With a positive public opinion, the decision to vote becomes a necessity to the party that is fighting in the political arena. Public opinion itself is a method of persuasion with a wider communication system. imagery as a way to connect oneself with others, so that image in political activities can be performed through: 1. pure publicity, namely popularizing themselves through community activities with natural social settings. 2. Imagery is free ride publicity, namely publicity by using access or riding other parties to participate in popularizing themselves. 3. Imagery is the tie-in publicity that is utilizing the extraordinary events, such as tsunami events, earthquakes, floods and others. For example, the party portrays itself as a party that is very concerned with any disasters, so that the party is considered to have a social awareness. 4. It is paid publicity that is how to popularize themselves through the purchase of rubric or program, and others. All of these strategies have been done by Partai Amanat Nasional (PAN) Medan, North Sumatra, Indonesia in getting public mind.

'hypnotic poison?'

Dr. Anang Anas Azhar

'The Black Magic' of National Mandate Party/Partai Amanat Nasional!

Gaining The Real Vote!

Dr. Anang Anas Azhar, MA is a senior lecturer and a talented researcher which has been dedicated his time to build and create brilliant university students in State Islamic University of North Sumatra (UINSU), UMSU, and other universities in Indonesia. He has published many books and articles. Motto,' No Time For Sleeping! Only Praying & Working'
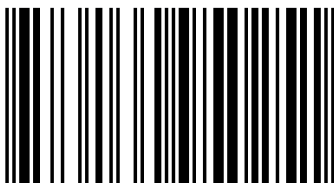
Anas Azhar

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Imprint

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<u>DEDICATION</u>

This fantastic book is dedicated firstly and foremost to myself. I never expected, in million years, I would arrive at this particular point that I can complete this excellent book. I also dedicate this to God (Allah SWT), to my beloved parents (***SAIBON AS*** AND ***JAMILAH SM***) for all their love, patience and support.

This book becomes terrific with the support of my lovely wife to every dream I creates (***EVI SAKDIAH S.Ag, M.SoS.I***) and my sweet children:

MUHAMMAD CHOIRRUR RAIS ALVIZAR

MUHAMMAD HAFIZ ALVIZAR

 MUHAMMAD TAHFIF ALVIZAR

 MUHAMMAD FIKRI RIZKI ALVIZAR)

without whom it was almost impossible to complete this book.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

Bismi Allah al-Rahman al-Rahim

It is my gratitude to Allah SWT, God Almighty, who always bestow His guidance and mercy, Peace be upon to Prophet Muhammad, family, friends and Muslim and muslimat entirely. Human life is dynamic and colorful. It may be true if someone's activity day by day just filled with a routine that does not change. In society, writing is still a very limited circle habit. Only certain people who have a culture of good writing. By writing, it is not only able to bring a stack of mosaic insights in our brain, but actually writing is also able to empower and makes our lives more qualified.

Formally, this book aims to fulfill and complete the public understanding on **"'*The Black Magic'* of National Mandate Party (Partai Amanat Nasional/PAN) in Hipnotizing the Public Sympathy for General Election in 2005-2015, North Sumatra, Medan, Indonesia."** It can not be denied that the writer has received a lot of contribution, guidance, feedback and constructive advices from various parties to make this book perfect. For that, on this occasion, specifically the author would like to convey appreciation and gratitude to the following person:

1. **Prof. Dr. H. SAIDURRAHMAN, M.Ag**
   Rector of State Islamic University of North Sumatra (UINSU), Medan
2. **Prof. Dr. Syukur Kholil MA**
   Director of Postgraduate, State Islamic University of North Sumatra (UINSU), Medan
3. **Prof. Dr. Ahmad Qorib, MA**
   Dean of Social Science Faculty, State Islamic University of North Sumatra (UINSU), Medan
4. **Prof. Dr. Hasyimsyah Nasution, MA**
5. **Prof. Dr. Katimin, M.Ag**

I am, as the writer, cannot do as you have done to me. I just want to say, may God bless all of you, amiin!

FOREWARD

The book is designed to eloborate political image through a media which is a very powerful strategy in instilling the public opinion about a party. Therefore, through the image, it is expected to occur a shift of opinion to a better direction. With a positive public opinion, the decision to vote becomes a necessity to the party that is fighting in the political arena. Public opinion itself is a method of persuasion with a wider communication system. imagery as a way to connect oneself with others, so that image in political activities can be performed through:

1. pure publicity, namely popularizing themselves through community activities with natural social settings.
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4. It is paid publicity that is how to popularize themselves through the purchase of rubric or program, and others.

All of these strategies have been done by Partai Amanat Nasional (PAN) Medan, North Sumatra, Indonesia in getting public sympatic as many as possible and finally, this way gives a great contribution for the succeed of this party.

Medan, 08th December 2017

Wassalam

The Writer,

Dr. Anang Anas Azhar

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CHAPTER I

'THE BLACK MAGIC' OF NATIONAL MANDATE PARTY (PARTAI AMANAT NASIONAL/PAN) IN HIPNOTIZING THE PUBLIC SYMPATHY FOR GENERAL ELECTION IN 2005-2015, NORTH SUMATRA, MEDAN, INDONESIA

1.1 Introduction

Political parties are a face picture of the people's role in the national political arena or in other words a reflection of the people's political participation level. Political parties are political means that bridge the political elites in the pursuit of political power in a self-financially independent state, have their own political platform, carry group interests in political affairs, and contribute to political development as a political superstructure. Political parties as institutions that carry out the function of political communication, require the integration of issues and political messages that are shown for the community. In the fragmentation of politics, the flow of democracy continues developing in Indonesia which is marked by the emergence of multi parties. The emergence of a multi-party political system drastically changed the face of national politics with the emergence of new parties. In reality, the emergence of new parties will certainly open up a wider possibility for the people to channel their aspirations and seize the opportunity to fight for their rights as citizens.

This condition also signals that the Indonesian political system has placed political parties as the main pillars of supporting democracy.

The growth of political parties in Indonesia is expected to bring hope that these parties can be a positive catalyst for the improvement of people's political aspirations. However, the emergence of these new parties requires hard efforts to be accepted in the society. Moreover, people's knowledge on political parties is still firmly attached to the parties of the New Order legacy. This encourages political parties to get closer to constituents at the grass root level. The efforts of political parties to get closer to the society require special handling, recalling that the competition among the parties is very high. Therefore, political imagery in the midst of the society becomes something very important.

Based on the logical thought of Anwar Arifin, political image or imagery politics are two equally meaningful words and interpreted as describing something. If the image is defined as a picture, then the imagery is defined as delineation received by the communicant or people as the effect of the exposure of information received, either directly or through media intermediaries. [1] Lippman as quoted by Dan Nimmo describes image as a picture of reality or may not fit reality. Images formed in the minds of communicants based on information received through various media. Nimmo calls imagery as a way to connect oneself with others, so that image in political activities can be performed through: *First*, pure publicity, namely popularizing themselves through community activities with natural social settings. *Second* is free ride publicity, namely publicity by using access or riding other parties to participate in popularizing themselves. *Third* is the tie-in publicity that is utilizing the extraordinary events, such as tsunami events, earthquakes, floods and others. For

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[1]Anwar Arifin, *Politik Pencitraan-Pencitraan Politik* (Yogyakarta: Graha Ilmu, 2014), p. xi.

2

example, the party portrays itself as a party that is very concerned with any disasters, so that the party is considered to have a social awareness. *Fourth* is paid publicity that is how to popularize themselves through the purchase of rubric or program, and others. [2]

Based on the two explanations above, it can be understood that imagery is part of political communication that helped determine the success or failure of political missions. Image is done to influence voters by inculcating public opinion, that a politician or political party concerned is really a personal or party that can protect the community. In the process of cultivating the opinion, the party always sees the right sensitive issue to play in the imagery process, because through imagery, people choose what to do and what should not be done or abandoned. With a positive image effort, everyone expects to look perfect in the eyes of others. In the formation of a positive image, not infrequently someone to do any way to package his attitude and behavior so as to give a positive impression in the eyes of others. Its concrete, imagery helps someone to make the best decision for himself in his social environment. In the context of developing politics in the information age, political image of a politician and a party can be built through various media, printed media, electronic media or traditional media. Regardless of the skills, leadership, and political achievements it has, the political stance of society is shaped and even manipulated through image. Therefore, a party cannot leave the mass media, especially in the conduct of political image. Image is conducted through mass media to persuade the public. With a very heterogeneous target and spread everywhere, the same message is expected to be received simultaneously by the public.

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[2]Dan Nimmo, *Komunikasi Politik; Khalayak dan Efek* (Bandung: Remaja Rosdakarya, 2006), p. 108.

Political image through the media is a very powerful strategy in instilling the public opinion about a party. Therefore, through the image, it is expected to occur a shift of opinion to a better direction. With a positive public opinion, the decision to vote becomes a necessity to the party that is fighting in the political arena. Public opinion itself is a method of persuasion with a wider communication system. As explained by Firmanzah that image or image is needed as a positioning strategy to distinguish one political party with another. Image is a construction of representation and public perception of a political party or individual about all matters related to political activity. He also asserts that although the political image is not real, but it can be created, built, and strengthened. [3] In relation to the Firmanzah's explanation, Agung Wasesa also mentions that, in the political context, people usually choose one political party as an identity, according to the values within themselves. With the existence of imagery, the behavior of voter when choosing a candidate or a particular party is no longer through taking a long process. The community will have in accordance with the perceptions that already embedded in his mind and change directly to a particular choice according to his existing value. The change occurs because of the public opinion that occurs briefly. [4] The process of public opinion itself, in the freedom era of information occurs very quickly. Public opinion takes place in the cognitive space of the society. This becomes the next stage in which people make decisions about political choices. Therefore, a good political image will have a positive effect on voters to vote in the election. Imagery strategies are built through good political communication to the society.

[3]Firmanzah, *Marketing Politik: Antara Pemahaman dan Realitas* (Jakarta: Yayasan Obor Indonesia, 2012), p. 229.
[4]Silih Agung Wasesa, *Political Branding & Public Relation* (Jakarta: Gramedia Pustaka Utama, 2011), p. 7.

With the brand image, opinions will lead to brands that have positioning and differentiation. According to Dan Nimmo, public opinion involves not only the cognitive aspects but also incorporating feelings and suggestions from constituents. Through public opinion, then it continues to be produced according to the expectations of constituents and parties. Its own meaning is always changing according to constituent experience. The meaning that emerges in cognition and affection society becomes an integral part of the image. [5]In the context of Indonesian politics, the imagery of political parties is often influenced by the individual image. The dominance of personal image is often identified with the image of the institution. For example, the figure of Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono strengthens the image of the Democratic Party, Prabowo Subianto strengthens the image of Gerindra Party, Amin Rais reinforces the image of PAN, as well as some elderly kiyai in PPP who helped in strengthening the image of Islamic party. In public relations view, the individual image becomes a force in supporting the development of party image. As stated by Silih Agung Wisesa and Macnamara that individual as one of the source of imagery, also supports the strengthening of the development force of the organization image. [6] In reality it is understood that not only the personal figures can build party image. This is because the figure will be very vulnerable in building emotional relationships with constituents in the future. If the figure disappears, it is possible that the party's reputation will change. Not to mention if in fact the parties figure is incapable of being consistent with the struggle of the party and its constituents. Therefore, it has become a consequence for one political party to formulate a special strategy in developing a political strategy in the first place, so that the

[5]Nimmo, *Komunikasi,* p. 4.
[6]Silih Agung Wasesa dan J. Macnamara, *Strategi Public Relations, Membangun Pencitraan Berbiaya Minimal dengan Hasil Maksimal* (Jakarta: Gramedia Pustaka Utama, 2010), p. 38.

party's image will still have a place in the hearts of its supporters. In the perspective of Islam, building imagery is a form of effort for renewal and self-improvement in a better direction. The better the self-image, then the success will be easier. Islam strongly encourages its people to always build a positive self-image as affirmed, by Allah in Surah Al Mudatsir verse 4:

1. O people who are bulging (covering), 2. Rise up, then give warning! 3. And thy Lord glorify! 4. And your clothes clean. [7]

The above verse descends at the time of the Prophet Muhammad, wrapped in fear of seeing the angel Gabriel conveying revelation. According to Quraish Shihab, the fourth interpretation of the word is *tsiyab* which is the plural form of the word *tsaub*/clothes. It is also used as a whole with meanings such as heart, soul, effort, body, character. The word *thahhir* is a form of command, from the word *thahara* which means cleansing from dirt. This word can also be understood as the one who asserted to purify themselves from sin or transgression. He also says that purifies the heart, soul, effort, moral character of all kinds of offenses include this meaning. [8]

From the above explanation, it is clear that Islam is very concerned with cleanliness. More firmly it can be said that it is not only concerned with the cleanliness of the sin, but it includes appearance. It is certainly part

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[7]QS. Al Mudatsir/74:4. When referring to the interpretation literature, there is a different interpretation of this verse. For example, in Ibn Katsir's interpretation it is explained, that Ibn Abbas interpreted the garments in this verse illustrated with a heart that contained the sacred meaning of sin and vice. Muhammad Ibn Ka'b al Qurazi and Al Hasan al Basri also interpreted this verse by cleansing his heart and intentions, as well as morals. Abu Razin interpreted the verse, purifying himself, and work. See, Ibn Katsir, Tafsir Ibn Katsir (Bogor: Imam Syafii Library, 2003), p. 289-291.

M. Quraish Shihab, Tafsir Al-Mishbah (Messages, Impact, and Compatibility of the Qur'an) (Jakarta: Lentera Hati, 2003), p. 554.

[8]M. Quraish Shihab, *Tafsir Al-Mishbah (Pesan, Kesan, dan Keserasian Al-Qur'an)* (Jakarta: Lentera Hati, 2003), p. 554.

of the imagery that aims to instill trust in others. The imagery will also be stronger, when the imagery is the one who has integrity. [9]

It takes a relatively long time to build a political image. The public needs a long period of time to see the suitability of their patterns and political channels with a political party. Building image also requires consistency of all things that political parties or individuals do like work programs, platforms, reputation. When there is ambiguity or inconsistency, the publicly-recorded image becomes incomplete.

Therefore, imagery is a deliberately created impression of an object, person or organization. The image of the organization is very important for every organization. No exception is the political organization which in this case is certainly a political party, because the image for the political party is very influential on the vote in the general election. In other words, a positive image of a political party will be able to attract the supporters' sympathy that can boost the popularity of one party. Seeing the importance of the image for political parties, it is necessary a construction is required. In other words the steps to build or form a positive image of political parties are needed in order to gain the hearts of people's confidence. The empirical facts prove the importance of party imagery, although it takes a long time. Image can encourage the election of party votes in the election.

As one of the facts that political image may influence the direction of the electorate to determine the choice of one party, it can be analyzed from the image conducted by the National Mandate Party which furthermore in this dissertation is written with PAN. PAN is a party which was born from the womb of the reform movement founded by the figures of reforms

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[9] The appearance is included in maintaining the attitude, the neatness, and the fitness that people will feel comfortable at when meeting. Appearance also includes performance in daily affairs. Furthermore, the integrity is a form of consistency and synchronization between thought, word and deed in a job. His Islamic term is to have the attitude of istiqamah. If it is in political practice, it is in accordance with what is promised with reality.

across ethnic, racial, religious and class. Therefore, it establishes itself as an open, independent party, upholding religious morality, humanity and pluralism, aimed at enlightening the nation. The principles of PAN, as explained by Bahar are rooted in religious morals, humanity and pluralism. [10]. Since 1999, PAN (National Mandate Party) becomes one of the contestants in the general elections held in Indonesia. It can be seen that PAN's voice in every electoral area relatively tends to fluctuated. In the 1999 general election, PAN is ranked on the sixth in the national voting. PAN obtained 7,528,956 votes (7.12%) and places 34 representatives in the House of Parliament. The image of PAN when holding campaigning supported by intellectual figures, PAN put itself as a middle class and educated party. In addition, PAN performs through strengthening the spirit of reform in the political, economic, social and cultural, as echoed by the general public. In the 2004 general election, PAN is ranked on the fifth as many as 53 seats (6.44%). In 2009 PAN obtains the votes of 46 seats (8.2%), whereas in 2014, PAN obtained as many as 52 seats (9.45%).

The number of votes and seats obtained as described above, is certainly very far from the old parties' number of votes. But in reality, PAN until the 2014 general elections and until now still survive in participating in Indonesian political contest. The survival can be seen from the PAN's increasing number of seats that continues to increase from 1999 to 2014. This figure can be seen in the table below.

Table 1
PAN's Seats in Legislative General Election in 1999 to 2014

Name of Party	Percentage in 1999	Percentage in 2004	Percentage in 2009	Percentage obtaining in 2014
PAN	7,12	6,44 %	(8,2 %)	(9,45 %)

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[10]Nasril Bahar, "Kembali Kepada Jati Diri PAN" dalam *Fraksi PAN: Wujudkan Amanat Rakyat* (Jakarta: Fraksi PAN Publisher, 2014), p. 72-74.

The above data is the national vote result. Meanwhile the vote obtained at the provincial level, as in the province of North Sumatra, PAN's vote also fluctuated. In the 2004 general elections, from 11 electoral areas, PAN obtained 313 555 votes and placed its cadres for 8 seats (7.08%) in DPRD (People's Regional Representative Assembly) of North Sumatra. This means that PAN is on the fifth rank. In 2009, PAN is on the fifth rank by by gaining 248 975 vote. In this period it puts its cadres as many as 7 seats in DPRD of North Sumatra. Meanwhile in the 2014 general election it gained 420 447 votes and put its cadres for 6 seats in DPRD of North Sumatra. This condition indicates that PAN seats in parliament have declined. However, this number does not make PAN decreases if it is compared to other Islamic based parties, such as PPP and the PBB that are still below the PAN's vote. Although from the obtaining the DPRD seats of North Sumatra, seemingly PAN decreased, but from the votes obtained, it has increased in every election. The changes of the seats obtained, due to the increase in the electoral areas into 12.

The interesting thing from the above conditions is that PAN describes its survival in the Indonesian political contest, especially in political contest in North Sumatra. This is because of the party's efforts to build a political image continuously in the community, either during the general elections or after it. In a variety of political events, PAN also shows its existence as an open party that is fighting for nationalism and religiosity. The imagery political strategies which are performed by PAN is an attempt to maintain the existence of the party. As the political image conducted by Hatta Rajasa, who set PAN with jargon "*PAN merakyat*" (PAN for people). And also the jargon of "*Perubahan*" (Change) boosted by Zulkifli Hasan as the Chairman of PAN in 2015 - 2020. The political image indicates the

continuous efforts by the party leaders to build the interesting political image so that people still entrust their aspirations to PAN.

1.2 Formulation of The Problem

Based on the background that has been described above, in genera the Problem in this research is how the political imagery of the National Mandate Party (PAN) in attracting the sympathy of the community in North Sumatra Province 2005-2015? More concretely, this research problem is formulated to 3 questions points, namely:

a. How is the development of PAN, North Sumatra and political imagery conducted to attract public sympathy from 2005 to 2015?

b. Is the political imagery made by the National Mandate Party (PAN) succeeded in attracting the sympathy of the people in North Sumatra Province in 2005 - 2015?

c. How is the model of political imagery that can affect the sympathy of the people of North Sumatra?

1.3 Research Objectives

The purpose of this research is to investigate deeply about the political Imagery of the DPW of the National Mandate Party (PAN) in attracting public sympathy in North Sumatra Province 2005 2015. In detail the purpose of this study is to examine in depth about:

a. The development of PAN of North Sumatra and political imagery conducted to attract public sympathy from 2005 to 2015

b. The success of political imagery by the National Mandate Party (PAN) to attract North Sumatera community sympathy from 2005 to 2015.

c. The model of political imagery that can affect the sympathy of the people of North Sumatra in 2005 - 2015.

CHAPTER II
LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 Political Imagery

Based on the dynamics of politics in Indonesia, imagery becomes a familiar term in the ears of every Indonesian society. The term is getting stronger, as academics and practitioners make it as academic studies and scientific discussions on various occasions. Today, almost all stakeholders with public opinion recognize the importance of managing the image. If it is viewed from a historical perspective, imagery as Rendro Dhani describes has already done by people along with the development of civilization. The primitive tribal leaders, for example, have an interest in maintaining their reputation by performing a control over their followers through the use of symbols, powers, magical, taboo or supernatural matters. In the Ancient Egypt era, to preserve the public's impression of the king's majesty, pyramid and sphinx buildings were built and positioned the king as a god. At the time of the development of Greek and Roman civilization, the awareness of the importance of public opinion and imagery was also very strong. Works of art and literature in those days were much directed to corroborate the king's reputation. The palace nobles were generally masters of persuasion and rhetoric. Cicero's speech, historic writing of Julius Caesar, these buildings and rituals were widely used as a medium for the formation of public opinion and image. Image that was initially synonymous with public relations activities in the business world shifted to political activity, so the dynamics of politics closely with the term imagery.

In the Ancient Egypt era, to preserve the public's impression of the king's majesty, pyramid and sphinx buildings were built and positioned the

king as a god. At the time of the development of Greek and Roman civilization, the awareness of the importance of public opinion and imagery was also very strong. Works of art and literature in those days were much directed to corroborate the king's reputation. The palace nobles were generally masters of persuasion and rhetoric. Cicero's speech, historic writing of Julius Caesar, these buildings and rituals were widely used as a medium for the formation of public opinion and image. Image that was initially synonymous with public relations activities in the business world shifted to political activity, so the dynamics of politics closely with the term imagery.

One of the goals of political communication is to establish a good image of the audience. Images are formed based on the information received, either directly or indirectly, for example from the media. Image comes from the word of 'image' which is defined by experts differently and essentially the same meaning. The meaning of image is abstract, because image cannot be measured systematically although its form can be felt both positive and negative. Receipts and responses, both positive and negative, come from the public or the audience. The image is formed as an accumulation of individual actions and behaviors which then undergo a process for the establishment of broad public opinion. [11]

Basically the image is rooted in the values of trust that are manifestly given individually and is a view or a perception. A public figure can bear a good or bad image. Both of these are sourced from the prevailing images and formed from the things that the character did either positive or negative. Image in a public figure, for example, is formed by self-image which is deliberately deliberated in such a way. The hope from the image is

[11]Rendro Dhani, *Centang Perenang Manajemen Komunikasi Kepresidenan dari Soekarno Sampai Megawati* (Jakarta: Pustaka LP3ES, 2004), p. x.

to get a positive image in the eyes of the wider community. But the image does not always produce in public opinion that matches what the image is expecting. It is due to the background, social status, economy, differences of experience, and other aspects can influence the meaning of the built image.

Image can be defined as the construction of the representation and perception of the audience towards the individual, group or institution related to his or her work in society. Soleh Soemirat and Elvinaro, interpret the image as the impression, feelings and public image of the company or the impression that deliberately created from an object, person or organization. [12] Based on these definitions, Soemirat then explains that there are several factors involved in the image process, namely:

a. Perception that is the observations results on the environmental elements which are associated with a process of meaning. In other words the individual will give the meaning to the stimulus based on his experience of a product. That ability to perceive can continue the process of image formation.

b. Cognition, which is an individual's self-belief in the stimulus. That belief will arise if the individual has understood the stimulus so that the individual must be given sufficient information and can influence the development of the information.

c. Motives are the circumstances in individuals that encourage the desire of individuals to perform certain activities to achieve the goals.

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[12]Soleh Soemirat dan Elvinaro, *Dasar-Dasar Publik Relations* (Bandung: PT Remaja Rosadakarya, 2005), p. 111-112.

d. Attitude that is the tendency to act, to perceive, to think, and to feel in facing the objects, ideas, situations or values. Attitude is not behavior, but it is a tendency to behave in certain ways. [13]

Another interpretation of the image is what Ruslan presents who view the image is something abstract or intangible, but its form can be felt from the results of assessment, acceptance, awareness, and understanding as a sign of respect and respect, from the public or the public to the company or personnel who trusted, professional , and reliable in providing good service. [14] Meanwhile Kotler explains the meaning of the image as the sum of the beliefs, images, and impressions one has on an object. The object in question can be a person, organization, group or others that he knows. [15] From these two explanations, it can be understood that image is as an image in the minds of others. For image reinforcement, there is a single message indicating the main advantages and position of the product. Messages can also be created with unique properties, so it does not have a difference with the message delivered by other competitors. The message must also have an emotional power to evoke feelings other than the buyer's mind. Therefore, image may turn out to be bad if it is not supported by actual capabilities or circumstances.

From the above explanation, it can be understood that image can be formed entirely by how the institution is able to build a perception based on the reality that occurred. All the processes occur surely are built with the credibility of the company, institution or organization. Image can also be understood as a construction of the representation and perception of the

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[13]*Ibid,* p. 115-116.
[14]Ruslan, *Strategi Public Relations, Bauran Public Relations* (Yogyakarta: Pustaka Pelajar, 1997), p. 50.
[15]Philip Kotler, *Dasar-Dasar Pencitraan: Konsep dan Aplikasinya di Indonesia* (Jakarta: Erlangga, 1994), p. 401.

audience towards the individual, group or institution related to his or her work in the society. As Kaid explains, imagery in politics is made through the use of visual a impression which is communicated through appearances in the media, until the information is integrated into the minds of people. [16]

From the explanation above, it can be understood that the things to know in connection with the formation of imagery is a perception that develops in the public mind of the reality that appears in the media. Therefore, to know a person's image of an object can be known from his attitude toward the object. All attitudes are sourced on the cognitive organization, on the information and knowledge that everyone has. There will be no theory of social attitudes or actions that are not based on investigation of the cognitive foundations. The cognitive effects of communication greatly influence the process of image formation. Image is formed based on knowledge and information received by someone. This is because people's attention tends to be more influenced by the picture than the real world around them.[17] Knowledge or cognitive that effects are felt by the people, will affect their attitudes, for example, emerging feelings like a figure who was imagery, or otherwise they hate him. The process of image formation in the cognitive structure corresponding to the sense of communication system is described by John S. Nimpoeno as quoted by Soleh Sumirat and Elvinaro. [18]

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[16]Lynda Lee Kaid, *Handbook Penelitian Komunikasi Politik,* Terj. Ahmad Asnawi (Bandung: Nusa Media, 2015), p. 26.

[17] Cognitive effects indicate if there is a change in what is known, understood, or perceived by a person. Cognitive effects are related to the transmission of knowledge, skills, trust or information. Cognitive effects also relate to the creation or elimination of ambiguity, attitude formation, setting agendas, expansion of the system of public confidence and the assertion of values. See, S. Djuarsa Sendjaja Dkk, Communication Theory (Jakarta: Open University, 1994), p. 201.

[18]Sumirat dan Elvinaro, *Dasar-Dasar,* p. 155.

