The Symbolic Construction of Religious Issues in the 2017 Campaign and Propaganda in Jakarta Election

Gun Gun Heryanto[1], Dedi Fahrudin[1] and Effy Zalfiani Rusfian[2]

[1]Faculty of Da'wa and Communication,State Islamic University (UIN) Jakarta, Indonesia
[2] Faculty of Administration,University of Indonesia, Indonesia

Abstract: This research is based on the rampant use of religious issues in campaign and propaganda in elections Jakarta-2017 both in the second round. Various events surfaced and became news in many mass media as well as conversations in various types of media such as the above line media, below line media, and new media. There are three arguments for why this study is important. First, data in the elections of Jakarta shows the number of citizens who make religion as the preference. Second, the symbolic construction of religious issues in media channels because the media is still used as a reference. Third, religious issues are massive and excessive produced and distributed to the citizens of Jakarta during election contest elections, not only become a local issue but also a national issue even some of them become a global issue. So this needs to be scientifically researched. There are three problem formulations in this research. How is the symbolic construction of religious issues in campaign and propaganda in the second round election of Jakarta 2017? What campaign strategies and propaganda techniques are used in religious issues in the second round of elections in Jakarta 2017? What channels are used in the campaign and propaganda of religious issues in the second round election of Jakarta 2017? The theory used in this research is the theory of the social construction of reality, as well as a number of important concepts related to the campaign and propaganda. The results of this study show that all propaganda techniques are used. These techniques are name calling, glittering generalities, testimonials, bandwagon, plain folks, card stacking. The campaign strategy used is political marketing through branding, segmenting and positioning by utilizing religious issues to persuade, especially sociological voters. Channels used are top-line media such as mass media and lower-line media such as banners, billboards, banners etc.

1 INTRODUCTION

The Jakarta elections have ended with the victory of the pair Anies Baswedan and Sandiaga Uno over the incumbent pair Basuki Tjahaja Purnama and Djarot Saiful Hidayat with a significant difference. Based on the real count data of the General Election Commission (KPU), which uses the Vote Counting Information System (*Situng*), the Anies-Sandi pair received 57.95 percent of the votes and the Ahok-Djarot pair gained 42.05 percent. The results of the vote in the second round were shocking because the average survey agency predicts the tightness of the votes that will be contested by the two couples who fought in this second round. This is also seen from the tightness of the differences between the two pairs in the first round, namely Ahok-Djarot 42.9 percent and Anies-Sandi 39.9 percent.

One that drew the attention of researchers in the case of persuasion communication in Jakarta Election was the use of a number of religious issues in campaign strategies and candidate propaganda in both the first and second rounds. This research attempts to observe, explain, map the symbolic construction of religious issues in campaigns and candidate propaganda in the 2017 elections in the second round.

1.1 Social Construction Theory

The social construction of reality was introduced by Peter L Berger and Thomas Luckmann through his book The Social Construction of Reality, a Treatise in the Sociological of Knowledge (1966). They describe the social process through its actions and interactions, in which the individual creates

continuously a shared reality and shared subjectively (Mujani, 1995).

On his writings the dialectical relationship of social constructions illustrated by Berger and Luckmann: "society is a product of man. Society is an objective reality. Man is a social product" (Berger, 1990). The social construction theory and approach to the reality of Peter L Berger and Luckmann has been revised by looking at the very substantive phenomenon of mass media in the process of externalization, subjectivization, and internalization, which came to be known as "social construction of mass media". According to this perspective, the stages in the social media process of mass media take place through (a) the stage of preparing the construction material; (b) distribution stage of construction; (c) the stage of construction formation; (d) the confirmation stage.

1.2 The Conceptualization of Campaign

Roger and Storey define a campaign as "a set of planned communication actions with the goal of creating a certain effect on a large number of audiences that are conducted over a period of time." Pfau and Parrot divide campaign into positive campaigns and the attacking campaign. The attacking campaign itself has divided again into negative campaigns and black campaigns. There are several basic principles that should be concerned regarding the development of campaign strategies, it is a Positioning, Branding, and Segmenting. From those strategies, it is very important to make planning, and campaign strategy absolutely because it requires an adequate understanding of the situation and behavior of voter audience.

