



The Attraction of Gandrung Magic and Its Function as a Political Communication Tool in Banyuwangi

¹Mahfud, ² Andrik Purwasito, ³Warto

¹Graduate School of Universitas Sebelas Maret, Universitas 17 Agustus 1945 Banyuwangi, Indonesia

Email: mahfud@student.uns.ac.id, mahfud@untag-banyuwangi.ac.id

²Universitas Sebelas Maret, Indonesia

Email: andrikpurwasito@staff.uns.ac.id

³Email: warto2013@staff.uns.ac.id

Wakit Abdullah Rais

Email: wakit.a.rais_1460@staff.uns.ac.id

Faculty of Cultural Sciences, Sebelas Maret State University, Surakarta

Abstract

This study aims to analyze politicians' efforts to use Gandrung performing arts as a tool to campaign for their political ideas in the elections in Banyuwangi. This study also aims to explore and translate the potential of Gandrung Banyuwangi as an innovative and effective political communication tool for politicians in increasing public involvement. This study, then, is structured as a qualitative descriptive study. The data used in this study was collected using semi-structured interviews, while also applying in-depth interviews or often referred to as unstructured interviews with research participants. Participants recruited for the interview came from three legislative politicians who currently serve as members of the Indonesian house of representatives, the East Java Local People's Representative Council from the Banyuwangi electoral district, and the Banyuwangi Local People's Representative Council, three executive politicians, and four cultural figures. The results of this study indicate that Gandrung Banyuwangi is used by political actors in Banyuwangi as a medium for political communication because Gandrung has a strong emotional magical appeal and has historical value and a strong cultural identity in Banyuwangi. The use of Gandrung as a political communication medium is used with the aim of influencing and strengthening the community's political participation by using political symbols and identities, as well as building emotional ties with the community through historical and cultural values. Therefore, it can be said that Gandrung Banyuwangi can be an effective communication medium in conveying political messages to the public.

Keywords : Infatuated; Political Medium; Communication Symbols.

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Introduction

Gandrung is one of the oldest forms of performing arts in Banyuwangi. Infatuation developed starting in the 1700s. At the beginning of its appearance, Gandrung functioned as a means of struggle for the people of Blambangan to rebel against the invaders (Srintil, 2007). The Gandrung stage was once tricked into being a cover by Blambangan fighters to distribute messages from the Regent of Blambangan, namely to inflame the fighting spirit to fight and collect logistical equipment. Gandrung's role was to spy for the guerrillas and spread information symbolically in the hinterland that was wasted by the Dutch in the Puputan Bayu war

in 1771-1772. Gandrung Dance is presented by traveling from one region to another with a simple musical parade.

Gandrung becomes a symbol of political communication through culture. According to (Purwasito, 2015) whatever is used, can be consumed and worked on, whatever object is produced, is a sign of communication. The communication process is in a symbolic system. So, Gandrung as a campaign medium is a form of political communication. Gandrung has a charming appearance and is a medium for political communication. In a political context, the Gandrung performing arts have great potential as an effective communication tool for political actors in achieving their goals. Political actors, such as regional head candidates, legislative members and political parties, are aware that the use of performing arts as a medium for political communication can have a significant impact on people's views and attitudes towards them.

Waller (2008), also illustrates how fiction and fantasy art can carry strong political messages. Works of art such as novels and fantasy films can shape people's views on political and social issues through narratives and symbolism that arouse emotions.

Davies, C. (2004), in his study also highlighted how performing arts, such as political speeches and theater, have the ability to change people's perceptions and views on political issues. Through the use of visuals, sound, and movement, performing arts such as Gandrung can stimulate attitude change and motivate political action.

The phenomenon of the use of Gandrung performing arts as a medium for political communication by political actors in Banyuwangi is an interesting research subject that needs further investigation. Previous research that discussed gandrung only discussed (1) Gandrung Dancers and Gandrung Social Movements in Banyuwangi (First, KP Desantara, 2007), (2) Dynamics of Gandrung Arts in Banyuwangi 1950-2013 (Raharjo, 2016), (3) Identity Cities in the Struggle of Hybridity and Cultural Commodification on the Eastern Border of Java (Indiarti, 2016), (4) Isun Hang Gandrung provides an analysis of the semiotic meaning of Gandrung (Dianto, 2017), (5) Carnivalization Using: Cultural Project of State Regimes in the Market Age, research The government has economic and political interests in establishing cultural programs. The government offers Gandrung at the international level as cultural wealth in relation to marking celebrations, but without the depth of the marker (Subaharianto, 2018), (6) Gandrung Performing Arts in Banyuwangi (Mursidi (2018), (7) History of Gandrung Blambangan in Perspective of Banyuwangi Culture (Afcarina et al., 2020).

No previous research has examined in detail the use of gandrung as a medium for political communication. So in this research it can be seen that Gandrung performing arts can be an effective communication tool for political actors to achieve their goals. Political actors, including regional head candidates, legislative members and political parties, are aware of the great potential that gandrung has as a performing art in influencing public opinion and attitudes. By focusing on this perspective, we have a different academic position from other researchers who have the same topic about Gandrung. Several previous studies focused on Gandrung culture and its problems as well as the use of Gandrung in relation to ethnic identity. Although history has shown the dynamics of the use of performing arts as a tool for political communication and negotiation, research that focuses on revealing the perceptions of politicians who use Gandrung performing arts as practical political communication is still very limited. Therefore, this retrospective phenomenological research seeks to capture the perceptions of politicians who use Gandrung performing arts as a tool to campaign for their political ideas in the elections in Banyuwangi. This research aims to explore and translate the potential of Gandrung Banyuwangi as an innovative and effective political communication tool for politicians in increasing public involvement.

Literature Review Political Communication

Political communication is a phrase consisting of two words "communication" and "politics" which have their own meaning and understanding. After combining these two words, they create a broader meaning, as explained by experts. Political communication according to Mc Nair quoted by Hafied Cangara (2009) purely talks about the allocation of public resources that have value, whether it is power value or economic

value, officers who have the authority to give power and decisions in making laws or regulations, whether whether it is legislative or executive, as well as whether the sanctions are in the form of gifts or fines.

Political communication is then used by people involved in a country's political activities to establish relationships with other people, certain groups, or people in a larger context. So that the process of achieving the goals of these communicators can be achieved as it should. In conditions like the above, the communication channels used are usually through mass media, in the form of general meetings, press conferences, etc. OK, let's take a simple example from candidates for people's representatives who have recently become more intense in communicating and being "close" to the people, campaigning for their superiority or superiority to the public, by placing their hopes on the mass media in general to get a "nod of the head" of the public. that "yes, we chose you". Of course, in a context like this, the communication used by the candidates for people's representatives includes political communication with their respective rhetorical styles.

Another understanding of political communication was put forward by Dan Nimmo, according to him, politics comes from the word polis which means country, city, that is, in total it is a unity between the state (city) and its community. The word polis developed into politicos which means citizenship. From the word politicos it becomes politera which means citizenship rights. Political Communication is a communication process to influence public knowledge, beliefs and actions related to political issues (Swanson & Nimmo, 1990) in Ispandiarso (2014). This pattern of political communication tends to occur top-down, from political structures to society. However, political communication also occurs bottom-up, from the public to the political elite, especially with the presence of new media today. The aim is to influence political processes and policies in these political institutions.

Political communication, according to Dahlan (1999) is a field or discipline that examines communication behavior and activities of a political nature that have political consequences, or influence political behavior. Thus, the definition of political communication can be formulated as a process of transmitting symbols or communication symbols containing messages with the aim of opening insight or ways of thinking, as well as influencing the attitudes and behavior of audiences who are political targets.

Another definition of political communication according to Denton and Woodward (Mcnaur) (2003) in Ispandiarso (2014) which views political communication not only as communication from political actors to voters with the intention of achieving certain goals, but also communication aimed at politicians by voters and newspaper columnists, as well as communications about political actors and their activities, as found in news stories, editorials, and other forms of media political discussion.

Politics is a scientific discipline that stands alone, politics is also an art, because how many have we seen politicians who have no political science education, but are able to act in political matters because they have talent that comes from birth from their instincts as political artists, so that by charismatic running the wheels of practical politics. Politics can also be said to be a science because it is knowledge that has a unique and specific object, subject, methodology, system, terminology, characteristics, theories and is universally accepted throughout the world, besides being able to be taught and studied by many people.

Understanding Political Communication According to Nimmo, Politics comes from the word polis which means country, city, that is, in total it is a unity between the state (city) and its society. The word polis developed into politicos which means citizenship. From the word politicos it becomes politera which means citizenship rights. Political Communication is a communication activity, both verbal and non-verbal, which has political content. According to Melvin L. Defleur, we can read a communication activity in relation to politics using a simultaneous transactional model. With its nonlinear character, this model describes at least three factors that influence the political communication process. First, the physical environment, namely the environment where communication takes place, emphasizing the aspects of what and how communication messages are exchanged. Second, the sociocultural situation, namely communication is part of a social situation which contains certain cultural meanings. Third, social relationships, namely the status of relationships between communicators, are very influential, both on the content of the message

itself and on the process of how messages are sent and received.

According to Harsono Suwardi, in the narrow sense, political communication is any form of conveying messages, either in the form of symbols or in the form of written or spoken words or in the form of signals that influence a person's position in a particular power structure. Meanwhile, in a broad sense, political communication is any type of message delivery, especially those containing political information from one source to a number of message recipients.

There are several forms of political communication carried out by political infrastructure communicators to achieve their goals:

- 1) Rhetoric. Derived from the Greek word *rhetorica*, which means the art of speaking.
- 2) Political Agitation. Derived from Latin, *agitare*. It means moving or moving, in English, agitation.
- 3) Propaganda. Derived from Latin, *propagare* (planting shoots in plants) which was originally a form of activity to spread the Catholic religion.
- 4) *Public Relations*(PR) Politics, an alternative effort to balance propaganda which is considered dangerous to social and political life.
- 5) Political Campaigns. A form of political communication carried out by people or groups at a certain time to obtain or strengthen political support from the people or voters.
- 6) Political Lobbying. The term lobby itself is actually a place where guests wait to chat at the hotel because those present are politicians who discuss politics (political lobbying), an informal but important dialogue occurs.
- 7) Via Mass Media. According to McLuhan, as an extension of human senses (sense extension theory) and as a message medium (the medium in the message), in this case political messages to gain influence, power-authority, shape and change public opinion or support and political image, for an audience that a wider area that is not reached by other forms of communication.

There are three main components that support the communication process, namely the message giver (communicator), the message and the message recipient (communicant). In Aristotle's classical model, the three components are defined by the terms speaker (communicator), message (message) and listener (communicant). Shannon and Weaver term these three main groups as information source (communicator), message (message), and receiver (communicant).

In connection with this component, Harold D. Lasswell (1948), asked a general question regarding communication models, namely, who says what to whom via which channels with what effects? Through Lasswell's question model, political communication can be understood as the process of conveying political messages by the sender of the message (political actor), through certain channels (the media used to convey the message), to the recipient of the message (to political actors or the public) and then how the message is delivered. cause influence. Then it is explained through the elements of communication, as follows:

- 1) Political Communicators, sources or political communicators are those who provide information about matters that contain political meaning or weight, for example Presidents, Ministers, members of the DPR, MPR, KPU, Governors, Regents/Mayors, DPRD, politicians, political party functionaries, functionaries of Non-Governmental Organizations (NGOs), and pressure groups in society that can influence the running of government.
- 2) Political messages are statements conveyed either written or unwritten, both verbally and non- verbally, hidden or overt, whether consciously or unconsciously, the contents of which contain political weight.
- 3) Political channels or media are tools or means used by communicators to convey their political messages.

