

## **Framing Analysis of Regional Elections in Indonesia: Reconstruction or Regression in a Democracy Muslim Community?**

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**Abstract:**Regional elections in Indonesia with a Muslim majority become a means of framing which is considered to facilitate communication to the public in the introduction of candidates for representatives of the people, in the communication patterns in the form of imagery provided. Kyai and his family enter the world of politics which makes it easier to get the most votes in the election. The santri who have a tawaddu spirit and kyai figures greatly influence the decision to vote. Seeing the diverse reactions of the Muslim community, even in its meaning there has been a positive change but also a setback in cultural shifts. Pilkada as a trigger for assessing positions and views of a figure through democratic media through the form of sentences and the events it produces so that it can influence Muslim communities in making decisions to choose. Not only in the world of practical politics that is affected by framing, but also political literacy. This research uses a qualitative approach with a case study method. The data analyzed are the results of interviews with Muslim residents, aged 25-35 years with male gender. Direct observation of Islamic communities or organizations as well as document review to obtain valid data.

**Keywords:** kyai, framing analysis, regional elections, practical politics, democracy

### **INTRODUCTION**

Indonesia consists of thousands of islands, tribes and languages with various cultures and traditions. This is a great asset in the management of each region in Indonesia, even these assets can become a snowball that is easily rolled away during regional elections. Indonesia has a Muslim majority population and the number of Islamic boarding schools spread across various regions is a political asset that cannot be underestimated. The strength of the voice of the santri that can be obtained from the pesantren is the easiest political strategy to be involved in.

The figure of a kyai and the attitude of tawaddu to the kyai carried out by the santri become a point of view in the pattern of political formation in the pesantren. How can the santri understand practical politics through the choices the kyai chooses to become a panner of votes during regional elections. If the kyai is involved in regional elections then automatically the santri will choose it. This is the biggest advantage that cannot be underestimated, even the involvement of the pesantren family in regional choices is nothing new, but rather the growing number of religious leaders from the pesantren are involved in the world of politics.

Framing analysis is one of the alternative analytical models that can reveal the secret behind a difference and even media contradictions in revealing facts. Framing analysis is used to find out how reality is framed by the media. Thus, social reality is understood, interpreted, and constructed with certain forms and meanings. These elements are not only part of technical journalism, but indicate how events are interpreted and presented. This is actually a political reality, how the media constructs, presents, maintains, and reproduces an event to its readers. Through framing analysis, it will be known who is in control of whom, who is against whom, who are friends and enemies, who are patrons and who are clients, who benefits and who is harmed, who oppresses and who is oppressed, and so on. Conclusions like this are very likely to be obtained because framing analysis is an art-creativity that has the freedom to interpret reality using certain theories and methodologies. There are two main essences of framing analysis, namely, First, how events are interpreted. This relates to which parts are covered and which are not covered. Second, how the facts are written. This aspect relates to the use of words, sentences, and pictures to support ideas.

Among the advantages, there is a risk that arises from panning for votes from the santri. Social Framing carried out by kyai involved in regional elections becomes a fire in the husk if there are several kyai in one pesantren and different political parties. The trigger for political divisions in pesantren can be make the santri confused about who to choose because the attitude of tawaddu towards the kyai cannot be eliminated. Social framing by the kyai can actually become a boomerang if the political strategy and political management in the pesantren are obscured due to differences in political parties.

Framing here is understood as the process of how a person classifies, organizes, and interprets his social experiences to understand himself and their external reality. The santri in the Islamic boarding school not only gain knowledge of religion but also learn the patterns of thinking and actions of the kyai. The formation of a kyai's framing will be judged by various reactions, even though it is based on an attitude of tawaddu.

Regional elections that have occurred in the last 10 years, can be seen from the movement of the pesantren. Kyai figures are able to gain votes and mobilize students to vote during regional elections. This is the author's reference to examine in more detail, whether the attitude of tawaddu to kai and kyai figures in regional elections that occur in Indonesia is something that needs to be considered in democracy among Muslims.

Based on the above analysis, the researcher is interested in examining the framing analysis in regional elections whether it will form a pattern that builds or causes a setback in democracy among Muslims. Then the researcher took the title: Framing Analysis of Regional Elections in Indonesia: Reconstruction or Regression in a Democratic Muslim Community?

