

Gotong Royong as Social Practice of Winning Strategy at Kulon Progo's Local Election in 2017

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Abstract—This research aims to describe *gotong-royong* as a social practice of the winning strategy conducted by PDI Perjuangan in the Elections 2017 in Kulon Progo. Political parties have the issue of increasing political costs when facing the elections. In this case, the ideology of the party should be implemented easily as the winning strategy between the political liberalism and pragmatism. This research is a qualitative approach that refers to the theory of Pierre Bourdieu on social practice. This research demonstrates the social practice of victory at 2017 elections in Kulon Progo conducted by PDI Perjuangan. The habitus of *gotong royong* in PDI Perjuangan was conducted through a society approach, offering and promising various programs. *Gotong royong*, as the embodiment of the party ideology, is deemed capable of running a party machine amid political pragmatism. Habitus and capital are actors as references in determining the way and the winning strategy in the local election.

Keywords— *gotong royong, social practice, election*

I. INTRODUCTION

Democracy is chosen as a system of government to manage national and state life in which an important instrument in democracy is a political party. In democracy, political parties are the soul and spirit of contestation. According to Romli, without political parties, democracy cannot work and walk, so the work and functioning of democracy one of them depends on the political party [1]. There are at least three reasons why political parties need to work for democracy, as reported by the Netherlands Institute for Multiparty Democracy (NIMD), firstly, that political parties are the primary vehicles for political representatives; secondly, political parties are the primary mechanisms for government administration; thirdly, the political party is the main channel for maintaining of democratic accountability [2].

In the context of democratic political life, general election and local leader election are one of the means to realize a democratic political life. According to Marijan, the general election is directly expected to produce local leader that have a higher accountability to the society [3]. The elections were realized in hopes of becoming a political instrument that gave change and was able to cope with democratic irregularities. Election is born to fix democracy

practices amid political party pragmatism. Since 2010, government and parliament argue about the the implementation of elections. The debate discusses about revision of Law No. 32/2004 concerning Regional Administration, be appointed Law No. 8/2015 as the guidelines for the election of the local heads of government. The people's democratic party in selecting the local leader and vice regent can be derived from the proposal of one political party, a coalition of political parties or independently and who have fulfilled the requirements.

Local election become a basic momentum for the foundation of society's sovereignty, political and democratic systems at the local level [4]. Local leader is also as a lesson for political parties in its function as an equitable caderization institution in the whole area. However, if the political party is not able to present a new figure that has a strong character and can be fulfil the expectations of the public, it is certainly difficult to win the next elections. The strategy to set up the people's role model and charismatic figure in the body of the party is not obsolete. Although political parties are experiencing a shift to reference candidates from political figures to celebrity. However, such a political facts should be a challenge for political parties so that each local leader candidate has the quality of patriot character and ideological credibility to be a priority.

In 2017, local leader election followed 101 regions throughout Indonesia was to elect the governor or major, and regent. Data came from General Elections Commission (KPU RI) that there are a total of 41.205.115 voters throughout Indonesia are registered for this concurrent elections. They voted at 98.259 polling station (TPS), which is scattered in 30 provinces. In this political momentum, PDI Perjuangan recommends 101 candidates in 2017 concurrent elections, one of them is Kulon progo.

The overview of political dynamics in Kulon Progo regency is reflected in the results of the elections. Successively the results of local leader election in 2001, 2006, 2011 and local leader election in 2017 have been positioning PDI Perjuangan as a winning party in Kulon Progo regency. At the 2017 election, the candidate who was supported by PDI Perjuangan and coalition parties dr. H. Hasto Wardoyo, Sp. OG (K)-Drs. H. Sutedjo who are the incumbent. The candidacy of the election of Kulon Progo in 2017 was followed only. Two candidates were from the political parties, and there were no independent candidates.

In the process of 2017 elections in Kulon Progo, PDI Perjuangan seek to bring back the ideology in the internal process of the party. How the ideology of the party survives and it's able to operate in the midst of political pragmatism. In this study, researchers saw the *gotong royong* in the social practice of PDI Perjuangan as an effort in the victory in the 2017 election. Introducing a flagship program as a form of the implementation of *gotong royong*, there is collective awareness of PDI Perjuangan due to the invitation from candidates to propose *gotong royong* on the winning election 2017 in Kulon Progo. Therefore, this research seeks to see how habitus *gotong royong* to cadre PDI Perjuangan as the practice of ideologization of the party for the winning election 2017. So, in practice, it can be aware of a party's habitus still operating on the winnings of the prospective local leader of government.

