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The Strategy of Joko Widodo's Political Communication on 2019 Election Winning in Papua

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ABSTRACT

The purpose of this research is to (1) analyze the influence of trans papua, noken and cultural approach to Jokowi's victory in Papua, both partially and simultaneously, (2) analyze Jokowi's winning strategy in Papua. The research method uses a quantitative approach with cross-sectional data as many as 29 districts in the 2019 general election. Data analysis uses multiple linear regression, with the Jokowi winning vote variable as the dependent variable, noken, trans papua voter characteristics and culture as an independent variable. The results showed that there was a positive and significant influence of the Noken system in Papua on Jokowi's victory. On the contrary, there is no statistically significant effect between trans Papua and cultural approaches to Jokowi's victory. But all three should be considered as Jokowi's winning strategy in Papua, because based on the F-test there is a significant relationship of the three variables. An effective priority strategy to increase voter votes for the Jokowi-ma'ruf pair is through a noken approach or utilizing traditional leaders.

Keywords: Joko Widodo, Strategy, Communication, Politics, election, Papua.

1. Introduction

Indonesian society is pluralist consisting of various ethnic groups, even among these tribes there are still those who uphold local customary values and cannot be influenced by new values that come from outside the culture of these indigenous peoples. The pluralist nature is maintained by the state through the constitution, which recognizes and respects the traditional rights of indigenous and tribal peoples as long as they are alive and in accordance with the development of society (Article 18B of the 1945 Constitution). Even the constitution is made with ideals rooted in the spirit of a unique Indonesian nation and the experience of customary state administration that has been practiced by Indonesian people (Zazili, 2012). So that it can be concluded that customary valuesaffect state administration in Indonesia, including the electoral system.

In the practice of elections for indigenous peoples in Papua use a different election model from the election model in general in Indonesia. The election mechanism is carried out by indigenous peoples in Papua by inserting ballots that have been punched into "noken", a kind of bag made

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of cloth. The noken selection model begins with deliberation between the chieftain and the community regarding their choices. After producing consensus, the chieftain represents the community to elect candidates for the legislative body, regional head candidates, and presidential candidates. The selection of the Noken model was revealed in case trial number 47-811PHPU.AAVIII2009 in the Constitutional Court which was submitted by two petitioners, namely Rev. Elion Numberi and Hasbi Suaib, S.T. Actually, what is being asked about by the applicant is not the noken mechanism, but the dispute over election results for DPD members.

2. The votes of president and vice president of 2019 elections in Papua

According to Arizona (2010) There are at least two things that need to be observed in linking the selection of the noken model with the electoral system in Indonesia, namely: (1) related to the principle of direct, general, free, confidential, honest, and fair; and (2) provisions on the procedure for voting in the election law. In the noken election model, the chieftain represents the voice of his people which is against the direct principle. Also in this election model the ballots that have been punched are put into noken, not in the ballot box. Seen the vote acquisition of Joko Widodo and Prabowo Subianto in the 2019 General Election in Papua by looking at the graph of the KPU recapitulation results;

Graphic 1. Recapitulation of Presidential and Vice President 2019 Election Results
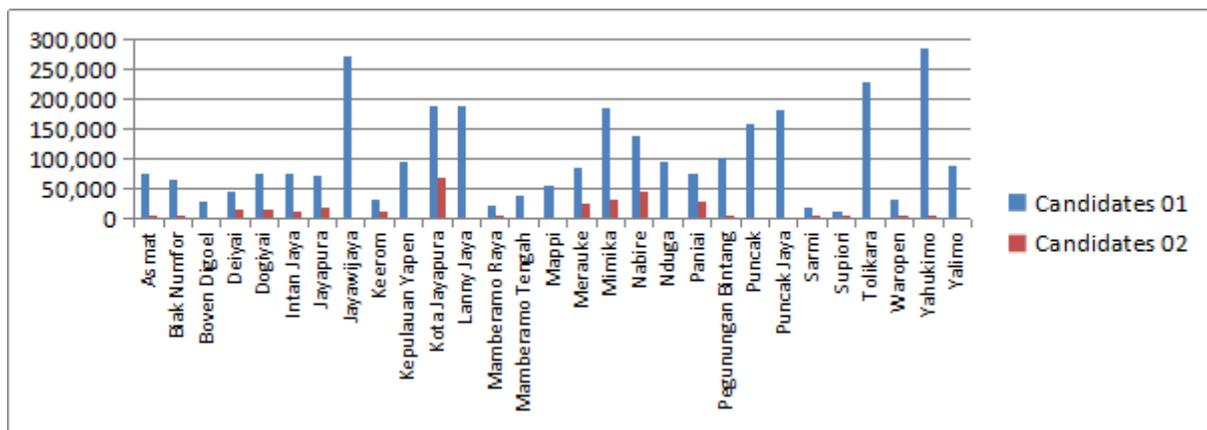
Source: kpu.go.id

