

DAYA LINUWIH, POLITICAL ACTOR CANDIDATE OF THE SOLO PILKADA

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DAYA LINUWIH, POLITICAL ACTOR CANDIDATE OF THE SOLO PILKADA

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Abstract: The election of regional heads (Pilkada) is an election to elect the mayor and deputy mayor over the next five years. The pilkada candidates are not only known by the society, but also have extrasensory power (in Indonesian language is daya linuwih). Daya linuwih is interpreted as an advantage, excess or strength of the political actors, in order to win the Solo Pilkada in 2010. The activities of Pilkada candidates in various campaigns attract not only the society, but also the mass media. The Solopos newspaper as a local media in Solo City have an important role in framing the current political events and increasing the popularity and electability of political actors. Pilkada that occurred in 2010 was different in previous years, if seen from the behavior of candidates when campaigning. Election Candidate couple (JokoWidodo- FX Rudi Rudyatmo) has used the Javanese cultural approach to influence the society. The behavior of candidates, who are polite, caring, respectful and respectful to the elderly and the poor society were the forces of attraction or extrasensory power (daya linuwih). The purpose of this research is to find out the frames that appear in Solopos newspaper related to the campaign by the political actor candidates of Pilkada. This research uses qualitative research method, with framing analysis approach. Framing analysis is used to examine the text of Solopos newspaper. The object of this research is the election campaign news relating to extrasensory power, which concerns andhapasor, blusukan, and self-imaging. The result shows that a political candidate of JokoWidodo - FX HadiRudyatmo, who joined in Andhap Asor Coalition, which uses the concept of andhap asor, blusukan and self-imaging have won the election (Pilkada) campaign. It is based on Javanese culture.

Keywords: Dayaliniuwih, Solo Election, Pilkada, Political Actors

Introduction

Pilkada (The Election of Regional Head) is an election to elect governor and vice governor for province, regent and vice regent for regency, and mayor and vice for a city. Hence, the *Pilkada* aims to choose leader in the province, regency and cities. Solo City has been implement the mayor and vice mayor election for three times, for instance in 2005, 2010, and 2015. In 2005, the political candidate couples consisted of three couples. The first candidate couple was Joko Widodo – FX. Hadi Rudyatmo, the second was Achmad Purnomo - IstarYuliadi, and the third was Hardono – Dipo Kusumo. The *Pilkada* held on June 27th, 2005 was won by the first candidate couple Joko Widodo – FX. Hadi Rudyatmo. Furthermore, the *Pilkada* in 2010 consisted of two couples, for instance the first candidate couple was Joko Widodo – FX. Hadi Rudyatmo and the second was Eddy Wirahbumi-Supradi Kertomenawi. The *Pilkada* held on April 26th, 2010 was won by Joko Widodo – FX. Hadi Rudyatmo. In 2015, the political candidate partners consisted of two couples, for instance the first candidate couple was FX. Hadi Rudyatmo-Purnomo and the second was Anung Indro Susanto – M. Fajri. In order to compete for seat of power, the election on December 9th, 2015 was won by FX. Hadi Rudyatmo – Purnomo.

The interesting issue in political dynamics, when Joko Widodo (thereafter called Jokowi), who is still active as Solo's mayor (2010-2015), suddenly participating in the election of Jakarta. Pairing with Basuki Tjahaja Purnama (Ahok) in 2012, Jokowi won on Jakarta *Pilkada* and became the Governor of Jakarta. When his tenure has not been completed as the Governor of Jakarta, again Jokowi suddenly appeared as the candidate of President of Indonesia with Jusuf Kalla. The people of Solo were proud of Joko Widodo-Jusuf Kalla's winning on national election in 2014 and inaugurating Jokowi as the seventh President of Indonesia. Jokowi's journey began when he was the mayor of Solo, later became the Governor of Jakarta and finally become the President of Indonesia, of course, inseparable from Jokowi's personality and mass media's role. Through its function as setting agenda, the media has participated in shaping public opinion. Also, media has been able to direct the reader on certain topics that are considered important or not important.

This research focuses on the implementation of *Pilkada* in 2010. This is chosen because the behavior of political actors Joko Widodo - FX Hadi Rudyatmo plays an important role in mobilizing, motivating, encouraging and directing the public participation to be addressed to his candidacy as mayor and vice mayor of Solo. In addition, it is chosen because the current position of Joko Widodo as the President of Indonesia. A leader, of course, must have certain excellences rather than the others. According to Kartono (2010: 38), the leader is a person who has the skills and excess, especially the skills and excess in a field, so he is able to influence others to do certain activities together, in order to achieve one or several purposes.

