Hambatan-hambatan Mewujudkan Pemilu Inklusif bagi Penyandang Disabilitas pada Pemilu Kota Surabaya: Studi di Kecamatan Sukomanunggal

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Abstract: Inclusive elections involve diverse identities, including gender, minority groups, marginalized groups, and groups with disabilities. These elections provide special access for blind voters, including data collection and voting facilities at their residences, familiarization with special materials, accessible polling stations, and accessible voting equipment. The 2019 Surabaya City Election in Sukomanunggal District was not inclusive due to structural obstacles such as not verifying data on persons with disabilities, not providing outreach to every residence, and not using special outreach materials for disabilities. The research method used was field study, collecting data through in-depth interviews and documentation. The theoretical perspective of inclusive elections was used to analyze the results, revealing that the 2019 Surabaya City Election in Sukomanunggal District was not inclusive. Cultural barriers arose due to the lack of voting facilities for blind voters, leading to despair and a belief that their participation will not have any impact on the election. Additionally, their families did not allow them to attend the polling stations.

Keywords: Inclusive elections, people with disability, Surabaya.

PENDAHULUAN

Pemilu inklusif bagi penyandang disabilitas berarti mengikutsertakan mereka di setiap tahapannya, menyediakan aksesibilitas dan fasilitas khusus agar penyandang disabilitas tidak terhambat ketika akan menggunakan hak pilihnya, dan harus ada pemahaman mengenai inklusivitas di diri penyelenggara pemilu. Definisi penyandang disabilitas sendiri tercantum dalam Undang-Undang Nomor 8 Tahun 2016 Tentang Penyandang Disabilitas, Pasal 1 Ayat 1, yang berbunyi, "Penyandang Disabilitas adalah setiap orang yang mengalami keterbatasan fisik, intelektual, mental dan/atau sensorik dalam jangka waktu yang lama yang dalam berinteraksi dengan lingkungan dapat mengalami hambatan dan kesulitan untuk berpartisipasi secara penuh dan efektif dengan warga negara lainnya berdasarkan pada kesamaan hak." Untuk mewujudkan pemilu inklusif bagi penyandang disabilitas, maka penyelenggara pemilu harus memenuhi hak-hak mereka, salah satunya sebagai pemilih.

Hambatan struktural dalam mewujudkan pemilu inklusif adalah hambatan yang berasal dari struktur penyelenggara pemilu, yaitu KPU, PPK (Panitia Pemilihan Kecamatan), PPS (Panitia Pemungutan Suara), dan KPPS (Kelompok Penyelenggara Pemungutan Suara). Hambatan struktural timbul karena tidak semua penyelenggara pemilu memahami prosedur-prosedur pemilu untuk pemilih disabilitas, dan

masih ada undang-undang yang tidak adil bagi penyandang disabilitas tertentu dalam pemilu (Mais & Yaum, 2019).

Terdapat beberapa hambatan struktural dalam pemenuhan hak pilih penyandang disabilitas pada Pemilu tahun 2019 di beberapa daerah. (1) Kabupaten Bone. Di mana, KPU Kabupaten Bone tidak mendata dan memberikan sosialisasi kepada penyandang disabilitas yang berada di desa-desa di kabupaten tersebut, tidak mendistribusikan template braille bagi pemilih tuna netra secara merata, dan tidak menyediakan fasilitas bagi pemilih tuna rungu ketika berada di TPS (Akmal, 2019), (2) Kota Parepare, di mana KPU Kota Parepare hanya menyelenggarakan sosialisasi di sebuah ruangan yang terlalu kecil untuk menampung seluruh penyandang disabilitas dari 4 kecamatan di kota tersebut dan tidak mendistribusikan secara merata template braille bagi tuna netra (Saidah & Anggraini, 2022), (3) Kota Banda Aceh. Di mana, KIP Kota Banda Aceh tidak memiliki data akurat pemilih disabilitas, tidak menegaskan kepada KPPS mengenai pentingnya template braille bagi pemilih tuna netra, dan tidak memberi sosialisasi kepada pemilih disabilitas di luar organisasi, selain itu KPPS tidak membangun TPS yang aksesibel (Rispalman & Mukhlizar, 2021).

Di Kota Surabaya sendiri, hambatan-hambatan struktural mewujudkan pemilu inklusif terjadi pada Pemilihan Walikota Surabaya tahun 2015. Saat pendataan, PPK dan PPS tidak verifikasi ulang data penyandang disabilitas, banyak dari mereka tidak tertulis dalam daftar pemilih disabilitas dan DPT, KPPS membangun TPS di lokasi yang tidak dekat dengan kediaman pemilih berkursi roda dan berada di gedung dengan tangga berundak, KPPS tidak mengecek ulang template braille yang kurang layak, dan tidak menyediakan fasilitas bagi pemilih tuna rungu (Al-Haroma, 2017).

Pemilu inklusif belum terwujud pada Pemilu Kota Surabaya tahun 2014. Pada masa itu, KPU Kota Surabaya tidak melakukan pendataan terhadap penyandang disabilitas. Kepala Subbagian Teknis Penyelenggaraan Pemilu, KPU Kota Surabaya menyatakan bahwa, Formulir Model C1 yang merupakan Sertifikat Hasil dan Rincian Penghitungan Perolehan Suara di Tempat Pemungutan Suara dalam Pemilu Tahun 2014 tidak memiliki kolom khusus data pemilih disabilitas, sehingga pada Pemilu Kota Surabaya tahun 2014 tidak diketahui berapa jumlah pemilih disabilitas.

Prinsip inklusivitas dalam pemilu adalah pemilu memastikan bahwa semua orang berkesempatan untuk ikut serta di dalamnya. Sebagaimana perspektif Paulo Siqueira dalam bukunya yang berjudul *Handbook on Technology and Electoral Registration: Experiences in Cape Verde, Guinea Bissau, Mozambique, Sao Tome and Principe and East Timor*, "*Similarly, transparent and inclusive elections should be hand to hand with efforts ensuring that everyone has the opportunity to participate in the political life of their own countries*" (Siqueira, 2012). Namun, Formulir Model C1 pada Pemilu Kota Surabaya tahun 2014 tidak ada keterangan "data pemilih disabilitas", yang berarti bahwa pemilu masih mendiskriminasi penyandang disabilitas.

Hambatan-hambatan struktural mewujudkan pemilu inklusif terjadi kembali pada Pemilu Kota Surabaya tahun 2019. Terdapat beberapa permasalahan yang berasal dari penyelenggara pemilu yang menghambat penyandang disabilitas menggunakan hak pilihnya: (1) data milik KPU Kota Surabaya tidak diverifikasi ulang, sehingga beberapa penyandang disabilitas tidak terdaftar dalam DPT, ada pula yang terdaftar di 2 TPS di kecamatan berbeda, (2) KPU Kota Surabaya tidak memberi sosialisasi mengenai prosedur mengurus Formulir Pindah Memilih, akibatnya penyandang disabilitas yang bukan warga Kota Surabaya tidak dapat memilih di Kota Surabaya, (3) KPPS di beberapa wilayah membangun TPS yang tidak aksesibel, (4) KPPS di beberapa TPS tidak menyediakan alat bantu tuna netra dan Formulir C3 untuk pendamping pemilih disabilitas, (5) PPS dan KPPS tidak menyediakan fasilitas nomor antrean bagi pemilih tuna rungu, (6) KPU Pusat, KPU Provinsi Jawa Timur dan KPU Kota Surabaya tidak menindaklanjuti permasalahan para penyandang disabilitas.

Pemilu harus menjadikan penyandang disabilitas sebagai bagian dari prosesnya, sehingga pemilu harus memenuhi hak-hak mereka sebagai pemilih. Penyandang disabilitas yang tidak terpenuhi hak-haknya sebagai pemilih menyebabkan semakin kuatnya keraguan di dalam diri mereka bahwa pemilu benar-benar terbuka bagi penyandang disabilitas. Dampaknya adalah mereka tidak ikut serta dalam pemilu.

Hambatan kultural mewujudkan pemilu inklusif adalah hambatan akibat dari masyarakat tidak berperspektif disabilitas, sehingga penyandang disabilitas tidak hadir ke TPS (Mais & Yaum, 2019). Hambatan kultural juga berasal dari sikap keluarga dan pola pikir penyandang disabilitas mengenai perannya dalam pemilu. Hambatan-hambatan kultural terjadi pada Pemilu tahun 2019 di Kota Banda Aceh, banyak keluarga penyandang disabilitas yang malu dan tidak mengurus pendaftaran pemilih untuk anggotanya yang disabilitas (Rispalman & Mukhlizar, 2021). Di Kota Parepare, hambatan kultural berasal dari pola pikir penyandang disabilitas yang menganggap keikutsertaannya dalam pemilu tidak berdampak apa pun (Saidah & Anggraini, 2022).

Berdasarkan data Rekapitulasi Hasil Penghitungan Perolehan Suara Pasangan Calon Presiden dan Wakil Presiden dari 31 Kecamatan di Kota Surabaya pada Pemilu Tahun 2019, jumlah pemilih disabilitas di Kota Surabaya adalah 1.917 orang, yang memilih adalah 1.308 orang, terdapat 1 kecamatan dengan jumlah terbanyak pemilih disabilitas yang tidak memilih, yaitu Kecamatan Sukomanunggal, di mana hanya 36 dari 111 pemilih disabilitas yang memilih dan sebanyak 75 pemilih disabilitas tidak memilih. Oleh karena itu, penelitian ini berfokus di Kecamatan Sukomanunggal. Penelitian ini dilakukan untuk mengetahui apa saja hambatan struktural dalam mewujudkan pemilu inklusif di Kecamatan Sukomanunggal pada Pemilu Kota Surabaya tahun 2019, serta bagaimana hambatan kultural menyebabkan pemilih disabilitas di Kecamatan Sukomanunggal tidak ikut memilih pada Pemilu Kota Surabaya tahun 2019.

METODE PENELITIAN

Penelitian ini menggunakan pendekatan penelitian kualitatif. Pendekatan ini digunakan untuk mengeksplor lebih dalam dan menjelaskan lebih detail fenomena yang sedang diteliti (Aminah, 2019). Tipe penelitian ini adalah penelitian deskriptif, yang bertujuan untuk menggambarkan, menjelaskan dan menjawab lebih detail permasalahan yang diteliti. Metode penelitian yang digunakan adalah studi lapangan. Peneliti turun langsung ke lapangan untuk berinteraksi dengan informan penelitian. Sehingga, data yang disajikan adalah temuan sebenar-benarnya dari studi lapangan. Informan penelitian ditentukan dengan Teknik *Purposive Sampling*. Informan penelitian sesuai dengan tujuan penelitian (Lenaini, 2021). Melalui teknik ini, dihasilkan informan penelitian, yaitu Komisioner Divisi Perencanaan, Data dan Informasi, KPU Kota Surabaya, Komisioner Divisi Sosialisasi, Pendidikan Pemilih, Partisipasi Masyarakat dan SDM, dan Kepala Subbagian Teknis Penyelenggaraan Pemilu, Partisipasi dan Hubungan Masyarakat, Anggota PPK Kecamatan Sukomanunggal, 1 Ketua PPS dan 2 Anggota PPS Kecamatan Sukomanunggal, dan 6 pemilih disabilitas di Kecamatan Sukomanunggal. Teknik pengumpulan data melalui wawancara mendalam dan dokumentasi. Teknik analisis data menggunakan model Miles dan Huberman, yaitu Reduksi Data, Display Data dan Penarikan Kesimpulan (Sugiyono, 2017).

Alasan memilih Kecamatan Sukomanunggal sebagai lokasi penelitian adalah: (1) Kecamatan ini memiliki jumlah terbanyak pemilih disabilitas yang tidak memilih pada Pemilu Kota Surabaya tahun 2019, dari 111 pemilih disabilitas, yang memilih hanya 36, dan sebanyak 75 pemilih disabilitas tidak memilih (KPU Kota Surabaya, yaitu Sertifikat Rekapitulasi Hasil Penghitungan Perolehan Suara Pasangan Calon Presiden dan Wakil Presiden dari Setiap Kecamatan dalam Wilayah Kota Surabaya Pemilu Tahun 2019), (2) Kecamatan Sukomanunggal memiliki jumlah terbanyak penyandang disabilitas mental sekaligus pengidap epilepsi di Kota Surabaya pada tahun 2019, mayoritas yang tidak memilih adalah penyandang disabilitas jenis tersebut dan tuna grahita, namun penyandang disabilitas yang kondisi kedisabilitasannya tidak berat juga tidak berpartisipasi memilih, (3) Kecamatan Sukomanunggal termasuk salah satu kecamatan dengan jumlah TPS banyak pada Pemilu Kota Surabaya tahun 2019.

HASIL DAN PEMBAHASAN

Hambatan Struktural Mewujudkan Pemilu Inklusif Pada Pemilu Kota Surabaya

Pemilu inklusif belum terwujud pada Pemilu Kota Surabaya tahun 2014. Saat itu KPU Kota Surabaya masih mendiskriminasi keberadaan penyandang disabilitas dengan tidak melakukan pendataan khusus bagi mereka, sehingga jumlah mereka tidak teridentifikasi. Pada masa itu, hanya ada dua jenis pemilih yang diakui, yaitu pemilih laki-laki dan pemilih perempuan. Hal ini dibuktikan dengan Formulir Model C1, yaitu Sertifikat Rekapitulasi Hasil dan Rincian Penghitungan Perolehan Suara Pemilu Tahun 2014

yang tidak memiliki keterangan "pemilih disabilitas" pada kolom data pemilih. Namun, pada Pemilu Kota Surabaya tahun 2019, KPU Kota Surabaya telah berupaya mewujudkan pemilu inklusif melalui pendataan khusus penyandang disabilitas. Terdapat kolom khusus disabilitas dalam formulir pendataan yang memudahkan KPU Kota Surabaya dalam mengidentifikasi jumlah pemilih disabilitas di setiap kecamatan di Kota Surabaya. Sehingga, KPU Kota Surabaya juga mudah dalam menyiapkan kebutuhan mereka sebagai pemilih.

Berdasarkan perspektif *International Institute for Democracy and Electoral Assistance* tersebut, untuk mewujudkan pemilu inklusif, maka penyelenggara pemilu harus menyediakan kebutuhan akses khusus yaitu "*mobile registration…for those…confined to the home…*". Maka, penyelenggara pemilu harus mengunjungi kediaman penyandang disabilitas, khususnya yang hanya bisa di rumah karena kondisi kedisablitasannya untuk mendata mereka sebagai pemilih. Akses khusus ini sudah tersedia di Kecamatan Sukomanunggal. Pemilih tuna daksa, pemilih disabilitas mental dan pengidap epilepsi, dua pemilih tuna netra, pemilih disabilitas motorik, dan pemilih tuna rungu di kecamatan tersebut mengatakan bahwa petugas pemilu mengunjungi kediaman dan mendata mereka sebagai pemilih.

Untuk mewujudkan pemilu inklusif bagi penyandang disabilitas, penyelenggara pemilu harus "*ensuring that registration…are accessible for voters with disabilities…*" (International Institute for Democracy and Electoral Assistance, 2006). Pendaftaran yang aksesibel adalah di mana pendaftaran tersebut mencakup seluruh penyandang disabilitas yang telah memiliki hak untuk memilih, sehingga mereka semua terdaftar dalam Daftar Pemilih Disabilitas. Jadi, pendaftaran harus dilakukan secara merata.

Sayangnya, Pemilu Kota Surabaya tahun 2019 belum inklusif. Komisioner Divisi Perencanaan, Data dan Informasi KPU Kota Surabaya menyampaikan bahwa, masih ada PPK dan PPS tidak mendata penyandang disabilitas, sehingga mereka tidak terdaftar dalam Daftar Pemilih Disabilitas. PPK dan PPS juga tidak verifikasi ulang data mereka, sehingga mereka terdaftar di TPS yang bukan wilayah tempat tinggalnya, ada pula yang sudah pindah atau sudah meninggal, namun namanya masih terdaftar sebagai pemilih diwilayahnya. Di Kecamatan Sukomanunggal sendiri, petugas PPK juga tidak merata dalam mendata dan tidak verifikasi ulang data penyandang disabilitas. Selain itu, petugas KPPS tidak mendata dengan keterangan disabilitas.

Untuk mewujudkan pemilu inklusif, penyelenggara pemilu juga harus menyediakan kebutuhan akses khusus berupa "*…mobile…voting facilities for those…confined to the home…*" (International IDEA, 2006). Dalam hal ini, fasilitas pemungutan suara keliling diperuntukkan bagi salah satunya adalah pemilih disabilitas yang benar-benar hanya bisa di rumah (tidak mampu pergi ke TPS) karena kondisi kedisabilitasannya. Fasilitas pemungutan suara keliling belum inklusif atau aksesibel di Kecamatan Sukomanunggal pada Pemilu Kota Surabaya tahun 2019. Pada masa itu, pemilih disabilitas telah meminta bantuan petugas KPPS untuk membawa kotak suara ke kediaman. Namun, mereka menunggu

hingga sore hari, tetapi tidak ada petugas yang mengunjungi rumah. Mereka juga tidak mampu pergi ke TPS, sehingga mereka berujung tidak berpartisipasi memilih.

Penyelenggara pemilu juga harus *"ensuring that…polling stations and equiptments are accessible for voters with disabilities…"* (International Institute for Democracy and Electoral Assistance, 2006). Dalam hal ini, TPS yang aksesibel adalah di mana TPS tersebut dibangun di lokasi yang mudah diakses oleh pemilih berkursi roda, tata ruang TPS pun harus aksesibel bagi mereka dan pemilih tuna netra, serta tinggi meja bilik suara dan meja kotak suara harus dapat dijangkau oleh pemilih berkursi roda. Namun, Relawan Demokrasi basis disabilitas yang bertugas pada masa itu menemukan bahwa, TPS di beberapa wilayah justru tidak aksesibel bagi pemilih berkursi roda. Karena, terletak di tanah tidak lapang, di lapangan berumput, terdapat selokan pemisah, tinggi meja bilik suara dan kotak suara juga tidak sesuai dengan pengguna kursi roda. Di Kecamatan Sukomanunggal sendiri, masih ada beberapa TPS yang terletak di pendopo dengan tangga berundak.

Untuk mewujudkan pemilu inklusif bagi penyandang disabilitas, selain memastikan TPS yang aksesibel, penyelenggara pemilu harus menyediakan *"…equipment are accessible to voters with disabilities…"* (International Institute for Democracy and Electoral Assistance, 2006). Jadi, perlengkapan pemungutan suara di TPS harus aksesibel bagi pemilih disabilitas. Perlengkapan tersebut misalnya surat suara untuk Pemilu Presiden dan Wakil Presiden, surat suara untuk Pemilu Anggota DPR, Anggota DPD, dan Anggota DPRD harus masih tersedia bagi pemilih disabilitas. Kemudian, untuk pemilih tuna rungu petugas KPPS harus menyediakan tampilan nomor antrean di TPS untuk membantu mereka mengetahui antrean mereka. Perlengkapan pendukung pemungutan suara lainnya yang harus tersedia di setiap TPS adalah Formulir C3, yang merupakan formulir untuk pendamping pemilih disabilitas. Namun, ketika penyediaan perlengkapan pemungutan suara adalah KPU Kota Surabaya tidak mendistribusikan secara merata Formulir C3. Relawan Demokrasi basis disabilitas pada masa itu menemukan bahwa di beberapa TPS belum ada Formulir C3. Petugas PPS dan KPPS juga tidak menyediakan fasilitas tampilan nomor antrean bagi pemilih tuna rungu. Mereka tidak diberi isyarat, menunggu hingga sore hari dan berujung pulang. DI Kecamatan Sukomanunggal, petugas PPS dan KPPS juga tidak menyediakan fasilitas bagi pemilih tuna rungu. Mereka masih meremehkan keberadaan pemilih tuna rungu yang jumlahnya sedikit. Namun, perlengkapan pemungutan suara, yaitu Surat Suara Pemilu Presiden dan Wakil Presiden, Anggota DPR, DPD, dan DPRD sudah tersedia.

Penyelenggara pemilu juga harus "*…providing electoral information materials suitable for those with visual or aural disabilities…"* (International Institute for Democracy and Electoral Assistance, 2006). Dalam hal ini, penyelenggara pemilu harus menyampaikan informasi pemilu melalui sosialisasi dengan bahan-bahan sosialisasi yang memudahkan pemilih tuna netra dan pemilih tuna rungu dalam memahaminya. Bahan-bahan sosialisasi tersebut seperti poster untuk pemilih tuna rungu dan buku pedoman pemungutan suara dengan huruf braille untuk pemilih tuna netra.

Namun, pada Pemilu Kota Surabaya tahun 2019, hambatan dalam penyediaan bahan-bahan sosialisasi pemilu adalah penyelenggara pemilu tidak menyediakan bahan-bahan tersebut untuk semua jenis pemilih disabilitas. Di Kecamatan Sukomanunggal, pemilih tuna rungu diberi sosialisasi oleh penyelenggara pemilu mengenai profil calon presiden dan wakil presiden melalui poster. Namun, berbeda halnya dengan pemilih tuna netra, penyelenggara pemilu tidak memberinya sosialisasi dan buku pedoman pemungutan suara khusus tuna netra.