4) Political Targets or Targets are members of society who are expected to provide support in the form of voting for parties or candidates in general elections.

5) The influence or effect of political communication is the creation of an understanding of the government system and political parties, the nuances of which will lead to voting in general elections.

In connection with these components and strategies, political communication also requires strategy. A political communication strategy is a plan that includes methods, techniques and functional relationships from the communication process to an activity to achieve a desired goal. By implementing a political strategy, we can provide support and aspirations that can be channeled or vice versa. In the government context, political communication strategies are used to create and implement rules, especially in the general election process by increasing the ability and opportunity for the community to express their aspirations and interests and channel policies so as to create reciprocal communication between superstructure and infrastructure. politics in preparing for a post-conflict regional election. According to Austin and Pinkleton, they explain how to start a strategy. According to both of them, strategy starts from formulating goals. What goals do you want to achieve? In politics, the goal to be achieved in general is to gain the people's trust by voting for them. The essence of strategy in political communication is the overall conditional decision at this time about the actions that will be carried out to achieve political goals in the future. Because in reality the existence of political leaders is really needed in every political communication activity. After that, the right steps for a political communicator to achieve future political goals include maintaining the character that has been attached to the political communicator and strengthening his political institutions. According to Ardial, when political communication takes place, it is not only the political message that is influential, but especially who the political figures (politicians) or activist and professional figures are and which institution conveys the political message. In other words, the character of a political communicator and the political institutions that support him or her determine the success or failure of political communication in achieving its goals and objectives.

a) Figures and Institutions. The character of a political leader and the stability of his political institutions in society have their own influence on political communication. A figure is a person who has credibility, attractiveness, power and expertise in the eyes of the people. A positive image of a figure needs to be built and maintained so that it is respected and respected by society. One of the characteristics of communicators put forward by Aristotle is ethos which is related to the credibility of the source. Aristotle called the communicator's character ethos which consists of good thoughts, good morals and good intentions (good sense, good moral character, good will). Thus, character is the same as ethos, namely the skill of a communicator or the public's trust in their political leaders. Furthermore, Rice and Paisley also explained the aspects needed as a communicator (source), including trustworthiness (trustworthiness), expertise/competence (expertise), dynamism/attractiveness (physical attractiveness). Based on the research results, the ER candidate's character is depicted as someone who has physical and non-physical criteria. Physical criteria consist of attractiveness, charisma and authority. Meanwhile, non-physical criteria consist of credibility, capability, commitment, people and loyalty. Wasesa then said that the imaging strategy developed by political PR is to create public behavior that supports the organization or political candidate being portrayed.

b) Creating Togetherness. Creating togetherness can be done by understanding the audience (public), compiling messages, determining methods and choosing media. Rice and Paisley said that source, message and channel are important elements in a communications strategy. To create unity between politicians and the public (the people) is equality of clothing, equality of interests with the public, especially regarding political messages, political methods and media. To create homophily and exercise empathy through similarities in interests, political communicators must first know, understand and understand the audience's receptive and absorptive capacity, both psychological and socio-cultural.

c) Building Consensus. Building consensus, both between political leaders in a political party and between political leaders from different political parties. There are two things that must be considered in

building consensus, including the art of compromise (negotiation) and the willingness to open up. Political leaders must have the ability to compromise in lobbying to find solutions by building consensus, and be ready to open themselves in accordance with the self-concept that exists for each politician who has a different opinion. A political communication strategy is a total of conditional decisions about actions that will be carried out now, in order to achieve political goals in the future. Caring for figures, strengthening political institutions, creating togetherness and building consensus are the right strategic decisions for political communicators.

Cultural Studies Theory

Cultural studies are often referred to as cross-disciplinary, multi-disciplinary, post-disciplinary or anti-disciplinary areas of study. Often what is meant by "cross", "multi", "post", or "anti" is a postmodern phenomenon in the academic world regarding the blurring of inter-disciplinary boundaries. All of this is of

course good, because from a nominalist point of view 'discipline' is actually just a term to legitimize and institutionalize the methods and areas of interest of a study. But what is often overlooked and absent from discussions about cross-disciplinarity in the social sciences and humanities is that the idea of cross-disciplinarity in cultural studies also involves the idea of the intersection between theory and action. This is the real issue that differentiates cultural studies from other disciplines, namely the relationship of cultural studies to questions of power and politics, with the desire for change and representation from and 'for' marginalized social groups, especially class, gender and racial groups (but also age group, disability, nationality, etc.). Cultural studies are theoretical buildings produced by thinkers who consider the production of theoretical knowledge as a political practice. Here knowledge is never seen as a neutral or objective phenomenon, but rather as a matter of positionality, a question of where, to whom and with what purpose someone speaks.

Foucault's Theory of Power Relations

The concept of power proposed by Michel Foucault is not a function of a class based on the level of economic control or ideological manipulation as Marx stated and is also not obtained thanks to charisma as stated by Weber. According to Foucault, power is not a structured institution, not power that is possessed, but power is a term used to describe complex strategic situations in society (Umar Kamahi, 2017).

Foucault views power not as political power as we generally know today, where power belongs to a group or group of minorities who have power over a group that is the majority. Foucault does not define power as something that can subjugate something to something else, but rather power moves and is spread everywhere and without the object of power being aware of it. In Foucault's concept, power is not something that is related to who is in power and who is being controlled.

The question worth asking in understanding a concept of power according to Foucault in Umar Kamahi's journal is not about what power is?, who is in power? or where does the source of power come from?, but rather how that power operates or in what way that power is operated. Umar Kamahi in his journal discussing Michel Foucault's Theory of Power: Challenges for Political Sociology, wrote that in his book entitled The History of Sexuality Vol.1 Foucault shows that there are five propositions regarding what is meant by power: namely

1. Power is not something that is obtained, achieved, used, or shared as something that can be grasped or even extinct: but power is exercised from various places in constantly moving relationships.
2. Power relations are not hierarchical structural relations that rely on those who control and those who are controlled.
3. This power comes from below which assumes that there is no longer a distinction between Binary Oppositions because that power encompasses both.
4. Power relations are intentional and non-subjective.
5. Where there is power, there is also anti-power (resistance) and resistance is not outside that

power relationship, everyone is in power, there is no way to get out of it.

The power referred to by Foucault is something that spreads and is not realized how it operates, or can be said to be a form of hegemony over human thoughts and awareness of something that happened at a certain time or can be called a regime of discourse. Knowledge is something related to human consciousness and thoughts. Knowledge as a power is a form of this discourse regime. Unconsciously, humans are controlled by knowledge that they learn or obtain themselves.

The power in question comes from within every human being, influencing human instincts and thoughts, indirectly stated by Foucault himself as having a more powerful power compared to power which is in the nature or form of censorship, exclusion, blocking and oppression because this power produces influence at the level of desire - at the level of knowledge, so that it will influence the human subconscious. On the other hand, power will become very fragile and difficult to control if its function is only to suppress (Michel, 2017). Knowledge that is absorbed by desire will give rise to a form of response to that knowledge. When a person's mind or thoughts are dominated by knowledge about health, other thoughts will emerge about how to avoid unhealthy conditions, or how to become healthy again. This chain of power will run automatically and without any significant pressure from other parties, but will become a form of real power through human desires and thoughts.

Gramsci's Theory of Hegemony

Hegemony in ancient Greek is called 'eugemonia', as stated by the Encyclopedia Britannica in its practice in Greece, applied to show the dominance of the position claimed by individual city states (polises and citystates), for example that carried out by the city states of Athens and Sparta over the state. -other parallel countries (Hendarto, 1993).

In today's understanding, hegemony shows the leadership of a particular country that is not just a city state over other countries that are loosely connected or tightly integrated into the "leader" country. In the context of international politics, for example during the cold war period, the struggle for influence between superpowers such as the United States and the former Soviet Union during the cold war, is usually referred to as a war to become a hegemonic power in the world (Nezar Patria & Andi Arif, 2003)

Gramsci acknowledged that in society there are always those who rule and those who are governed. Starting from this condition. Gramsci saw that if the Prince was to rule effectively, then the path chosen was to minimize the resistance of the people and at the same time the prince had to create spontaneous obedience from those who ruled. Gramsci succinctly formulated in one sentence, "how to create hegemony" (Nezar Patria & Andi Arif, 2003).

Hegemony is a chain of victories obtained through consensus mechanisms rather than through oppression of other social classes. There are various methods used, for example through institutions in society that determine directly or indirectly the cognitive structures of society. Therefore, hegemony is essentially an effort to lead people to assess and view social problems within a specified framework (Nezar Patria & Andi Arif, 2003).

Antonio Gramsci's theory of hegemony is based on the concept that a knowledge or ideology of new beliefs that is introduced covertly, habitually or by force (doctrination) into the atmosphere of massive collective consciousness, has given rise to a relatively new consciousness. The source of knowledge possessed by individuals in a group is not always easy to predict its origin, it could be that the awareness and knowledge that has been deposited in society is a "hegemonic" program implanted by the subjects of certain groups.

Hegemony refers to the understanding of a socio-political situation which in Gramsci's terminology is called a "moment", where the philosophy and social practices of society unite in a state of balance. Domination is a concept of reality that spreads through society in institutions and individual manifestations. The influence of this "spirit" takes the form of morality, adaptation, religion, political principles and all social relations, especially intellectuals. Hegemony is always related to the formation of state power as a dictatorial class.

Methods

The form of this research is descriptive qualitative. The data collected in this research is in the form of words, sentences and images which are more meaningful than numbers. Qualitative form provides complex details about events that cannot be expressed in quantitative/statistical form. Researchers focus on notes that provide a picture of the actual situation to support the presentation of data. Researchers also tried to analyze the data with all its rich characteristic nuances, as close as possible to its original form at the time the spell was recorded.

The theory used in qualitative research is often referred to as lens theory/perspective theory. Creswell (2009) explains, 'theoretical lens or perspectives in qualitative research provides an overall orienting lens that is used to study questions of gender, class, and race. This lens becomes an advocacy perspective that shapes the types of questions asked, informs how data are collected and analyzed, and provides a call for action or change.'

This research was conducted in Banyuwangi, East Java, Indonesia. This city was chosen because it is famous for its diversity of socio-cultural backgrounds. It is home to people from four different major tribes such as Javanese, Madurese, Osing, and Balinese. Although socio-culturally diverse, the native population speaks different native languages and has diverse local traditions and dances. Additionally, they uphold customs, beliefs, and practices originating from their ancestors that help maintain their identity from generation to generation.

Data sources in this research are primary and secondary. The main primary data source in this research is informants. The informants selected are people who really have credibility regarding Gandrung, consisting of politicians, compulsive performers/dancers, cultural figures, regional/local government bureaucrats, and traditional elders. Secondary data sources are reference books about Gandrung, as well as journals as sources of reference and comparative data (Pranoto, 2015).

Qualitative research data sources are divided into five, the explanation is as follows: (1) sources/informants who have information about gandrung, namely political actors who use gandrung as a medium for political communication, gandrung artists, and community figures who care/observe gandrung, (2) events, activities/behavior related to gandrung, (3) places/locations of research, (4) objects, various pictures, and audio or audio-visual recordings about gandrung, and (5) documents and archives/written materials related to phenomena and activities research related to compulsiveness.

In this research, the researcher directed key informants to direct the researcher to more specific group members. Key informants as primary data sources in this research are: (1) Politicians/political actors; (2) regional government, namely, regents/government structures involved in using Gandrung as a political tool; and (3) a society of passionate artists.