In addition, it has made a success story in the previous government as a political communication instrument to improve its electricity in Papua. One of his success stories which was appointed as the instrument of political communication in the 2019 presidential election is the Trans Papua project which has been inaugurated and managed to connect the districts in Papua such as Jayapura, Jayawijaya, Nabire, Nduga, Paniai, mountains Bintang, Puncak and

Yahukimo. This story of Trans Papua success is considered very successful and can make images both in the eyes of prospective voters, especially those affected in these areas.

The sociology-anthropology approach is an important factor in the national development planning process for the Papua region. This cultural approach is reflected in the Presidential Instruction (Inpres) No. 9 of 2017 concerning the Acceleration of Welfare Development in the Provinces of Papua and West Papua. This Presidential Instruction emphasizes a culture-based development strategy, indigenous territories and a focus on Papuans, especially those in isolated and mountainous regions and islands that are difficult to reach. The PPN / Bappenas Ministry approached development in a number of strategic areas based on customary territories in Papua Province, namely the Saireri customary area, the Mamta customary region, the Animha customary area, the Meepago customary area and the Laapago customary area.

Strategy is the science of techniques or tactics, ways or tricks to achieve something that is desired. (Surbakti, 2012). Politics is the interaction between government and society in the framework of the process of making and implementing binding decisions about the common good of the people who live in a certain area (Surbakti, 2012). So political strategy is the science of techniques, tactics, methods, tips managed by politicians to obtain and maintain sources of power, formulate and implement political decisions as desired. Political communication (political communication) is communication that involves political messages and political actors, or relating to power, government, and government policy. With this understanding as an applied science, political communication is not new to the terminology of knowledge.

The political communication strategy is about how the process of communication that occurs in the winnings in a political fight by a political party, or directly, by a prospective legislative or regional leaders, who want the maximum power and influence in the midst of society as its constituent. According to Abdullah (2008) that the political communication strategy is a plan that includes methods, techniques and functional linkages between elements and factors of communication process for operational activities between elements and factors of communication process for operational activities to achieve goals and objectives.

According to Nursal (2004) in political marketing, there are three political campaign strategies: marketing of political products directly to push political marketing, marketing of political products through the mass media (pull political marketing), and through a group of influential

people or organisations (pass political marketing).From the result of the recapitulation of the specified pair of candidates in order 01 Joko Widodo-Ma'ruf Amin won the number of Paslon sequence 02 Prabowo Subianto-Sandiaga Uno, so obtained the results of the diagram;

Diagram 1. Percentage of votes for presidential candidates' voters
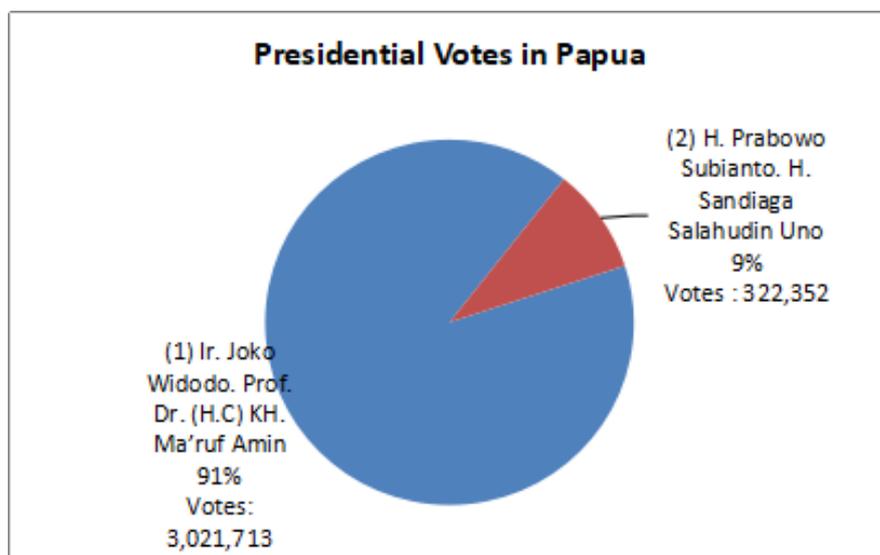
Source: kpu.go.id