The fundamental problem in *Pilkada* is to elect the prospect leader for the next period. *Pilkada* is a medium of selecting the prospect leader in local areas. *Pilkada* is expected to produce high-quality local leaders. Ideally, *Pilkada* is a means of "screening" the good prospect leaders (Suharto, 2017). In Javanese cosmology, according to Winarko (2016: 4), there is an assumption that the one who can do something more than the

others is considered as having *dayalinuwih* (an extrasensory power), the power that is not owned by everyone. An individual, who has *dayalinuwih* because he is getting *pulung* (flash of light which gives o. power enabling him to be legitimized as ruler). The characteristic of *pulung* is to match the God's wish. A political actor candidate with *dayalinuwih* is expected to defeat his/her political opponent and finally to win the *Pilkada*. Solo as a Cultural City is close to Javanese philosophy. *Pilkada* also became the battle of Javanese cultural maintaining (*nguri-nguri*) concept between Jokowi-FX Rudy and their opponent Eddy Wirahbudi-Supradi Kertamenawi.

How does the agenda setting such of Solopos newspaper package the news about *daya linuwih* of political actor candidate conducted by Jokowi-Rudy? Based on observations on the Solopos newspaper from March 26th until May 26th, 2010, it can be explained the *daya linuwih* (extrasensory power) conducted by the political candidate of Jokowi-Rudy associated with *andhapasor*, *blusukan*, and self-imaging, in order to win *Pilkada* in Solo City. *Daya linuwih* (extrasensory power) in the Solo *Pilkada* was the forces owned by political actors in campaigning to attract the attention of the masses, including in the use of the media. *Daya linuwih* owned by a political actor was expected to win the election and became a leader.

Research Methodology

The research methodology used in this research was the qualitative. Data analysis was carried out based on framing analysis. Framing analysis is how the media frame an event or reality in certain construction by emphasizing on issue selection. In this research, the author employed framing analysis to study the media text of *Pilkada* campaign in Solopos newspaper. In communication perspective, framing analysis was used to reveal the media's ways or ideology during constructing the fact. Framing was used in order to find out the perspective or point of view of the journalists in selecting the issues and writing the news (Nugroho, et al., 1999: 21).

The object of research is the news coverage concerning *Pilkada Solo* campaign in Solopos newspaper. Solopos newspaper was selected, because it dominates the market in Solo City and located in Solo City. The subject of research was reality construction, anything written by Solopos newspaper concerning the news about *Pilkada* campaign and how it presents them, selects the reality or fact, emphasizes on certain part, selects and connects certain parts so that the meaning of event was more memorable and understandable to the audience. The primary data source in this research was news coverage in Solopos newspaper. In this research, news coverage is defined as the one concerning *Pilkada Solo* campaign in 2010 contained in Solopos newspaper during March 26th-May 26th, 2010 particularly concerning *daya linuwih* the political actor has and *blusukan*, self-imaging, and *andhapasor*. The secondary data included library study, book, and similar reports supporting the research.

Result and Discussion

A leader, According to Kartono (2010: 38) is a person who has the skills and excess, especially the skills and excess in a field, so he is able to influence others to do certain activities together, in order to achieve one or several purposes. Thus, in political context, "political leader" can be understood as an individual influencing others to

achieve one or some political objectives. To influence people in the campaign of Solo *Pilkada* in 2010, a political actor candidate should have ability or power more than others' or *daya linuwih*. *Daya linuwih* was related to the characteristic and behavior of leader including the goodness that can be seen or known by others. *Daya Linuwih* (an extrasensory power) which has been owned by the candidate of political actors will be able to influence the society in the elections, so that the political actor candidate could win the *Pilkada*.

⁴ The concept of framing by Entman was used to describe the selection process and highlight certain aspects of reality by the media. Framing can be seen as placing information in a typical context so that certain issues get greater allocation than other issues (Eriyanto, 2002: 186). The political candidate couple of Jokowi and Rudy have been trying to attract the attention of the people by using the Javanese cultural approach. The approach that has been done was to attract the people's attention. Jokowi's behavior, for instance his politeness, friendly attitude, and respect the poor people has made people convinced of Jokowi's power to lead the Solo City. The Solopos framing in the *Pilkada* candidate campaign can be explained as follows.