Secondary data in this research is writing that is related to the research problem sourced from books, journals, mass media, videos, social media Facebook & Instagram, and YouTube channels regarding Gandrung. Secondary data is data obtained from graphic documents such as tables, notes, meeting minutes, etc., photos, films, videos, and objects that can support primary data (Arikunto, 2013).

Participant Recruitment

To investigate how Gandrung Banyuwangi as a performing art is used as a political communication medium, this research recruited three legislative politicians who currently serve as members of the Indonesian DPR, the East Java DPRD from the Banyuwangi electoral district and the Banyuwangi Regency DPRD, three executive politicians, and four cultural figures. In 2008, the researcher first met a politician and established a friendship. The politician who serves as Chair of the Banyuwangi Regency DPRD often delivers national and cultural speeches on campus and at seminars in Banyuwangi. The researcher, who at that time served as chairman of the student organization, initiated communication to discuss education and culture in Banyuwangi. The relationship between researchers and politicians continued even after the politician retired from parliament and became an administrator at the Foundation of a private campus in

Banyuwangi.

Furthermore, to increase the visibility of recruited participants, special inclusion parameters were applied as follows: 1) they are members of political parties, either former members or currently serving as members of the DPR-RI/DPRD; 2) they have experience using Gandrung performing arts as their political campaign agenda; and 3) they are willing to participate in this research voluntarily. Details of research sources as primary sources in this research can be seen in the table below:

Table 1. Sources of legislative politician informants

Pseudonym)	Age	Gender	City	Education al background	Political parties	Experience/familiarity with researchers
Fund	49	Man	Banyuwangi	Masters	A	10 years
Anthony	55	Man	Banyuwangi	Bachelor	A	12 years old
Okay	68	Man	Banyuwangi	Bachelor	B-A	18 years
Mike	56	Man	Banyuwangi	Bachelor	C	8 years
Rita	47	Woman	Banyuwangi	Masters	D	12 years old
Wise	40	Man	Banyuwangi	Masters	E	10 years

Table 2. Sources of executive politician informants

Name (Pseudonym)	Age	Gender	City	Educational background	Institution
Brows	48	Man	Banyuwangi	Masters	D.P
Anu	55	Man	Banyuwangi	Bachelor	D.P
Ujik	68	Man	Banyuwangi	Bachelor	D.P

Table 3. Sources of cultural informants

Name (Pseudonym)	Age	Gender	City	Profession
Temau	70	Woman	Banyuwangi	Maestro Gandrung
Dartay	66	Woman	Banyuwangi	Maestro Gandrung

Tijo	97	Man	Banyuwangi	Maestro Gandrung
Buddy	64	Man	Banyuwangi	Maestro Gandrung

Semi-Structured Interview

Researchers apply in-depth interviews or often referred to as unstructured interviews with research informants. The purpose of an unstructured interview is that the questions asked by the researcher are open ended, that is, they lead to the depth of information, hidden and secret that can be revealed well by the researcher. The results of the interview sought information about Gandrung as a medium for political and economic commodities in Banyuwangi, the process of politicization of Gandrung in Banyuwangi, and opinions from the public regarding the conditions for the politicization of Gandrung and the use of Gandrung as a medium for political communication.

Armed with a qualitative research paradigm, in-depth interviews were conducted with participants. Prior to the interview, a letter of consent was distributed detailing the purpose of the study, participation was voluntary, and identities and information provided were kept confidential. After receiving their consent to participate in the study, they were invited to meet for an interview. Semi-structured interviews were administered and questions asked were anchored in the interplay of politics and play through discourses of pleasure with performance and activism with entertainment (Pauliny, 2013). Questions asked to participants were 1) what considerations did they take into account when choosing gandrung performing arts as a means of attracting voters' attention?; 2) how do they implement gandrung as a medium of political communication in their political practice?; 3) what do they expect from choosing the performing arts that are passionate about political communication?; 4) what actions do they expect from the performance?; and 5) how do they think performing arts are effective and efficient in influencing potential voters? Each question was then followed by several questions to gain a deeper understanding of the participants' perceptions. During the interview, participants were invited to share documentary photos of objects/events during the political campaign for further triangulation. Interviews lasted between 30 and 120 minutes.

Analysis

The data analysis technique used in this research is interactive analysis. Interactive analysis is the process of organizing and sorting data into patterns, categories and basic units of description which results in the discovery of themes and the ability to formulate hypotheses as suggested by the data. Interactive analysis is built on three main elements, namely, data reduction, data presentation, and verification/drawing conclusions. The interactive analysis model is as follows:

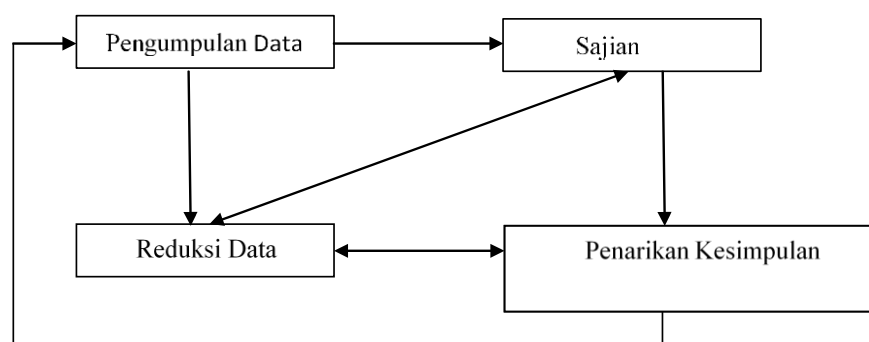


Chart 1. Interactive Analysis Model.

After the data was collected, the interview recordings were transcribed. Verbatim data and digital photography were analyzed using thematic analysis. Thematic analysis was used to see similarities and differences in the content of participants' reflective writing (Gibson & Brown, 2009).

Data reduction and presentation must be organized when the researcher has obtained data units from a number of units required in the research. When the data collection is complete, the researcher's task is to try to draw conclusions and verify the matters contained in the data reduction or presentation. When the data related to this research has been collected, it is presented as an object of study. The existing data is then analyzed using various theories and approaches. Analysis of the data uses the concept of myth with the definition that myth is a special system, and is formed from a series of pre-existing semiological chains (Barthes, 2006). The meaning of myth is a second level semiological system. Signs in myths are actually a total combination of concepts and images. Because it deals with signs and their systems, in this research analysis the researcher uses semiotic theory which considers all societal and cultural phenomena as signs (Rusmana, 2014), in this case the intricacies of Gandrung art.

In conducting data analysis, researchers also use critical theory as a characteristic of cultural studies. Where Gandrung is drawn historically from 1965 to 2022 as a practice of searching for identity and political communication. Critical theory thinking must be "historical" (Sindhunata, 2019). Critical theory respects science, but does not deify it as traditional theory does. Critical Theory relies on society in its historical process. Thus, society becomes a key term for understanding critical theory (Sindhunata, 2019). Horkheimer stated that totality must be understood as the growth of society as a whole in a "historical" process. Recognizing economic and cultural forms, of course, cannot be separated from their birth as products of human work and as organizations produced by humans. The goal is to make things easier for humans themselves. Critical thinkers call themselves this totality and treat it as will and reason (Sindhunata, 2019).

Findings

Based on the data collected, there are several reasons why performing arts are often used by political actors in Banyuwangi as a medium for political communication. Based on the research results, four important findings were revealed, namely:

1) Compulsiveness Has Emotional Attraction

Politicians in Banyuwangi believe that political communication media using emotion-based commotion because it was born from the womb of the people of Banyuwangi, can influence a person's political perceptions and attitudes. As stated by the informant, as follows:

The results of the interview with Dana stated that she was infatuated with:

"Gandrung is a traditional dance art native to Banyuwangi that can invite passion or romance from the audience. This is reflected in the use of the word "Gandrung" which is interpreted in Javanese as 'crazy' or 'all-out love'. "If you were caught in the eyes of a compulsive dancer, you would definitely go crazy and forget everything (Interview, 17 April 2023)."

For Dana, Gandrung dance is a traditional dance art originating from Banyuwangi, which is unique, Gandrung dance not only lies in its graceful and beautiful movements, but also in its strong emotional appeal, especially in inviting passion or romance from the audience.

The name "Gandrung" itself has a deep meaning in Javanese, interpreted as 'crazy' or 'all-out love'. This reflects the essence of this dance, where dancers not only express beautiful body movements, but also present a romantic nuance that captivates the hearts of the audience. Every dance movement and facial expression of Gandrung dancers carries a strong message of intimacy and attraction, creating an atmosphere that arouses passion among the audience.

In each performance, Gandrung Dance is not only an artistic performance, but also an emotional experience that evokes feelings of romance and admiration. With the beauty of the movements and the deep meaning behind each step, Gandrung Dance builds an inner bond between the dancer and the audience, creating a

magical atmosphere that can awaken passion and true love. Thus, Gandrung Dance is not only a valuable cultural heritage of Banyuwangi, but also a means of evoking the beauty of romance through traditional dance arts.

Apart from that, Anto added why he often used gandrung when he served as chairman of the Branch Representative Council of his party which was considered a pro-people party, according to Anto:

"gandrung is an ancestral heritage, a dance that is actually full of mysticism, is very popular with the people, with the encouragement of the gandrung ancestors and the mysticism in the gandrung dance, it is hoped that there will be blessings from the ancestors of Banyuwangi to accompany us on our political journey, it has become a tradition for our party to pay tribute to gandrung as an identity indigenous people of Banyuwangi (Interview, 29 April 2023)."

This opinion is also supported by Oke's statement:

"I'm passionate about sacred dances that are full of philosophical meaning. Gandrung is considered a manifestation of people's gratitude for all the blessings and gifts given by God. In the past, it was more often held at traditional events such as earth almsgiving or harvest parties. "So as a feeling of gratitude, I also feel passionate about being with the community (Interview, 29 April 2023)."

OK also confirms his statement:

"Being infatuated requires a spiritual journey, so that the spirits of Banyuwangi's ancestors become infatuated. If we as politicians respect, invite the gandrung to be with us, then support from mystical or spiritual figures who reside within the gandrung can improve our image as legislative candidates and our aura can be more attractive to the public, and I have proven that, during the three terms of being elected as member of the regional people's representative council, even chairman. (Interview, April 29, 2023)."

Anto and Oke both believe in the mystical power of compulsion to create deep emotional and spiritual experiences. Voters who engage in mystical or spiritual practices may feel connected to candidates or political parties they believe have endorsements or connections to supernatural or spiritual forces. This can trigger a strong emotional response and lead to behavior that supports candidates perceived to have mystical support. Mikel also added:

"One of the things that makes Gandrung so special is the emotional appeal attached to the dancers. Infatuated dancers have the ability to influence the feelings and emotions of the audience, sir, in a very deep way, if you don't believe it, you can see for yourself that the compulsive gazes and invitations during the performance are as if you were hypnotized. And I believe that Gandrung has a strong emotional magical element (Interview, 28 April 2023)."

Apart from that, Rita, as a female Banyuwangi politician, also added her opinion on why she uses Gandrung as a communication medium in her politics:

"Gandrung dance involves deep emotional expression. Basically, when I see a dancer in love, especially when I sing the song, I feel peaceful, happy, or even nostalgic for Banyuwangi. When there's an event outside the city and Ikawangi, I'm treated to a dance, it feels calm, peaceful, bro, I lose my busy thoughts as a politician. maybe this compulsion drives away evil spirits and brings blessings to my mind (Interview, 17 April 2023)."