Figure I
Model of Imagery Pattern
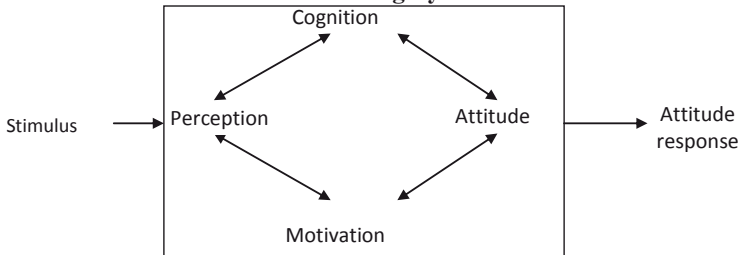
The picture above shows a strong relationship between the input and the output in the process of image formation. The provided stimulus is an input in affecting the image in the mind of the individual, and the output is the response that arises, that is a certain behavior. The image itself is processed through perceptions-cognition- motivation-attitude. Stimulation will be processed based on the perception of the object being viewed. In other words, the individual will give a meaning to the stimulation he perceives. Meanwhile the cognition or individual beliefs will strengthen against the stimulus, when the person understands the information that affects his development of cognition. [19]

Motivation is the condition of a person that encourages the individual's desire to perform certain activities in order to achieve a goal. Attitude is the tendency to behave in certain ways. Attitudes have impetus or motivation. Attitude determines whether people will accept or reject,

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[19] The study of beliefs and political attitudes has some key concepts similar to psychology. Two central concepts are cognition and affects. Cognition refers to the way in which individuals process and use information. The study of cognition is focused on issues of concern, perception, learning, and memory. Confidence is the subjective probability of a person that an object has a certain characteristic, or what is considered a true person about the world. Affection refers to how one can feel about something. Meanwhile the attitude described by Gordon Allport is a condition of mental or neural readiness, organized through experience, which gives direct or dynamic effects to individual responses to the objects and situations associated with them. Finally, behavior can lead to cognitive dissonance and the desire to achieve consistency or cognitive balance which in turn can create adjustments in what people think and feel about the political and social world. See, Kaid, Handbook, p. 532-534.

like or dislike. Thus, the political image is always changing according to the changing political knowledge and political experience of a person.

The image formation model as illustrated above shows how stimuli from outside are organized and influence the responses. The stimulus given to the individual is accepted or rejected. If the stimulus is rejected the next process cannot run, it shows that the stimulus is not effective in affecting the individual because there is no attention from the individual. Conversely, if the stimulus is accepted by the individual, it means there is communication and there is the attention of the organism, thus the next process can run. The figure above also shows that communication does not directly lead to certain opinions or behaviors, but tends to influence the people to organize theier imageries about the environment and that way influences the opinion of the people's behaviors. Concretely, the political image is manifested as a consequence of cognition from politics. Thus, it can be asserted that imagery is a process associated with a person's perception of a message that touches and stimulates it. The imagey that inherent in one's mind may be different from the objective reality, or imagination that may not be the same as the empirical reality.

As Dan Nimmo explains, a person's image of the politics which is intertwined through subjective thoughts, feelings and purity will satisfy him. At least Nimmo says, there are three uses that someone obtains in connection with this imagery. *First* giving an understanding of a particular political event, *second* general likes or general dislikes to one's political image presents the basis for judging a political object. *Third* is self-image of a person in how to connect with others. Thus, image helps to provide the

acceptable reasons for why everything exists as it seems to be about political preferences, and about merging with others. [20]

Image is very important for every organization, not least for political parties that are organized groups, where the members have the same values, orientations and ideals to gain political power by constitutional means. Of course for political parties, imagery is very important in order to boost the vote in the general election. In the political system, it is obvious that the party is the driver of the existing political system. Party that provides the input is involved in the political process, political education, and political socialization. Between political parties and the community, certainly has a relationship that affects each other. In that connection, Dahl asserts that political system is a pattern of human relationships which are solid, lasting to a certain degree, namely control, power, authority and influence. [21]

The influence is inseparable from the expertise of political actors in presenting the best possible self-image. Political image is capable in influencing a person's political views, since imagery aims to shape public opinion, so that the public sees positively the party or politician who is taking part in the political contestation. A person's political image will aid in understanding, assessing and identifying political events, ideas, goals or leaders. The political image also helps for a person to provide acceptable reasons subjectively for why everything is present as it seems to be about political references. The positive image of a political party will be able to attract the sympathizers of the supporters and the masses. Therefore, this image is often one of the focuses of attention political communicator, both individual and party. This image is also often used by political parties to boost people's confidence in their party. Fritz Plasser's study results show

[20] Nimmo, *Komunikasi Politik,* p. 6-7.
[21] Robert, A. Dhal, *Analisis Politik Modern*, Ter. Mustafa Kamil Ridwan (Jakarta: PT Bumi Aksara, 1994), p. 4.

that the first factor affecting the chances of a candidate to win the election in Europe is the image or imagery. [22] The image which is as the key to the election victory has also become a necessity in Indonesia since the 2004 election. The image is the human image of something, referring to Lippman, the image is the perception of something in a person's mind (pictures in our heads) and the image is not always in accordance with the real reality. [23]

The political image is formed based on information received, either directly or through the political media. Political image is one effect of political communication. In a mechanistic paradigm or perspective, it is generally understood as an impression inherent in the individual or group. Nevertheless, image can be different from the real reality or does not reflect the objective reality. Political image as Arifin explains related to the formation of public opinion, because basically political public opinion is built through the image of politics. Meanwhile political image is materialized as a consequence of the cognition of political communication. In this connection, Anwar Arifin also states that communication does not directly lead to certain opinions or behaviors, but tends to influence the way of the people in organizing their image of the environment and that image affects opinions or behavior of the people. [24] Arifin also explains that imagery has four phases, namely: (1) representation where the image is a mirror of a reality; (2) the ideology in which the image hides and gives a false picture of reality; (3) the image hides that there is no reality; and (4) the image has no connection with any reality whatsoever. [25]

[22]Adam Nursal, *Political Marketing: Strategi Memenangkan Pemilu* (Jakarta: PT Gramedia Pustaka Utama, 2004), p. 75.
[23]Jalaludin Rakhmat, *Psikologi Komunikasi* (Bandung: Remaja Rosdakarya, 2001), p. 223.
[24]Arifin Anwar, *Komunikasi Politik: Paradigma, Teori, Aplikasi, Strategi dan komunikasi Politik Indonesia* (Jakarta: Balai Pustaka, 2003), p. 178.
[25]*Ibid,* p79.

Based on the above description, it can be understood that image is as a description of something, though not always in accordance with the actual reality. Image is a set of assumptions and images of a person or a group of people about an object in question. So image is the total perception of an object formed by processing the latest information from several sources. Image is structured through meaningful perceptions of the phenomena that arise and then expresses that meaning through beliefs, values and expectations in the form of personal opinions which can then develop into public opinion. Image can be helpful in providing understanding, assessment, event identification, objective ideas of things. To be more assertive, image can be understood as a mixture of perceptions of an object whether it is an individual or an institution. Image is the combined result of all the impressions gained, whether by looking at symbols, observing behavior, hearing or reading activities or through other material evidence. Nevertheless, the most satisfying image appears if it is based on reality. Anggoro's explains that the ideal image will give the right impression. The image is always based on experience, knowledge, and understanding of the real reality, so the image should not be polished to be more beautiful than the original color, because it can actually mess up. [26]

Frank Jefekins explains that there are five types of image: image image (mirror image), current image, wish image, corporate image, and multiple image. [27]

a. Mirror Image

The image of the shadow is the image attached to the members of the organization, and through it the other person or outsiders provide an assessment of the organization concerned. In other words, the image of the

[26]Frank Jefkins, *Public Relations* (Jakarta: Erlangga, 2002), p. 123.
[27]*Ibid,* p. 74.

shadow is an image held by an insider, about the outward view of its organization. This image is often inaccurate, even illusory, as a result of inadequate information, knowledge, and insight that the organization has about external opinions or views. This image tends to be positive, even too positive, because it can be imagined a great thing about yourself, so it appears the belief that others also have thoughts that are similar to the thoughts of people within the organization.

b. Current Image

The present image is the opposite of the image of the shadow. The point is an image or view that is attached to outside parties about an organization. But just as with the image of the shadow, this image does not hold forever, even rarely, in accordance with reality because it is solely formed from the experience or knowledge of outsiders concerned that is usually inadequate. Usually also this image tends to negative. This image is determined by the sheer amount of information held by the adherents or those who believe in it.

c. Wish Image

Wish image is an image expected by the imagers. This image is also not the same as the actual image. Usually the image of hope is better or more fun than the existing image, although under certain conditions, too good image can also be troublesome. But in general the so-called image of hope is indeed something that connotes better. This image of hope is usually formulated and championed to welcome something relatively new that is when the audience does not have adequate information.

d. Corporate Image

Corporate image is the image of an organization as a whole, so it is not the image of the product or service alone. The image of the institution is formed by many things. Positive things that can enhance the image of the

institution include the glorious history of institutions, the successes that have been achieved, the reputation of good as a creator of employment in large numbers, willingness to share social responsibility, commitment to conduct research and so forth.

e. Multiple Image

Every company or organization must have many units and employees (members). Each unit and individual has its own behavior, so intentionally or not they must bring up an image that is not necessarily the same as the number of employees they have. To avoid undesirable things, the image variations should be upheld. Many ways that can be taken. Among other things is to require all employees to wear uniforms, equate the type and color of official cars, typical store forms and symbols as well as other things.

2.2. Urgency of Political Imagery

Historically, political imagery has become one of the concentrations of study in political communication, since the transformation of the Indonesian political system from monopoly to multi-party. Encouraged by the revolutionary reform movement since 1998, Indonesian politics changed with its own color. The mobility of mass politics was born to the surface with different colors. The face of national politics changed dramatically after previously in the 32-year period of silence in the New Order's political policy full of authoritarian nuances. Like a long-clogged water pipe and then wide-open, the public container shelters of new political parties are emerging. The emergence of a new political party marks the end of a saturating and sophisticated monopolitical era toward a free, democratic and competitive politics. [28]

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[28] Democracy is a form of political system that is a response to the monarchy-dictatorial system in the 5th century BC. However, in its development, democracy is further regarded as an answer

In its journey, democracy is regarded as the most perfect political system. That's because democracy is a system that can be widely accepted both as a theory and as a model for society. In Indonesia itself, political democracy can be said to run quite dynamic. Indonesia has used parliamentary democracy, guided democracy, pancasila democracy as well as direct democracy which until now is applied, where direct democracy is interpreted by direct elections by the people against legislative and executive members. Because elected directly, any person who will represent or lead this nation, must be people supported by the community or at least the majority of the community. In the mechanism of direct democracy, popularity is one of the main and important things. Popular people are, of course, people who are liked by many people. Therefore, the attempt to become popular in droves is carried out by political elites with the aim of gaining political legitimacy from the public. The elite are required not only to master the political science literature and mastery of the mass base in society either primordially or ideologically, but the elite are also required to become public figures. As Vidyarini explains, that in popular discourse, audio and visual displays are believed to be powerful strategies for making people popular. One can please the people and gain legitimacy from the people, especially against the novice voters and rational voters (swing voters) with the help of information and communication media. [29]

(antitesa) to the theocracy and monarchy that are further away from the welfare of the people. The concept of democracy comes from the ideas of some figures who to this day are still influential in the world of political science. Ideas such as Nicolo Machievelli's notions of secularism, Thomas Hobes on social contracts, the idea of ??a state and the separation of powers by John Locke were further developed by Montesqiue and the notion of popular sovereignty and social contracting by J.J Rousseau. See, Anthonius Sitepu, Indonesian Political System (Medan: Faculty of Social and Political Sciences, University of North Sumatra, 2004), p. 5-6.

[29]Titi Nur Vidyarini, "Politik dan Budaya Populer Dalam Kemasan Program Televisi" dalam *Jurnal Ilmiah SCRIPTURA*, *Vol.2, No. 1, Januari 2008* (Pusat Penelitian Universitas Kristen Petra: 2008), p. 33

The democratic era encourages each party to strive to provide the best for society because in the era of democracy, the competition between political parties is higher, so one of the hard tasks for political parties is how to make them acceptable to the public. This condition then encourages the party to try to strengthen its existence with various strategies. There is a show of existence by highlighting the program; there is a highlight of the character, symbols, and jargon until the name abbreviation. It was all done party in order to form popularity. In political discourse, the activity is called imagery politics which is one of the strategies to win political contestation. Image is as one of the new strategies, in addition to the more classical strategy that is with voice-ball strategy through party political networks.

The imagery political strategy is used as a medium to publicize political accountability of political contestants. It is an increasingly attractive and attractive image of the electoral system in the 2004 elections and visible until the 2009 elections. The longer campaign period and the largest voting system allow one party, both institutionally and individually to perform more diverse and interesting political image. Even a number of parties utilize the services of mass media, hotline advertising, and so forth to smooth the image. The 2004 Presidential Election won by Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono (SBY) for example, is an indication of the strong political image conducted by SBY. As a presidential candidate from a small party and nominated by several small parties at the time, SBY succeeded in defeating two strong candidates from the party that had a strong base at the grassroots level, such as Wiranto who nominated the 2004 election winners Golkar party and Megawati Soekarno Putri nominated Indonesian Democratic Party of Struggle which is the second winner.

The process of imagery is also conducted by using the party symbols, jargon and so forth. Among the symbols and jargon used by the party, such as "*Bersama Kita Bisa*" (Together We Can) is the jargon that was conveyed by SBY in the 2004 elections, which ultimately led SBY to the RI-1 seats. Another jargon reads "*Hidup adalah Perbuatan*" (Life is an Action) echoed by Sutrisno Bachir, one of the elite of the National Mandate Party, "*Lebih Cepat Lebih Baik*" (The Faster, The Better) which was echoed by Muhammad Jusuf Kalla, a senior Golkar Party politician and Golkar Party Presidential Candidate at the 2009 Presidential Election. there is also a political elite who buzzed the distinctive jargon of the personal version of the elite concerned, for example Rizal Malarangeng echoed "When There is a Will There is Way", then Rizal Ramli with jargon "*Indonesia Tanpa Hutang*" (Indonesia Without Debt) which by chance Rizal Ramli is the initiator of the change block.

In addition to using the jargon as mentioned above, symbolic acts as a form of imagery are also performed by political elites through the mass media. As Vice President Jusuf Kalla (Golkar Party), General TNI (Ret.) Wiranto (HANURA) showed dramatic, touching, and evocative scenes as Wiranto eats rice in a crowd of poor families in Serang, Banten. He feels for himself how *nasi aking* is unpalatable and unfit to eat. SBY also once shed tears when visiting Aceh to see the condition of the people of Aceh after the tsunami disaster. Regardless of the awareness of the two figures on the actual situation, the political views are understood that they are both performing images in the context of ongoing political contestation. Wiranto and SBY indirectly build a political simulation to create a separate image or imagery in the public eye. Each wants to show the public that they are close, caring and understanding leaders with the people.

What these two figures do, closely related to Jon Simons's explanation, that modern democratic politics is imagery politics, where appearance issues are more important than substance, and personality is more important than policy. [30] In review of the study of political anthropology, conducted by Wiranto and SBY is one form of political symbolism (politics of symbolism). In the political campaign the symbols and attributes used by politicians are forms of nonverbal communication that can shape the perception of society. Brian McNair, quoted by Mulyana, explained that the model of suits, hairstyles, the angle of camera shooting or the color of the arrangement of the stage are examples of aspects of the message that can affect the perception of the audience about communicators and messages conveyed[31]. But interestingly, from the development of democracy in Indonesia, it translates the process of symbolism and imagery by political elites. There are people who start to intelligently judge that what a candidate or a party does at the time of the election is a form of imagery, so that the party or candidate is considered good.

As explained above, that political image is formed based on information received, either directly or through the political media. Political image is one effect of political communication in a paradigm or mechanistic perspective, which is generally understood as an impression embedded in the minds of individuals or groups. Political image is also related to the formation of public opinion, because basically political public opinion awakened through political image. While the political image materialized as a consequence of the cognition of political communication.

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[30]Jon Simons, *The Power Of Political Images* (Bloomington: American Political Science Association, 2006), p. 1.
[31]Dedy Mulyana, *Komunikasi Politik, Politik Komunikasi* (Bandung: PT. Remaja Rosdakarya, 2014), p. 14.

Robert was quoted by Anwar Arifin as saying that communication does not directly lead to certain opinions or behaviors, but tends to influence the way audiences organize their image of the environment and that image affects opinions or audience behavior[32] Thus, political image will help in the understanding, assessment, and identification of events, ideas of purpose or political leaders. Clearly, political image helps one in giving a subjective, acceptable reason why things are present as seemingly about political references.

Politicians or leaders in politics are very interested in establishing their political image through political communication in an attempt to create social stability and fulfill the demands of the people. So it is not excessive, if before the Presidential Election 2009 and 2014 ago, the figures that appear to strive to create and maintain political action that can evoke a satisfactory image, so that public opinion support can be obtained from the people as a political communication audiences. For example a presidential or vice president statement in a press conference or in a speech about the economic difficulties that have been overcome by a policy. For that the politician must try to create and maintain political actions that evoke a satisfactory image, so that public opinion support can be obtained from the people as a political communication audience.

According to Anwar Arifin, in countries that promote political culture seeking power, imagery politics is very important. Free political competition or democracy, further strengthens the importance of political image. Arifin asserted that, in the context of Indonesian politics, political image strengthened, when Indonesia implemented a direct election system based on the majority of votes. Political promises that are packed in various

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[32]Arifin, *Komunikasi Politik,* p. 178.

forms and disseminated through the mass media is one form of political image. [33]

The importance of imagery in the political map is also explained Yasraf Amir Piliang as quoted Tinarbuko, that in the politics of the information age, the political image of a figure built through various print and electronic media as a mantra that determines political choice. Through the electronic mantras, the perceptions, views and political attitudes of society are shaped and even manipulated. He has also washed away the political elite in the passion of constructing self-image, regardless of the relation of the image to the real reality. Politics is now transformed into a political imagery, which celebrates image rather than political competence. [34].

Based on the above description, it can be understood that imagery in the stage of democracy in Indonesia, can be regarded as the marketing of politicians to attract interest and trust from the community. Competing candidates or politicians marketed like a product and sold in different ways to attract the public. So it is not surprising that politicians use the concept of image to bridge the gap between the electorate and what is actually in the minds of the voters. In this regard, political image is actually more than a strategy for presenting candidates to voters. But it also relates to the impression that the good voters are believed to be true or not. That is, the image is more than a message made by the candidate or the picture made by the voter, but the image is a negotiation, evaluation and construction by candidates and voters in a joint venture. In other words, voters' beliefs about candidates are based on interactions or interdependencies between candidates and voters.

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[33]*Ibid.*,p. 29-30.

[34]Sumbo Tinarbuko, *Iklan Politik Dalam Realitas Media* (Yogyakarta: Jalasutra, 2009), p. 7.

Imagery in democratic political practice has a very significant urgency in supporting the existence of competing parties or candidates. This argument is reinforced by Arifin, that political imagery or political image is very important in countries that embrace a political culture that aims to seek or seize power, especially the libertarian state. But in a country with an authoritarian or communist ideology, imagery is not necessary, because power is not contested in that country. [35] Arifin further mentioned, there are four urgency of political image, namely for political competition, ward off political audiences, persuasive and suggest, exposure and power of the media. [36]

a. Political Competition

Since the fall of the New Order regime, the end of authoritarian rule in Indonesia has been replaced by the era of democracy, as the product of libertarian ideology. Correspondingly, political liberation arose with the packaging of political democratization which was not actually an indigenous product of Indonesia. Political liberation led to the emergence of many parties. In reality it is seen that the large number of parties participating in the General Election clearly adds to the nuance and pressure of competition. The concept of competition that had not been seen during the New Order era suddenly became a thing that colored the scene in the nuances of Indonesia politics pre reform. This condition immediately encourages the birth of free competition in obtaining or fighting for power. In the increasingly fierce competition, the parties began to apply imagery theory. Political parties are increasingly aggressive and actively seeking and hunting for votes outside of traditional support bases.

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[35] Arifin, *Politik,* p. 29.
[36] *Ibid,* p. 29-38.

If we follow the development of democracy in Indonesia, the key to the process of political struggle is how varied political information is contested and constructed in the political arena so as to influence perceptions, attitudes and behavior of voters. At any time, political information continues to grow because of widespread political issues and at the same time also, political issues are increasingly crowded by people from various social class backgrounds. Political information that is often debated concerns two things, namely related to political parties and elites who become candidates in a political contestation. In Indonesia, the political elite are trying to build the image to gain sympathy from the community, so the intensity of competition in the public space, including in the media looks very clear.

According to Nyarwi Ahmad, there are three things behind the increasing intensity of imagery political battle, namely the tight competition between contestants, the high demand of society and cultural factors. [37] *First*, the tight political competition between parties or between candidates fought in political contestation. This example can be considered how the political competition ahead of the arena of Legislative Election, Election of DPD, Presidential Election and Election of Regional Head. The political struggle is not only related to the actual condition of each political party, but also related to the candidates. The limitations of the public in accessing information also encourage parties and candidates to convey positive political information as much as possible about him, and trying to minimize negative political information that is in him. The party or the candidates is also always trying to pack a variety of political information about him and other positive attributes for him to get to the public mind.

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[37]Nyarwi Ahmad, *Manajemen Komunikasi Politik dan Marketing Politik: Sejarah, Perspektif dan Perkembangan Riset* (Yogyakarta: Pustaka Zaman, 2012), p. 72-74.

Even the tight political competition is also accompanied by new innovations in disseminating and managing information and political messages. Political competitors in general not only convey political information about him, but also provide negative political information also to competitors. This pattern is run with powerful imagery and persuasive techniques by winning teams and political consultants.

Second, the tightness of political competition is also influenced by changes in the demands of its constituents. The voters, sometimes referred to as rational voters and some are called emotional voters. In an area, sometimes a rational voter is the highest number, but sometimes there are few voters of this type. For rational voters, for example, political information bouts and political messages are intensified by political parties and candidates. This is intended to shape, influence, and change or strengthen the perception, beliefs and behavior of the voters to be in line with the interests of political parties or candidates to win the head regional election.

Third, cultural factors. Competition and political struggles are also influenced by cultural factors. The cultural factor concerns the culture of elitist political communication as well as the culture of public political communication. There are various types of communication culture in conveying information and political messages. Some tend to be explicit, blatant and otherwise there are also tend to be implicit, delivered with subtle language. The pattern of public respect for the elite also determines the way in which they disseminate information and political messages when it comes to the political elite. The moral and cultural regime here becomes the determinant of how the discourse of information and political messages are carried out by the public and the political elite.

The increasing flow of political contestation of political parties and candidates in the arena of elections is an unavoidable fact. Especially after the reforms coupled with the emergence of new political parties strengthen political imagery practices. As explained above, that political image is formed based on information received, either directly or through the media. A person's political image will aid in understanding, assessing and identifying political events, ideas, goals or leaders. The political image also assists for a person in giving a subjective, acceptable reason for why things are present as seemingly about political references. Political image will be an important concern if one considers that in meeting physical, social and psychological needs; it can only be addressed and carried out by the state.

Politicians or political leaders are very interested in establishing their own political image. It can be understood, however, that in addition to politicians or political leaders, institutions such as the executive, legislative and judicial institutions are very interested in imagery. But among all the agencies already mentioned, the most concerned about imagery efforts is political parties, as political parties compete with a number of other parties, especially in activities that win periodic elections. As the competition progresses continuously, each political party seeks to show its positive image to attract the attention and sympathy of the voters. Imagery strategies conducted by political parties, not done instantly, but in a sustainable way. This is based on political competition between parties. In addition, the public, the public or the public wants to know their conformity with the ideology, vision and mission of work and the performance and reputation of a political party and its characters.

Essentially, the political image is created, built, nurtured, and strengthened by every political person and political party through intensive political communication. It is related to the increasingly competitive

condition of political competition. Political messages are arranged and packed in such a way as to create the desired image, especially in order to create a more beautiful image of its original color. The efforts to gain the victory in the increasingly fierce political competition, encourage the birth of various ways, methods, actions, tactics, especially in conducting the political image. These efforts are made by parties and contestants in various forms of political communication, such as rhetoric, agitation, propaganda and political advertisements organized through the media and directly.

Political imagery with all its negative and positive aspects continues to grow, especially as every citizen in a democratic political system is eligible to vote and vote in an election. That is, every citizen in a democratic country has the freedom to gather and issue his thoughts, both orally and in writing. The existence of freedom of association and assembly, in itself encourages more open competition in the struggle for power. Political parties in that connection, continue to socialize politics freely to build the image of politics and public opinion. In Indonesia itself, political parties are still seen as the main container in channeling and accommodating political aspirations rather than other means. People's political participation is still focused on channeling political aspirations through general elections. [38]

The people of Indonesian have learned much from the democratic process introduced after the collapse of the New Order since 1998. The

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[38] General elections are one of the characteristics of a democratic political system. In a democratic society, elections and legislative institutions are the legitimate liaison between the people and the government. Elections become a political mechanism for recruitment and selection of persons who will sit in representative institutions. Ramlan Surbakti called it, that in a democratic system, the way in which a political party seeks to gain and retain power is to participate in elections. See, Ramlan Surbakti, *Memahami Ilmu Politik* (Jakarta: PT Grasindo, 2010), p. 149.

electoral system in Indonesia has progressed towards a more democratic one since the 1998 reforms. The 2004 election was the first direct legislative election. This indicates that the people have been more involved in the political process. This trend continued until 2009, but the difference is if the 2004 legislative elections based on the serial number, then in the 2009 legislative elections based on the most votes. In the process of legislative election in 2009 there is an interesting phenomenon to be discussed in relation to the implementation of democratic parties, especially those involving competition among the political parties in an effort to maintain its existence.

b. Preventing the Political Audience

In the perspective of communication science, Anwar Arifin initiated the need for political communication strategies in creating the effectiveness of political image. Among these strategic actions, Arifin said that to create togetherness to understand the audience, preparing persuasive messages and set methods and choose the media. The homophile atmosphere that must be created between the politicians and audiences according to Arifin is the equation of language (symbol of communication), fashion equations, equality of interests with the audience, especially about political messages, methods and political media. But the most important is who the character who will communicate to the audience. That is, politicians or activists have had many similarities with the audiences and know the audience.[39]

Understanding the audience will facilitate the achievement of political goals. This is given that communication is the two process flow between the two parties who communicate. The process of communication flow will be fulfilled if communicators understand the audience well. Even

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[39]Arifin Anwar, *Komunikasi Politik – Filsafat, Paradigma, Teori, Tujuan dan Komunikasi Politik Indonesia* (Yogyakarta: Graha Ilmu, 2011), p 63-64.

the needs and motivations of individuals who will become political audiences, must also be known, known and understood. And it is also the knowledge and ability of the audience in accessing political messages, either directly or through the media. As Alo Liliweri explains, effective communication will be achieved if the communicator is able to recognize the audience, able to answer the needs of the audience well, able to convey a message that is believed and liked by the audience. [40]

Along with the understanding of political audiences, several studies have shown the importance of understanding to audiences, as voters cast their votes on parties or candidates that fit their political ideology. That is, parties or candidates who are not in accordance with political ideology will be abandoned. That is why, understanding of audiences is very important. Audience as the target audience of imagery political communication, should not be regarded as a passive audience who can be treated in accordance with the wishes of political communicators.