II. RESEARCH METOD

This research is a type of descriptive, using qualitative methods with a case study strategy. This qualitative study refers to research strategies such as in-depth interviews, literature studies and documentation that allow researchers to obtain information related to PDI Perjuangan. Using the case study method, this research seeks to see mutual assistance in the social practice of winning the 2017 election in Kulon Progo.

III. RESULT AND DISCUSSION

To see the social practice in winning this election can adopt Bourdieu's concept that the capital and habitus will be operated in a *field* that is the arena of power in which there is an effort to struggle to fight resources (capital) and also to gain certain access that is close to the power hierarchy [5]. It means that the capital is effected in creating a social practice. In this case, the discourse of *gotong royong* produced by Dr. H. Hasto Wardoyo, Sp. OG (K) are the capital and habitus that is at stake in the social practice of winning the 2017 election.

PDI Perjuangan sees dr. H. Hasto Wardoyo, Sp. OG (K) as the regent who was able to win the battle of 2017 election.

A. Formation of Habitus on the Party

According to Bourdieu, habitus is obtained through repeated exercises or learning, which makes habitus pre-conscious [6]. The formation of habitus is closely related to the environmental condition surrounding actor. Habitus is a subjective factor in the actor, while the social space around the actor is an objective structure that cannot be separated because it is a dialectic that will also affect to the practice or action that will be performed by actor.

In habitus, the objects are cadres of PDI Perjuangan Kulon Progo which has a way and strategy of winning that have characterize the current election campaign. The experience is obtained through the process of habitus formation, it is a cultural production that was produced by individual in the political and social sphere. Habitus is a representation of actor in acting, speaking and behaving in the political arena so that it is shown to be visible to society.

In the formation of habitus must go through a process done repeatedly then applied by the environment of each subject. In this context, habitus was conducted by DPC PDI Perjuangan in the election of electoral still use old scheme that have been trusted and tested, that is by program approach, offering and promising the programs.

Procedure of habitus can guide actor to recognize, judge and feel the appreciation demonstrated by the social world as it becomes a reflection for his supporter. The habitus is also regarded as the representation of dr. H. Hasto Wardoyo, Sp. OG (K) as an actor.

1. Program Approach

The pattern of the approach performed by the party can be done through various activities, both by the elite and party cadre. One of them with *gotong royong* approach in the society, that has become a topic to be discussed on every opportunities. This pattern of *gotong royong* commands by DPP PDI Perjuangan in every political activism for cadre of PDI Perjuangan.

The approach of *gotong royong* was conducted by actor in political activism not only a variety of party program. But also, there is a government program that is used to support the program of *gotong royong*, for example *Bela Beli Kulon Progo*, *Bedah Rumah* and *Gentong Rembes*.

2. Offering Program

Offering a program is a strategy to encourage cadre and society to be involved in aspiration programs that will be done in the future if it wins the election. This activity is done by door to door so it is effective and efficient in socializing the program that will be implemented together.

3. Promising Program

Promising a program is part of a campaign strategy. This program has been compiled in the vision of the mission candidate of regent and deputy regent that will be execute if they won the election. dr H. Hasto Wardoyo, Sp. OG (K) – Drs. H Sutedjo in the second period has the vision of "The realization of Kulon Progo in society, healthy, prosperous, independent, safe, accomplishment and fairness based on faith and *taqwa*".

B. Local Election as Capital Battle Arena

Based on Bourdieu, about the field that actor or candidate for regent should be battle with opponents to raise the electability and victory, the field facilitate strategy and capital for actor. In this case, the realm of the election became a space to operate the arena of habitus domination and the management of capital owned by the actor in the battle of local election 2017 in Kulon Progo.

The campaign was conducted by dr. H. Hasto Wardoyo, Sp. OG (K)-Drs. H. Sutedjo in election 2017 easier as an incumbent. In this election, incumbent is more easily re-elected because the current regent has advantages that are not owned by competitor. The advantage that can be directly gained is popularity, although it also does not guarantee that the incumbent

can prevail. In addition, the benefits were not directly obtained, that is when *gotong royong* “*Bedah Rumah*”, working visit to villages, the inauguration of the program, socializing the aspirations of DPRD (Assembly of Provincial) and so on.

