

Komunikasi politik pencitraan kandidat (Studi kasus keterlibatan konsultan politik dalam pencalonan Jokowi di Pemilukada DKI Jakarta 2012) = Political communication of candidate image making (A case study of involvement of political consultant on Jokowi's candidacy in 2012 Jakarta gubernatorial election) / Idham Holik

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Abstrak

[**ABSTRAK**]

Penelitian ini merupakan studi tentang komunikasi politik pencitraan kandidat dalam Pemilukada DKI Jakarta 2012, khususnya yang difokuskan pada pencitraan Jokowi. Kemenangan Jokowi dalam Pemilukada DKI Jakarta 2012 sangat fenomenal –Jokowi adalah kandidat yang berasal dari luar Jakarta mampu mengalahkan kandidat petahana (incumbent). Pencalonan Jokowi menjadi cermin bahwa Partai PDI Perjuangan sebagai partai yang berorientasi pasar dan konsultan (consultant-and-market oriented party) –atau disebut juga dengan istilah professionalized party. Keunggulan skor Jokowi dalam hasil Survei Opinion Leader (Cyrus Network & Laboratorium Psikologi Politik UI) menjadi rujukan utama kebijakan Partai PDI Perjuangan dalam mencalonkan Jokowi sebagai Calon Gubernur DKI Jakarta pada Pemilukada 2012. Jokowi adalah kandidat pilihan pasar (market-choice candidate). Jokowi adalah kandidat ideal yang diyakini memiliki kompetensi kepemimpinan untuk memimpin Jakarta. Cyrus Network, sebuah lembaga konsultan politik, bersama Laboratorium Psikologi Politik UI telah menjadi promotor atau endorser pencalonan Jokowi.

Profesi sebagai promotor atau endorser kandidat ideal telah menjadikan Cyrus Network menjadi pencipta tradisi baru dalam dunia konsultansi politik di Indonesia dan dunia – selama ini belum ada publikasi hasil penelitian yang menyatakan ada sebuah lembaga konsultan politik menjadi promotor kandidat. Cyrus Network mendobrak tradisi lama dalam dunia konsultasi politik dimana keterlibatan konsultan politik dalam pemilu didorong oleh semangat bisnis (market-driven consultant). Dukungan Cyrus Network terhadap Jokowi dilandasi oleh semangat idealisme (idealism driven consultant).

Dalam riset-riset terdahulu dinyatakan bahwa konsultan politik sangat dominan dalam mencitrakan kandidat sehingga konsultan politik disemat dengan beragam profesi seperti sebagai image merchants (Heibert, et al, 1971), arsitek kampanye dan ahli komunikasi politik (Napolitan, 1972), professional image makers (Nimmo, 1976), issue primers (Medvic, 1997), candidate marketers (Dulio, 2000), dan konsultan citra (image consultant) (Perloff, 2010).

Untuk kasus kampanye citra (image-making campaign) Jokowi, konsultan politik tidak demikian. Jokowi sangat dominan dalam kampanye citranya, sehingga konsultan politik tidak sama sekali memodifikasi citra politik Jokowi, tidak seperti Fauzi-Nara –di putaran kedua, konsultan politiknya melakukan perubahan citra politik Fauzi misalnya dari gaya komunikasi arogan menjadi santun. Komunikasi politik pencitraan Jokowi menggunakan pendekatan

alamian (natural approach). Jokowi adalah kandidat yang memiliki citra otentik (authentic image). Jokowi adalah seorang kandidat yang memiliki kecerdasan dalam marketing politik, public relations politik, manajemen isu politik, manajemen kesan politik, dan estetika komunikasi politik. Produk-produk politik seperti baju kotak-kotak, salam metal, kampanye blusukan, dll merupakan murni gagasan Jokowi sendiri, bukan konsultan politik. Ini semakin menegaskan bahwa masa kampanye adalah masa penguatan citra politik bukan penciptaan citra politik kandidat. Ini artinya bahwa selain terkait dengan kualitas personalitas, citra politik kandidat tidak terlepas pada persoalan rekam jejak politik masa lalu kandidat – kampanye permanen menjadi kunci pencitraan kandidat petahan. Kasus Jokowi semakin menegaskan bahwa di era personalisasi politik, citra politik kandidat harus otentik bukan kemasan. Di era personalisasi dan mediatisasi politik elektoral, otentisitas adalah kunci efektivitas komunikasi politik pencitraan kandidat. Inilah yang penulis sebut dengan istilah Universitas Indonesia

authentic candidate theory. Konsultan politik hanya mengkomunikasikan otentisitas citra kandidat. Dalam era personalisasi politik elektoral, konsultan politik hanya sebagai manajer kampanye (campaign manager) dan penguat citra politik (political image reinforcer).