The number of permanent voters list (DPT) Papua province is 3,599,354 people, plus 52,019 special selector list (DPK) with selector participation rate in the presidential election 2019 high enough to reach 94.23 percent.The number pairs 01 Joko Widodo and Ma'ruf Amin received more than 90% of the vote in Papua province.The political strategies conducted in the couple's 01 sequential number are potent enough to achieve the vote from most of Papua's population.This research aims to determine the most influential step of the political strategy towards Joko Widodo's victory in the 2019 presidential election in Papua and to know the most influential political communication of Joko Widodo's winning results in Papua.

Based on the description of the president and vice president of 2019 elections in Papua, this research aims to (1) analyze the influence of trans Papua, Noken and cultural approaches to the victory of the Indonesian, both partially and simultaneously, (2) analyzing the winning strategy of the news in Papua.At the time of measurement or observation of data at once at one time is done on the variable bound and free variables.Furthermore, the model of political communication can be used to determine how much influence the political communication strategy in Papua is compared to other strategies.

3. Research Methodology

The methodology of data collection used in this research is the data taken from the official site of the General Election Commission (KPU) in the calculation of Real Count in 2019 on the results of voting in all regions in Papua so that the total votes and the percentage of the results of pairs of candidates 01 and 02 voters as dependent variables. A statistical test of F is used to determine whether collectively (simultaneous) free variables have an influence or no effect on dependent or bound variables.The T-Statistic test is used to tell if each of the free variables partially has a significant effect on the bound variables.The study used a quantitative approach with crosssectional data for the number of 29 districts in the general election of 2019 and the political communication that most influential to Joko Widodo's victory in the year 2019 elections.The cross-section Data is carried out by classical assumption test for heteroskedastisity test and multicolinearity test without doing a test.

There are two variables used in the study. The dependent variable is the vote for the candidate for president of the candidates, while the independent variable is Trans Papua, Noken, a cultural approach that will be described as the following similarities;

$$Y = b0 + b1X1 + b2X2 + b3X3$$

Which;

Y = Sound Acquisition (voice)

X1 = Trans Papua (0 There is no development of Trans Papua, 1 there is a Trans Papua development)

X2 = Noken (0 no Noken system, 1 There is a noken system)

X3 = Cultural approach (0 there is no cultural approach, 1 there is a cultural approach)

b0 = constant

b1 = coefficient of linear regression variable Trans Papua

b2 = coefficient of linear regression variable Noken

b3 = variable linear regression coefficient of cultural approaches

4. Result and Discussion

The advantages of simultaneous elections as said by the political researcher LIPI Prof. Ikrar Nusa Bakti, among others, "to increase the effectiveness of government because of the coat-tail effects between the election level of presidential candidate and the preference of the House

of Representatives of party/joint Support party, political coalization was formed before the elections on the basis of common ideology, vision and platform." According to him again, "the separation of national elections simultaneously and local elections simultaneously will have an impact on the local political development, to simplify the number of political parties, build a permanent political coalization, reduce transactional politics, national and local political quality increasingly better and increase the political participation of the people."

With the development approach of Trans Papua infrastructure which includes Jayapura district, Jayawijaya Regency, Nabire Regency, Nduga District, Paniai District, mountainous Bintang Regency, Puncak Regency, and Yahukimo regency.Areas using the model of the Noken system, among others; Yahukimo Regency, Jayawijaya Regency, Nduga Regency, Mamberamo Tengah Regency, Lanny Jaya Regency, Tolikara Regency, Puncak Jaya Regency, Regency of Puncak, Paniai Regency, Intan Jaya Regency, Deiyai Regency, and Dogiyai district.Meanwhile, there is also a pattern of cultural approach conducted by Joko Widodo in Jayapura District, Jayawijaya Regency, Mimika Regency, Nabire Regency, and Paniai district.