The following of the capital that the actor have developed as incumbent in the election:

1. Political Capital

Political capital is focused on granting power or resources to realize things that can help bring about importance [7]. dr. H. Hasto Wardoyo, Sp. OG (K) and Drs. H. Suttedjo is re-elected in the 2017 election in Kulon Progo they should be able to see political opportunities and political issues in the society. The political opportunity seen by dr. H. Hasto Wardoyo, Sp. OG (K)-Drs. H. Suttedjo from the society involvement in the *gotong royong* in the program “*Bela Beli Kulon Progo*” in previous period but brings change that in society. This political opportunity became the main capital for dr H. Hasto Wardoyo, Sp. OG (K) dan Drs. H. Suttedjo in the campaign program with the tagline “*Bela Beli Kulon Progo*” to facilitate them in achieving victory.

In addition, the political capital used at the election of 2017 was the power and network of the coalition of political parties. The internal dynamics of the party also became an influential political capital in victory. Political support from PDI Perjuangan, PAN, Golkar, PKS, Nasdem and Hanura is solid to win the couple of dr. H. Hasto Wardoyo, Sp. OG (K) and Drs. H. Suttedjo.

2. Social Capital

Social capital, an asset is manifested through relationships and networks of relationships that are a useful resource in the determination and reproduction of social positions [8]. In order to social capital can be survive, the actor must continue to seek for it.

At the local election in Kulon Progo in 2017, the credibility of the couple of dr. H. Hasto Wardoyo, Sp. OG (K) and Drs. H. Suttedjo was very influential about the victory achieved. As the incumbent regent, dr. H. Hasto Wardoyo, Sp. OG (K) has a good political image and social image in based of the people in Kulon Progo. As a doctor, Hasto is known to be very close to the society because he directly gets involved in “*bedah rumah*” and provides free charge for the people in Kulon Progo who will check their pregnancy and give birth in RSKIA Sadewa, Sleman.

In the *bedah rumah* activities conducted by dr. H. Hasto Wardoyo, Sp. OG (K) which is involving all OPD (*Organisasi Perangkat Daerah*) and society in Kulon Progo. Then, *Geblek Renteng* program which is buying the original patterned batik in Kulon Progo by moving local batik craftsmen. The social capital owned by dr H. Hasto Wardoyo, Sp. OG (K) can be used to increase political capital. This is because for the support of Kulon Progo society requires strong networks and relationships. With a good relationship between actor and society will create an effective reciprocal relationship between actor in the realm of local election in Kulon Progo.

Beside the actor social capital, the cadres of PDI Perjuangan Kulon Progo have social capital that is in the form of social networks that make it easier to introduce actor in the society. In the 2014 legislative election, the DPC PDI Perjuangan in Kulon Progo has a total of eight seats, whose electoral areas exist throughout the district in Kulon Progo. These legislators make it easy for party cadres to build social networks.

3. Economic Capital

The economic capital according to Bourdieu includes production tools (machinery, land, labor), materials (income and goods) and money.[9] Economic capital refers to everything that is of economic value. Any candidate that will advance in the contestation of the elections will surely prepare the economic or financial capital. The economic capital is more emphasis on political funds, which in general the economic capital is used to meet the political needs when the local election progresses, starting from the beginning of socialization, registration until voting.

In terms of economic capital, dr. H. Hasto Wardoyo, Sp. OG (K) has more wealth than his opponent. The economic capital belongs to this actor became one of the capitals in the political fight to win the 2017 election in Kulon Progo. The source of wealth was derived from land ownership, schools and hospitals. However, there is a commitment from the campaign team of dr H. Hasto Wardoyo, Sp. OG (K) – Drs. H. Suttedjo stated there is no money politics used in the campaign of elections in 2017 in Kulon Progo.

For the society, the economic capital is obtained from the policy of the local government of Kulon Progo in *Kelompok Usaha Bersama* (KUBE), *Toko Milik Rakyat* (Tomira) and AirKU (*Air Kulon Progo*). In practice, this KUBE consists of several people who have a business, then given financial assistance by the local government through the social office, Women Empowerment and child protection in Kulon Progo. In 2017, KUBE was given to 110 units with a help value of IDR 20 million for each groups. In addition to obtaining assistance, KUBE will get socialization, assistance and mentoring.