According to Arifin, in a society that embraces freedom of choice (democracy), its active power will be stronger, thus making the image in the public and the public opinion is more dynamic because the audience has strong will power. According to Arifin, the study of the power of the audience has been developed by experts in the perspective of human communication psychology. Raymon Bauer (1964) developed the obstinate audience theory introduced by I.A. Richards since 1936 and practiced by rhetorical scholars in the days of Greek and Roman Classics. This theory emerges as a critique of bullet theory and they do not believe that audiences are passive and unable to resist the media's might. Audience is much empowered and not at all passive in the process of political communication. Audience has the power of deterrence and absorption

[40]Alo Liliweri, *Komunikasi Serba Ada Serba Makna* (Jakarta: Kencana, 2011), p. 125.

against all the exposure of messages to them. Communication is a transaction; incoming messages will be filtered, selected, then accepted or rejected through a conceptual filter. Nevertheless, even though the audience has a stifling power over the information conveyed, a stubborn or stubborn audience, but for the bullet theory the hypodermic needle theory remains convinced that public image and opinion can be established, established and strengthened through intensive and effective political communication. Communication can be done through political advertising, campaigns, propaganda, agitation, and speech. [41]

c. Persuasion and Suggestion

Political Imagery or political image can also be categorized as one form of political persuasion by parties and politicians to win the hearts of the people. As also confirmed by Arifin, that among the methods most often used by politicians to subdue audiences, in addition to informative methods, education and coercive is a method of persuasion. Persuasion is one of the most basic forms of communication. [42] Persuasion is defined as a change in attitudes due to exposure to information from others. The attitude can be expressed from likes or dislikes. Attitudes are often considered to have three components, namely: *First* is the affective component, namely the likes or feelings of an object. *Second* is the cognitive component, i.e. the belief in an object. *Third* is the component is

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[41]Arifin, *Politik Pencitraan,* p. 34. In the bullet theory or hypodermic needle model, the audience is considered passive means that the sense that society is more influenced by the media. They passively accept what the media say. They receive directly what is conveyed by the media or in other words, media of power full. In contrast to the Uses and Gratification Theory, the audience is considered as an active and purpose-driven audience. Audience is very responsible in selecting the media to meet their own needs. In this view, the media is regarded as the only factor that supports how the needs are met, and the audience is considered a great intermediary. They know their needs and how to meet those needs or in other words, they are more selective in receiving media messages. They are also selective in selecting and using media.

[42]Arifin, *Politik,* p. 37.

related to the behavior, that is the action of the object.[43] Positive imagery will have a positive effect on the attitudes, beliefs and behaviors of the person being persuaded. Likewise, negative image will negatively affect the attitude of the person being persuaded. Thus, imagery in political communication is highly dependent on the persuasion efforts that are carried out in accordance with the goals desired by the person who is persuading. In this context, imagery management is required or a single arrangement and management of an activity that has a positive impact on imagery.

According to Marwoto, the persuasive term in English is called *persuasive* from the verb *to persuade* which means *to persuade or convince*. So persuasion is a discourse that contains persuasion, or powerless appeal that can generate the desires and beliefs of people who persuasion so that people obey implicit or explicit appeal made by the persuasion. [44] From this it is understood that persuasion is a person's business by giving reasons that convince others to act and act as expected without coercion. Thus, persuasion requires certain efforts to stimulate people to make decisions in accordance with the wishes of the person who persuades. An effort that can be used is to present evidence, though not as firmly as it is done in the argument. And Nimmo explains that there are three kinds of persuasion in political communication: (a) propaganda, (b) political advertising/mass advertising, and (c) rhetoric. Propaganda is directed to individuals as members of a community group. Ads are directed to individuals as anonymous units within a wider group. While rhetoric has

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[43]Werner J. Severin dan James W. Tankard Jr, *Teori Komunikasi: Sejarah, Metode, dan Terapan di Dalam Media Massa,* translated Sugeng Hariyanto (Jakarta: Kencana, 2005), p. 177.
[44]Marwoto, *Komposisi Praktis* (Yogyakarta: Hanindita, 1997), p. 176.

the nature of one to one communication and usually there is a reciprocal process between the speaker with the audience. [45]

The society in a democracy country is a public that can determine the political message to be conveyed by the politicians in the campaign and the political image built by the politician. In this case, the prepared political messages after knowing the condition of audiences can be called as positive invitations. Things that need to be considered in preparing a political message that is persuasive, that is determining the theme and material in accordance with the condition and situation of the audience. It must be realized that the individual at the same time, always stimulated by many messages from various sources, including political messages. But not all of these stimuli can affect audiences, except only qualified messages. Efforts that can be made in preparing a persuasive politics is to arouse the attention of the audience towards the messages conveyed.

In order the persuasive communication will achieve the desired goal, it is necessary to note the stages of persuasion communication, in this case, it is commonly known as AIDDA model which A stands for awareness, I (interest = attention), D (desire: desire), D decision = decision), A (action = activity). This AIDDA communication model although linear, but widely used in extension and promotion activities because in addition to simple, also easy to apply to things that are practical. The awareness or attention is directed to instill awareness of the audience in terms of what is promoted, so that the audience can realize and really pay attention to what the benefits and benefits of what is offered to them. Interest is done in order to draw the attention of the audience towards what is offered. Audience attention usually arises because they feel what they are offering they need. Desire is

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[45]Dan Nimmo, *Komunikasi Politik, Komunikator, Pesan dan Media* (Bandung: PT. Remaja Rosdakarya, 2006), p*.,* 123-140.

a process that occurs after the attention and awareness of the audience arises to the offer given. At this stage, the audience has a desire to choose or not to vote. Decision is an action taken by audiences in the form of decisions after many considerations. Action (action) is the treatment or form of action performed by audiences, such as choosing in accordance with the desired expectations. This procedure is often also called A-A Procedure as an abbreviation of Attention - Action Procedure which means that the end of this activity is the willingness of the communicant to accept the idea of being delivered without coercion. [46] The description of AIDDA communication model can be seen in the chart below.
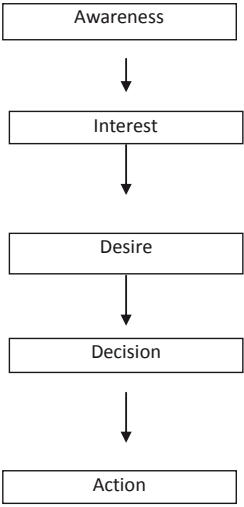

Figure 2.
AIDDA Communication Model

[46]Haified Cangara, *Perencanaan dan Strategi Komunikasi* (Jakarta: PT. RajaGrafindo Persada, 2013), p. 79.

Onong Uchjana Effendy puts forward some persuasive communication techniques, namely: 1). Associate technique. Presentation of communication messages by laying out an object or event that attracts the attention of the audience. 2). Integration technique is the ability of communicators to blend with the communicant. This means that with a verbal or non verbal approach, communicators put themselves feeling the same with the communicant. 3). Rewards technique is affecting others by giving the lure or reward of the communicator to the communicant. 4) Engineering level is preparing the messages as carefully as possible to be interesting, pleasant to hear or read and will eventually lead the audience to act as the communicator wants. 5). Red-herring technique. The art of a communicator to achieve victory in the debate by avoiding the weak argumentation and then shifting it bit by bit to the aspect he mastered in order to be a powerful weapon in attacking the opponent. This technique is used communicator when in a state of urgency. [47]

Based on the above description, it can be understood that persuasion always aims to persuade, so that others change their minds. With the occurrence of changes in the mind of a person, it is expected that the person can receive or do something desired in accordance with the purpose of the person who persuades. Therefore, to create confidence in the messages conveyed, persuasive messages must be designed and created according to the agreement through belief. In the end, the person receiving the persuasion will be happy because he did not accept the decision based on threats and coercion.

According to Severin, the persuasion process can be seen from the model offered by Greenwald which is commonly known as the cognitive

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response model. This model states that attitude changes are mediated by the thoughts occur in the minds of the recipients of the message. In contrast to what Hovland proposes, all the attitude changes are based on the learning process. For Greenwald, the endurance of a message and the reception of a message are two different things. A person can learn the material in a message without changing attitudes. In the case of certain persuasion, according to Greenwald, the recipient of the message considers it, relating it to the attitudes, knowledge and feelings. [48]

Besides the Greenwald model, another persuasion model that explains persuasion is the information processing theory introduced by McGuire (1968). According to McGuire, the attitude change consists of six stages, each of which is an important event that becomes the benchmark for the next stage. These stages are:

1. Persuasive messages should be communicated.

2. The recipient will pay attention to the message.

3. The recipient will understand the message.

4. The recipient is affected and confident with the arguments presented.

5. The new adoption positions are achieved

6. The desired behavior occurs. [49]

Based on the above description, it is understood that McGuire's information processing theory provides a good view of the attitude change process. In another explanation, Keraf also asserted there are seven techniques that can be done in persuasion, namely rational technique, identification technique, suggestion technique, conformity technique and

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[48]Severin, *Teori,* p. 203.

[49]*Ibid,* p. 204.

compensation technique, replacement technique and projection technique.[50]

First is rational technique. A rational technique in persuasive activity can be said as a process of using reason to provide a justification for a problem. The truth discussed in persuasiveness is not an absolute truth, but only the righteous truth lays the foundations and paved the way for predetermined or retrieved wishes, attitudes, beliefs, decisions or actions to be justified. Rationalization in persuasion will go well if the speaker knows what the audiences need and want, and how their attitudes and beliefs are. A prominent feature of this technique is the rigidity of rational engagement.

Second is identification technique. In persuasive activities, the speaker must analyze the audience and the whole situation he faces with care. Speakers will certainly find it easier to identify themselves with audiences. It is often used by the candidates in elections who seek to identify themselves as "people's representatives" or as people who are born and raised in the environment of farmers, fishermen, laborers, and so on. Because he feels and sees for himself what is needed by the society he faces, he will fight for the desperate need, which at the same time is a necessity of his own. This struggle will be achieved if the audiences vote for him or his group.

Third is the suggestion technique.[51] Persuasive activities can also be done using suggestion technique. Suggestion is an attempt to persuade or

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[50]Gorys Keraf, *Argumentasi dan Narasi* (Jakarta: Gramedia, 1994), p. 124-131.

[51] Suggestion is the process of influencing others with the purpose of behavior, attitude, opinion to be identical with the communicator. Sugesti will be easier to do, if in the person who is suggested there has been frame of mind (frame of reference) as well as the field of experience (field of experience). People will be more easily suggestive when someone in society tends to accept certain views or attitudes, as they are supported by the majority of the community members. When the general public justifies, the emerging tendency will be easier to mensugesti the person. This is called Gerungan as a sugestion because of the majority. See, Revelation Ilaihi, , *Komunikasi Dakwah* (Bandung: PT Remaja Rosdakarya, 2010), p. 137.

influence others in order to accept a belief or conviction without giving a logical ground of trust to the person to be influenced. In everyday life, suggestion is usually done with words and tone of voice. An interesting and convincing series of words along with an authoritative tone of voice can allow a person to influence audiences. An impression that cannot be eroded is the fact that the suggestion first gains its emotional strength to a sense of parental obedience and obedience. Parents or for example, are people who are considered all-knowing and all-powerful, so that what he said always has a powerful suggestion. Therefore, someone who wants to persuasive with the desired results can harness the power of suggestion. He must try to display a figure that can replace the position of parents, displaying a person who is affectionate or respected audiences.

Fourth is conformity technique. Conformity technique can be taken to persuasion to others. Conformity technique is a desire or action to make you similar to something else. Conformity is a mental mechanism for adjusting or matching to something desired. The attitude taken in this case is to adjust to the situation so as not to arise tension. At first glance, this technique is similar to identification but is actually different. The difference, in the identification communicator only presents some things that concerned him with the presence or speaker. Meanwhile in conformity communicator shows ability to act and act as audiences.

Fifth is compensation technique. This technique is an action or the result of an attempt to find a substitute for an unacceptable thing, or an attitude, a state that cannot be maintained. The search for a substitute occurs because the original action or state has been frustrated. The communicators invite the audience to create a better state, and expected by the people. This is also one form of persuasion that is expected to suggest

people to make their choice in certain candidates who participate in the general election and the election of regional head.

Sixth is the displacement or substitution technique. This technique is a process that seeks to replace an intent or thing that experiences an obstacle of a purpose. In persuasion communicators try to convince audiences to divert a certain object or purpose to another purpose. In this case there is a resemblance to compensation. An example of a replacement for example, a scapegoat is an object that is subjected to hatred or anger diverted or replaced by another object that does not necessarily accept that hatred or anger.

Seventh is projection. Persuasive technique using projection means a technique to change something that had been subject to object. A person's traits or traits do not want to be recognized again as a traitor character, but are expressed as the nature or character of others. If a person is asked to describe someone who is unpopular, then he will try to describe something good about himself.

The seven techniques described above are persuasive techniques that Keraf offers. In principle, the seven techniques are the efforts made in order to persuasive, so the audience can receive without compulsion messages delivered. In political activity, political persuasion is used by people who are engaged in politics and statehood. Political and state experts more often use this type of persuasion for political and state purposes. In this case, imagery is often used by politicians to do the imagery, because it is considered to change the attitude of the society. Political messages of symbols and political jargon conveyed by parties or candidates have a persuasive appeal to audiences. In political campaigns, symbols and values can be regarded as one of the most influential of all campaign messages being delivered. So in relation to the use of

psychological tendencies, a politician needs to condense complex issues into simple symbolic terms by trying to make them in terms that are capable of generating broad tendencies of society. As reflected by the National Mandate Party (PAN) for example, which makes imagery by creating the jargon of *"Politik Tanpa Gaduh"* (Politics Without Fight). This jargon is one of the symbolic facts that describe the current political atmosphere. Despite the frenzied political conflicts that occurred in Indonesia, but through this jargon, PAN wants to portray itself as a peaceful party, not riotous and not rowdy. PAN is a safe, peaceful, and far from internal conflict party.

d. Overpower and Strength of Media

The persuasive imagery politics can be conducted through mass media, especially through advertising. The media exposure can turn audiences out of power. The study of media exposure that causes the people to become powerless recognized a number of communication experts, such as Schramm (1971), Berlo (1960), Defleur and Ball Rokeach (1989). [52] In this regard, the election events, the media widely used the party and politicians to perform political image. Media is considered to have a strategic role to strengthen the image of politics, because the media is a liaison between communicators with audiences. Communication by using mass media is considered very profitable and can facilitate the dissemination of information related to candidates who are competing,

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[52] Schramm calls this theory the bullet theory, Berlo introduces hypodermic neddle theory and Ball Rokeach introduces stimulus response theory. The main idea of ??the three theories put forward by this communication expert, that mass communication has great power in influencing audiences. The theories put forward by these scholars, asserts that the people are really vulnerable to mass communication messages. This theory mentions, if the message delivered on target, then the message will give effect to the audience in accordance with the desired. This theory also assumes that media managers are considered more intelligent than audiences. Therefore, the audience can be formed in any way in accordance with the wishes of the media. See, *Teori Komunikasi Massa"* dalam Syukur Kholil (ed.), *Teori Komunikasi Massa* (Bandung: Citapustaka Media, 2011), p. 99.

because the mass media cause uniform. That is, a message can be accepted by a relatively large number of communicants, wider and heterogeneous.

The main strength of mass media use for political communication is the formation of public opinion and political image. The mass media has a major contribution in building understanding of society to its political behavior. One of the determinant factors behind the change in political behavior is the publication of media reporting on political transformation. The strong influence of mass media on political behavior, become a study for experts. Kraus and Davis as quoted by Nurul Syobah explained that the theme of political communication has been done and published since 1959. Kraus and Davis asserted that the media do the construction of political reality in society. In addition, it also reveals the problems of positioning political communication in cases of practical political activity in the process of transformation and the establishment of political communications of society. [53]

The formation of public opinion is related to the political imagery because basically political public opinion is built through political imagery while it is a consequence of the cognition of political communication. This means that communication does not directly lead to certain opinions or behaviors, but tends to influence the way the imagination organizes its image of the environment and that image affects opinions or imaginary behaviors. Therefore, there are two possible benefits that can be gained from the use of mass media as a political medium. First, by using mass media, the formation of individual political images can be more precisely targeted toward the desired direction. Second, mass media can also direct the individuals in maintaining the image they already have. This confirms

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[53]Nurul Syobah, "Peran Media Massa Dalam Komunikasi Politik" dalam *Jurnal Komunikasi dan Sosial Keagamaan, Vol: XV, No. 1, Juni 2012* (IAIN Samarinda, 2012), p. 15.

that the mass media has a strong influence in shaping political perceptions and public image of the public.

2.3 The Purpose of Political Imagery

In politics, imagery is often identified as showcasing, self and party highlighting by putting forward ideology, mission vision, party programs, and various changes until certain symbols are enabled to change the people's opinions on one party. Political imagery as described above is a visual and narrative representation that puts forward an image or image using a certain medium which is common with several processes involving symbols and social and political entities with the aim of power. Broadly to be understood, political imagery is basically a symbiosis between political strategy with imagery techniques in which there is a packing of an object of political actors both individuals and political parties. The goal is to influence the perceptions, feelings, awareness, and public opinion so that the public can be led to a particular political preferences, choices and decisions. Following this logic, political image serves as a tool of political communication to inform and conduct transformations in convincing audiences so that their attitudes are stronger to an object and entity that is still doubtful them.

Concretely, political imagery is essentially used to create continuity between reality and political image. Political imagery can also be used for the opposite, where in the case of discounts between political image and political reality, image can be used to create a second reality in which there is a manipulated truth. With the efforts, the reality which is depicted through image seems to be the true reality. In this connection, Wasesa asserts that although the authority of politicians is very strong to govern a country, it does not mean that they can determine their image. Political imagery is entirely determined by the public perception. The public

perception is awakened because of the process of information processing on the limbic system in the public brain. Political power is impossible to touch the limbic system of society. Limbic system is part of the brain that works objectively by processing the information they receive from the senses, then processed to be channeled into perceptions about the collection of such information. [54]

Imagery has been synonymous with business marketing activities of products or services offered. [55] But since the elections are held proportionally open to the House of Representatives and direct elections to the President, imagery becomes a very important part of the political marketing system. If a politician or a party is like a product, imagery for him is a necessity because political marketing is a practical method in the context of political communication.

The core of political imagery is to make the voters awed, amazed, curiosity and sympathetic. For the party, political imagery will help the party reveal the good side and popularize the party to society. For the parties, imagery is important to disseminate the program, the realization of the activities undertaken, the promises made, turning the negative image into positive ones in order to perpetuate power. Thus, the purpose of imagery is clearly visible to change the public perception of a party, so that the minds of society, the party emerged as a party that really fights for the aspirations of society. Its concrete, imagery aims to create public opinion.

Public spaces, including in various media, become a space of expression that cannot be separated from the various maneuvers, tactics,

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[54] Wasesa, *Political,* p. 128.

[55] In business, market segmentation and targeting are used to identify the segment of the customer to whom the marketer is directing the product and the promotional campaign. It is widely used companies that choose to sell their products or services not to potential customers, but only to those who are likely to buy them. Lihar, Lynda Lee Kaid, Handbook, p. 27.

and political strategies undertaken by the political elite. Political marketing techniques by packaging the image of a personal figure are often used as part of political image to create public opinion. In this connection, it is clear that the political elite will continue to build its image and purpose only one, that is, to gain the power. The creation of public opinion in the world of politics constructed by language, not merely to describe a phenomenon, but aims to influence the way the environment is perceived. Thus, it is understood that imagery politics is transformed into a major force in controlling political discourse so that it contains not only the power of knowledge but also the power of image as a political force. As Hamad states that for a political force, the power of the media, is crucial, especially for the purposes of image and public opinion. For political communication on the one hand depends much on the way the media constructs the power of political image. On the other hand, the media has significant power to influence audiences. [56]

In the world of politics, the term imagery is a natural and logical thing. Imagery is a vital aspect of achieving greater numbers of votes, community support and sympathy. Therefore, many political elites use self-imagery as well as groups to gain the public support. For example, PAN is a party seen by the people as a reformist party, because it was imaged initially with the figure of Amin Rais who by chance as one of the national figures who participated in the reform movement. It can even be said that PAN with its political elite, is very concerned about imagery with the jargon of corruption eradication. PAN's imagery policy is certainly a strategy for the party to maintain its survival in the community. However, sometimes the imagery can also be a weapon that can knock down the PAN

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[56]Ibnu Hamad, *Konstruksi Realitas Politik dalam Media Massa: Sebuah Studi Critical Discourse Analysis Terhadap Berita-Berita Politik* (Jakarta: Granit, 2004), p. 30.

itself. PAN political rivals can also use and process in such a way the party's image with the aim of dropping its popularity. This is because the image is a difficult thing to build, but easily destroyed with certain things that become the point of weakness.

The image of a party will add to the democracy atmosphere and help to achieve the civil democracy when the imaged and displayed promises are truly capable of bringing about the change and the prosperity. Wasesa explains that to achieve the purpose of imagery there are several stages of the process that must be considered. The imagery built one of them is by arranging messages to be submitted to the public. The messages are delivered through a tool called *Key Message Development (KMD)*. As a guide used for the imagery, Key Message Development contains exposure to the messages created on an ongoing basis among the programs in accordance with predetermined policies. With this guide the imagery team or politicians can work according to the expected imagery path.

Wasesa divides the KMD into several forms, namely: grand KMD which contains the translation of political program messages for one year, completed with the stages to be achieved each month. There is also a *Key Message House (KMH)* or home message that contains the translation of each messages program. This KMH will be a short imagery guide when delivering a message to the community. The benefits of KMH are to maintain consistency in the delivery of messages to the community, as well as to maintain efficient program development. In addition there is also a tool called Wasesa with the term *Key Performance Indicator (KPI),* as a tool to see indicators of expected imagery success. In general, political imagery activities are defined only as close to the media. Media is one of the keys to success in getting massive and sustained coverage, but many politicians are disappointed to feel that the media are not delivering the

desired message. Reflecting on that, it becomes absolutely necessary to have the indicators of a message to be conveyed through mass media or society. These indicators are simple indicators and complex indicators. A simple indicator is an indicator that without waiting for analysis from the imagery team, but it can be seen that the message is delivered well or not. Complex indicators are the indicators that still need the help of the imagery team in terms of analyzing the news based on things like: media value, media comparison, media preference, media map, and media audit. [57]

In using the guidelines, Wasesa divides the process of using the tool in three stages: *First*, the imagery team of politicians sees the opportunity of utilization and use of the media as a short-term need to simply cover and write what should be imaged. The expected result of this first stage is for political messages to change one's view. *Second*, the imagery team keeps the media continuously delivering messages that the team has designed, according to key message development (KMD). For that it takes people who specifically keep the message so as not to deviate from KMD. The expected outcome of this process is that political messages can be activated on an ongoing basis, so that the image is deeply embedded in the minds of people. *Third*, the imagery team ensures whether the message conveyed can change the public view so that they believe in the political message delivered. In order to know the message's effectiveness, political perception

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[57] *Media value* becomes the initial reference on how much rupiah is earned when the news is converted into advertising. Media comparation is a comparison of the extent to which the public understands the message the successful team conveys with political messages conveyed by other candidates. Media preference is, analyze more carefully again in the media when writing down the topics related to key message development owned. Media map is an indicator that the imaging team can see the interest among journalists in a media, media folder is useful for sending a message of what and to whom. Media audit is an indicator that given the media have closeness with the politicians as a source of news and there is a personal relationship, it is necessary to do an audit about their perception of how the presentation of news. The input provided will help to see if the message can be delivered or not. See, Wasesa, Political, p. 146 - 152.

research can be done, for example by asking for help from the survey institute. The expected result of this third step is as an evaluation of the KMD. In addition, it can measure and see what programs are best known to the public, what impressions are in the minds of people related to political candidates or party performance. [58]

Based on the explanation above, it can be identified that there are three objectives of political imagery, namely to build public opinion, to influence the people to impose their political choice on the party or candidate who imitates and retains power. Quoting the words of Anwar Arifin, imagery political or political imagery aim to: 1. Build the public opinion. 2. Build the political participation and political policy. 3. Win the General Election. [59]

a. **Building a Public Opinion**

The imagery approach in politics has a communication function, namely informational and transformational so that the audience is more confident with the entities they have doubted. As a process of communication, political imagery aims to build public opinion. The process of forming public opinion is done through various ways, for example through electronic mass media and print media. Public opinion on imagery political issues aims to shape political accountability of a political contestant. The accountability of a political contestant determines his level of popularity and the electability. In this regard, political imagery is an attempt to lead opinion to create a good image in society about the figure of political contestants, thus gaining support from the public. But on the other hand, the development of public opinion is also an approach to

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[58] *Ibid,* p. 134.
[59] Arifin, *Politik*, p 55-92.

constituents. This process in the political orientation of image is expected to make the level of public participation becomes high.

Herbert Blumer defines public opinion as a collective product which is an opinion that everyone agrees with from the public, and this does not always have to be a majority opinion. Simply put, public opinion is an attitude expressed verbally by a number of people who are not dependent on the place, who have psychic reactions to an issue that can lead to the unity of the soul. [60] This Blumer's opinion provides an understanding that the public is a number of individuals who do not have to know each other personally, but are bound to the same issue or issue and each individual desires to be part of the solution. More explicitly, that public opinion is the opinion expressed by each individual in addressing a matter that concerns the public interest. The opinion is discussed intensively by the individuals concerned, so that the information consumed by the general public.

Blumer's explanation is closely related to Ikhsan Darmawan's explanation that public opinion has three characteristics:

1. Public opinion consists of a collection of individuals. That is, public opinion is a collection of opinions of each individual merged into one. In this case, there are types of opinions expressing consent and vice versa.

2. Public opinion relates to what matters to the attention of the people, not just important to a few people or a group of people. That is, public opinion means opinions from the public, meanwhile the public itself can be interpreted as a collection of many people. Therefore public opinion is not only important for a few or a group of people, but the people in large numbers or often called the majority.

3. Public opinion relates to a certain time or period or is closely related to the context of the occurrence of something. Every opinion is not

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[60]Matulada, *Demokrasi Dalam Tradisi Masyarakat Indonesia* (Jakarta, LP3ES, 1996), p. 4

indefinite. Conversely, a particular opinion may be valid only at certain times. When it has changed over time, it is possible to change in public opinion. [61]

The formation of public opinion in political communication is determined by the role of the political media, especially the mass media. In a socio-political context, public opinion is essential in achieving political image, because without community support, political image will not be effective. Concretely, political imagery will be in line with the growing public opinion in society. Public opinion is understood as the same opinion and expressed by many people formed through intensive discussions in response to questions and concerns that concern the public interest. Ferdinand Tones as quoted by Tommy Suprapto explains, there are three stages of the process of development of public opinion. *First* is *luftartige* that is a public opinion is still like steam, because it is still wild or wobbles and still in the process of finding a real form. *Second*, flussing of public opinion has begun to have a tangible form, but it can still be channeled through the desired channel. *Third* is *festig* that is a strong public opinion, not easy to change. The power of Tones' opinion depends on the size of the inner push stimulated by external factors, such as issues, conflicts, anxieties, frustrations and so on.[62]

Public opinion as a political force is not only able to support a government or power, but also has the power to overthrow it. Like what happened to Soeharto and Abd. Rahman Wahid (Gusdur) either through constitutional means (through parliament), upheavals, mass actions, or both (mass and parliamentary action). Public opinion can be established,

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[61]Ikhsan Darmawan, *Mengenal Ilmu Politik* (Jakarta: Kompas Media Nusantara, 2015), p. 123-124.

