

# CHAPTER I

## INTRODUCTION

### **A. Background**

Indonesia is a unitary state that adheres to the principles of democracy of Pancasila. The principle means that government comes from, by, and for the people. In order to realize these principles, people have rights to choose the candidate representatives who desired to carry out the mandate and responsibility. The human rights channeled in a democratic party General Election that periodically conducted every 5 years. Elections are one of the activities in the system of democracy of Pancasila to elect candidates who will serve the people's representatives in the house of representatives.

Indonesia held its first elections in 1955 to elect members of the DPR and the MPR. According to Firmanzah (2008: 108), in this first election, Indonesia embraced multi-party system, which was characterized by the emergence of the 25 political parties. In the first election, the PNI became the winner.

Legislative Election 2014 was scheduled on April 9, 2014. In this period, the selection of political party, which was conducted by the KPU, was very tight. The participants of the election had to meet a number of requirements in order to be successfully qualified for the advanced contesting of the election. Political parties considered eligible in elections this year amounted to 12 participants, both old and new political parties.

PDI Perjuangan was one of the political parties who passed the requirements of the Commission for Election 2014. One of the cities that became the basis of this party is the city of Surakarta. In this city, in addition to having many participants, the party also had an influential figure in the phenomenal world and national politics. Although the city was a cage, but it still needed a good political communication strategy to achieve in order to win the number of votes in Legislative Election 2014, given the competition between political parties increasingly stringent.

Referring to the Commission's decision No. 105/Kpts/KPU/TAHUN2013 on Determination of Electoral Districts and Seat Allocation of Each Member Electoral District Provincial and Regency/City in the 2014 elections in the province of Central Java, then the electoral district and the number of seats in the parliament to Surakarta City area was determined as follows:

N o.	Elections Area	Total Citizen	Seat Available
1	2	3	4
1	SURAKARTA 1; sub-district included: 1.1 LAWEYAN	96. 045	8
2	SURAKARTA 2; sub-district included: 2.1 BANJARSARI-A; village included: 2.1.1 Gilingan 2.1.2 Setabelan 2.1.3 Kestalan 2.1.4 Keprabon 2.1.5 Timuran 2.1.6 Ketelan 2.1.7 Punggawan 2.1.8 Mangkubumen 2.1.9 Manahan 2.1.10 Sumber	88. 948	8

	2.1.11 Banyuanyar		
3	SURAKARTA 3; sub-district included:	79. 675	7
	3.1 BANJARSARI- B; village included:		
	3.1.1 Kadipiro		
	3.1.2 Nusukan		
4	SURAKARTA 4; sub-district included:	132. 444	11
	4.1 JEBRES		
5	KOTA SURAKARTA 5; sub-district included:	51. 069	11
	5.1 SERENGAN		
	5.2 PASAR KLIWON		
TOTAL		528.716	45

Table 1. Map of the Electoral District of the City of Surakarta (source: kpu-surakartakota.go.id)

Pasar Kliwon is one area that is located in the eastern part of the city of Surakarta. This area is a district that is combined with the sub-district Serengan in an electoral district, the electoral district 5. Pasar Kliwon is as well as an area which is famous of Arab-Indonesian stays. Residents of Arab-Indonesian are Muslim majority. It is therefore important for the PDI Perjuangan, which is not adhered to the principles of Islam, doing political communication strategies to pass its cadres in the region. Based on the existing reality, according to the KPU of Surakarta, the electoral district 5 of Legislative Election 2014 in 2014 reached 75,56 percent community participation. The valid votes in the Pasar Kliwon amounted to 44.620 votes, and the acquisition of the PDI Perjuangan in the region reached 21.145 votes. The acquisition increased by 6.377 votes to Legislative Election in 2009 amounting to 14.768 votes. In Legislative Election 2014, of the 10 seats available, each owned by PDI Perjuangan as many as 6 people, the PAN, The Golkar Party, The Hanura Party, the Demokrat Party got 1 legislature. Political communication strategies used by the PDI Perjuangan, successfully

obtained high votes in the region even increased. With the acquisition of the votes, it was capable of carrying several PDI Perjuangan members sitting on a chair member of the Surakarta City Council 2014-2019 period, with 3 members in the legislative as a representative of Pasar Kliwon.