What Rita experienced further confirmed the perception that Gandrung dance, a rich cultural heritage from Banyuwangi, is not just beautiful and graceful movements, but also a deep emotional expression. When the Gandrung dancer moves his body in rhythm with the music, his facial expressions convey life, love and sincere joy.

Involving yourself in Gandrung Dance is not only witnessing beautiful movements, but also feeling the flow of emotions that flow so deeply. When the Gandrung dancer steps and twists his body, his facial expression depicts joy that is so captivating. His eyes reflect the beauty and life around him, giving an aura of peace and happiness to all who witness him.

Gandrung's soft and meaningful singing is the perfect complement to the emotional expression in this dance. The lyrics are full of nostalgia and the natural beauty of Banyuwangi, bringing the audience to reflect and connect with its rich cultural roots. Through this dance and singing, Gandrung dancers not only become entertainers, but also emotional guides who invite us to understand and feel the beauty of life.

With every movement and flowing melody, the Gandrung dance creates a magical atmosphere and imbues the audience with deep feelings of peace, happiness and nostalgia. An artistic experience that goes beyond mere performance, engaging the audience emotionally and reminding them of the rich culture and heritage inherent in every step of the Gandrung dance.

Regarding Gandrung's magical abilities, there is a unique statement from Ari, a young politician from a religion-based party, who said that:

"I am a NU and Ansor Mas cadre, Gandrung art is a valuable legacy of our ancestors that must be protected. NU pays special attention to arts and traditions that reflect Islamic values and local wisdom, because they are part of the identity of Muslims in Indonesia. If you want to be infatuated, you have to fast, there are even deeds that must be practiced, and recite prayers every time you want to perform, that's what makes them unique and the aura of infatuation shines when watched, and it's a form of strengthening each other without sacrificing the principles of Islamic teachings. (Interview, April 28, 2023)."

What Ari said was in line with research findings where during the NU Centenary commemoration, which was attended by NU Kiai throughout the archipelago and also the President of the Republic of Indonesia, Joko Widodo, Gandrung was also displayed to welcome the President and invited guests, however the Gandrung costume was commodified. , you must wear a covering/covering your private parts so that you are not seen as exposing your private parts in front of the ulama and religious groups present. Commodification of Gandrung dancer costumes at the commemoration of the Festival (Harlah) of the 1st (One) Century of NU, taking into account Islamic norms and values in order to expand appreciation and acceptance of the traditional art of Gandrung, especially among the Islamic community of Nahdlatul Ulama, or more. like to be called Islam Nusantara, Gandrung presentations are presented at this festival and are considered part of Islam archipelago. This festival is a form of NU's work not only to spread Islam, but also to build civilization, including through culture.

For politicians in local government/executives, they have the view that the use of traditional art in politics is an interesting and useful strategy. When Gandrung art is integrated into the political realm, this not only reflects respect for cultural heritage, but also becomes a concrete manifestation of the government's role in caring for and preserving art as an integral part of national identity.

The following are excerpts from interviews with several politicians from the executive circle, who also expressed their opinions about why they chose Gandrung as a medium for political communication, because it also reflects the supernatural power of Gandrung, as revealed in an interview with Brow, who said that:

"I see the use of traditional art in politics as an interesting strategy, and it is valid as a government program, because the government's job is to look after art, including popular art. Moreover, infatuation has a strong magical attraction and can create emotional closeness with the people of Banyuwangi. Let me see, every year our tourism office selects thousands of prospective Gandrung Sewu dancers. Initially, it was thought that some people who didn't like it would not get that number of dancers. In fact, the enthusiasm for becoming Gandrung Sewu was extraordinary. "Well, at events like gandrung sewu, we also have national figures attending, and they are fascinated by gandrung sewu's stunning performance (Interview, 6 May 2023)."

The Gandrung Sewu Festival, which has been held since 2012, is recognized by many parties as having extraordinary magical value, to the point that it was even chosen to be broadcast with the theme: Magical Sensation. The Gandrung Sewu Festival, is clear evidence of the recognition of people outside Banyuwangi that Gandrung has an extraordinary magical dimension. Furthermore, Anu also added:

"Gandrung dance and music have a strong emotional appeal, native Banyuwangi people definitely believe that this art is a magical element that influences the feelings and emotions of the audience very strongly, some people even become "crazy" about the gandrung person and want to marry him. I think many politicians in Banyuwangi often use Gandrung as a tool to communicate with the public. They hold special events featuring Gandrung's performances as part of their political campaigns, this provides an opportunity to speak directly to voters while capitalizing on Gandrung's emotional appeal. Apart from that, in some political campaigns, politicians even become dancers in Gandrung performances, this is a way to get closer to the community, show their involvement in local culture, and of course win support, that's right bro, the important thing is that the figures care about infatuated (Interview, 6 May 2023)."

Ujik also revealed what he found out about Gandrung:

"Gandrung has been recognized as a truly mystical dance, bro, many guests from outside Banyuwangi appreciate the emotional appeal in Gandrung's dance and music, they say it can be "addictive". They understand that this art is not only an important part of Banyuwangi's cultural heritage, but also has a significant social impact. "The regional government supports the promotion and preservation of Gandrung art as part of an effort to preserve Banyuwangi culture and promote tourism (Interview, 6 May 2023)."

In line with Ujik, Temu the Maestro Gandrung also believes that the Gandrung dance is a traditional dance that originates from the rich culture of Banyuwangi. This dance is often an integral part of various traditional ceremonies, such as weddings and religious ceremonies, adding nuances of beauty and deep meaning to each event. Gandrung Dance performances at these events not only enrich the cultural experience, but also provide an unforgettable impression.

Gandrung dancers enchant the audience by wearing beautiful and mesmerizing costumes. The costumes were specially designed to reflect the elegance and beauty of Banyuwangi culture. The details chosen in the costumes, such as bright colors and distinctive ornaments, provide a stunning aesthetic touch, creating great visual appeal.

While wearing dazzling costumes, Gandrung dancers bring this dance to life with soft and seductive movements. Their every body movement was synchronized with the harmony of the music, creating an atmosphere that captivated the audience. When the Gandrung Dance is performed, the space around it is filled with a softness of movement and a charm that involves everyone present.

Through a combination of stunning costumes and seductive movements, Gandrung Dance is not only part of traditional ceremonies, but also a performing art that presents the beauty of Banyuwangi culture. Thus, this dance not only dives into tradition, but also provides an enchanting artistic experience for every viewer.

Strengthened by Temau's statement as Gandrung's senior, his opinion regarding the mysticism and magic of Gandrung:

"Being infatuated is difficult, bro, and the infatuated dance is a malati (making kwalat) you know, bro, it's not random if you want to be infatuated, you have to go through the ritual of feeling infatuated, in it there are rituals that are full of meaning and sacred, bro, so if you want to do all kinds of things eradicate compulsions because they are considered haram, be careful of eating your own words (Interview, 8 May 2023)."

The ritual of feeling infatuated is mandatory for the infatuated who really want to become truly infatuated, which is again reinforced by Mak Temau:

"Actually, bro, before you become addicted, you have to have a ritual, it's called meras gandrung, that's a mandatory process if you want to become addicted, if you don't do it, it's pamali, then sis, if you become addicted, there are many benefits from meras, we can preserve culture, we can protect the heritage that has been entrusted to us. by ancestors too (Interview, 8 May 2023)."

Furthermore, Dartay also added a parallel statement regarding the magical power of Gandrung in his expression:

"Sir, Gandrung dance has a strong magical attraction. The dancer's smooth, beautiful and clever movements, together with stunning music, are able to influence the feelings and emotions of the audience who see it. Gandrung dance can present the presence of ancestral spirits and spiritual nuances in its performance. If you want to be inaugurated as Gandrung, you must ask for the blessing of Gandrung Mas's ancestors. , the ritual slametan used to be at the grave of Semi's great-grandfather as the first Gandrung (Interview, 8 May 2023)."

In line with Dartay, Sobar also added his opinion regarding Gandrung:

"This dance is not just an ordinary performing art, but also a cultural heritage that is rich in meaning and spiritual values. Isn't it magical, bro, when we see a ganrung performance live, especially when we see it up close, it feels like we immediately want to dance together, right, because there are so many men who have asked to come home to me after I perform, bro, hehe (Interview, 9 May 2023)

Anan as a cultural observer added about the magical power of gandrung:

"First, we have to understand that commotion is not just an ordinary dance. It is a spiritual expression that has roots in local culture. We, as native Osing people, believe that when a Gandrung dancer enters a trance, they become an intermediary between the human world and the supernatural world. In the process of becoming infatuated, it is accompanied by special rituals, fasting, must be squeezed, and spells which, if we know santhet, are actually from the words "mesisan gantet/gancet" (all sticky, sticky). (Interview, May 9, 2023)."

Cultural experts believe that to become a gandrung you have to go through the ritual of the meras gandrung tradition, the meras gandrung is the process of the dancer becoming a gandrung, this process cannot be done carelessly because in gandrung this process of the meras tradition has an important meaning, the important role of the meras gandrung tradition is to foster attitudes. cares about ancestral heritage and can be a symbol of preserving culture in Banyuwangi.

From this interview, it can be seen that political actors, both legislative and executive, as well as the public recognize the magical power of Gandrung which is considered to have supernatural abilities, with the encouragement of Gandrung's ancestral spirits which penetrate the dancers, making political actors in Banyuwangi increasingly confident in using Gandrung as a medium for political communication. which is believed to bring blessings and blessings from the ancestors.

2) Infatuation is able to strengthen political participation and influence public opinion

Gandrung performing arts have the ability to influence the public to get involved/participate in politics. Through strong rhetoric, deep stories, or emotional messages, gandrung performing arts can influence people's views and attitudes towards certain political issues. Politicians in Banyuwangi use gandrung performing arts to build public opinion in Banyuwangi, to support their policies or political views. In compulsive performances, for example, the audience is often invited to participate in dancing or singing together. Thus, Gandrung as a medium of political communication can increase community involvement/participation, building an opinion that political actors who use Gandrung as a medium of communication are closer to the people. As depicted in the interview with Dana, he stated that:

"In Gandrung dance, there is a power that is able to awaken the spirit of political participation and penetrate the hearts of the people of Banyuwangen. Gandrung is not just an ordinary dance, Mas, but also a form of expression that allows us as heirs of the Blambangan breed to celebrate Banyuwangi's cultural identity while building unity among us. (Interview, April 17, 2023)."

Dana also said that every gandrung performance there are always lots of spectators present, especially Gandrung Sewu. Corroborated in his statement:

"In every Gandrung Sewu art performance, for example, Mas, we see a stage that is not only decorated with beautiful dances and melodious melodies, but also by the presence of thousands of people filled with the spirit of togetherness as the people of Banyuwangi. The crowds that flooded the performance venue created a dynamic and lively atmosphere. Their presence is not only as spectators, but as part of a collectivity united

in one pride as Banyuwangi people. This phenomenon creates unique opportunities for political socialization. In this crowd, political messages can be easily conveyed and received by the public. Communities that gather to enjoy Gandrung art also become a stage for informal political dialogue, where ideas and views can be exchanged. Thus, every Gandrung performance not only presents the beauty of traditional art, but also becomes an effective platform for building political involvement and strengthening social ties among the people of Banyuwangi in particular. (Interview, April 17, 2023)."

The Gandrung Sewu event is always flooded with thousands of spectators. Since it was first held on November 17 2012, this festival has always attracted thousands of visitors, not only local and national tourists, but also international tourists. In celebration of the festival, it is also often used by political actors, especially the Regent, to make political speeches, deliver political programs to support his legacy as a political leader in Banyuwangi.