[62]Tommy Suprapto, *Komunikasi Propaganda: Teori dan Praktik* (Yogyakarta: CAPS, 2011), p. 117.

nurtured, nurtured well by all political forces, through intensive, persuasive, informative, educative and coercive political communication. The most important characteristic of public opinion that has prompted social scientists to investigate it is its tremendous power over government and individual societies.

b. Building a Political Participation

In addition to building public opinion, political imagery also encourages the creation of political participation of the community. Political participation according to Budiardjo is a manifestation of the implementation of legitimate political power by the people. Community members who participate in the political process through elections are encouraged by the belief that through such joint activities their interests will be channeled or at least noticed. People believe that their activities have such effects and effects are called political efficacy. Budiarjo also emphasized that the higher the people's participation in the election, show the political education of the people succeeded, the implementation of democracy is getting better. Conversely, if the political participation of the community is low, it indicates the implementation of democracy in a country is not good. Indications of low public interest and political participation are expressed from low public concerns about political and constitutional matters. [63]

In the order of a democratic country, political participation is an important aspect. Political participation is also a characteristic feature of political modernization in a democratic state. Modernization in question can be related to the modernization of the law, the modernization of socio-political development, equity of development and others. This is because citizens do not just participate in voting in the general election. But more

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[63]Miriam Budiardjo, *Dasar-Dasar Ilmu Politik* (Jakarta: Gramedia, 1991), p. 3.

than that, society also influences decision making or government policy, so it can be said that in modern democracy country can generate widespread participation. As quoted by Efriza from Gabriel Almond, political participation is not limited to taking part or role in the context of political activity, but always preceded by the articulation of interests in which an individual is able to control political resources, such as a political party leader or a military dictator. Their role as political aggregators will be crucial to further political participation. [64]

In some countries where democratization proceeds well, the level of citizen participation is very high. Public participation in elections, for example, may affect policy-making. When considered from the conditions of elections that take place, since Indonesia enacted direct elections in 2004. Society can be said to participate in Indonesian politics. The emergence of a number of parties encourages the community to participate actively be a member of a party, or become a board. However, from the current phenomenon, the political participation of Indonesian society can be grouped into three parts, namely active participation, passive participation and white group. *First* is active participation, for example, participates in proposals on a policy, raises criticism of a policy, pays taxes and elects a leader or government. *Second* is passive participation, for example, participates in obeying the government, accepting and implementing whatever the government decides to do. *Third*, this model is a model that only chooses silence. They do not participate in elections, and in determining their policies they prefer to go with what they are. This class is called the white group (*golput*).

Based on the above description, it can be understood that political participation is the participation of audiences or communities in various

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[64]Efriza, *Politik Explore: Sebuah Kajian Ilmu Politik* (Bandung: Alfabeta, 2012), p. 157.

actions in a political life. The activity can be applied in the form of giving political support to the government, both in the form of general election and public policy. The community participation in various political activities can be said to be the result or effect of imagery political communications. Political participation is very important because citizens have given up the right to power to the political institutions through elections and should not lose the right to defend themselves against possible abuse of power. To uphold the principle of popular sovereignty, citizens must have access to participate in policy making.

c. Winning the General Election

Political imagery has been described above, important because of the tight political competition among parties or candidates for election contestation, particularly in libertarian or democratic countries. Imagery is important for everyone as a social being. Through human imagery choose what to do and also what should not be done or abandoned. With a positive image effort, everyone expects to look perfect in the eyes of others. In the formation of a positive image, not even a rare person to do any way to package his attitude and behavior so as to give a positive impression in the eyes of others. Imagery helps human beings to make the best decisions for themselves in their social environment.

Similarly, every time before the election, whether it is presidential elections, legislative elections or elections, a number of political figures appear in the public through various advertisements and news coverage in mass media laden with imagery. Political imagery is conducted to influence the voters. Imagery becomes the most decisive factor in the success or failure of a campaign trip. Ultimately, political image aims to win the competition and gain power. Efforts to win the election directly in the election of course require the right strategy and directed to reach the

people's vote as much as possible. One of the efforts made by the party as well as the candidate is by imagery political or political image by using political marketing. It is closely related to Sayuti's explanation that political marketing is an activity that involves acts of use of public opinion research and analysis of the political environment, before and after the campaign by political parties and candidates participating in an election aimed at promoting political bids competitive with the expectation will help the achievement of organizational goals and the *khalak* satisfaction. [65]

According to Firmanzah, in the process of marketing politics is used 4P application of marketing mix, namely: 1. Products, in the political context, the product in question is party, candidate and party ideas in the form of concept and ideological identity to be conveyed to constituents. 2. Promotion, in this case such as through advertising, public relations party and party promotion. In politics, promotion can be done by using banners, billboards and so on and tailored to the needs of the community. 3. Price, in this case covers many things, ranging from economic, psychological, to the national image of the duties and candidacy of the candidate, whether it can be the pride of the country. 4. Placement, in this case relates to the distribution of a party and its ability to communicate with the voters. [66]

The sharp political rivalry becomes the driving force for politicians and parties to imagery. In fact, political image is often done by political parties or candidates who are competing in the election. However, factually it can be noted that political imagery is not always successful in delivering candidates or parties to win an election. For example, in 2014 the Democratic Party which is still symbolized by the existence of SBY, decreased the acquisition of votes into the fourth winner. Similarly, Golkar

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[65] Solatun Dulah Sayuti, *Komunikasi Pemasaran Politik* (Bandung: PT. Remaja Rosdakarya, 2014), p. 17.
[66] Firmanzah, *Marketing*, p. 203.

Party is only in second place, whereas this party is a very intense party to advertise imagery on television. Similarly, a number of candidates in the Presidential and head regional elections failed to win the ongoing political contestation. For example, the Couple Charly (Chairuman - Fadly) is not able to win the contestation of the governor's seat, but when read from his jargon; the two candidates have a very populist and simple jargon. Being a political lesson, too, if we notice the defeat of Andi Malaranggeng who advanced as a candidate for the Chairman of the Democratic Party, whereas political observers admit, the advertisement that aired related to this one candidate is very attractive and good. However, because Andi is less grounded at the grass roots level, it does not win the prestigious contest. In contrast to Anas Urbaningrum, whose victory is largely due to the humility, courtesy and strength of the network he has built since his students and became Chairman of the HMI PB for two periods.

Some political facts that have been described, it can be understood that besides political figurations and imagery, there are other factors that support the winning of a candidate or party, which is often termed with political capital, namely social capital and basic capital. Social capital is a set of values or norms prevailing in society, which makes people able to cooperate, for example mutual trust and trust. To quote Farancis Fukuyama, social capital plays a very important role in the functioning and strengthening of modern society. Social capital is as a *sine qua non* for human development, economic development, social, political and democratic stability. [67] Other languages of social capital include social networks, mutual patterns and mutual obligations. Meanwhile the basic

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[67]Fancis Fukuyama, *Guncangan Besar: Kodrat Manusia dan Tata Sosial Baru,* terj. Masri Maris (Jakarta: Gramedia Pustaka Utama, 2005), p. 22.

capital is in the form of money or wealth. Because it cannot be denied, that basic capital greatly affects the success of a contestant in an election.

Besides a candidate or a party tries to give an image to the public that his party is a caring, empathetic and understanding party, the candidate or party must also prove that the candidate or party also has the funds, property and wealth for his political activities. From this it is understood that the factors of emotional attachment, solidarity and basic capital are capable of realizing a strong pattern of cooperation, making it easier for candidates to achieve victory. Thus, the victory of a political party or candidate is not solely determined by imagery, but is also influenced by other factors, namely social capital, basic capital and candidate personality. In that connection, the party or candidate is certainly in the imagery, must be supported by these three factors, namely figuring, basic capital and social capital. The relationship between social capital and basic capital is described by Firmanzah as in the picture below.

Figure 3
Combinations of Basic Capital and Social Capital [68]
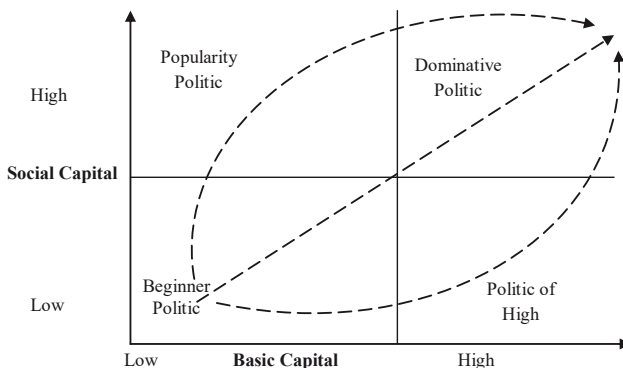
[68]Disadur dari Firmanzah, *Marketing Politik,* p. 77.

The picture above shows the combination of basic capital with social capital. Both types of political capital are put on a low high spectrum. That is, every politician or political party will have both types of capital. Social capital will be high when parties or politicians have a wide reputation, credibility, popularity, and political network in society. Conversely, social capital is low when a politician does not have a reputation, credibility, popularity, and extensive political network in society. Likewise with basic capital, placed at a high position low and compared with competitors. The size of basic capital is highly dependent on the basic capital owned by competitors. If politicians or parties are bigger than competitors, capital capital is put in a high position. Conversely, if politicians or parties have low capital capital than competitors, basic capital is placed in a low position. Thus, the most favorable is that when politicians or parties are in dominative politics, they have high social capital and basic capital compared to their competitors, so the chances of winning the election are far greater than competitors with low capital and social capital. [69]

From the description above, it can be understood that in politics the popularity of the competitive advantage of politics is the resources of social networks and political networks owned. Although politicians or parties do not have a large source of basic capital, but when they already have adequate support or social capital, they can optimize the resources. Therefore, political imagery is often used by politicians to strengthen the social capital, so that it can win political contestation. Sometimes imagery by a party or a candidate does not match the reality, but in the end people will be able to judge after an elected candidate or one party wins the contestation of the election. For example, when Jokowi nominated as the

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[69]Firmanzah, *Persaingan, Legitimasi Kekuasaan, dan Marketing Politik* (Jakarta: Yayasan Obor Indonesia, 2010), p. LVII – LIX.

President of the Republic of Indonesia in the last elections of 2014, in general the public saw that the figure of Jokowi is a populist person, able to bring Indonesia to a more significant change. The judgment was based on the success of Jokowi in leading the city of Solo, and the strong imagery done by Jokowi and his team. But in fact, along with Jokowi's leadership journey, the imagery begins to fade, as people already see the real facts. The program offered in the campaign is not all done according to the wishes of the people, in addition to the atmosphere of cabinet Jokowi which is considered not solid. As a result, the imagery of Jokowi's leadership in the eyes of the community has decreased and Jokowi is considered to be a part of society, failing in managing power.

Admittedly, at the time of Presidential election contestation, the public support for Jokowi is very high. However, it does not mean the success in the arena and the process of seizing political legitimacy will determine success in the arena of political decision-making. This is what often happens to a number of politicians, where a politician succeeds in gaining voice support, but fails in the arena of political decision-making and the power management. This condition is much feared, because it will affect the continuity of public policy. As Nyarwi Ahmad asserts, the most dangerous thing in politics is when political actors and political institutions fail to manage power. The failure to manage power, especially those committed by the state and government can be fatal, that is the emergence of public distrust of the holder of the mandate of power. Moreover, the failure will open up opportunities for a national political crisis and a prolonged political conflict between actors and political institutions. [70]

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[70]Ahmad, *Manajemen*, p. 65.

Realizing the above facts, then in the world of political management of power must be conducted maximally based on the ability to run and exercise power to be in line with the goals and ideals of the country and the goals and ideals of the community. Thus, politicians who are born and appear to the public no longer merely armed with the image of political ideology and political thought owned, developed and championed. But further than that, the public issues promoted by political parties and politicians, are actual issues and the work programs offered must be genuinely pro-people and implemented for the people's welfare.

2.4 Political Communication in Strengthening Imagery

At the beginning of this chapter, it has been explained that imagery, originally only discussed at the business level, has penetrated the world of politics. When it is noticed, imagery is one form of communication that also demands the similarity of the meaning as the end result. The imagery perpetrators hope that people can have the impression about themselves, products, companies are imaged in accordance with the expected. Imagery is closely related to the physical dimension, where it resides. Someone will imitate themselves differently when they are in different places. It is also closely related to the psychological social dimension, namely the psychiatric environment between the communicator and the communicant. One will imitate himself differently when dealing with people of different socioeconomic status, different levels of education, different emotional attachments and so on. Finally, imagery is also closely related to the temporal dimension, ie time of day or period. A politician will imitate himself differently during the campaign and after his election. Before we describe the position of political communication in the strengthening of imagery, the following will be discussed first understanding of political

communication, elements of political communication, purpose and function of political communication.

In the last few decades, the study of political communication has been a rapid development, and growth which is happening all over the world. When it is viewed from a historical perspective, political communication has been known in the early studies of democratic discourse from Aristotle and Plato. In its development, modern political communication relies on a multidisciplinary based on the concepts in communication science, political science, journalism, sociology, psychology, history, rhetoric, and others. These developments contribute to the differentiation of political communication. To get closer to understanding the definition of political communication, it consists of two words, namely communication and politics, the two words will be explained separately without diminishing the philosophical meaning and purpose.

Communication as understood is one of the most basic, important, and complex aspects of human life. There is no human life apart from communication activities. Communication is understood as the process of passing messages, either through symbols or through language in order to influence others. Following Deddy Mulyana's logic, communication is the process of various meanings through verbal and nonverbal behaviors involving two or more people. The communication occurs when at least one source can generate responses to the recipient through the delivery of a message in the form of a sign or symbol. [71] Rogers defines communication as a process by which messages are transmitted from sources to recipients

[71]Dedi Mulyana, *Komunikasi Efektif: Suatu Pendekatan Lintas Budaya* (Bandung: Remaja Rosdakarya, 2004), p. 3.

in order to alter their behavior. The process can simply be described by the S-M-C-R model that is *Source, sending Messages, through Channels, to Receivers.* [72] Hafied Cangara quotes from Cassandra L. Book explains that a group of communication scholars specializing in the study of human communication provide the definition of communication, namely:

> *A transaction, a symbolic process that requires people to organize the environment by (1) building relationships among people (2) through the exchange of information (3) to strengthen the attitudes and behavior of others (4) and try to change attitudes and behavior.*[73]

In contrast to Efendy explains the meaning of communication from two points of view, namely the point of view of language and the term. From the linguistic review (etymology), the word communication in English is derived from the Latin, that is from the word *communis*, which means the same, communication or *comunicare* which means making the same. Equally in this case is the same meaning. So if there are two people involved in communication, then communication will occur as long as there is a common meaning to what is being said. [74] The term *communis* is the term most commonly referred to as the origin of the word of communication which is the root of Latin words. [75]

A number of definitions of communication that have been mentioned above certainly are not representative of all communication definitions that have been made by experts. However, it can be understood that at least the

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[72]Everett M. Rogers dan F. Floyid Shoemaker, *Communication of Innovations,* terj. Abdillah Hanafi (Surabaya: Usaha Nasional, 1981), p. 22.

[73]Hafied Cangara, *Pengantar Ilmu Komunikasi* (Jakarta: PT. RajaGrafindo Persada, 1998), p. 18.

[74]Onong Ucjhana Effendy, *Ilmu Komunikasi Teori dan Praktek* (Bandung: PT. Remaja Rosdakarya, 1984), p. 9.

[75]Deddy Mulyana, *Ilmu Komunikasi Suatu Pengantar,* cet. 2 (Bandung: PT Remaja Rosdakarya, 2001), p. 41.

notion in some way gives the idea that communication is essentially a process of passing messages from communicators to communicant, so as to achieve a common perception of the object being discussed. By Shannon and Weaver (1949) say, communication occurs between each other, intentionally or unintentionally not limited to forms of communication using verbal language, but also in terms of facial expression, painting, art and technology. [76]

From a brief description of the meaning of communication that has been stated above, it can be understood that every perpetrator of communication will perform four actions, namely forming, conveying, receiving and processing messages. These four actions are common in sequence. Forming the message means creating an idea or idea. This happens in the mind of a person's head through the workings of the nervous system. Messages that have been formed are then passed on to others, either directly or indirectly. Messages that have been formed will be sent to others, and then messages received and processed nervous system and to be interpreted. Once interpreted, the message will cause a reaction to the person. When a response has been established, that person will also form and deliver a new message to others.

Furthermore, politics is also interpreted in different versions. For example, the notion cited by Gun Gun Heryanto from Deliar Noer defines politics as an activity or attitude related to power and which intends to influence by altering or maintaining a form of society. [77] Budiarjo as quoted by *Cangara* describes politics as an activity undertaken by a

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[76] Communication is also interpreted, Communication is the act of sending ideas and attitudes from one person to another. Writing and talking to each other are two ways human beings communicate. We also communicate when we gesture, move our bodies, or roll our eyes. See Shirley Biagi, Media Imfact: an Introduction to Mass Media, 3rd ed. (New York: Wadsworth Publishing Company, 1995), p. 6.
[77] Gun Gun Heryanto, *Komunikasi Politik* (Jakarta: Universitas Indonesia 2010), p. 5.

country that involves the process of determining the objectives and implementing those goals.[78] According to Nimmo, politics is derived from the word "*polis*" which means the state, the city, which in totality is the unity between the state (city) and its people. The word policy develops into *politicos* which means citizenship. From the word politicos to "*politera*" which means the rights of citizenship.[79] Nimmo briefly defines political communication as communication that refers to political activity. Nimmo also added, the purpose of political communication is to persuade the communicant to agree with the communicator. [80]

From the description above, it can be understood that political communication shows a process of message exchange conducted by political communicators. Political communication can also be said as a communication process which has a political weight and the consequence of communication is a political message that regulates human behavior. It means political communication is an activity that aims to convey political messages to others, in order to order. Regularity can manifest when communication is directed to the achievement of an influence in such a way that the problem addressed by this type of communication activity can bind all its citizens through a sanction determined jointly by political institutions. To be more explicitly understood, political communication can be interpreted as a communication activity that has political consequences. By Ramlan Surbakti, defines political communication as a process of delivering information about politics from government to society and from society to government. [81]

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[78]Hafied Cangara, *Komunikasi Politik: Konsep, Teori, dan Strategi* (Jakarta: Rajawali Pers, 2008), p. 28.
[79]Nimmo, *Komunikasi Politik*, p. 108.
[80]*Ibid*, p. 118.
[81]Surbakti, *Memahami*, p. 152.

Rush and Althoff describe political communication as transmitting politically relevant information from one part of the political system, which is a dynamic element of a political system and a process of socialization, political participation and recruitment dependent on communication. [82] The process according to Rush and Althoff occurs on an ongoing basis and includes patterns of information exchange among individuals with groups at all levels. Rush says more firmly that political communication is a dynamic element of a political system. As illustrated by Rush and Althoff.

Figure 4.
Political System in Political Communication

Political Culture

Political System   Political Communication
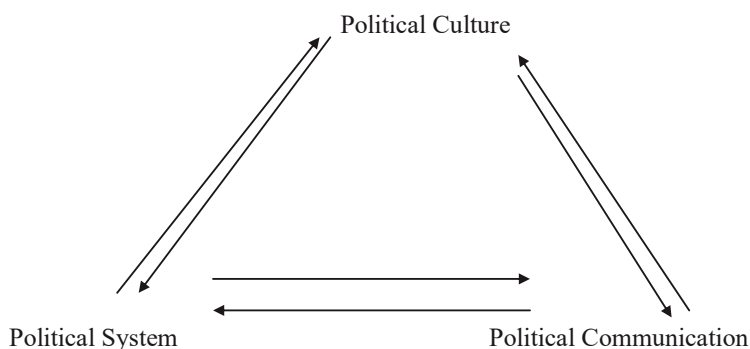
Based on the picture above, it can be understood that political communication is one of the functions run by every political system. Political communication is a process in which the relevant political information is passed from one part of the political system to another, and between social systems and political systems. The incident is a continuous process, involving the exchange of information among individuals with groups at all levels of society so that it gives birth to a political culture. Following the logic of Almond and Verba as quoted by Komaruddin Sahid,

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[82]Michael Rush dan Philip Althoff, *Pengantar Sosiologi Politik* (Jakarta: PT. RajaGrafindo Persada, 2004), p. 24.

political culture is a typical citizen-oriented attitude toward the political system and diversity for him and attitudes toward the role of citizens in the system. In this case, it is seen the existence of individual elements, namely citizens with political systems and attachments. [83]

Political communication plays an important role in the political system. Political communication determines dynamic elements, and becomes a decisive part of political socialization, political participation, and political recruitment. It can also be understood as communication between the governing and the governed. Thus, through the activity of political communication, there is a connection between social societies with the scope of the state, so that political communication is a means for political education. Political communication is communication directed to the attainment of influence in such a way that is done by a person or group of people who have a certain orientation, political thought or ideology in order to gain power. Quoting Rochajat Harun's explanation, political communication is a process and activities to form attitudes and political behavior that is integrated into a political system using symbols. [84]

The application of political communication will affect the dynamics of the political system then it will also affect the social system that develops in the society. Political communication is intertwined and distributed between political systems and other political systems, as well as depicted between the political system and the social system. Political parties, positioning political communications become important because political communication is the basis of party functions such as political socialization, political participation, and recruitment and so on. Maswadi Rauf and Mappa Nasrun explained that political communication as a tool to

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[83]Komarudin Sahid, *Memahami Sosiologi Politik* (Bogor: Ghalia Indonesia, 2015), p. 150.
[84]Rochajat Harun dan Sumarno AP, *Komunikasi Politik* (Bandung: Mandar Maju, 2006), p. 5.

channel the aspirations and political interests of the community, then made an input to the political system and at the same time it also channeled the policy taken or the output of the political system. [85] The input process in a political system involves the party as an infrastructure to gather the aspirations for the party to gain public support. Through the process of political communication, people will also know whether the support, aspirations, and supervision are channeled or not as they can conclude from the application as a political policy taken by the government.

Political communication in the political process has various forms when used by politicians or political activists to achieve their political goals. Communication techniques are conducted to achieve legitimacy support (social authority), which includes three levels namely, knowledge, attitude to the behavior of audiences. Political communication activities include some efforts to seek, maintain and enhance political support by imagery and fostering positive public opinion. [86]

Brian McNair breaks down the three definitions of political communication on the basis of its components: (a) all forms of communication by politicians and other political actors for the sake of success of particular ends; (b) communications addressed to such political actors by (non-political) citizens such as voters and newspaper authors; and (c) communication of such political actors and their activities, as published in news reports, editorials and other forms of political media discussion. [87]

The definition is different, but the aim is similar to the one described above by Steven Foster, as quoted by Darmawan, that political communication is the way and the implications in which politicians seek to

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[85]Maswardi Rauf dan Mappa Nasrun, *Indonesia dan Komunikasi Politik* (Jakarta: PT Gramedia Utama, 1993), p. 3.
[86]Arifin, *Komunikasi Politik,* p. 8.
[87]Brian McNair, *An Introduction To Political Communication* (London: Routledge, 2011), p. 4.

communicate their message to skeptical and unattached voters. In this case, Foster considers that political communication takes place in relation to elections, when there is a political campaign process involving politicians and voters. Likewise Damsar describes political communication as a process of transferring messages (in the form of data, facts, information or images) containing a purpose from the sender to the recipient involving the meaning process of power, authority, political life, government, state, policy, decision making and sharing over allocation (power). [88]

From the definition of political communication above, the nature of political communication philosophically is the study of the nature of human life to survive in the scope of nation and state. It is the essence of life as a motive or as a desire that encourages human beings to take part in the arena of life. Political communication is the process of transmitting relevant political information from one part of the political system to another, and between social systems and political systems. In this case, political communication is a continuous process and also involves the exchange of information between the individuals and the groups at all society levels. The communication process is likely to have an impact on political behavior. As Ardial from Almond and Powell explained, political communication emphasizes the link between political communication and the political system. These experts place political communication as one of the political functions in the political system. Even political communication is a necessary prerequisite for other functions such as articulation, aggregation, socialization and recruitment. It means, political communication is closely related to the political system. [89]

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[88]Darmawan, *Mengenal,* p. 115-116.
[89]Ardial, *Komunikasi Politik* (Jakarta: Indeks, 2010), p. 30.

CHAPTER III
RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

3.1 Research Type and Approach

This research is designed as a qualitative research, because the focus of the research is on the observation and naturalistic setting.[90] This type of research is also called as naturalistic inquiry, because this research seeks to understand the object being studied as it is, not manipulated but understood through natural analysis. [91] According to Creswell as quoted by Basuki, qualitative research is a process of research to understand human or social problems by creating comprehensive and complex images presented in words, reporting detailed views obtained from the sources of information, and done in the naturalistic setting. [92]

The approach used is a phenomenological approach, because imagery is included in the concentration of political communication study. Imagery is a form of nonverbal communication by a person or institution, to influence the behavior, thoughts, views, and opinions of others on what is imaged. This study has become more interesting in Indonesia since the 2004 general election. Therefore, phenomenology is chosen as an approach in this research, because the aim is to illustrate the current reality without explaining the relationship between the variables. [93] For that reason, this study aims to create a systematic, factual and accurate description about the facts of the object being studied. It means, in this study political imagery

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[90]Jalaluddin Rakhmat, *Metode Penelitian Komunikasi Dilengkapi Contoh Analisis Statistik* (Bandung: Remaja Rosdakarya, 1984), p. 25.
[91]Mulyana, *Metode Penelitian*, p. 157-159.
[92]Heru Basuki, *Penelitian kualitatif: Untuk Ilmu-Ilmu Kemanusiaan dan Budaya* (Jakarta: Universitas Gunadarma, 2006), p. 86.
[93]Rakhmat Kriyantono, *Teknik Praktis Riset Komunikasi* (Jakarta: Kencana, 2006), p. 69.

activities which DPW PAN of North Sumatra conducted in attracting the people's sympathy are recorded, painted, described and reported in accordance with the facts. This research was conducted in secretariat of DPW PAN of North Sumatera.

3.2 **Place and Time**

This research was conducted in secretariat of DPW PAN of North Sumatera. The data in this research consists of two types, namely primary data and secondary data. Primary data is the main data used as the main material reviewed. The primary data source of this research comes from the board of DPW PAN of North Sumatera and also from the PAN in the region. The head of DPW PAN of North Sumatera becomes the object of research as well as being a key informant who is expected to provide the necessary data in accordance with the research objectives. [94]

The determination of this key informant is conducted through purposive technique sampling that is, the writer in this case deliberately select and assigns research informants. The key informants are set based on the eligibility criteria to provide the required data in the study. Key informants were selected from DPW PAN of North Sumatera; among others were the Chairman of DPW PAN of North Sumatera, Secretary of DPW PAN of North Sumatera, and DPRD member of North Sumatra from PAN, within the period of 2005-2010. The determination of informants is conducted continuously and dynamically in accordance with the development of the required data. Other key informants were selected from the community leaders represent the Islamic social organizations, such as Muhammadiyah figures, Al Wasliyah figures. The key informants in this study include the Chairman of Nasiyatul Aisiyah (NA) of North Sumatra,

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[94]Burhan Bungin, *Analisa Data Penelitian Kualitatif: Pemahaman Filosofis Ke Arah Penguasaan Model Aplikasi* (Jakarta: PT RajaGrafindo Persada, 2003), p. 53.

the Chairman of DPD PAN of Labuhan Batu Selatan, the Chairman of DPD PAN of Serdang Bedagai and the Chairman of DPD PAN of Medan City. Meanwhile the secondary data of the research is the supporting data whose source comes from the general public, which is the result of supporting interviews derived from journals, books and relevant research results that are acknowledged scientific accountability.

CHAPTER IV

AN OVERVIEW OF PAN DEVELOPMENT IN NORTH SUMATRA

PAN is one of the party that grew along with the era of reformation and the enactment of multi party system in Indonesia. A national figure, a reform figure and then occupied the position of General Chairman of Muhammadiyah named Amien Rais who is familiarly called pack Amien managed to give birth to the birth of PAN. PAN is an embryo that emerged from the People's Mandate Council (MARA), a container formed by Amien with a number of national figures in order to support the reform movement that successfully ended the Suharto rule. MARA itself is a container formed on May 14, 1998, along with about 50 other national figures, such as Albert Hasibuan, Goenawan Mohammad, Faisal Basri and so on.

