The Position of the Media in Shaping The Culture of "Political Marriage" of Mainland Southeast Sulawesi With Southeast Sulawesi Islands in the Southeast Sulawesi Governor Election

Fahmy Fotaleno
Universitas Bina Sarana Informatika
fahmy.fae@bsi.ac.id

Denny Setiawan Batubara
Universitas Bina Sarana Informatika
denny.dyb@bsi.ac.id

Abstract
The objectives of this research are: This study aims: (1) to determine the role of the media in shaping the culture of "political marriage" between the mainland and the islands in the Southeast Sulawesi Governor Election and (2) the model for selecting strategies in the culture of "political marriage" between the mainland and the islands of Southeast Sulawesi in the election of the governor of Southeast Sulawesi. This research is a qualitative descriptive study. Data obtained through observation, interviews and media documentation. Information was obtained from various sources who were considered active and directly involved in the direct election for the Governor and Deputy Governor of Southeast Sulawesi. In the Southeast Sulawesi Pilgub event, the role of the media is quite high in leading public opinion and also the elite to "marry" the pair of figures from the Southeast Sulawesi and Southeast Sulawesi Islands. This practice is deliberately carried out to as much as possible the identity of the people of Southeast Sulawesi who are geographically divided into people who live and live in the Southeast Sulawesi region and people in Southeast Sulawesi feel represented in this pair. The distribution of discourse to society is carried out strategically by the media, be it print media, online media and electronic media.

Keywords: media, identity politics, political culture, discourse politics, election of governor of Southeast Sulawesi.

INTRODUCTION
It is undeniable that the media continues to be a tool for influencing people's thoughts, feelings, and behaviors through using messages as weapons. Even these communications are carefully selected and processed to sway public opinion and mold the public's perception in accordance with the media's goals. Because it has the power to shape how the public feels about an issue, the mass media plays a crucial and strategic role in influencing public opinion. The truth about an event may occasionally be concealed from the public by the media.

The media's involvement becomes crucial during national elections (Pemilu) or regional head elections (Pilkada) because of its considerable power to shape public perception and opinion. Democratic parties, such as elections or regional elections, usually go hand in hand with the media's role as a medium for distributing new policies about practices and regulations in elections, as well as communicating information about candidates contending in this democratic setting. Elections, particularly regional elections, so heavily rely on the media.

For a very long time, media effects have been at the center of communication studies. According to research on media effects, a variety of influences, from little to enormous, have been observed (Neuman & Guggenheim, 2011). The impact of media on attitudes and behavior is enormous, yet it is challenging to pinpoint specific effects since they are influenced by a wide range of social and environmental factors.

Academics have defined mass communication, also referred to as communication engaging the general population. For instance, Bittner defines mass communication as a message delivered to a sizable, anonymous audience through mass media. Littlejohn uses the phrase "media encoding" to describe the method through which media outlets communicate with audiences.
In addition to informing the public about the politicians and political parties up for election, the media also helps to create new cultures or habits. The Southeast Sulawesi Governor's Election is one instance. There is an intriguing custom of pairing up candidates from the Southeast Sulawesi islands and the mainland as part of an unspoken political tactic.

Southeast Sulawesi's Regional Head Elections (Pilkada), which always match candidates from the mainland and the islands, differ from those of other regions. This custom has been practiced for a very long period, and changing it would be challenging. This tactic is still being used so that no candidate pair will dare choose a partner who is just from the mainland or the islands.

If we consider the framework of political culture as defined by Benedict Anderson, political culture is a unique aspect of societal culture. The word "political culture" refers to concerns with legitimacy, control of power, governmental policymaking, political party activity, state apparatus behavior, and social reactions to periods of power. According to Benedict Anderson, such a political culture represents the shared values and beliefs of the community, yet each aspect of society has a unique political culture, including distinctions between elite groups and mass groups. This has been seen in Indonesia.

In his book "The Dynamics of Political Communication," Richard M. Perloff (2014), analyzes "Nominations and the News" and demonstrates how the media consistently plays a significant role in every political contestation. News about candidates running against one another throughout the general election campaign was common and unavoidable. Tight fights are the sole news stories almost every day in the days running up to national elections, indicating that the days have been counted. News about candidates plays a significant role in the nomination process, perhaps even more so during this stage because fundraising projections about who will win also have a significant impact on fundraising and have a greater impact on voters who are less engaged during the nomination stage than during the fall campaign stage.

