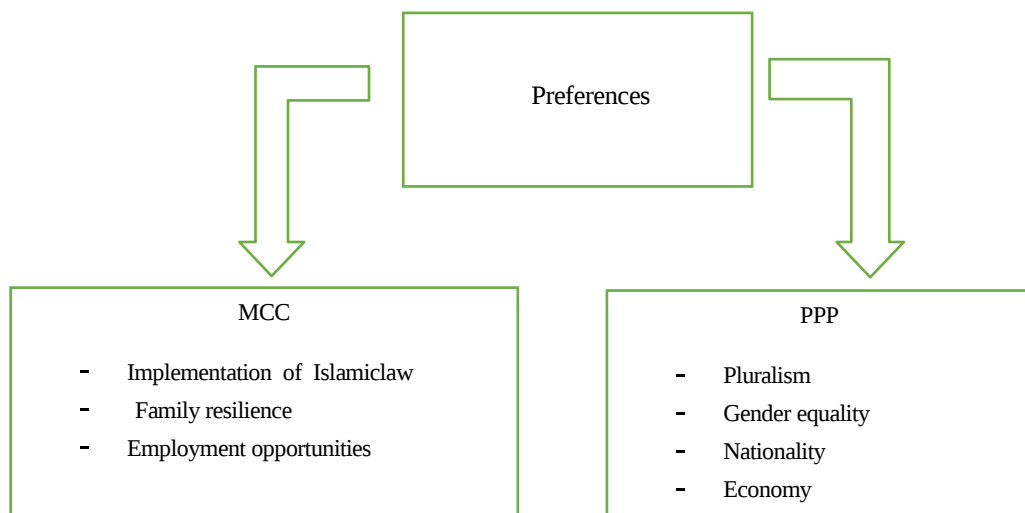


Figure 2: Preferences of MCC and PPP politicians

Figure 2 shows that the Social Justice Party (PKS) as a party based on Islam really gives space to women who are willing and able to be involved in politics. Sometimes there are many who are capable, but no one wants to. For this reason, an extraordinary *support system* is needed when women psychologically, especially from the younger generation, want to make the decision to engage in politics. Because, as they get older, fewer and fewer new preferences or beliefs develop, and the more difficult **they** are to change. (Young et al., 2022). Women have different political preferences compared to men, and thus have different expectations from political parties (Bhavani Fonseka, 2019).

The political preferences of Islamic-based parties (PKS, and PPP) have differences in ideological approaches, political strategies, issues promoted, and support bases. PKS tends to be more conservative, focusing on the implementation of Islamic law, and raising the issue of family resilience, while PPP is more moderate and open to pluralism and national issues. However, both Islamic-based political parties will look at the prospects of voter support. The prospect of electoral voter support determines the political strategy, candidate figures, coalition design, and issues/programs that also become the main agenda of the struggle, to influence the final decision of voters. (Satriawan, B. H., & Sandi, 2023).

Political communication is the process of delivering political messages delivered by political actors with the aim of gaining public support. In carrying out political communicationactions, actors speak according to the style and communication strategy that has been compiledwith their team.

Table 1 Political Communication of PKS and PPP Politicians

No.	Political Communication	MCC	PPP
1	Communication Style	Attention Intimate Collaborative	Motivation Competition Status
2	Communication Action	Audience identification: Recitation community GymnasticsCommunity RW Forum Communication Techniques: Face to face: Individual: friendship With community leaders Group: socialization with the community, and Meeting with RWforum Media: Conventional media: Radio	Audience identification: Kyai Pesantren Neighborhood Community Santri CommunicationTechniques: Face to face: Individual: Silaturahmiwith Kyai Group: Jointrecitation Media: Conventional mediaRadio Local television
		Local televisionSocial media: Instagram Facebook	Social media: Instagram Facebook

Source: 2024 Research Results

Table 1 shows that PKS and PPP politicians when interacting with audiences have different communication styles. Female politicians from PKS appear with a typical female communication style, namely by using feelings and attention, and diving into the problems faced by the audience, and it will be easier if the audience is female too, therefore the communication is by chatting casually while laughing. Women's communication style is oftentwo-way communication, organized, open to receiving suggestions and trying to provide fast handling. (Niananda, V., & Nurdiarti, 2024). Women prefer intimacy and relationship building andcounter arguments are often put forward to distinguish communication style approaches (Ralph Tench, 2017). whereas the feminine style is affective-oriented style-

sympathy, rapport, intimacy-relationship, collaborative, and supportive feedback (Noorsanti, 2021).