In the Bogor Meeting on 5 - 6 August 1998, the figures from MARA and other movement figures such as Tebet Society, gathered together to establish a political party and the party was named *Partai Amanat Bangsa* (PAB). On August 23, 1998 PAB changed its name to PAN. The party that was handed by MARA figures firmly did not focus its attention on someone's personality, but rather invited people to pay attention to the platform rationally. The name was thrown into the forum, and the participants of the meeting were asked to consider various proposals for the name of the standing party. Of the three names proposed namely PAB, *Partai Amanat Rakyat* (PAR) and PAN, then through the voting process finally the agreed names are the National Mandate Party (PAN) and M. Amien Rais elected as the first chairman.

PAN aims to uphold and uphold the sovereignty of the people, justice, material and spiritual progress. The ideals of PAN are rooted in

religious morality, humanity, pluralism, non-discrimination and non-discrimination. Among the important features of this party is the recognition of plurality as being the identity of the Indonesian nation. PAN adheres to non-sectarian and non-discriminatory principles thus open to anyone who comes from various beliefs, ideas, ethnic backgrounds, tribes, religions, and gender. For the realization of new Indonesia, the central point of important dialogues of this party meeting is the equity in managing resources so that the people of all over Indonesia can truly feel as citizens.

As a party, PAN has its foundation and platform. The basis of PAN is as the platform creation itself which provides insights to cadres that both the foundation and the platform should be understood together as something that is interconnected with each other. An effort to find a smart understanding of the basics ensures that each PAN cadre is able to absorb the whole meaning of the platform. Based on the Articles of Association/Family Budget (AD/ART), Chapter III Article 4 paragraph (2), PAN has the basis of "Religious-based political morals that bring blessings to the world". The basic concrete is detailed in three points:
a. The Supreme God who brings blessings to the worlds.
b. United, sovereign and dignified Nation
c. Democratic, fair and prosperous Citizenship

The principles and platforms were made in conjunction with the founding of PAN, so that the platform became the foundation of the founding of PAN when it was declared on August 23, 1998. The platform is a cornerstone of political work and serves as a guide to determine the steps and travel of PAN to meet the future. Substantially, the PAN platform states that PAN is a political party that allows every human being to develop his personality in freedom. Every human being is entitled to participate in political, economic, cultural and participatory life in efforts to

develop humanity. PAN is thus a party that respects and encourages diversity. It is an open party (inclusive). The inclusiveness of PAN in reality is evident from the diverse backgrounds of the PAN management, ranging from differences in beliefs, thoughts, ethnic background, ethnicity, religion and gender.

As a consequence of the platform, PAN opposes all forms of dictatorship, totalitarianism and authoritarianism, since they are contrary to human dignity and pride, freeing the freedoms and destroying the law. PAN also upholds democracy, to realize the social and political order that enables people to control power. Another consequence of all is that PAN positioned itself to compete with other parties openly, fairly and honestly in order to gain popular support. As long as it is not in a government position, this party will function as an opposition. The party is opinionate, the government and the opposition have equal responsibility to society.

Based on its identity and nature, PAN is an open political party for Indonesian citizens, who make religion its moral foundation. In addition, the ethics of nation and state, respect for human dignity and dignity is the foundation for realizing its struggle. Therefore, PAN's vision is "The realization of PAN as the foremost political party in realizing a just and prosperous civil society, good and clean government within a democratic and sovereign Indonesia, and in blessing Allah SWT, God Almighty". To realize that vision, PAN formulates the mission, namely:

a. To win PAN in every election.

b. To realize a cadre with high spiritual, social and political awareness, intelligent, sincere, pluralist, tough, professional, independent, progressive, innovative, consistent.

c. To achieve a close PAN and defend the interests of the people

d. To build a modern PAN organization based on strong, deep-rooted systems, management and organizational culture.

e. To create a new democratic Indonesia society, social justice, prosperous, peaceful, intelligent, independent, and participative.

f. To realize good and clean Indonesian governance which protects the whole Indonesian nation and the entire Indonesian blood sphere and promotes the common prosperity, and the intellectual life of the nation.

g. To create a united, sovereign, dignified, united Indonesia state to participate in a world order based on freedom, eternal peace and social justice, and respected in international relations.

The platform as one of the foundations of political work is PAN's initial capital to position itself as a modern and open party. Each PAN cadre understands the PAN's position as an irrefutable historical reality. Even the starting point of the platform was then born and formed the ideology of PAN as a manifestation of the essence of the platform which was then established in the 2nd National Congress of PAN in Bali in 2001. Its vision of the mission then elaborated in the Outline of the Party's Struggle covering political issues, economic, land, labor, education, health, demography, youth, culture, people's housing, religious life, social welfare, transmigration and regional development, agriculture, marine, fisheries, animal husbandry and forestry; international relations.

To strengthen the survival and movement of the struggle, and then PAN formed a stewardship from the national level to the provincial, district/ town, district, village and even open stewardship abroad. Based on the Articles of Association of PAN Chapter VI Article 12 paragraph (1), PAN working area structure, namely:

a. Central Leadership Board (DPP) at the national level.

b. Regional Leadership Council (DPW) at the provincial level.

c. District Leadership Council (DPD) at the district / city level.

d. Branch Leadership Board (DPC) at the sub-district level or other names of the same level.

e. Twig Leadership Board (DPRT) at village/nagari level and/or other names of the same level.

f. The management of Rayon and Sub Rayon under the village/sub village level and/or groups of mass societies that are not bound by the territory.

g. Foreign Coordinator (KLN) abroad with territorial scope at the State level.

In the history of its development, the age of PAN in 2016 was even 18 years and has conducted four congresses. Congress I of PAN was held in 2000 in Yogyakarta and declared Amien Rais as the Chairman of DPP PAN and Hatta Rajasa as the Secretary General. The second congress was held at Patra Hotel, Semarang on 7 - 10 April 2005. Sutrisno Bachir was elected as the Chairman of DPP PAN and Zulkifli Hasan as the Secretary General, meanwhile Amien Rais was the Chairman of the Party Advisory Panel (MPP). Then the third congress was held in Batam from 8-10 January 2010. Ir. M. Hatta Rajasa was elected by acclamation to become the Chairman of Central Executive Board (DPP) PAN and Prof. DR. M. Amien Rais, MA as Chairman of the Party Advisory Panel (MPP) of DPP PAN for the period 2010-2015. The 4th Congress was held in Bali from 28 February to 2 March; Zulkifli Hasan was elected the Chairman of the DPP PAN and Soetrisno Bachir was the Chairman of the National Mandate Party of Justice. Meanwhile Amien Rais was Chairman of the PAN Honorary Council. [95]

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[95] Zulkifli Husein, Head of Central and Regional Election Pemengu I 2010 - 2015, and Chairman of DPW National Mandate Party (PAN) of North Sumatra period 2015-2020. Interview in May 23, 2016 at the North Sumatra DPRD office.

When it is examined from the historical leadership of PAN, from several congresses there is one tradition that prevailed in the party, namely regeneration. This reflects that PAN is a reform party that continues to voice renewal and regeneration. This can be seen from the continuing succession of leadership. Each General Chairman of the PAN only looks one period, although the actual Chairman of the incumbent still allowed to become a candidate for chairman. However, regeneration seems to be a deep-rooted tradition in PAN's travel history. Even this tradition is transmitted to the DPW PAN in the Province of Indonesia.

One of the Regional Leadership Board (DPW) among the DPW in Indonesia is the DPW PAN of North Sumatra. As information obtained from Zulkifli Husein, the Chairman of DPW PAN North Sumatra, that PAN of North Sumatra declared as a place to fight for the aspirations of the people in realizing a just and prosperous civil society. To realize these ideals, DPW PAN North Sumatra immediately implements the declaration of the establishment of North Sumatra in Hajj Medan, coinciding with the PAN national declaration in Jakarta on August 23, 1998. As a party open to Indonesian citizens, PAN declaration attended by various elements communities, ranging from the sympathetic community, inter religion leaders, cross-youth leaders and cross-social community leaders.

When it is viewed from a historical angle, PAN of North Sumatra on its way has passed five times Regional Deliberation (*Musywil*). The *Musywil* I PAN of North Sumatra implemented one day after the declaration. In the *Musywil*, Ir. Amri Husni Siregar was chosen as the Chairman of PAN of North Sumatra for period 1998-2000. It is noted that at the beginning of the PAN movement in North Sumatra, PAN experienced a fairly rapid development. In the three months after the declaration, PAN has been established in 25 districts / cities in North

Sumatra, because at that time, the number of regencies/towns in North Sumatra as much as 25. But until 2016, PAN of North Sumatra has completed its management in all districts/expansion formed later in North Sumatra. [96]

The rapid development of PAN of North Sumatra became an important note in Indonesian politics, because the newly born PAN of the embriyo reform era, able to expand its wings in a short period of time throughout Indonesia. According to the analysis conducted by the author, the development of PAN in Indonesia, is inseparable from the existence of Muhammadiyah which at that time fully supports the party movement, because Amien Rais as Chairman of Muhammadiyah Center is as chairman who leads the party movement. Even from the author's analysis, in the case of North Sumatra, for example, PAN also has the full support of the Muhammadiyah people, who welcomed the birth of the party that was staying at that time as the Reform Party. [97]

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[96] The thing that encourages the rapid development of PAN in North Sumatra is the synergy between Muhammadiyah and PAN. At the beginning of the reform, in 1998-1999, the DPW PAN of North Sumatra was led by Amri Husni Siregar who was a Muhammadiyah leader and was the former chairman of Muhammadiyah Regional Leadership (PDM) Medan City. Period from 2000 to 2005, the chairman of DPW PAN Sumut also held by Muhammadiyah cadres, namely Drs. H. Ibrahim Sakti Batubara. Period 2005-2010 PAN in North Sumatra is chaired by Kamaluddin Harahap who is also a cadre of Muhammadiyah. This political fact can not be denied, that the role of Muhammadiyah cadres to raise and develop the PAN in North Sumatra is enormous. This can be traced back to the time of Amri Husni Siregar, where the PAN in North Sumatra DPRD obtained seven seats. When Ibrahim Sakty became chairman of the DPW, PAN won eight seats. Similarly, in Kamaluddin Harahap's time, PAN obtained seven seats in North Sumatra DPRD. Even in the days of Kamaluddin Harahap, PAN obtained the trust entrusted as a leader in North Sumatra DPRD for the first time in all history. Then torelah this achievement decreased at the time of PAN Sumut in skipper by shah Afandin period 2010-2015. Acquisition of PAN seats in North Sumatra parliament only six seats. The growing assumption that the decline of PAN seats in North Sumatra DPRD is caused by the chairman of PAN Sumut priod 2010-2015 not from the Muhammadiyah cadres. Muhammadiyah cadres and sympathizers are not interested if the chairman is from outside Muhammadiyah. This condition is one of the factors driving the decline of PAN seats in the 2014 legislative elections. See, Anang Anas Azhar, "*Mencari Figur Ketua PAN Sumut*" dalam *Harian Waspada* 19 June 2015.

[97] When observed political developments, especially in relation to the context of politics in Indonesia, there are at least two arguments that can be used as an excuse, why one political party can survive in the old. First, the political party has a long historical political and cultural

The argument and analysis is supported by the acknowledgment of the Chairman of DPW PAN of North Sumatera, Zulkifli Husen, that PAN in Indonesia, including in North Sumatra cannot be separated from the existence of Muhammadiyah. The birth of PAN in Indonesia, including in North Sumatra obtained a maximum support from Muhammadiyah people from region, branch to twig. Zulkifli Husen asserted that at the beginning of its development in North Sumatra, PAN officials generally came from Muhammadiyah which automatically the chairman of Muhammadiyah branch became the party chairman at Regency/ town level. The movement is very massive up to the branch, so the PAN vote in the 1999 Legislative Election increased significantly, in which PAN won 7 seats in North Sumatra DPRD. From interviews conducted, Zulkifli Husen asserted,

> *If anyone says that PAN was born by Amien Rais, has a strong inner relationship with Muhammadiyah, that's fine, because the PAN mass base is indeed a Muhammadiah's citizen, even if there is no other sympathizer. At the time of its formation, in Indonesia in general, and North Sumatra specifically recruited PAN stewardship of Muhammadiyah in the regions. Because at that time there were no guidelines stipulating that Muhammadiyah management should not be a PAN administrator at the same time. Therefore, in the development of the party wing to the regions, we are rather easy. Even from the author's analysis, the*

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parallelism. In this context, for example, an example of a PDIP that may have historical political relations with the PNI, IPKI, Murba, the Catholic Party and Parkindo. Another example is also like Golkar Party which has a strong political history with Sekber Golkar. PPP also, has a history with Masyumi, PNU. Second, the political party has a braided political, cultural, and psychological history with certain mass organizations that have existed for a long time and survive in the social realm of Indonesian society. For example, PKB has a cultural and psychological relationship with NU Islamic organizations. While PAN itself has a strong emotional relationship with Muhammadiyah. Support from the mass organizations that make PAN survive.

Muhammadiyah administrators in the area automatically as the PAN Management. This may be the reasons political observers say that PAN is strong in national politics, because of the support of Muhammadiyah. [98]

Based on the information described above, it is understandable that in the history of its growth, PAN has an interesting romance with Muhammadiyah, although it eventually comes out the rules that Muhammadiyah management should not be a PAN administrator simultaneously. Then, Muhammadiyah also began to reinforce its *khittah* not to plunge into practical politics. Muhammadiyah is legally formal withdraw from practical politics and return to its khittah as an Islamic mass organization *diniyah* that move with *amar ma'ruf nahi munkar* principle. However, such romance does not necessarily end, because the emotional bond has strengthened since the birth. Even the romance is sustainable until now in various levels of political contestation in Indonesia.

Along with the passage of time, the same as other PAN parties also continue to carry out leadership succession. As soon as the 1999 elections took place, PAN of North Sumatra also began to improve itself by conducting a leadership succession. So in the year 2000 Regional Meeting (*Musywil*) II was held to select the PAN leadership of North Sumatra. In *Musywil* II, Ibrahim Sakti Batubara was elected chairman of PAN of North Sumatra in the period of 2000-2005 to replace Amri Husni Siregar. In this period, PAN won 8 seats. Next *Musywil* III PAN held, Ir. H. Kamaluddin Harahap was elected as the chairman of PAN of North Sumatrra 2005-2010 period to replace Ibrahim Sakti Batubara. In this period PAN won the seats in North Sumatra parliament as many as 7 seats. The *Musywil* IV held on

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[98]Zulkifli Husein, Head of Central and Regional Election Pemengu I 2010 - 2015, and Chairman of DPW National Mandate Party (PAN) of North Sumatra period 2015-2020. Interview in May 23, 2016 at the North Sumatra DPRD office..

August 1, 2010 at the building Selecta Jalan Electric Medan. Syah Affandin or who is familiarly called Ondim selected by acclamation to continue the leadership of PAN Sumut period 2010-2015. In this period, PAN won 6 seats in DPRD of North Sumatra. The *Musywil* V held on June 23, 2015, Zulkifli Husein was elected as Chairman of DPW PAN of North Sumatra period 2015-2020 replaced Syah Affandin (Ondim). In this period, PAN has fulfilled all the stewardship in 33 districts/towns in North Sumatra, then 510 DPC, even the administrators of twigs and sub rayon in the villages.

The history of the founding and the development of PAN with all its ideals, continuously is the spirit underlying the existence of PAN. The history and ideals of that position are undoubtedly reviewed in order to make sense of the existence of PAN. A thorough understanding of the history and ideals of the founding of the PAN is an attempt to strengthen its movement as a political party that counts in Indonesia in the future. That is why, in the effort to reach the future, PAN stands on the ideological basis of trust and nationality to be able to respond intelligently and responsibly to the issues of nationality and nobility, and to contribute to the creation of democratic political life in Indonesia.

PAN realizes that as a political party, it cannot avoid the things that are particular to the battleground of political interests in this country. Even the fight is not only between the party's internal fellow, even the competition with other parties. PAN is a political force in Indonesia which has a basic attitude that the whole process and all the results achieved in the political work is for the sake and to realize the mandate of the people. This is often delivered by Amien Rais who is the founder of PAN that the birth of PAN is to realize the mandate of the people. Meanwhile with the ideology of nationality means, PAN appreciate and uphold the plurality, heterogeneity or social pluralism, economic and cultural which then

bersenyawa form a nation state called Indonesia. Thus, the ideology of "*amanah*" and "nationality" are pillars of PAN's buffer as a modernist party. [99]

Based on the above descriptions, the author sees that although Muhammadiyah itself is firmly stated that Muhammadiyah is organizationally unaffiliated to any political party. But one thing to remember is that the emotional connection to the establishment of PAN with Muhammadiyah cadres cannot be separated from the historical record. The dominance of PAN's claims of an emotional connection with Muhammadiyah is irrefutable. However, dynamic political developments need to be read in order to see future mass tendencies. Because the level of public confidence, especially cadres Muhammadiyah to the PAN could have decreased, if the romance that once was built, then forgotten.

In that connection, PAN should be more diligent in caring for such emotional and romantic relationships, besides the maintenance of a base that is not Muhammadiyah, but their sympathizers, too, are very important. Even the advocacy to the constituents needs to be run consistently, so it is not merely an inspiration. Therefore, the dynamics of politics that continue to grow in Indonesia along with the growing use of mass media, then the mass media should also be utilized as an effort to build a positive image. In addition, other communication channels that are not less important, such as interpersonal communication, group communication and even

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[99]PAN ideology is not merely rhetoric but the whole system of thinking that is deployed to become the basic guideline of the struggle. Ideology has the function of refusing, consolidating how one should act. When followed by Gramsci's logic of thinking, ideology is not just a system of ideas. The historical ideology of the word Gramsci has a psychological validity. It means that ideology governs humans and provides a place for humans to move, gain awareness of their positions, their struggles and so on. See in, Roger Simon, See Roger Simon, *Gagasan-gagasan Politik Gramsci* (Yogyakarta: Pustaka Pelajar, 1999), p. 83.

organizational communication are also very important to do in order to maintain the PAN mass base in North Sumatra.

From this development, these communicative efforts have been undertaken by the DPW PAN of North Sumatra in expressing their identity as parties that favor the interests of the people, as well as the parties that exist in the national political constellation.

CHAPTER V
DISCUSSION

5.1 PAN in North Sumatra and Its Political Imagery to Attract the Public Sympathy from 2005 to 2015

The National Mandate Party, hereinafter referred to as PAN, was born in tandem with the reformation era. It is an open party (inclusive) for Indonesian citizens. The birth of PAN was handed by Amien Rais, and in reality it has a strong inner relationship with Muhammadiyah. Since it was first declared on August 23, 1998 in Jakarta, PAN led by Prof. Dr. H. Amien Rais received remarkable support from various parties, especially from the Muhammadiyah community even more than moral support. The establishment of PAN in the national political stage attracted many Muhammadiyah members to join in it, so that the basis of PAN's mass is Muhammadiyah. This reality reinforces the argument of some experts who judge that PAN is identical with its Muhammadiyah party.

PAN is recognized to have been established and led by Amien Rais who is also the former chairman of PP Muhammadiyah period 1995-2000 result 43 congress in 1995 in Banda Aceh. Nevertheless, PAN is not part of Muhammadiyah, although in its political ijtihad Amien Rais received the blessing of Muhammadiyah through the *Tanwir* Meeting 5-7 July in Semarang as well as the 22 August Plenary Session in Jakarta. [100] PAN according to Amien Rais is a struggle party to guard the path of reform and

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[100] The result of the Tanwir Muhammadiyah meeting gave the mandate to the Muhammadiyah central leadership, to do two things: First, to do political ijtihad in order to achieve the maximum benefit of the people and the nation, which always based on the spirit of Islam amar ma'ruf nahi munkar. Secondly, developing the reform agenda (Muhammadiyah reform concept and strategy) in various areas of national and state life towards the rapid realization of a prosperous and prosperous society.'

build democracy after the fall of the authoritarian power of the new order. The political participation of Muhammadiyah's citizens and elites was crucial in the political dynamics of the time, as the reform demands concrete consolidation of democracy through self-engagement in political activities rather than political exercise. But it was also realized that PAN's phenomenon was a test of the Muhammadiyah, between the demands to maintain neutrality with the will to support Amien Rais's party.

Apart from the arguments that arise, the interesting thing to observe from PAN is its survival as a new party, which also competed in the arena of Indonesian politics. Although PAN nationally experienced a fluctuating development in terms of vote acquisition, but PAN always managed to escape from Parliamentary Threshold (PT). For example, in the 1999 election, PAN obtained 7,528,956 votes (7.12%) or equivalent to 34 seats (7.36%), fifth under PKB. In the 2004 election, PAN's vote was 7,303,324 votes (6.44%) or equivalent to 53 seats (9.64%), seventh. In the 2009 elections PAN votes of 6,254,580 votes (6.01%) or equivalent to 43 seats (7.68%), were in position five above PPP. In the 2014 Election, PAN received 9,481,621 votes (7.59%) or equivalent to 49 seats, in the eighth position.

As long as the observations made, the survival of PAN is not only supported by its massive base to twigs, especially the support of Muhammadiyah residents. But on the other hand, PAN is supported by good political communication and party imagery in the eyes of the people. That is why, before further exposing PAN's political image, at the beginning of this chapter is described briefly on the history of PAN development because history can describe the efforts and strategic steps undertaken to build the survival. At the very least, the history of PAN's

development will be a benchmark, what is its ideology, its platform, its program and even its strategic steps.

5.2 Imagery through Various Communication Channels

In the previous chapters it has been explained that imagery has been widely introduced by political observers and politicians who often do so in order to boost the voting in every election event, either Presidential Election, Regional Head or Legislative Candidate election. One of the observations made, the party that continues to imagery either at the time of the political contestation, or outside it is PAN North Sumatra. From the analysis conducted, the image politics strengthen the awareness for political parties related to the importance of the function of various communication channels, in order to bridge the interests of the party with the interests of the constituents. Recalling the importance of imaging, the DPW PAN of North Sumatra utilizes various channels of communication available as revealed by Agus Salim Ujung.

DPW PAN of North Sumatra in principle does not want to be left behind with other parties. Especially in terms of broadcasting information to the public, PAN of North Sumatra continues and seriously exploits the existence of the growing media today. For PAN of North Sumatra, the utilization of the media, whether printed or electronic, is absolutely urgent in raising this party. Particularly in North Sumatra, PAN uses mass media, and we also come down to the regions to come to the constituents, both personally and to our target groups. For example, we have teenage groups built; there are groups of our guided traders in some areas. In essence, the DPW PAN of North Sumatra even has a bulletin that we shared and distributed to the constituents. It is conducted on an ongoing basis, whether in times of elections or

the owner or beyond. The purpose of doing so, not just for imagery so that the people of PAN say somebody care or the people of PAN are populists. But DPW PAN did so, to maintain an emotional bond with the constituents at the grassroots. [101]

Based on information obtained from Agus Salim Ujung, it can be understood that DPW PAN of North Sumatra utilizes various channels of communication, not just to build the imagery, but broader than that, is to build political communication, to strengthen the emotional connection with constituents, whether inside the party or outside the party. The process of communication is carried out continuously, not only in the run up to election or election events, such as general election of regional head election (*Pemilukada*), but also after the election is done. It is also understood that in general there are four communication channels commonly used by DPW PAN for imagery as well as political communication that is mass communication channels, new media, billboards, pamphlets, brochures, interpersonal communication and group communication.

a. Imagery through Mass Communication Channels

Mass communication, also called mass media which is divided in general into two kinds, namely printed and electronic mass media, is a communication channel commonly used by DPW PAN of North Sumatra to build its political imagery. As explained in the previous chapter, political imagery is formed because of political communication that acts as the distribution of information from parties and politicians to the public. As for distributing such information, parties, political elites, politicians, or activists, using the media as information funnel. Therefore, the existence of

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[101] Agus Salim Ujung, Deputy Secretary of Information and Political Communication of DPW PAN Sumut Period 2005-2010. Interview on May 30, 2016 in Medan via mobile.

mass media for the DPW PAN of North Sumatra becomes very important as supporting its political agenda to disseminate information to the public and vice versa to know the responsibility of society to party.

Imagery is important for everyone as a social being. Through imagery, humans choose what to do and also what should not be done or abandoned. With a positive image effort, everyone expects to look perfect in the eyes of others. In the formation of a positive image, not even a rare person to do any way to package his attitude and behavior so as to give a positive impression in the eyes of others. Therefore, in reality it must be admitted that in the era of information disclosure, where the media played a significant role in broadcasting the information, politicians often use the media as warlords for imagery. This is because the media have full power to influence the audiences and the modernist society cannot be separated from the name of media or information. It is even important to emphasize that in the context of political communication, the media has a very strong role to construct a political imagery in the various public spaces provided by the mass media. [102]

In the delivery of information to the public, the mass media is still considered very strong role to influence the political climate. The communities access all the information needed, on various matters relating to the politics through mass communication channels. The information on

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[102] This is what Little Jhon said, that the mass media has an important role in socializing certain values ??to the public. It is becoming more visible when the mass media manifests its function as a surveillance tool of the environment, connects the parts of society, transmits the transmission of the social heritage, and provide entertainment. See, Littlejohn, Theoris of Human Communication, translation, Mohammad Yusuf Hamdan (Jakarta: Salemba Humanika, 1999), p. 112. In the study of political communication, the importance of the existence of the media should also be emphasized, because the mass media: 1. Has a very wide range of power. In this case, political information is able to cross the demographic societal limit. 2. The mass media is able to double the message. One political event for example, can be doubled thousands of examplars, and it all depends on the person in need. 3. The mass media is able to discourse a political event in accordance with the views of each media that preaches. 4. The mass media is able to form an information chain, so that the information delivered is stronger.

political issues or policies, candidate's social image, candidate's emotional feelings, candidate's image such as honesty, assertiveness, emotional stability of candidates and so on, can all be obtained through mass communication channels. When it is examined in more detail again, the public spaces included in the mass media, a space of expression for politicians to perform various maneuvers, tactics, strategies and political imagery.

From the observations made, especially when ahead of a political event, whether the Presidential, Legislature elections, the parties and also the politicians appear in the midst of society with an interesting image building. The news coverage in the mass media also confirmed this. The news agenda of politicians is mostly not far from ceremonial events, especially those attended by the masses or visits to the regions, activities directly in touch with the community, or social activities. Not even a few of the politicians and parties, closer to the community through the display that seems pro poor people.

In terms of political imagery, it is almost certain that the imagery politics of DPW PAN of North Sumatera cannot be separated from the role of the media in its capacity as an imaging place. From the observations made, the media used the party as well as the politicians of PAN of North Sumatra as a channel of imaging political communications, namely local printed media, such as *Harian Waspada, Harian Analisa*, and in general daily newspaper published in Medan. Even PAN's political pretensions are also disseminated through the printed media. This is corroborated by information submitted by Adi Munasip, in which the DPW PAN of North Sumatra has strategic tactical measures in raising the PAN in North Sumatra. As a political party that needs support from the community, PAN continues to make efforts to strengthen the image in the midst of society.

PAN utilize media, such as print media and electronic and media that is widely used DPW PAN North Sumatra during this is print mass media. Agus Salim Edge further confirms.