Research on political communication strategy has been done by a few people before researchers. Zulfikar (2010), a student majoring in Communications and Broadcasting Propagation of Islam in the Faculty of Science and Communication Studies State Islamic University (UIN) Syarif Hidayatullah had the title of *'Strategi Komunikasi Politik PAC Partai Gerindra Limo Dalam Pemilu Legislatif Di Depok* ("Political Communication Strategy of PAC Gerindra Limo in Legislative Elections in Depok"). The content discusses on how political communication strategies Gerindra in Legislative Election in Depok using qualitative methods. The data collection techniques were by using a live interview of the Leaders of PAC Gerindra Limo, collecting, organizing and classifying the data of PAC activities. The analysis used by Zulfikar in this research was descriptive interpretive which explains the steps of political communication strategies that was conducted by the party in Legislative Election in Depok. As the results of his research that there are 5 things that became the communication strategy of PAC Gerindra Limo in succeeding the Legislative Election.

The study was also carried out with a similar theme by Ervi Yumika Sari (2013), student of Government Science at the Faculty of Social and Political Sciences at the University Maritime Raja Ali Haji who has the title

'Political Communication Strategy PDI Perjuangan On Tanjungpinang Legislative Elections in 2009' (*'Strategi Komunikasi Politik PDI Perjuangan Pada Pemilihan Legislatif Tanjungpinang Tahun 2009'*). This studies aims to find out on how the communication strategy of PDI Perjuangan in Tanjungpinang legislative elections in 2009. By using qualitative descriptive study, which seeks to explain, illustrate and describe strategies of political communication PDI Perjuangan in election in 2009. She describes the data without operationalizing the concept or testing the concepts the reality studied. The results found by Ervi is that PDI Perjuangan using political communication strategy by establishing the communication with all elements of political forces such as mass organizations, college students institutions and strengthening the student of mass communication as a way to succeed in elections.

Both previous studies are over a similar study with this research, its about political communication strategy of a political party using qualitative methods. Both studies also use the same time, namely Legislative Election 2009. The differences that occurred with the previous research is the time and location the research done. The excess in this study conducted by the writer is the new event, Legislative Election 2014 and focused on political communication strategy undertaken in the district Pasar Kliwon Surakarta. This is a subject which has not been studied previously by other researchers. This study is really a new study entitled **'Strategi Komunikasi Politik PDI Perjuangan (Studi Kualitatif Deskriptif Bapilu Dalam Memenangkan**

### **Suara Pada Pileg 2014 di Kecamatan Pasar Kliwon Kota Surakarta)**

Political Communication Strategy of PDI Perjuangan (Descriptive Qualitative Study the Bapilu In Winning the Vote In 2014 Legislative Elections in Pasar Kliwon Sub-District of Surakarta City), because writer wants to know how political communication strategies used by the Bapilu of PDI Perjuangan to win the vote on Legislative Election 2014 in the district Pasar Kliwon Surakarta.

#### **B. Research Question**

How political communication strategies used by the Bapilu of PDI Perjuangan to win votes in Legislative Election 2014 in the sub-district Pasar Kliwon Surakarta?

#### **C. Research Objective**

To know the political communication strategies used by the Bapilu of PDI Perjuangan to win votes in the Legislative Election 2014 in the sub-district Pasar Kliwon Surakarta.

#### **D. Research Benefits**

1. This research can contribute to the study of communication studies relating to political communication strategies in winning votes that can be used in Legislative Election.
2. This research is expected to gives inputs to the political actors in a party that uses strategies to achieve something and be an evaluation for the PDI Perjuangan of Surakarta.

## **E. Literature Review**

### **1. Political Communication**

Humans as social beings cannot escape from the world of communication. With good communication, it can create a good social relation as well. The term communication comes from the word *communis* which means the same. Same means to understand in common meaning between communicators and the communicant. Carl I. Hovland (in Ardial 2010: 21) defines the communication science is a systematic effort to formulate explicitly the principles of the delivery of information and forming opinions and attitudes. Then communication can be defined as well as efforts of the communicator to the communicant to convey information as well as the formation of opinions and attitudes to achieve similarity of meaning.

The main purpose of communication is to create an effective relationship, such as to affect on the change of opinions, attitudes, and behaviors. The effectiveness of communication is not only measured by the knowledge possessed by the people, but rather on the changes in them to encourage them to act in accordance with our wishes.