## **METHOD**

### **A. Type of Research**

This research is a qualitative research. Research that used is descriptive qualitative research. Descriptive qualitative research is in the form of research with a case study method or approach (case studies). This research focuses intensively on one particular object who studied it as a case. Case study data can be obtained from all parties concerned, in other words in this study collected from various sources (Nawawi, 2003: 1). Case study research will lack depth if only focused on a certain phase or one particular aspect before get an overview of the case. On the other hand, case studies will lose its meaning if it is only aimed at obtaining overview but without finding something or some aspects that need to be studied intensively and in depth. The case study well should be done directly in the real life of the case investigated. However, case study data can be obtained without only from the cases studied, but can also be obtained from all parties involved know and know the case well. In other words, datin case studies can be obtained from various sources but limited in cases to be studied (Nawawi, 2003: 2).

## **B. Place and Time of Research**

### **1. Research Site and Research Time**

In this study, in 3 places, namely 3 Pesantren Tambak Beras, Darul Ulum and Tebuireng. The research period was 2 months, namely March and April 2020. Researchers conducted a direct survey to observe the activities of the students and the coaches of the students at the 3 Islamic boarding schools.

## **C. Research Subject**

The subjects of the action were 50 students and santri coaches with an age range of 25-35. With the reason, in this age range is adult age. And the subject is students and male gender.

## **D. Data Collection Techniques**

This qualitative research is descriptive, the primary data sources are research that does the action and the child who receives the action. While the secondary data are the results of interviews, observations, documentation and triangulation.

### **1. Interview**

An interview is a conversation with a specific purpose. The conversation is carried out by two parties, namely the interviewer who asked the question and the interviewee who provide answers to these questions (Moleong, 2010: 186). The interview technique in this research is interview structured, namely open interviews and conducted by asking several questions systematically and the questions asked have been compiled.

Previously, researchers conducted interviews with respondents about democracy, practical politics, kyai, regional elections that were followed by kyai. A list of questions filled out by 50 respondents spread across 3 Islamic boarding schools in Jombang, namely Tambak Beras, Darul Ulum and Tebuireng :

1. What do you know about practical politics?
2. What do you think about democracy among Muslims?
3. Kyai participate in regional elections and represent political parties. Do you agree or not? Explain your choice
4. What does kyai mean to you?
5. What do you understand about democracy among Muslims?

6. Does politics give progress or setbacks for Muslims? Explain your opinion.
7. Do you agree if the majority of sura panning during the regional election took place in Islamic boarding schools?

All answers are analyzed descriptively and described in the results and discussion sections of this article.

## **2. Observation**

Observations to 3 Islamic boarding schools, namely Tambak Beras, Darul Ulum and Tebuireng Jombang for 2 months, namely March and April 2020. Observations were carried out by researchers to collect data that in accordance with the nature of the research because it conducts direct observations direct observation or so-called involved observation in which the researcher also becomes instruments or tools in research so that researchers have to find data themselves by going directly or observing and looking directly at several informants who have been determined as data sources. This observation method the researcher chooses the type of participatory observation is an observation that at the same time involves oneself as an insider in certain situations. This is to make it easier for researchers to obtain data or information easily and freely.

## **3. Documentation**

The documentation of this research is in the form of recordings and questionnaires filled out by the respondents.

## **E. Data Validity Technique**

Triangulation in this credibility test is defined as checking data from various sources in various ways and in various ways time. There is source triangulation, data collection triangulation, and time triangulation.

### **1. Source Triangulation**

Triangulation of sources to assess the credibility of the data is carried out by checking the data that has been obtained through several sources.

### **2. Triangulation Technique**

Triangulation techniques to test the credibility of the data are carried out by checking the same source data with the same technique different. For example, the data obtained by interview, then checked with observation, documentation.

### **3. Time Triangulation**

Time also often affects the credibility of the data. Data that collected by interview technique in the morning when the resource persons still fresh, not many problems will provide more data valid so that it is more credible. Testing the validity of the data can be done by checking with interviews, observations or other techniques in a different time/situation. If the test results produce different data, then it is done repeatedly so that found the data capacity (Sugiyono, 2007: 127).

## **RESULT, AND DISCUSSION**

In the results and discussion section, the researcher divides into 3 sub-discussions which are the results of interviews and observations at 3 Islamic boarding schools in Jombang, namely: Tambak Beras, Darul Ulum and Tebuireng. scientific treasures, especially in the field of social politics in the pesantren environment.

### **1. The Influence of Kyai Figures in Panning Votes in Regional Elections**

Religious education in pesantren, the kyai figure is formed as a tribute to an educator and the shaper of moral attitudes taught to the students. The formation of an assessment of the kyai figure greatly affects the behavior of the students. The figure of the kyai is that framing is understood by the students as a process of how someone classifying, organizing, and interpreting his social experiences to understand himself and his external reality. In addition, framing here serves to make a reality identified because it has been marked with a certain label. The attitude of tawaddu by students become the kyai's political strategy in gaining votes. Without coercion, it is this kyai's figure that makes it easier to gain votes.