KPU Kota Surabaya juga memiliki persepsi yang kurang inklusif, karena hanya melibatkan perwakilan komunitas-komunitas disabilitas dalam sosialisasi pemilu. Menurut KPU Kota Surabaya, perwakilan-perwakilan tersebut dapat menyalurkan informasi-informasi pemilu kepada pemilih disabilitas di luar komunitas. Pemilu seharusnya melibatkan seluruh penyandang disabilitas tidak hanya di dalam komunitas, namun juga di luar komunitas. Terlebih lagi, penyandang disabilitas di luar komunitas tidak memiliki relasi dengan pemerintah dan sering terabaikan dalam kegiatan-kegiatan politik. Komunitas-komunitas disabilitas tentu tidak dapat menjangkau seluruh penyandang disabilitas di Kota Surabaya. KPU Kota Surabaya seharusnya turun tangan memberikan sosialisasi pemilu kepada pemilih disabilitas di luar komunitas.

Pemilu inklusif juga belum terwujud di Kecamatan Sukomanungal pada Pemilu Kota Surabaya tahun 2019, karena petugas PPK, PPS dan KPPS tidak melakukan sosialisasi secara merata ke setiap kediaman pemilih disabilitas. Tiga perangkat penyelenggara pemilu tersebut menganggap bahwa sosialisasi ke setiap kediaman pemilih disabilitas bukanlah tugas mereka. Penyelenggara pemilu yang tidak memberi sosialisasi ke setiap kediaman pemilih disabilitas tentu menghambat perwujudan pemilu inklusif. Kita tahu bahwa tidak semua pemilih disabilitas mampu hadir ke tempat di mana sosialisasi pemilu gabungan diselenggarakan. Banyak pemilih disabilitas yang tidak mampu pergi jauh, seperti pemilih tuna daksa yang hanya bisa berbaring di tempat tidur, pemilih disabilitas mental sekaligus pengidap epilepsi yang mengalami kejang-kejang jika berada di keramaian, pemilih tuna netra yang benar-benar kesulitan pergi dengan jarak jauh, pemilih disabilitas motorik yang kondisinya akan *down* jika berada di tengah orang-orang yang tidak dikenal, dan lain-lain.

Berdasarkan perspektif *International Institute for Democracy and Electoral Assistance*, untuk mewujudkan pemilu inklusif maka penyelenggara pemilu harus *"...providing registration or voting assistance to the where needed..."* (International Institute for Democracy and Electoral Assistance, 2006). Dalam hal ini, pemilu inklusif bagi penyandang disabilitas menyediakan pendamping bagi mereka ketika proses pendaftaran pemilih atau pemungutan suara. Namun, petugas pemilu yang menjadi pendamping pemilih disabilitas ketika proses pemungutan suara misalnya, dapat mempengaruhi asas rahasia pemilu. Oleh karena itu, pemilih disabilitas yang benar-benar membutuhkan pendamping ketika pemungutan suara berhak memilih pendampingnya sendiri. Namun, petugas KPPS di Kecamatan Sukomanunggal merebut hak pemilih disabilitas dalam memilih

pendamping mereka. Hal ini dialami oleh seorang pemilih tuna netra ketika berada di TPS, di mana ia tidak mengetahui jenis-jenis surat suara yang memiliki warna berbeda, sehingga meminta kepada petugas KPPS untuk didampingi oleh suaminya ketika di bilik suara. Namun, petugas KPPS tidak mengizinkannya dengan alasan terdapat petugas pendamping pemilih disabilitas ketika memilih di bilik suara.

Berdasarkan perspektif *International Institute for Democracy and Electoral Assistance,* pada pemilu inklusif salah satu hal yang harus disediakan bagi pemilih disabilitas adalah *"…providing voting equipment such as ballot paper templates for the visually impaired…"* (International Institute for Democracy and Electoral Assistance, 2006). Dalam hal ini, pemilih tuna netra memiliki hak mendapatkan alat bantu tuna netra (template surat suara braille) ketika menggunakan hak pilihnya di bilik suara. Penyelenggara pemilu harus mendistribusikan secara merata alat bantu tuna netra ke setiap TPS.

KPU Kota Surabaya telah menyediakan fasilitas bagi pemilih tuna netra. Fasilitas tersebut telah disediakan oleh Republik Indonesia dan KPU hanya menerima. Fasilitas bagi pemilih tuna netra disediakan sebanyak 1 buah di setiap TPS. Namun, tidak semua surat suara pemilu menyediakan alat bantu tuna netra., hanya untuk surat suara Pemilu Presiden dan Wakil Presiden, dan Pemilu Anggota DPD. Selain itu, Relawan Demokrasi basis disabilitas pada masa itu menemukan bahwa, di beberapa TPS di mana pemilih tuna netra terdaftar tidak menyediakan alat bantu tuna netra.

Faktor-faktor lain penyebab terjadi banyak hambatan struktural yang menghambat perwujudan pemilu inklusif pada Pemilu Kota Surabaya tahun 2019 adalah pendanaan dan SDM (Sumber Daya Manusia) KPU Kota Surabaya yang terbatas. KPU Kota Surabaya tidak memberikan dana yang sepadan dengan beban kerja PPS dan KPPS di Kecamatan Sukomanunggal ketika proses pemetaan. Mereka harus memetakan puluhan ribu daftar pemilih dengan jumlah SDM yang sedikit. Sehingga, mereka harus merekrut lebih banyak relawan untuk membantu tugas mereka. Namun, karena KPU Kota Surabaya tidak memberi dana yang cukup, PPS dan KPPS harus menggunakan dana pribadi mereka untuk merekrut relawan.

Penyebab banyaknya petugas PPK, PPS dan KPPS yang tidak maksimal menjalankan tugasnya adalah kurangnya pengawasan KPU Kota Surabaya karena SDM yang terbatas. SDM KPU Kota Surabaya tidak begitu banyak, sehingga tidak mampu turun ke lapangan untuk melakukan pengawasan secara menyeluruh terhadap PPK, PPS dan KPPS di Kota Surabaya. Itulah mengapa, masih banyak PPK, PPS dan KPPS yang tidak mematuhi aturan-aturan pemilu bagi penyandang disabilitas.

Pemilu Kota Surabaya tahun 2019 belum inklusif karena KPU Kota Surabaya tidak menjalankan tugasnya dalam memberi sosialisasi pemilu kepada KPPS. Hal ini menyebabkan KPPS masih minim pengetahuan mengenai inklusivitas dan belum memahami prosedur-prosedur pemilu khusus disabilitas.

Seperti yang terjadi di Kecamatan Sukomanunggal, di mana petugas KPPS tidak mendata penyandang disabilitas dengan keterangan disabilitas, lalu tidak melakukan sosialisasi ke setiap kediaman pemilih disabilitas, dan tidak membangun TPS yang aksesibel, serta tidak menyediakan fasilitas bagi pemilih tuna rungu.

KPU Kota Surabaya juga lambat dalam mengambil keputusan. Dalam hal ini, Relawan Demokrasi basis disabilitas mengadakan FGD (*Focus Group Disscussion*) sehari setelah pemilu untuk mengumpulkan seluruh permasalahan yang dihadapi oleh penyandang disabilitas. Kemudian, menulis laporan terkait permasalahan-permasalahan tersebut dan mengirimkannya kepada KPU Pusat, KPU Provinsi Jawa Timur dan KPU Kota Surabaya. Namun, hingga bulan September tahun 2022 ketika melakukan wawancara dengan salah satu anggota Relawan Demokrasi, tidak ada solusi dan keputusan dari tiga lembaga penyelenggara pemilu tersebut.

Hambatan kultural penyebab pemilih disabilitas di Kecamatan Sukomanunggal tidak memilih pada pemilu Kota Surabaya tahun 2019

Pada Pemilu Kota Surabaya tahun 2019, petugas KPPS di Kecamatan Sukomanunggal tidak memfasilitasi pemungutan suara ke kediaman beberapa pemilih disabilitas yang tidak mampu pergi ke TPS. Disampaikan oleh pemilih tuna daksa, yang hanya bisa berbaring di tempat tidur, pemilih disabilitas mental sekaligus pengidap epilepsi, yang kondisinya akan kejang-kejang jika berada di keramaian, pemilih tuna netra yang tidak dapat pergi ke TPS yang letaknya cukup jauh dari kediamannya, dan pemilih disabilias motorik, yang tidak mampu pergi ke TPS karena kondisinya akan *down* jika berada di tengah orang-orang yang tak dikenal. Mereka semua telah meminta bantuan petugas KPPS untuk membantu membawa kotak suara ke kediaman. Namun, hingga sore hari tidak ada petugas yang datang.

Dari hambatan struktural tersebut, muncullah hambatan kultural. Di mana, para pemilih disabilitas menjadi putus asa dan tidak memilih. Mereka menjadi berpandangan bahwa "*ngapain* ikut memilih..", mereka juga berpandangan "mungkin partisipasi saya tidak berpengaruh apa pun *pantesan* petugas *gak* datang kesini..". Selain itu, hambatan kultural juga berupa keluarga pemilih disabilitas yang memutuskan untuk tidak mengizinkan putra dan putrinya untuk pergi ke TPS karena khawatir kondisinya. Sehingga, pemilih disabilitas pasrah dan tidak ikut memilih. Hambatan kultural lainnya adalah berasal dari pola pikir pemilih disabilitas sendiri mengenai partisipasinya dalam pemilu. Terdapat pemilih disabilitas yang enggan berpartisipasi memilih. Ia berpandangan bahwa aktor-aktor politik yang berkuasa tidak menyejahterakan penyandang disabilitas yang masih kesulitan mencari pekerjaan, ia juga berpandangan bahwa partisipasinya dalam pemilu tidak bermakna penting.

KESIMPULAN

Pemilu Kota Surabaya tahun 2019 di Kecamatan Sukomanunggal belum inklusif dikarenakan terjadi berbagai hambatan struktural di mana penyelenggara pemilu belum sepenuhnya memenuhi hak-hak pemilih disabilitas. (1) akses khusus, yaitu pendaftaran keliling sudah tersedia bagi pemilih disabilitas yang tidak mampu pergi ke TPS, (2) pendaftaran belum aksesibel, PPK tidak verifikasi ulang data penyandang disabilitas dan KPPS tidak mendata dengan keterangan disabilitas, (3) akses khusus, yaitu fasilitas pemungutan suara keliling tidak ada pemilih disabilitas yang tidak mampu pergi ke TPS, (4) TPS tidak aksesibel bagi pemilih tuna daksa, karena terletak di pendopo dengan tangga berundak, ada pula TPS dengan tata ruang sempit sehingga pemilih tuna netra sering menabrak dalam berjalan, (5) perlengkapan pemungutan suara di TPS, tampilan nomor antrean bagi pemilih tuna rungu tidak tersedia, (6) bahan-bahan sosialisasi pemilu hanya ada untuk pemilih tuna rungu, yaitu poster, untuk pemilih tuna netra tidak ada, (7) Petugas PPK, PPS dan KPPS tidak sosialisasi ke setiap kediaman pemilih disabilitas, (8) pemilih disabilitas tidak dapat memilih pendampingnya sendiri ketika di bilik suara, (9) template braille sudah didistribusikan merata ke setiap TPS.

Hambatan kultural dalam mewujudkan pemilu inklusif muncul karena petugas KPPS tidak memberi fasilitas pemungutan suara ke kediaman pemilih disabilitas: (1) tuna daksa yang hanya bisa berbaring di tempat tidur, (2) disabilitas mental sekaligus pengidap epilepsi yang kejang-kejang jika berada di keramaian, (3) tuna netra yang tidak dapat pergi ke TPS yang lokasinya cukup jauh, (4) disabilitas motorik yang kondisinya akan *down* jika berada di tengah orang-orang tidak dikenal. Sehingga, hambatan kulturalnya: (1) pemilih disabilitas putus asa dan tidak memilih, berpandangan bahwa petugas KPPS mengabaikannya karena partisipasinya tidak berpengaruh apa pun, (2) keluarga tidak mengizinkannya pergi ke TPS.

SARAN

Penulis memiliki beberapa saran bagi KPU Kota Surabaya agar lebih maksimal dalam mewujudkan pemilu inklusif di pemilu yang akan datang. (1) KPU Kota Surabaya harus memberi instruksi secara berkala di luar BIMTEK kepada PPK, PPS dan KPPS agar mendata dengan keterangan disabilitas dan verifikasi ulang data mereka, (2) harus memberi instruksi kepada PPK, PPS dan KPPS agar melakukan sosialisasi pemilu ke setiap kediaman pemilih disabilitas dengan bahan-bahan khusus disabilitas, (3) harus memberi sosialisasi secara berkala di luar BIMTEK kepada KPPS mengenai aturan-aturan TPS yang aksesibel dan melakukan pemantauan yang ketat ketika proses penyiapan TPS, (4) KPU Kota Surabaya harus memberi instruksi secara berkala kepada KPPS untuk memberi fasilitas pemungutan suara ke kediaman para pemilih disabilitas yang benar-benar tidak mampu pergi ke TPS, (5) KPU Kota Surabaya ketika BIMTEK dan di luar BIMTEK harus menegaskan kepada KPPS agar memberi kebebasan pemilih disabilitas dalam memilih pendampingnya sendiri ketika berada di TPS.
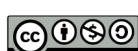
Penulis memiliki beberapa saran bagi penyandang disabilitas dan keluarganya agar berpartisipasi mewujudkan pemilu inklusif di pemilu yang akan datang. (1) Pemilih disabilitas harus memperjuangkan keinginannya untuk memilih, (2) Keluarga pemilih disabilitas harus melapor kepada petugas RT wilayahnya bahwa anggotanya yang disabilitas tidak mampu hadir ke TPS, sehingga petugas RT tersebut akan meminta petugas KPPS untuk mendatangi kediaman pemilih yang bersangkutan, petugas KPPS tidak akan melanggar perintah petugas RT, (3) Keluarga pemilih disabilitas harus mengubah pola pikir anggotanya yang disabilitas, bahwa partisipasinya dalam pemilu sebagai warga negara akan menentukan siapa aktor politik yang memimpin dan membuat kebijakan-kebijakan yang menyejahterakan penyandang disabilitas.

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An Analysis of Indonesia's National Food Estate Programme From a Food Sovereignty-Based Perspective

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Abstract: This study examines the food estate "strategic national programme" implemented by the Indonesian national government in two regions: Humbang Hasundutan Regency in North Sumatra and Gunung Mas Regency in Central Kalimantan. Using a qualitative research method by examining previous research work on the concept of food sovereignty and food security, and by studying mass media coverage regarding the national food estate programme, this study aims to scrutinise Indonesia's national food estate programme through a critical lens based on the ideas of food sovereignty as expounded in the 2007 Declaration of Nyéléni and examines whether the national food estate programme was designed and executed in line with the principles of food sovereignty as outlined in the Declaration. This study finds that the Indonesian government did not take into consideration the principles and practices of food sovereignty as outlined in the Declaration of Nyéléni, instead primarily relying on a conventional use of the food security approach in the execution of the national food estate programme in Humbang Hasundutan and Gunung Mas regencies, with significant consequences such as environmental degradation, economic impacts, and sociocultural and political disruptions felt by local producers and indigenous communities in regions affected by the national food estate programme.

Keywords: Food sovereignty, food security, food estate.

INTRODUCTION

Until recently, scientific and political discourse about global food security primarily focused on quantitative measures of food production and distribution, largely ignoring other aspects like ecological sustainability and the rights of indigenous communities to their traditional agricultural practices. As an alternative to (or even, in some situations and perspectives, diametrically opposed to) food security, the idea of food sovereignty instead places a strong emphasis on the ecological sustainability and sociocultural factors involved in food production and distribution. This study will analyse the current Indonesian government's "Food Estate" strategic national programme through the lens of food sovereignty, explain the circumstances of its current challenges and failures, and demonstrate how the ecologically and socially unsustainable initiative, which was born out of a conventional numbers-oriented implementation of the food security concept, has failed to adequately address the issue of food security in Indonesia while simultaneously causing multiple problems to both local ecology and indigenous communities— two aspects indispensable to the implementation of the concept of food sovereignty.

This study will first discuss the theoretical underpinnings of food security and food sovereignty before providing a general summary of Indonesia's 'Food Estate' government programme and the reasons behind its current challenges. The study will then go into the reasons why these challenges arose from

the disregard of the principles of food sovereignty in favour of a conventional numbers-oriented implementation of the idea of food security. This study may be beneficial for policymakers, non-governmental organisations, and local and national governments around the world as an exhortation to consider the various approaches used in determining political and governmental policies, particularly those regarding food production and the involvement of local producers and indigenous communities in the deliberation processes, and establish a food sovereignty-based approach as the ideal approach in designing and implementing national and local government food policies.

Food security is defined by the United Nations Committee on World Food Security (1996) as meaning that "All people, at all times, have physical, social, and economic access to sufficient, safe, and nutritious food that meets their food preferences and dietary needs for an active and healthy life". As an established scientific concept, food security originated in the aftermath of the global food crisis of 1984 and is focused on stabilising the global food supply through monitoring of weather patterns and grain reserves. As a result, food security as a theoretical concept focuses only on the physical availability of food to people. It does not touch on all aspects of food production and lumps all sociocultural and political components of food production, distribution, and consumption, including the rights of indigenous communities to their agricultural traditions and dietary practices, into just two words within the United Nations definition ("food preferences"). An uncritical usage of this perspective and a disregard towards the multitude of other aspects involved in local food production and a lack of cultural sensitivity to the local and indigenous communities could therefore potentially (although inadvertently) permit the abuses in food production and distribution by profit-minded corporations at the expense of local producers, indigenous farmer communities, and the general population. Food security may also be understood as adequate nutrition for all regardless of the source of the nutrition (whether locally grown or imported), and as a result, an uncritical adoption of this perspective it may be misused to promote large-scale industrialised, corporate-controlled farming based on trade liberalisation and free trade— this order of affairs is termed as "the corporate food regime" (McMichael 2009).

The term "food sovereignty" was first expounded by La Via Campesina, an international organisation of small and middle-scale food producers with a focus on advocating sustainable agriculture through an ecologically friendly, localised food system, and later launched at the 1996 United Nations World Food Summit. Food sovereignty as envisioned by La Via Campesina broadly focuses on the rights of people and food producers, rather than corporations and market institutions which according to the La Via Campesina play a substantial role in the existing global food system. The seven principles of food sovereignty as envisioned by La Via Campesina include: Food as a basic human right, the need for agrarian reform, protection of natural resources, reorganization of food trade to support local food

production, reducing multinational concentration of power, fostering peace, and increasing democratic control of the food system.

Nobel Prize in Economics laureate Amartya Sen in his influential work Poverty and Famines: An Essay on Entitlement and Deprivation (1981) argued that famines are not caused by a lack of food, but by the lack of "entitlements and capabilities"—in other words, the lack of socioeconomic and political means to acquire sufficient food. Sen's approach was revolutionary at the time as it challenged the prevailing perception of food issues as an exclusively material, statistical problem of food availability, and shed light into the political and economic aspects that shape people's access to food beyond agricultural productivity and technology (Watts & Bohle 1993; Blaikie et al., 1994). In some ways, Sen's analysis on the reason of hunger and food security foreshadowed the food sovereignty movement pioneered by La Via Campesina and related organisations a decade later.

Later in 2007, the Declaration of Nyéléni, a joint statement of more than 500 representatives of peasant farmers, indigenous communities, pastoralists, environmental movements, and other related organisations from more than 80 countries that became the global framework of the concept of food sovereignty, laid out principles integral to the concept of food sovereignty which delve deeper into the problems of access to food and its root causes, above and beyond the one-dimensional concept of food security. While reaffirming the right of all of humanity to access food, the declaration also emphasises the importance of localised "peasant and family-driven agriculture" above the "demands of markets and corporations" and the right of people to sustainably produced " good quality, adequate, affordable, healthy, and culturally appropriate food". The declaration further affirms the autonomy of local producers and their rights to use and manage their "lands, territories, waters, seeds, livestock and biodiversity" in opposition to the "corporate trade and food regime". Far from just being an agricultural manifesto, the Declaration of Nyéléni is a multifaceted document: it recognises the immense value of farmer communities working in ecologically friendly manner, while rallying against imperialism, neoliberalism, neo-colonialism, patriarchy, marginalisation of women and indigenous communities, and the privatisation of food. Therefore, the Declaration of Nyéléni provides a more thorough analysis, recognising the complexity and the far-reaching consequences of food production in the areas of politics, economics, and culture. The concept of food sovereignty as outlined in the Declaration of Nyéléni gives an alternative, more comprehensive analysis to the corporate-driven system of global food production and distribution which falls increasingly under scrutiny for its unsustainable and unjust nature.