By the existence of the change of environment and human mindset, communication now presents in every field, which one of them is in the field of politics in a political party. Associated with the break down of the communication level, which is the interpersonal, group, organizational, mass and cultural communication, this type of communication presented in

this research exist at the level of organizational communication. Communication within the organization can be either internal communications or external communications. Internal communication is communication to and for the benefit of internal political parties. While external communication is the communication activities that focus on all relevant stakeholders. In this case, the one who becomes the constituent stakeholders is that society of Pasar Kliwon. In doing the external communication, all cadres includes in the part that does an external relations strategy. Communication elements that may be implicated in the activities of political parties are:

- a. Source: Organization
- b. Communicators: Party cadres
- c. Message: It is to be conveyed
- d. Communicant: Society as a constituent
- e. Effect: Community response in favor of the party

The definition of political communication according to Zulkarimen (2007: 34) is the process of activity and communication activities related to political issues. While according to Nimmo (2004: 120), it is a process of communication operation symbol or symbols that contain a political message from a person or group to another person with the intention to broaden the way of thinking, as well as to affect the attitudes and behavior of political target audience. Process operation sign or symbols will determine whether the process is able to seep into the public mind. So the



political message that has been designed is expected to gain support from the people who have been affected by the meaning of the message.

Political communication has certain functions. Mas'ood and Andrew (in Ardial (2010: 39), said that the function of this political communication is as a way to flow the information through the community and the various structures that exist in the political system. The function of political communication as a way to flow of information, including the surrounding views, ideas, or absorbent aspirations of the people, and it is distributed as a material consideration in determining discretion. Moreover, a political communication function is also as a function of the dissemination plan or policy of the government to the people.

PDI Perjuangan communicates with the aim of influencing the public to believe that the party is capable of delivering a wide range of views, ideas, or people's aspirations to be conveyed to the government. No matter how good goals to be achieved, it would be useless if it is not supported by stronger strategy in the campaign. Therefore, the PDI Perjuangan which in this case is Bapilu, requires political communication strategy to achieve a society in the Pasar Kliwon society's mind and to influence them to support the winning of the PDI Perjuangan in 2014 Legislative Elections.

## **2. Political Communication Strategy**

Definition of strategy in the Indonesian Dictionary (*Kamus Besar Bahasa Indonesia* -- KBBI) is the science and art of using all the resources

of the nations to implement certain policies in war and peace or a careful plan of action to achieve specific objectives. In achieving the goals or objectives, it will be easier to achieve if we had planned a strategy beforehand. Strategies needed to achieve what we want in any field, including the field of political communication. Definition of strategies expressed by Effendy (2001: 32), the strategy is essentially a planning and management to achieve a goal.

The communication strategy of the cadres or candidates will be based on the communication strategy of political parties that have been formed. And in terms of this strategy, there are several steps that must be done. According to David (2002: 3), the stages of the strategies are:

a. Strategy Formulation

Strategy formulation is the first step that must be done. This has included the of the exam development, opportunities, and external threats, define weaknesses, establish internal strengths and weaknesses, establish an objectivity, generating alternative strategies, and choose strategies to be implemented. In the formulation of the strategy, it is determined also an a good attitude that will be used to decide on a decision in conducting the process activities. A good attitude is able to determine a suitable strategy to be applied in a specific region in order to be accepted by the local community, such as the selection of the respected opinion leader.

b. Strategy Implementation

After the formulation and choosing the strategy that has been defined, the next step is to implement the strategy. In the phase of implementation of this selected strategy, it takes commitment and cooperation of the entire unit, level, and organization members. Without it, the process of strategy formulation and analysis will only be a dream. Implementation of the strategy rests on the allocation and organization of resources, demonstrated by the determination of the organizational structure and leadership mechanisms that are shared together with corporate culture and organization.

c. Strategy Evaluation

Next stage is the strategy evaluation. This evaluation is necessary to measure success in order to establish the next destination. Evaluation becomes a benchmark and is required to ensure that the target has been achieved. There are three kinds that underly this stage:

- a. Reviewing external and internal factors that become the base of a strategy. The change that has happened will create an obstacle to the achievement of objectives, as well as internal factors such strategies are ineffective or the poor implementation of the results can be bad for the results to be achieved.
- b. Measuring achievement (compare the expected results with reality). The process can be done by investigating deviations from the plan, evaluating individual achievements, and listening to the

progress made towards the achievement of stated objectives. Giving strategy evaluation criteria must be measurable and easily proved and the criteria are more important than the predicted outcome criteria that reveals of what happened.