Diagram 2. The percentage of political strategy variables in Papua

Percentage of variables in the Regency area in Papua Province

20% · 32% · 48%

■ Trans Papua ■ Noken ■ Cultural Approach
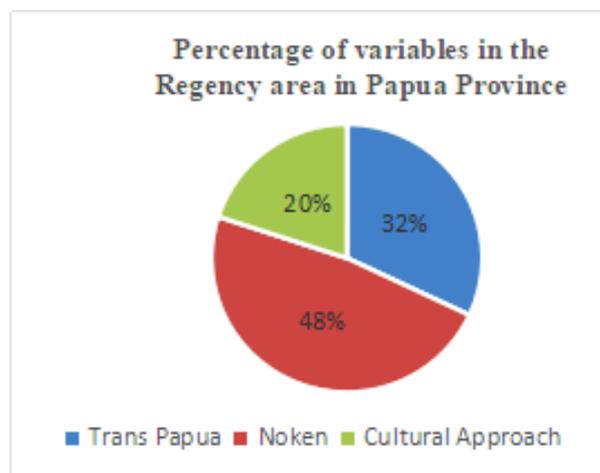
Source: SPSS 16, 2020

These results indicate that the Noken system variables are very dominant from the Trans Papua development approach variables as well as a cultural approach in voting at the general election contestation as almost half of the district areas in the Papua province use the system's model. In the process of mechanism that has been arranged by the KPU where there is a breakdown of the list of regions specified herein as follows;

Table 1. List of Regions in Papua which are using the Noken System in the 2019 Elections

NO.	DISTRICTS	REGION
1.	Yahukimo District	All polling stations use the Noken / Tie System, except in Dekai Dostrict
2.	Jayawijaya District	All polling stations use the Noken / Tie System, except in: 1. Wamena Urban Village, in Wamena City District; 2. Sinapuk Urban Village, in Wamena City District; and 3. Sinakma Urban Village, in Wamena City District.
3.	Nduga District	All polling stations use the Noken / Tie System
4.	Mamberamo Tengah District	All polling stations use the Noken / Tie System, except in: 1. Kobakma Village, in the Kobakma District; and 2. Kampung Kelila, in the Kelila District.
5.	Lanny Jaya District	All polling stations use the Noken / Tie System, except in: 1. Ovi Village, Langgalo Village, Bokon Village, Dura Village, Wadinalomi Village, in the Tiom District; 2. Ekanom Village, in the Pirime District; 3. Yorenime Village, in the Makki District; 4. Yogobak Village, in the Nogi District; and 5. Abua Village, Tepogi Village, Werme Village, and Guma Game Village, in Yiginua District.
6.	Tolikara District	All polling stations use the Noken / Ikat System, except in Karubaga Village, Kogimagi Village, Ebenhaezer Village, and Ampera Village, in Karubaga District
7.	Puncak Jaya District	All polling stations use the Noken / Tie System
8.	Puncak District	All polling stations use the Noken / Tie System
9.	Paniai District	All polling stations use the Noken / Tie System
10.	Intan Jaya District	All polling stations use the Noken / Tie System
11.	Deiyai District	All polling stations use the Noken / Tie System
12.	Dogiyai District	All polling stations use the Noken / Tie System

Source: Attachment II of the Decree of the General Election Commission of the Republic of Indonesia
Number 810 / PL.02.6-Kpt / 06 / KPU / IV / 2019

The process of implementing Noken is done in various ways. One of them with the community gathered together to deliberate on making choices by first deliberating to determine the person in the elder in the group that served as a channel for representing political aspirations of community members. The elected elders have the duty to cast ballots according to the candidate pairs that have been agreed with witnessed by KPPS officers. The ballots that have been punched are then delivered to the nearest polling station for input into the ballot box.

