Construction of Self-Identity: *"Blusukan"* as the Strategy of Campaigning for Surakarta City Mayor Election

Betty Gama[1], Bani Sudardi[2], Wakit Abdullah[3], & Mahendra Wijaya[4]
[1] Veteran Bangun Nusantara University
[2, 3, 4] Sebelas Maret University

Abstract:
In political communication, "blusukan" (impromptu visit) is called door to door campaign, in which candidates conduct face-to-face communication by visiting the people directly. This situation creates personal intimacy in the sense of there is no physical distance and formal protocolary distance. People can see the personality of their candidate leaders closely. This face-to-face communication meeting can be interpreted that the candidates "nguwongke" (humanizing), putting the people not onto the context of profit-loss-based rational relation (between the electorate and the elected), but putting them as partners inseparable from the successful candidate leader. This study is based on fieldwork in Surakarta during the mayor election, applied in-depth interviews with politicians. While in ancient times the leader conducted "blusukan" to know his people's condition, "blusukan" during the campaign for Mayor Election is conducted to socialize or to introduce the couples to the people. Having known the candidates, people are expected to think of whether or not they will elect them.

Introduction

Blusukan conducted by candidates of local leader election (Pilkada) is a form of interpersonal communication. Meanwhile, in political communication, blusukan is called door to door, in which candidates conduct face-to-face communication by visiting the people directly. This situation creates personal intimacy in the sense of there is no physical distance and formal protocolary distance. People can see the personality of their candidate leaders closely. This face-to-face communication meeting can be interpreted that the candidates nguwongke (humanizing), putting the people not onto the context of profit-loss-based

Korespodensi:
Program Studi Ilmu Komunikasi, Fakultas Ilmu Sosial dan Ilmu Politik, Universitas Veteran Bangun Nusantara. Jl. Letjen S Humardani No. 1 Jombor, Sukoharjo 57521
Email: bettygama_62@ymail.com

rational relation (between the electorate and the elected), but putting them as partner inseparable from the successful candidate leader. While in ancient time the leader conducted blusukan to know his people's condition, blusukan during the campaign for Local Leader Election is conducted to socialize or to introduce the couples to the people. Having knowing the candidates, people are expected to think of whether or not they will elect them.

Blusukan phenomenon is not new. President Soekarno and President Soeharto have ever done the same in their times. The thing distinguishing Joko Widodo's blusukan model phenomenon from the two previous presidents' is that Jokowi reacts directly to his citizens' report and will dismiss the official responsible for it if necessary. It was an action very rarely found in New Order era (Kurniawan, 2015). Furthermore, Kurniawan explained blusukan is a form of cross-checking over what is done so far by bureaucracy and governmental organization, and of searching for new input in political system repairing operation. Blusukan also opens bottle neck complained with so far by the society. Through blusukan, government can identify the problems occurring in the field and the finding can be used as a factor to make bureaucratic policy. Therefore, blusukan can be an important part in government system model in which public participation can be heard and responded to by bureaucrats all at once.

FX Hadi Rudyatmo won the Pilkada of Surakarta City for three successive periods: 2005, 2010, and 2015. Blusukan is the key to his success in achieving the victory. Blusukan is a Javanese terminology meaning existing from and entering into small places (Widodo, 2011), literally or terminologically, the word blusuk, mblusuk means mlebu ing ngendi-endi (in English meaning "enter into anywhere"). Suffix "-an" in the word blusuk-an means an activity "of entering into" or activity done by an individual to enter into a strange place to get something. Blusukan is Javanese cultural identity. Blusukan is done to know all complaints, aspiration, and event occurring within society, particularly Surakarta society. Through blusukan, the candidates will be well-known within society. Self-introduction to society is important.