The communication style of male politicians from PPP provides more motivation and directs women to dare to appear and fight to compete independently for the benefit of women themselves. Furthermore, the communication style of men when their communication in an official forum leads to sharp differences, usually immediately stops the conversation, but still provides as much space as possible to argue. When it comes to communication differences, men are seen as committed to independence, competitiveness, and upholding status, while women are seen as committed to creating connections, relationships, and intimacy. (B. Alam et al., 2024). Nevertheless, communication styles with concrete actions and problem solving indicate the intended direction of communication (Ralph Tench, 2017).

Regardless of gender issues in communication, politicians from PKS and PPP share the opinion that communication must be effective in gaining audience support. The best communication strategies and communication styles carried out by political actors should result in the involvement of other users and media attention. (Reveillac, 2023). Men or women can benefit from adding insight through rhetorical tools and the type of language used to inspire citizen adherence to the social contract. (Dada et al., 2021).

Efforts are made to make the communication effective, these Islamic-based politicians *update* information according to the needs of the audience. PKS politicians who raise the discourse on family and economic resilience that they convey in public spaces (majelis ta'lim, gymnastics community, RW forum as an emotional approach with the audience). Populist discourse does have a mobilizing effect on voters, although in a relatively simple form of political participation. (Aytaç et al., 2024). Therefore, campaigns will be more effective if the messages are designed with the understanding that they will be perceived differently by the audience (Bezgin Edis et al., 2024).

PPP politicians raise the discourses of pluralism, gender equality, economics, and nationalism as political education to gain public support. Political education and cooperation with religious leaders are ways for PPP to show its existence. (Triwibawa, A. T. H., Fuad, A., & Mayrudin, 2023). PPP no longer disputes women's leadership, even this party is responsive to gender issues, namely by targeting 30% of women must be fulfilled.

Table 1 shows that the political communication actions of female politicians from PKS are carried out through strategic steps by identifying their audiences. Where the target audience is not only female voters who are active in majalis taklim, gymnastics communities, art activist communities, so that it will not increase the votes being fought over. Therefore, to increase votes, male voters who are predicted to vote for women during the campaign are also targeted.

The issues discussed in this communication action by female politicians from PKS are the economy, women's empowerment, employment opportunities, and

family resilience. Media used local tv, radio, and social media (prepared by the Team). Group and interpersonal communication channels through dialog with the community in the sub-district, in housing through the RW forum. The language used depends on the target area. If the rural area uses Sundanese mixed with Indonesian, if the urban area uses Indonesian. Interpersonal communication channels are also carried out by PKS women politicians when dialoguing with residents door-to door. The purpose of this direct political communication (*door to door*) is to establish emotional relationships with the community, cadres, and party supporters. (Djuyandi, Y. et al., 2024).

Communication actions carried out by female politicians from PKS and PPP are tailored to their audiences. When communicating with young people (Gen Z environmentalists), often use props (*infocus*) to show various things about PKS and its programs with simple language so that it is easy to explain. Gen Z represents the future audience and decision makers whose actions will have a significant impact on the environment. (Mandić et al., 2023). Gen Z's preference for short and simple texts has become the standard, causing participants to favor visuals over texts (Yaru, 2024).

Female politicians from PKS are basically not social media players, this can be seen on Facebook on her Instagram which is not too many followers, but she is forced to use social media to carry out socialization and party documentation for Gen Z. For this reason, young PKS cadres are needed to become the social media team. The selection of young PKS cadres to manage social media aims to support the party and gain votes to elect party candidates according to the language of young people. For PKS at this time the younger generation is people who have the intelligence to see and assess Indonesian politics, so that they are able to control votes in the upcoming presidential and parliamentary elections. (Saputro et al., 2023).