According to Erving Goffman, sociologically the concept of frame analysis maintains the continuity of our habit of classifying, organizing and actively interpreting our life experiences in order to understand them. By referring to Erving Goffman's theory, the concept of frame analysis that occurs in the kyai figure is able to maintain the continuity of the students' habits in classifying, organizing and actively interpreting the life experiences of assessing all kyai's behavior during education in Islamic boarding schools to be able to understand the thinking process of the students. students who are easy to understand during their education at the pesantren.

Figure kyai makes non-verbal communication that can be learned by students and raises affective and cognitive aspects. Unnoticed by the students, it is the kyai figure who is able to encourage the behavior of the students to choose a kyai who is involved in regional elections. According to Schemata, these interpretations are called frames, which allow individuals to localize, feel, identify and label events and information (Sobur, 2009:163) proving that the more interaction and communication that exists between the kyai and the santri. more the figure of the kyai becomes. which is a label that contains someone who must be respected or someone who brings blessings and is trusted by the students, then this plays an important role in gaining the votes obtained from the students. The students who do not understand politics, will be affected by how the kyai is able to move the students to vote in regional elections. This situation is able to damage the essence of democracy in the Muslim community. The lack of literacy for reading and is only influenced by the tawaddu attitude of the kyai. The occurrence of democratic setbacks among Muslims. Its nature is only euphoria as a product of framing by a kyai.

### **2. Practical Politics Impacts Reconstruction or Regression in a Democratic Muslim Community**

In the framing analysis, the emphasis is on how the event is framed. Framing analysis that is the center of attention is the formation of messages from the text. Framing, in particular, looks at how messages or events are constructed by the media. The diversity of Indonesia, which consists of several tribes and languages, greatly influences the interpretation of the figure of a kyai. A santri from Madura stated that in his village, a kyai

is a highly respected figure. The students are obliged to obey the kyai or teacher who gives knowledge. A santri from Lampung also emphasized that someone who can study religion in a boarding school is a prestige for parents. The development of Islamic boarding schools in Indonesia is also influenced by the characteristics of the kyai figure from where and also influenced by the beginning of religious education where a kyai studies religion in a pesantren. applied by the kyai or the caretakers of the boarding school.

Potential vulnerable conflicts that occur in Islamic boarding schools due to politics. This creates a latent danger in democratic life in Islamic boarding schools. The students who do not understand politics well and are more influenced by the figure of the kyai. The kyai and pesantren caregivers who enter the world of politics are slowly becoming more and more vague about the real role of the kyai in the pesantren. The decline slowly occurs, the kyai who are starting to be busy in the political world will reduce their activities as teachers in Islamic boarding schools who provide religious knowledge. negative impact on the quality of pesantren. The emergence of dualism of power that breaks relations in pesantren if one pesantren consists of several kyai who choose different political parties. And this is what is happening in many pesantren in Indonesia today. Candidates for representatives of the people do not care about the bad impact that occurs in the pesantren but the goals achieved by gaining votes can quickly become an important point towards the victory of the campaign.

Based on the results of interviews with 40 students and student coaches from 3 Islamic boarding schools in Jombang, namely Tambak Beras, Darul Ulum and Tebuireng Jombang, 40 people stated that democracy in pesantren is strongly influenced by the figure of the kyai and the attitude of tawaddu towards the kyai. The gain of votes that occurs when a kyai enters politics is admittedly causing pros and cons to fellow santri and santri coaches. If in the same pesantren there are more than one kyai who follow regional election. 10 santri stated that they only followed what the kyai ordered without giving more detailed reasons.

### **3. Democracy and The Muslim Community as Political Movers in Regional**

In boarding school life, The framing formed by the kyai basically refers to reporting definitions, explanations, evaluations, and recommendations in a discourse to emphasize a certain frame of mind for the events being discussed. To find out how the framing is done by the media, there is a framing device proposed by Entman theory that can describe how an event is interpreted and marked by the students. How kyai construct events and present them to the students.

There are several models used in framing analysis, including the following: a. Framing Model Murray Edelman Murray Edelman is a communication expert who has written extensively on language and political symbols in communication. According to Edelman, what we know about reality or about the world depends on how we frame and construct or interpret reality. The same reality may produce a different reality when the reality is framed or constructed in a different way (Eriyanto, 2002; 155).