Although originally pioneered by grassroots organisations, indigenous farming communities, and environmental activists, the concept of food sovereignty has received broad political support, particularly in Latin America. Bolivia and Ecuador have applied the concept of food sovereignty in their policies aimed at securing food needs for the general local population in their countries (Peña,

2008; Ayres & Bosia 2011). This shows that the concept of food sovereignty as outlined in the Declaration of Nyéléni is attainable and more beneficial for the general public and population of countries which implement those principles.

The ideal implementation of the concept of food sovereignty as envisioned by the Declaration of Nyéléni cannot be separated from the recognition of indigenous communities, especially farmers, pastoralists, and other local producers, to their traditions and values which help food production in their own specific local settings. The Indonesian Constitution of 1945 also recognises the rights of indigenous communities (in Indonesian: *masyarakat adat*) in Chapter 18B Article 2, which states that "The state recognises and respects legal units of indigenous communities and their traditional rights as far as they are extant and in line with the principle of the Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia, as governed in laws".

RESEARCH METHOD

This study uses the qualitative descriptive approach as the primary methodological approach, with a description narrative of the subject matter derived from scholarly works pertaining to food security and food sovereignty and mass media publications from Indonesian and international sources, which serve as a representation of scholarly and public opinion regarding the Indonesian national food estate programme. Qualitative description research seeks to provide a rich description of contemporary issues depicted in easily understood language (Sullivan-Bolyai et al., 2005). Qualitative description researchers also seek to discover and understand a phenomenon and perspectives of the people involved (Caelli et al., 2003). A qualitative description approach offers the opportunity to discover the who, what, where, and why of events or experiences (Neergaard et al., 2009), and can often be of special relevance to practitioners and policy makers (Sandelowski, 2000).

RESULT AND DISCUSSION

The national food estate programme is an Indonesian "strategic national programme" unveiled by the Indonesian president Joko Widodo in his speech in the Indonesian People's Consultative Assembly's annual meeting on 14 August 2020. In his address, President Widodo announced the construction of new farms in some Indonesian provinces, most notably in North Sumatra and Central Kalimantan, by reactivating dormant farmlands and clearing "bushlands"— although it should be noted that the Indonesian government uses this term to define both actual bushlands and ecologically important forests. These new food estates are expected to cover an area of 5.7 million hectares- larger than the land area of Croatia, to curb national reliance on food imports. In North Sumatra, the government plans to develop 1,000 hectares of farmland under the programme, while in Central Kalimantan, the government plans to create 2.3 million hectares of farmland. The newly created farms will be

monocultural, growing mostly one crop all year long. The Indonesian government's official position claims that the national food estate programme is intended to strengthen Indonesia's food sovereignty and resilience—the concept of food sovereignty is legally defined in Indonesian law by Act Number 18/2012 which defines 'food sovereignty' (in Indonesian: *kedaulatan pangan*) as "The right of the country and nation to independently determine food policies that guarantees the right to food for the people and gives the right for society to determine food systems that align with local resource potentials". Although the law gives acknowledgement to the right of local communities and indigenous communities to their own food systems as defined by the Declaration of Nyéléni, it does not fully accommodate all principles of food sovereignty as defined in the Declaration, including the right of local producers and indigenous farming communities to their lands, waters, seeds, livestock, and biodiversity. In contrast to the Declaration of Nyéléni, there is also no emphasis on environmental sustainability and an opposition to a corporate-driven industrial food regime. The government's definition of food sovereignty mainly refers to the concept of "national food self-sufficiency," with only a passing mention of the environmental and sociocultural considerations as outlined in the Declaration of Nyéléni— seemingly conflating food sovereignty with food security. Therefore, rather than focusing on sociocultural issues such as the rights of traditional local and indigenous farming communities and their active participation in agricultural policymaking and implementation, the official Indonesian government perspective as expressed through the national food estate programme and laws primarily emphasises numerical indicators such as the acreage of new farmlands and the quantity of crops produced.

The Challenges of the Food Estate Strategic National Programme in Humbang Hasundutan Regency, North Sumatra

The 1,000-hectare North Sumatra food estate programme is centred in the Humbang Hasundutan Regency, which has historically been home to the agrarian Batak ethnic group. The central government granted substantial amounts of land and farming equipment to local farmers to participate in the food estate programme, on the condition that participating farmers cultivate government-mandated crops, which were decided on a national rather than on a localised basis, on a government-mandated farming schedule, regardless of local agricultural customs. Farmers were forbidden from using their traditional farming practices and had to strictly adhere to government-approved farming techniques. Farmers are also required to sell their harvests to a government-chosen broker at prices below market prices.

These restrictions imposed on local farmers had less than ideal effects. In one instance, local farmers in Humbang Hasundutan were mandated by the government to plant non-native plants before the farmland was fit for use, disregarding the traditional procedures of field processing before planting crops. As a result, harvest quality dramatically declined; the first harvest under the Humbang Hasundutan food estate programme only produced a tenth to a third of typical harvest yields.

After the setbacks of the first harvest under the food estate scheme, the Indonesian government invited a select few agribusiness corporations to invest in the Humbang Hasundutan food estate by buying off the local farmers' products, thereby creating an agricultural cartel and placing even more restrictions on local farmers, limiting their agency in the conduct and management of their own work. Those corporations set crop prices, regulate farming methods, and established production quotas that must be fulfilled by the farmers while operating without a clear contract limit, practically turning the independent, land-owning local indigenous farmers into serfs in all but name, all in the span of two years.

Due to the lack of government support and attention towards local traditional farming methods and local geniuses (in Indonesian: *kearifan lokal*) in the food estate programme and the increasing demands of private corporations, local farmers were driven to abandon their traditional methods of crop rotation and multi-crop farming in favour of only cultivating government-mandated non-native crops, thereby putting many culturally significant native crops at risk of extinction, particularly benzoin (*damar*) and andaliman (Zanthoxylum acanthopodium) which are traditionally gathered and harvested in the traditional forests of Humbang Hasundutan. Avena Matondang, a Batak anthropologist from the State University of Medan, expressed concern that the monocultural nature of the food estate programme in Humbang Hasundutan might endanger the region's long-standing tradition of cultivating andaliman and harvesting benzoin, two plants that are important to Batak culture and traditional cuisine. An end of andaliman and benzoin cultivation in Humbang Hasundutan would in turn endanger the traditional Batak way of life and traditional cultural values.

The Challenges of the Food Estate Strategic National Programme in Gunung Mas Regency, Central Kalimantan

Central Kalimantan, the focus point of the current food estate programme by land area (with a planned new farmland area of 2.7 million hectares), had previously experienced another (failed) food estate programme in 1995 under President Suharto, with a planned new farmland area of 1 million hectares to be converted from peatland. Virtually none was successfully farmed by the end of Suharto's tenure in 1998. The first phase of the current Central Kalimantan food estate involves the reactivation of 31,000 hectares of former peatlands cleared in the failed 1995 food estate programme- 20,000 hectares in Kapuas Raya Regency and 10,000 hectares in Pulang Pisau Regency. Under the management of Defence Minister Prabowo Subianto, Indonesian military personnel were deployed to reactivate the peatland farms— under the reasoning that food availability in Indonesia is a "security issue"— which again showed the Indonesian government's adoption of the conventional food security perspective without considering the multifaceted perspectives involved in the concept of food sovereignty. Military personnel deployed in the programme were only given one week of training, while traditional farmers in the area with localised, decades-old traditional experience were not consulted on their agricultural

traditions or practices. As a result, in the Pulang Pisau food estate, almost 90% of farmers did not achieve satisfactory rice harvests—in the 2021 harvest, farmers were only able to harvest 1.5 tonnes of rice per hectare from an expected 3.5-4 tonnes. This finding was brought into discussion in the Indonesian House of Representatives by Member of Parliament Andi Akmal Pasluddin in November 2021.

In the nearby regency of Gunung Mas, the food estate programme plans to convert 30,000 hectares of land traditionally inhabited and farmed by the indigenous Dayak people—including over 15,000 hectares of forest—into cassava farms, displacing indigenous farmers in the process. The government insisted on planting cassava in a monocultural manner against the advice of local farmers with intimate traditional knowledge of their ancestral farmlands who know that their local land is not suitable for farming cassava. As of November 2022, 600 hectares of forest cover in Gunung Mas Regency have been converted into cassava farms with the permission of the Indonesian Ministry of Environment and Forestry, causing 61,000 tonnes of carbon emissions and increasing the risk of floods in Gunung Mas and nearby regions including the provincial capital Palangkaraya— with the most recent major flood occurring in January and February 2023, displacing 3,595 people in the Gunung Mas Regency alone. The current food estate project itself also only produced negligible yields— a BBC Indonesia investigative documentary first aired in 15th of March 2023 discovered that the 600 hectares of the food estate in Gunung Mas Regency experienced crop failures, with farming machinery seen abandoned in the food estate area. The Ministry of Defence admitted that there are difficulties in cassava cultivation in the Gunung Mas food estate but blamed them to a lack of government funding instead of a general lack of involvement of local farmers and indigenous communities in the management of the Gunung Mas food estate programme. The adverse effects of the food estate programme in Gunung Mas Regency have become so significant, both agriculturally and ecologically, that the non-governmental organisation Indonesian Forum for Living Environment (*Walhi*) has declared the programme a "failure".

The productivity challenges faced by the Gunung Mas food estate, the potential displacement of local indigenous farming communities, and the environmental degradation caused by the programme have generated considerable backlash, including numerous climate and indigenous protests. On the 16th of November 2022, the regional representative council of Gunung Mas Regency as the elected representative of the inhabitants of Gunung Mas Regency demanded an end to the Gunung Mas food estate programme and the reconversion of the new farmlands back into forest cover. This motion was proposed by Democratic Party caucus of the Gunung Mas Regional Representative Council on 16 November 2022. The Vice-Regent of Gunung Mas, Efrensia L. P. Umbing, approved the motion, calling the Gunung Mas food estate programme "disruptive to the forest's function as a buffer", and has formally requested an explanation from the central government regarding the future of the programme.

As of the writing of this study, both the executive government and legislature of Gunung Mas Regency are officially against the Gunung Mas food estate programme.

An Examination of the Indonesian Food Estate Strategic National Programme

The Indonesian national food estate programme was not primarily designed to benefit local smallholder and indigenous farmers. There is little consideration given to the needs, traditions, and local geniuses (in Indonesian: *kearifan lokal*) of local farmers and food producers, environmental conservation, and the rights of indigenous farmer communities to their lands, water, seeds, livestock and biodiversity from the perspective of their traditional culture as outlined in the Declaration of Nyéléni— instead, the Indonesian government prefers to implement a numbers-oriented industrial viewpoint designed to benefit the private companies and investors involved in the programme. It seems that the principles of food sovereignty as summarised in the Declaration of Nyéléni were not taken into consideration by the Indonesian government in the planning and implementation of the food estate programme in North Sumatra and Central Kalimantan.

As a result of this particular method of implementation, both the North Sumatra and Central Kalimantan food estate programmes have failed to increase crop production numbers and food availability in Indonesia, instead lowering overall local crop yields and thereby placing Indonesia one step further away from food security. The national food estate programme has failed to deliver its original goal of simple, statistical self-sufficiency in national food production— on the contrary, the national food estate programme can be deemed as unsatisfactory even when examined through conventional food security definitions. Even more alarming, however, is the programme's even greater failure in establishing and affirming the rights of indigenous peoples and local farmer communities to their agricultural traditions and cultural practices in the food estate locations and the substantial environmental degradation brought by the programme itself. The national food estate programme in its current form does not recognise nor take into account the rights of local farmers and indigenous communities to their lands, waters, seeds, livestock, or biodiversity as envisioned by the Declaration of Nyéléni. The Indonesian government's fixation on simple statistical indicators of food production and its apparent willingness to set aside the wellbeing of local farming communities and the natural environment to reach production targets had backfired, wreaking havoc on local agriculture, natural ecosystems, and indigenous culture while at the same time lowering food production numbers. The apparent lack of consultation and deliberation involving local farming communities and environmental experts, both parties indispensable in an ideal implementation of the food sovereignty concept, had in turn caused this multifaceted disaster. As Greenpeace puts it so eloquently, the programme designed to solve food insecurity has instead "fed food insecurity".

CONCLUSIONS

The challenges and setbacks experienced by the government's food estate programme in Indonesia demonstrated that food production and distribution systems are complex, multifaceted affairs with economic, environmental, political, and sociocultural aspects— aspects that cannot be fully comprehended and explained using a conventional implementation of the food security concept. Time and time again, the implementation of the conventional food security concept as was applied in the Indonesian food estate strategic national programme has exacerbated the climate crisis and displaced indigenous and local farming communities, and the adverse effects of the food estate strategic national programme in Indonesia joins the long list of the consequences of the current hegemony of the corporate-driven industrial food regime. The principles of food sovereignty as outlined in the Declaration of Nyéléni, on the other hand, give a more comprehensive and nuanced analysis on the food system that places the rights of farmers and indigenous communities and environmental sustainability in agriculture on the same level, if not above, simple statistical numbers of food production and distribution. The pattern of marginalisation of local indigenous cultures and environmental degradation so apparent in the current implementation of the Indonesian national food estate programme can only be averted by an implementation of the principles of food sovereignty with a thorough analysis sensitive to the specific sociocultural and economic conditions of regions and localities where they are implemented, as exemplified through the principles expounded in the Declaration of Nyéléni. Only then can food— not as a mere industrial product but as a human right— would become both bountifully available and fairly sourced.

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Is Political Science a Science?
The Evolution of Popper's Metaphor

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Abstract: In this literature review, we aim to answer the question, is political science a science? through revisiting the work of Gabriel Almond and Stephen Genco, titled Clouds, clocks, and the study of politics (1977). We will show the paradigm shift in understanding the subject matter of social sciences in terms of epistemology, ontology, and methodology, from the positivist clock-like model to the plastic model of the post- behavioralist schools, relying on the three-stage metamorphosis of Popper's metaphor of clouds and clocks. Then, we will show how our definition of science has transformed from methodology-focused iron-like rigidity of positivists to the substance-based pursuit of understanding plastic reality. The review fundamentally links the change in the perception of social science as a science to the transformation of our understanding of science as a whole, after the emergence of quantum mechanics and the uncertainty principle of Heisenberg. The end result of this critical review reveals that political science is a science because science itself is not only about regularities and strict laws of classical mechanics, but it is about malleable realities. Therefore, although the subject matter of hard science differs from that of political science, political science could develop on parallel with hard science.

Keywords: Clock-like model, plastic model, Popper's metaphor, clouds, Heisenberg.

INTRODUCTION

Our understanding of science has transformed from the classical clock-like model of positivism that restricts scientific studies to a set of rules and regular laws. A transformation of understanding science, and therefore political science has occurred with the development of quantum physics and Heisenberg's uncertainty principle that stipulates that the position and speed of particles cannot be determined perfectly. Political science has been influenced significantly by this transformation. Almond and Genco use Popper's analogy of clouds and clocks to explain the nature of the political investigation. According to Popper, reality is homogeneous and amenable to a single model of scientific explanation, in contrast to the meta-methodological homogeneity of the hard sciences. In this metaphor, clouds and clocks stand in for the ideas of determinacy and indeterminacy in physical systems. He suggests visualizing a spectrum of subjects, from the most irregular, disorganized, and unpredictable to the most regular, orderly, and predictable. Newtonian mechanics gave rise to the widely accepted idea that the universe runs like a clock. It won't take long to understand how their clock functions, contrary to what was previously believed about other deterministic phenomena. Because of this, Newtonian physics gained notoriety for the proverb that even the cloudiest clouds are clocks (Almond & Genco, 1977).

This clock-like model inspires the behavioralist school to produce what they claim is the true "scientific" investigation of political puzzles. The investigation is sufficiently thorough to yield

predictions based on quantitatively tested data (Ishiyama & Breuning, 2011). "Behavioralism's defining elements include a focus on political actors and their behavior, value-free science, and the study of operationalizable questions through hypothesis formulation and empirical, quantitative research," (Ishiyama & Breuning, 2011). Political science is about the "scientific" study of political phenomenon. The scientificness of this approach lies in the use of much mathematics and focus on the methodology. The five steps of the scientific method as follows: the causal theory, the hypothesis, the empirical test, the evaluation of the hypothesis, and the evaluation of the causal theory (Kellstedt & Whitten, 2019). These steps transform causal relationships into scientific knowledge. Grigsby explains that the behavioralist approach relies on the empirical observation of political behaviors, "devoid of normative judgment"(Ishiyama & Breuning, 2011) . This would produce a science that is "value-free" and protect against the corruption of biases (Ishiyama & Breuning, 2011). These ideas can be summarized in Easton's intellectual foundation stones : 1) regularities, 2) commitment to verification, 3) techniques, 4) quantification, 5) values, 6) systemization, 7) pure science, 8) integration (Ishiyama & Breuning, 2011). This framework cements the rigidness of behaviorism in understanding science in general and political science in particular. Therefore, throughout this article, post-behaviorists will challenge this framework, marking the evolution of Popper's Metaphor.

Quantum mechanics, which also turned the metaphor on its head, disproved this clock-like model. The dominant understanding of the social sciences now regards all clocks as clouds with varying degrees of cloudiness. Popper continues to make the case that indeterminism is insufficient to explain the autonomy of human ideas in the concrete world by asking the rhetorical question: is chance really more satisfying than determinism? (Almond & Genco, 1977). Popper responds that because quantum decisions cannot adequately capture rational human behavior, the model of unpredictable behavior is severely constrained.

Geertz states that " the second law of thermodynamics, or the principle of natural selection, or the notion of unconscious motivation, or the organization of the means of production does not explain everything, not even everything human," (Geertz, 2008), commenting on Langer's Grande Idée, which describes the behavioralist comprehensive model of scientific inquiry. Similarly, it seems that the emergence of quantum mechanics has turned the table, proving that such clock-like model can be applied "where it applies and where it is capable of extension", and it should be rejected " when it does not apply or cannot be extended," (Geertz, 2008). The way general relativity corrected our clock-like Newtonian conceptualization of time and space, and the way quantum mechanics reoriented our understanding of the very small-scale physical phenomena, post-behavioralism reevaluated the value-free model of behavioralism. Grigsby states that Post-behavioralism emphasizes that political science research must be relevant, that it must address pressing political issues, that science and values are inextricably linked, and that political science should not try to emulate the strict application of scientific methods used in

the natural sciences (Ishiyama & Breuning, 2011). Hence, the clock-like Grande Idée should be dismissed, as it will only confine our inquiry to reductionist questions, exactly like the adherence to Newtonian physics confines us to the study of large-scale world, ignoring the quantum phenomena. Simply, Albert Einstein's claim that God does not play dice cannot change the reality of the quantum universe.

In this critical review, we will show how Popper's metaphor has evolved from clock-like mode to the plastic model of understanding science, by revisiting Gabriel Almond and Stephen Genco's piece (1977), from the perspective of the status quo literature. This change of perceiving science has redirected the way we perceive political questions and the way we approach them, confirming the scientificness of political science.

RESEARCH METHOD

To reestablish the scientificness of political science, this paper will rely on an extensive critical literature review. This latter is founded fundamentally on Gabriel Almond and Stephen Genco's piece (1977). A variety of contemporary literature will be used to assess this piece, and to show how this1977's piece is still relevant today.

Gabriel Almond and Stephen Genco's piece (1977) discusses how political science has recently tended to lose touch with its ontological grounding in its effort to become scientific. Political events and phenomena have a tendency to be seen as natural occurrences amenable to the same explanatory logic found in physics and other hard sciences. This tendency can be partially explained as a stage of the scientific revolution, where ontological and methodological presumptions from the remarkably successful hard sciences diffused in two steps, first to psychology and economics and then from these leading human sciences to sociology, anthropology, political science, and even history. The neopositivist school of philosophy of science, which endorsed this premise of ontological and meta-methodological uniformity, urged the social sciences—and political science in particular—to adopt the agenda of hard science. Recently, several economists, psychologists, and philosophers of science have begun to question the technique utilized in hard science's relevance to human subject areas (Almond & Genco, 1977). This paper aims at assessing the development of Popper's metaphor after the publication of Almond & Genco's piece. The recent progress achieved in social science that proves Almond and Genco's expectations of 1977 urges to reconnect today's available literature with the 1977's piece.

The question of this paper revolves around if political science is actually a science? Using Popper's three-stage metamorphosis of the metaphor of clouds and clocks, we will demonstrate the paradigm shift in understanding the subject matter of social sciences in terms of epistemology, ontology, and methodology, from the positivist clock-like model to the plastic model of the post-behaviorist schools.

Then, we will demonstrate how our concept of science has changed from the positivists' methodology-focused iron-like rigidity to the substance-based quest for comprehension of flexible reality.

The review establishes a key connection between the evolution of our concept of science as a whole with the development of quantum physics and the Heisenberg's uncertainty principle and the shift in how social science is perceived as a science. The review aims to demonstrate that political science is a science since science is about flexible realities as well as hard rules of classical physics and regularities. Political science might therefore advance alongside hard science, despite the fact that their respective fields have different subject matter.