1.3 The Conceptualization of Propaganda

The term propaganda is familiar to us, especially in the political area which is often used as a winning strategy. Propaganda is derived from the Latin word "*propagare*" which means to plant a bud. It is a form of art and communication that is often also applied in political activities (Arifin, 2011). Propaganda is an attempt to shape, influence, change, and direct and control the attitude and opinion of the community to achieve a specific purpose (Arifin, 2008). Propaganda is usually done by individuals, groups, parties, groups, or countries to achieve their interests. In achieving the desired outcome, propagandists usually spread the thought or idea of constructing or even creating an event and then repeatedly inculcated and implanted into the heart and mind of the target. Harold D. Laswell, says that "Propaganda in the broadest sense is the technique of insfluencing human action by the manipulation of representations. Gun Gun Heryanto stated on his book entitled "Introduction to Communication Politics", some of the frequently used Propaganda techniques: Name- Calling, Glittering Generalities, Card Stacking, Plain Folks, Band Wagon, testimonials.

There are much previous research accordion to media relations and terrorism, among other things are a research conducted by Brooks and Manza entitled "The religious factor in U.S. Presidential election 1960-1992". The research studied the relationships between religion and political behavior. Brooks and Manza emphasize the fact that religion has a greater influence on voting rather than other factors such as class or socioeconomic status. This study focuses on voting behavior, while our research is more on the construction of religious issues contained in the mass media, especially in Metrotv and Inewstv. Another previous research is a research from Branton, Regina P, entitled Voting in initiative elections: This research finds the influence of racial and ethnic diversity in election initiatives. They argue that race and ethnicity have a strong influence on many issues because the origins of the issues in the society are predominantly white voters, so it is excluding some minority racial opinions. This research is also carried out quantitatively, while our research is more on qualitative research and focuses on issues of religious issues in campaigns and propaganda.

2 METHOD

The method that is used in this study is a qualitative research method. Qualitative research by Denzin and Lincoln focuses its attention on a variety of methods, which include an interpretive and naturalistic approach to the subject of the study (Denzin, 2009). The study is used various attempts to collect data including both primary and secondary data. news texts containing religious issues in candidate campaigns and propaganda in the 2017 Jakarta Regional Head election are tailored to the needs of the research data. Literature Study is carried out as secondary data. Additionally, interviews will be held with key informants and other relevant sources. Data collection techniques are conducted through the following stages: (1) Interviews related to election organizers such as Regional Election Commission (KPUD) Jakarta and Election Supervisory Body (Bawaslu) Jakarta, as

well as respective representatives of candidate number 2 (Ahok - Djarot) and serial number 3 (Anies-Sandi). (2) Analysis of campaign and propaganda strategy conducted by Team from candidate number 2 (Ahok - Djarot) and candidate number 3 (Anies - Sandi).

3 DISCUSSION

3.1 General Contestation Overview in Jakarta Election

The 2017 Jakarta Regional Election (PILKADA) Constellation is indeed very hot. As the capital city of Indonesia, Jakarta becomes its own parameter. Various issues are played and discussed widely, not apart from the propaganda that often occurs in the community, especially among voters.

Some findings by Election Supervisory Body (Bawaslu) Jakarta related to the election conducted by General Election Commission (KPU) are only constrained on the technical, such as complaints from people who have ID cards but not follow up seriously. It is a common problem that is found by Bawaslu in every Voting place (TPS). Besides from Election Supervisory Body (Bawaslu), the evaluation of the election organizers was also responded by the General Election Commission (KPU) of Jakarta. One of them is the candidate pair number 2, who has gathered religious leaders in a hotel before the campaign period. This is an offense because those candidate does not report to the General Election Commission (KPU) of Jakarta. Instead, the related party claimed only ask prayers of religious leaders.

Table 1: Recapitulation of violations in the second round of Jakarta elections

NO	PENGAWAS PEMILU	Laporan Dan Temuan			Hasil Penanganan/Rekomendasi				
		Laporan	Temuan	Jumlah	Bkn Pelanggaran	KPU	Kepolisian	Kode etik	Instansi lain
1	Prov. DKI Jkt	29	0	29	23	1	1	-	4
2	Jakarta Pusat	4	9	13	8	2	1	-	2
3	Jakarta Timur	4	13	17	13	2	2	-	-
4	Jakarta Selatan	6	2	8	7	-	-	-	1
5	Jakarta Barat	4	12	16	3	13	-	-	-
6	Jakarta Utara	4	7	11	4	6	1	-	-
7	Kepulauan Seribu	9	5	14	11	1	-	1	1
	Total	59	49	108	69	25	5	1	8

Source Election Supervisory Body (Bawaslu) DKI Jakarta

There are several types of alleged violations based on findings and reports in the round I and II. The most frequent reports and findings were in the Voters Data case which was 79 cases, followed by

the finding of alleged money politics with 68 cases, Campaign notification as 40 cases, Black Campaign in this case SARA as 37 cases, Campaign in Prayers place and use of state facilities respectively about 15 cases, and etc. From the accumulation of findings and reports from both the public and each candidate, and adjusted with those types of alleged violation, it can be categorized such as follows:. 1% violation of ethical code, 2% criminal violation, Administration violation 44%, and 48% is violation.