Andhap asor

The couple of Joko Widodo (Jokowi) – FX. Hadi Rudyatmo created a coalition named *Andhap Asor* in *Pilkada* Solo. *Andhap Asor* coalition was supported by PDIP Party (*Partai Demokrasi Indonesia Perjuangan*), PAN Party (*Partai Amanat Nasional*), PKS Party (*Partai Keadilan Sejahtera*) and a number of other political parties that have declared to Joko Widodo and FX Hadi Rudyatmo as a candidate of mayor and deputy mayor in Solo *Pilkada* 2010 (Anggoro, 2010). The news coverage entitled "*Jokowi-Rudy Ingin Kembalikan Semangat Budaya Solo*" (Jokowi-Rudy wants to restore the Cultural Spirit of Solo), explains:

Joko Widodo is a figure, who is very familiar to Solonese people's ears. His familiar name, Jokowi, has ornamented every corner of city since almost five years ago. This 49-year old man was born, lived and grew in Solo. His first debut in politics about five years ago departed from his intention to serve the community. Now, when his tenure almost ends, he will fight again (Solopos, March 5th, 2010).

Solonese people needs a leader having *andhap asor* attitude, because this attitude is consistent with Javanese people culture. As Ariefuddin (2015) suggests, *andhap asor* or *lembah manah* (humility) life attitude is an important aspect in Javanese culture. It is indicated with some expressions essentially advising everyone to have humility and humbleness character, such as a statement *aja adigang adigung adiguna* (do not be arrogant for your position, power, and intellectuality), *ngerti empan papan* (understanding situation and condition), *aja seneng lamun ginunggung* (do not be happy with praise), *ora serik lamun dihina* (do not be angry when you are insulted), *ngalah ora ateghes kalah* (conceding does not mean being lost), etc.

Generally, framing is formulated as the process of selecting and emphasizing on certain aspects of reality as represented in communication text to make the aspect more noticeable, meaningful, and memorable to the audience (Sudibyo, 221).

Hidayat Nur Wahid as the Co-founder of PKS really supported Jokowi's policy to make campaign with *andhapasor* concept. His party agreed with Jokowi who always prioritizes *andhap asor* (humility) and decorum culture in any occasion. Furthermore Hidayat Nur Wahid explained:

"Solo people need the candidate leader, who can be a role model".

... My idea is the same as Mr Jokowi's: Restraining ourselves, not expressive, and not always want to show off it is me" (Solopos, March 13, 2010, p.III).

Andhap asor is the Javanese cultural value that should be implemented by its people. To create a social relationship, every Javanese individual can behave *andhap asor* or humbly, in both speaking and other behavior. In *andhap asor* behavior, an individual tends to be able to muffle the conflict (Prabowo, 2003: 67). Meanwhile Santoso, in his study (2016), explains that this (*andhapasor*) practice has been done to avoid conflict and to create "social harmony". Using *andhap asor* concept, a leader's prestige will be obtained.

Andhapasor attitude can be seen from the campaign carried out by the political candidate couple of Jokowi-Rudy. These two men are the couple, which born and growing in Solo. This attitude can attract Solonese people's attention. Javanese people, who are authentic, always wishing to maintain harmony and composure have (a) *andhapasor* (humility), (b) *teposeliro* (tolerance), (c) *empan papan*, and (d) *oyo dumeah*. *Andhap asor* does not mean inferiority, but humility. The word *andhap asor* is synonymous with *lembah manah* (Javanese Encyclopedia, 2008). A candidate, who has *andhap asor* attitude, does not want to show off despite his/her ability. Javanese people give high priority to *andhap asor* character in relation to others.

Blusukan

The term of *blusukan* refers to wandering getting into and exit from one place to another, only to be familiar with a place's state or condition either naturally or culturally. With broader and deeper direction and objective culturally, wandering means preserving (*nguri-uri*) the lofty prestige and humane safety, in the attempt of finding what should be avoided or abandoned, what should be maintained and even empowered. *Blusukan* is a term to represent an individual wandering to the places containing unrevealed problems. The transcendental intention of wandering man usually has nuance of *neges kersaning jawata* or confirming the God's wish; to find out the condition and situation of nature or people existing (Salman: 2013: 109).

Blusukan behavior is contained in the campaign made by the couple of Jokowi-Rudy. It can be seen from the framing contained in Solopos Daily entitled *Jo-Dy blusukan slum area*.

The incumbent couple of Joko Widodo-FX Hady Rudyatmo (Jo-Dy), Sunday (21/3), walked around *sum area*, invited the people to clean (*resik-resik*) their kampong. Safari in slum area began at 08.00 a.m. local time to all areas of PDIP's administrators in Bengawan City... (Solopos, March 22, 2010, p.III). In the news entitled *Panwaslu Solo Soroti Massa Jo-Dy* (Solopos, April 11, 2010, p.I), Jokowi-Rudy conducted *blusukan* to a number of traditional markets, such as Sidodadi, Kleco, Jongke, and Hardjodaksino Markets (Solopos, April 11, 2010, p. I). *Blusukan* is conducted to attract the citizens' sympathy in *Pilkadato* to be held on April 26, 2010. *Blusukan* conducted by the couple of Jokowi-Rudy was always welcomed in many places in Solo area.