RESULT AND DISCUSSION

The Notion of Plastic Control

According to Popper, a middle-ground model for comprehending human and animal behavior combines control and freedom as well as the notion of plastic control and lies between perfect clouds and perfect clocks. By introducing the idea of plastic control, Popper has succeeded in challenging the idea that our theories are in control of our behavior. We are not required to allow our theories to control us; rather, we are resisting their ability to dictate how we behave. We can critically evaluate them and reject them if they are in conflict with the evidence that is currently available (Almond & Genco, 1977).

The previous idea is connected to the notion of performativity. Some theories transcend mere description of social reality to shaping it, in a phenomenon known as performativity of social theory. In some cases, self-fulfillment, where the application of performative theories increases conformity between theories and social reality, is the most fascinating level of performativity. These hypotheses specifically become self-fulfilling if they promote experimentation, produce anomalies as a result of experimentation, and result in changes in practice (Marti & Gond, 2018). Such kind of theories pose a debatable problem because realists think that self-fulfillment endangers the realist approach that relies on developing" true and successful statements about the world. Hence, we think that the discussed clock-like model of social theory would restrict us to certain regularities, and prevents us from exploring reality that actually exists beyond the constraints of our theories; this is somehow an unintentional step towards altering social reality (Bergenholtz & Busch, 2016). The potential for self-fulfillment in social science theories has implications for how researchers view their own work (Marti & Gond, 2018). Eventually, If a theory results in anomalies, researchers can draw attention to these anomalies and engage in sense-making to persuade previously unpersuaded actors (Marti & Gond, 2018).

Moreover, Popper has offered a model of an open physical system, beyond the boundaries and regulations of positivism. He contends that social scientists cannot comprehend human and cultural phenomena using the same models as the physical sciences. As with human evolution, we can learn

more about these phenomena but we can never fully comprehend them because of their creative qualities (Almond & Genco, 1977). The malleability of the substance matter in social sciences and refers to it as "plastic matter". This latter is placed somewhere between the subject matter of naturalists that are "highly deterministic, mechanical and of great precision," and that of constructivists who think that reality is merely constructed by our concepts(Berg-Schlosser, 2016). Both naturalists and constructivists do not describe reality as it is. However, realists according to Berg-Schlosser take an intermediate position between regularities and subjective interpretations.

The Development of Inter-subjectivity

Speaking about Popper's metaphor's evolution necessitates understanding the shift from objectivity of the behaviorist school to the inter-subjectivity of post-behaviorism. This evolution of social theory accompanies an evolution of perspectives as well, from objectivity to inter-subjectivity. The third-person viewpoint is considered to be the most objective because it can be used to observe all kinds of objects and does not necessitate reflective awareness (Pauen, 2012) . This perspective is what positivists claim to have in their search of laws, regularities, and general theories. In contrast, the second-person viewpoint is subjective. It is only applicable to beings that have the capacity for intersubjective relations, most notably people, though some forms of intersubjective relations may also be applicable to other sentient beings (Pauen, 2012). Hence, it is the perspective that should be taken to gather knowledge about "the plastic matter", beyond the constraints of general theories, but also far from the subjectivity of the clouds, because it is a viewpoint in and of itself, giving access to some intersubjective facets of our world that are virtually inaccessible otherwise (Pauen, 2012).

The Ontological Evolution

Ontology is a fundamental notion in social inquiry, and it can be defined as "the study of being," which is "concerned with the question of what exists,"(Berg-Schlosser, 2016). Giving its importance, and relying on Popper's metaphor's implications, Almond and Genco elaborate the ontological properties of politics. Popper's model presents three different ways to understand social reality: as a clock, a cloud, or a set of plastic controls. The plastic control model best describes political science because it encompasses ideas, human behavior, choices, goals, and purposes, as well as the physical world itself (Berg-Schlosser, 2016).

These ontological properties are denied for philosophical and methodological reasons that view human behavior as simply reactive, explained through the same clock-like natural logic. Such reasons try to fashion science as empirically falsified prepositions. The implications of this restricted definition of science allude to the inapplicability of explanatory strategy of hard science to social science. Alternatively, these lawful regular relationships, which successfully explained the physical phenomena, will not explain social phenomena, but only some of the variables. Even political regularities have

different properties than physical regularities; they are soft regularities, because they result from plastic controlled processes, unlike the regularities of the hard sciences that result from iron-controlled processes. These soft regularities have short life-span because they are embedded in history, involving the repetitive passing-through memories (Almond & Genco, 1977).

An Example from Psychology

The evolution of Popper's metaphor concerns all social science and not just political science. In fact, all disciplines of social science are connected. For instance, psychology and politics are closely related when it comes to understanding voting behavior (to be explained in the following section). When studying human behavior, behavioralist psychologists like Pavlov, Watson, and Skinner were only interested in stimulus-response relationships. They used experiments on animals to better understand humans using the operant conditioning black box. According to Tomic, behaviorism can only provide a partial explanation for human behavior. For example, it falls short of providing a sufficient "explanation for language acquisition" (Tomic, 1993). Cognitivists eventually began to look beyond this "black box" of mechanical laws that were unable to explain what took place inside the human brain when we carried out particular behaviors. The behaviorist view of language, which Lin refers to as "ordinary languages," holds that it is governed by rules and is composed of conventions. (Lin, 1999). Human language is like the language of mathematics, i.e. rules can be applicable outside the realm of mathematics and can be extended to linguistics(Staal, 2003). In cognitive theory, Noam Chomsky criticizes this clock-like definition of language's properties that are explained in terms of iron-controlled processes, and substitutes it with a softer, plastic explanation, "language is a natural object, a component of the human mind, physically represented in the brain and part of the biological endowment of the species," (Chomsky, 2002). Hence, Chomsky considers language as primarily cognitive, and secondarily physical that can be optionally used for communication. This transcendental understanding of human language requires moving from the very abstract levels to the very concrete levels of analysis, which cannot be explained by the black box of positivism.

The Rational Choice Theory Example

Almond and Genco provide a practical example of the softness of political theories. In terms of voting behavior, demographic and attitudinal correlates of voting decisions are the covering laws which are the closest to scientific theory. Despite the deductive Downsian model's accurate laws, a causal analysis of the results of voting research over the previous 30 years reveals that these regularities are unstable.

Consider the Rational Choice Theory, which is "closely related to positivism and naturalism, and which appeals to public administration scholars because it provides a predictive science of politics that is sparse in its analytical premises, rigorous in its deductive reasoning, and broad in its apparent applicability (Staal, 2003) . The voting paradox described by Boudon (2003) could not be explained by

this theory. The rational actor should never vote because the costs are always greater than the benefits, according to rational choice theory, because the impact of one vote on turnout in any election is so small (Nickerson, 2021) . However, millions of people cast ballots annually in national elections (Nickerson, 2021).Here comes the power of psychological explanation, Wilson, Hoffman and Spitzer explain that psychologists have created several experiments, like the "ultimatum game," that defy the rational choice theory (Nickerson, 2021). The scope of political psychology revolves around the concern if one should focus on "elites or masses, attitudes or behavior, emotion or reason,"(Schildkraut, 2004). Whether or not conventional rationality assumptions are true depends on predictable psychological processes. (Schildkraut, 2004). The widely held but false belief in international relations scholarship that cognitive biases and emotion only lead to mistakes which distorts the field's understanding of the connection between rationality and psychology in three different ways (Mercer, 2005). Mercer perhaps means that neither psychological nor rational models can offer full understanding of IR, but the traditional assertion that studying emotions and cognition deviates us from the truth is wrong.

Socialization Theory

However, according to Almond and Genco, the socialization theory would even challenge the psychological theory of voting behavior because it offered a somewhat better explanation up until the end of World War II, when a generation of fully socialized youth turned the theory on its head by inventing the cultural elements of youth rebellion(Almond & Genco, 1977).

This cultural youth rebellion and other cultural phenomena can be explained only by using the cultural approach. Almond himself with Verba published their Civic Culture, in which they explain the levels of support and participation in democratic practices through analyzing the data from five large countries. They identify three political cultures—participant, subject, and parochial. Hence, the individual subjective attitudes and behaviors are the basis for categorization of the authors' scheme(Ross, 2000). Marc Howard Ross discusses five main contributions of culture to the study of political phenomena: 1) culture frames the context in which politics occurs, 2) culture links individual and collective identities, 3) culture defines group boundaries and organizes action within and between them,4) culture provides a framework for interpreting the actions and motives of others,5) culture provides resources for political organization and mobilization(Ross, 2000). Geertz defines an important method that the cultural approach uses that makes it superior to positivism, and allows us to make interpretations, and therefore, we can go beyond the iron-controlled processes of clock-like models: thick description. In the thick description lies the object of ethnography "a stratified hierarchy of meaningful structures" (Geertz, 2008) , in terms of which winks for example are "produced, perceived and interpreted"(Geertz, 2008) .

Applying Quantum Uncertainty to the Study of Politics

Almond and Genco emphasize the possibility that social and political change can be explained by unintended coincidences or events with a low probability of occurring rather than by rigid or flexible regulations (clocks or clouds). For instance, academics can explain how Russia in 1917 was prepared for revolution and they can comprehend some facets of Lenin's personality that helped prepare the country for it. However, they are unable to articulate how the two events interlock to trigger the Bolshevik Revolution.(Almond & Genco, 1977).

Schildkraut shares similar vision, "perhaps the most satisfying part of being a scholar in this field, and of teaching it to others, comes from the field's ability to help us understand salient political realities that emerge from interactions among people and institutions,"(Schildkraut, 2004). This is an insightful reconciliation of the institutional versus agent-based debate. Furthermore, Paul Nesbitt-Larking developed an interconnected set of European-based theories and perspectives that emphasize both the individual's social context and citizens' ability to engage in strategic discursive and rhetorical agency (Nesbitt-Larking, 2014), attempting to explore the intersection between the individual and the social.

Almond and Genco claim that behaviorists in political science place a strong emphasis on generalization, which needs to be understood in the context of history. David Easton contends that as knowledge develops internal coherence and generality, it becomes more significant and reliable. The use of institutional, ideographic, and descriptive case studies is thus criticized by him (Almond & Genco, 1977).

Therefore, behaviorism had emerged as a reaction to the traditionalist school. Grigsby defines traditionalism as a methodology that focuses on the examination of political institutions (Ishiyama & Breuning, 2011) . She adds that it bases its scientific dependability on careful historical or legal research that aims to produce in-depth descriptions of the topic at hand (Ishiyama & Breuning, 2011).However, behavioralism came as a criticism of its failure. I think that this metamorphosis from traditionalism to positivism is in itself a paradigm shift.

The function of science is the establishment of general laws, at the expense of unique and low probability outcomes. They argue that regularities are essential, but they should not be the only proper objects of scientific political inquiry. Hence, social science should be seen as both conjunction of choice, and constraints and regularities that do not limit innovation(Almond & Genco, 1977).

For behaviorists, systematization, and verification, the second and the sixth Easton's intellectual foundation stones, respectively, summarize the positivist theoretical framework: theories and generalizations could be based on reliable inferences from testable data, and predictions had to be testable in order to be falsifiable or verified. Research also needed to produce a body of systematic

information (Ishiyama & Breuning, 2011). Creating a general theory about real-world political phenomena is the highest ambition, as opposed to interpretivists who reject such notion. He continues by stating that the fundamental beliefs that Easton (1965, 6-8) articulated for the behavioral movement in A Framework for Political Analysis characterize the philosophy of science associated with such ambitions (Hill, 2012). Nevertheless, in contrast to rising curves of cumulative findings, Geertz contends that cultural analysis divides into disjointed yet coherent sequences of bolder sorties: it dives deeper into the same thing rather than picking up where others leave off. As a result, it is impossible to create a "General Theory of Cultural Interpretation" or the Grande Idée because the goal of theory development is to enable thick descriptions rather than codify abstract regularities. Two prerequisites exist for cultural theory: (1) generalization within cases rather than across cases: Unlike positivism, which starts with a set of observations and attempts to fit them into a governing law, inferences start with a set of signifiers and attempt to fit them into an understandable frame, (2) no ability to predict. In conclusion, interpretivists develop their hypotheses years after the phenomena actually occurs because they don't think a "general theory" actually exists. (Geertz, 2008). This view is quite the same as Almond and Genco's.

Quantification

The previous model is based on the Easton's fifth stone of behavioralism: quantification. According to Gary Goertz, quantitative researchers define a broader scope of theorizing: generalization about a larger number of cases: the analyzed cases are just a sample of a larger population. It is possible to draw conclusions about a larger population by leaving out anomalistic variables because an adequate explanation does not need to be correct in all instances. For case selection, researchers favor random selection; they do not consider the value on the dependent variables otherwise bias would be created, statistically speaking (Mahoney & Goertz, 2006). This D-N model is criticized by qualitative researchers who tend to define the scope of their theories narrowly−inferences are generalizable to only a limited range of cases or the analyzed cases. With an increase in the size of the population, key causal relationships are missing. Thus, it is better to develop an entirely new theory to avoid creating causal heterogeneity.

Behaviorists link causality to the justification provided by the covering law. A general law is asserted when it is stated that a specific event is the result of a specific set of circumstances. This causal relationship is explained using Popper's concept of "cast-iron control." Such causality would be the only source of knowledge in a world without expectations (Almond & Genco, 1977).

Causality

The scientific method, according to Kellstedt and Whitten, requires that we conceptualize the world in terms of variables and causal inferences. Therefore, scientists should consider variables in terms of their

label and value in order to create an almost infinite number of causal theories. As a result, they completely reject normative statements while focusing on causality, generality, and parsimony when developing theoretical models (Kellstedt & Whitten, 2019). Similarly, Berg- Schlosser introduces Hume's regularity model in thinking about causality. In order to speak of strict causality (or XY), according to Hume, three conditions must be present: continuity, succession, and constant conjunction (Berg-Schlosser, 2016).

Qualitative researchers, however, take a different position in thinking about causality; Goertz explains that qualitative research aims at explaining the outcomes in individual cases to move backward toward the causes; thus, it favors the causes-to- effects approach to explanation−ideal cases should explain the outcome in all cases within the population. Furthermore, to explain single case outcomes, in qualitative comparative methods like Ragin's comparative analysis, it is evident that qualitative researchers think of causation in terms of necessary causes. This approach is completely in line with reason and sound science: (if–X then –Y thus X is a cause of Y). In the case of a small or medium N, qualitative researchers adopt the INUS approach to causation. An INUS cause is one cause within a combination of causes, which are all together sufficient for an outcome. Such an approach considers that separate combinations of variables can be different paths to the same outcome: equifinality. This latter is associated with qualitative comparative analysis by Ragin, and it has huge influence on such category of scholars when they think about causality. Moreover, King, Keohane and Verba have argued for their book thesis that both qualitative and quantitative research, despite their stylistic differences, share the same logic of inference, aiming at establishing a unified approach of research in social sciences, "our main goal is to connect the traditions of what are conventionally denoted "quantitative" and "qualitative" research by applying a unified logic of inference to both," (King et al., 2021).

Hence, the two inferences are complementary− we cannot come up with causal explanations without relying on description, and this latter is useless if it does not lead to explanation. KKV makes this point clear, stating that without good description, we cannot build meaningful causal explanations, and without good description, description loses most of its appeal (King et al., 2021) . This view is very similar to Almond and Genco, given the plastic nature of social inquiry.

Methodology

Political science adopted the positivist tradition after successful pioneering work in psychology and economics. For them, the methodology rather than the content itself is the main criterion for evaluating the quality of the research. Berg-Schlosser holds a similar perspective, and he defines methodology as a reflection on one's understanding of scientific practices and instruments (Berg-Schlosser, 2016), and he also thinks of it as the criterion to measure the validity of the research. For positivists, quantification is a key stone in scientific methodology. Almond and Genco acknowledge its merits while also

criticizing its exercises that pass for science but lack substance. They use Holt and Richardson's emphasis on math and statistics as the only means of advancing science as an illustration. Almond and Genco counter that mathematical models typically do a poor job of capturing the complexity of social phenomena (Almond & Genco, 1977).

According to Easton's first and second intellectual pillars of behaviorism, regularities lead to the "rigorous study of political behavior" that ensures predictions in the same way that natural scientists could make them, and methods should be sophisticated in their own use of scientific data collection (Ishiyama & Breuning, 2011). The best example of these traits can be found in McClosky's Consensus and Ideology in American Politics, where he proposes five hypotheses and supports them with a systematic examination of empirically gathered data. He explores the question of ideology and consensus from the point of view of agreement on values, and in terms of their understanding, the relation of their opinion to their party performance and the consistency of their views on public affairs. He collects data on the reactions of political influential and the electorate to various items and expresses them as game rules, and then he summarizes and discusses the results of the data in five points that match his already established hypotheses (McClosky, 1964). Moreover, Hansen and Porter argue that the use of numbers in description surpasses the traditional representative role attributed to numbers to highlight their ability to constitute reality. On the other hand, they shadowed the role of the linguistic sign system, as they have superior positive value compared to the interpretive nature of words. They borrow Robson's three properties of numbers: numbers through mobility give objects one particular property that leaves aside all other qualities, which make this object travel transnationally. Numbers are more stable than words, as even the least polysemic words are more complex than any other number. Numbers are also easily more combinable than words (Hansen & Porter, 2012). This mathematical, rigid model is challenged by interpretivists who acknowledge the plasticity of the subject matter of social sciences. For example, Geertz explains with Ryle's image of Berber, Jews and French colonizers in the highlands of central Morocco in 1912, the inference and the implications an ethnographer attempts to reach, relying on thick descriptions (Geertz, 2008).

Quantification is criticized for its reductionist justification and emphasis on form over substance. These flaws have also affected graduate curricula, which are heavily loaded with positivist elements. Graduate students who receive intensive training in multivariate quantitative methods have less time to develop a sophisticated understanding of what has previously been said and thought about political life. As a result, someone with little knowledge of political theory can have a PhD in political science (Almond & Genco, 1977).

Although some criticize the curricula for encouraging students to focus more on the content of politics than on the methodology. They view the methodology as the primary focus of scientific inquiry and the subject matter as tertiary (Kellstedt & Whitten, 2019). On the other hand, the reality they work with is

extremely complex and multidimensional, evolving over time in a variety of ways, and to some extent being influenced by the researchers themselves (Berg-Schlosser, 2016). There are different approaches to investigate reality, and he adopts the realist approach because it considers the substance of social investigation to be as important as the methodology (Berg-Schlosser, 2016), because the subject matter of social inquiry is malleable, a view he shares with Almond and Genco.

Defining Science First!

In the previous sections, I have discussed various views about the nature of political inquiry including the subject matter of political science, ontology, epistemology, and methodology. Now, I return to the main question, is political science a science? However, one must first comprehend what science is in order to be able to respond. According to Almond and Genco, science is not a collection of techniques drawn from mathematical physics as the neo-positivists would have us believe. Rather, science is an effort to investigate and comprehend a specific area of empirical reality (Almond & Genco, 1977). The strategies employed to accomplish this goal should be secondary. Instead of changing the subject to fit preconceived notions about how science should be conducted, good science adapts methods to the topic at hand.

Similarly, Keohane explains that political science would be an oxymoron if one adopted a narrow definition of science, which would require mathematical modeling of its hypotheses, exact quantitative testing, or even experimental validation. He defends the nomenclature by taking a more thorough stance. Instead, he describes science as a set of procedures that are widely known and used to produce descriptive and causal inferences based on the self-aware application of techniques that are also open to public scrutiny. Consequently, political science is the study of politics using scientific methods (Keohane, 2009). For Keohane, everything starts with a puzzle that appears when what we observe does not fit with our perceptions based on an established theory, with a puzzle comes conventionalization that depends on our definitions of key words. Following that, a political scientist has to infer from established premises. However, this descriptive or causal inference is subject to errors because on one hand it relies on interpretations, and on the other hand it might miss some variables. Grigsby extends these ideas by explaining the foundation of post-behavioralism. For post-positivists, "science was unavoidably based on normative assumptions" (Ishiyama & Breuning, 2011); thus, the value-free model that was popularized by behavioralists was not possible at first place.

CONCLUSION

Is political science a science? is the question we tried to address in this literature review. by reinvestigating the 1977 publication, Clouds, clocks, and the study of politics by Gabriel Almond and Stephen Genco. Using Popper's three-stage metamorphosis of the metaphor of clouds and clocks, we could demonstrate the paradigm shift in understanding the subject matter of social sciences in terms of

epistemology, ontology, and methodology, from the positivist clock-like model to the plastic model of the post- behavioralist schools. Then, we could demonstrate how our definition of science has changed from the positivists' methodology-focused iron-like rigidity to the substance-based quest for comprehension of plastic reality.

We could establish a fundamental connection between the evolution of our understanding of science as a whole following the development of quantum mechanics and the Heisenberg uncertainty principle and the change in how social science is perceived as a science. The conclusion of this critical review shows that political science is a science because science itself deals with malleable realities as well as regularities and strict laws of classical mechanics. Political science could therefore advance alongside hard science, despite the fact that their respective fields have different subject matter. In addition, the review has also demonstrated the relevance of Gabriel Almond and Stephen Genco's 1977 piece to political science studies today. The piece could establish the fundamentals to start viewing political science within the framework of malleable realities. Contemporary literature of interpretivism could develop on the foundation of this 1977's piece.