You will hear an impassioned and dramatic description of the impending battle before the presidential candidates' debate begins. They all reflect the location of the argument, especially when woodwind instruments are used, starting with cowboy scenes, farm animals, the grandeur of the river flow, and mountain views. Before the Republican debate in Las Vegas, the CNN presenter revealed this, calling it "competitive political journalism with a sense of drama" and including elements of horse racing.

The media always has intriguing packaging regarding statistics or statistics from the Southeast Sulawesi Mainland and Southeast Sulawesi Islands at every Southeast Sulawesi Governor Election event. The public is likewise interested in studying and debating which duo merits running alongside one another for governor and vice governor. The media covered the event extensively and predicted how great both of them would be if they worked together.

**Statements of the Problem**

This kind of culture has existed for a very long time, especially during direct Regional Head Elections, according to the preliminary data that researchers discovered by interviewing various persons who watched the evolution of the Southeast Sulawesi Regional Elections. The most frequent justification is so that each region can be represented by the two officials, governors and deputy governors.

Although this isn't always the case, sometimes the governor's influence over the deputy governor is still very strong, giving the impression that Southeast Sulawesi's development is only focused on the Southeast Sulawesi Mainland region if the governor hails from that area. In contrast, if the governor comes from the Southeast Sulawesi Islands, the region will receive more development attention. This continues to be a concern and occasionally contributes to social jealousy in society. However, the fact that this combination is consistently provided in every election suggests that voters have no other choice.

Therefore, from the explanation above, the problems to be examined are:
1. The position of the media in shaping the culture of “political marriage” of mainland Southeast Sulawesi with Southeast Sulawesi islands in the Southeast Sulawesi governor election?

2. How this culture of political "marriage" is formed?

3. What benefits does society get directly from this "political marriage"?

Identity Politics

According to Lukmantoro, identity politics is theoretically an effort to advance the interests of people who belong to a group because they share similar identities or features, such as race, ethnicity, gender, or religion. The politics of difference is another name for identity politics. In identity politics, political action is carried out through the expression of desires to shape policy and regulate the distribution of values that are regarded as vital, such as the demand for the right to self-determination based on primal identity.

Identity politics is seen in the ethnic setting when people work to impose their ideals on local laws, divide up government functions, or even start separatist movements. Identity politics can also be observed in the religious context through various attempts to represent religious principles in the formulation of public policy, such as the establishment of regional laws based on sharia or initiatives to associate a city with a specific belief.

Cressida Heyes defines identity politics as the act of labeling political activity. Identity politics, in a broader sense, aims to free itself from marginalizing circumstances, which includes group membership in general. Identity politics is best understood as a form of geopolitics where groups are categorized according to their biological traits or aspirations from a certain perspective.

The Role of Mass Media as Political Actors

In his book Mass Communication Theories, McQuail suggests there are six perspectives to see the role of mass media:

● First, mass media is seen as a window that allows audiences to see what is going on out there and as a means of learning to know about events.

● Secondly, mass media is considered a mirror of events in society and the world, reflecting what it is.

● Third, the mass media is seen as a filter or gatekeeper who chooses information that deserves attention or not.

● Fourth, mass media is often seen as a guide or guide that provides direction in situations of uncertainty or diverse alternatives.

● Fifth, mass media can also be said to be a forum that provides information and ideas to audiences so as to allow responses and feedback to emerge.

● Sixth, mass media is seen as communication partners that allow interactive communication and not just as a channel of messages.

According to Bennet, who was cited by Hidayat (1997), mass media is not just a conduit for messages but also a subject that creates reality, viewpoints, prejudices, and methods of news consumption. The agency of social construction that establishes reality is the mass media. The news that is reported is not just an occurrence; it is also the outcome of human interpretation and post-event interpretation. Language is a fundamental instrument used in the formation of reality in the news, and it shapes the way actual events are portrayed. Incorporating viewpoints, symbols, and values into news also contributes to its social construction, making it clear that how reality is transformed into news depends on how the truth is perceived and comprehended. News is unlikely to be an entirely objective depiction of reality itself because meaning always employs specific symbols and aspects of value. As a result, different perspectives and methods of presentation might cause the same incident to generate diverse news, and this is deemed natural.
METHOD

To investigate the influence of the media in forming the culture of "political marriage" between mainland and archipelagic regions in the Southeast Sulawesi Governor election, this research used a qualitative technique and a case study design. Participants in the study included local residents, elected officials, and members of the media who had an impact on the dissemination of information about "political marriages" in the area and were involved in governor elections. Direct observation, in-depth interviews, and analysis of print, online, and electronic media items pertinent to the Southeast Sulawesi Governor Election were used to collect data.