> *The party's policies are often disseminated through mass media, so that the public realizes that PAN not only acts for the individual, but also for the benefit of the people. In general, the media used are newspapers. Through newspapers, we try to inform the things related to the populist policy that PAN has done so far. For example, PAN social activities such as providing compensation to the affected community, mass circumcision, free medical treatment, social service, environmental care and so on. Even not only the nature of social activities, advocacy activities against government policies that are not impartial to the people, or say that harm the people, we also spread through the media. In addition, PAN North Sumatra disseminates development ideas through mass media. It is done continuously in order to raise public awareness. Not only because we want to close the election so that PAN can support the community, because we have an interest in the people not because they want to vote. PAN is great because there are people who support the struggle of PAN. It is very realized, so anything related to the interests of the people become an obligation for PAN to fight for it.* [103]

It is understood that the printed media is a channel of political communication which the messages can be made variously. The printed media is very well disseminated for those who can read and have enough free time to read it. On the contrary, the printed media has a number of

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[103] Adi Munasip, Wakil Deputy of Public Policy of DPW PAN of North Sumtra Period 2010-2015. Interview on 3 June 2016 in Medan via mobile phone.

weaknesses, for example, it is difficult to reach the target audience, especially those in rural areas that are hard to penetrate newspaper delivery. Then, its weakness can only be read by literate people.

To reach the existing targets in the inland villages, one of the things that are not ignored by the DPW PAN of North Sumatra is an intensive relationship with the opinion leaders. The Opinion leader became the information funnel PAN used to pass on information related to PAN political imaging activities. Opinion leaders can be from community leaders who higher education level, higher youth level mobilization in the community compared with other communities. Opinion leaders can also come from party representatives at the branch level or at the village level.

In addition, PAN of North Sumatra also published a bulletin named *Matahariku.* The messages conveyed containing the written news and color drawings include the activities of the board of DPW PAN of North Sumatra. The consideration of publishing the bulletin is because it does not involve too many work teams. Bulletin publishing can be done with a small amount of labor. The purpose of publishing the bulletin is to optimize the delivery of messages to the public, especially the communities that are not covered by local print media as Agussaling Ujung explained.

In order to disseminate information relating to the activities of DPW PAN of North Sumatra especially to the constituents located in villages that are difficult to reach the mass media, then we also cooperate with PAN officials in the twigs. We have also built intensive communication with influential figures in the villages that have not yet entered the newspapers. Even to facilitate the socialization of PAN, PAN has issued a bulletin. The goal is to reach out to constituents in the regions, especially those in remote areas. So, it is the cadre's duty to distribute to the

related areas. For example, if there are cadres who descend to their elect, usually each of them bring the bulletin to be distributed to the community. That is one of our considerations to continue to maintain the publication of PAN bulletin of North Sumatra. For financing operations, it is charged to the donation of cadres. [104]

Besides using bulletin, DPW PAN of North Sumatra also performs positive image through electronic media, such as television and radio. The use of electronic media such as radio and television is not as large as the frequency of use of local printed mass media and bulletins as Agussalim Ujung explained

DPW PAN of North Sumatra is not unwilling to use television and radio. Because we realize that messages conveyed through electronic media, such as television and radio have advantages, especially when viewed from the side of the broad reach, and information submitted quickly and simultaneously cover all areas that can reach. The pictorial, voiced and moving television surely this can stimulate the public appeal. But the DPW PAN of North Sumatra has considered it, that in addition to the high cost, North Sumatra residents who watch TVRI North Sumatra also only at certain moments. Even in some areas in North Sumatra, TVRI cannot be watched again. That is, if used TVRI, while TVRI is limited range. However, the activities of DPW PAN of North Sumatra that are social and others, we are still trying to be broadcast through TVRI and private radio. The ads are only certain times only, for example in the month of Ramadan before

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[104] Agus Salim Ujung, Deputy Secretary of Information and Political Communication of DPW PAN Sumut Period 2005-2010. Interview on May 30, 2016 in Medan via mobile.

breaking the fast. The ads although are not political, but are still on behalf of PAN of North Sumatra to say 'Happy Breaking Fast'. [105]

Based on the above information, it is known that the DPW PAN of North Sumatra uses a variety of mass media in building its political imagery but the tendency is to use printed mass media as a channel of political communication, although television is a media that has broader and more interesting information broadcasting power. From the results of observations made, in using television and radio, PAN of North Sumatra is not in the form of advertising but just news. For example, the activities of PAN cadres such as social service, recess, community activities, party activities such as Regional Deliberation, sponsorship of the poor and so on, to the PAN policies in development in North Sumatra.

From the searches conducted on several documents of the DPW PAN of North Sumatra committee for the period of 2005-2015, it is clearly seen that the most widely used media by the party is printed mass media, such as newspapers. Meanwhile the use of electronic media such as radio, and television can be said to be less than optimal. This shows that in the selection of media as a channel of imaging political communications, PAN of North Sumatra first conduct a planning review. Therefore, when they are wrong in planning the media used as political imagery, then the consequences are not just a waste of time and energy, but also lead to waste of cost. This became an experience for PAN during Sutrisno Bachir as the Chairman of DPP PAN. Every day PAN ads with Sutrisno Bachir icon that convey the jargon of "*Hidup adalah perbuatan*" (Life is deed) appears on television. In the process, PAN spent billions of rupiah to book the

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[105] Agus Salim Ujung, Deputy Secretary of Information and Political Communication of DPW PAN Sumut Period 2005-2010. Interview on May 30, 2016 in Medan via mobile.

television advertising. But in the end, in the legislative elections, PAN votes far from what was expected.

Based on these facts, DPW PAN of North Sumatra is very selective in choosing the political media of imagery. The steps taken by PAN of North Sumatra in relation to the use of such media are to look at the nature, characteristics and coverage of the media itself. That is why PAN of North Sumatra continually keeps an emotional bond with opinion leaders in areas hard to reach print media, maintaining the sustainability of publishing bulletins that specifically contain information on activities related to PAN. The consideration of keeping the bulletin as it is more effective, the price is cheaper and more targeted. Besides bulletins, PAN also utilizes the services of opinion leaders. The process of mass media utilization and opinion leader in the PAN political imaging process understood by the author can be seen in the picture below.

Figure 5
Process of Mass Communication Utilization in
Building the Political Imagery of PAN of North Sumatra
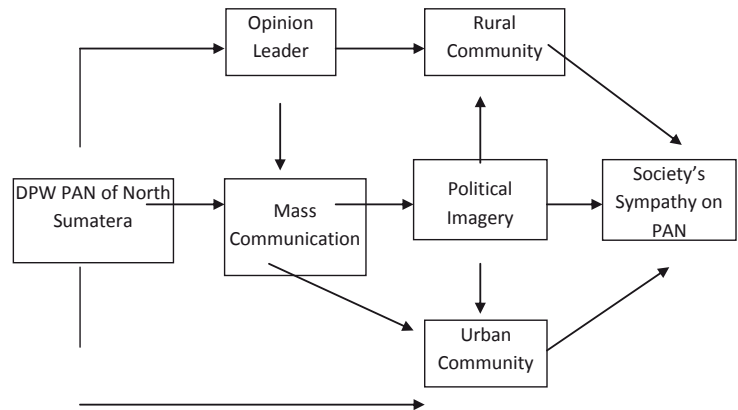
The picture above shows that to build the political imagery, PAN uses mass communication channel. Mass communication used as mentioned in general is the print media, such as newspapers. From the chart above shows, that political imagery to the city community there is directly performed by functionaries DPW PAN North Sumatra and some are done by using mass communication channels. Mass media is used as an imaging medium to the urban community, since urban community access to mass media is much easier than in rural communities. Especially in accessing print media, the urban community's opportunities are easier to access than the village community, especially those in remote areas. Thus, political imagery by DPW PAN of North Sumatera to the village community is more likely to utilize the services of opinion leader. This is because the villagers' access to mass communication channels, especially the print media is very limited. PAN conducts political imagery by utilizing opinion leaders who have influence, respected people in society and become role models of society.

Opinion leaders as illustrated above are individuals who pay attention to information, and they are the source of information for other villagers who have limited access to the mass media. Through personal influence, opinion leaders are the channels that connect the mass network and interpersonal communication. In addition to the influence that the opinion leader makes on political decisions through interpersonal contact, the opinion leader becomes the main actor in the dissemination of political information, thus reaching most of the people in the villages with minimal newspapers.

The opinion leader as Elvinaro termed is they who are well informed. Opinion leaders are those close to the sources of information and who are able to interpret every message it receives according to the frame

of reference and field of experience. [106] Furthermore, the opinion leaders are the ones who deliver messages that have been interpreted to other individuals on an interpersonal basis. In accordance with the search conducted by the author, for the context of the people of North Sumatra the existence of opinion leader is still effective to be utilized DPW PAN of North Sumatra to assist political imaging because the condition of the people of North Sumatra generally domiciled in villages that are difficult to reach newspapers. In reality, local publications circulate in general in more regency/towns, while PAN of North Sumatra tends to use newspapers as a mass communication channel for strengthening its political imagery. In other words, the opinion leader for the village community is still the key of information for the village community, because other villagers are generally passive in seeking information. [107]

Thus, especially for the village community who passively seek information, opinion leader is the initiator of communication. Therefore, if the variations in the volume of information from the opinion leader can give a positive effect to the community, then they certainly will benefit the source. In this case, for example PAN of North Sumatra, when the messages submitted by the party to the opinion leader are able to influence the society towards a positive outlook, the lucky ones are PAN. Conversely, if the volume of information from the opinion leader is

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[106]Elvinaro Ardianto, dkk, *Komunikasi Pengantar; Suatu Pengantar* (Bandung: Simbiosa Rekatama Media, 2007), p. 69.

[107] Based on the Central Bureau of Statistics of North Sumatra, the number of sub-districts in the Province of North Sumatra is as many as 440 districts, 5323 villages, 685 urban villages. The largest number of villages is located in Simalungun Regency, Padang Lawas Utara Regency, which is 386 villages each. While the second most popular district is Deli Serdang District, which is as many as 385 villages. See BPS Sumatera Utara, *Sumatera Utara Dalam Angka tahun 2013.* Secara In reality, the spread of newspapers in Simalungun and Padang Lawas Utara is concentrated in big cities or sub-district capitals.

negative, then the harmed also PAN. Therefore, in the selection process of this opinion leader as well, PAN must also be selective in determining who opinion leader who is considered able to convey party mission because it is not necessarily the opinion leaders in the villages have the same ideological struggle with the ideology, vision and mission carried by the PAN itself.

Political imaging became one of the continuous emphasis made by the DPW PAN of North Sumatra to attract community sympathy. The image of political parties, positive or negative in the public eye is very dependent on the knowledge, beliefs and public perceptions about the political parties themselves. To create knowledge, trust and public perception towards PAN, DPW PAN of North Sumatera continues to conduct political imagery, by encouraging its cadres to go down directly to the community as a form of concern.

The most important thing that arises from this phenomenon of political imagery is the higher awareness of political parties about the importance of mass communication channels to bridge the effective political communication between political parties with the community. The influence of messages conveyed by political parties through mass media has a significant value to the decision to vote for the community, although this is not the only factor. Politically, the proximity of political parties with constituents will encourage constituents to impose their choice on the political parties. Thus, political imagery with voter behavior has a close relationship. Imagery encourages political parties to communicate politically by using mass communication channels, because political parties 'messages and information more easily reach voters' homes.

The formation of political imagery is worked out and managed in such a way by PAN of North Sumatra, both before the election and post election. The use of mass media is not only an integral part of politics, but

becomes a very central thing in carrying out PAN's political mission of North Sumatra. The mass media became a channel of political communication widely used for the purposes of disseminating information, becoming a forum for public discussion and articulating the diverse demands of society in North Sumatra. Mass communication channel becomes a force to lead public opinion to always jointly struggle with PAN.

From here it can be asserted, that the mass media is a communication vehicle that can penetrate the boundaries of space and time. Even political communication scientists emphasize, in order to utilize the mass media as a channel of political communication to convey its political program, because in the development of today's communication technology, mass media can reach millions of people around the world. [108] In the study of political communication, the process of working the formation of party political imagery can be done by packing a political message to then disseminate to the public. Mass media is used to convey and introduce the vision, mission and work program of political parties to the public at large. Political communications through mass media can be directed to a relatively large and heterogeneous audience, as well as functioning as a means to mobilize, confirm, strengthen or change attitudes and beliefs or values of a person to vote to a particular political party. Portraits like this are called new style imaging political communications. This means that the

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[108] If followed by McLuhan's logical thinking, it is clear that the media is an extension of the human senses. In other languages it can be said that, the presence of media in communicating is nothing other than an effort to make an extension of the ears and eyes, just as the phone is an extension of the ear and television is an extension of the eye. McLuhan's view is more popularly known as the theory of extension theory (sense extension theory). McLuhan also mentioned that affecting audiences is not what the media conveyed, but the type of communication media used, such as print media, electronic media, social media, internet, interpersonal media. In the perspective of political communication this view is a political message that will be useful for shaping the image of politics and public opinion. See Arifin, *Komunikasi,* , p. 157.

formation of political image that has been done through interpersonal communication almost began to be abandoned and replaced by a form of political imagery in the media. In the author's observation, the DPW PAN of North Sumatra began to move in this direction, although other communication channels were still used. It is based on the consideration of the situation and condition of the people of North Sumatra which became PAN's political constituents.

b. Imagery through Outdoor Media

Besides mass printed and electronic mass media, DPW PAN of North Sumatra also builds images via banners, brochures, pamphlets, billboards, small cards, tree advertisements and other attributes. This media is called *cangara* with the term outdoor media, because it is placed in the open and strategic places that allow others to see it. Although the nature of its reach is very limited, because it can be viewed by passersby where the media is displayed, or people who glance at their views on media displays, many parties use the media as a communication channel for political image.

Besides mass printed and electronic mass media, DPW PAN of North Sumatra also builds images via banners, brochures, pamphlets, billboards, small cards, tree advertisements and other attributes. This media is called *cangara* with the term outdoor media, because it is placed in the open and strategic places that allow others to see it. [109] Although the nature of its reach is very limited, because it can only be seen by passersby where the media is displayed, or people who glance at their views on media displays, many parties use the media as a communication channel for political imagery.

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[109]Cangara, *Perencanaan,* p. 123.

Along the years 2005-2015, the DPW PAN of North Sumatra built the party's imagery through the outdoor media. The outdoor media here is by spreading the attribution of the party to all election regions in North Sumatra as Yahdi Khoir Harahap explains.

To build the imagery of political party, one of what DPW PAN of North Sumatra does is imagery through the party attribution which is distributed to the society. The party's attributes are from PAN. Some are donated by DPP PAN and there is also assistance from each candidate. At the time of the general chairman of Hatta Rajasa for example, PAN's attributes are printed for 100 million flags of PAN and distributed to all DPW PAN in Indonesia. The DPW PAN of North Sumatra alone obtained 300 thousand flag attributes which were then distributed to all 33 DPD PAN in North Sumatra. Meanwhile the T-shirts, pins and other party attributions are propagated and donated by candidates who are in each election regions.[110]

From the author's search, the political imagery through outdoor media is not only conducted by DPW PAN of North Sumatera at the time of the election or campaign, but it is conducted in various occasions and important events. For example, when welcoming the festival days of Muslims such as fasting and Idul Fitri, PAN and its cadres always make the words *"DPW PAN Sumatera Utara mengucapkan selamat menunaikan ibadah puasa Ramadhan", "DPW PAN Sumatera Utara mengucapkan selamat hari raya Idul Fitri 1 Syawal 1436 H, mohon maaf lahir dan batin".* The same remarks are also personally delivered by the cadres, both PAN cadres who have become the DPRD members of North Sumatra and ordinary management. The banners of many speeches are seen tied up in strategic places which are passed by the crowd, for example at crossroads,

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[110] Yahdi Khoir Harahap, Chairman of DPD PAN Coal in the period of 2005-2010 and Secretary General of DPW PAN Sumatera Utara period 2015-2020. Interview dated June 20, 2016 at the secretariat office of DPW PAN Sumatera Utara Jl. Wahid Hasyim..

in the streets of protocol and others. Even a number of PAN cadres who sit in DPRD of North Sumatra, not only deliver the message in the form of banners, but also in billboards.

From some documentations obtained by the author, Kamaluddin Harahap who is the Chairman of DPW PAN of North Sumatra 2005-2010, and also at the same time running for governor of North Sumatra looks to build a massive imagery politics. The imagery messages conveyed touched the interests of the general public. For example the banner with the saying *"Bersama bang Kamal kita ciptakan lapangan pekerjaan di Sumatera Utara" (*Together with Kamal we create jobs in North Sumatra). On another banner also included a greeting message to Kamaluddin Harahap in order to recess and meet friendly with the Tuntungan community on October 10, 2012. On the banner is written, *"Selamat datang Bapak Kamaluddin Harahap, M.Si bersama warga program keluarga harapan (PKH)* (Welcome Mr. Kamaluddin Harahap, M. Si with residents family hopes program (PKH)). In these activities, Kamaluddin looks very familiar with the community, and almost can see no distance between the communities with Kamaluddin Harahap. Such an approach can certainly strengthen PAN's imagery and politics in the eyes of the public.

From some banners, the author sees that each PAN politician shows their own distinctive style. There are photos in smile, there is a very patriotic look with clenching hands, there are made happy full of friendship. All of its goals are to introduce themselves, show their quality and build imagery, so that the public is hypnotized to choose the politicians. The banners are scattered in various places, some even attached to tricycles, public transport and so forth. What the party and politicians of PAN do is generally done by other parties as well as Adman Nursal describes that such a thing is part of political marketing, where its products

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are marketed symbolically through banners and billboards. Among the symbols are like emotional aura, the feelings emanating from politicians such as ambitious, courageous, patriotic, passionate, joyful, optimistic, loving, steadfast, and so on. There is also a social aura that represents a particular social group. For example, a certain politician is a representation of youth, *wong cilik* (poor people), religious leaders, academics, intellectuals, and so forth. [111]

Based on the above description, it can be concluded during 2005-2010 the use of outdoor media is very much used by PAN cadres, especially for those who run for legislative members to build political image. In the photo banners the legislative candidates are made varied. There is a background photo looks very friendly for indulgent smile while putting his hand on the chest, as if he apologized to the public. It certainly looks very friendly, and Islamic. There are also photos made with a wave of hands and so forth. In addition, the messages conveyed are varied in order to persuade the people who read them. Besides the billboards and the banners, there is also the use of tree ads, where photographs of legislative candidates are affixed to trees along the roadside of the protocol. The aim is to build a political imagery while introducing the concerned to the community.

c. Imagery through New Media

The development of technology with all the products it produces is a necessity that can not be denied by humans. New media information technology progress has also become a trend in the dissemination of information to the audience. New media, or better known as the internet for the last decade, has also evolved as a battleground for information and

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[111]Nursal, *Political Marketing*, p. 208-209.

political messages. The battle model of political information and political messages among others for example through social networks are *facebook, twitter* and *blog*. Recent developments can be noticed from the increasing popularity of mail lists in the dissemination of information and political messages. Politicians and parties are seen increasingly utilizing the media as an imaging medium. The growing new media usage as an imaging arena is utilized optimally by politicians and parties.

From the searches conducted, it is also found related information that besides printed and electronic mass media, other media used DPW PAN of North Sumatra is the internet. As the experts explain that internet is a new media that emerged from the product of information technology progress. The new media emerged as an engineering expert in information communications technology, which successfully combines interpersonal communication with mass communication. It is called the mass media because the new media can reach audiences globally, and is said to be interpersonal because the message is directed and consumed personally.

The new media is widely used by academics, bureaucrats, students, as well as politicians. in this case DPW PAN North Sumatra takes advantage of the development of Internet information technology to build its imagery in the community. PAN of North Sumatra has a well-managed website. PAN of North Sumatra website is managed to facilitate the informing of various activities. Concretely, the use of the internet for PAN is an absolute necessity to become PANS as a better known party to the public.

Even with the emergence of new media today, PAN and its politicians build the imagery via social media like *facebook* and *twitter*. Through the social networking, PAN cadres build imaging, because social media can be used for interactive communication. When it is associated

with theory, the Internet media has a number of advantages, among others are (1) able to penetrate boundaries, space and time. (2) expanding access to global information. (3) improving the ability to freely associate. (4) able to threaten an established order, such as an autocratic government. (5) has a difficult development and diffusion speed.

Based on the description above, it can be understood that what is conducted by DPW PAN of North Sumatera shows in reality that media, whether mass media, outdoor media, new media, is a force that always counted, especially in creating public opinion. It can even be said that the media in the world of politics becomes something familiar to the public. With the political information presented by the media, the public became aware of the reality and development of a growing political issue. Through the media, people can also voice their opinions and views on the emerging political situation. In that connection also, the media into a public sphere is very open to anyone who wants to find popularity or build the image.

The above description reinforces what McNair (1995) calls the mediation era, political communication has the function of being transmitters of political messages from outside parties, as well as senders of political messages constructed by journalists to the public. So for politicians, mass media is used to convey their political messages to the audience as well as the media to carry out the process of imaging strategy. Conversely for journalists, the mass media is a container for producing political messages, because the political events that have news value. Therefore, in order for these political messages to obtain a positive image, then the message is sent first in construction.

Thus, what is conducted by DPW PAN of North Sumatra is to strengthen the imagery in the middle of the society. It also proves that the role of the media in imagery is very important and strategic, so in the

development of Indonesian politics, it is clearly seen that not only PAN is doing that, even other parties are doing the same thing. A number of politicians and political parties, or interested parties are racing against the mass media to accentuate their claims to something. The message conveyed by the media may have a supportive effect which in concrete form is a positive portrayal of the political party or political party concerned, and illustrates the negative impression of the opposing party. From this evolving reality it is clearly seen that there are at least two kinds of media text function, that is, as a media text that can be enjoyed by the public and as a public relations text which is the aim of political parties in an effort to shape the image to the public.

With the existence of news text which is framed in a positive way, it indirectly provides its own advantages for a political party. So in this context theoretically, framing is used by media companies to construct a text which is then presented to audiences. Imaging politics by a political party, of course, gives a tremendous impact on the future of the party. How a political party is reported, it will certainly lead to the imaging of political parties conducted by the media. If a political party imaged by the media is good, then it is likely that the public will also judge the party well. Conversely, if the media portray the party is bad or negative, it is likely that the party will be bad or both negative in the eyes of the community. So, both of these are highly dependent on the framing of the media itself. The framing process deals with the question of how a reality is packed and constructed in accordance with the needs of society.

What is conducted by DPW PAN of North Sumatra, theoretically reinforce the theory of social media constructions by Peter L. Berger and Thomas Luckman. This theory explicitly asserts that the individual creates a continuously shared reality and subjectively. Berger and Luckman, as

quoted by Burhan Bungin, say that there is dialectic between the individuals creating society and the society creating individuals. According to Berger, the dialectical process occurs through externalization, objectivities, and internalization. Berger also referred to it as a moment. *First* is externalization that is the business of human outpouring or self-expression into the world, both in mental and physical activity. *Second* is objectivation that is the result that has been achieved both mentally and physically from the activity of human externalization. It means that the result is an objective reality that is made man to distinguish himself with what is outside of himself. *Third* is the internalization. An internalization process is more of absorption of the objective world into consciousness in such a way that the subjective individual is influenced by the structure of the social world.

From the above theory, it is understood that humans can construct the reality according to their desires. Berger further reiterates that reality is not scientifically formed, nor is it something that God has sent down, but it is formed and constructed. That is why, if Berger's logic is followed, then everyone can have a different construction of a reality. Anyone who has particular experience, preferences, education, and social or social environment will interpret the social reality with different constructions, and the way of judgment is also different according to what each side reconstructs. For example, when someone reconstructs PAN negative, then its value can be bad, and vice versa if there is a positive reconstruction for PAN, then its value can be good.

When it is examined from the view of psychological studies, the assessment process becomes an instinctive thing. As affirmed by Muzafer Sherif, an expert who introduced a social judgment theory, he explicitly states that humans are creatures that judge and judge human beings

according to what they see and hear. A person's assessment of something emerges both positive and negative because the individual involves three things, namely his ego, attitude reference and contrast effect. [112]

First, judgment arises because ego involvement encourages a person to judge something. The ego's involvement in Sherif refers to how important an issue is in a person's life. For example, PAN North Sumatra has been very frequent reporting various activities, convey its policies, do massive imaging in newspapers and so forth. When a person does not feel that it is unrelated or has nothing to do with him, then that person will take the information as unimportant, because his ego involvement is low. It could then appear a negative assessment of it. But on the contrary, when a person feels an interest in the information conveyed, then that person will make the information important, because the level of ego involvement is high. *Second* is reference attitude. It deals with internal conditions and arises when a person receives a number of messages, then compares the different or even contradictory, so that the judgment appears. *Third,* judgment arises because of the contrast effect. That is, this effect arises because the individual perceives a message to be further or contrary to its own view than it should be. [113]

Based on the above description, it can be understood that media, especially the mass media, has a considerable influence on the development of political dynamics. The media has become a means of connecting or channeling political communication of politicians with widespread constituencies both geographically and demographically. This is the reason DPW PAN of North Sumatra continue to maintain the existence of

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[112]Morrisan, *Psikologi Komunikasi* (Bogor: Ghalia Indonesia, 2002),p. 19.
[113]*Ibid,* p. 21-24.

bulletins that already exist and published every month as Adi Munasip explained.

> *DPW PAN of North Sumatra since the beginning of the declaration is not behind in using the media. We are well aware that the media is the information funnel. Through them, people will know more about what we do and do not do. On that basis, we made a printed bulletin with a good look, and the bulletin still exists today. Perhaps later can be traced and taken at the office of DPW North Sumatra Jl. Wahid Hasyim. The purpose of DPW PAN to maintain the existence or the publisher of the bulletin is for our emotional bond with the constituents, or the community closer. So the PAN officials or the legislative members (DPRD) of North Sumatra, if there are activities to the area or recess, they are required to bring it, and share it to the community.* [114]

The above information reinforces the reality that the media are often used as strategic land by parties and politicians to convey their political messages. The mass media remains important in influencing the political climate that can lead to democratization. In reality it must also be recognized, that in a long time, media exposure also formed a certain perception, attitude and political behavior. This at once confirms that political messages conveyed by the politicians to the public through mass media can shape public opinion in building a party's political image. Other terms, the awareness and the participation of various groups in society can be established through the support of mass communication, or media communication.

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[114] Adi Munasip, Vice Chairman of the Public Policy Division of DPW PAN Sumatera Utara Period 2010-2015. Interview on June 3, 2016 in Medan via mobile phone.

From here it is clear that the existence of mass media is very important, because it is described as a tool that shapes what and how that happens in society. In relation to voting behavior, through a voter communication channel can access all the information needed on various matters relating to the implementation of political events. Information on political issues or policies, candidate's imagery, candidate's emotional feelings, candidate's imagery such as honesty, assertiveness, emotional stability of candidates and so on, can all be obtained through mass communication channels. Mass media has an important meaning, namely as a dominant source not only for individuals to obtain images and images of social reality, but also for society and groups collectively. The media also presents normative values and judgments mixed with news or entertainment.

d. Imagery through Interpersonal Communication Channels

Building a political imagery cannot be done without political communication by a political party or a competing politician. Therefore, for the DPW PAN of North Sumatra, political communication by utilizing various channels of communication is a major prerequisite when promoting the party and the politicians of PAN. Besides mass communication channels, DPW PAN of North Sumatra also conducts political imagery through interpersonal communication channels. Interpersonal communication is certainly very different from mass communication that is one-way and audiences who become the target communication is very large and do not know each other. That is, the context of communication that is done is to be in media, has a fast speed range, delayed feedback and cognitive message effects. Thus in interpersonal communication, the message flow is two-way, the context of face-to-face communication, slow-

reaching speed, direct feedback and affective/psychomotor affective message effects.