- c. Taking the corrective action to ensure that the achievements are in accordance with the plan. In this case, it does not mean that the existing strategy should be abandoned or it must formulate new strategies. Corrective action is meant if the intended action or outcome is not in accordance with the originally envisaged or expected results.

In 2014, Indonesia held democratic party leadership election for a period of 5 years forward, both legislative and presidential elections. Some of the parties are successfully to bring victory in placing its cadres with the legislative seat in various areas through the political communication strategies that have been launched. The selected candidate will perform the function of political communication as the medium of the aspirations or the public view.

Political communication strategy is the art of communication that are planned and carried out to deal with an incident in order to achieve political goals. According to Zein (in Sari, 2013), political communication strategy is how the communication process that occurs in the award in a political fight by political parties, or directly, by a legislative candidate or candidates for local leaders, who wants the power and influence as much

as possible in the community constituents. The importance of having a strategy of political communication is due to many factors, one of which is a factor of the area and the people in it. Political communication strategies must be owned by the appropriate party and accepted by the community in the area, especially the area is an area that is not in accordance with the principles adopted by the party. Then the party must establish strong political communication strategies so that people will choose him/her on the representatives' election.

In this context is the PDI Perjuangan which faces legislative elections in 2014. For the PDI Perjuangan, it is important to develop a strategy of political communication both in conveying to the public political communication to the Pasar Kliwon society, which is famous as the Arabian area with Muslim majority. With the precision of the action strategy, then this strategy will have a positive effect. Political communication strategy has a central role in winning and it is effective in gaining votes if it can be accepted by local residents. For the sake of revenue the vote, the Bapilu should understand how to attract sympathy for the right target and can be accepted by the local community. Although it gets a centralized direction, but the campaign still require adjustment when it is applied in these areas. The Bapilu must be able to adapt to the local community, because basically the main objective of the political message is to move the society. It is in accordance with Firmanzah opinion

(2008: 262) that this will not be achieved without political issues that really reflects the condition of society.

### **3. Dialogic Campaign**

Many ways that we can do to convey political communication to the public. One of them is to invite some people in a dialogic campaign. According Mulyana (2013: 21-22), dialog campaign, signaled the ability to understand language with the meaning of such desires, aspirations, hopes, dreams, fears, and concerns perceived by the dialogue partners.

In the context of the election campaign, the actual dialogue partners are people, not officials nor political party cadres. The dialogic campaign means that the parties who campaigned are trying intimately to involve in the social world of the voters, entering their inner perspectives and experiences. Dialogic campaign implies that the voters are equivalent to those that invites dialogue. It means that political candidates and political parties; that voters are human beings who have a soul, will and freedom to choose. In the process of campaign dialog execution, party or legislative candidates are trying to direct public opinion in accordance with their ideology.

#### **a. Opinion Leader**

In an effort on directing public opinion, the role of opinion leaders is one aspect that can not be separated here. Because, according Ardial (2010: 198) without the presence of the opinion leader, political communication could be less complete. Opinion leader is someone

who can influence the attitudes and behavior of others to act in a certain way, informally. They are often asked their advice and opinion on a case by other community members. According to Roger and Shoemaker (in Ardial 2010: 199), opinion leaders have influence on the spread of the innovation process; they can accelerate the acceptance of innovation by members of the public but they can also inhibit the spread of innovations into the community. In political life, opinion leaders have high authority and are able to determine the attitudes and behavior of the followers. Opinion leaders here is a public figure of Arabians or Muslims who were influential muslim figures in the region of Pasar Kliwon.