Data from the media is utilized to spot patterns and trends in how the media portrays "political marriage" and to comprehend the message being spread about this issue. The findings of this study will be presented in the form of a narrative outlining the key conclusions on how the media shaped the "political marriage" culture between Southeast Sulawesi's mainland and island. There will be discussions to analyze the research findings and illustrate how they affect our comprehension of political dynamics and the role of the media in elections.

This study is anticipated to deepen our understanding of "political marriage" and the media's impact on Southeast Sulawesi's governor election, as well as advance our knowledge of regional political dynamics and the function of the media in elections.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

Political Culture of Society

In a political context, culture refers to the political system that a nation has chosen to use as well as all of the components (behavioral patterns and patterns of conduct) that make up that system. A person's political beliefs and actions become a harbinger or predictor of potential political symptoms in both himself and the others he influences. Political culture is an integral part of societal culture and exhibits its distinctive traits. Politics encompasses concerns with legitimacy, the control of power, the formulation of public policy, the actions of political parties, the conduct of public servants, and the people's discontent with governmental authority. It is nothing more than the manner in which people behave and how they are oriented toward the political life that society leads within the political system. Political culture, according to Almond and Verba, is a cognitive, emotional, and evaluative perception of a political system.

According to Budi Mulyana's research from January 2015, Indonesia has a "mixed political culture" that combines elements of three political cultures. First, among them, 20 percent are parochial cultures originating from low-income, remote, and isolated communities; second, 16 percent of participants represent the political culture of scholars, students, and political elites in both urban and rural areas; third, 60 percent of the middle class in both urban and rural areas. This study makes use of Almond and Verba's concept of a mixed political culture; according to them, a nation's political culture is actually a combination of several political cultures. The idea that a country has only one particular political culture will not be supported by empirical reality. This proportionately mixed political culture is what we refer to as civic culture (citizenship), or democratic culture. Indonesia included, no country has a singular political culture because background, economics, education, and political ideas all differ from one another.

Hypodermic Needle Theory

One of them has to do with the events surrounding national or regional elections and the media's capacity to shape public opinion. The syringe theory, also known as the hypodermic needle theory, postulated by Harold Lasswell that the public will frequently accept the messages to be informed by the media, holds true if the formation of citizens' primary opinions is based on information published in the media. Here, the analogy of the syringe represents a liquid that is compared to a message that is directly injected into the
audience’s pulse so that the liquid penetrates the audience’s body. As a result, the audience will understand the message right away.

Syringe theory, also referred to as hypodermic needle theory, is a one-way communication model that operates under the presumption that audiences are directly, immediately, and significantly impacted by mass media. This point of view compares mass communication to a huge needle that injects messages into a receptive audience. The audience is typically thought of as a uniform group that is susceptible to manipulation. As a result, it is anticipated that the messages sent to them will always be understood, and the recipients of the message are seen to be strongly affected directly and quickly by the media.

Anwar Arifin in his book “Komunikasi Politik” describes the syringe theory as: “The process of political communication is like a tire that is spinning and running mechanically. This process consists of clear elements, namely the source (mediator), message (communiqué), channel (media), receiver (audience), and feedback (effect). In other words, the source sends a message to the recipient through the channel, which then causes certain effects or effects.”

According to this notion, the media has an instantaneous, strong, and immediate impact on large audiences. The hypodermic needle idea was one of the theories that described the extremely potent impacts of mass media, according to 1920s and 1930s research on the subject. According to this theory, messages spread through mass media function like bullets or needles that pierce people’s minds and have an effect on how they behave.

Given that there are dozens, if not hundreds, of alternative definitions of media effects in the communication research literature, the same author makes an effort to define what we should comprehend by this term. According to Potter (2011), media effects are modifications to a result, such as alterations to a person's behavior, attitudes, beliefs, or cognitive processes as a result of exposure to messages from the media.