A proverb says "Out of sight, out of mind". This form of introduction can banner and billboard installed along the road, brochure, advertisement, and etc. During campaigning period, such the forms are found widely anywhere. In addition, the candidates come directly to certain groups, society organizations, and etc. All of those are conducted to make them known to the society and expectedly supported by the mass. If they just keep silent, no one will know and vote for them. Even how smart an individual is, if no forum is available for them to appear to campaign for themselves nationally, it will be difficult to be a leader. Campaign plays an important role in the Successful Election of Local Leaders (Pilkada). The election of candidates to be mayor and deputy of mayor is owing to public participation in voting. One of factors

encouraging the people to vote is the campaign made by the candidate couples, either directly or indirectly.

Direct campaign is conducted in the form of meeting attended by candidates and or constituents, while indirect campaign is conducted using certain media such as mass media, either old or new media. Mass media and politics are closely interrelated. Mass media plays a strategic role as the channel supporting general election; mass media plays a very important part in political arena. Media has communication channel closest to politics thereby is often used as the news coverage microphone. Media has an ability of influencing political behavior and society behavior (Klepper, 1990). Therefore, being a leader in a city area is not easy because many factors should be met. One of those factors is the leader's self identity. Identity is the similarity etween You and a number of identity and what distinguish you from others (Barker, 2013). As the people living in Surakarta area, Javanese culture characteristic, custom, ethics, leadership, and culture color and contribute to determining the couple prospectively sitting on the government seat as the number one and number two persons.

Self-identity is built through blusukan campaign. Positive aspect of blusukan is that it attracts attention in order to get mass support. Political communication between candidates and society, promises uttered, change and improvement of society life, vision and mission delivered are all intended to attract the people's attention to vote for one of certain candidates. Self identity intended in this research is how the candidate display their self identity through a variety of blusukan campaign activity in order to be well-known to the society. Baumeister & Muraven (1996) explained that the main objective of identity formation is to adapt to the context so that the individuals participate in the identity formation process based on what they think of the context they face. Identity is the way used by an individual to present him/her self as different or typical one compared with others (Baumeister & Muraven, 1996)

Blusukan during campaign is not only an imaging but also intended to see the actual condition of society. The members of society do not support candidates unconditionally, but behind the support given, there are promises to be uttered, such as providing fund for free or low-cost education, low-cost health, no street seller expulsion, and etc. Even the candidates also promise not to do corruption, to create a clean and prestigious government, to build a dignified and cultured city and etc, thereby making the people proud of being Wong Solo. Interpersonal communication between candidate and people will be established, by which they will be acquainted with and pay attention to each other. Campaigning strategy uses not only mass media but also face-to-face communication model. The differentiation during campaigning period currently builds on a leader's image and personality.

The construction of self identity is conducted by FX Hadi Rudyatmo and Anung Indro Susanto couples through blusukan communication during campaign. A leader's image and personality can be created through branding process; in addition, even branding can help the candidates change and maintain reputation and support (Marshment, 2012). Branding is a new form of political marketing defined as a product/an organization's psychological representation leading more to the symbol than the use of tangible value(Scammell, 2015; Sonnies, 2011). Political branding is a strategic way and consumer branding to build political image (Sandra, 2012). In basic stage, politician branding is created from the people's subjective definition on politician. Not only candidate personal element, but also candidate's elements in the form of appearance such as hairstyle and clothing exerts clear impact on candidate's image (Mitsikopoulou, 2008).

Blusukan is a new culture conducted by candidate mayor and deputy of mayor around Pilkada time. As a method of socialization to introduce self to the people, blusukan is seen more as the part of imaging. Meanwhile, the imaging is often connoted as negative. Blusukan politics is conducted in order to apparently care about the problems existing within the society, to listen to the complaint, and to help solve problem.

This study used qualitative research methods. One of the qualitative characteristics of research is making observations and studies with research subjects to understand their language and their interpretation of the world. Object of this research are candidates for the 2015 Surakarta Regional Head Election, namely FX. Hadi Rudyatmo - Achmad Purnomo and Anung Indro Susanto - Muhammad Fajri. The two pairs are fighting for the mayor and deputy mayor seats for the next five years. FX. Hadi Rudyatmo and Anung Indro Susanto were main research sources.