When it is analyzed literally, interpersonal communication is understood as communication made by one person to another in face-to-face conditions. That is, communication takes place in a small group, i.e. between one person with one other person or with two people who are done face to face. Another term is that interpersonal communication is the process of sending and receiving messages between two people or among a small group of people, with various effects and feedback. So interpersonal communication is a face-to-face communication model that is very personal, so that between the two parties that communicate can intertwine quickly.

In the process of interpersonal communication, each component is seen and described as integrated parts. The interpersonal communication demonstrates the power of interactive relationships between an individual and another individual, in which message symbols are effectively used, especially language symbols. The use of verbal language symbols, especially oral ones, is in fact often accompanied by sign language especially motion or body language such as smiling, laughing, and shaking or nodding. Interpersonal communication is generally understood to be more private and takes place face-to-face.

Throughout the years 2005 - 2015, interpersonal communication has become a habit that made DPW PAN of North Sumatra build its imagery. Almost all cadres, especially those chosen as candidates, always use this channel of interpersonal communication. In fact, this is a recommendation for every cadre who became legislative candidates, to be diligent to come to their respective electoral area to meet directly the constituents, and listen directly to the aspirations of the community. From the results of interviews

conducted with Zulkifli Husein obtained information that before the cadres descended to the electoral area, each cadre has been preparing everything related to party attribution, because the departure of cadres to the electoral area, is a political communicator that is expected to bring the mission party.

According to the custom, before the cadres come to the area, they first design when the meetings will be held and with whom they will meet. Indeed there are meetings that are spontaneous, for example meet suddenly with the unplanned society. In the electoral area there are people who suddenly convey aspirations, it is still we absorbed to be used as study materials in the party. But our tendency if you want to go down to the area, it is done in a planned manner. The themes discussed in the meeting are usually obvious. If I say for example to go to the elect, I first schedule when it will go down, then with who will communicate and what I have to say. Form, there are formal there are not formal. If the formal nature, we meet with the authorities such as village heads, community leaders and others. If that is not formal, suddenly meet with the people in the mosque, installs and so forth. We certainly do not recognize all societies, or leaders and village leaders. Still, we introduce ourselves, though sometimes people are familiar but to keep our hospitality, we keep introducing ourselves. It has become a habit of PAN's cadres when it comes down to the elect. After the introduction, it only begins to discuss important matters, until later the local

community receives the ideas conveyed, even our efforts how they
can be sure and can support the party's program. [115]

From the above information, the stages of the interpersonal communication process performed by PAN's cadres to build the imagery are not much different from the interpersonal communication stages delivered by Mark Knapp, starting from coming to gather (relating maintaining), and the coming apart (both have hope). [116] In the first process, which is to build togetherness, in this case PAN's cadres initiate meetings, such as making an appointment with whom to meet and where to meet. When you note the information above, the first step is to initiate the initial meeting. At this meeting, the PAN's cadre introduced himself. Then the next step is to exchange information between PAN's cadres and the community. Furthermore, because they already know each other, and have long established communication relationships, the PAN's cadres began to try to further strengthen the emotional bond. After an emotional bond is established with the era, both parties, namely PAN's cadres with the community build commitment and mutually agree on what will be done next. This process reflects interpersonal communication is a direct communication, referring to a clear message and easily understood by the recipient. The process can be described as follows.

[115] Zulkifli Husein, Head of Central and Regional Election Pemengu I 2010 - 2015, and Chairman of DPW National Mandate Party (PAN) of North Sumatra period 2015-2020. Wancara dated May 23, 2016 at the North Sumatra DPRD office.

[116] When it is considered the role of PAN cadres as the spearhead of information, has a task to market the PAN to the middle of society. When associated with marketing communications, Interpersonal Communication is the right political communication channel to use, because it is directly to its target. Interpersonal communication can foster binding attitudes, and can avoid any disruptions that arise or conflict.See Alo Liliweri, *Komunikasi Antarpersonal* (Jakarta: Kencana, 2015), p. 56-58.

Figure 6
Model of Knap's Interpersonal Communication Process[117]
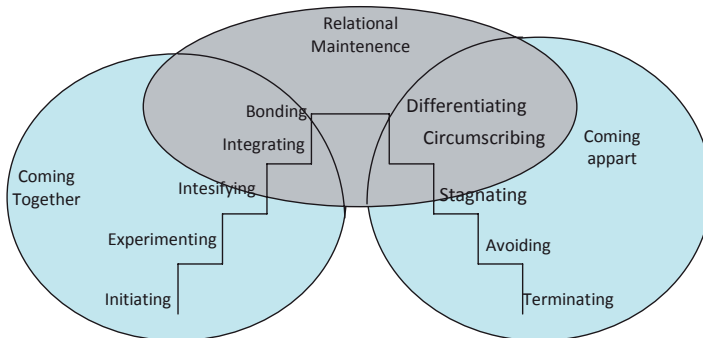
The explanation above, based on the findings states that from the tracing done, it is known that the model of interpersonal communication that is commonly done by PAN's cadres is visiting the community, for example, the people who are relaxed in the mosque after completing the prayers, meeting the people who are in the coffee shop. Although the atmosphere of communication built is not formal, but on the sidelines of the conversation is always inserted party messages. In building interpersonal communication, the cadres always use party attributes such as pins, party's coats, and so it is not too difficult to introduce themselves to the community who invited to communicate.

The results of observations made, closely related to the information presented by politicians PAN North Sumatra, Parluhutan Siregar that PAN is an open party. PAN is socialized not only to citizens but the broader range, that is to the public in general, including socialize it to others outside

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[117]*Ibid,* p, 55.

of Islam, because the struggle PAN not only one group, but all the aspirations of the people of Indonesia. As the result of the interview;

I am in North Sumatra; the main thing that I strive for is the aspirations of the people of North Sumatra. So at every opportunity, I continue to build an emotional connection with society, and continue to build interpersonal communication. Especially now there has been hand phone, sometimes there are people who tezt, there is a call, I still serve as long as not interfere with the work. Even at the time of recess or beyond that, we continue to descend especially to their respective electoral area. There we meet people, capturing their aspirations. Sometimes we hang out at a coffee shop, or a place where people often gather. In fact we also stay in touch to the citizens' houses. It became a common practice that every PAN committee did. We not only build communications with the people in the lead up to the election but we do that outside the election, because we need the society not because want the elections, but we need them at any time. I feel this interpersonal communication needs to be done continuously, because we know what will be done for the people, and we know the strategic steps to win the hearts of this society. Because I, for example, I became a DPRD member of North Sumatra for two periods and came from different electoral area. My first period was 11 from North Sumatra, Binjai Langkat, and my second period was 6 from North Sumatera Tabagsel. The main strategy that I did was to communicate with the local people, and not only with the Muhammadiyah, but all the people in my electoral area and not at the time of the election. I have prepared it before. So the PAN's cadres, especially those who are

already the members of DPRD, it is advisable to be diligent to meet their constituents in their respective electoral areas. [118]

From the information above, it is known that interpersonal communication is an activity that has been run by the DPW PAN board of North Sumatra. The interpersonal communication is seen, that besides having a purpose to build and strengthen emotional relationships, interpersonal communication can also be a means to accommodate community aspirations, opinion advice, and emotional bonds. It is also explained by Irwansyah Damanik that one of the things conducted by the PAN cadres is to establish good communication relationships with the community without discriminating. In elections, every people's voice is equal, either poor, rich or whatever the status of his voice remains one. So communicating with the community is to forge an emotional bond. Therefore, it becomes an obligation for every cadre, especially for the board and members of parliament to diligently descend to the electoral area. The goal is to maintain a sense of kinship, relationship, and emotional bond. Not when we want to vote for the election for example, we use their services, make them a successful team. But after becoming a member of parliament forget the community.

For example, the effort I made to keep that emotional bond, I still make a relationship visit. Then, the communication I built, not only with the Muhammadiyah people. For me, all the citizens should be able to we aspirate nets. As in Simalungun for example, there are mixed communities. Some are Muslims, Christians, even Buddhists. Then, if being on a visit to the electoral area, I try to

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[118] Parluhutan Siregar, Secretary of DPW PAN of North Sumatera period 2010-2015 is also member of DPRD North Sumatra period 2005-2009 election area of ??Well 11, Binjai Langkat, member of DPRD North Sumatra period 2010-2015 electoral area of ??Sumut 6 Tabagsel. Interview on June 6th in Medan via mobile phone.

capture the people's aspirations. I listen to their aspirations, suggestions and opinions. Sometimes we encounter the village heads or the community leaders, because they have influence in their respective regions. It is through the village head or community leaders that we try to capture the aspirations of the local community. In addition, interpersonal communication is also done when attending social events. For example, if in Simalungun there is a customary party, and it's from various layers of clan. The term, the communication we do is not formal nature. Even from electoral area, there are people who call, and SMS. It's still served, though perhaps the SMS reply can sometimes be replied in a while. Because I certainly have other activities, related to the duties as members of parliament. I personally think that this kind of communication should be done continuously by the cadres because we can get closer and stronger emotional connection. [119]

In accordance with the above information, it is known that PAN as an open party not only builds interpersonal communication with Muhammadiyah's citizens, but includes all the people from various groups, tribes, religions and races. In this regard, one of PAN's strategies to build the imagery is to require the cadres to descend to each electoral area. On the visit, PAN's politicians are encouraged to conduct intensive interpersonal communication with the community. The purpose of interpersonal communication conducted by DPW PAN of North Sumatera is to build a positive imagery of the party. In addition, the goal is to

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[119] Parluhutan Siregar, Secretary of DPW PAN of North Sumatera period 2010-2015 is also member of DPRD North Sumatra period 2005-2009 election area of ??Well 11, Binjai Langkat, member of DPRD North Sumatra period 2010-2015 electoral area of ??Sumut 6 Tabagsel. Interview on June 6th in Medan via mobile phone.

strengthen the emotional relationship with the constituents in each electoral area, in the hope that PAN will be able to obtain more votes in the next election event. Thus, it can be concluded that interpersonal communication is not only aimed to introduce PAN more deeply to the community, but to establish the relationship that has been established.

When the practice of using interpersonal communication channel conducted by DPW PAN of North Sumatera is identified in building party image so far, there are at least five main purposes, they are: [120]

1. Knowing one's Self and Others

One of the goals of interpersonal communication is to introduce oneself to others. Through interpersonal communication, how can others know me, and how can I get to know others? That principle is what happens in the practice of interpersonal communication. In fact everyone should also be principled in every communication, especially interpersonal communication, the goal is to help others find themselves, or in other words find their identity. This is one of the backgrounds of everyone to do interpersonal communication.

With the interpersonal communication interwoven between one individual with another, of course one can learn about how to open themselves with others. Through interpersonal communication, one will know the other's outlook, attitude, and responses to what is being said. This is evident from some sources that have been interviewed above, that PAN's cadres are encouraged to come to their respective electoral area to build communication links, so that people are more familiar with the PAN's program, its policies and the benefits of its struggle for the community. Of

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[120] The purpose is something abstract or concrete that must be acknowledged existence, therefore it is an anticipated or intended result to be achieved or obtained, he made as the direction or goal of the action plan undertaken. See, Liliweri, *Komunikasi,* p. 75.

course through the opening of the faucet of interpersonal communication, the relationship with the community will be stronger.

The stronger the emotional ties and interpersonal attractions with the community, the community will be more deeply familiar with PAN itself. Not even his party is known, but his own politics will also be better known to the public. Of course, it becomes a strong social capital for a politician. Because the more people know him, the opportunity to win the heart of the people will be greater, rather than the people do not know at all the politicians concerned. This kind of social capital can be profitable for the party, so that in the days leading up to political events, the party is not too busy to recruit the masses. That is why; many politicians and parties, from the beginning have prepared the social capital, in addition to preparing financial capital.

2. Creating and Maintaining the Relationships

From the interview data presented above, it is clear that the purpose of both interpersonal communications is to maintain the relationship. The recommendation of DPW PAN of North Sumatera to his cadres, to go down directly to the community, to each electoral area is an indication of the importance of a relationship with the constituents. The downfall of a politician to a certain area is a concrete step in maintaining relationships with old constituencies, and creating relationships with new constituencies.

The good maintaining of relationships among the parties and the politicians with the community so that it will reduce any conflicts and tensions. For example, when there is a tilted response from the community that the cadres or members of the DPR PAN only want to go down to the community at a time of necessity, it will certainly melt if the person often goes down to the community. The skewed assumption will turn into a positive assessment, if a politician continually builds interpersonal

communication with the community. Therefore, when considered from the results of the above interviews, the purpose of PAN to encourage his cadres to often descend to the electoral area is to eliminate negative assumptions about the party, so that emotional bonds with the party remain well preserved.

3. Changing the Attitudes and Behaviors

It is commonly understood that one of the purposes of communication either mass communication or interpersonal communication is to change attitudes and behaviors. To change attitudes and behaviors, of course is to influence people who are invited to communicate. In the influence process, the ability to persuasion is demanded because persuasion is intended to change a person, in order for the person to change his belief, his attitude, his intentions, his motivation, or his behavior. Of course in this connection, the purpose is how the information submitted DPW PAN board to go down to the electoral area can change the public view of the idea or object being discussed.

When it is considered from the results of the interviews described above, it can be understood that one of the goals of PAN's interpersonal communication with the community is to change the attitudes and behavior of the community. When a PAN's cadre of North Sumatera conveys a party program to the community, including its policies and ideas, it is certainly one of the efforts is to convince the people that PAN is here to make a change for the better. Therefore, from the efforts of the PAN's cadre advocate to descend to the electoral area, it is one of the persuasive efforts of the party to influence the society, thus changing the attitude and behavior of the community, which for example they do not want to choose PAN then change to be willing to vote, or do not like the PAN's cadres, then finally be sympathetic.

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4. Helping Others

Interpersonal communication aims to help each other. This process will take place based on how to see others. If the results of interviews conducted PAN cadres are analyzed as above, it can be understood that helping others is one of the goals of interpersonal communication conducted by DPW PAN of North Sumatra. To build its positive imagery, DPW PAN of North Sumatera conducts interpersonal communication to help the community out of what has been their problem. For example, when people come to the area, the people who are invited to the dialogue will convey their aspirations. The aspirations are generally used as a material consideration to assist the constituents in the electoral area as well as the evaluation materials to increase participation in helping the process of resolving problems constituents faced.

The process of assisting others in the context of communication made by the cadre of DPW PAN of North Sumatera happened when the communication started, the cadre conveyed varied information, and then the society would be helpful to explore more deeply information related to what was discussed. Likewise on the contrary, the information submitted by the community can be an input for the cadres to react. From this it is clear that both parties who communicate can be helped.

5. Knowing the Outside World

Communication is the entrance for everyone to know the outside world, especially the world that exists outside of him. Through interpersonal communication for example, people can give advice, suggestions, and opinions to others. For example, in the context of establishing political imagery like the DPW PAN of North Sumatra by encouraging its cadres to come down, it is one step to know the outside world, the outside PAN itself. If during this time, PAN of North Sumatra

functionaries do not know the problem in electoral area, then those issues will be known after conducting interpersonal communication with the community. PAN administrators will also know the community's responsiveness to the party, so that it becomes an evaluation material. If it turns out the lack of interest in the community, of course with a variety of input and advice from the community, PAN will improve itself. If people think PAN has been able to contribute to their lives, this must be an achievement that must be improved, so that PAN becomes the main choice in the people's hearts.

According to Zulkifli Hussein's explanation, whatever the uptake of the cadres who descended to the elections, then in the internal meetings of PAN of North Sumatra, the absorption was used as an evaluation material. That is structurally organizational said Zulkifli Husein, every PAN cadre has the same responsibility in raising the party. So for each cadre has the responsibility to jointly socialize the entire program PAN and party policies. Especially for those who are already sitting in DPRD of North Sumatra, are required to be more responsible, because the vehicle ride to the DPRD of North Sumatra is PAN. Thus, it becomes an obligation for every cadre to always descend to the elect, regardless of the recess task and so forth.

> If there are problems in electoral area, we always expect that the cadres immediately go down, especially for the elected DPRD members in the electoral area. Each cadre is recommended to come to the electoral area, hoping to hear the aspirations of the people. It is through these aspirations that the people are helped. For cadres as well, it is advisable to listen to suggestions, inputs and things PAN should do as their aspiration party. So in the various occasions of internal meetings, we as a whole discuss the

findings in their respective districts. It is a strategic and tactical step in strengthening the existence of PAN in the community. The people, on the other hand, feel very happy when they see PAN cadres coming to their area. Because for the community, it is an opportunity for dialogue, discussing the various problems they face. For example, there are people who communicate that access to transfers can be smooth. That is, the community expressed the aspiration that the road that has not been on the asphalt so that the asphalt. For farmers, for example, when they come and hold communication, they hope that irrigation will be built, so it is easy to irrigate their fields. Concretely, to respond to the aspirations of the community, the party continues to encourage diligent cadres to come to the community. [121]

From the description above, it can be understood that interpersonal communication becomes one of the communication channel used by DPW PAN of North Sumatra to build its political imagery. The cadres are encouraged to go down to the electoral areas, whether ahead of the election or even outside the election. The purpose of going down to the electoral area is to communicate intensively with the community. Of course imaging through interpersonal communication as programmed DPW PAN of North Sumatra demands cadres, in order to have good communication skills and demands capable psychological skills. For both these, good communication and psychological ability can be a capital to evoke a good emotional connection between cadres and society. Psychological ability means the ability of cadres to read the responsiveness of the community, whether they are interested or not. If they are not interested, they know the steps to take.

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[121] Zulkifli Husein, Head of Central and Regional Election Pemengu I 2010 - 2015, and Chairman of the National Mandate Party (PAN) of North Sumatra period 2015-2020. Wancara dated May 23, 2016 at the North Sumatra DPRD office.

If it is associated with the theory of communication, communication skills of the cadre in question is certainly the communication competence.

A politician or a one-party cadre is a political communicator for his party. In the communication literature, it is mentioned that communicators are the main actors, as well as a source of control of all communication activities. Thus, if the party wants to build a good audience, then the political communicator who acts as the spearhead of a party's program must have skill, rich ideas, and full of creativity. More assertively, it is mentioned by experts that skills are related to credibility, ie a combination of competence, attitude, goals, personality and dynamics. Competence deals with the mastery of a communicator of the themes he is discussing. For example, a PAN cadre who becomes a party communicator must have a clear control over party programs, party policies, party struggles, political dynamics and so on. Attitude shows whether the political communicator is firm, has a clear ideological struggle, and has principles. The purpose is whether the ideas conveyed have good intentions or not. Personality means whether the political communicator is friendly, friendly, arrogant, and so on. Meanwhile the dynamics indicate whether the communicator is boring or interesting.

In addition to the above, the things to be noted are the attractiveness of a communicator, whether the community can accept it or not. In this regard, PAN of North Sumatera in placing its candidates in the existing districts in North Sumatra, tends to place cadres according to their socio-demographic background. For example, a surname with a Bataknese surname is usually placed in places whose mass base is surnamed and has Batak tribe as explained by Hapcin Suhairy.

Usually PAN of North Sumatra deliberate and brews the names of candidates in accordance with their respective regions. For

example is if there is a surname and the origin of Mandailing, he is placed in that electoral area. The aim is to attract the sympathizers of the society, and then the public attention is high, because the concerned is the descendant of the region. Or the adjustment is arranged, because it is expected to more easily build interpersonal relationships with local communities. Therefore, if in the area there is a surname majority, then placed a cadre surnamed. Clearly, the placement of cadres always considers the area. In addition, also see the popularity. If the cadres are already popular, placement as a candidate is not too difficult. In essence, the placement of cadres is attempted in order to attract the attention, sympathy and empathy of the community, so that it can boost the acquisition of PAN votes. [122]

Based on the above description, it is understood that personal factors play a very important role during the interpersonal communication process. Personal factors here are attention, sympathetic, empathic, compassionate support, the ability to manage emotions and so forth. This is all pushing towards the strength of interpersonal relationships that are built at the time of communication. When for example PAN cadres are able to communicate well to the community, of course the party mission will be up. When the party's mission arrives, it is clear that the party political imagery will become stronger in the society especially if the PAN's cadres are able to demonstrate concretely in the form of real work, everything that is conveyed to the community. Of course this will further strengthen the PAN political imagery.

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[122] Hapcin Suhairi, Vice Chairman of the Center for Organizational Development and Membership DPW PAN North Sumatra period 2010-2015. Interview on June 6, 2016 in Medan via mobile phone.

When people see the real work of PAN members, and see what is submitted in accordance with reality in the field, people will be more convinced that PAN members do not only promise to be grandiose. At this level, PAN image will be positive. But on the contrary, when what is delivered in the society is not in accordance with the actual work, the public will judge negatively and consider it just a promise. Possibly PAN prestige will decline and get criticism in the community. In this connection, the DPW PAN of North Sumatra officials confirmed to every cadre who came to the region to give the best to the community and convey real information, what has been done by the party so far as explained Hapcin Suhairy.

> *In principle, when the PAN cadres come down to the community or say to their own electoral areas, the DPW committee always reminds them to say what they are. Do not let people to be lied, because once people are lied, then forever they will not believe anymore. So whatever is conveyed, convey the facts accordingly because going down to the electoral area or to the community, is not just for imaging to be considered good, populist, care and so forth. Even if it is considered as imagery but it keeps on guard not to pollute the party. Because one cadre is wrong, all his party will have the hits too. So as PAN cadres need to keep that good name, so it is advisable to convey honestly to the community, what has been done and what can be helped for the good of society. [123]*

From that information, it can be concluded that in order to build the political imagery, DPW PAN of North Sumatra uses interpersonal

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communication channel. DPW PAN of North Sumatra affirms to the cadres to be able to act honestly, to be friendly and courteous. This shows that in building the political imagery, PAN strongly upholds the attitude of modesty, hospitality, and other good attitudes, although in reality the PAN cadres are not all good. In Erving Goffman, PAN cadre is trying to become an actor who can equate the front stage with the back stage. Because if political practice is analyzed using the theory of Erfing Goffman, in building the imagery, parties and politicians often distinguish the front stage with the backstage. That is, when in front of the audiences, its role is shown very well, friendly, generous, friendly, and obedient and so forth. But if in the search back, actually it is far from what is practiced in front of audiences. Such practices are often conducted in order to build the imagery.

What PAN's politicians did, if it is viewed from the view of Goffman is as an effort to convince the public of the party and the politicians. But in the authors' observations, at certain points political dramas are shown by the politicians have a negative impact on the behavior of political life of the nation, let alone the show is not the same between the front and the back. For example, on one hand politicians who come to the community look very religious, friendly, caring and so forth because come with Islamic dress, cheap smile and empathy. But on the contrary, what politicians do in the presence of the community is buying the people's votes, or doing the money politics. Of course this is the opposite between the the appearance and his actions are real money politics. But such performance is the behavior phenomenon of some politicians that often occur in the political arena. That is, for the sake of political imagery, anything will be done by a politician, although that is not the same between

the daily reality of himself with what he did when meeting with the community. [124]

Nevertheless, these different matters are great concern to the DPW PAN of North Sumatra, so in an effort to strengthen the political imagery through interpersonal communication, honesty, courtesy, hospitality, and trustworthiness, PAN is concerned. Honesty, courtesy, hospitality is a practical application of social order or association. The main purpose of maintaining this order in interpersonal communication is to maintain comfort between the two sides that are building interactions and relationships. The rhythm is both necessary in interpersonal communication to maintain cooperative interaction. In accordance with common sense also, that no human being who likes to be lied especially for rural people, once they are lied, then forever they will never put their trust in those who lie to him. Honesty, courtesy, and hospitality are believed to create good interpersonal relationships. Good interpersonal relationships will give birth to a positive assessment, that image is kept by the DPW PAN of North Sumatra.

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[124] The political implications which the author means in this case is that people began to not believe with the politicians. If a politician comes to them, then what happens is the public still appreciates it, but ultimately society will be more transactional. That is, people build relationships with a politician, just because they are paid, or they have made a profit agreement what the public will receive from the politicians concerned. If there are no benefits and benefits, or no payments received, then the relationship is limited only in the meeting alone. More plainly emphasized, the political impact of society becomes pragmatic, and there is no political enlightenment that encourages their participation in election events. If only limited to that which politicians do, then the goal is not to fight for the interests of the people, but for the sake of imaging and seize power that eventually will also enrich the person. The imagery that political elites exhibit is part of the imaging drama. This imagery is often played by politicians to achieve community sympatism. The behavior of any politician of any background, almost certainly acted like a drama actor. When it comes to fighting for the people, politicians do have to show their seriousness to fight for the people. Of course this is to encourage increased elektabilitas and popularity of politicians concerned. But beyond that, the politicians also inevitably have to put forward their personal interests. In this condition, things that are personal are certainly not too visible to the surface. Such is the play played by a movie player to attract sympathetic viewers. It is this kind of political imagery that has emerged lately. Politicians like masked two, even politicians have to behave in a double for an interest to imitate him.

Based on the search conducted, the imaging politics conducted by DPW PAN of North Sumatra through interpersonal communication channels, can give effect to the strengthening of party image. This is based on information submitted by some of the people interviewed. For example, as Samsul Bahri, the community of Labuhan Batu Selatan, who works everyday in the garden. From the interviews, it was learned that the decline of the PAN cadres to the electorate or the community, said Mr. Samsul can draw the sympathy of the people towards PAN.

I am a native person here, and I work everyday as an employee of the garden. I am not a PAN administrator, but I am an ordinary person. I am less interested in these parties, because for me the important thing is ones can work well, can the money and the family can be fed. Nevertheless, I still follow this politics though not seriously, because it is also necessary to add the knowledge. Although I am only a garden employee, but taking part in politics is also important. Moreover, I sympathize first. I am sympathizers of PAN. My interest in PAN is they want to go down to the regions, for example to this village. They want to join the community. Sometimes they want to help too. To my knowledge, they have been to the village twice. Meet the community, sometimes gathered in the village hall. They ask about the development of the society, the grievances of the society. So what I want all the people in the party are like that. They do not come when the new elections comes. The palm trees are plastered with pictures. There will be new elections told to the community, will help them to provide jobs, and all sorts but after that, it never happens again. But I see, PAN members though maybe everything

is not like that, but I see them diligently come to the community.
So please all the people in the party are like that too. [125]

The similar information was also shared by a private employee named Rahmadi when he was interviewed at a restaurant in Labuhan Batu Selatan.

I work as a private employee, sir. I am not involved with politics.
But if you ask about PAN's behavior in this Labusel, I think it is
different from other parties. Moreover, this Labusel if I am not
mistaken, there are 11 members of parliament from PAN. If I
notice, this is supported financially, besides that he is friendly,
sociable and everyone here knows him. That is what makes the
community sympathize him. In addition to the legislative
candidates come to the community diligently. That continues until
now, even though they are already the members of the DPRD.
This may be because the background of the legislative candidate
used to be mediocre person. This is actually what makes people
sympathetic. Because they are friends from the past and now they
do not break the relationship. Many legislative candidates do like
that, if he has become a member of parliament, he has no desire
to visit the village. My hope is the 11 members of PAN, can give a
change for the better, so that Labusel is more advanced in the
future. I also hope that the PAN cadres who are already members
of the DPRD, still diligently go down to the villages. [126]

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[125] Samsul Bahri, the community of Tanjung Medan Village, Kampung Rakyat Sub-district, Labuhan Batu Selatan District. Interview on June 19, 2016 in Tanjung Medan Village.
[126] Rahmadi, a private employee, the community of Tanjung Medan Village, Kampung Rakyat District, Labuhan Batu Selatan District. Interview on June 19, 2016 in Tanjung Medan Village.