Young PKS cadres often write and share texts on social media in the format of description, narration, and persuasion with net lingo but rarely use argumentation and exposition. Regarding political language, many young PKS cadres use net lingo and often write and share texts on social media in the form of description, narration, and persuasion, rarely using argumentation and exposition. (Nugraha, F., Rachmiate, A., & Safrudin, 2020).

PPP politicians in targeting Gen Z utilize students from Gen Z as well as tactical organs in their party. Gen Z who joined the PPP are young people whose activities include music. They are given a platform by the party with various supporting facilities. They are given directions by the party and given permission to gather and make music but must not cause problems.

Furthermore, the Gen Z students hang out, and gather with young people their age (highschool friends) so that they can enter and be accepted by their friends, so a musical approach is used. So PPP did not make anything strange, but made activities with the Gen Z version while introducing the party and determining its political

stance. The younger generation is not desensitized to political issues, but still follows but is not responsive, so it appears that the younger generation is entering a spiral of silence in the digital age and feels the pressure created by the digital age as a concept of community surveillance. (Gurel, 2023).

The PPP politician commissioned the design of his social media by his younger generation, and the platforms commonly used are Instagram and Facebook. The materials managed are activities that benefit the community, such as Quranic and teaching activities. For PPP politicians, social media is used to strengthen political communication that has been done through direct communication. The utilization of social media by PPP is not so frequent, so the growth of social media is very slow, because PPP strongly avoids messages that are *gimic* in nature. So it only describes what the party is doing, not designing something to go viral, but the communication network is maintained. The creation of a communication network between a person or group can arise through online media online. (Hidayat, 2021).

Communication actions carried out by politicians from PPP are socialization to the community, especially to *pesantren*. The strategic step is to visit the elders in the village, students, and gen Z (introducing PPP). This socialization is a form of political education to the community, especially women who still lack attention to politics. This political education in its implementation is accompanied by local community leaders (Kyai). Faith-based political education and the support of community leaders is a comprehensive strategy to increase women's political participation. (Lubis, 2024).

The approach to the Kyai is highly prioritized by PPP politicians, because he is also based in a *pesantren*, so when visiting the Kyai, he "undresses" as a politician to respect his Kyai. The PPP politician understands that the Kyai as a symbol of a religious leader can lead Muslims on a political path that is valuable and morally grounded, because it is oriented towards the idealism of piety in politics based on Islamic ethics. As a religious figure, it is appropriate for Kyai to be placed in an honorable position in Indonesian political discourse among his followers. (Yani et al., 2022). Obeying Kyai shows the high loyalty of *santri* and influences the political attitudes of *pesantren* communities (Yudha Pratama et al., 2024).

The PPP politician's respect for the Kyai, in addition to his charisma in the eyes of the *pesantren* community, the Kyai will also look for the personal data of politicians who come to his *pesantren*. Likewise, other community leaders as opinion leaders usually do the same thing to check the politician. The search for information by opinion leaders and is an effort to check facts to maintain their reputation as leaders (Dubois et al., 2020). The role of opinion leaders is important because through their healthy minds they can include an Islamic framework to achieve a sustainable lifestyle (Mohamad Saleh, M. S., Mehellou, A., & Omar, 2023). Parties are therefore very responsive to the views of opinion leaders, as citizens engaged in political discussion and persuasion (Adams, J., & Ezrow, 2009).

The political communication actions carried out by PKS and PPP have similarities, which are carried out directly face-to-face and indirectly by using mass

media and social media. Female politicians from PKS prefer face-to-face communication with various communities, because they can interact directly, one of which is through the Friday blessing program such as visiting sick members or party structure officials or sympathizers.

Direct communication was also conducted with mothers of majalis taklim, gymnastics communities, RW forums, and so on. Community orientation through discussion has a strong impact on participation in civic forums (McLeod, J. M., Scheufele, D. A., & Moy, 1999). Face-to-face communication is one of the efforts of political parties to regenerate political affirmation (Rachmatie, A., Martian, F., & Suherman, 2021). Through face-to-face communication, political party cadres who have credibility and quality gain support by considering the existence of political parties as a representation of public desires (Arasid et al., 2022). The effectiveness of political communication carried out by PKS politicians is to get support in the form of votes, especially in regional elections (Danil, M., & Fitri, 2021).