Data collection techniques sourced from primary data and secondary data. Primary data comes from information provided by research sources through in-depth interviews. The interview technique used is semi-structured, namely questions that are flexible but still on the subject (Kriyantono, 2010). The interview process with informants was also supported by secondary data in the form of literature and supporting data sources, especially from the Solopos newspaper regarding election campaign news for candidates. To complement the data, researchers also used documentation methods to obtain field data.

For validity of the data, the researcher used data source triangulation method. Data validity is done by collecting existing data sources and then looking for differences in problems and comparing them (Bungin, 2007). While the data analysis method used is the Miles and Huberman model where there are three streams of activity, namely: data reduction, data presentation, and drawing conclusions (Miles & Huberman, 1984).

Putting the Literature in Context

Self-identity construction through blusukan as a strategy of campaigning for Pilkada has not been studied widely. So far, researches were interested more in activity of blusukan conducted by Joko Widodo. Joko Widodo having ever been the Mayor of Surakarta City and now being the president is known as the leader often conducting blusukan. Some studies have been conducted on blusukan.

A study conducted by Salman (2013) Interpersonal Communication Pattern and Blusukan Strategy of Joko Widodo contained in JMA journal Vol. 18 No.2 October-November 2013. This study explained interpersonal communication occurring between Jokowi and people is in very close distance, without obstacle; despite the noise, it does not become significant obstacle. What is expressed and received by the receiver of communication message. The communication message is delivered simultaneously and spontaneously, using either verbal or nonverbal communication. In Jurnal Kajian Politik dan Masalah Pembangunan entitled Fenomena Blusukan Dalam Model Kepemimpinan Politik Joko Widodo (Blusukan Phenomenon in Joko Widodo's Political Leadership Model) studied Joko Widodo's leadership model. Their study found that there are five political leadership models used by Joko Widodo: servant, horizontal, populist, charismatic, and democratic leaderships (Zulkarnain, 2017).

Another study was conducted by Muttaqin (2015) on the Construction of Blusukan Style Meaning. It was a phenomenological study on the Construction of Governor Joko Widodo's Blusukan style meaning to Central Jakarta people. This study found that Jokowo conducted blusukan activity to know actual condition of the people. This study aimed to find out the values of Central Jakarta people in understanding Governor Joko Widodo's blusukan style, to find out the Central Jakarta people's motive in interpreting Governor Joko Widodo's blusukan, to find out the Central Jakarta people's experience with seeing blusukan conducted by Joko Widodo, and to find out the meaning construction of Central Jakarta people in interpreting blusukan conducted by Joko Widodo.

One of attempts taken to win Pilkada is to organize political campaign. Campaign, according to (Nimmo, 2006), is an attempt of propagandizing the potential voters. Meanwhile, political campaign, according to (Cangara, 2004), is an organized attempt taken by a group (agent of change) aiming to persuade other party (target) to receive, to modify, or to decline certain ideas, attitudes, practical actions, and behaviors.

Political campaign is a political action organized by professional communicator called "tim sukses" or campaigning team, political/campaign

consultant, campaign manager, or spin doctor. Political campaign is an event that can be dramatized (Wahid, 2016). Politics is who does get what, when, and how. Meanwhile, Mark Roelofs said that politics is speaking or more appropriately, political activity is speaking (Dan, 2000). Political actor, according to (Nimmo, 1989), is a political communicator, in which political communication not only pertains to political party, but also legislative and executive governmental institutions. On another occasion, Nimmo (1999) explained that political communication is divided into three categories: politician acting as political communicator, professional communicator in politics and activist or part-time communicator.

The objectives of political campaign are: 1. To persuade other party (target) to receive, to modify, or to decline certain ideas, attitude, practical actions, and behavior; 2. To propagandize the potential voters; 3. To create certain effect on a large number of audiences, and 4. To influence the target audience specified (Wahid, 2016). Pilkada is a part of mechanism in Indonesian democratic system. Pilkada has important essence in addressing a number of matters post-decentralization (Labolo, 2015).