Liberation from the narrow positivist definition of science that relies primarily on mathematical methodology, and from the behavioralist focus on the black box imagination of social reality leads us to define science and politics in a more malleable terms and hence to assert the scientific of political science and other social sciences like psychology and economics. This transcendental understanding of both science and political science directs us to develop middle-range theories about real world phenomena rather than mislead our scientific inquiry with meta-theories in search for an illusionary general theory or *Grande Idée*.

Therefore, I should introduce the concept of meta-theory, which is a second-order theory concerned with the growth of first-order theories that are supposed to examine the effects of X on Y. Meta-theory is a theory that uses theories about empirical phenomena as its subject of explanation (Bergenholtz & Busch, 2016). Therefore, positivist theories primarily produce meta-theories rather than examining real-world problems. According to KKV, there are standards by which we can judge the importance of our research questions: An inquiry that is "important" in the real world should be the first step in any research project (King et al., 2021) , and a research project should, secondly, specifically contribute to a body of scholarly literature by enhancing humankind's capacity to create verifiable scientific justifications for certain aspects of the world (King et al., 2021). Hence, the reproduction of mere meta-theories will not add much to our social inquiry, and that is why there was an urge to shift paradigm from positivism to post-behavioralism, from strict clocks to plastic reality.

ACKNOWLEGMENTS

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Relasi Insan Pers dan Politik: Studi tentang Kandidasi Margiono pada Pemilihan Bupati Tulungagung Tahun 2018

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Abstract: The press and politics have different patterns of relations, and involve certain actors in them. This study aims to find out and analyze the relationship between the press and politics from Margiono, former Chairman of the Indonesian Journalists Association (PWI) and the influence of this relationship on Margiono's candidacy process as a candidate for Regent of Tulungagung Regency in 2018. This research uses qualitative methods with interviews as primary data collection method with the theoretical framework of candidate selection Reuven Hazan and Gideon Rahat is used to analyze the candidacy process. This research found that Margiono's candidacy process was carried out exclusively and centralized so that personal affinity, leadership and persona of Margiono could become his capital in the candidacy process.

Keyword: Margiono, candidacy, press and politics relation, local election.

PENDAHULUAN

Dewasa ini pers mempunyai keterlibatan tersendiri dalam dunia politik. Misalnya, pada negara yang memiliki sistem politik representatif atau perwakilan, partai politik biasanya mempunyai kontrol atas suatu media tertentu (Schudson, 2002). Intitusi politik melihat media sebagai instrumen yang efektif dan murah untuk menyampaikan ideologi, pesan dan program kerja politik kepada publik (Firmanzah, 2011). Hubungan timbal-balik antara media dan politik ini tidak bisa apabila hanya dilihat melalui rasionalisasi ekonomi saja. Tetapi, juga berkaitan dengan keinginan untuk berkuasa (Firmanzah, 2011). Melalui gagasan bahwa kekuatan media dapat mempengaruhi publik dan meningkatkan kekuatan politik, maka tidak jarang apabila konglomerat media dan praktisi media, misalnya jurnalis, ikut terjun dalam dunia politik praktis.

Di Indonesia sendiri, hubungan antara pers dengan politik dapat dibilang cukup rumit dan melibatkan intrik-intrik politik di dalamnya. Dari kepemilikan media dan partai politik pada tangan yang sama, hingga terjunnya jurnalis sebagai praktisi media ke dalam dunia politik. Sebut saja Mantan Menteri Penerangan pada era Orde Baru, Harmoko, juga menjadi salah satu tokoh jurnalis yang terjun ke dunia politik. Berawal dari kariernya sebagai jurnalis media hingga menjadi Ketua Umum Persatuan Wartawan Indonesia (PWI), Harmoko menjalin kedekatan dengan Soeharto sehingga kiprah di dunia politiknya dapat berjalan mulus. Tidak hanya menjadi Menteri Penerangan, akan tetapi, Harmoko dipercayai oleh Soeharto untuk mengemban jabatan sebagai Ketua Umum Golkar, yang mana jabatan tersebut dahulunya di dominasi oleh orang-orang dari latar belakang militer (ABRI) (MacIntyre, 1993).

Relasi antara pers dan politik di Indonesia khususnya fenomena praktisi media yang terjun ke ranah politik tidak hanya terjadi pada tingkat nasional saja, tetapi juga merambah ke tingkat lokal atau daerah. Pada tahun 1999, mantan reporter Tempo, Herry Komar maju dalam Pemilihan Gubernur Sumatera Barat dan tampil sebagai salah satu dari 10 besar calon Gubernur Sumatera Barat. Herry Komar dapat mengelola citranya kepada publik dengan baik dan memperoleh suara melalui bantuan relasi medianya. Komar diketahui sering memberikan pelatihan media pro-bono kepada jurnalis lokal sehingga banyak media lokal yang memberikan *feedback* positif kepadanya (Swestin, 2008).

Kiprah praktisi pers pada ranah politik yang lebih sempit dapat pula dilihat melalui terjunnya wartawan dalam lingkaran eksekutif di tingkat Kabupaten atau Kota, misalnya Abdul Cholik sebagai Bupati Wonosobo, Rizal Efendi sebagai Wali Kota Balikpapan, serta Arif Afandi sebagai Wakil Wali Kota Surabaya (Sinarlampung.co, 2018). Fenomena-fenomena yang telah disebutkan di atas membuktikan bahwa pers dapat diidentifikasi sebagai kekuatan politik dengan berbagai macam pola-pola relasi di belakangnya.

Fenomena keterkaitan antara praktisi pers dan politik pada ranah lokal juga ditemukan pada kandidasi Margiono sebagai calon Bupati Tulungagung pada tahun 2018 dengan dukungan dari 9 partai politik, diantaranya adalah Partai Hanura (6 kursi), PKB (6 kursi), PBB (1 kursi), PPP (1 kursi), PKS (2 kursi), Demokrat (4 kursi), PAN (5 kursi), Golkar (5 kursi) dan Gerindra (7 kursi) (Puskapol UI, 2018). Fenomena tersebut menarik untuk diteliti karena kandidat yang diusung belum memiliki *track record* dan latar belakang di dunia politik. Meskipun begitu, Margiono sebagai calon Bupati mempunyai latar belakang kepemimpinan pers yang cukup kuat, yakni sebagai Ketua Umum Persatuan Wartawan Indonesia (PWI) selama dua periode, yakni pada tahun 2008 - 2013 dan 2013 - 2018 (Persatuan Wartawan Indonesia, 2020).

Untuk mengetahui bagaimana Margiono menggunakan jaringannya sebagai tokoh pers untuk kepentingan politiknya, maka, peneliti melihat terlebih dahulu bagaimana proses kandidasi Margiono. Dari temuan tersebut, maka relasi-relasi yang dimiliki Margiono akan lebih mudah dijabarkan. Adapun model pengelolaan seleksi kandidat yang digagas oleh Hazan dan Rahat (2001) digunakan sebagai landasan untuk menganalisisnya. Sementara itu metode penelitian yang digunakan adalah kualitatif karena dapat menghasilkan temuan yang mendalam guna memahami substansi yang diteliti.

METODE PENELITIAN

Metode kualitatif deskriptif digunakan untuk menghasilkan pemahaman yang lebih baik atas realita dan menitikberatkan perhatian pada proses, pola dan struktur tertentu. Dengan ketelitian dan deskripsi yang komprehensif, penelitian kualitatif tidak hanya menggambarkan realita, tetapi juga dapat mengulik sesuatu yang tidak biasa dan tidak terduga (Flick, et al., 2004).

Data primer dalam penelitian ini adalah pernyataan dan informasi yang telah di dapatkan peneliti melalui wawancara mendalam dengan subyek penelitian atau informan. Adapun, informan dalam penelitian ini meliputi keluarga dari Margiono, serta elite politik dan elite partai dari partai politik pengusung. Sementara itu, Data sekunder pada penelitian ini adalah literatur, dokumen, berita dan hal-hal lain yang mempunyai relevansi dengan topik penelitian.

KERANGKA TEORI

Teori seleksi kandidat Hazan dan Rahat dapat melihat bagaimana partai politik mengorganisasikan dirinya dalam sebuah proses seleksi kandidat. Tujuan dari dibentuknya teori ini salah satunya juga adalah untuk mendefinisikan seberapa demokratisnya proses seleksi kandidat (Hazan & Rahat, 2001). Untuk mengetahui bagaimana proses kandidasi Margiono, maka teori seleksi kandidat Hazan dan Rahat digunakan untuk menjadi landasannya.

Adapun, dalam kerangka metode yang ditawarkan oleh Hazan dan Rahat, dibutuhkan jawaban dari empat pertanyaan untuk membangun analisis, yakni:

a. Siapa saja yang dapat dipilih sebagai kandidat? Apakah terdapat batasan-batasan dalam mengajukan kandidat? Apabila terdapat batasan tertentu, seberapa ketat batasan tersebut, serta seberapa besar batasan tersebut mempengaruhi ukuran dan karakter kandidat potensial?

b. Siapa pihak yang menyeleksi kandidat? Apakah terdapat batasan untuk berpartisipasi menjadi selektorat dalam proses seleksi kandidat yang di tetapkan oleh partai? Apabila terdapat batasan, bagaimanakah pengaruhnya terhadap pihak selektorat?

c. Dimana tempat kandidat dipilih dalam hierarki partai politik, pusat atau daerah?

d. Bagaimana kandidat dinominasikan? Apakah melalui prosedur voting atau penunjukan? (Hazan & Rahat, 2001).

Jawaban dari keempat pertanyaan di atas dapat menjadi indikator untuk menentukan derajat inklusif-ekslusif, sentraliasi-desentralisasi dan demokratis-otoriternya sebuah proses kandidasi.

Pada pertanyaan pertama, apabila seluruh warga negara dapat mencalonkan dirinya sendiri menjadi seorang kandidat, maka proses kandidasi dapat dikatakan inklusif. Sementara itu, apabila yang dapat menjadi kandidat hanyalah kader dari partai tersebut, maka posisinya berada di tengah-tengah, antara inklusif dan eksklusif. Namun, apabila yang berhak menjadi kandidat adalah kader partai dengan ketentuan dan batasan tertentu, maka proses kandidasi dapat dikatakan eksklusif (Hazan & Rahat, 2001).

Pertanyaan kedua masih merujuk pada penentuan derajat inklusif-eksklusif, apabila pihak yang menyeleksi kandidat atau selektorat terdiri dari seluruh pemilih pada pemilu, maka proses kandidasi dapat dikatakan inklusif. Namun, apabila selektorat hanyalah pemimpin partai, pendiri partai dan orang-

orang petinggi partai, maka proses kandidasi dapat dikatakan eksklusif. Kedua selektorat ini merupakan bentuk ekstrem, di antara kedua kubu ekstrem tersebut, terdapat proses kandidasi yang selektoratnya berasal dari anggota partai dan agen partai (Hazan & Rahat, 2001).

Jawaban dari pertanyaan ketiga menunjukkan apakah proses kandidasi tersentralisasi ataukah terdesentralisasi. Apabila kandidat dipilih secara eksklusif oleh selektorat di tingkat pusat atau nasional tanpa adanya prosedur yang memungkinkan untuk pihak selektorat lokal atau daerah untuk berkontribusi, maka proses kandidasi tersebut bersifat terpusat atau tersentralisasi. Sebaliknya, apabila kandidat dipilih oleh selektorat pada pihak lokal atau daerah, maka proses kandidasi bersifat terdesentralisasi (Hazan & Rahat, 2001).

Jawaban dari pertanyaan keempat menunjukkan apakah proses kandidasi bersifat demokratis atau non-demokratis. Apabila kandidat dipilih melalui proses voting tanpa adanya selektorat yang dapat mengubah daftar, maka proses kandidasi bersfiat demokratis. Mekanisme voting sendiri adalah dimana seorang kandiat dinominasikan melalui jumlah perolehan suara yang dilakukan oleh selektorat (Hazan & Rahat, 2001). Sebaliknya, apabila kandidat dipilih melalui penunjukan langsung tanpa adanya campur tangan dari pihak lain, maka proses kandidasi bersifat non-demokratis. Akan tetapi, kedua bentuk diatas merupakan bentuk ekstrem, ada pula mekanisme seleksi yang menggabungkan antara voting dan penunjukan dan mekanisme tersebut berada ditengah-tengah atau in-between (Hazan & Rahat, 2001).

PEMBAHASAN

Menilik balik pada kerangka kandidasi Hazan dan Rahat (2001), apabila seluruh warga negara atau "*every voter*" berhak menjadi kandidat, maka proses kandidasi dapat dikatakan inklusif (Hazan & Rahat, 2001). Margiono sendiri merupakan seorang praktisi pers yang berkecimpung di dunia pers sejak menjadi wartawan di Jawa Pos pada tahun 1983, mendirikan surat kabar politik "Rakyat Merdeka", hingga akhirnya menjadi Ketua Umum Persatuan Wartawan Indonesia (PWI) selama dua periode, yakni dari tahun 2008-2018.

Selama berkecimpung di dunia pers, Margiono memang kerap mendapatkan tawaran untuk terjun dalam kancah politik, akan tetapi, selalu ditolak dengan alasan akan membatasi ruang manuver dan objektivitasnya sebagai seorang praktisi pers. Dengan berakhirnya jabatan Margiono pada PWI pada 2018, akhirnya Margiono memutuskan untuk terjun dalam dunia politik dengan dorongan Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono, yakni sebagai calon Bupati di Kabupaten Tulungagung, kampung halaman Margiono.

Dari penjabaran tersebut, Margiono sebagai praktisi pers dilihat sebagai warga negara biasa karena bukan merupakan kader atau pengurus partai politik. Selain itu, ketentuan atau batasan tertentu juga

tidak ditetapkan partai politik pengusung kepada Margiono. Maka dari itu, pada pertanyaan pertama, kandidasi Margiono dapat dikatakan inklusif.

Penjaringan awal Margiono sebagai kandidat Bupati Tulungagung diadakan oleh partai politik pada hierarki bawah atau DPC dan pihak yang menyeleksi berasal dari anggota partai politik tertentu yang memiliki jabatan tertentu seperti ketua dan wakil ketua DPC, sekretaris, serta bendahara DPC partai politik pengusung. Pihak lain yang dapat menjadi selektorat adalah kader partai politik yang menjabat sebagai anggota DPRD di Kabupaten Tulungagung. Akan tetapi, proses penjaringan tersebut masih berada pada tahap awal sebelum daftar kandidat diserahkan kepada kepengurusan partai politik pada hierarki yang lebih tinggi (DPW atau DPD dan DPP). Hal tersebut menandakan bahwa hasil proses penjaringan dan seleksi yang dilakukan oleh partai politik di tingkat DPC masih belum final dan dapat berubah-ubah mengikuti keputusan kepengurusan partai politik pada hierarki yang berada di atasnya.

Bersesuaian dengan pasal 42 ayat 6 UU No. 10 Tahun 2016 tentang Perubahan Kedua Atas Undang-Undang Nomor 1 Tahun 2015 Tentang Penetapan Peraturan Pemerintah Pengganti Undang-Undang Nomor 1 Tahun 2014 Tentang Pemilihan Gubernur, Bupati, Dan Walikota Menjadi Undang-Undang yang berbunyi:

> "... Pendaftaran pasangan Calon Bupati dan Calon Wakil Bupati oleh gabungan Partai Politik ditandatangani oleh para ketua Partai Politik dan para sekretaris Partai Politik di tingkat Provinsi atau para ketua Partai Politik dan para sekretaris Partai Politik di tingkat Kabupaten/Kota disertai Surat Keputusan masing-masing Pengurus Partai Politik tingkat Pusat tentang Persetujuan atas calon yang diusulkan oleh Pengurus Partai Politik tingkat Provinsi dan/atau Pengurus Partai Politik tingkat Kabupaten/Kota"

Dari pasal 42 ayat 6 UU No. 10 Tahun 2016 tersebut dapat pula diketahui bahwa tanpa adanya Surat Keputusan dari pengurus partai politik pada tingkat pusat atau DPP maka kandidat atau pasangan kandidat tidak bisa didaftarkan. Maka dari itu, keputusan DPP lah yang sangat berpengaruh. Maka dari itu, selektorat yang sebenarnya hanya pada DPP, sementara DPC hanya mempunyai kewenangan untuk menjaring kandidat dan mengajukan hasil penjaringan kepada hierarki partai politik di atasnya sehingga sampai pada DPP, nantinya DPP yang akan menentukan jatuh atau tidaknya sebuah rekomendasi partai politik.

Apabila dihubungkan dengan kerangka kandidasi Hazan dan Rahat, maka derajat kandidasi Margiono berada kubu eksklusif. Lebih tepatnya, selektorat pada kandidasi Margiono berada pada area "*party leader*" karena selektorat berasal dari pemimpin partai yang berada pada hierarki partai politik pusat.

Berdasarkan temuan sebelumnya, di mana DPC tidak memiliki kewenangan untuk mengesahkan calon-calon dari hasil penjaringan tersebut untuk menjadi kandidat resmi yang diusung oleh partai politik. Kewenangan tersebut tetaplah mutlak milik DPP partai politik sehingga teritori selektorat berada pada tingkat pusat. Maka, dalam kerangka model seleksi kandidat Hazan dan Rahat (2001), mekanisme

seperti ini termasuk ke dalam mekanisme seleksi kandidat yang bersifat sentralistik. Dapat dikatakan sentralistik karena meskipun pihak DPC masih memiliki kontribusi berupa penjaringan calon sebelum akhirnya diajukan pada kepengurusan partai politik di tingkat yang lebih tinggi, akan tetapi apabila DPP menyetujui ataupun menolak, DPC harus tetap satu suara dengan DPP.

Hazan dan Rahat (2014) memaparkan bahwa syarat yang harus dipenuhi untuk menetapkan bahwa metode nominasi yang digunakan adalah pemungutan suara adalah, pencalonan harus ditentukan secara eksklusif dengan pemungutan suara, bukan dengan daftar atau pun alokasi yang sudah disepakati oleh mayoritas, serta, hasil pemungutan suara harus diumumkan secara resmi guna legitimasi pencalonan. Apabila syarat-syarat tersebut tidak dipenuhi, maka nominasi kandidat disebut sebagai penunjukan (Hazan & Rahat, 2014)

Apabila dihubungkan dengan kandidasi Margiono, kedua syarat adanya voting tersebut tidak terpenuhi. Hal tersebut menjadikan nominasi pada proses kandidasi Margiono dikatakan sebagai penunjukkan. Meskipun pihak DPC masih memiliki kesempatan untuk mengajukan nama-nama lain pada daftar calon sebagai kandidat potensial, namun, DPC tidak memiliki kewenangan untuk menominasikan kandidat.

Dengan proses kandidasi yang cenderung eksklusif, sentralistik dan kurang demokratis tersebut, tentunya terdapat relasi-relasi Margiono yang bermain di belakang layar dalam agenda kandidasinya. Dari pemaparan sebelumnya, diketahui bahwa Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono yang saat itu masih menjadi Ketua Umum Partai Demokrat memiliki campur tangan dalam terjunnya Margiono dalam kancah politik, sehingga secara tidak langsung, Margiono telah mengantongi rekomendasi dukungan dari Partai Demokrat. Lantas, bagaimana SBY dan Margiono dapat menjalin relasi dengan begitu dekat sehingga SBY dapat langsung memberikan rekomendasi dari partai politiknya?

Pada interaksinya, praktisi pers dan politisi dapat membentuk sebuah hubungan kedekatan pribadi atau "*personal affinities*". Faktor pendorong dari adanya hubungan informal ini dapat dipahami dari dua faktor, pertama karena seringnya berbagi ruang akibat rutinitas profesional sehingga terdapat kontak yang terjadi secara berkelanjutan. Kedua, karena kedua pihak memiliki kepentingan yang sama dalam hal mempengaruhi agenda publik (Casero-Ripollés & López-Rabadán, 2019).

Sebagai praktisi pers pada surat kabar politik "Rakyat Merdeka" dan Ketua Umum PWI tentunya intensitas Margiono untuk bertemu, berdiskusi dan menjalin hubungan dengan aktor-aktor politik semakin tinggi, khususnya aktor politik pada tingkat pusat. Hubungan-hubungan yang berlandaskan pekerjaan tersebut kemudian semakin lama semakin berkembang menjadi kedekatan informal atau yang disebut sebagai "*personal affinity*".

Adanya personal *affinity* tersebut menguntungkan Margiono karena dapat membuka akses untuk melakukan *lobbying* langsung kepada petinggi-petinggi partai politik di tingkat DPP guna melancarkan

kepentingannya dalam mencalonkan diri sebagai calon Bupati. Melalui portal berita, Margiono menyatakan bahwa hanya membutuhkan tiga hari untuk mendapatkan sembilan surat rekomendasi dari partai-partai politik pengusung dan Margiono lebih banyak melakukan *lobbying* dengan petinggi-petinggi partai politik di pusat (Sindonews.com, 2018).