Infatuated by the Regent as an executive political actor, it is used as a medium for political communication because it is believed to have great potential to influence public opinion on politics. The Gandrung Sewu Performance and other Gandrung Festivals are not just entertainment presented to the public, but are also a form of cultural expression that can carry political messages by being packaged as creative and interesting festivals.

The choice of Gandrung as the identity of the people of Banyuwangi creates a positive image of the Regent or the political policies he makes. This can influence public opinion who views the Regent as close and caring about Banyuwangi culture. Based on tracing results on the Banyuwangi KPU media website, it turns out that Gandrung is also used as promotional media so that people can participate in the elections.

What the Indonesian KPU is doing is of course part of the socialization strategy for the implementation of the 2024 election and also to remind public participation of awareness of using voting rights in the upcoming election by using local symbols, namely Gandrung Banyuwangi as the identity of the Banyuwangi people so that public participation in the election is higher.

Anto conveyed his argument about gandrung performing arts which can strengthen political participation, according to him:

"Gandrung is an important part of Banyuwangi culture, and is often a forum where people gather. Gandrung performances can trigger a sense of togetherness among citizens, and this can be the beginning of strengthening political participation (Interview, 29 April 2023)."

OK, also add a statement about compulsions:

"By harnessing Gandrung's charm in political events, we see increased public participation and a profound influence on public opinion. Every movement, every lyric of Gandrung's song, becomes a channel that connects us with the political values we believe in, creates strong emotional bonds and stimulates positive change in society. (Interview, April 29, 2023)."

Anto and Oke agreed that Gandrung could be an effective tool to increase participation and influence public opinion, and Mikel also added his opinion:

"I often use Gandrung at various events in Banyuwangi, including my party's political events. "By involving Gandrung, this creates opportunities for politicians to interact directly with the community, invite the public, and build good relationships with the community so that they believe that we are a nationalist party that also really cares about Gandrung (Interview, 28 April 2023)."

Rita also expressed her opinion as follows:

"We involve Gandrung dancers in our political campaigns. People feel closer to us because we support their traditions. Participation in elections increased because there was a stronger sense of involvement (Interview, 17 April 2023)."

In line with Rita, Ari also added the same understanding:

"Apart from that, Gandrung dance is also used as a tool to convey political messages. We can incorporate political messages into this dance performance, which makes it more memorable for the public (Interview, 28 April 2023)."

Next, Bro added about the participatory influence of compulsiveness:

"Gandrung performances always provide community involvement, in gandrung performances, parents and schools work together to help make gandrung sewu a success, for example (Interview, 6 May 2023)."

Anu added regarding the influence of Gandrung on political participation:

"Gandrung dance is an important element in Banyuwangi culture, and is often a forum where people gather. Gandrung performances can trigger a feeling of unity and togetherness, which can then strengthen political participation. When people feel closer to each other, they are more likely to engage in political issues that affect their communities (Interview, May 6, 2023)."

Ujik argues about the influence of Gandrung on political participation:

"Apart from that, the Gandrung dance is often used in various traditional events and celebrations in Banyuwangi. These events are often attended by local politicians and leaders, creating opportunities for them to speak and interact directly with the community. This can increase people's understanding of politics and encourage their participation in the political process (Interview, 6 May 2023)."

Sobar also expressed his opinion regarding the influence of Gandrung's performing arts:

"One of the ways in which Gandrung performing arts influences political participation is through campaigns. Politicians often use Gandrung performances in their campaign events. This creates a powerful moment where people come together to enjoy performing arts while listening to political messages. In addition, the Gandrung dance is often used in cultural celebrations and community events. At such times, community leaders or political activists can speak to audiences with a background in performing arts that evoke enthusiasm and a sense of pride in local culture (Interview, 9 May 2023)."

This opinion was also added to by Temau's opinion:

"If you are passionate about performing, there will be a lot of people who will be there, sir, it will be attended by a variety of people, because Wes is happy with that. Gandrung performances create feelings of unity and togetherness among citizens, and this can influence political participation by creating a stronger sense of involvement in the community (Interview, 8 May 2023)."

Then Dartay also added:

"Apart from that, the legislative candidates often participate in Gandrung dance events. They usually take this opportunity to talk about political issues. In this way, Gandrung dance not only entertains, but also becomes a channel of communication between politicians and the public (Interview, 8 May 2023)."

3) Gandrung is a symbol of the history of struggle and identity of the people of Banyuwangi.

By using gandrung as a medium of political communication for political actors, politicians can create a political image and identity that is closer to society. By using gandrung as a medium of political communication, politicians can engage directly with the public and attract their attention through cultural symbolism that is already known and appreciated.

Gandrung is not just a traditional dance in Banyuwangi, but is a strong symbol that reflects the history of struggle and rich cultural identity of Banyuwangi. In every beautiful movement there are historical traces that illustrate the courage and resilience of the Banyuwangi people in facing the invaders at that time. Gandrung is not just about dancing, but is also the inheritance of noble values that have taken root in everyday life, becoming a reflection of the life and soul of the people of Banyuwangi that burn amidst the currents of the times. Passionate about being the custodian of priceless cultural heritage, weaving the story of a long journey and awakening a spirit of pride in the identity that differentiates Banyuwangi from other regions.

This can help strengthen a politician's appeal and increase public trust in him. Talking about Gandrung as a historical symbol, Gandrung also plays a role as a political identity as expressed by Dana:

"The Gandrung dance is a symbol of the history of struggle because it has roots in the history of the struggle of the Banyuwangi people against the invaders. In its current form, this dance conveys the spirit and courage of the Blambangan warriors during the colonial era. (Interview, April 17, 2023)"

Anto also added regarding Gandrung as a symbol of the history of struggle:

"Gandrung Gandrung is not just a dance art, but a tool used by the people of Banyuwangi as an expression of resistance against the invaders. In every movement that seems graceful, there is the strength of the spirit of resistance by the people of Blambangan to build solidarity in facing the oppression of colonial colonialists, Mas. (Interview, April 29, 2023)"

Oke says that gandrung is a symbol of the history of struggle:

"With the poems they wrote, the lyrics of the song Gandrung podo nonton contain historical values of the struggle and represent the original identity of the Banyuwangi people, they help spread our political message to the original Banyuwangi audience to elect politicians who come from the Putra area (Interview, April 29, 2023)."

Mikel also said something about being passionate about playing a role in maintaining our self-esteem as a Blambangan kingdom that does not want to be dominated:

"Gandrung dance plays an important role in becoming a medium for the people of Banyuwangi to symbolically convey messages of resistance during colonialism, depicting courage and tenacity in the face of foreign domination of the Osing people, gandrung is a symbol of resistance for the people of Blambangan Mas. "Every step in this dance reflects the spirit of rebellion, being a tool that evokes pride in the identity and richness of Banyuwangi culture, so don't abandon it (Interview, 28 April 2023)."

Then Rita also added that the passion for acting was not only an artistic and cultural heritage, but also an invisible weapon used to defend the nation's independence and dignity in the colonial era:

"Gandrung, according to the story of its emergence, was for the struggle of the people of Blambangan Mas, to gather the strength of the Blambangan fighters after being defeated by the cunning Dutch, so our fighters scheming to keep the struggle alive then created the Gandrung dance as a spy, to find out the Dutch's weaknesses and give codes to our fighters (Interview, 17 April 2023)."

Ari also added regarding the specific views of politicians regarding the importance of Gandrung dance in maintaining Banyuwangi's cultural identity:

"We as politicians strongly support the preservation and appreciation of the Gandrung dance as a cultural symbol of Banyuwangi. We believe that this dance is a valuable asset that must be preserved for future generations (Interview, 28 April 2023)."

Talking about the Gandrung dance which is considered a symbol of Banyuwangi's history and cultural identity, Bro believes:

"The Gandrung dance is a historical symbol because it contains traces of the Banyuwangi people's struggle to maintain their culture and identity. Gandrung has roots in a long history, it would be too naive for the people of Banyuwangi to forget the history of Mas, then we must remember the history and culture of Gandrung, because as a symbol, my job as a servant of the people is also to introduce this symbol of gandrung to a wider community (Interview, May 6, 2023)."

Then, Ujik added about the specific views of the bureaucrats regarding the importance of Gandrung dance in maintaining Banyuwangi's cultural identity:

"We hope that the Gandrung dance will continue to be an inseparable part of Banyuwangi culture and inspire people to maintain their identity and cultural heritage. The Gandrung Sewu Festival, the Meras Gandrung Festival, whoever the Regent is, must keep going, so they don't forget the history and identity of

Banyuwangi (Interview , May 6, 2023)."

Furthermore, Anu as a bureaucrat also added regarding gandrung as a symbol of the history of struggle and cultural identity of Banyuwangi:

"Gandrung has its roots in the history of the struggles of the Banyuwangi people. It's not just a dance or a performance. When we look at the history of Banyuwangi, we find many challenges and struggles faced by the community. Gandrung has become a way for us to express the spirit of struggle of the Blambangan people, the Osing people against colonial oppression. "You see, Mas, in Gandrung performances, we often see elements that depict the struggle and resilience of the Banyuwangi people as a result of colonialism (Interview, 6 May 2023)."

Mak Temau expressed his opinion regarding how Gandrung dance could be used as a medium for political communication in the era of struggle against colonialism:

"The Gandrung dance was used by Osing residents during the era of the Blambangan kingdom to consolidate and mobilize the masses in fighting, previously it was said that Gandrung was to convey messages to the Mas fighters. "No wonder in the past it was very scary to be a Gandrung dancer, if the colonialists found out you could die anyway, that's why I really hate it when someone says that gandrung is haram or says bad things about gandrung, doesn't understand history, doesn't respect the struggle (Interview, 8 May 2023)."

Sobar also added regarding gandrung as a symbol of the history of struggle:

"Gandrung is one of the strongest symbols of Banyuwangi cultural identity, Mas. It's not just about beautiful dance moves and sweet song melodies. It's about depicting the people's struggle. Gandrung reflects the identity and values of Banyuwangi society. It is a powerful way to remind ourselves of our rich cultural roots and honor the struggles of our ancestors (Interview, 9 May 2023)."

4) Passionate about creating political symbols and identities for political actors

By using gandrung, politicians can create a political image and identity that is closer to society. This can help strengthen a politician's appeal and increase public trust in him. Gandrung is not just a performing art, but has also created a strong political symbol and identity for political actors in Banyuwangi. This dance is a symbol of strength and political involvement in maintaining local values and shows the closeness between the leader and his community. Each ornament in the Gandrung performance is a symbol that carries a political message rooted in the history of the struggle, creating an emotional bond between political actors and the people of Banyuwangi. In this context, Gandrung becomes an effective political communication tool, illustrating the commitment and concern of political actors in Banyuwangi towards Banyuwangi's cultural heritage and local wisdom. In this way, Gandrung builds political symbols and identities. Talking about the passion that creates symbols and identities for political actors, Dana conveyed her opinion:

"Gandrung performing arts have an extraordinary ability to create strong political symbols. This is mainly related to its ability to unite the masses and raise spirits. In many cases, gandrung performances are used by political actors as a tool to create symbols that describe their values or goals, especially if it is associated with my party, then the red symbol in the gandrung costume is a symbolic representation of my party, Mas (Interview, April 17, 2023)."