There are also ways in which elders who are given a mandate by the community directly enter the voting booth and receive ballots as many as the number of voters registered at the TPS from KPPS officers. The ballots were punched and handed back to KPPS officers to be entered into the ballot box and then proceed with the vote count at the polling station. The results of the deliberations agreed upon must be obeyed by all communities without exception because the

results of the customary deliberation decisions are the highest decisions that have been in force since generations.

In addition to voting represented by the chief of the local community agreement called the big man, the process of implementing the noken can also be done by hanging on one of the woods as a substitute for the ballot box which is often called the hanging or tied noken system. In the Noken system by hanging or binding the public can see the agreed sound entered into the previously determined Noken.

4.1 Classic assumption test

On linear regression Model Data Cross Section autocorrelation test does not need to be done but it is mandatory to be tested heteroskedastisity.

Table 2. Heteroscedasticity Test and Multicollinearity Test

Model	Unstandardized Coefficients		Standardized Coefficients	t	Sig.	Correlations					
	B	Std. Error	Beta					Votes	Trans Papua	Noken	Cultural Approach
1 (Constant)	29503.112	6616.481		4.459	.000	Pearson Correlation	Votes	1.000	.291	.599	.090
Trans Papua	-599.943	13232.963	-.008	-.045	.964		Trans Papua	.291	1.000	.265	.535
Noken	45504.056	10144.408	.671	4.486	.000		Noken	.599	.265	1.000	-.013
Cultural Approach	-18892.987	15100.270	-.214	-1.251	.222		Cultural Approach	.090	.535	-.013	1.000
a. Dependent Variable: abs_res											

Source: SPSS 16, 2020

Based on heteroskedastisity test with Glesjer method acquired significance value 0964 for X1 and 0222 for X3 is greater than 0.05, so it can be inferred there is no problem of heteroskedastisity. While the variable x2 indicates the existence of heteroskedastisity, it means a free variable x2 whose value of the test P value is significant or received H1.And overall, the test results of F or simultaneous testing in the Glejser test are also significant.

The correlation table shows the results of the intercorrelation analysis between the free variables marked by the value of the Pearson correlation coefficient. In this case inside the

SPSS Output you can see on intersecting between free variables.For example in this tutorial, the correlation result between the X1-free variable and X3 is equal to R = 0.535 and x3 = 0.265.Since the value of 0.535 is less than 0.8 then the symptoms of multicolinearity are not detected.

4.2 Data processing results (regression)

Table 3. Multiple Regression Analysis: Dependent-independent variables

Model Summary[b]

Model	R	R Square	Adjusted R Square	Std. Error of the Estimate	Durbin-Watson
1	.616[a]	.379	.304	60280.76708	1.487
a. Predictors: (Constant), Cultural Approacah, Noken, Trans Papua					
b. Dependent Variable: Votes					

Source: SPSS 16, 2020

The coefficient of R correlation of 0616 indicates that the relationship between the sound results obtained by Joko Widodo with variables – variables of political communication and political strategy or otherwise strong enough and the direction of the relationship is positive.

Table 4. F Test

ANOVA[b]

Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
5.542E10	3	1.847E10	5.084	.007[a]
9.084E10	25	3.634E9		
1.463E11	28			
a. Predictors: (Constant), Cultural Approach, Noken, Trans Papua				
b. Dependent Variable: Votes				

Source: SPSS 16, 2020

From the table Anova, obtained the value F count of 5,084 with the significance level 0.007 smaller than 0.05. This shows the influence of independent variables (approaches to political communication and political strategy) of significant (real) sound outcomes gained by the Joko Widodo.

4.3 Equation of regression

Equation of regression formed is: sound results = 19,794,281 Trans Papua 81,743,042 Noken 5,836,681 cultural approaches 36,043,477

Table 5. t Test
Coefficients[a]

Model		Unstandardized Coefficients		Standardized Coefficients	T	Sig.
		B	Std. Error	Beta		
1	(Constant)	36043.477	15656.210		2.302	.030
	Trans Papua	19794.281	31312.419	.125	.632	.533
	Noken	81743.042	24004.145	.567	3.405	.002
	Cultural Approach	5836.681	35730.924	.031	.163	.872
a. Dependent Variable: Votes						

Source: SPSS 16, 2020

4.4 Regression coefficient

Based on SPSS calculation result shown in coefficient table, can be visible significance level for constants and regression coefficient is different.There are two variables that have a signification level below 0.05 which is a variable constants and constant variables.(0.03 for the variable constants and 0.002 for the Noken variable). While the other two variables have significance level above 0.05 namely Trans Papua variable and cultural approach variables (0533 and 0872). This shows that the regression model that has been formed deserves to predict the pattern of political communication and the politic strategy most influential towards the sound outcome of the Joko widodo.