Interaction between candidates and people occur when blusukan is conducted in many areas. During campaigning, many promises are delivered by the candidates to attract the people's attention. One of them is the promise delivered by Anung Indro Susanto and Muhammad Fajri couple in Pilkada 2015. This couple promised to recruit the workers from Solo City, particularly in strategic fields like health and education with wage equivalent to City Minimum Wage; in addition they promised to pay the tuitions of students achieving the first rank even up to university (college). Meanwhile, FX. Hadi Rudyatmo and Achmad Purnomo couple promised to improve competitiveness, one of which is through applying the 12-year compulsory learning and to construct school infrastructures, and to create the wareg (satisfied) people by improving Micro-, Small-, and Medium-scale enterprises' competitiveness (Phytag, 2015)..

Candidates Pilkada conducted blusukan to many areas, in addition to campaign for their winning, also to create image in order to get public opinion support. Imaging politics or political imaging, according to (Arifin, 2015), is related to information or political message preparation by political communicator (politician or candidate), political media (mass media, social media, and/or small format media), and receiver or political audience (public). Political image created in the public's mind is not always compatible to the actual reality, because it is likely only as same as the media reality or the media-made reality, called the second hand reality.

Political identity is conceptually different from "politics of identity). Political identity is the construct determining the subject's interest position in a political community association, while the definition of identity politics refers to the political

mechanism of organizing identity (either political or social identity) as political resource and vehicle (Setyaningrum, 2005). Simply, identity is defined as the essential characteristics underlying an introduction of something. Identity is an individual- or a community-specific identity, becoming an entrance point to other individual or community to introduce them (Widayanti, 2009). An individual's identity, according to Stuart Hall, is inseparable from sense of collectivity bond. From the statement, when an identity is formulated as something making an individual has various similarities to others, at the same time it (identity) also formulates otherness (difference) or something beyond the similarities. Thus, the characteristic of identity is not only composed of collective bond, but also by categories of difference (Setyaningrum, 2005). Identity is always inherent to each individual and community. Identity is the characteristic distinguishing an individual from another to make the individual distinguishable from others.

Identity is a factor distinguishing one community from another. Identity images an individual's personality, and can determine an individual's position. There are 3 approaches to identity formulation: 1) Primordialism. Identity is obtained naturally, hereditarily; 2) Constructivism. Identity is something created and results from a complex social process. Identity can be created through cultural bonds within society; 3) Instrumentalism. Identity is something constructed for elite's interests and emphasizes more on power aspect (Widayanti, 2009).

Communication is a tool to create identity and to change mechanism. Michael Hecht in (Littlejohn, 2009) explained that an individual gets others' perspective and reaction in social interaction, and vice versa, shows off the feeling of identity by means of expressing him/her self and responding to others. Subjective dimension of identity is self personal feeling, while ascribed dimension is what others say about an individual. In other words, the feeling of identity consists of meaning learnt and acquired from the self, those meanings are projected to others anytime during communication, a process creating the self represented.

Hecht elaborated identity beyond a simple definition of self dimension and the represented dimension. Both dimensions are interacting in four levels or layers. The first level is personal layer, consisting of the sense of self existence in social situation. This identity consists of various feelings and ideas on the self, who and what we are like actually. The second level is enactment layer or others' knowledge on the self based on what is done, owned, and how the self acts. Self appearance is the symbols of more in-depth aspect about self identity and others will define and understand the self through the appearance. The third layer in self identity is relational or who the self is in relation to other individuals. Identity is created in interaction with others. It is just

like the relation of partners, spouses, coworkers. The fourth level in identity is communal layer, bond to larger group or culture.

Self identity in this study is that of FX. Hadi Rudyatmo and Anung Indro Susanto as candidates of Pilkada in Surakarta City in 2015. How they communicate their identity through campaign and build campaigning strategy as a long process built before the implementation of Local Leader Election.