Temuan disertasi ini menjadi kritik terhadap deliberative priming theory (Medvic, 1997) dimana sebagai primer atau issue chooser, konsultan politik merekayasa citra kandidat melalui pemilihan isu politik. Selain itu juga, temuan riset ini menjadi kritik atas temuan dari penelitian De Landtsheer, De Vries, dan Verstessen (2008:225) tentang penampilan politik yang pantas (the appearance of political suitability) dalam manajemen kesan politik (political impression management). Citra politik kandidat sangat bergantung pada kepantasannya politik dan ini terletak pada penampilan fisik kandidat. Oleh kareannya, kandidat memungkinkan untuk memanipulasi atau merekayasa penampilan fisiknya seperti yang diinginkan (politically desirable);

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**ABSTRACT
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The research is a part of study of political communication that explains the imagemaking of candidate in 2012 Jakarta Gubernatorial Elections, especially Jokowi. Jokowi's electoral triumph in 2012 Jakarta Gubernatorial Election is the most phenomenal –he is a candidate from outside Jakarta who have been defeated the powerful incumbent candidates Fauzi-Nara. Jokowi's candidacy represents that Indonesian Democratic Party of Struggle (PDI Perjuangan) is as a consultant-centered and-market-oriented party –in the other words, it is a professionalized party. Excellence of Jokowi's grade in Opinion Leader Survey findings (issued by Cyrus Network a political consultant firm, and Political Psychology Laboratory of University of Indonesia) become as a main source of PDI-P's policy in nominating Jokowi as a gubernatorial candidate in 2012 Jakarta direct local elections. Jokowi is a market-choice candidate. Jokowi is an ideal candidate who is believable to have the high competence of leadership to lead the Jakarta province. The Cyrus Network and the Political Psychology Laboratory of UI were political promoters or endorsers for Jokowi's candidacy.

The profession made them as the makers of new tradition in the world of political

consultancy in Indonesia and the world wide –there is no publication of research of political consultants in all the time that describes the political consultants as the candidate promoters or endorsers. The Cyrus Network have broken the old tradition of political consultancy where involvement of the consultants in elections were driven by the spirit of business –in the other word, they are the market-driven consultants. Cyrus Network’s endorsement for Jokowi’s candidacy was based by the spirit of political idealism –in the other words, it is an idealismdriven consultant.

According the previous research of political consulting, the political consultants were the most dominant in making candidates’ image. Therefore, political consultants’ profession were as image merchants (Heibert, et al, 1971), campaign architects and experts of political communication (Napolitan, 1972), professional image makers (Nimmo, 1976), issue primers (Medvic, 1997), candidate marketers (Dulio, 2000) and image consultant (Perloff, 2010).

However for the case of Jokowi’s image-making campaign, it was different where the political consultant was not dominant in modifying or reengineering. Jokowi’s political image, not as the case of Fauzi-Nara –in the second round of the direct local elections, their political consultants have been modified or reengineered their image, e.g. the political consultant have modified Fauzi’s political style from arrogant to be polite. In the practice of political communication of image making, Jokowi had used the natural approach that created authentic image –in the other words, Jokowi was an authentic candidate. It was caused by Jokowi’s intelligence in political marketing, political public relations, political issues management, political impression management, and aesthetics of political communication. All of Jokowi’s political products was his brilliant ideas e.g. “iconic” checkered shirt, metal sign or greeting, “blusukan” (impromptu visits) campaign, etc, not the political consultants. It argues that the campaign is a phase of political image reinforcement, not political image formation. It explains to us that the politician’s past record is the key of successful of candidate’s image formation –especially, the permanent campaign is the key success for the Universitas Indonesia

incumbents. In personalization era, the main factor of image making is authenticity, not modifications or packaging as well as engineering. The authenticity is the main factor for making political communication of candidate image-making more effective. So, the writer calls it as the authentic candidate theory. The political consultants only communicate the authenticity. In this era, they are just as the campaign manager and political image reinforcers or sharpener. This research’s finding becomes as criticism for the deliberative priming theory (Medvic, 1997) that explained political consultants as issue primers or choosers whose political skill in engineering the candidate’s image through political issue priming. It is also criticism for a research that is hold by De Landtsheer, De Vries, & Verstessen (2008). Their research finding explains that the appearance of political suitability in political impression management is rooted to candidate’s physical appearance. Therefore, it is possible to manipulate the physical appearance of candidate in a “politically desirable” sense, The research is a part of study of political communication that explains the imagemaking of candidate in 2012 Jakarta Gubernatorial Elections, especially Jokowi. Jokowi’s electoral triumph in 2012 Jakarta Gubernatorial Election is the most phenomenal –he is a

candidate from outside Jakarta who have been defeated the powerful incumbent candidates Fauzi-Nara. Jokowi's candidacy represents that Indonesian Democratic Party of Struggle (PDI Perjuangan) is as a consultant-centered and-market-oriented party –in the other words, it is a professionalized party. Excellence of Jokowi's grade in Opinion Leader Survey findings (issued by Cyrus Network a political consultant firm, and Political Psychology Laboratory of University of Indonesia) become as a main source of PDI-P's policy in nominating Jokowi as a gubernatorial candidate in 2012 Jakarta direct local elections. Jokowi is a market-choice candidate. Jokowi is an ideal candidate who is believable to have the high competence of leadership to lead the Jakarta province. The Cyrus Network and the Political Psychology Laboratory of UI were political promoters or endorsers for Jokowi's candidacy. The profession made them as the makers of new tradition in the world of political consultancy in Indonesia and the world wide –there is no publication of research of political consultants in all the time that describes the political consultants as the candidate promoters or endorsers. The Cyrus Network have broken the old tradition of political consultancy where involvement of the consultants in elections were driven by the spirit of business –in the other word, they are the market-driven consultants. Cyrus Network's endorsement for Jokowi's candidacy was based by the spirit of political idealism –in the other words, it is an idealismdriven consultant.

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