Tidak hanya itu, dari persepsi partai politik pengusung di tingkat DPC, *personal affinity* Margiono juga dipandang sebagai sebuah modal tersendiri bagi Margiono. Jaringan dan relasi Margiono yang kuat di tingkat pusat dianggap dapat memperkuat hubungan daerah dengan pusat, dimana melalui *personal affinity* tersebut, diharapkan memudahkan akses pemerintah Kabupaten Tulungagung terhadap pemerintah pusat.

Selain dari adanya personal affinity, kepemimpinan dan ketokohan yang melekat pada diri Margiono juga dipandang sebagai modal dalam kacamata partai pengusung di tingkat DPC. Margiono dikenal sebagai sosok yang mempunyai jiwa kepemimpinan berkat track record-nya memimpin Persatuan Wartawan Indonesia (PWI) selama dua periode. Dengan track record kepemimpinannya tersebut, Margiono dinilai mempunyai kapabilitas untuk memimpin Kabupaten Tulungagung oleh DPC partai-partai pengusungnya.

Diketahui pasangan calon lawan dari Margiono, Syahri Mulyo-Maryoto Birowo merupakan pasangan *incumbent* yang didukung oleh partai politik penguasa DPRD Kabupaten Tulungagung, yakni PDI-Perjuangan. Adanya *track record* kepemimpinan sebagai kapabilitas memimpin membuat partai-partai pengusung merasa Margiono merupakan sosok yang kuat dan sebanding untuk menjadi lawan Syahri Mulyo yang juga telah memiliki *track record* kepemimpinan.

Selain adanya figur pemimpin dan kapabilitas dalam kacamata partai politik pengusung, ketokohan Margiono sebagai insan pers juga memudahkan langkahnya dalam berkampanye melalui media massa. Dukungan dari ranah pers tersebut tidak hanya berasal dari media lokal di Tulungagung saja, Margiono mendapatkan dukungan pula dari media massa yang tersebar di beberapa daerah, misalnya pemberitaan positif mengenai majunya Margiono sebagai kandidat Bupati Tulungagung melalui artikel pada portal berita online. Contohnya pemberitaan dari sinarlampung.co dengan *headline* "Margiono Maju Pilkada PWI Ikut Bangga" (Sinarlampung.co, 2018). Artikel berita tersebut berisi mengenai dukungan PWI terhadap Margiono karena wartawan mempunyai kapabilitas dan kredibilitas sebagai kepala daerah, dibuktikan dengan banyaknya tokoh wartawan dalam PWI yang terjun dalam lingkaran eksekutif daerah.

Pemberitaan lain datang dari surat kabar daring GoRiau.com dengan *headline* "Resmi Mendaftar ke KPU Tulungagung, Margiono Janji Segera Nonaktif dari PWI" yang memberitakan mengenai non-aktifnya Margiono dari jabatannya sebagai Ketua Umum PWI saat Margiono telah mendeklarasikan

dirinya sebagai kandidat Bupati Tulungagung 2018. Hal tersebut sebagai bentuk inisiatifnya agar agenda pers dan agenda politik Margiono tidak saling bertabrakan (GoRiau.com, 2018).

Peran media massa dari luar lingkup Kabupaten Tulungagung tetap memberikan timbal balik yang positif kepada Margiono karena pemberitaan tersebut masih dapat diakses oleh masyarakat Tulungagung secara mudah melalui internet karena merupakan pemberitaan daring.

Dengan model kandidasi yang cenderung eksklusif, sentralistik dan kurang demokratis, Margiono, seorang insan pers nasional, dipandang oleh DPC partai-partai politik pengusung menggunakan relasi-relasinya pada tingkat pusat dalam proses kandidasinya, yakni adanya personal affinity dengan aktor politik pusat, serta kepemimpinan dan ketokohannya yang telah terbangun melalui praktik-praktik pers. DPC partai-partai politik pengusung berpersepsi bahwa relasi tersebut merupakan sebuah modal bagi Margiono yang kemudian dapat berperan dalam proses kandidasinya.

KESIMPULAN

Penelitian ini bertujuan untuk mengetahui proses kandidasi Margiono pada Pemilihan Bupati Kabupaten Tulungagung tahun 2018, serta mengetahui relasi antara insan pers dan politik pada proses kandidasi Margiono. Model kandidasi Margiono yang didasarkan pada teori seleksi kandidat Hazan dan Rahat (2001) menyatakan bahwa proses kandidasi cenderung bersifat eksklusif, tersentralistik dan kurang demokratis. Eksklusif karena selektorat berada pada tangan pemimpin partai. Tersentralistik karena teritori selektorat berada pada tingkat pusat (DPP), serta kurang demokratis karena mekanisme nominasi kandidat menggunakan sistem penunjukan.

Berdasarkan persepsi DPC partai-partai politik pengusung, Margiono sebagai praktisi pers sekaligus tokoh pers nasional memiliki relasi berupa *personal affinity* atau kedekatan pribadi dengan aktor-aktor politik di tingkat nasional atau pusat. *Personal affinity* tersebut terbentuk akibat seringnya interaksi profesional antara Margiono dan aktor-aktor politik yang bersifat terus-menerus. *Personal affinity* tersebut kemudian diidentifikasi oleh DPC partai-partai politik pengusungnya sebagai sebuah modal politik. Selain itu, kepemimpinan dan ketokohan Margiono sebagai praktisi pers serta Ketua Umum PWI juga diidentifikasi sebagai modal politik pula yang dalam kacamata DPC partai-partai politik pengusung.

Adanya mekanisme seleksi kandidat yang masih tertutup dan bergantung pada pusat, memberikan keuntungan pada Margiono, yakni dapat memanfaatkan kekuatan relasinya dengan aktor politik pusat yang terbentuk melalui interaksinya dalam dunia pers guna mendapatkan dukungan dari partai-partai politik pada agendanya untuk maju menjadi Calon Bupati Tulungagung pada Pemilihan Bupati Kabupaten Tulungagung tahun 2018.

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Perilaku Memilih Masyarakat pada Pilkada Kabupaten Sidoarjo Tahun 2020

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Abstract: This study aims to find out the voting bahavior in the Sidoarjo 2020 election. There are three independent variables (X); Party identification (X1), group ties (X2), and candidate competency (X3). Meanwhile, there is one dependent variable: Voting Behavior in the 2020 Sidoarjo election (Y). Using quantitative techniques, which falls under the area of explanatory research and is based on three theories of voting behavior: sociological (Columbia school), psychological (Michigan school), and rational (approach). There were 100 respondents spread across all districts (18 districts) in Sidoarjo. From the results of the research and statistical analysis carried out, it is known that three supporting party variables (X1), Group Association (X2), and Candidate Competency (X3) are related to Voting Behavior in the 2020 Sidoarjo election (Y). In addition, it is known that voters for candidate number one (BHS-Taufiq) are more likely to be driven by the candidate's competency variable, while voters for candidate number two (Mudhlor-Subandi) are more driven by party giver variables and group ties.

Keywords: Voting behavior, Pilkada in Sidoarjo Regency 2020, party id, NU group, candidate competency.

PENDAHULUAN

Pada Pilkada Kabupaten Sidoarjo tahun 2020, terdapat 3 pasangan calon yang turut meramaikan kontestasi elektoral. Tiga pasangan calon ini semuanya merupakan nama-nama baru, sebelumnya nama ketiganya kurang begitu terdengar di gelanggang politik Kabupaten Sidoarjo. Pasangan pertama ialah Bambang Haryo S. – Moh Taufiqulbar yang diusung oleh Partai Gerakan Indonesia Raya (Gerindra), Partai Golongan Karya (Golkar), Partai Keadilan Sejahtera (PKS), Partai Persatuan Pembangunan (PPP), dan Partai Demokrat. Pasangan kedua ialah Ahmad Muhdlor – Subandi yang diusung oleh Partai Kebangkitan Bangsa (PKB). Pasangan ketiga yakni Kelana Aprilianto – Dwi Astutik yang diusung oleh Partai Demokrasi Indonesia Perjuangan (PDIP) dan Partai Amanat Nasional (PAN).

Meski ketiga pasangan ini merupakan nama-nama baru, tetapi Muhdlor Ali memiliki porsi panggung lebih jika dibandingkan rivalnya. Hal ini dapat dilihat melalui dua hal: pertama, Muhdlor diusung oleh Partai Kebangkitan Bangsa (PKB) yang mana merupakan *incumbent* sejak tahun 2005 di Kabupaten Sidoarjo; kedua, Muhdlor merupakan anak dari tokoh agama yang namanya cukup besar di Sidoarjo, yakni KH. Agoes Ali Masyhuri (Gus Ali). Gus Ali sendiri merupakan tokoh agama yang juga turut masuk dalam susunan pengurus PWNU Jawa Timur periode 2018-

2023, posisi yang diduduki ialah wakil rais syuriah. Tentunya hal ini merupakan posisi strategis untuk meraup dukungan suara dari basis massa. Sebelum nama Muhdlor diusung oleh partai politik, ia telah

lebih dulu mempromosikan dirinya melalui foto di papan reklame. Dalam foto tersebut terdapat satu kalimat yang sangat menyita perhatian, yakni: "Putra KH. Agoes Ali Masyhuri".

Perhitungan Perolehan Suara di tingkat Kabupaten Pada Pemilihan Bupati dan Wakil Bupati Sidoarjo Tahun 2020, pasangan Muhdlor – Subandi ditetapkan sebagai pemenang Pilkada Kabupaten Sidoarjo Tahun 2020 dengan perolehan suara sebanyak 39,8% (387. 766 suara). Disusul oleh pasangan BHS – Taufiq dengan perolehan suara sebanyak 38,4 % (373.516 suara), dan pasangan Kelana – Dwi Astutik sebanyak 21,9 % (212. 594). Perolehan suara antara paslon Muhdlor – Subandi dengan BHS – Taufiq dapat dikatakan sangat tipis, hanya berbeda 14.250 suara atau 1,4%. Dalam disiplin Ilmu Politik, perilaku memilih salah satunya dapat dilihat melalui perspektif Michigan yang memfokuskan pada sikap para pemilih dan identifikasi mereka terhadap salah satu partai politik besar (McAllister, 2017). Para sarjana Michigan ini menawarkan definisi khusus terkait identifikasi partai, mereka mendefinisikan sebagai rasa keterikatan psikologis dengan salah satu pihak utama. Ini tidak berarti seseorang harus atau secara resmi menjadi anggota partai atau keanggotaan formal dalam partai.

Pada peringatan Hari Santri Nasional Tahun 2019, terdapat baliho Mudhlor Ali yang membawa embel-embel 'Nahdlatul Ulama', baliho tersebut dipasang menjelang Pilkada Kabupaten Sidoarjo Tahun 2020. Nahdlatul Ulama (NU) sendiri merupakan organisasi keagamaan tradisional yang terkenal moderat dan menjunjung tinggi pluralisme. Nahdlatul Ulama (NU) didirikan oleh Kyai di Jawa, secara tradisional memololi anggota yang terdiri dari masyarakat akar rumput. Di Kabupaten Sidoarjo, Nahdlatul Ulama (NU) memiliki pamor yang sangat besar. Salah satu contohnya dapat dilihat pada beberapa tahun belakangan, pada saat Kabupaten Sidoarjo beberapa kali menjadi tuan rumah pada Tabligh Akbar dan Istighosah Kubro perayaan Hari Santri Nasional.

Secara tradisional, NU memiliki anggota yang terdiri dari golongan masyarakat akar rumput. Di mana penduduk desa dan santri pesantren seluruh Indonesia menjadi pendukung utama keanggotaan NU. Pengurus Besar Nahdlatul Ulama (NU) sendiri menyatakan bahwa lebih dari 60 juta masyarakat Indonesia merupakan anggota NU (Arifianto, 2017). Seperti yang telah dikatakan di atas, bahwa ayah dari Mudhlor Ali ialah KH. Agoes Ali Masyhuri (Gus Ali) merupakan salah satu tokoh agama terkenal di Kabupaten Sidoarjo, dan masuk dalam jajaran pengurus PWNU Jawa Timur periode 2018-2023. Terdapat ikatan yang kuat antara kyai di pedesaan dengan masyarakat sekitar, hal tersebut secara tradisional dan budaya menjadikan diri mereka sebagai pengikut NU. Hingga hari ini, masyarakat di daerah masih terus melestarikan dan menjalankan praktik ajaran Islam yang diajarkan, atau dijalankan sebelumnya oleh kyai setempat.

Tiga kandidat bupati yang turut serta dalam kontestasi Pilkada Kabupaten Sidoarjo tahun 2020 merupakan nama-nama baru. Ketiga nama baru ini seolah menjadi penyegar bagi masyarakat Sidoarjo mengingat pada dua periode sebelumnya, Kabupaten Sidoarjo dirasa tidak memiliki banyak perubahan

yang signifikan. Selain itu, ditambah lagi dengan kasus korupsi yang menjerat mantan Bupati Sidoarjo Saiful Ilah pada tahun 2020 lalu. Pada kajian perilaku memilih beberapa tahun belakangan memang menunjukkan bahwa terdapat penurunan pengaruh dari pendekatan sosiologis dan psikologis terhadap pilihan politik masyarakat.

Penelitian Denver dan Garnett (2014) mengemukakan bahwa terdapat *dealignemnt politics* yang melonggarkan ikatan antara partai dan pemilih. Mujani, Liddle, dan Ambardi (2018) juga menyebutkan bahwa masyarakat Indonesia cenderung dinamis, terbuka, dan bersikap rasional. Untuk itu, kajian pendekatan sosiologis dan psikologis mulai tergeser dengan pendekatan rasional atau ekonomi politik, baik melalui perspektif *valence politics*: kompetensi politik atau *economic votings*, serta melalui perspektif preferensi isu (Asfar, 2020).

Berkaca melalui lebih dari satu dekade terakhir, kondisi Kabupaten Sidoarjo bisa dikatakan kurang baik. Pembangunan yang ada cenderung stagnan dan tanpa arah. Oleh karena itu penulis mengasumsikan bahwa terdapat variabel lain yang dapat mempengaruhi pilihan politik masyarakat pada Pilkada Kabupaten Sidoarjo Tahun 2020, yakni variabel kompetensi kandidat. Pertimbangan di kalangan pemilih bukan lagi partai mana yang memiliki posisi ideologis yang sama dengan mereka ataupun kebijakan mana yang mereka setuju, tetapi mana partai atau kandidat yang paling kompeten untuk mencapai tujuan bersama tersebut. Penelitian ini menggunakan metode kuantitatif dan masuk dalam kategori penelitian eksplanatif. Menggunakan 100 responden yang tersebar di seluruh kecamatan di Kabupaten Sidoarjo, penelitian ini bertujuan untuk mengetahui hubungan variabel identifikasi partai, ikatan kelompok NU, dan kompetensi kandidat pada perilaku memilih masyarakat dalam Pilkada Kabupaten Sidoarjo Tahun 2020.

METODE PENELITIAN

Penelitian ini menggunakan metode kuantitatif dan masuk dalam kategori penelitian eksplanatif. Menggunakan margin of error 10%, berikut perhitungan sampel penelitian menggunakan rumus Yamane:

$$n = \frac{N}{1 + N(e)^2}$$

n = Jumlah sampel yang dibutuhkan

N = Jumlah populasi

e = Tingkat kesalahan

$$n = \frac{1.404.887}{1 + 1.404.887 \cdot (0,1)^2}$$

$$n = \frac{1.404.887}{1 + 1.404.887 \cdot (0,01)}$$

$$n = \frac{1.404.887}{14.049,87}$$

$$n = 99,992992$$

$$n = 100$$

Penelitian ini menggunakan sampel lokasi 18 kecamatan (seluruh kecamatan) di Kabupaten Sidoarjo. Pada tiap kecamatan tersebut peneliti akan mengambil dua desa dengan teknik simple random sampling. Setelah diketahui desa mana yang tepilih, kemudian penulis akan mengambil 1 RT di tiap desa dengan cara acak. Setelah diketahui RT mana yang terpilih, penulis kemudian akan mengambil nomor secara acak untuk menentukan KK mana yang akan dijadikan sebagai sampel responden, jumlah sampel responden tiap RT akan menyesuaikan dengan jumlah proporsional yang telah dihitung sesuai dengan jumlah DPT di tiap kecamatan. Penelitian ini bertujuan untuk mengetahui hubungan variabel identifikasi partai, ikatan kelompok NU, dan kompetensi kandidat pada perilaku memilih masyarakat dalam Pilkada Kabupaten Sidoarjo Tahun 2020. Terkait jumlah proporsional tiap kecamatan didapatkan melalui rumus di bawah ini:

$$N = \frac{Populasi\ di\ Tiap\ Kecamatan}{Total\ Populasi} \ x\ Total\ Sampel$$

Pendekatan Sosiologis

Pendekatan sosiologis atau yang bisa juga disebut dengan model Columbia pertama kali digunakan untuk meneliti perilaku memilih di Amerika Serikat pada tahun 1940 (Fisher et al., 2017). Hasil penelitian tersebut menunjukkan bahwa kampanye menjelang pemilu memiliki dua dampak, yakni: memperkuat pilihan individu, dan memotivasi kecenderungan dari pemilih yang tidak berkomitmen (*uncommitted voters*), kecenderungan ini dibagi menjadi tiga, yaitu: 1) status kelas warga negara; 2) identifikasi ras atau agama warga negara; 3) wilayah tempat tinggal warga negara (di desa atau di kota) (Fisher et al., 2017). Hal tersebut sejalan dengan dasar dari pendekatan sosiologis; orang memilih ketika pemilu karena kondisi sosial mereka, di mana kelompok yang berbeda memiliki kepentingan yang berbeda, sekaligus pihak yang berbeda berusaha untuk mewakili kepentingan tersebut (Denver dan Johns, 2022).

Oleh karena itu perilaku memilih seseorang dapat dipengaruhi oleh kondisi sosial dan kelompok sosial mereka berasal. Pengelompokan yang dimaksud ialah: kelas, agama, dan ras (Denver dan Johns, 2022). Sementara itu pendapat lain juga mengatakan bahwa dalam pendekatan sosiologis, yang menjadi penggerak utama partisipasi dan pilihan politik ialah; perbedaan jenis kelamin, usia, etnis atau daerah tempat tinggal, agama dan tingkat kesalehan, kelas sosial yang diukur dari tempat tinggal perkotaan versus pedesaan, tingkat pendapatan, pendidikan, serta jenis pekerjaan (Mujani et al., 2018b).

Sementara itu Asfar (2020) dalam disertasinya menuliskan bahwa karakteristik sosiologis yang mencakup: jenis kelamin, usia, agama, dll., memiliki kapasitas untuk menciptakan pengelompokan sosial baik secara formal seperti keanggotaan individu dalam organisasi keagamaan, organisasi profesi, dsb., maupun pengelompokan secara informal seperti keluarga, pertemanan, dan kelompok-kelompok kecil lainnya, hal tersebut memiliki fungsi strategis untuk memahami perilaku politik individu karena mereka memiliki pengaruh untuk membangun persepsi, sikap, serta orientasi individu. Dalam konteks kelompok agama, studi Mujani, Liddle, dan Ambardi (2018b) menyebutkan bahwa organisasi keagamaan berperan penting untuk meningkatkan jumlah pemilih pada saat masa pemilihan, hal ini dikarenakan mereka yang terlibat dalam organisasi keagamaan lebih memiliki banyak peluang untuk menjadi aktivis politik, sehingga mereka yang tergabung dalam kelompok ini lebih strategis untuk dimobilisasi daripada mereka yang tidak tergabung dalam organisasi keagamaan.

Pendekatan Psikologis

Pendekatan ini lebih menekankan kepada karakteristik sosial pemilih, fokus utama dalam pendekatan ini ialah sikap seorang pemilih dan identifikasi mereka dengan salah satu partai politik besar (McAllister, 2017). Identifikasi yang dimaksud ialah orientasi afektif individu terhadap kelompok penting dalam masyarakat (Campbell et al., 1960: 122) dalam Mujani et al., (2018b). Sementara itu Niemi dan Weisberg (1984) dalam Asfar (2020) menyebutkan bahwa pendekatan ini menekankan pada tiga aspek psikologis, yakni: ikatan emosional pada suatu partai politik, orientasi terhadap isu-isu, dan orientasi terhadap kandidat. Pendekatan ini melihat bahwa sikap seseorang yang merupakan produk dari sosialisasi yang telah mereka terima dalam jangka waktu yang cukup panjang.