Table 2:Classification of types of alleged violations
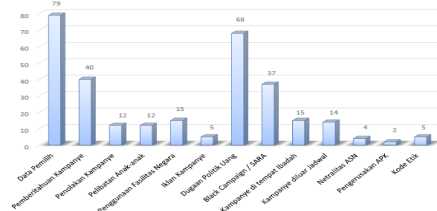
3.2 Construction of the Ahok - Djarot Campaign in the Jakarta Governor Election

Besides using the *Kotak-Kotak* shirts, candidate number 2 has a different greeting from their rivals. If Anies - Sandi using the together greeting (*Salam Bersama*), Ahok - Djarot uses two fingers greetings (*Salam Dua Jari*), which is the symbol of their candidate number. Greetings of two fingers campaigned by Ahok-Djarot is not the first, before 2014 in the presidential election, Jokowi-Jusuf Kala also uses two fingers as their symbol. When Ahok and Djarot served as Governor and Vice Governor, Jakarta's progress is greatly improved. It is confirmed by various research results of survey institute (LSI Denny JA) which shows the level of public satisfaction on performance Ahok and Djarot above 70%, exactly 73%. Because of that, choosing Ahok-Djarot becomes highly reasonable. Also, this candidate is displaying tagline hard work and hard work *(Kerja,Kerja,Kerja)*.

Figure 1: two fingers greetings

3.3 Construction of Ahok - Djarot Propaganda in the Election of Jakarta Governor

The ongoing Islamic Defense action made the electability of Ahok decrease. The slogan of "*Saya Pancasila*" (i am Pancasila) and "*Saya Bhineka Tunggal Ika*" (i am unity in diversity) are often pronounced by Ahok-Djarot supporters to recall that Indonesian is a Pancasila and a state of diversity. Therefore, it is very wrong if there are thoughts that only support one group. It was also delivered by Basuki Tjahaya Purnama or Ahok considers the Indonesian Democratic Party of Struggle (PDI-P) support to be based on nationalist principles. In that principle, PDI-P believes that every Indonesian person is entitled to be democracy without regard to race and religion.

In addition, there was also news spread through short messages on the website and blog that says that if Anies and Sandi were elected as Governor of Jakarta, then Jakarta will be used sharia law. There is a statement that has been signed by Anies-Sandi to agree on those issues, yet it was disputed by Anies because his signature is not him.

3.4 Construction of Couples Anies Sandi Campaign

In the Anies - Sandi campaign, there is a symbolic construction which is regarded as a real objective. Like "*Coblos Peci*" (vote the 'Islamic' cap), it is a symbolic construct that Anies-Sandi is trying to build a representative of Islam that most Muslims are very familiar with "*Peci*". It is used as an invitation for the Islamic community to choose them. The philosophy of #SalamBersama begins Thursday, October 20, 2016, Anies and Sandi officially launched the logo for governor election. There are no photos of them, yet there is a picture of an open palm, white with a red line. Beside it is the writing of "*Salam Bersama*". This logo was inspired by a national greeting that was inaugurated by Bung Karno. Until now the national greeting is still valid. Anies and Sandi popularized it again through #SalamBersama.

Figure 2: Islam representation

3.5 Construction of Anies-Sandi Propaganda in the Election of Jakarta Governor

The construction of Propaganda in the Jakarta regional election makes some people feel uncomfortable because it is found as a race and religion issue (*SARA*). However, in the second round election, the issue of race and religion was increasingly widespread, ranging from an invitation not to receive the corpse of religious blasphemy "*penista agama*", who at that time was attached to Ahok, to the refusal of Ahok's arrival to an area. The appeal of "Rejecting the Corpse that supports religious blasphemy " is a form of Propaganda that has occurred. Scaring someone who votes for a religious blasphemy case. This banner was found at Masjid Al-Jihad, Gang BB, Kelurahan Karet, Kecamatan Setiabudi, Jakarta Selatan.

Figure 3: religious blasphemy case

3.5 Campaign and Propaganda Technique

3.5.1 Ahok-Djarot Campaign Technique

First is *Branding*. In the second round of election contestation, branding that is attached to pair number 2 Ahok - Djarot is firmness. Ahok personality that is firmly about the law and his control to the social problem becomes his trademark. It has been proven by some of the firm's performance that can fix Jakarta to be better, as well

as controlling the land market, which used to be chaotic, and now has become orderly and clean.