Table 6. Normality Test
Residuals Statistics[a]

	Minimum	Maximum	Mean	Std. Deviation	N
Predicted Value	3.6043E4	1.4342E5	7.6335E4	44490.08219	29
Residual	-9.14205E4	1.50248E5	.00000	56959.97091	29
Std. Predicted Value	-.906	1.508	.000	1.000	29
Std. Residual	-1.517	2.492	.000	.945	29
a. Dependent Variable: Votes					

Source: SPSS 16, 2020

4.5 Making prediction

To do a variable predictor what is the most influential of the sound outcome of the Indonesian and Indonesian general elections in Papua 2018, can be done by the equation of regression with the initialized 0 and 1 as a multiplier factor. Based on the results of the calculated predictions can be concluded that the most votes of Joko Widodo in the general elections in Papua is because of the results of political communication strategy on the Noken system.

4.6 Analysis of the influence of Trans Papua development on the win-the-Ma'ruf in Papua

Most performed by the party or candidate. This strategy conveys messages through mass media in both electronic, print, outdoor, mobile, and Internet. This strategy can convey a message to a multitude but is less scalable in its effectiveness. In addition, this strategy requires a lot of costs so only possible by the party or candidates who have a lot of funds. The image Branding in this study is referred to as the Pull political marketing strategy which is essentially focused on establishing a positive political image. In general, the central mountainous region is known for its more expensive staple price than any other region in Papua. For the lower class, the source of income comes from farming or gardening, really feels heavy with the price of the staple, even until now, some kampongs can reveal similar things.

Areas affected by Trans Papua development such as Jayapura, Jayawijaya, Nabire, Nduga, Paniai, Bintang Mountains, Puncak and Yahukimo. Then for these regions, a dummy variable of value (1) will be given and for other regions not affected by the development of Trans Papua, a dummy variable of value (0) will be given.

The regression model for Jokowi's vote because of the influence of Trans Papua is Votes Results = 19794,281 Trans Papua + 81743,042 Noken + 5836,681 Cultural Approach + 36043,477 Votes Results = 19794,281 (1) + 81743,042 (0) + 5836,681 (0) + 36043,477 Votes Results = 55,838 Votes.

4.7 Analysis of the influence of the Noken System on the Jokowi-Ma'ruf victory in Papua

In this strategy the message is conveyed through individuals, groups and organizations that have influence. Ways to approach and lobbying on this strategy need to be adapted to the types of individuals, groups and organizations (Perdana, 2014). The formation of public opinion through electability surveys is one of the strategies used by Adnan in addition to using a political marketing pass strategy. It is defined as a political campaign strategy that uses individuals to influence the opinion of constituents. Success or failure to gain votes depends on whether or not the selection of influencers. The more precisely the influencer is chosen, the greater the effect that will have on influencing constituents' beliefs in choosing candidates.

Research conducted by Methodius Kossay (2014) in a journal entitled "Election of the Noken System in Indonesian Democracy: A Case Study in Jayawijaya Regency, Papua Province". This research is motivated by the undemocratic Noken system, when examined from the Noken

system that is not in accordance with the principles of elections, this system does not yet have a clear legal umbrella in the regulations governing the election. It can be concluded that the results of this study indicate that the Noken system can be implemented as long as the government can legalize the Noken system, especially in a draft Law. Areas that use the no ken system in the 2019 general election, become a very dominant vote granary used by candidates for election contestants because this system can accumulate votes for the DPT in its territory represented by the voice of one of the traditional elders / local leaders.

The regression model for Jokai's vote due to the influence of No ken is Votes Results = 19794,281 Trans Papua + 81743,042 Noken + 5836,681 Cultural Approaches + 36043,477 Votes Results = 19794,281 (0) + 81743,042 (1) + 5836,681 (0) + 36043,477 Votes Results = 117,787 Votes.