Gandrung dance can be used by politicians to create a political image and identity that is closer to society in accordance with what Anto expressed:

"Compulsiveness has a strong emotional appeal. When politicians are involved in this dance performance or support it, they can create an image as leaders who care and are emotionally connected to society, giving an image that we care about culture, because politics must be strong in creating a good image, Mas (Interview, 29 April 2023)."

Apart from that, Oke also added his opinion regarding image and political identity through the Gandrung dance:

"Apart from that, Gandrung dances are often attended by the wider community. Politicians can interact directly with citizens, listen to their concerns, and build closer relationships. This creates an image of politicians as people who listen and care (Interview, 29 April 2023)."

Gandrung, although essentially a dance art that celebrates Banyuwangi's cultural heritage, has undergone adaptation in several contexts as a political symbol. The choice of certain colors in Gandrung performances may reflect the political affiliation or identity of a particular group or party. Thus, color in Gandrung is not only an aesthetic element, but also carries a deep political message, expressing support or certain views of the political actors involved.

Mikel provides concrete examples where politicians have succeeded in using Gandrung dance to create a political image that is close to society:

"I ordered every gandrung performance to wear blue according to our party, we bought gandrung clothes and we gave them to the studio so that at every event we wore those dance costumes. The artists don't mind because they can perform and get honoraria from us. Apart from that, they also put their hope in us as politicians to fight for gandrung. At first there was resistance, but they realized that because of the needs of the political market, they just accepted it, but then gandrung art rarely appeared or was not even invited back. (Interview, April 29, 2023)."

The interpretation of the Gandrung color symbol as a political representation of a particular group or party may vary depending on the context and specific events. In general, Gandrung as a traditional dance, people with all its forms of change and commodification, tend to see it as artistic creativity, rather than certain political associations, people don't really care about color, the most important thing is that the songs and dances are still in accordance with the standards, even at one time or another. Gandrung special events are adapted or associated with a particular political party, certain color symbols may be chosen to reflect the political affiliation of the booking Actor.

To strengthen this statement, Rita also added an opinion regarding concrete examples of politicians using Gandrung dance to create a political image that is close to society:

"Several politicians have supported efforts to preserve and develop the Gandrung dance. This creates an image of a politician who supports cultural heritage and local pride in Banyuwangi (Interview, 17 April 2023)."

Gandrung dance reflects cultural symbolism and strengthens the political identity of politicians, this is in accordance with the opinion expressed by Ari:

"The cultural symbolism in the Gandrung dance also creates a sense of pride and identification with local culture. "This strengthens the politician's political identity as a defender of Banyuwangi culture and traditions, Mas (Interview, 28 April 2023)."

Apart from that, Bro also added about infatuation as a symbol:

"Gandrung performing arts have an important role in creating political symbols for political actors. First of all, gandrung is often used in political events and official welcoming dances of local governments as part of local culture. This provides a strong identity to political actors who want to connect with the cultural roots and values of Banyuwangi society (Interview, 6 May 2023)."

Anu added regarding strengthening the appeal of politicians and increasing public trust through Gandrung dance:

"When politicians engage in Gandrung dance performances, it sends a message that they have a deep interest in local culture and traditions. This can increase trust in local culture and traditions. This can increase people's trust in politicians because they feel that politicians respect and support their cultural values (Interview, 6 May 2023)."

Apart from that, Ujik also added:

“Political participation in the Gandrung dance event provides an opportunity to hear directly the concerns and aspirations of the community. This is an effective way to build trust by listening and responding to community needs (Interview, 6 May 2023).”

Furthermore, Mak Terau also added regarding infatuation which has become a political symbol and identity:

“Gandrung performing arts have great potential in creating strong political symbols. These performances not only reflect the beauty of local culture, but can also be used to connect political actors with cultural and societal values (Interview, 8 May 2023).”

Gandrung performances that are being collaborated with by political actors will clearly show the symbols they want to highlight. These symbols can be related to political issues and colors. Usually Gandrung performances include information (political issues) regarding the future vision and mission of the state regime, with the aim of making it easy for the public to capture it. This was also followed by an "order" for a set of Gandrung fashion designs. If the person who "orders" or is going to insert a political issue, then the Gandrung's set of clothing also matches the colors of the party.

The approach taken by political actors by utilizing Gandrung also creates a positive image that is built to be displayed to the wider community. An image emerges of the political actor preserving culture, caring about culture, and being very close to the community because Gandrung is entertainment for the community. If the political actor can facilitate Gandrung, it creates an image that he prioritizes the interests of the people and tries to be close to the community.

Discussion

Communication is one of the basic human needs. Ignorance of verbal language between each other in a group is one of the causes of group members starting to communicate using nonverbal communication expressed through dance. Skillful artistic performance is an activity of restoring social hierarchy. Nonverbal communication is a means of expressing emotions, self-presentation, concealing or disclosing behavior and intentions, as well as for regulating interpersonal interactions. People's aspirations to express and present themselves have gone beyond ignorance of language and communication channels and behaviors are being implemented to restore communication (Gumze, 2014).

Political communication is a communication activity that contains messages of political value which are actual and potential consequences of human behavior in situations of conflict or conflict. Gandrung is used as a medium of political communication by political actors to bridge the political intentions and messages of these rulers so that they are conveyed to the wider community. Apart from that, all social entities, including cultural entities, are also drawn by the parties in the practical political vortex of power at the regional level, so that certain policies are often used for the sake of imaging the political elite in power and to maintain the level of public trust in the executive and legislative authorities. Not infrequently, regional policies, including policies related to culture, become a kind of competition for the powers that be to artificially demonstrate their identity towards the interests of certain groups or communities, including cultural communities.

In detail, communication is a social transaction process that humans use to construct meaning which is an image of the world, where someone acts and exchanges images through symbols, while politics is who gets what, when, and how which involves the allocation of authority from values, power, and the use of power, influence, and actions oriented toward maintaining and expanding power. Thus, politics is almost similar to communication because politics is a process that involves conversation. Humans exchange symbols in writing, in conversation, images, movements, actions, behavior and dress. Through political symbols and words, an image can be created. The formation of these symbols is carried out through human roles. This role is determined by the quality of symbols, images, words and speech. The use of symbols is driven by action motifs of negativism, perfection, and hierarchy. From this understanding it can be concluded that political communication also discusses the relationship between communication, power and conflict.

Based on the research findings, it is known that the reasons why Gandrung is used as a medium for political communication are as follows:

1) Gandrung Banyuwangi Has an Emotional Magical Attraction

Gadung (2008) revealed that every sacred dance performance certainly has a series of activities that must be carried out by the parties performing the sacred dance. This aims to add to the atmosphere of religiosity of the parties involved in the performance, this is because sacred dance is considered to have magical values that must always be sacred. Soedarsono stated that traditional dance which is magical and sacred is an expression of the human soul which is dominated by will (Soedarsono 1997), so that the dance contains human interests. Traditional dance arts that are danced for certain purposes, especially for ritual purposes, cannot be danced haphazardly. Malinowski in Soekadijo (1985) stated that no nation, no matter how primitive, does not have religion and rituals. Art is a ritual activity that connects humans with supernatural powers. Interpersonal relationships with supernatural powers include expressing gratitude at the time of harvest or birth, feeling sadness due to natural disasters or death, and welcoming the joy of victory in war, etc. The form is nothing more than dance, singing, music, pictures, statues, etc. (Pamardi et al., 2014). In research conducted by

This dance is believed to have strong magical and emotional power. According to research on the dynamics of the development of Gandrung dance in the Kemiren village community, Banyuwangi Regency, Gandrung dance was originally performed by male dancers who looked like women to trick enemies during the Dutch colonial era (Santoso, 2019). Apart from that, Gandrung dance also involves certain processions and rituals that add sacredness and provide magical power (Subari, 2020).

In research conducted by Richar Eves (2006), it is explained that the new culture belonging to the Lelet tribe in Ireland is the "malangan" dance originating from Papu Nughini, where this dance has strong magic or magic value. So this makes the Lelet tribe even more interested in learning this "malang" dance. If you look at this research, it can be seen that each dance has its own magical dance power. This magical attraction makes people interested in dances.

Politicians from various circles also stated that the use of traditional art in politics is an interesting strategy, one of which is the use of gandrung art. Executive politicians also stated that many politicians use gandrung as a medium of communication with the public. Apart from that, from the perspective of Gandrung artists, it is also revealed that Gandrung dance is also considered to have the ability to cleanse and protect from negative energy and is able to present the presence of spirits, ancestors and spirituality in its performance. Some cultural observers even consider this dance as part of efforts to preserve Banyuwangi culture. There is also a belief that this dance is an intermediary between the material world and the unseen world. This dance is often accompanied by special rituals, namely meras Gandrung as a ritual so that the gandrung can pass and be called gandrung. Politicians believe that Gandrung dance can provide protection, safety, and even blessings in their political journey.

This is also confirmed by research conducted by [Joseph A. Ushie](#), And [Dike Okoro](#) (2021) which explains a dance in Obanliku Local Government Area in Cross River State, Nigeria, namely the Akorshi Litong Bendi dance which has magical or mystical value in the dance. This dance is mostly liked by shamans. Apart from that this dance has functional and entertainment value, this performance is also a source of financial empowerment for young dancers who regularly pay school fees from the results of their routine outings. So it can be concluded that every dance has its own magical appeal for the dancer or audience.

Gandrung is also unique in terms of symbolism and metaphor. The dance movements, music and song lyrics in Gandrung often contain hidden messages. This gandrung dance movement is unique in its combination of dynamic movements and diverse and clever instruments (Damaitu et al, 2013). And also the Gandrung dance has a combination of dynamic, stomping rhythms with a festive atmosphere and gentle changes in the piece (Windrowati, 2018). Apart from that, Gandrung Dance is presented while singing typical Banyuwangi music alone. Dancers perform songs that are romantic, erotic, religious, sad, or contain advice. This reminds the audience of God's greatness and also reminds us to return to our family, duties and daily

obligations (Windrowati, 2013).

Lim, (2022) in his research also explored how and why dance reflects politics, focusing on the influence of political and economic institutions in South Korea on the form and content of Korean dance. This research examines the history of Korean traditional dance from the 1960s to the 2010s and explores the relationship between institutional change and dance. The Korean dance form has evolved into a dance drama type since Korea's rapid economic growth in the 1970s. Political changes towards democracy have also influenced dance content in Korea. Through the lens of institutional change, this research explains dance as a social phenomenon and reveals its relationship to Korean society.

In politics, art can be used as a mystical communication medium to create a powerful effect in influencing public opinion and creating social movements. Art has been used as a medium for political communication, especially in the context of mystical or spiritual messages. German artist Joseph Beuys used politics as a means to convey the revolutionary potential of art, a concept he called "social sculpture", Stanyer (2021). Additionally, the use of art to spread political messages has been observed throughout history, from the third millennium BC to the 21st century. These works of art served practical needs and purposes, created for politicians who wanted to convey political ideas through the medium of art. Although the political efficacy of Beuys and other artists may have been limited during their lifetime, their approach has influenced the next generation of artists, Castriota (1986). Overall, the use of art as a mystical medium of communication for politicians has been explored in a variety of historical and contemporary contexts, highlighting the power of visual imagery to convey political messages.

Gandrung dance also has character education values contained in it. Through Gandrung dance, people can learn about emotional intelligence and social intelligence (Wulandari, 2022). This shows that the Gandrung dance not only has a magical appeal, but also contains deep moral and spiritual messages. Thus, the Gandrung dance is a clear example of a traditional dance that has a magical emotional appeal. Through movement, music and the meanings contained in it, Gandrung dance is able to provide a powerful experience for the audience and the community that preserves it. Infatuation also has a strong cultural appeal. As a traditional performing art, Gandrung has a special place in the hearts of the people of East Java. By using Gandrung as a medium for political communication, political leaders can take advantage of people's love and pride in their culture to strengthen the political messages they convey. This can create a sense of togetherness and solidarity between political leaders and society.