Face-to-face communication actions carried out by PPP politicians are not campaigning techniques, because they are based on pesantren so the techniques used are by reciting the Quran, and shalawat as part of efforts to attract sympathy and strengthen support from Muslims. These two techniques are quite effective, because they have a very strong attachment to the pesantren tradition. The influence of pesantren is very strong in maintaining santri loyalty and plays an important role in the electoral landscape. (Yudha Pratama et al., 2024).

The mass media that have been used are radio and television (small talk and short religious lectures), but not routinely at most in the month of Ramadan. PKS and PPP political party politicians do not optimally utilize mass media more because of the subjective factors of the politicians, because both of them prefer direct face-to-face communication. The findings of this study suggest that political communication among female politicians is not merely a strategic or media-driven activity, but a socially embedded process shaped by community networks, relational trust, and local cultural dynamics. This resonates with research on small-scale actors in Indonesia, where communication practices are deeply intertwined with social structures and everyday interactions, functioning as mechanisms for trust-building and collective resilience (Subekti, Bajari, et al., 2026).

For them, mass media is less flexible, in terms of time, cost and energy, and cannot directly interact with the audience. However, both politicians from both parties agree that the mass media has a very important role and function to convey political messages and political support. The role of the mass media as a facilitator to bridge communication with its broad information presentation provides opportunities for audiences to participate in politics. (Lestanata, 2024). The function of the media, apart from being a source of information, is also able to construct voters' perceptions and political decision-making. (Mukti, I., & Makassar, 2024).

The utilization of the media in delivering messages for political marketing shows that political parties have carried out their political strategies (Mukarom, 2022). Communication actions carried out by politicians from PKS and PPP ultimately require evaluation to measure the implementation skills of political communication carried out to their audiences. These skills are related to emotional stability, such as caution, positive self-image, and the way they interact socially (Furnham, A., & Horne, 2024). Based on this self-evaluation, PKS and PPP politicians can maintain political communication methods to gain public support and increase party representation in parliament in the future. Self-confidence and self-evaluation can predict performance in the present and future (Furnham, A., & Horne, 2024). Through the implementation of the self-evaluation system, ideological and political education can be significantly achieved. (Huang, 2024).

4. CONCLUSION

The conclusion of this research shows that gender issues in Indonesia are no longer a discriminatory issue, this is shown by PKS and PPP which set seats for women at least 30%. Politicians from both parties agree that the ability and willingness to participate in politics determine the level of representation, both within the party, executive and judiciary.

PKS and PPP provide opportunities to play a role in politics for women with family approval without giving up the role of the family to significantly promote gender equality, because it cannot be separated from the universal Islamic values embraced by the party that men and women have equal rights. The political preferences of PKS and PPP politicians in general support gender equality and women's empowerment in politics refer to the universality of inclusive Islamic values by promoting women's participation in political decision-making processes that support women.

The communication style of female politicians tends to be inclusive, empathic, and collaborative, prioritizing dialogue in delivering political messages. Female politicians use feelings and attention, and dive into the problems faced by the audience, the way of communication is by chatting casually while laughing, going both ways so that the relationship becomes intimate.

Communication actions of PKS and PPP politicians are carried out through strategic steps, starting from identifying audiences, selecting issues, utilizing communication channels and media. PKS politicians prefer audiences who are members of the community, such as majelis ta'lim, gymnastics communities, and RW forums. Meanwhile, PPP prefers audiences in the pesantren environment by approaching the Kyai.

Communication actions through social media used by PKS and PPP politicians are still limited. For PKS politicians, social media is used for personal purposes as material for self-evaluation, while for PPP politicians social media is used to

strengthen political communication that has been carried out through direct communication.

The evaluation of communication strategies carried out by PKS and PPP politicians aims to see prudence, positive self-image, and how to interact socially, so that the way of political communication to gain public support and increase party representation seats in parliament in the future can be maintained.

The recommendation from the results of this study is that political parties must increase the capacity and capability of women as political resources through inclusive political education, so that the participants of political education, both men and women, build tolerance, do not discriminate, and respect differences.

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