Blusukan as a Strategy for Political Campaign in Surakarta City

Self identity is an important component indicating individual's personal identity. The better the development of an individual's self perception structure, the more conscious is the individual of his/her uniqueness and similarity to others, and the more conscious is the individual of his/her strength and weakness in undertaking life. Otherwise, if it develops poorly, an individual will be dependent on external source for self-evaluation (Marcia, 1993). Identity is a individual's way of appearing him/her self as a different or typical individual compared with others. Self identity in this study was indicated by the candidates through the campaign for Local Leader Election. FX Hadi Rudyatmo-Achmad Purnomo and Anung Indro Susanto-Muhummad Fajri couples have strategy to win the campaign. Both of them do the same, blusukan, but in different ways.

Seven Si and Social Care

FX. Hadi Rudyatmo was Solo's deputy of mayor in 2005-2010 and 2010-2012. In the period of 2010-2015, because the Mayor of Solo, Joko Widodo, was elected to be Governor of DKI, the mayor seat was occupied by FX. Hadi Rudyatmo. He then led Solo City again in the periods of 2012-2015 and 2015-2020. His experience with the position of Head of Surakarta PDI-P Subsidiary (DPC PDI-P Surakarta) (2000 – until today) was applied to his nomination to be the deputy of Solo Mayor along with Joko Widodo in 2005. Formula Tujuh Si (seven Si) implemented by the party symbolized with the head of wild ox (banteng) became an effective strategy to win the Pilkada.

It is this seven-Si formula that was practiced for the first time in his candidacy o Pilkada in 2005-2010. Long before his candidacy of Pilkada in 2005, Hadi Rudyatmo has been well-known among the society, moreover his position as the Head of DPC PDI-P Surakarta. Entering into and existing from one village to another is something usually conducted by Hadi Rudyatmo when he occupied the position of Party's Chairperson. Therefore, when he was recorded to be a candidate of Pilkada, many people have known him well.

Campaign is an important factor in Pilkada because the objective of campaign is to socialize or to introduce candidate to the public. Therefore, blusukan should be

conducted in order to be acquainted closely with the people and to win the competition. The meaning of blusukan is constructed through an approach to community, group, and organization. As a candidate or political actor, the campaigning strategy is conducted in two ways: Seven Si and social care. Firstly, to be acquainted closely with the people, FX Hadi Rudyatmo conducted Seven Si (7 Si) approach, consisting of komunikasi, koordinasi, solusi, sosialisasi, realisasi, koreksi and evaluasi (communication, coordination, solution, socialization, realization, correction, and evaluation). This approach enables FX Hadi Rudyatmo to be close to the people, to understand what they need and to try to realize it. Seven Si becomes an effective weapon in doing blusukan campaign because when FX Hadi Rudyatmo couple comes to a place, he has known what the people need and want. Self-construction is built using interpersonal communication approach. This makes him close to the community.

FX Hadi Rudyatmo knows the problems that exist in the community because he wants to hear people's complaints and see firsthand the condition of the community in the field. Second, social care. Social care is an activity of FX Hadi Rudyatmo in serving the community in the form of sonjo, layat, jagong and jagongan (door-to-door campaign). Sonjo is a two-way communication between the public servants existing in the government and the members of society. Layat is an activity of visiting an individual in trouble in which one of his/her family member dies.

FX Hadi Rudyatmo often Melayat or takziah when he heard one of his people dies, whether or not he knows the one personally, and he would try to be present amid the late one's family. Meanwhile, Jagong is an activity of attending wedding (jagong manten), circumcision (sunatan) and attending the birth celebration (jagong bayi). Finally, Jagongan, this Mayor of Solo sit down in wedangan (a food and beverage small shop) along with members of society to discuss any problems, whether social, political, cultural, and societal issues and etc while enjoying some food and beverage.