Gandrung dance is used as mystical symbolism by candidates or political parties to strengthen voters' perceptions of their legitimacy and authority. It can be interpreted that gandrung dance is a magical form of communication between dancers and society, as stated by Doumbia (2013), that African dance was created in many social places as a form of communication in certain societies, through certain dances as models, to understand the aesthetics and goals in its implementation. is a social perception built by community values.

2) Gandrung is able to influence and strengthen community political participation

One factor that can influence and strengthen community political participation is the existence of strong local culture or traditions in society. One example is the "Gandrung" phenomenon in East Java, Indonesia. Gandrung is a performing arts tradition originating from the Banyuwangi area, East Java. This tradition involves the performance of a dancer called a "gandrung" who dances and sings traditional songs to the accompaniment of gamelan music.

Gandrung has a significant role in influencing and strengthening community political participation in the area. Gandrung performances are often held at political events such as general election campaigns or events involving political figures. Through compulsive performances, people can feel togetherness and strong enthusiasm, and feel emotionally involved in the political process.

Gandrung is also a means of conveying political messages to the public. Gandrung dancers often sing songs that describe the people's aspirations and hopes for their political leaders. Through the song's lyrics, people

can understand relevant political issues and feel connected to the ongoing political struggle.

Apart from that, infatuation can also be a tool to mobilize society for political participation. Compulsive performances often attract the attention of many people, both young and old. This creates opportunities for political leaders to interact directly with the public and build closer relationships. In this context, infatuation can be a means of mobilizing people to be more actively involved in the political process, such as voting in general elections or getting involved in other political activities.

This is in accordance with the results of interviews conducted by researchers with informants which can be concluded that Gandrung has an important role in the political context in Banyuwangi. This dance can influence people's political perceptions and participation. Gandrung dance performances are often used in traditional and political events, creating opportunities for politicians to interact directly with the public and build good relationships. Involving Gandrung dancers in political campaigns can also make people feel closer to politicians and increase participation in elections.

As in Pippa Norris's (2002) research, it is explained that the low level of community participation, especially young people, is because they are more educated and have better political information due to increased access to information and news. So a more informal method is needed for political expression, one of the things needed is art for politics, where the participation of art contributes new tools or opportunities to develop political literacy (Norris, 2002). Art for politics can be considered broadly to encompass a variety of approaches to the relationship between art and politics. In research conducted by Bowler et al (2003), it was explained that art can be very important in creating social cohesion and self-confidence needed for political involvement. So if you look at the two studies above, it can be seen that art can increase public participation in elections.

According to Susanto (2013), in his research it was discovered that dance can be used as a tool to convey political messages and influence public opinion. This can be seen in the way Gandrung dance is used as a tool to fight for social and political rights, as well as strengthen cultural and national identity. In addition, People United (2012) argues that there are a number of factors specific to the arts that can contribute to more socially conscious participant behavior. For example, "art can engage people's emotions directly and powerfully and in so doing can trigger feelings, such as empathy, that are key to influencing good.

Apart from that, in research conducted by [Stacey Prickett](#) (2008) who states that dance and politics intersect in various ways. First, dance can have explicit political content, addressing issues such as war, human rights, and the environment. Second, certain dance genres or forms can be seen as having political or ideological connotations, such as traditional ballet being seen as conservative and postmodernist works as liberal and democratic. Third, dance has the potential to influence external political events through social commentary and influencing the views or values of the audience. Finally, politics can influence dance practice through cultural policy agendas and funding strategies.

This is also confirmed by research conducted by [Alexander Golovlev](#) (2019) in his research on touring dance in Vienna, France, which is often used to increase public visibility in Austria. Of the four Allied countries, it was France, and not the Soviet Union with its "ballet capital", that made the most use of dance and ballet for national branding purposes, both in sabot and pointe. French dance diplomacy exported all dance genres to Austria to portray the politically and militarily weak country as a strong cultural leader in Europe, whose diversity, supremacy and grandeur did not disappear in 1871 and 1940. Therefore it can be concluded that many dances were used in politics, namely to increase public participation in politics and be able to influence politics.

3) Gandrung is a symbol of the history of struggle and identity of the people of Banyuwangi

Gandrung is a symbol of Banyuwangi's rich and diverse history of struggle and cultural identity. Gandrung performances have been an integral part of Banyuwangi people's lives for centuries. Based on the results of research that has been carried out, gandrung has several aspects that show its role as a symbol of the history of struggle and cultural identity of Banyuwangi.

First, gandrung has strong historical roots in Banyuwangi. This performance has been around since ancient times and continues to be preserved today. As a symbol of the history of struggle, gandrung reflects the resilience and courage of the people of Banyuwangi in facing the challenges and changes of the times. This performance is a place to remember the struggles of their ancestors and preserve valuable cultural heritage. The art of Gandrung dance cannot be separated from its long history until now. The history of Gandrung art will be discussed in the table below as follows:

Before 1965	At the beginning of its appearance, Gandrung became a tool for the people of Blambangan to rebel against the invaders. The Gandrung stage was tricked into being a cover by the Blambangan fighters to distribute messages from the Regent of Blambangan, namely to inflame the fighting spirit to fight and collect logistical equipment. Gandrung's role was to spy for the guerrillas and spread information symbolically in the hinterland that was wasted by the Dutch in the Puputan Bayu War in 1771-1772. Gandrung Dance is presented by traveling from one area to another with a simple musical parade, the reward is only rice. At that time the dancers were still men who dressed up as women. The first known history of being infatuated with a woman was Semi-Infatuated in 1895.
Period 1965	Arts week in Banyuwangi is increasingly lively with Gandrung performances in collaboration with political parties, from campaign events to urban entertainment events. In 1960, when the debate between political parties was very lively and widespread, Gandrung was contested mainly by the Indonesian Communist Party (PKI), the People's Cultural Institute (LEKRA), and the National Cultural Institute (LKN) belonging to the Indonesian National Party (PNI). Finally, Gandrung was used by LEKRA and LKN to continue to mobilize their respective supporters. Apart from that, parties need practical support such as elections and what is currently trending in political parties. Since Gandrung was danced by women, fans of Gandrung have become increasingly widespread. This proves that people were hungry for entertainment in that era. LEKRA requires Gandrung to regularly sing songs that are his trademark, namely, Genjer-Genjer. Because of this, Gandrung was identified as LEKRA (communist). This caused Gandrung in 1965 to not be allowed to perform. Gandrung went on hiatus for six years, because anything that smelled like Gandrung could not be heard or shown during that period. Gandrung artists who were categorized as communists were killed or became political prisoners. The entire Banyuwangi community was afraid to stage Gandrung which was labeled as communist.
the new order	There are changes that occur in Gandrung, namely, the addition or inclusion of Arabic, Chinese and Indian songs are also included in the audience's "requests" in the repenan phase. Gandrung's current orientation is more towards entertainment, which is mostly for invitations to party election events. Gandrung arts are part of the government's tourism program. Dance studios mushroomed during this period, this was because Gandrung dance became the subject of discursive campaigns. The polarization of the Gandrung community is starting to emerge, namely: (1) Gandrung teroban which still holds performances catering to local celebrations all night long and (2) Gandrung studios which serve the requests of the state regime for festival celebrations, entertaining regional guests, as well as national and international events. In the 1970s, along with Regent Djoko Supaat Selamat's regional cultural revitalization policy, the regent wanted Banyuwangi's original arts to begin to be encouraged again. In July 1974 the government held the Gandrung festival for the first time. This festival was held by the Banyuwangi government in an effort to develop Gandrung art. The first winner at this festival then recorded it in 1975 for the first time. Gandrung has become a tool for political propaganda, especially government politics, both through Information Service events and Golongan Karya (Golkar) party campaigns. In Gandrung's performances at that time, many political messages were included, for example development messages or programs being implemented by the government. At that time, many people wore costumes that were dominated by yellow, a color that is synonymous with the Golkar party.

Reform	Gandrung during this period functions as entertainment, tourism and market. Government policy is trying to package Banyuwangi arts performances for tourism purposes. At this time, more than one role of sinden and dancer began to appear. If previously Gandrung dancers also sang (sinden), nowadays many Gandrung dancers do
	not have the ability to sing. Apart from that, increasing the number of dancers is more about attracting the audience, so usually the additional dancers are young dancers. Therefore, it was during this period that the decline in the quality of Gandrung dancers began to appear.
Post Reform	The splendor of Indonesian political life after the 1998 Reformation. This is what made the Gandrung dance become a tool of political propaganda again. This conception of musical hybridity also took place during the post-reformation period, when Malay songs became a market demand for Gandrung performances. Gandrung remains a source of pride and cultural strength for the people of Banyuwangi, especially Osing amidst the frenetic political, economic and cultural changes in the post-reformation era. Gandrungization as a pro-pavilion cultural project and the state regime is taking place massively in Banyuwangi. With the support of the state regime, investment in the heroic meaning of Gandrung was legitimized through the creation of new choreography that was aesthetically more attractive because it was different from Gandrung Terob. Gandrung has become identity politics in Banyuwangi. The politicization of identity is cultivated and idealized as an effort to make the Osing community proud and empower cultural actors at lower levels who are driven by political interests.
2005-2023	The position and meaning of Gandrung is getting stronger. Gandrung is the mascot of Banyuwangi tourism. Then, there was a large-scale construction of Gandrung statues in various strategic areas in Banyuwangi. This is what makes Gandrung a symbol of Banyuwangi. Gandrung is presented as a unique and exotic object that has political and economic potential. During the leadership of Azwar Anas in 2010, the project to develop Banyuwangi tourism became more intensive, Anas even had the desire that Banyuwangi should become a tourism destination. This is reinforced by the parades or carnivals held every year on a regular basis which aim to attract the interest of local and foreign tourists, for example the Banyuwangi Ethno Carnival (BEC) and Gandrung Sewu (performance of a thousand Gandrung). The entire parade is always opened by the Jejer Gandrung dance performance. The first year the BEC was held also carried the theme Gandrung. From 2012 to 2023, the Gandrung Sewu festival will also be held, which has the potential to become a cultural tourism attraction. This festival attracts local and international tourists who are interested in knowing and experiencing gandrung culture. In this way, Gandrung Sewu can make an economic contribution through the tourism sector and the development of creative industries. It is believed that the election of Regent Abdullah Azwar Anas for two consecutive terms was then continued by his wife, Regent Ipuk Fiestiandani, because they also continued to use the Banyuwangi identity, namely Gandrung in festivals, which succeeded in increasing the electability of both of them. The regent and other political actors use Gandrung Sewu as a political commodity to increase their electability in the context of general elections. By appearing in this show and being recognized as supporters of local culture, they hope to gain more support from voters in the area. Gandrung Sewu can be a factor that differentiates them from political competitors and increases their popularity in the eyes of voters.

Second, gandrung is also a symbol of Banyuwangi's cultural identity. This performance reflects the uniqueness and richness of Banyuwangi culture which differentiates it from other regions in Indonesia. Through the dance and singing that accompany gandrung performances, the people of Banyuwangi can express their true identity and strengthen their sense of pride in their cultural identity.

Apart from that, gandrung also has an important role in strengthening the social ties of the Banyuwangi community. This performance is a means of strengthening relationships between community members and building solidarity between them. Through participation in gandrung performances, the people of

Banyuwangi can feel togetherness and support each other.