4.8 Analysis of the influence of cultural approaches on the Jokowi-Ma'ruf victory in Papua

In the Land of Papua, the Provinces of Papua and West Papua each region has different customs and cultures. There are 7 big tribes in Papua and 256 small tribes, each of which has a different regional language. According to the 2013 Ministry of Education and West Papua Balai Kemdikbud, there were 307 regional languages. So that the development carried out needs to be done through different approaches that are adapted to the conditions of sociology-anthropology.

Push political marketing is defined as marketing political products directly to prospective voters. The main focus of this strategy is more on issues that are important (political products) to voters and not just selling candidates or parties. Political products try to get support through stimulants in the form of a number of rational and emotional reasons to move the masses to support candidates. Political products are delivered to constituents through the media (print, electronic and online) and influencers as message distributors (Nursal, 2004). The sociology-anthropology approach is an important factor in the national development planning process for Tanah Papua. This cultural approach is reflected in the Presidential Instruction (Inpres) No. 9 of 2017 concerning the Acceleration of Welfare Development in the Provinces of Papua and West Papua. This Inpres emphasizes a culture-based development strategy, indigenous territories and a focus on Papuans, especially those in isolated and mountainous areas and islands that are difficult to reach.

This strategy focuses more on issues that are important to electorates and not just selling candidates or parties as commodities. The communication message from this strategy can be delivered directly by the candidate or party but also through volunteers who come to distribute flyers, flyers, stickers, etc. These volunteers are also tasked with collecting data in the form of electorate perceptions, measuring the effect of messages and recording changes in electorate attitudes and behavior. This strategy is quite easy to do for local elections. A cultural approach to indigenous tribes in Papua spread across a number of areas in Papua such as the Asmat, Amungme, Dani, Korowai, Muyu, Bauzi, and Huli tribes spread across Papua regions such as Jayapura, Jayawijaya, Mimika, Nabire and Paniai. The region is given a dummy variable (1) and other regions are given a dummy variable (0).

Jokowi's votes result regression model because of the influence of the cultural approach is Votes Results = 19794,281 Trans Papua + 81743,042 Noken + 5836,681 Cultural Approaches + 36043,477 Votes Results = 19794,281 (0) + 81743,042 (0) + 5836,681 (1) + 36043,477 Votes Results = 41,879 Votes.

5. Conclusion

This research was conducted to analyze the effect of trans papua, noken and cultural approach to the victory of Jokowi in Papua in the 2019 Presidential and Vice President Elections by using cross-sectional data. Based on the three independent variables, the influence of election of the dominant noken system is strong in controlling the vote acquisition with a percentage of 48% while the Trans Papua infrastructure development variable contributes a percentage of 20% and a cultural approach of 32% in the vote acquisition of Jokowi-Ma'ruf.

The implication of the most influential political strategy to the victory of the Jokowi vote in Papua based on the noken variable is Pass Political. The pass political strategy conveys messages through individuals, groups and organizations that have influence. Ways to approach and lobbying on this strategy need to be adapted to the types of individuals, groups and organizations. While the Trans Papua variable becomes the second variable that contributes the most votes after the noken variable to the vote acquisition of Joko Widodo in Papua. That means that political communication of messages and instruments can be used as an alternative to political communication in Papua. Things that have been done before and succeeded successfully can become instruments and political messages so that the people of Papua can

return to vote for Jokowi. Likewise, the political strategy Pull Political can be an alternative strategy to get quite a lot of votes.

From the results of this study, it can be recommended for the next general election in Papua to use the target image political communication by approaching tribal chiefs in Papua and also using a political pass political strategy while still using alternative political strategies most widely used by political parties namely pull political and political communication of messages & instruments. Limitations in the research are expected to be continued in further research in the future, such as the limitations of the variable political research strategy that only covers Trans Papua, Noken, and the cultural approach so that further research is expected to measure the number of ages and the level of participation based on gender in Papua Province. In addition, further research is expected to be able to measure the contestation of the presidential and vice-presidential elections as well as the post-conflict local election not only related to improving political communication strategies, but also other development indicators such as education levels, poverty, and economic growth.

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