Based on this theory, the democracy formed in the Muslim community is still strongly influenced by the figure of the kyai or Muslim figures who provide the formation of a trustworthy concept of politics. By selecting kyai figures and their teachings, the



students can frame events by including or removing kyai figures in the understanding of democracy depending on the point of view they want to convey. The role of the pesantren will change and shift its role if it is associated with the world of politics. The hidden damage and slowly destroys the true function of the pesantren. The kyai figure is no longer a teacher but rather an influential figure in the tumult of the political world. What should be stronger in pesantren and not the formation of practical politics has a regression impact on understanding of democracy in the pesantren environment. If this is not realized by the pesantren caregivers and their kyai, pesantren is no longer a medium for gaining religious knowledge which parents expect when sending their children to school. boarding school.

By strengthening certain reasons, the students can emphasize and make an event important and interesting for the public to know about the reasons for choosing a kyai to participate in regional elections. In conception According to Entman, framing basically refers to giving definitions, explanations, evaluations, and recommendations in a discourse to emphasize a certain frame of mind for the events being discussed. students (interviews).

Based on Edelman's statement, it can be understood that from a reality, we can frame it according to what we interpret. The same reality can be different when constructed differently. So, even though the reality is the same, the results to be achieved will vary depending on how we interpret that reality. Edelman equates framing as categorization. In Edelman's view, it is an abstraction and function of the mind. Categories help people to understand the various and irregular realities into meaningful realities.

In Entman's conception, framing basically refers to the provision of definitions, explanations of definitions, evaluations and recommendations in a discourse to emphasize a certain frame of mind for the events being discoursed in this case how the kyai figure is able to move pre-santri in practical politics and vote-gathering (based on the results of interviews to students and student caregivers). It can be more clearly described as follows:

- a. Define problems that how this problem is that the kyai figure is able to shape the politics of practice in Islamic boarding schools? the existence of the tawaddu factor in the kyai and the blessings that are obtained by the students if they follow what is mandated by the kyai.
- b. Diagnose causes, namely as the cause of a problem, who or the actor is considered to be their cause (students in practical politics)?
- c. In this case, the santri cannot directly blame the kyai that they are ultimately influenced by the political world because of the kyai or kyai figures who deliberately enter the world of politics. then this is used as a medium to facilitate the occurrence of panning votes or make it easier for someone who has a target goal in the election.
- d. Make moral judgment, what kind of moral values are presented to explain the problem? What moral values are used to legitimize or delegitimize an action? Based on the results of interviews with the students, in fact they do not understand politics, but because the pesantren environment is affected by this, the act of

playing a role by choosing a figure recommended by the kyai or choosing a kyai who is deliberately included in the election. The moral value that appears is more about attitude tawaddu and participate in supporting the role of the kyai in politics to make them more trustworthy. Even though in this case, the reality of the meaning of trust in the field is still vague and does not necessarily happen as expected.

- e. Treatment recommendations, namely what solutions are offered to overcome problems / issues? what paths are offered and must be taken to overcome the problem. In a pesantren environment, which is still very thick with kyai figures related to the attitude of tawaddu pad kyai, it becomes a medium for the formation of analytical framing in the world of pesantren which penetrates into the world of politics. As long as there are no problems in the pesantren or it does not have a bad impact on the growth and development of a pesantren, politics is not a problem for the pesantren. the santri. Even though in fact the santri are the community most affected and have an impact on the political movement in the pesantren.

## **CONCLUSION**

In the world of politics, the existence of regional similarities between the kyai and the santri will make it easier for the kyai to gain votes. The high tribal factor greatly affects the movement of grouping the number of votes that can be achieved. This political strategy is very coloring politics in Indonesia. In understanding politics, studying politics begins with the kyai figure in Islamic boarding schools. Politics is practically inevitable in Islamic boarding schools where the kyai enter the world of politics. Or the kyai figure is used by a group of people who enter the world of politics as a means of communication to gain votes. Actions to win votes from students often result in new problems, ranging from covert money politics by buying votes, contributing to the construction of Islamic boarding schools to providing scholarships for outstanding students. All means are used to get lots of votes in the fastest time. on behalf of myself as People's representatives scrambled to enter the Islamic boarding school, taking financial and communication approaches.

The role of the government will experience difficulties and require a long process of time in dealing with the panning of votes that occurs in Islamic boarding schools and kyai figures which are very effective in facilitating the panning of votes. Especially during the presidential election campaign and regional elections. The tendency for money politics and abuse of power through kyai figures to become social framing that is easy to form in the political world in Indonesia. In fact, the Indonesian people look more at the kyai figure without examining in more detail so that it influences the meaning of the real political meaning. Practical politics that occurs has made it easier for the bad conditions of a healthier Indonesian political development. difficult to implement if this pattern has formed naturally in Indonesian society. Cultivating in habituation in the life of Islamic boarding schools and the life of Indonesian people who are still less intelligent in political science has an impact on practical politics so that money can buy votes.

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