Potter made a connection between the issue of media effects and media effect ideas. He claims, for instance, that theories like agenda-setting, pre-drafting, planting, and framing are related to long-term consequences that mold people's behaviors, attitudes, beliefs, and cognitions; Long-term conflicts between first-person and third-person beliefs are linked to the third-person effect.

**Dichotomy of Southeast Sulawesi Mainland and Southeast Sulawesi Islands**

In fact, the Southeast Sulawesi governor election is essentially a contest between the Southeast Sulawesi Mainland and Southeast Sulawesi Islands. It has become customary in previous elections for governor to field a pair of candidates from the Southeast Sulawesi region on the mainland and the archipelago. Regardless of whether candidates 01 and 02 are from the mainland or vice versa, this pattern has always existed and was viewed as the perfect match from the beginning.

This information was provided by DR Najib Husain, a political observer at Halu Oleo University (UHO) Kendari. According to him, Southeast Sulawesi Islands have historically had a higher representation in regional elections as compared to Southeast Sulawesi Mainland in terms of the number of candidates who participated in the governor's election count. However, this does not mandate that individuals from the Southeast Sulawesi archipelago run for governor and vice governor positions in the Southeast Sulawesi mainland area.

As part of an electoral strategy to win the region’s gubernatorial elections, pairs of governors and vice-governors were chosen for Southeast Sulawesi’s mainland and its islands. It is absolutely necessary to select a partner or vice governor candidate from the Southeast Sulawesi Islands if the candidate for governor hails from Southeast Sulawesi's mainland, and vice versa. It is absolutely avoided and never ever considered to couple Mainland Southeast Sulawesi and Mainland Southeast Sulawesi. Despite having good grades, the pair from the survey results won't be paired at all.

This kind of behavior has long been prevalent, particularly during direct Regional Head Elections. The most frequent justification is so that the governor and
deputy governor can each serve as a representative of their respective regions. Although in practice things aren't usually that way. When the governor comes from Mainland Southeast Sulawesi, it appears like growth in Southeast Sulawesi is concentrated solely in that area since the governor's influence can occasionally be very powerful compared to the deputy governor. In contrast, if the governor comes from the Southeast Sulawesi Islands, the region will receive more development attention. This issue persists now and occasionally fuels social jealousy in society.

Additionally, long before the election, the media's perspective had always served to promote this disparity. In an effort to "match" or "marry" suitable individuals from Southeast Sulawesi and Southeast Sulawesi Islands, the media got involved. When comparing numbers from Mainland Southeast Sulawesi for 01 with figures from Mainland Southeast Sulawesi for 02, the media hardly ever provided any unconventional opinions or viewpoints. The same is true for Southeast Sulawesi Islands candidates for 01 who are matched with Southeast Sulawesi Islands candidates for 02. This conversation will undoubtedly never occur. Additionally, it might not be as hot or popularly raised. However, it would be unexpected if this format were to alter in the future and people dared to talk of the "marriage" of Southeast Sulawesi Mainland and Southeast Sulawesi Mainland as well as Southeast Sulawesi Islands and Southeast Sulawesi Islands. Of course, the media will play a crucial role in shaping the conversation and influencing public opinion in this situation. The community is no longer founded on the previous laws as a result.

The Southeast Sulawesi People's Daily Newspaper's Editor-in-Chief, Agus Tohamba, disclosed that in the past, "marriages" between leaders from the Southeast Sulawesi Mainland and Southeast Sulawesi Islands had already taken place before direct elections, as they do now. Today's elites see the need for representation of people from Southeast Sulawesi, the mainland, and the islands from a geopolitical standpoint. Since then, the media has taken a similar stance and followed that direction. The media doesn't try to change people's minds or herd them toward the idea that there shouldn't always be a pair of candidates from the Southeast Sulawesi archipelago paired with candidates from the mainland, but that it can also happen the other way around between candidates from the mainland and the mainland region. But this is viewed as being less appealing, particularly given that voters in Southeast Sulawesi tend to be traditional voters who prioritize ethnic or regional issues.