Dari sosialisasi yang diterima oleh seseorang, hal tersebut berkembang menjadi ikatan psikologis antara individu dengan organisasi kemasyarakatan maupun partai politik yang menumbuhkan rasa simpati pada partai politik, ikatan inilah yang timbul akibat sosialisasi inilah yang kemudian disebut sebagai identifikasi partai (Hutchings dan Jefferson, 2020). Keterikatan di sini tidak selalu dipahami dengan seorang pemilih bergabung dalam partai yang sama dengan kandidat, tetapi rasa ketertarikan ini sama halnya dengan keterikatan yang dirasakan seseorang terhadap kelas, kelompok agama, dan ras. Identifikasi partai memiliki dua karakteristik, yakni: arah (*direction*) dan kekuatan (*strength*). Secara karakteristik arah, seseorang hanya menganggap dirinya Demokrat, Republik, maupun Independen.

Tetapi jika dilihat melalui karakteristik kekuatan, seseorang akan dilihat intensitas keterikatannya pada pihak-pihak tertentu. Sehingga pada bagian ini keterikatan seseorang pada partai dapat masuk dalam kategori kuat, tidak terlalu kuat, ataupun seorang Independen yang lebih condong pada satu pihak di antara dua pihak (Hutchings dan Jefferson, 2017).

Tetapi perlu diingat bahwa ketika seseorang mengidentifikasi dirinya menjadi bagian kelompok tertentu, pada pemilu belum tentu dirinya memilih partai tersebut. Bisa saja justru individu tersebut memilih partai lawan, begitu pun sebaliknya. Terdapat kondisi di mana pengikut partai yang kuat kadang justru dapat bertindak bertentangan dengan arus gelombang partai mereka sendiri. Untuk itu, dalam penelitian ini penulis akan menggunakan karakteristik arah dalam melihat fenomena identifikasi partai.

Pendekatan Rasional (*Rational Choice*)

Dalam dua pendekatan sebelumnya tidak banyak merujuk pada pendapat masyarakat terkait kebijakan maupun kinerja kandidat atau partai. Kedua pendekatan sebelumnya sebagian besar hanya berkaitan dengan pemungutan suara sebagai fungsi dari proses sosial dan psikologis. Kemudian muncul pendekatan baru yang lebih luas dan cukup berbeda dari dua pendekatan sebelumnya. Dalam bentuknya yang lebih modern, asumsi dasar teori ini berasal dari disiplin ekonomi, di mana individu sebagai pelaku ekonomi bertindak secara rasional; sebelum mengambil suatu tindakan akan menimbang biaya manfaat serta alternatif lain; keputusan yang diambil harus memiliki lebih banyak manfaat dan menekan biaya untuk diri mereka sendiri (Dowdig et al., 2017).

Pendekatan rasional secara signifikan telah mempengaruhi analisis pemilu baru-baru ini, hal ini dikarenakan munculnya berbagai pendekatan yang lebih spesifik untuk memahami pilihan partai atau kandidat dengan asumsi bahwa pemilih memilih pihak yang dinilai paling mampu memerintah secara efektif. Karena dalam pendekatan ini memunculkan berbagai pendekatan yang lebih spesifik untuk memahami pilihan masyarakat terhadap pihak yang dipilihnya, seperti isu-isu strategis pada saat pemilihan, pemungutan suara spasial atau kedekatan, serta valensi atau kinerja politik (Denver dan Johns, 2022). Dengan demikian, pendekatan ini mewakili berbagai cara untuk menentukan bagaimana pemilih melakukan penilaian "manfaat" atau "*benefits*" yang ditawarkan oleh partai maupun kandidat yang bersaing.

Pedebatan teoritis dalam diskursus teori perilaku memilih sampai pada isu-isu *valency*, menjelang tahun 2000 hingga saat ini terdapat pergeseran pada dominasi pengaruh variabel isu pada variabel kinerja kandidat pertahana (*retropective voting*) untuk menjelaskan perilaku memilih (Asfar, 2020). Serangan terhadap lawan politik merupakan salah satu bagian rutin dari kampanye menjelang pemilu. Serangan-serangan yang diluncurkan ini kerap kali merupakan pernyataan tentang "valence" atau serangan yang

bersifat non-ideologis, seperti: kompetensi, integritas, dan persatuan (Jung dan Tavits, 2021). *Valence issue* ini kemudian membuka diskursus dalam kajian perilaku memilih.

Pertanyaan yang menjadi diskursus ialah: jika seluruh partai politik mengangkat isu yang sama seperti mengurangi jumlah kemiskinan, mengurangi tingkat kriminalitas, dan hal-hal yang bersifat non ideologis, lalu bagaimana pemilih dapat mengkualifikasikan antar partai untuk menentukan pilihan politiknya pada saat pemilu? (Asfar, 2020). Hal inilah yang dijawab oleh David Denver dan Mark Garnett (2014), mereka melakukan kajian tentang pemilu di Inggris dan hasil penelitian tersebut dimuat dalam bukunya yang berjudul British General Elections since 1964. Menjelang pemilu tahun 2010 di Inggris terdapat perubahan pendekatan untuk menjelaskan perilaku memilih masyarakat. Pendekatan ini biasa disebut sebagai pendekatan model *valence politics*. Sebenarnya model ini pernah dikaji oleh Clare et al., (2004;2009) dengan sebutan *valence model of electoral choice* (Asfar, 2020).

Dari hasil penelitian ini disebutkan bahwa terdapat *dealignment politics* yang melonggarkan ikatan antara partai dan pemilih (Denver dan Garnett, 2014). Pertimbangan di kalangan pemilih bukan lagi partai mana yang memiliki posisi ideologis yang sama dengan mereka ataupun kebijakan mana yang mereka setujui, tetapi mana partai atau kandidat yang paling kompeten untuk mencapai tujuan bersama tersebut. Tetapi penilaian seperti ini tidak berjalan secara langsung, beberapa pemilih akhirnya memilih untuk menggunakan jalan pintas yang mudah dengan cara melakukan penilaian terhadap pimpinan partai, hal itulah yang akhirnya menjadi pertimbangan mereka dalam memilih partai. Tetapi meski demikian, identifikasi partai tetap memiliki pengaruh yang signifikan secara statistik dalam pemilu (Denver dan Garnett, 2014).

Untuk itu, *valence politics* memosisikan kompetensi sebagai variabel penting dalam mempengaruhi perilaku memilih seseorang (Asfar, 2020). Dalam *valence politics,* terdapat berbagai indikator untuk mengukur kompetensi kandidat, tetapi dalam penelitian ini penulis menggunakan empat indikator untuk mengukur kompetensi kandidat, yakni: kompetensi manajerial kandidat, keahlian dalam merumuskan kebijakan, dan integritas kandidat (Buechler, 2008) dalam (Green dan Jennings, 2017), serta realisasi janji-janji politik pada saat masa kampanye (Lockerbie, 1991) dalam (Lanoue, 1994).

Analisis Data

Pada bagian ini akan dicari hubungan antara tiga variabel bebas (X) dan satu variabel terikat (Y). Untuk itu pada penelitian ini dilakukan uji asosiasi (hubungan) dengan alat pengujian utama yang disebut dengan korelasi (Santoso, 2012). Penelitian ini menggunakan uji korelasi Kontingensi yang merupakan bagian dari statistika non-parametrik. Karena uji korelasi kontingensi adalah bagian dari statistik non-parametrik, maka pengukuran koefisien korelasi tidak menggunakan korelasi Pearson ataupun Product Moment seperti yang ada pada statistik parametrik (Santoso, 2012).

HASIL DAN PEMBAHASAN

Identifikasi Partai dan Perilaku Memilih Masyarakat dalam Pilkada Kabupaten Sidoarjo Tahun 2020

Dari hasil penelitian di lapangan, diketahui bahwa dari 100 responden penelitian ini 18 responden mengaku memiliki arah ikatan emosional dengan satu partai politik. Berdasarkan 100 responden penelitian, sebanyak 31 responden menyatakan bahwa dirinya mengidentifikasi pada partai politik, sementara itu 69 responden menyatakan tidak mengidentifikasi diri mereka pada partai politik. Peneliti juga menanyakan kepada 31 responden yang menjawab "Ya" terkait partai apa yang mereka identifikasi. Dari 31 responden yang mengidentifikasi diri mereka terhadap partai politik, mayoritas responden menyatakan bahwa mereka memiliki arah identifikasi partai dengan Partai Kebangkitan Bangsa (PKB).

Tabel 1
Arah identifikasi Partai

	Frekuensi	Persentase
Ya	31	31%
Tidak	69	69%
Jumlah	100	100%

Tabel 2.
Nama Partai

Nama Partai	Frekuensi	Persentase
Gerindra	2	2%
Golkar	2	2%
PKB	17	17%
PAN	2	2%
Tidak Memiliki Ikatan Terhadap Parpol	77	77%
Jumlah	**100**	**100%**

Dari tabel tersebut dapat diketahui bahwa dari 31 responden yang mengaku memiliki arah identifikasi terhadap partai politik, terdapat 17 responden yang mengidentifikasi diri mereka dengan Partai Kebangkitan Bangsa (PKB), 2 responden mengidentifikasi diri mereka dengan Partai Gerindra, 2 responden mengidentifikasi diri mereka dengan Partai Golkar, dan 2 responden mengidentifikasi diri mereka dengan Partai Amanat Nasional (PAN). Berikut hasil tabulasi silang atau *crosstab* dan hasil pengukuran koefisien korelasi dari variabel identifikasi partai dengan pilihan politik responden pada Pilkada Kabupaten Sidoarjo Tahun 2020:

Tabel 3

Tabulasi Silang Identifikasi Partai dengan Pilihan Politik

		Paslon Pilihan		
		BHS - Taufiq (01)	Mudhlor Subandi (02)	Kelana - Dwi Astutik (03)
Identifikasi Partai	Ya	5	24	2
	Tidak	37	26	6
Jumlah		42	50	8

Berdasarkan tabel di atas, diketahui bahwa pada hubungan identifikasi partai dengan bupati dan wakil bupati pilihan masyarakat diperoleh nilai *Approximate Significance (P-value)* 0,001. Nilai signifikasi tersebut < 0,05 maka dari itu H0 ditolak dan H1 diterima, hal ini berarti bahwa terdapat hubungan antara arah identifikasi partai terhadap pilihan politik masyarakat pada Pilkada Kabupaten Sidoarjo tahun 2020. Sementara itu nilai koefisien korelasi ialah 0,351 yang masuk dalam kategori rendah. Sehingga dapat ditarik kesimpulan bahwa variabel identifikasi partai memiliki hubungan terhadap bupati dan wakil bupati pilihan masyarakat meski tingkat koefisien korelasi masuk dalam kategori rendah.

Tabel 4

Hasil Koefisien Korelasi Identifikasi Partai dengan Pilihan Politik

		Value	Approximate Significance
Nominal by Nominal	Contingency Coefficient	.351	.001
N of Valid Cases		**100**	

Ikatan Kelompok NU dan Perilaku Memilih Masyarakat dalam Pilkada Kabupaten Sidoarjo Tahun 2020

Peneliti menemukan bahwa terdapat 53 responden di lapangan yang menyatakan bahwa dirinya memiliki ikatan terhadap kelompok keagamaan Islam. Sementara itu, 47 responden lainnya menyatakan tidak memiliki ikatan terhadap kelompok Agama Islam. Responden yang memilih "Tidak" ini juga termasuk mereka yang menganut Agama Islam, Kristen, dan Katolik. Dari pilihan organisasi keagamaan Islam yang disediakan oleh penulis, responden hanya memilih pada opsi Nahdlatul Ulama dan Muhammadiyah.

Tabel 5

Ikatan Kelompok NU

	Frekuensi	**Persentase**
Ya	17	17%
Tidak	28	28%
Tidak Memiliki Ikatan Terhadap Kelompok Keagamaan Islam	55	55%
Jumlah	**100**	**100%**

Sejumlah 53 responden yang menyatakan bahwa dirinya memiliki ikatan terhadap kelompok keagamaan Islam terbagi menjadi dua; NU dan Muhammadiyah. Mayoritas responden mengatakan bahwa dirinya memiliki ikatan terhadap Nahdlatul Ulama atau NU. Terlihat dari 45 responden yang mengidentifikasi dirinya sebagai bagian dari NU dan hanya 8 responden yang mengidentifikasi dirinya sebagai bagian dari Muhammadiyah. Kemudian ketika diberi opsi pertanyaan terkait keaktifan responden dalam organisasi NU, 17 responden mengatakan bahwa dirinya aktif pada organisasi tersebut. Sementara itu 28 responden lainnya mengatakan tidak aktif dalam organisasi NU. Aktif yang dimaksud di sini ialah baik dirinya merupakan anggota resmi organisasi tersebut, maupun mereka yang meskipun tidak memiliki kartu keanggotaan secara resmi tetapi ikut terlibat dalam kegiatan-kegiatan milik NU.

Tabel 6

Keaktifan di NU

	Frekuensi	**Persentase**
Ya	53	53%
Tidak	47	47%
Jumlah	**100**	**100%**

Berikut hasil tabulasi silang atau *crosstab* dan hasil pengukuran koefisien korelasi dari variabel ikatan kelompok NU dengan pilihan politik responden pada Pilkada Kabupaten Sidoarjo Tahun 2020:

Tabel 7

Tabulasi Silang Ikatan Kelompok NU dengan Pilihan Politik

		Paslon Pilihan		
		BHS - Taufiq (01)	**Mudhlor - Subandi (02)**	**Kelana - Dwi Astutik (03)**
Ikatan Kelompok NU	Ya	10	36	7
	Tidak	32	13	1
Jumlah		**42**	**50**	**8**

Tabel 8

Hasil Koefisien Korelasi Ikatan Kelompok NU dengan Pilihan Politik

		Value	Approximate Significance
Nominal by Nominal	Contingency Coefficient	.462	.000
N of Valid Cases		**100**	

Dari perhitungan tersebut diketahui bahwa nilai *Approximate Significance (P-value)* adalah 0,000, nilai tersebut < 0,05 maka dari itu H0 ditolak dan H1 diterima. Hal ini berarti bahwa terdapat hubungan antara ikatan kelompok keagamaan terhadap pilihan politik responden pada Pilkada Kabupaten Sidoarjo. Selain itu juga didapatkan angka koefisien korelasi sebesar 0,462, angka tersebut menandakan adanya hubungan yang positif dan searah antara dua variabel. Berdasarkan angka korelasi tersebut diketahui bahwa tingkat keeratan hubungan (korelasi) antara variabel ikatan kelompok NU terhadap bupati dan wakil bupati pilihan masyarakat berada pada kategori sedang.

Kompetensi Kandidat dan Perilaku Memilih Masyarakat dalam Pilkada Kabupaten Sidoarjo Tahun 2020

Dalam penelitian ini menggunakan empat indikator untuk mengukur kompetensi kandidat, yakni: kompetensi manajerial, keahlian dalam merumuskan kebijakan, integritas (Buechler, 2008) dalam (Green dan Jennings, 2017), dan kemampuan dalam merealisasikan janj-janji politik (Lanoue, 1994). Berikut data yang ditemukan oleh penulis di lapangan:

Tabel 9

Pertimbangan Terhadap Indikator Kompetensi Manajerial

	Frekuensi	Persentase
Ya	66	66%
Tidak	34	34%
Jumlah	100	100%

Tabel 10

Pertimbangan Terhadap Indikator Kompetensi Kandidat Dalam Merumuskan Kebijakan

	Frekuensi	Persentase
Ya	74	74%
Tidak	26	26%
Jumlah	**100**	**100%**

Tabel 11

Pertimbangan Terhadap Indikator Integritas Kandidat

	Frekuensi	**Persentase**
Ya	100	100%
Jumlah	**100**	**100%**

Tabel 12

Pertimbangan Terhadap Indikator Kompetensi Dalam Merealisasikan Janji-Janji Kampanye

	Frekuensi	**Persentase**
Ya	66	66%
Tidak	34	34%
Jumlah	**100**	**100%**

Dari tabel di atas, diketahui bahwa indikator yang paling dipertimbangkan oleh masyarakat ialah indikator integritas. Dari empat indikator yang ada, maka perlu dijadikan satu kesatuan untuk dapat mengukur variabel kompetensi kandidat (X3) sebagai satu kesatuan. Karena data pada variabel ini masuk dalam jenis data ordinal, di mana data tidak terdistribusi normal, maka akan untuk mengukurnya akan menggunakan nilai median (Siegel, 2011). Ketika telah diketahui bahwa data yang ada tidaklah terdistribusi dengan normal maka *cut off point* akan menggunakan nilai median (Diarsani, 2021). Dari situ kemudian dilakukan koding secara manual berdasarkan perhitungan seluruh indikator, sehingga ditemukan bahwa jika perhitungan <5 (nilai median) maka akan dihitung "Tidak", dan jika >5 (nilai median) dihitung "Ya".

Tabel 13

Tabulasi Silang Kompetensi Kandidat dengan Pilihan Politik

		Paslon Pilihan		
		BHS - Taufiq (01)	**Mudhlor - Subandi (02)**	**Kelana - Dwi Astutik (03)**
Kompetensi Kandidat	Ya	26	8	1
	Tidak	16	42	7
Jumlah		**42**	**50**	**8**

Tabel 14

Hasil Koefisien Korelasi Kompetensi Kandidat dengan Pilihan Politik

		Value	**Approximate Significance**
Nominal by Nominal	Contingency Coefficient	.433	.000
N of Valid Cases		**100**	

Dari tabel di atas diketahui bahwa nilai *Approximate Significace (P-value)* ialah 0,000. Nilai tersebut < 0,05 maka H0 ditolak dan H1 diterima, yang artinya terdapat hubungan terhadap kompetensi kandidat dengan bupati dan wakil bupati pilihan politik masyarakat pada Pilkada Kabupaten Sidoarjo tahun 2020. Selain itu juga didapatkan angka koefisien korelasi sebesar 0,462, angka tersebut menandakan bahwa adanya hubungan yang positif dan searah antara dua variabel. Berdasarkan angka korelasi tersebut diketahui bahwa tingkat keeratan hubungan (korelasi) antara variabel kompetensi kandidat terhadap pilihan politik responden pada Pilkada Kabupaten Sidoarjo tahun 2020 berada pada kategori sedang.

KESIMPULAN

Berdasarkan hasil penelitian yang telah melalui uji statistik, dapat ditarik kesimpulan bahwa tiga variabel independen; identifikasi partai, ikatan kelompok NU, dan kompetensi kandidat berpengaruh terhadap variabel dependen; perilaku memilih masyarakat pada Pilkada Kabupaten Sidoarjo Tahun 2020. Sehingga hasil penelitian di lapangan menunjukkan bahwa terdapat hubungan antara variabel identifikasi partai, ikatan kelompok NU, dan kompetensi kandidat mempengaruhi perilaku memilih masyarakat pada Pilkada Kabupaten Sidoarjo Tahun 2020. Saat dilakukan uji koefisien korelasi untuk mengetahui tingkat hubungan antara variabel identifikasi partai terhadap perilaku memilih masyarakat, didapati angka yang berada pada kategori rendah. Sementara untuk koefisien korelasi antara variabel ikatan kelompok NU dan kompetensi kandidat terhadap perilaku memilih masyarakat, didapati angka yang berada pada kategori rendah.

Masyarakat yang mempertimbangkan variabel identifikasi partai dan ikatan kelompok NU cenderung memilih pasangan nomor urut dua (Mudhlor-Subandi), sementara masyarakat yang mempertimbangkan variabel kompetensi kandidat cenderung memilih pasangan nomor urut satu (BHS-Taufiq). Karena tingkat koefisien korelasi masing-masing variabel independen berada pada kategori rendah dan sedang, maka terdapat variabel lain yang lebih berpengaruh terhadap perilaku memilih masyarakat Kabupaten Sidoarjo pada Pilkada Kabupaten Sidoarjo Tahun 2020.

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Analysis of the Role of Serambi Indonesia Media in Improving Political Education in the 2019 Legislative Elections in Bireuen District, Aceh

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Abstract: The role of the Serambi Indonesia media is urgently needed to have a positive effect on increasing political education for the public as voters in general elections because the media has a strong influence in shaping one's cognition, where the media provides information and knowledge that ultimately shapes perceptions, and perceptions will influence attitudes and behavior. The Serambi Indonesia media was chosen because the media contains a lot of political news and can keep up with the times. Serambi Indonesia is one of the largest print media spread across Aceh Province. This study aims to find out the role of the Serambi Indonesia media in increasing political education among the public in the 2019 legislative elections in the Bireuen Regency. This study uses a qualitative method. Qualitative research focuses on collecting data that is descriptive and analytical on the Serambi Indonesia website, intending to uncover more specific phenomena that can provide a more in-depth picture of Indonesian Serambi media in improving political education in the 2019 legislative elections in the Biereuen Regency. With that, Serambi Indonesia provides information or political news published by Serambi Indonesia which is very important and very influential. the reader in receiving the message conveyed.

Keywords: Media role, Serambi Indonesia, political education, 2019 election, Biereuen Regency.

INTRODUCTION

The media has made very rapid progress in providing information to the public. Information is one of the things that people look for to improve what they know, and one of the places to get this information is through social media (Lash et al., 2020). Most Indonesian people currently spend their time digging for information through media that have experienced many developments, such as information media via the internet, television, and print media, such as magazines and newspapers as well (Santosa, 2017).