Second is *Segmenting*. Candidate number 2 has a good experience in leading Jakarta. It can be seen on the level of public satisfaction with the Ahok - Djarot. It is confirmed by the Director of Poltracking Hanta Yuda, who said that voters were rational, most of them supported the candidate number 2 pair because they are offering measurable work programs and vision-missions, both also benefit the satisfaction.

3.5.2 Anis-Sandi Campaign Technique

First is *Positioning*. Positioning is characteristic of clear alignments and positions that differentiate a candidate from other candidates. In the campaign promises made by Anies- Sandi, the Reclamation Issues and attitudes towards Reclamation policies are very different. If Ahok pro with Reclamation, with the condition that the developer contributes to the development of the human index, Anies- Sandi is different because they considered it is as a detrimental to fishermen and other small communities.

Second is *Branding*. In the 2017 Jakarta election, Branding built by Anies - Password can be seen from posters and campaigns delivered to the public. One of the characteristics of the Anies candidate - Sandi is the symbol of the black peci which is better known as the attribute of Islam. Their jargon "*Pecinya*" is annunciated voters to choose it as a representation of Muslim in Jakarta.

The third is *segmenting*. Candidate number 3 Anies-Sandi is very close to the Muslims. The Executive Director of Poltracking states that Anies-Sandi voter base is influenced by Sociological factors. Meanwhile, Ahok is chosen more because of rational voting factors. Moreover, Anies - Sandi is chosen because of religious similarity and has a sociological closeness.

3.5.3 Propaganda Technique of Ahok-Djarot Campaign

Name Calling Technique. This technique is usually used to embed bad labels on a person. In the second round of Jakarta elections, there were several attempts to instill a bad label on the Anies by accusing Anies of being a Shiite. This is distributed via short messages, Whatsapp. Besides that, the accusation of Anies, a Shia follower, on this propaganda technique, there are also Jakarta accusations that it will be sharia if the Anies-Sandi pair becomes Governor. Glittering Generalities. It is

a propaganda technique by using a "good word" to draw something to get support. In this case candidate number 2, using the phrase "*Saya Bhineka Tunggal Ika*" as if voters must accept differences, despite differences in tribes, as well as beliefs. The existence of Islamic Defense Action that successively has to decrease Ahok electability because accused as a religious blasphemy, plus Ahok is a minority ethnicity. "S*aya Bhineka Tunggal Ika*" trying to neutralize the Islamic Defense Action that Muslims should accept the difference.

Next is Card Stacking. The researcher saw an interesting statement from Ahok in Republika, he said that, "Saya kan lambang untuk mempertontonkan pita bhinneka tunggal ika, mempertontonkan demokrasi". In his statement, it is implicit as Ahok is a representation of diversity and tries to present a complete democracy. Then, Plain Folks. This technique invites or encourages the audience to participate in the collaboration. The tagline "*Jakarta kita*" by Ahok - Djarot team invites all voters of Jakarta to believe that "Jakarta is ours". Last, Testimonials. This propaganda technique is the words of someone, and it is usually obtained from the words of someone who is respected or hated to promote or belittle a purpose.

3.5.4 Propaganda technique of Anies-Sandi Campaign

Name Calling. It is one of the propaganda techniques carried out by Anies-Sandi team to give bad labels or ideas to the opponent. The issue of propaganda practiced, such as do not choose religious blasphemy "*penista agama"*, jail religious blasphemy, catch ahok for religious blasphemy. The sentences have shown that Ahok is a religious blasphemy and must be imprisoned.

Figure 4: Name Calling "religious blasphemy"

Glittering Generalities. It a technique that uses a "good word" to draw something to get support. This propaganda can affect people by eviction, and invite sympathy and participant as citizens. Next is *Card Stacking*. It carefully selects accurate or inaccurate, logical or illogical statements, as for building a statement. In this context, the propaganda done by Anies-Sandi Team is in his statement with the sentence, *"Di dunia nyata, kita tetap tenang. Tetapi di dunia virtual, kita mendapat kekerasan"* (In the real world, we remain calm. But in the virtual world, we get violence). This statement is ambiguous, but it can be a domino effect to the citizens of Jakarta is being threatened in social media about the issue and propaganda by the enemy.

Another technique is Plain Folks. It is an appeal as if the speakers are in voters side. It is done by using the dictionary "*Jakarta Maju Bersama*" (Jakarta Forward Together) which seems to invite the constituents to move forward in advancing Jakarta. "Select the Governor with the same religion"," select the Muslim leader "who also indirectly invites the voters to choose Governor or Muslim leader. Last is Testimonials. One of Japan's leading magazines, Foresight, at the end of April 2010 mentioned that Anies Baswedan is an influential figure in the next 20 years. Therefore, Anies-Sandi team has shared this information as one of the advantages or it could be said as a testimonial carried out by the famous magazine for Anies Baswedan.