"The combination of Southeast Sulawesi Mainland and Southeast Sulawesi Mainland, as well as Southeast Sulawesi Islands and Southeast Sulawesi Islands, may have been the subject of media attention, although that is less interesting. We are geopolitically similar, as can be seen, thus that is the formula. The topic will continue to "fry" in the media, too. Whenever we think the readers would be interested." (Interview with Southeast Sulawesi People's Editor Agus Tohamba, Thursday, June 1, 2023).

It is acknowledged that the media has a significant impact on the survival of this political marital culture throughout the years as a journalist in the field and as the editor-in-chief as it is now. But once more, Agus argued that media political-economic factors could not be divorced from this. Candidates have, in fact, utilized the media as a promotional tool and as a means of self-promotion as mainland individuals who are well suited to be associated with island figures, and vice versa. Even more obvious examples are individuals from Southeast Sulawesi Mainland who request or provide codes to "propose" individuals from Southeast Sulawesi Islands.

"Typically, these individuals work with the media, and of course, media considerations must be taken as long as it is lucrative. As long as no one is harmed by these couples' efforts to market themselves as a pair from Southeast Sulawesi Mainland and Southeast Sulawesi Islands." (Interview with Southeast Sulawesi People's Editor Agus Tohamba, Thursday, June 1, 2023).
This type of dichotomy, according to Agus, will persist because it is a tactic used to win support on both the mainland and the islands. If the Southeast Sulawesi Land Couple fights against the Southeast Sulawesi Islands Couple, the people of Southeast Sulawesi Mainland and Southeast Sulawesi Islands could actually collide, making it very difficult to bring up discussion outside of the convention because it was less explicit and perhaps avoid conflict. If the expansion of the Southeast Sulawesi Islands herd, which is still being contested today, has been permitted, this type of culture might come to an end.

Therefore, if there has been an expansion, the media will of course no longer depict partners settling down between these regions, but later there will be more diversified concerns that will be played before the election or regional elections. But because people are essentially very enthusiastic about discussing it rather than other issues during the regional elections, the media will not be far from the issue of the political marriage of Southeast Sulawesi Mainland and Southeast Sulawesi Islands as long as the region's expansion has not materialized.

**CONCLUSION**

Since the last governor's election in Southeast Sulawesi was still conducted by the Regional People's Representative Council, couples in Southeast Sulawesi Mainland and Southeast Sulawesi Islands have practiced the culture or custom of "political marriage" during the gubernatorial election. The tradition is still practiced, mostly because to the fact that both the mainland and the archipelago are represented. Consequently, it is still held that the combination of Southeast Sulawesi Islands and the mainland is the most ideal.

The key difficulties that have always been highlighted or presented from the start are how to juxtapose the pair between these two locations, specifically figures from mainland Southeast Sulawesi and Southeast Sulawesi Islands. The media then plays a part in preserving this culture. Long before the election, the media's stance had consistently supported this contradiction. In an effort to "match" or "marry" prospective couples from Southeast Sulawesi and the Southeast Sulawesi Islands, the media started. The media hardly ever presented unconventional views, such as comparing data from Mainland Southeast Sulawesi for 2001 with data from Mainland Southeast Sulawesi for 2002. The same is true for Southeast Sulawesi Islands candidates for 01 who are matched with Southeast Sulawesi Islands candidates for 02. This topic is never discussed and was perhaps made more sensational or popular by the person who brought it up.

The two personalities from the Southeast Sulawesi region on the mainland who are inextricably linked to those from the Southeast Sulawesi archipelago are not intended to provoke or direct new perspectives in the community, according to the media. On the other hand, they also take into account the possibility of pairing figures from mainland regions with those from island territories, and vice versa. But it's not at all "sexy." Additionally, voters in Southeast Sulawesi tend to be traditional voters who still place a high value on regionalism or tribalism. The dichotomy is expected to persist because it is a tactic used to win support on both the mainland and the islands. It is very difficult to bring up a conversation outside of the convention because it was less sexy and may have avoided conflict because if the Southeast Sulawesi Mainland Couple had fought against the Southeast Sulawesi Islands Couple, the people of Southeast Sulawesi Mainland and Southeast Sulawesi Islands could have really collided. If the expansion of the Southeast Sulawesi Islands herd, which is still being contested over today, has been permitted, this type of culture might come to an end.
BIBLIOGRAPHY