Jokowi often conducted *blusukan* in traditional market, bus station, river bank, cultural events, car free day, train station, and a project's location. *Blusukan* conducted by Jokowi in the frame of working for people. Treating exhaustively the trusteeship loaded to him as the leader, Jokowi is a type of leader who is not satisfied with receiving the report from his subordinate only. He always wants to find out and to monitor the actual condition (Achroni, 2017: 153-154).

Self-Imaging

In addition to a good leader, the attempt of political actor candidates in order to win the political battle should be supported with self-imaging politics (Bamastia, 2010). Self-imaging politics is made to represent an individual, an official, a party, a society organization, etc as good or bad. The positive self-imaging politics is used to raise the one of her/his group's electability, while negative imaging is used to overthrow his/her enemy or opponent (Heri, 2015).

The imaging of Jokowi-Rudy in Solopos newspaper *framing* can be seen from Jokowi-Rudy who wear *ngejreng* (bright) colored batik shirt with papaya leaf motive when attending the Special Plenary Session of *Dewan Perwakilan Rakyat Daerah* (DPRD) Solo with the agenda of Delivering Vision and Mission of the couple candidate Mayor and Deputy Mayor, while other candidates wore coat and rimless cap (Ihsan, 2010). In relation to *godhong kates* (papaya leaf) batik, Solopos newspaper gave the following framing:

"Jokowi explained that *godhong kates* motive that he wore is selected as the branding. The process of determining that motive took about six months. This choice is inseparable from the philosophy accompanying it. Jokowi admits that it is such the branding that their party expects. The success in building *godhong kates* batik motive branding with bright color so far known as the clothes to go to the beach, surely contributes to opening the market for batik industry in Solo City. (Solopos, April 20, 2010, p.III).

Robert Entman (McQuail, 2002b) considers the essence of framing as the selection and salience. Through selection and salience processes, some information becomes more noticeable, meaningful or memorable to the audience. Text salience is conducted through putting, repeating, or relating it to the well-known cultural symbols. Entman (McQuail, 2002a) also adds that framing can define problem, diagnose the cause, make moral judgment, and suggest remedies. *Godhong kates* batik motive as an icon is the part of Jokowi-Rudy's campaign, because they want to appear differently and to

promote Solo's local product all at once. In the news lead, Solopos daily explains that "godhongkates (papaya leaf)-motive batik is very inherent to the figure of candidate mayor and deputy mayor Joko Widodo and FX Hadi Rudyatmo (Arum, Tika Sekar and Ayu Prawitasari, 2010).

Daya linuwih owned by Jokowi-Rudy can attract the people's attention so that this couple can win the Solo *Pilkada* in 2010. Considering the counting of votes held by General Election Commission (KPU), Joko Widodo-FX Hadi Rudyatmo obtained 248,243 votes (90.09%) while Eddy Wirahbudi-Supradi Kertomenawi obtained 27,306 votes (9.91%). The election was won by Jokowi, because he has a strong figure, while Rudy has strong mass base, because he is the ruler of *banteng moncong putih* (white-muzzled wild ox) stall, the largest party in this city, having large and fanatic mass base (Satyawati, 2010).

Conclusion

Solopos was very wise in putting cultural issues in the campaign by the political candidate couple of Jokowi-Rudy. Cultural issues have made people aware of the importance of preserving their own culture. The language, attitudes, behavior and outfit used by Jokowi-Rudy have described Jokowi-Rudy, who has a *daya linuwih* (extrasensory power), a force not shared by other candidates. *Daya linuwih* contained in the Solopos newspaper, for instance *andhap asor*, *blusukan* and self-imaging. Jokowi-Rudy has been a couple of incumbent mayors and vice mayor of Solo in 2005-2010. Self-imaging has been done in various media to make Jokowi known by the people of Solo. For the media, Jokowi was a *Media Darling*, so it is not excessive if the media always put Jokowi on news events that are positive. In addition, as long as a mayor of Solo, the government under Jokowi has succeeded in making Solo City's rapid development in various sectors, especially the cultural and tourism sectors. Various nicknames are given to Solo City, because of many activities undertaken such as: Solo The Spirit of Java, Solo Batik Carnival, *Solo Menari*, Solo City Jazz, *Solo Kota Kuliner*, and so forth.

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