Self identity is constructed both during campaign period and when occupying the position of mayor. Those three strategies have been conducted when FX Hadi Rudyatmo occupied the position of the head of DPC PDIP. Owing to his activity, FX Hadi Rudyatmo is getting more well-known and intimate with the society. As suggested by Hadi Rudyatmo, "No much fund should be spent for campaign necessarily. To be elected, we should be known by the people. Never do blusukan when we need only, and we stay at home when we do not need it. Our behavior should be shown off to the people, to enable them to see and assess. "If people have known well and assessed us, they will surely vote for us" (Interview, April 30, 2019). This opinion means that to win an election, for example pilkada, one of determinants is that

the one should be known by the people. If we know many people, we will not need much money or fund for campaigning because we will surely get support.

Congregational Prayer And Recitation Group

Anung Indro Susanto appeared as the candidate of Pilkada Solo in 2015 together with Muhammad Fajri. Political opponent they should face is the incumbent couple: FX Hadi Rudyatmo-Achmad Purnomo. Anung Indro Susanto was highly aware that their competitors are incumbents who have been known widely by the people. Their strategic position in Solo City government became their social capital to participate in the candidacy of mayor. Their presence in Local Leader Election politics was supported by Partai Demokrat, Partai Keadilan Sejahtera, Partai Amanat Nasional and Partai Gerindra. Anung-Fajri couple was aware of the hard competition they should face. Their popularity and electability are still low, about 7-12 percents. Because of their low popularity and electability, they should make much socialization to the people. Campaign blusukan was conducted by recalling them as a Muslim, while their opponent is non-Muslim. Therefore, the campaigning strategy taken uses Islamic values.

Considering the interview with Anung Indro Susanto on May 23, 2019 in his residence in Karangasem Solo, it can be seen that campaign blusukan in Pilkada 2015 was conducted by Anung Indro Susanto – Muhammad Fajri couple using two approaches: doing congregational prayer approach and recitation group. Firstly, congregational prayer approach was conducted by visiting the masjids (mosques) existing in Solo City, particularly during Isya and Shubuh pray times, moving from one masjid to another. To Solo people, the name of Anung Indro Susanto – Muhammad Fajri has not been as popular as that of FX Hadi Rudyatmo having occupied the position of mayor since 2005. Sholat berjamaah is a method used by Anung Indro Susanto – Muhammad Fajri couple to introduce themselves to the people. To Anung, the more the Sholat Berjamaah they do, the more do the people know them and the more familiar is the name of them in the people's ears. It is believed to improve their popularity and electability in getting vote.

Secondly, the Anung Indro Susanto – Muhammad Fajri did blusukan to recitation group in Solo. These pengajian groups are considered as potential because their majority members are Muslim. Through pengajian group, Anung-Fajri took an approach by introducing themselves, to deliver vision, mission, and platform, and to promise what they will do when they were elected to be the mayor and deputy of mayor. Territorial area also became the target of campaign, for example at RT, RW, PKK, LPMK, Self-help group levels, and etc. Along with Campaign Team, Anung Indro Susanto-Muhammad Fajri couple moves around Solo City from one area to another,

from one masjid to another, from one association to another, and all of these were done tirelessly in the attempt of introducing themselves to the people. Campaign strategy taken is expected to improve popularity and electability. This couple showed off and introduced themselves tirelessly and incessantly in each of meeting with entire society. In one of their campaign agenda, this couple, among others, said that they would give fund grant at least ten millions rupiahs to each RT (Neighborhood Association) to establish business for 1000 new entrepreneurs(Solopos, 2015).