Tomira (*Toko Milik Rakyat*) is a policy of regent dr. H. Hasto Wardoyo, Sp. OG (K) in protecting and empowering traditional markets and modern store structuring. Tomira is functioning to develop cooperation in the economic empowerment of the society that is partnership with cooperatives, micro, small and medium enterprises. While AirKU (Air Kulon Progo) became an innovation of regent dr H. Hasto Wardoyo, Sp. OG (K) in *Air Minum Dalam Kemasan* (AMDK). The success of this AirKU for the support of the society and the government of Kulon Progo, so it can contribute to the economic growth of the region and the society economy.

4. Cultural Capital

Bourdieu and Jean-Claude Passeron were the first people to use the term cultural capital [10]. According to them, cultural capital refers to non-

fiscal assets involving among educational, social and intellectual sciences [11]. This cultural capital included a wide range of properties such as art, education and language forms. In addition, cultural capital is also a knowledge or appetite that has the cultural values and consumption pattern. It means that cultural capital determines the position of the person where the flavor is determined socially.

Cultural capital is transmitted automatically in every single person. The cultural capital belong to actor is contained in the history of education, work history or achievements or awards received, so that it can be used as political marketing to influence the society in selecting the candidate head of the district. As an actor who is the native son of Kulon Progo, dr. H. Hasto Wardoyo, Sp. OG (K) was born in the backward area beside Sermo Reservoir, sub-district of Kokap.

The elementary to high school period is completed in Kulon Progo. After that continuing his study at the Faculty of Medicine in Universitas Gadjah Mada graduated in 1989, then took the first specialist and graduated in 2000. The second specialist graduated in 2006 on the same campus. During the lecture, besides active as the chairman of the Senate Faculty of Medicine, Universitas Gadjah Mada also became the chairman of KNPI (National Youth Committee of Indonesia) in Kulon Progo, etc.

Before becoming a regent, dr H. Hasto Wardoyo, Sp. OG (K) was once the head of Health center in Kutai District, East Kalimantan from 1990-1994. Then his career continued as a medical staff in RSUP Dr. Sardjito to the head of the reproductive health institution. In addition, he was also the chairman of the study program of specialist doctors at the Faculty of Medicine at Universitas Gadjah Mada.

His profession as a doctor then encouraged him to establish RSKIA Sadewa in Berbah, Sleman. Since becoming the regent and owner of the hospital, he provided social service program in RSKIA Sadewa which was free for the citizens of Kulon Progo and supported the poor without differing class facilities at RSUD Kulon Progo.

5. Symbolic capital

A symbolic capital according to Ritzer is a capital derived from the dignity and prestige of a person [12]. According to him, the symbolic capital points to the use of symbols to lubricated ownership in many level. This symbolic capital shows symbolic power. Power often requires symbols as a force to construct the reality, so it would be able to lead people to trust, acknowledge and change their perspective.

Symbolically, dr H. Hasto Wardoyo, Sp. OG (K) is an incumbent regent who is trying to move back to become regent in Kulon Progo. In addition, Hasto Wardoyo is also a gynecologist who once served as head of public health centre, was once the head of health agency in RSUP Dr Sardjito and lecturer at the Faculty of Medicine at Universitas Gadjah Mada. As a citizen of Kulon Progo, dr. H. Hasto Wardoyo, Sp. OG has a large symbolic capital in the society. This

symbolic capital is understood as a socially implanted capital.

In a political fight, symbols have the power to construct reality that is ultimately able to lead people to select a particular candidate. Symbolic capital at the local election Kulon Progo 2017 is seen in the photo used by dr. H. Hasto Wardoyo, Sp. OG (K) with javanese clothes that show concern about local wisdom of the people in Kulon Progo. In addition, the activities of dr. H. Hasto Wardoyo, Sp. OG (K) in various scientific and training forums increasingly demonstrate their intellectual ability in leading Kulon Progo. In fact, some of them call dr. H. Hasto Wardoyo, Sp. OG (K) as the regent of *gotong royong* because of his activism in leading and policy in Kulon Progo using the approach named *gotong royong*.