4 DISCUSSION

The study concludes that there are issues of ethnicity, religion and race (*SARA*) of the two gubernatorial candidates in the regional head elections (*Pilkada*) of Jakarta, especially in the second round by using various lines such as above line media, below line media, new media, and outdoor media. The existence of Propaganda is a weapon for every candidate pair to attack the opponent, but from both parties no one admitted to be involved with the process of distribution and production of those propaganda. However, Anies-Sandi party admitted that they get benefits from the momentum of *SARA* issues. Campaign media and propaganda are carried out in various ways, through television, radio, print media, online and international media. All media seem to be integrated with the evolving issues. Television raises the issue of social media that is becoming a trending topic, whereas social media raises the issue that is being raised by common media.

REFERENCES

Arifin, Anwar (2011) Komunikasi Politik. Yogyakarta: Graha Ilmu.

Berger, Peter L dan Luckman, Thomas. (1990). Tafsir Sosial atas Kenyataan. Jakarta : LP3S. hlm. 87

Branton, Regina P. (2004). Voting in initiative elections: Does the context of racial and ethnic diversity matter? State Politics and Policy Quarterly. 4(3), 294-317

Burhan Bungin. (2011). Konstruksi Sosial Media Massa. Jakarta: Kencana Prenada Media Group

Cooperman, Alan. et.al, (2016). Evangalicals Rally to Trump, Religious „Nones" Back Clinton: Declining Share of U.S Public Says It is Important for Presiden to Have Strong Religious Beliefs. PewResearchCenter

Denzin, Norman K & Lincoln, Yvonna S. (2009). Handbook of Qualitative Research, Dariyanto dkk (terj.). Yogyakarta: Pustaka Pelajar Teknologi Komunikasi di Masyarakat. Jakarta : Kencana

Firmanzah (2004), Marketing Politik. Jakarta : Yayasan Pustaka Obor Indonesia.

Handbook The Political literacy Institute (2016), Literasi Politik dan Pelembagaan Pemilu. Jakarta: Fikom Universitas Pancasila Press.

Heryanto, Gun Gun dan Rumaru, Shulhan (2013). Pengantar Komunikasi Politik. Bogor: Ghalia Indonesia.

J. Prihatmoko, Joko (2008). Mendemokratiskan Pemilu : dari sistem sampai elemen teknis. Yogyakarta: Lembaga Penelitian, Pengembangan, dan Pengabdian Masyarakat, Universitas Hasyim Semarang

Larson, C. (2010). Persuasion, 12th ed. Belmont: CA: Wadsworth Publishing Co,

Morissan (2010), Teori Komunikasi Massa. Bogor: Ghalia Indonesia.

Mujani, S., R. Liddle, William dan Ambardi, Kuskrido. (2011). Kuasa Rakyat. Analisis tentang Perilaku Memilih dalam Pemilihan Legislatif dan Presiden Indonesia Pasca Orde Baru. Jakarta: Mizan Publika.

Pawito (2009), Komunikasi Politik; media massa dan Kampanye Pemilihan. Yogyakarta: Jalasutra.

Perloff,M. (2010).The Dynamics of Persuasion, 4th ed. New York: Routledge

Pfau, Michael & Parrot, Roxanne. (1993). Persuasive Communication Campaign. Massachussets: Allyn and Bacon

Rahman, Arif (2010), Strategi Dahsyat Marketing Mix for small Business: cara jitu merontokkan pesaing. Jakarta : Trans Media Pustaka.

Roger, EM & Storey J.D. Communication Campaign. dalam C.R. Berger & S.H Chaffee (eds.) 1987. Handbook of Communications Science. New Burry Park, CA : Sage

Shoemaker , Pamella J., Reese, Stephen D (1996). Medating The Message. New York: Longman Publishers.

Subakti, Ramlan (1999), Memahami ilmu politik, Jakarta: Grasindo.

Verba, Sidney, Schlozman, Kay Lehman , and Brady, Henry E. (1995). Voice and Equality. Civic

Voluntarism in American Politics. Camridge: Harvard University Press.

Wuryanta, AG Eka Wenat. (2004). Ideologi, Militerisme dan Media Massa: Representasi Legitimasi dan Delegitimasi Ideologi dalam Media Massa. (Studi Analisis Wacana Kritis Media Massa dalam Situasi Krisis di Indonesia terutama untuk Harian Angkatan Bersenjata dan Berita Yudha periode 19651966). Tesis Pascasarjana Komunikasi UI