The campaigning strategy taken by Anung Indro Susanto – Muhammad Fajri couple is indeed different from that taken by FX Hadi Rudyatmo – Achmad Purnomo. While Anung Indro Susanto – Muhammad Fajri have just done blusukan during campaigning period, FX Hadi Rudyatmo – Achmad Purnomo have built a system first through Tujuh Si and mendengar, melihat and berbuat serta sonjo, layat, jagong jagongan approaches. In addition, his position as the mayor and the Head of DPC-PDIP made him known by Solo people. To Rudy, working is to cater on the people (society). It is not difficult for Rudy to get vote in the implementation of Pilkada because he has built a system with those three activities long before. In addition, Rudy is considered as having led Solo City successfully so that many people are sympathetic with his leadership. Tujuh Si, mau mendengar, melihat and berbuat serta sistem sonjo, layat, jagong and jagongan approaches developed by Rudy made him more well-known and closer to the people. The key to be a leader is to be known by the people, because without popularity, people will do not care about us. Despite his position as the mayor, he remains to do blusukan activity amid his bustle.

The advantage of blusukan during campaign to Hadi Rudyatmo is that it enables him to know exactly what the people need. At government level, it can be used to recognize what the government should do. At this government level, as the mayor, FX Hadi Rudyatmo did blusukan called Mider Praja. Mider Praja is an activity of moving around conducted by governmental officials such as mayor, involving all Local Government Organization (OPD), whether local secretary, lurah (head of kelurahan), camat (head of sub district), and chairperson of service office in Surakarta City Government environment.

To Solo people, blusukan is not strange activity conducted by mayor, whether or not it is included into agenda. In his position as the mayor, FX Hadi Rudyatmo conducts blusukan, called Mider Praja. Mider Praja is a term deriving from Javanese words: mider meaning voyaging or moving around and praja meaning state. Literally, Mider Praja is defined as moving around the state. In the past, Mider Praja was used by Javanese kings or Pangreh Praja (governmental official) to see the territorial condition and to map the problems encountered by the people. Mider Praja is the manifestation of government's attention to grassroots. Hadi Rudyatmo moves around

the kampongs (villages) riding bicycle along with the officials of Solo City Government every Friday. Through this activity, people can have a dialogue directly with government without partition and limiting bureaucracy. When they encounter some problems, they can report it directly and spontaneously and the Mayor will review it and coordinate with OPD to get the solution at the same time.

The two candidate pairs' self-construction cannot be separated from the role of the media in framing the events of the blusukan campaign. Political communication that is built does not only include oral and written political rhetoric, but also the acts of symbolic communication that are able to influence the community. The city of Solo with its Javanese culture really appreciates etiquette and 'unggah-ungguh' (able to position oneself according to the portion). The presence of a candidate in an area makes the community proud, because they feel respected and valued. The closer a candidate is to the community, the greater chance of gaining vote support and winning the mayor election Pilkada.

Conclusion

Based on the above discussion, we can see that Solopos framed the election campaign blusukan as an important event that became part of a strategy to gain mass support. The media plays a very big role, because the media can act as agents of change. The media accommodates two interests simultaneously. The self-construction built by the candidate pair FX Hadi Rudyatmo-Achmad Purnama and Anung Indro Susanto-Muhammad Fajri both did blusukan, but they used different strategies. The Blusukan campaign of candidate pair FX Hadi Rudyatmo-Achmad Purnama used the Tujuh Si strategy (communication, coordination, solution, socialization, realization, correction and evaluation) and social care (sonjo, layat, jagong and jagongan), while candidate pair Anung Indro Susanto-Muhammad Fajri used a congregational prayer approach and went to the recitation group. Both pairs of candidates realized that self-construction needed to be built ahead of the Pilkada campaign, even before the campaign started, self-construction needed to be built, so that the public would recognize the candidate. If the public already knows the candidate well in advance, then each pair of candidates will be easy to get sympathy

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Authors

Betty Gama is a lecturer in the Communication Studies Program, University of Veteran Bangun Nusantara Sukoharjo

Bani Sudardi is a professor at the Faculty of Cultural Sciences, Sebelas Maret University, Surakarta

Wakit Abdullah is a professor at the Faculty of Cultural Sciences, Sebelas Maret University, Surakarta

Mahendra Wijaya is a professor at the Faculty of Social and Political Sciences, Sebelas Maret University, Surakarta