According Muhtadi (2008: 195,) the involvement of Muslim leaders in the political struggle in Indonesia is actually not something new. Their role in politics tends to be effective as a Muslim leader is a person who has the communicator credibility inherent in the existence of life. In Indonesia, according Muhtadi (2008: 195), in the tradition of the Muslim community generally, Muslim leader is known as a person who has a special place. Their opinion shall be something to consider as the main base in the decision-making process not only in religious matters but also in social, political and cultural that bind individual and collective interests. They are followed not because of their position or political office, but because of the charisma, authority, submission, or because of its knowledge and experience. (Ardial, 2010: 199)

Political experience becomes special consideration in determining the choice. The existence of figures who had been a member of the party will be easier to be influenced by emotions. This emotional approach will facilitate the approach to the family, relatives, friends and people known. A person who is perceived to have experience in a particular field, would be considered better understanding or feeling with what happened to the people around him.

**b. Empathy and Homophile**

Directing public opinion against to be in accordance with their ideology can be done in a positive persuasion. Public persuasion is related to the theory of empathy and homophile which have developed by the experts of communication science, sociology and psychology. Empathy theory introduced by Berlo in 1960 and Daniel Larner in 1978, while the homophile theory introduced by Everet F. M. Rogers and Shoemaker in 1978 (in Ardial 2010: 150-151).

The definition of empathy in both figures can be summed up as a communicator to see themselves in a communicant position. Communicators have the car personality, namely a personality that can adapt to the conditions of others. Given this, the communicator can find and identify the similarities and differences in each of which can then be the basis for making adjustments.



In the world of political communication, the ability of politicians in putting himself into a point of view and empathy of others provides an opportunity for him to succeed in the political talks. However, it is not an easy task. The nature of empathy can be trained and improved through social and political communication that is often done. Thus, empathy in the world of political communication is a trait that is very close to the politician's image of oneself and of others.

In an effort to do empathy on communication events, the term homophile is introduced. Homophile is derived from the Greek, Homoios meaning same or similar. Homophile means communication with the same person, meaning that the degree of the communication is the same in some respects. This concept is defined as the ability of individuals to create togetherness, both physically and mentally. According to Ardial (2010: 82), the familiarity or good relations between political communicator and audience are important in the process and the effectiveness of political communication. By having many similarities, such as living, play, or work together then the existence of the equation will be able to foster a sense of intimacy between the two sides. Based on this theory, it is important to have both the nature of empathy and homophile in the strategy. By having these two properties that can enhance social relationships and communication intensively and effectively, this is usually set in the ranks of the party.

PDI Perjuangan is a phenomenal party. At the beginning of the emergence of this red party, it directly can be considered as a strong party. It was proved from the time the election results this bull signed party gained many votes. This situation could not be separated from the many tactics that have been done for the success of a party in power gain seats elected representatives. Of all the possible tactics, one of which became a trend and many run was deliberate tactic priming owned by Farrell et al that can be accessed on the website [unisosdem.org](http://unisosdem.org). In such tactics, there are three main things that should be done. First, determining the issues that are important to the segment of voters. Second, making an analysis determining the most favorable candidate issues and ignoring issues of other issues. Third, reversing image of the appropriate candidates selected problem issues, designing messages and symbols needed, as well as planning the use of the media. All of them are to try to get voters focused on the issues that have been attached to the candidate.

#### **4. Political Image**

Image by Oliver (2008: 50) is a picture of mental; ideas generated by the imagination or personality presented to the public by a person, organization, and so on. While political image, according Ardial (2010: 45) can be understood as a description of a person associated with politics (power, authority, authority, conflict, and consensus).

The formation of political image is associated with the presence of political socialization. This is due to the political image that is formed through a process of political learning, either directly or through empirical experience. According to Arifin (in Ardial 2010: 46) political image includes three things, namely:

- a. The whole political knowledge a person (cognition), whether true or false.
- b. The whole political knowledge a person (cognition), whether true or false.
- c. All hope that belongs to someone about what might happen if he behaves in a many different ways to the object in that situation.

The political situation can be a driving force in the formation of the political image of the individual. The formation of political image can be through political communication, both interpersonal and mass media. Through interpersonal, political messages conveyed about self-image is associated to political role that must be played. Moreover, according to Ardial (2010: 48), there are also found about the politician's self-image, self-image ideological, partisan image, the image of the class, the party's image and the image of the candidate. In the opinion of Arifin (in Ardial 2010: 49), in the psychology of communication, self-image is seen as a component in the concept of self-cognition that exist in every individual. In political communication, interpersonal self-image is very important in the deliberations or political lobbying.