This is in accordance with research conducted by Vivi (2022) which states that religious harmony when viewed from functional structural theory positions society to always be in equilibrium. In order to achieve balance, it is necessary to maintain the values, norms and social structures that function in building harmony in people's lives. One way to strengthen relationships and harmony among fellow communities is by practicing the Reog Ponorogo art in Jorong Purwajaya. It can also be used as a tool to strengthen friendly relations between communities. During the training, it was not only members of the Reog art who gathered, but there were people from other communities who wanted to try the movements of the Reog art. When people follow or practice Reog art, they will indirectly know the moral values that can be derived from Reog art.

The importance of gandrung as a symbol of Banyuwangi's history of struggle and cultural identity is also reflected in traditional ceremonies and religious rituals. Gandrung performances are often an integral part of traditional celebrations such as Grebeg Suro or Islamic New Year celebrations. This shows how strong the influence of gandrung is in the lives of the people of Banyuwangi and how this performance is considered an inseparable part of their cultural identity. This research is supported by research conducted by Ishiguro (2019) which states that performing arts reflects the cultural identity of the Acehnese people.

In the modern era, gandrung is also increasingly known outside Banyuwangi and has become an interesting cultural tourist attraction. Gandrung performances are often held at cultural festivals and tourism events in various places in Indonesia. This helps introduce the rich culture of Banyuwangi to tourists from within and outside the country, as well as promote Banyuwangi as an attractive cultural tourism destination.

Art is a powerful tool to attract attention, gather and influence the masses. This is in line with the understanding that Gandrung is a symbol of political communication through culture. According to (Purwasito, 2015) whatever is used, can be consumed and worked on, whatever object is produced, is a sign of communication. The communication process is in a symbolic system. So, Gandrung as a campaign medium is a form of political communication. Gandrung has a charming appearance and is a medium for political communication. The development of national politics at the end of the old order government had quite an influence on the existence of Gandrung in Banyuwangi. The political axes at that time used Gandrung as a tool of mobilization and propaganda to attract public sympathy. During the New Order era, the regional government also included Gandrung as a strategy to form a unique dominant culture as a regional icon.

This is in line with Gramsci's theory of hegemony which states that a class cannot achieve national leadership and become hegemonic, if that class only pays attention to their own interests, therefore they must also pay attention to the demands and struggles of the people who do not have a pure class character, namely interests. which does not arise directly from the relations of production. Thus, hegemony has a class dimension and a popular national dimension. Gandrung art is very popular and highly praised by the public. This is because Gandrung also has high historical value, because it depicts the people's struggle against colonialism since ancient times. Gandrung's function for society is as entertainment. However, the ruling regime has other interests than that, so the ruling regime supports Gandrung by playing around with culture by preserving Gandrung art in Banyuwangi.

4) Passionate about creating symbols and identities for political actors

Gandrung, as a form of art and culture, can create political symbols and identities for political actors. In this context, infatuation can be used as a tool to strengthen political support, build a political image, or communicate political messages to the public. First, infatuation can be used as a tool to strengthen political support. Political actors can use compulsive performances to attract attention and gain support from the public. In this case, infatuation can be a symbol that represents the popularity and political appeal of these actors. They can perform as gandrung dancers or support gandrung performances as a form of support for local arts and culture. Thus, infatuation can help build a strong base of political support.

Second, infatuation can also be used to build a political image. Political actors can use gandrung

performances as a means to present themselves as leaders who care about local arts and culture. In this case, gandrung becomes a symbol that represents their political identity which supports the interests of society and preserves local culture. By engaging in compulsive performances, political actors can gain a positive image in the eyes of society and strengthen their political identity.

Third, infatuation can be used as a political communication tool. Political actors can use compulsive performances to convey political messages to the public. Through song lyrics or dance movements, political messages can be conveyed in a more emotional and attention-grabbing way. In this case, gandrung becomes a symbol that represents the political message that political actors want to convey. The public can better receive political messages through compulsive performances that are entertaining and arouse emotions.

Gandrung is a symbol of political communication carried out by political actors in Banyuwangi through culture. According to (Purwasito, 2015) whatever is used, can be consumed and worked on, whatever object is produced, is a sign of communication. The communication process is in a symbolic system. So, Gandrung as a campaign medium is a form of political communication. Gandrung has a charming appearance and is a medium for political communication.

This is in line with research conducted by [Pandit Chanrochanakit](#) (2011) in their research mentioned four works of contemporary Thai art as signs of Thai political deformation. This work of art is related to the artist's way of depicting the socio-political situation in Thailand and the division between urban and rural Thai society. Thai society is divided into two political movements: the People's Alliance for Democracy (PAD) and the National Democratic Front Against Dictatorship (UDD). These two movements shared similar ideas about democratization but represented different practices as demonstrated in Rasdjarmrearnsook's work, which raised questions about the aesthetic differences between Thai and Western societies. Rawanchaikul's *Lost in the City* raises the complexity of political conflict in Bangkok.

Apart from that, research conducted by TJDemos (2013) also stated that art has a symbol for politics. Contemporary art is increasingly engaging with ecological politics, addressing environmental crises and social inequality. The concept of the Anthropocene has been used as a framework for artistic responses to socioecological issues, but has been criticized for its limited political agency. So it can be concluded that art has an important role in politics, one of which is as a political symbol used by political actors.

Political communicators can manage public reviews to achieve their own goals (Kiss, 2021). The approach taken by political actors to Gandrung also creates a positive image that is built to be displayed to the wider community. An image emerges of the political actor preserving culture, caring about culture, and being very close to the community because Gandrung is entertainment for the community. If the political actor can facilitate Gandrung, it creates an image that he prioritizes the interests of the people and tries to be close to the community. This according to Shahid, Hassan, and Sadaf (2021) is about using all the resources possessed by political actors in their capacity to build/maintain certain coherent impressions, perceptions and associations about the image in the minds of target voters, through clear communication and consistent. Self-image represents the opinions, statements and beliefs of figures and candidates. That is the essence of resentment, which has a certain result. They depend on the subject's personality and the conditions of society around them. However diverse their effects, they have the same mechanism, namely the protection of a positive self-image (Kiss, 2021).

Constructing the image of a candidate/politician in the minds of the public depends on political management strategies and knowledge, as well as the psychological intricacies and dynamics associated with image construction at the individual level (Garzia, 2013). The formation of a positive image of political actor candidates is related to the ability of candidates/politicians to change their words and actions into the hopes, aspirations and dreams of the people of Banyuwangi (Cwalina, Falkowski, and Newman 2011; Newman 1999). Their personalities and the issues they highlight play an important role in developing a positive image for them (Garzia 2013).

Social changes in Banyuwangi society such as population growth and mobility, rural modernization (capitalization), the spread of pop culture, and political life play an important role in giving birth to two

interrelated things. First, the Osing community and Banyuwangi people slowly tend to abandon the meaning, values, norms, thoughts, and even the structure of the traditional art of Gandrung as an art of struggle and capture or formulate new ones. Second, as a result, Gandrung performances became purely commercial entertainment as can be seen in all Gandrung performances today. Gandrung which is open entertainment for a heterogeneous and commercial public is in contrast to Gandrung which is constructed by bureaucracy and DKB, namely Gandrung which represents Osing who is oppressed and fighting back. This interpretation directly corrects the claims of the DKB bureaucracy and cultural artists that Gandrung is Osing's identity which is related to past values as contained in Gandrung's songs. The poems *Pada Nonton* and *Seblang Lukinto* which represent the locality and identity of Osing tend to be displaced by new songs that are popular in society.

Osing-centric representation through the text of Gandrung's poetry explains two important things. First, there are areas of dynamic competition, such as between artists, markets, ulama, financiers and rulers. Dominance as the most important position will not be recognized when penetration becomes more widespread and pressure from other powers continues to increase. Second, that Osing-centric representation is an area of struggle for meaning which then causes identity itself to become more of a construction and a political project of creation. Infatuation is something that is built up, changing following changes in space-time at the level of the regime's locality. Hegemony occurs when lower society, including the proletariat, accepts and imitates the way of life, way of thinking and views of the elite group that dominates and exploits them. Hegemony, according to Gramsci, will give birth to obedience, an attitude of accepting the situation without questioning it critically because the ideology exposed by the hegemonic class is simply swallowed whole. Like Gandrung art, which constantly changes with the flow of its ruling regime. This forms an attitude of accepting the situation without needing to question whether it could happen in such a way. A class group is said to be hegemonic when that class group obtains approval from other social forces and classes, by creating and maintaining an alliance system through political and ideological struggle.

Disbudpar and DKB determined that the characteristics of songs that can be categorized as Gandrung songs are those that speak Osing, have a distinctive twist, and are accompanied by pentatonic music. This determination was built through several seminars, workshops and festivals held over the last five years. In practice, the provisions regarding these poems are very different in direction, even clashing with market interests which have great opportunities in the structure of the Gandrung performance itself. Ngrepén, for example, is a transaction space for buying and selling songs which ensures that the decision of what song to sing is completely up to the developer and consumer groups whose desires are very heterogeneous. In fact, dancers and gedhogs must always be ready to serve whatever their request is, which often takes the form of songs from other ethnic groups or dangdut and even Indian songs.

The main point of Gramsci's understanding is how to achieve cultural and political hegemony. If a social group becomes a force that confronts and directs all other social groups, then hegemony will be achieved. It has been proven that political parties are crucial when groups want hegemony. In relation to the issue of hegemony, parties have a function to coordinate a progressive and fundamental social group to obtain cultural and political hegemony. Gramsci's thinking opened up awareness of the workers' movement as part of the civil society movement and vice versa. According to Gramsci, the working class can only become a hegemonic class by paying attention to the interests of other classes and social forces, and combining them with their own interests. These interests must not be limited to local interests, which Gramsci called economic corporate struggle. They must also reach various consensuses in order to represent all the larger power groups. Efforts to achieve consensus are carried out through political struggle and intellectual leadership, as well as ideological awareness through education and institutional mechanisms. This political struggle was achieved using communication tools in the form of Gandrung art to represent all groups/levels of society. The goal of creating a new hegemony can only be achieved by changing people's awareness, mindset, understanding and conception of the world, as well as changing their norms of moral behavior.

4. Conclusion

Based on the discussion that has been described, it can be concluded that Gandrung Banyuwangi is used by political actors in Banyuwangi as a medium for political communication for several strong reasons. Gandrung has a strong emotional magical attraction. This dance is able to evoke deep feelings and emotions in the audience. In a political context, this can be used to influence and strengthen community political participation. By presenting Gandrung performances, political actors can create emotional ties with the community and generate enthusiasm and political support. Gandrung also has historical value and a strong cultural identity in Banyuwangi. This dance is part of the history of struggle and cultural identity of the Banyuwangi people. By using Gandrung as a medium for political communication, political actors can utilize political symbols and identities that have been formed in society. This can help them strengthen the political message they want to convey and gain support from people who have emotional ties to Banyuwangi culture and history. The use of Gandrung Banyuwangi by political actors in Banyuwangi as a medium for political communication aims to influence and strengthen community political participation, utilize existing political symbols and identities, and build emotional ties with the community through the historical and cultural values possessed by Gandrung.

Therefore, if Gandrung Banyuwangi is used by political actors in Banyuwangi as a medium for political communication. Gandrung can be an effective communication medium in conveying political messages to the public. The dancers' movements and expressions, as well as the lyrics of the songs sung, can influence the emotions and perceptions of the audience. It can be used by politicians or political parties to convey their messages in an interesting and emotive way.

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