Tabel 1. Category of Gotong Royong in Election2017

NO	Type of Capital	Category
1	Politic	Has power supports and networks political party
2	Social	- Society relation with regents and PDI Perjuangan. - Networks of partnerships with DPRD
3	Economic	- Money and capital - Store
4	Culture	- Formal education - Skill and Profession
5	Symbolic	Actor job title or occupation

C. Social Practice in winning of Local Election 2017

From the results of the formulation of habitus, capital and domain will produce a social practice. The social practice will determine whether the habitus cadre of PDI Perjuangan Kulon Progo can win the contestation at the local election 2017 in Kulon Progo. In the realm of election, the social practice of each candidate, the political party and the successful team will measure the quality and expected winning. It was done by competing in the realm or arena for each contestant in obtaining the electoral support.

Social practice was understood by Bourdieu as a result of dialectical dynamics between exterior internalization and interior externalization [13]. The exterior is an objective structure that exists in the outside of social behavior, while the interior is everything attached to the social actor themselves. The form of this practice is the social practice of the pair dr. H. Hasto Wardoyo, Sp. OG (K) – Drs. H. Sutedjo in the local election 2017 Kulon Progo.

In habitus and capital battles in local election, all sub-districts in Kulon Progo are dimensioned by incumbent. If you see habitus fight and capital in the field or battle arena of 2017 election in Kulon Progo won by the pair of dr. H. Hasto Wardoyo, Sp. OG (K) – Drs. H. Sutedjo with the vote of 257, 517 votes, while his competitors Zuhadmono Azhari and Iriani

Actor	Habitus	Capital	Social Practice
Hasto Wardoyo (Regent and Incumbent)	The knowledge of <i>gotong royong</i> as a form of ideologization practice and a solution to solve social problem, economic and political problem.	Politic: Power Social: Network Economic: Capital Cultural: Certification Symbolic: Regent Incumbent	<i>Bedah rumah</i> for poor families Buy Batik Motif of <i>Geblek Renteng</i> results from family production
			Free service fee at RSKAI Sadewa
			Inpatient with poor class at RSUD Kulon Progo
Political Party Administrator	Knowledge of <i>gotong royong</i> is socialized through the model of approach program, offering program, and promising program	Politic: Power Social: Network Economic: Capital Cultural: Education Symbolic: Public Officer	Established Tomira (<i>Toko Milik Rakyat</i>)
			Making <i>AirKU</i> (local drinking water packaging product)
			Established KUBE (<i>Kelompok Usaha Bersama</i>)
			DPRD Recess Program

Pramastuti gained 36,874 votes. The winning factor of dr. H. Hasto Wardoyo, Sp. OG (K) – Drs. H. Sutedjo continues to use habitus patterns that are commonly done in the election it make easy to move a solid social base to choose.

The consistency of the discourse of *gotong royong* on cadre PDI Perjuangan is a capital to win the pair of dr. H. Hasto Wardoyo, Sp. OG (K) – Drs. H. Sutedjo. The program of *gotong royong* can be a strategy in building social and political networks in grassroots. As Effendi expressed, that *gotong royong* is inherent in the social capital [14]. Also as Fukuyama explained that in

social capital inherent to the value of trust and believe, as described in the table below:

Table 2. Social practice in the winning election 2017 in kulon progo

[15]. It means that in the capital itself contains values of trust (mutual trust) that is rooted in cultural factors such as ethics and moral. In this regards, there is an effort PDI Perjuangan revives the *gotong royong* by building a system that is not pathological, builds resonances with other parties and builds resonance with the people. So, when ethics and moral already exist in political parties it will be easier to seize and retain power.

V. CONCLUSION

Political party has a big responsibility to present qualified candidate in the momentum of each local election. Habitus of *gotong royong* in PDI Perjuangan is conducted through a society approach, promising programs and offering program. The consistency of *gotong royong* for cadre PDI Perjuangan become a capital in the winning of dr. H. Hasto Wardoyo, Sp. OG (K) – Drs. H. Sutedjo. *Gotong royong* is a strategic program to build social and political network in grassroots, despite of the need for strong resonance between political party cadre and society.

ACKNOWLEDGMENT

This is our research in Master of Sociology, Faculty of Social and Political Science Universitas Sebelas Maret. For that, we would like to thank for the speakers who have affiliate with PDI Perjuangan, that is Drs. HM Idham Samawi, dr. H. Hasto Wardoyo, Sp. OG (K), Dr. Hj. Yuni Satia Rahayu, M.Hum, Drs. Sudarto, Istana, SH, Aris Syarifuddin and Yuli Yantoro, SE.

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