The intense competition between candidates, both under the auspices of the same parties or between candidates with other parties, and in order to gain the support of the community, becomes the basic reason for any interested party to perform imaging. Imaging is done so that the interested parties, in this case is a legislative candidate in the shade of the Bapilu which were commandeered by Election Campaign Board can win a lot of votes. With a powerful imaging, then the public will increasingly trust the party. The efforts of imaging can be done in various ways.

## **F. Research Method**

The research method is basically a scientific way to get data with the specific purpose and use (Sugiyono, 2009: 2). In this study, the writer used a descriptive qualitative research. According to Moleong (in Sari 2013: 12) a descriptive research is the troubleshooting procedures investigated by describing the state of the subject/object.

This research can be described as a problem-solving procedure that is being investigated, which is trying to explain, illustrate and break down the strategies of political communication of PDI Perjuangan in legislative election 2014 in Pasar Kliwon. The reason for choosing this kind of research is because it is more appropriate to examine issues that require elaboration.

### **1. Research Subject and Research Object**

The subject of this research is PDI Perjuangan members concerned who are including Bapilu, and two members elected legislature in the sub-district election Pasar Kliwon. While the object of this research is political

communication strategy in winning the vote in legislative election 2014 in the sub-district Pasar Kliwon.

## **2. Research Time and Research Place**

The research was conducted after execution and publication of the results of the 2014 presidential election that is in mid-August to October 2014. These research areas are in the office of DPC of PDI Perjuangan Surakarta and the DPRD office of Surakarta. The reason for choosing this time is the business of speakers ahead of the 2014 presidential election, and the adjustment activities of other sources. The choosing of the place as the research site because that is where the writer will receive more detailed information as a resource to be at that location.

## **3. Data Collection Technique**

### **a. Interview**

Interview is a question and answer process. In this case the writer is trying to get information from the keyinforman which is considered to provide key information that is the problems examined. Putut Gunawan is the keyinformanfor this resarch. The subject is the Chairman of the Daily Executive of the Bapilu of PDI Perjuangan Surakarta who acknowledgevery of the political communication strategies used. Furthermore, Ekya Sih Hananto, which at first was a candidate now has become members of the legislature from 2014 to 2019. In this study, he will be written as Candidates 1. The next informant is Suyatno which is a member of the legislature elected in

legislative election 2014 also in the sub-district Pasar Kliwon. Hereinafter in this study is referred to as Candidates 2. The research instrument used recording devices such as books and pens, as well as voice recording device from mobile phone applications that can support the process of the interview.

b. Documentation

The collecting data with documents, images or in any form which researchers outside of the interview as a complementary and supporting data can obtain.

#### **4. Analisis and Data Validity**

According to Manulang (2004: 35), in a qualitative analysis, there are three flows of activities that occur simultaneously. The first is to examine the sources of the data. This study begins with the overall data available; interviews, observation, literature and other sources. Second is to reduce the data. Data reduction has data as the electoral process, focusing on simplification, abstraction, and transformation of raw data that emerged from the research results in the field notes. In this activity, the writer can categorize, direct and organize the data so that it can be taken the conclusion. Third is to draw conclusions or verification. In the last flow, the writer applies conclusions based on the size of a collection of records obtained during the research.

Analysis of the data used in this research is descriptive qualitative analysis technique that explains the steps of political communication

strategies undertaken by the Bapil of PDI Perjuangan Surakarta in legislative election 2014 in Pasar Kliwon. At this stage, the writer collects all the data to be analyzed, focusing on simplification, classifying, directing and organizing the data and then drawing the conclusions.

As for the validity of the data, the internal validity test was used to test credibility. The way to test the credibility is by looking at the reference materials and conducting membercheck. According to Sugiyono (2009: 275), testing with supporting reference material is to prove the data that has been discovered by the writer. The reference material testing is by using the instrument recording device that is used to support the credibility of the data found in the research. Wheres membercheck is the process of checking the data which have been obtained by the writer to the data providers. It is conducting in order to determine how many data obtained by the writer in accordance with what is provided by data providers. Data providers will put a signature on the findings of researchers who have been approved by the data providers. The provision of such signatures is as evidence that the writer has conducted the membercheck.