All the information media mentioned above have the same respective roles to provide information to the public and shape public opinion so that they can choose the media (Ticoalu et al., 2015). Everything can be obtained through the media, both information about the world of entertainment, education, and foreign news, to the world of politics that is developing in Indonesia and the regions so that the media has a social responsibility to the community because it has influenced changes in certain knowledge from the news that is consumed (Hasanuddin et al., 2015). The community is the part that is affected by the news from the media, both electronic media and print media. Society needs a lot of information about things that are currently developing in the social, cultural, and even political environment. The
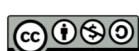
community is in dire need in terms of increasing knowledge about what is developing (Manik & Suharno, 2019).

Talking about the media cannot be separated from political content and vice versa, politics cannot be separated from the media that contains it. In this increasingly developing era, political news is no longer taboo. Now politics is part of society (Ticoalu et al., 2015). Those politics is society itself, meaning that every community's life is not far from politics, in which some activities affect, and the rules and norms that bind every activity in society (Andrianti, 2015).

Politics and the media are intertwined in a relationship that requires and influences each other and can even be beneficial. The media can form public opinion and can influence public opinion on political events and issues that are happening or developing. The media depends on the press system, and the press system also depends on the political system that exists or applies in a country (Sukendar, 2017). So the media in providing information to the public or in conveying messages in an event that occurs, the media in this case, newspapers must be within the circle of regulations or rules that apply and are determined by the country concerned (Hariyanti et al., 2018).

Politics can be said to be part of the media and politics cannot be separated from the media, because the media, as stated above, that one of the advantages of the media is to form opinions and general views regarding various events that occur, even political events that are currently being discussed (Diah, 2016). When public opinion and views can be arranged as desired by the media in their reporting, then that is the thing that becomes a reference for the success of a media in conveying political messages or information (Astari, 2021).

The public generally knows the political behavior of the government as well as political events from various media that can be obtained anytime and anywhere, both the internet, television and print media such as magazines and newspapers. The information offered by the media, especially print media, namely newspapers regarding up-to-date political issues, attracts the attention of many people, and the issues offered by the newspapers themselves to the community are also very diverse, especially when there is something about politics such as general elections.

The media also has the power to shape people's opinions, attitudes, and behavior in response to developing information. How can a media, specifically print media, be able to provide interesting information so that readers can decide to respond to that information (Sukendar, 2017). The way the mass media displays political events can influence the views of the public and political actors regarding the political developments that occur. With the presence of the mass media in changing one's views on politics by forming public opinion, the mass media seeks to shape one's knowledge, attitudes, and actions regarding an event or political problem and the political actors involved in the reporting. The media has a very strong influence on the formation of one's cognition. The media provide information
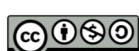
and knowledge that can ultimately shape perceptions. And perception affects one's attitude and behavior. Various media reports provide input to individual cognition, and cognition will shape attitudes (Amina, 2018).

One of the interesting things displayed in the print media as stated above is regarding the 2019 General Election. The General Election, which was held on April 17, 2019, became hot news used by the print media, including Serambi Indonesia to provide important information that will be provided can be political knowledge for the community.

The General Election in 2019 received an enthusiastic welcome from the public to see how the success of the democratic party and the efforts of the candidates or legislative candidates in terms of running the democratic party, the General Election has a very big meaning for the community because it can provide complete authority in the context of political recruitment as a whole democratic.

All regions will take part in the elections in 2019, and Bireuen Regency is no exception. Geographically, the northern part of Bireuen Regency is directly adjacent to the Malacca Strait, the Southeastern border is with Bener Meriah Regency, the South is with Central Aceh Regency, the eastern part is directly adjacent to North Aceh Regency, while the western part is bordered by Pidie Jaya Regency and the southwest is bordered by Pidie.

Bireuen Regency has 17 sub-districts with a total population of 471,635 people, the male population is 231,005 people, while the female population is 240,630 people. The taking of Bireuen Regency as a research sample was due to the political dynamics in Bireuen Regency which were noted to be interesting to study where in the previous election, namely the regional elections in 2017 in Bireuen Regency, it became a public discussion due to the action of money politics which tarnished the regional elections in 2017, therefore the researcher wanted to research Is there a role for the media (in this case, the Serambi Indonesia media) in increasing the political education of the people in Bireuen Regency so that they are not affected by fraud in the election.

To see how effective Serambi Indonesia's role is in reporting on political education, one has to look at the level of education of the people in the local district, in that case, the people in Bireuen Regency have completed 46,201 elementary school level education and 42,291 junior high school graduates. , and those who completed the high school equivalent were 11,660 people, and those who completed Diploma I/II/III were 11,349 people, while those with an undergraduate education level (S1) and above were 26,598 people.

Choosing the Serambi Indonesia media because the media contains a lot of political news and can keep up with the times. Serambi Indonesia is one of the largest print media spread across Aceh Province and enters remote villages in Aceh. Serambi Indonesia has the strength of the concept of reporting which is

contained in each of its publications. The news that appears in Serambi Indonesia puts forward issues specifically that are regional, at quite affordable prices. That is what makes it easier for Serambi Indonesia to be accepted in the Aceh region and society, especially in Bireuen District where this research will be conducted.

Therefore, it is necessary to see how Serambi Indonesia reports on politics in Bireuen Regency regarding the elected Acehnese People's Legislative Assembly (DPRA) legislator from Bireuen district, namely Ilham Akbar ST from the Golongan Karya Party, dr. Purnama Setia Budi Sp.OG from PKS, Dr. Amiruddin Idris, SE MSi from the United Development Party (PPP), Zulfadli AMd, and H Khalili SH from the Aceh Party, Samsul Bahri (Tiyong), and Tgk Haidar from the Aceh State Party (PNA). Therefore, it is necessary to see whether some of the members of the Aceh People's Legislative Assembly use Serambi Indonesia media to provide political education so that it can be consumed by the wider community in Bireuen Regency.

Serambi Indonesia has several advantages compared to other mass media, namely: the language used in Serambi Indonesia is quite light but has weight so that it does not make it difficult for the reader to explore the intent of the writing, the news displayed is packaged in cool and non-provocative language.

LITERATURE REVIEW

Role

The role means something that is played or carried out. A role is defined as an activity that is played or played by someone who has a position or social status in the organization. Role according to terminology is a set of behaviors that are expected to be owned by those who are in the community (Suryo & Aji, 2019).

The role is also individual behavior that determines a certain position; thus, the role concept refers to the pattern of behavior expected of someone who has a certain status/position in an organization or system. The role, attitude, or behavior expected by many people or groups of people towards someone who has a certain status or position. Based on the above, it can be interpreted that when it is connected with online media, especially in the media that the author is researching, namely sripoku.com, the role does not mean an individual right and obligation but rather is the duty and authority of the media itself (Hajar, 2022).

Media

The media is an integral part of people's lives and has had a very real influence on changing people's mindsets. Various forms of impressions in the mass media can display social reality in life, the mass media is also able to display public opinion.

In communication theory, mass media such as television, radio, and newspapers (newspapers) have enormous power in changing the views, insights, and perceptions of news recipients. One of the functions of the mass media is to become a discourse for the formation of public opinion. The mass media can set an agenda and can attract the attention of the general public to state whether they agree or disagree with an idea put forward by the mass media. (Canary et al., 2022). Media can convey messages from communicators to audiences in the form of entertainment, politics, and so on, media that are broad in conveying messages quickly to the public in the form of tools such as radio, newspapers, and so on (Mospan & Gillette, 2021).

Media and Press

News is the basis for much of the political information that society receives. Another approach defines that news is simply what the press publishes, transmits, or disseminates in other ways (Manik & Suharno, 2019). Siebert, Peterson, and Schramm group the press into four systems based on the style of the political system, namely:

1. Authoritarian press system. This kind of press appeared in the fifteenth to sixteenth centuries, when many countries still adhered to an authoritarian royal government. The media, in such a press system, functions to support the state. Consequently, the government directly controls and supervises various mass media activities.
2. Liberal press system. This press system began to develop in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Within the framework of a liberal press system, the press must be given the widest possible freedom, as an arena to seek the truth. Here, the truth is not absolute and controlled by certain groups but exists in various groups in society.
3. Communist press. Such a press system developed in countries controlled by communist regimes. In this system, the mass media is a tool of the government or the ruling communist party and is an integral part of the state.
4. Social responsibility press. This system emerged in the twentieth century, as a reaction against previous systems, especially the liberal system. Because of this system, the press does have freedom. However, freedom is not absolute because the press is required to have a social responsibility to society.

Political Education

Political education is an absolute requirement, considering that political education educates awareness of the state and nation. Political parties in countries that are not yet independent give priority to this political education so that members of political parties have high cadres to create an independent country.(Hariyanti et al., 2018). In an already independent country, political education must continue

to be carried out so that the independence of the nation and state is not lost or re-colonized in a more refined form of colonialism (Agustin, 2016).

Political education can be interpreted as a conscious effort to change the process of political education in society so that they truly understand and appreciate the values contained in an ideal political system to be built. The results of this appreciation will give birth to new political attitudes and behaviors that support the ideal political system along with the birth of a new culture (Basori, 2018).

Thus, the political education of the people is a series of efforts to realize a just and prosperous society based on Pancasila, which has so far experienced extraordinary ups and downs. Political education is also part of the process of renewing the Indonesian nation's political life which is being carried out today to create a truly democratic, dynamic, and efficient political system.

General Election

A general election (Election) is the process of electing to fill certain political positions. The general election is one of the efforts to influence the people persuasively by conducting retrieval activities, public relations, mass communication, lobbying, and other activities (Soeprapto et al., 2015). General elections are also a form of political education for the people, which is direct, open, and mass, which is expected to educate political understanding and increase public awareness about democracy. Elections are the ways and mean available to the people to determine their representatives who will sit in the people's representative council to exercise the people's sovereignty, then by itself, there is election system (Juditha & Darmawan, 2018).

Article 1 Number 1 of Law Number 15 of 2011 explains that General Elections are a means of implementing people's sovereignty which is carried out directly, publicly, freely, confidentially, honestly, and fairly in the Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia based on Pancasila and the 1945 Constitution. According to Miriam Budiarjo general election functions, namely:

1. Maintain and develop the foundations of democracy in Indonesia.
2. Achieving a just and prosperous society based on Pancasila (social justice for all Indonesian people).
3. Ensuring the success of the New Order struggle, namely maintaining Pancasila and maintaining the 1945 Constitution of the Republic of Indonesia.

Therefore, general elections aim to allow for a safe and orderly transition of government, exercise people's sovereignty, and exercise the rights of citizens. where leaders are elected by majority vote.

RESEARCH METHODS

This study uses a qualitative method. Qualitative research focuses on collecting data that is descriptive and analytical, which aims to understand the phenomena that occur. The descriptive approach focuses on an intensive analysis of one or several selected cases, intending to uncover more specific phenomena which can provide a more in-depth description of the analysis of the role of Indonesian Serambi media in improving political education in the 2019 legislative elections in Biereuen Regency, Aceh. The data collection technique used is documentation analysis. Documentation analysis was carried out to collect data from secondary sources such as reports, journals, and the Serambi Indonesia website which is related to the role of Serambi Indonesia media in improving political education in the 2019 legislative elections. The data generated is descriptive and data analysis is carried out inductively. This study emphasizes meaning rather than generalization. Furthermore, it can provide data effectively and efficiently, so that conclusions can be drawn.

RESULT AND DISCUSSION

Serambi Indonesia

As a local daily, Serambi Indonesia is a mass media that ranks at the top as a mass media read by many people in Aceh. The news and information presented by Serambi Indonesia are the results of a concocted report on what, who, where, when, why, and how an incident occurred. Through the data that has fulfilled these elements, Serambi Indonesia's editorial team can then determine the type of news to be produced. The type of news in question is Straight News, namely direct news, which is written briefly. This type of news itself is divided into several types, namely:

1. Hard news: news that has actual value or importance that requires that news must be read by the public/readers.
2. Soft news: news that has value as supporting news.
3. Depth news: news of in-depth reporting results, this type of news explores in detail the aspects of the causes of an event that occurred. In this type of news, the reader will be presented with an explanation of how and why the incident occurred.
4. investigative news: news that is usually made to show the who and what of an event.
5. Interpretive news: news from straight news development. In this news, there is additional information in the form of data from journalists' findings or expert opinions regarding the news presented.
6. Opinion news: news regarding the opinions of experts, academics, officials, scholars, and others regarding matters that are important to respond to.

Interesting the type of news from Serambi Indonesia, the writing focuses on the Interpretive news and Opinion news sections, which look at the extent of the role of the Indonesian Serambi media in increasing political education in the 2019 Legislative Elections in Biereuen District, Aceh.

The Role of Media Serambi Indonesia in Improving Political Education in the 2019 Legislative Elections
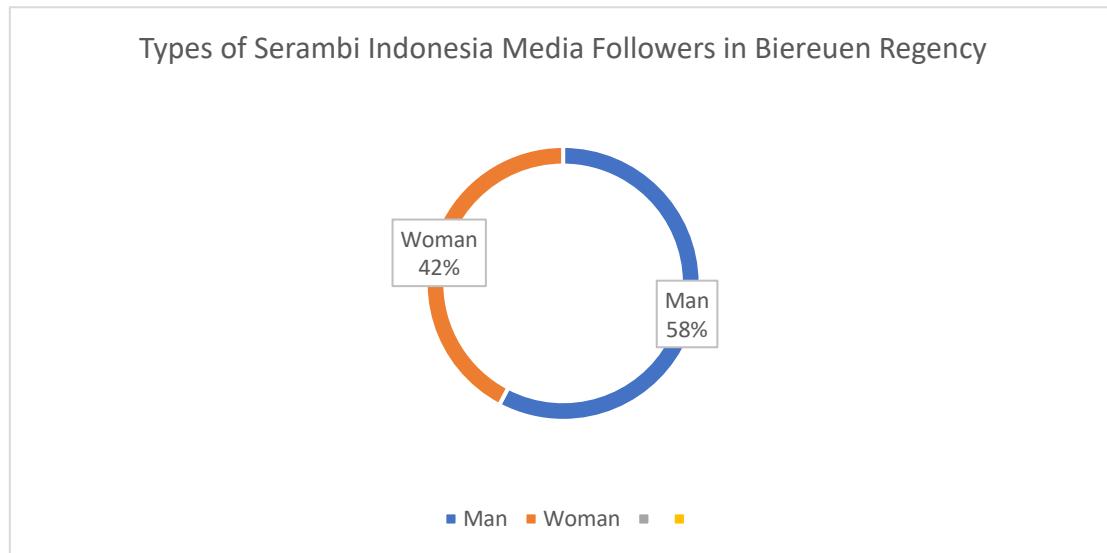
Figure I Diagram of the Types of Indonesian Serambi Media Followers in Biereuen Regency
Source: Web. Media Serambi Indonesia (https://aceh.tribunnews.com/)
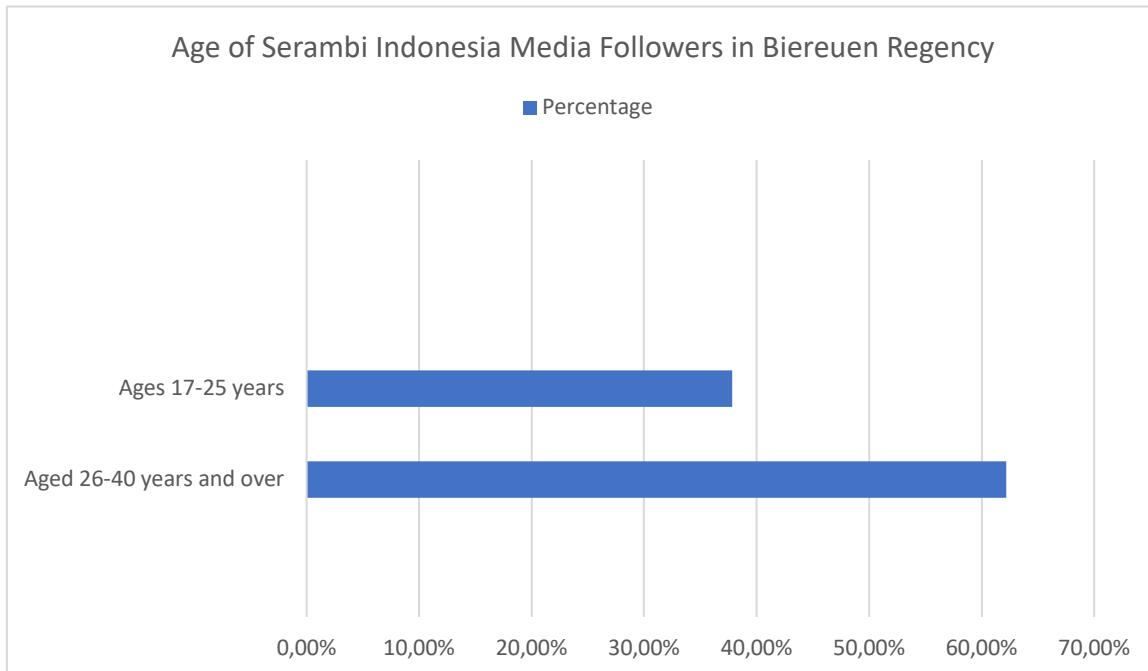
Figure 2 Age diagram of Indonesian Serambi Media Followers in Biereuen Regency
Source: Web. Media Serambi Indonesia (https://aceh.tribunnews.com/)
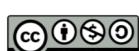
The data collected were male as much as 57.7%, while those who were female were as much as 42.3% of the total 100%. Meanwhile, based on age, those aged 17 to 25 years are 37.8% of high school students and college students, while those aged 26 to 40 years are 62.2%.

Figure 3 Diagram of Visitor News Media Serambi Indonesia in Biereuen Regency
Source: Web. Media Serambi Indonesia (https://aceh.tribunnews.com/)

Based on the data above, it can be narrated that the highest percentage is in the Serambi Indonesia media, with news about politics 27%, Nanggroe news (local news) 21% where local news also reports about local politics, and news about culture 19%. Meanwhile, business news enthusiasts tend to be low on political news. It can be concluded that the Serambi Indonesia media is a forum with a high percentage of political news.

Serambi Indonesia has a fundamental role in political education for the community because Serambi Indonesia is one of the largest print media spread throughout Aceh Province. The reason why Serambi Indonesia has a role in political education is that it contains a lot of political news. Serambi Indonesia is a print media that is very easy to get, because it is spread throughout all areas in Aceh Province, especially in Bireuen Regency.

Furthermore, Serambi Indonesia has one page that contains opinions sent by readers and is open to the public, so anyone who wants their writing to be published by Serambi Indonesia Newspaper can directly send their writing to the address provided. It means that some Serambi Indonesia readers are waiting for opinion columns because this column contains knowledge and explanations of the latest issues.

Opinion columns are provided to the public to convey ideas or opinions, and writings that discuss current issues will get priority for publication by Serambi Indonesia.

Approaching the election, the news in various media will not be separated from the election because the election is one of the discussions that are of great interest to the public, therefore Serambi Indonesia also discusses election matters more deeply. This is where the role of Serambi Indonesia can influence readers in determining their choices in elections. In addition, Serambi Indonesia also provides information and knowledge that can ultimately shape perceptions, and perceptions influence one's attitudes and behavior.

Apart from producing print media, Serambi Indonesia also provides online media which can be accessed on the Serambi Indonesia Media Website https://aceh.tribunnews.com/, with the existence of online media also makes it easier for people to access the information they want to get. Serambi Indonesia certainly makes it easy for readers to enjoy the news that is issued. By presenting online media, it is also very easy for the public as readers to enjoy published news. Furthermore, Serambi Indonesia's step in creating a special column about politics in online media is also very, very grateful to the readers because if there are readers who want to access specific news about politics, there is no need to sort out one piece of news that the public will enjoy.

Furthermore, several legislative candidates from Bireuen Regency also used Serambi Indonesia to increase their electability in facing the 2019 general elections. Legislative candidates from Bireuen Regency made great use of Serambi Indonesia in carrying out campaign actions to increase their electability in facing elections. The results obtained by the candidates for the legislature after utilizing Serambi Indonesia are that they are better known by the wider community due to Serambi Indonesia's reporting to support their electability.

CONCLUSION

Based on the discussion and analysis in research on the role of Serambi Indonesia's media in improving political education in the 2019 legislative elections in Biereuen Regency, it will be explained, Serambi Indonesia provides information about current conditions as well as providing education in the form of knowledge to the public as readers. The submissions of political information or news published by Serambi Indonesia are a very important and very influential readers in receiving the message conveyed. In this case, Serambi Indonesia is quite successful as a means of increasing political education for the people. Political education in Serambi Indonesia also displays balanced news, especially on political messages with other news. And news about various government activities that contain political elements, by displaying the same political figures repeatedly as was done for the campaigns of legislative candidates for the 2019 election. Until now, Serambi Indonesia still retains its vision and mission, where political news is increasingly thick ahead of the 2024 election later.

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