The information is also corroborated based on the information obtained from the chairman of DPD PAN Labuhan Batu Selatan, that to build the political imagery, so that the sympathetic of the community increases, they continue to conduct the interpersonal communication on an ongoing basis.

I am as the chairman of PAN Labusel, suggest to all board members, whether they are the members of DPRD and who have not, to be diligent to visit the community. I convey special to those who have been elected to be a member of the council, if you want elected one more period, must be diligent to pick up direct votes to the public. How, from now build the relationship, establish communication with the community. Then I convey to all cadres to maintain the emotional connection that has been established, by visiting the electoral area to capture the aspirations of the people, so we may know what will be done for them. If the people are happy, certainly in the coming elections it will be easier to direct it. That is my recommendation to the cadres. Because I believe, interpersonal communication built from now, will be a strong social capital to build PANS in the future. However, I also acknowledge that not all interpersonal communication is done to produce the optimal results. Sometimes the society, some are already apathetic, do not believe in the members of the council. By convincing the apathetic attitude of society is PAN continuously pursues by going directly to society. [127]

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[127] Wildan Aswan Tanjung, Chairman of DPD PAN Labusel period 2011-2015 and period 2016-2021. Interview dated July 17, 2016 at the office of DPD PAN Labusel.

From the information given above, it can be understood that interpersonal communication has a lot of influence on strengthening PAN political imagery, although on the other side there are also obstacles such as the attitude of public apathy. From the search conducted, that to build political imagery, DPW PAN North Sumatra not only visited the elect, met with the community. But other routine activity conducted is to establish a relationship with leaders across social organizations. PAN of North Sumatra communicates with Muhammadiyah figures and Al Washliyah leaders. As explained by Zulkifli Husein that one of PAN of North Sumatra's annual routine is to build relationships with figures from various social organizations. The program has been conducted since PAN is in North Sumatra. The form of friendship that is done is to establish intensive communication with the leaders of social organizations, such as Muhammadiyah figures. PAN established the program as an annual agenda.

> *Every year we continue to make a relationship with the characters. For example, stay in touch with the house of UMSU rector, the chairman of PW Muhammadiyah, Prof. Ya'kub Matondang and other PAN elders such as Haji Hanif Ray, Drs. H. Mulyadi, H. Azwir Sofyan. They have influence, and expected from their influence, the public will also be loyal to the PAN especially the citizens. In addition to the Muhammadiyah figures, we also gather with other mass organizations. Our goal is to know their views on PAN, and we also ask for input and support from them, so we know the tactical strategy steps that must be pursued forward. We also stay in touch, because the characters are respected people. Their statements can have an impact on society. Therefore, every in touch with the character, the activity*

was exposed to the media. We need to establish communication with community leaders, because they also have a strong influence in the community and they also have a responsibility to build North Sumatra. So we hope, from the relationship that will be established a synergy relationship in building North Sumatra. [128]

From the information above, the relationship with the figures is a strategy to achieve community sympathizes. The hope, under the figure will issue a statement in the form of support, and the statement was heard by the community and then used as a reference. From the results of observaton also found information, strong sympathy and support figures to the PAN. This indicates that communication or interpersonal relationships built can have an effect on PAN political imaging. As for example Prof. Dr. Asmuni, M.Ag who is also *Ulema* and also a Muhammadiyah leader, that institutionally, almost every year PAN administrators stay in touch with the Da'wah Building of Muhammadiyah in Jl. SM. Raja No. 133 Medan. The gathering is in order to synergize activities that are related to the mission of humanity. Not in the framework of political friendship, because Muhammadiyah has returned to *khittah* not involved with practical politics.

The family relationship with PAN has been established for a long time. Besides the hospitality to the Da'wah building, as long as I know, almost every year PAN's administrators of North Sumatra came to stay in the house, including to my house. For me, it is a very good thing, because the relationship is in addition to

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[128] Zulkifli Husein, Head of Central and Regional Election Pemengu I 2010 - 2015, and Chairman of DPW National Mandate Party (PAN) of North Sumatra period 2015-2020. Wancara dated May 23, 2016 at the North Sumatra DPRD office.

fraternity, as well as various information about what each person
can do for the good things. They stay in touch not in the
framework of political missions, but usually they come to
relationship visit because they consider me as an elder in
Muhammadiyah. In every friendship, I do not forget to advise
them to manage the party according to their khittah. PAN used to
be known as a reform party. It does not like corruption, collusion
and nepotism. So in the future PAN will be the nest of them. I
hope to attract the sympathizers of society, the party cadres must
be diligent to come to the community, stay in touch with them, as
well as for the smoothness of Muhammadiyah they also must be
ready to help. Then I always suggested to PAN's management to
keep showing the real work. My hope which is similar to other
people's expectations, for PAN is to remain a populist party, and
a clean party free from corruption, collusion and nepotism. [129]

Besides staying in touch with Muhammadiyah leaders and PAN elders, the DPW PAN of North Sumatra also established relationships and communications with other figures outside PAN, for example with Al Washliyah figure of North Sumatra. As recognized by Dr. Isma Fadli Pulungan, SH who has a close relationship with PAN. Fadli said the relationship has long been established because both parties and equally politicians. Although in 2009-2014 he was no longer a member of the DPRD from Golkar Party, but still the relationship was maintained. Discussion and dialogue is a routine they do when meeting at the office. Fadli also highlighted the political imagery that PAN has built up quite well, since it is supported by the solidity of its cadres, so that there are not

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[129] Asmuni, Head of Muhammadiyah Regional Leadership (PWM) of North Sumatra for 2010-2015 period. Interview dated July 26, 2016 at Jalan Prima Pasar VII Central Tembung Kecamatan Percut Sei Tuan.

too many political ripples that develop in PAN and its dynamics are not so prominent as the big parties that reach the peak of the conflict of dualism. From the interview conducted, Isma Fadli also gave a view of the PAN.

> *In the ongoing relationship, and small dialogues with friends in PAN, I always advise the PAN administrators to open space and place for any cadres who want to enter PAN. Because all this time, I see this PAN both nationally and regionally especially in North Sumatra, has not been able to intensively socialize with the masses outside Muhammadiyah. So PAN should have to get out of the Muhammadiyahan zone, penetrating into other layers of society. For example is Al Washliyah, people all know that Al Washliyah organization is only occupied by two major parties, namely Golkar and PPP. Should, PAN must also have entered into Al Washliyah so that his mass spread. In the same relationship I also often conveyed to the PAN committee to build imagery to Al-Washliyah congregations, so that the sympathetic community also increased. Especially when viewed from the vision of his mission, PAN is a nationalist party. So as a nationalist party, must dare to take nationalist measures as well. Mass recruitment outside Muhammadiyah is a form of nationalism. So I suggest that for PAN imagery that has been better, it must be brave to get out from recruiting outside Muhammadiyah. But in general I see that PAN is a solid party, cares about people and has a good movement, because of the*

support of Muhammadiyah organization and other wing organizations. [130]

The similar information to Isma Fadli Pulungan was also delivered by Yahdi Khoir Harahap.

To strengthen the PAN's political imagery in North Sumatra, PAN has begun to move out of the Muhammadiyahan zone and into another layer of mass. It has been done since the leadership of Ibrahim Sakti, then Kamaluddin Harahap. PAN is expected to not focus on one group, such as Muhammadiyah. But it also has to start thinking of other ways to enter in other community organizations, such as Al Washliyah, NU and so on. Its cadres and leaders should also look at the rainbow, be cross-organizational, cross-figure and even if necessary perform political recruitment from colorful organizations. As what has conducted in Tobasa, Tarutung, and other minority places of Islam. If for example PAN relies on Muhammadiyah people alone, then it will not be able to develop in that place. So PAN must build imagery in different ways according to the situation and condition of the area where PAN is located. [131]

Based on the above interviews, interpersonal communication with the figure can strengthen the party's political imagery. Besides interpersonal communication, there also turns out to contribute much to the

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[130] Isma Fadli Pulungan, Secretary of Regional Leadership of Al Wasliyah of North Sumatra. Interview dated July 23, 2016 at the office of PW Al Washliyah Sumatera Utara, Jl. Sisinga Mangaraja Medan.
[131] Yahdi Khoir Harahap, Chairman of DPD PAN Coal in the period of 2005-2010 and Secretary General of DPW PAN Sumatera Utara period 2015-2020. Interview dated June 20, 2016 at the secretariat office of DPW PAN Sumatera Utara Jl. Wahid Hasyim.

goodness of PAN in the future. However, in reality it appears that although many are sympathetic and provide support to the PAN, there are some who are not supportive and sympathetic. From the observations made, the inhumanity of the people towards the PAN was not because it did not do for the people's sake, but there was a public attitude that made them not believe in the party. The attitude is because the community instills a suspicious attitude, apathy, stereotypes look at the party and feel different interests with the party. For example, there are people who think that the party goes to society only for the sake of the election or because of the interest to be able to work project.

The attitudes that arise, such as prejudice, stereotypes are attitudes that can impede communication. If the communication is hampered, the messages delivered will also be hampered or ineffective. The people's prejudices usually arise, because the community responds and assesses the activities of PAN based on reasons that are not objective and irrational. The emergence of prejudice against communicators led to the emergence of suspicion, indifference, even at a higher level, that is against the presence of communicators. In addition to prejudice, the thing that hinders communication is the emergence of stereotypical attitudes. This trait actually exists because there is already a bad prejudice at the beginning, when viewing the perceived object. For example, when looking at PAN that appears in his mind is this party Muhammadiyah people, so emerged negative judgments, whereas the person concerned has not deepened what it is actually PAN. The appearance of prejudice, suspicion, and stereotyping caused the message not to be effective. This condition is common in the community.

One example, when a citizen was interviewed, what in his mind was that PAN is a party of Muhammadiyah, the party came to the community when it has a desire.

I often hear information that the party people are coming to this village. I do not know what the activity is. People say there's a party who visit here. But I'm lazy to take part in it and I'm not too open with it because the people of this party are clever enough in giving the promises. They want to come when they want to. If they want to be selected, then they will come. They convey the promises and so on. Only the good things sto be elected, but when they have been elected, they do not remember their promises. So when I came to this village, I just ignore it. It is better I do my work. My job is juts like this, nothing changes. I've also heard there that PAN makes a relationship at home residents. But I also am lazy to participate it. Because I think it is the same. I'm also less interested with PAN because it's Muhammadiyah's party. So I'm mediocre. If there is an election, we will decide it later. If the person is good, then we elect him. So it's the same as all the parties. Just look at it alone sir, the road to our place is not cleaned up until now, whereas they promised that after they are elected. But promises are just a promise. [132]

The information submitted above cannot be denied, because the phenomenon of the many members of the DPRD who forgot to the community after sitting in the legislative seat, is very attached to the experience of the society. At the time of the campaign to the public, many promised a good deal, but finally after sitting in the legislature, the promise

Pariadi, a resident of Bandar Khalifah Village, Percut Sei Tuan Subdistrict, Deli Serdang Regency. Interview on July 24, 2016 at Bandar Khalifah Village.

was a lot of unfulfilled. So far it is a very natural thing when such expressions arise from the society. The information conveyed by informants above, is a form of impression and apathy towards the politicians who often express promises but then do not keep them.

Therefore, to overcome the problem of negative prejudices and suspicion of the society, as well as stereotypes against the party, PAN continues to maintain the intensity of communication by encouraging each cadre to diligently get down to the electoral area. Based on field facts, one effort that can be done to avoid PAN prejudice and suspicious people, PAN must choose a communicator who has a good reputation. In addition it must have competence. The communicators here are certainly politicians or leaders who are clean, honest and trustworthy, never involved in any kind of disgraceful acts that hurt the public. Honesty and trust is not only a social demand for every leader, but in the teachings of Islam also affirms that leaders are trustworthy and honest, as affirmed in Al Quran Surah Al Anfal.

O ye who believe, do not betray Allah and the Messenger (Muhammad) and (also) do not betray the trusts entrusted to you, while you know. [133]

In another verse, honesty it is also explained, that every promise that has been made is done honestly. As affirmed in Surah Al Anfal 58.
And if you fear the betrayal of a party, then return the covenant to them in an honest way. Allah does not love those who betray. .[134]

The two verses mentioned above affirm that trust and honesty are two attitudes a leader must possess. An honest attitude and trust are two

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[133]QS. Al Anfal/ 8:27.
[134]QS. Al Anfal/ 8:58.

things that can attract the sympathizers of society to the party and a politician. Adman Nursal said that the personal traits of a politician such as the ability to perform his duties are the factors that most interest the public. [135] The ability to perform the task as Nursal mentioned was certainly not apart from the attitude of security. The indication of that attitude of affirmation will arise in the principles of life which include a number of beliefs or basic values held by a politician, such as integrity, openness, solidarity, sincerity, sacrificial willingness, modesty, caring, faith, piety and responsibility.

The politicians must have an honest and trustworthy attitude in order to reduce the level of apathy, suspicion and prejudice of society. If this is not owned by PAN, then it becomes an obligation for PAN of North Sumatra to selectively choose a cadre, and also must be continuous to do the cadrezation, so that PAN's own struggle values increasingly embedded in the soul of the cadre in question. Because of the appearance of prejudice, suspicion, the stereotype of PAN is a part of the undeniable dynamics of society. Because the society faced is a heterogeneous society, both in terms of culture, religion, education, ideology and so forth. Responsibilities a community that are supportive and not support that is in the observation of the author became one of the factors causing fluctuations in PAN votes. In fact it can provide a very strong domino effect on PAN vote acquisition in North Sumatra.

This condition is recognized by Zulkifli Hussein that although PAN of North Sumatra has built good relations with the community, but not all people can accept the existence of PAN. There are people who support and some are not. Supportive support is common, since PAN is not the only party in North Sumatra. However, Zulkifli Husein said, PAN of North

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[135]Nursal, *Political Marketing,* p. 207.

Sumatra keeps interpersonal relationship to the community and interpersonal relationship to the characters. The statements of the figures are expected to convince the people of PAN, although the hope is still far away. Likewise with the efforts of PAN cadres who descend to the electoral area, not all have full support from the community.

> It's a natural thing I think, there is a support and some are not supportive. I see people who do not support it because they see what the party is doing only for the personal interest of the party. In addition, I see that there is a wrong view in society who still sees this PAN as a party that struggles for the interests of Muhammadiyah people. The view is actually very wrong. Because PAN was born as an open party, not just fight for the interests of Muhammadiyah people, but for the people of North Sumatra. Even PAN is seriously concerned and advocates against the interests of the community. Differences of these views automatically become one of the factors that cause the fluctuative acquisition of PAN of North Sumatra. [136]

Based on the above description, it can be understood that relationship is part of the interpersonal communication channels carried out by PAN to build its imagery. Visiting the figures is a routine activity by PAN to strengthen its political imagery so that it can attract the sympathizers of the people towards PAN. The relationship visit to the figures then exposed to the media is expected to give influence to the community. Thus, PAN imagery in the context of this relationship is strengthened by the figures who were visited by PAN functionaries. There are two influences, namely good influence if the figure is good. Conversely, the influence can be

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[136] Zulkifli Husein, Head of Central and Regional Election Pemengu I 2010 - 2015, and Chairman of DPW National Mandate Party (PAN) of North Sumatra period 2015-2020. Interview in May 23, 2016 at the North Sumatra DPRD office.

negative if the figure is negative. Thus, from some of the above information it can be concluded that interpersonal communication channel is very effectively used as the formation of political imagery, but there are also obstacles that occur in it. Th figure of interpersonal communication carried out by PAN with various barriers it faces can be seen below.

Figure 7
Model of Political Imagery of PAN of North Sumatera
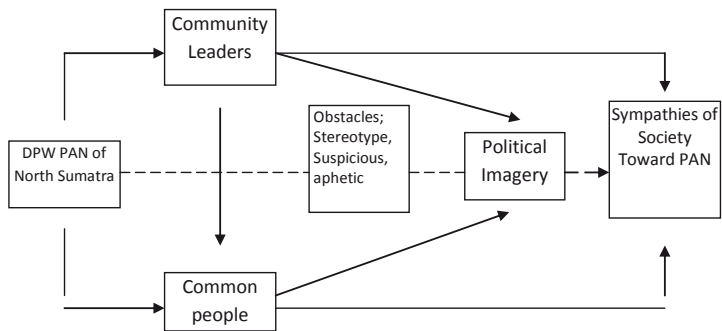
From the picture above, it can be understood that the purpose of DPW PAN of North Sumatra is to achieve the community's sympathies. From the picture above, it can be understood that the goal communication carried by PAN is a political imagery that is expected to affect the sympathy of the community toward PAN.

e. Imagery through Group Communication Channel

The group communication channel is one of the common channels of communication done by humans to convey various information and communicate with each other. The group communication channel is identical to the communication that occurs among several people in a group, such as in meetings, group discussions and so on. Onong Uchjana Effendi says that group communication is a communication that takes place between a communicator with a group of people who number more than

two people.[137] Thus, a given group of people are a number of people who gather together in groups, so that when categorized in terms of numbers, the group can be in small form and can be in large form. A small group, for example, is a communications group in which the communication situations provide an opportunity to respond verbally. An example is a farmer group of about 3-20 people who join in one container, they talk about agriculture. Meanwhile the big group is a group in which it is not possible to make a dialogical dialogue between one member with other members. The communicators and the community in the group can communicate more intensively about various issues.

From the observations made, the utilization of group communication channels is one of the efforts made by DPW PAN of North Sumatra to build the political images. Political imagery in the era of democracy and information becomes a necessity. All the political parties in Indonesia, including PAN, can certainly conduct an image to win the sympathy of the community. This is because political imagery is an attempt to construct the public representation and perceptions of a political party as well as a politician, on all matters related to the political activity.

To build the political imagery, the DPW PAN of North Sumatra has performed a variety of political strategies, and one of them is utilizing group communication channels. Since the founding of PAN, this party is very existed in the community by doing the guidance of small groups in the community. There are recitation groups, youth groups, farmer groups, fishermen and labor groups. The purpose of coaching these groups is to strengthen the PAN mass base. As for example the DPD PAN in Labuhan Batu Selatan that in the period 2015-2019, PAN won 11 seats in the DPRD and in Serdang Bedagai obtained 7 seats in the DPRD. This reality shows

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[137]Effendy, *Ilmu,* p. 75.

that the application of political imagery done has an effect on increasing the society's sympathy towards PAN.

One of the several groups assisted by DPW PAN of North Sumatera is KUR (People's Business Cooperative) located at Desa Pantai Labu Disttrict of Pantai Labu Deli Serdang. For the context of the community in Desa Pantai Labu, PAN conducted guidance for poor communities by raising ducks. The community group consists of 25 people who come from the poor and declare their willingness to be fostered under the direction of DPW PAN of North Sumatra. This duck breeder's empowerment activity took place in 2006, and the group members felt the great benefits from the aids of PAN.

In addition, in the same village a mini gas station also opened which was inaugurated by the Chairman of DPW PAN of North Sumatra Kamaluddin Harahap. The launch of the mini gas station involved a number of local community leaders. The activity took place in 2006 and is still sustainable until now. The opening of the mini gas station is certainly able to open new jobs for the people who need jobs. Interestingly from the opening of the mini gas station is the involvement of local community figures, either from religious leaders, cross-tribal figures or local youth leaders. Of course this is one of the efforts of DPW PAN of North Sumatra to build a political imagery, although it appears that only opened gas station. But the entry point in this activity is the involvement of the local community leaders, so it is expected that there is support from the community, not only to gas stations, but also to the PAN.

The coaching of groups conducted by DPW PAN of North Sumatera also rolled up to the coastal community. In Belawan for example, PAN of Medan City as an extension of the DPW PAN of North Sumatra empower the fishermen community. The fishermen are given assistance for boat

making purposes. The funds come from the legislative candidates from Dili Belawan. In Tanjung Tiram area, Batu Regency also conducts the empowerment of traditional fishermen groups. This activity is one of PAN's efforts to advocate for the marginalization of traditional fishermen, which in the competition is very much lost in comparison with modern fishermen who already use bigger ships and more advanced fishing equipment. Responding to the problem of traditional fishermen, the DPW PAN of North Sumatra provides loans for traditional fishermen for boat making.

The procurement of boat-making aid came from DPW PAN of North Sumatera in 2009 which was sponsored by the legislative candidate of PAN of North Sumatra, electoral area IV (Batu Bara, Asahan, Tanjung Balai). As explained by Husni Lubis, one of PAN's strategic efforts, especially in Batu Bara Regency, especially in Tanjung Tiram is to empower fishermen community because the majority of the population in the area work as fishermen, and they are generally fishermen who use small boats. They also use traditional fishing equipment, so if they are not helped, they will continue to be poor. With the PAN assistance program, it is expected to empower the fishermen. The fishermen are assisted not for free, but they are required to refund in installments. The funds they returned were given again to other fishermen who also needed help. So the fund rolls. To control the empowerment, DPD PAN of Batu Bara as an extension of the DPW PAN of North Sumatra, continue to establish communication with the fishermen. The fishermen once a month hold meetings, and discuss the problems of fishermen and so on. The meeting was attended by DPD PAN of Batu Bara as a builder. But the program is constrained, meaning it only ran 3 years. After that, it did not continue anymore because the existing

fishing communities in power groups are not routine in returning the money, so the program did not run. [138]

The coaching of fishermen group was also conducted by DPW PAN of North Sumatera in Pantai Cermin area. In the activities in 2009, the group of fishermen and the local community were coached by PAN to do reforestation of mangrove forest. The people were supported by PAN funds, and the funds came from the State Minister of Forestry, then Zulkifli Hasan. The program ran in 2009 and local communities benefit from this empowerment, as communities feel they have new jobs, as explained by a citizen of Pantai Cermin.

> *Originally I was not a party member. I am a regular non-party community. In 2009 I joined the branch manager of PAN. My initial interest in this party, in 2009 there is a PAN activity in this village to plant the mangroves. At that time I was offered the village chief, and then I joined. We were 30 people then and guided by PAN. There were also candidates who participated. Every two weeks, there must be a meeting. While distributing the mangrove seeds, we got directions. Eventually, so I was interested in the activity and I finally joined PAN. Such activities are great benefits, because the community feels helped the economy. At that time, the planting of one mangrove seed was valued Rp 2500.* [139]

From the searches conducted by the author, besides empowering the fishermen community and the urban community, DPW PAN of North Sumatra also empowers the farmers community. In the District of Labuah

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[138] Husni Lubis, Vice Chairman of DPW PAN Sumatera Utara priode 2005-2010. Interview dated July 25, 2016 in Medan via mobile phone.
[139] M. Yunus, a resident of Pantai Cermin District of Serdang Bedagai Regency. Mirror Interview, dated July 30, 2016 in Pantai Cermin District.

Batu, DPW PAN of North Sumatra also empowers 60 groups of Farmers Group (KUBE). Each KUBE is given 15 million rupiahs of aids to develop their own farmland. The 60 KUBEs became the PAN-led group in the period 2005-2010. The grants are from the Chairman of DPP PAN Soetrisno Bachir. These groups serve as a communication channel for PAN's political imagery. Besides empowering the community, but in that context too, PAN's political mission vision remains working. The existing groups are instrumental in conveying PAN political messages to the public.

The efforts of group coaching by PAN are not just the political imagery strategies, but they are part of PAN's concern for the community's welfare. When it is analyzed from the perspective of political studies, PAN builds an intensive communication through group communication channels, which are deliberately created in the community. This approach is emotionally able to mobilize the people to choose PAN at the time of the election, because PAN considered the community as a party that cares about them. That is, PAN also believes that such an approach will be able to influence people's assessment on PAN and then they will vote for political parties whose work programs are most rational. Rational means the program is real and perceived its benefits directly.

In that context, all the societies can finally judge, think and analyze which party is paying attention to them and which ones are not. Thus, it can be concluded that the channel of group communication is one of the efforts made by DPW PAN to build political imagery. Group communication is a part of the effort to empower people to become PAN's information mouthpiece to build the imagery but when it is observed from some of the information above, it is clearly seen that group communication is more formal, organized and institutionalized. So it appears that the group has a

strong psychological unity and interaction and that it also reinforces the emotional ties among the groups.

f. Imagery through Ordering Political Advertisement

One of the characteristic of a democratic country is achieving the general election that aims to seize power through a competitive struggle in gaining the people's votes. Then it becoms a common view, the parties and politicians before the general election began to make them busy getting the people's support by developing image through mass media. Interestingly, the dynamic of political imagery is marked by the increasing number of political parties and the use of advertisement. The parties and politicians fight to popularize themselves by name, rank number through advertisement, either on television, newspapers, or magazines and so on.

The use of political advertisement is considered as an effective tool to raise the popularity and construct political party imagery and politicians who are competing. With the speed of message delivery, advertisement becomes a primary alternative as a campaign tool for the parties and politicians, as in the political perspective, image occupies an important position to influence the people's political attitudes and public opinion. PAN in this case takes part in the political image. The image construction created by PAN aims to build a positive image to PAN in the public eye. Therefore, throughout the years 2005-2015 PAN tried to pack the PAN's political image to be able to captivate the people's heart.

Based on the observations made for North Sumatra, for example, PAN politicians advertise their party through local printed media. Throughout 2005-2010, in various local printed media, they are crowded by PAN political advertisements, either party side or individual. The advertisements are in the form of congratulations, and some others introduced that they are the PAN legislative candidates. In this context, the

author sees the awareness among PAN politicians through advertisement media is the first step of their struggle to achieve the people sympathy. Along with this, the author sees that political image becomes something that cannot be separated from the democracy dynamics that will continue. For example as what described by Yahdi Khoir Harahap.

> *One of PAN's steps to introduce the party to the people in North Sumatra is making advertisements in newspapers. The purpose of the advertisement is generally to inform and persuade the public to be willing to follow what is desired in the advertisement. For example, PAN advertised and asked for voting PAN. For this advertising, PAN never hires Harian Waspada in a full page to load PAN picture in it. At that time, Sutrisno Bachir was as the Chairman of the DPP PAN. The advertisement is the same as shown on television, where the PAN's jargon "Hidup adalah perbuatan" (Life is An Attitude). According to the author that advertisement is very important, despite the fact the people have already known about PAN. However, in order to establish a good image, and keep the public know PAN's program, vision, and mission, PAN still makes the advertisement that is expected to attract the public's sympathy, particularly in North Sumatra. Besides the party advertisements, there are also some PAN members who create their own advertisements, for example, some members who expressed his congratulations and success, congratulations on duty, or condolences, and so on. Even if it is*

private, the emblem as a member of PAN is never separated from those advertisements. [140]

Based on the information above, it is understood that PAN feels the importance of using advertisement as an effort to build the party's political imagery. It can also be confirmed that PAN uses political advertisement as part of efforts to build political imagery in North Sumatra. From some of the PAN's political advertisements, the imagery is identically to stand out and the party itself. For example there's a saying "*PAN partai peduli rakyat*" (PAN party cares for people, "*Bersama PAN kita bangun Sumatera Utara yang sejahtera*", (Together with PAN we build a prosperous North Sumatra) and others. Concretely, the purpose is to create the public perception into a positive perception towards PAN. This fact supports the writer's argument that advertisement is needed in building a political image, and it is necessary as a means to sell a party's products. The party products included in this is the PAN cadres appointed as legislative candidates of head of region.

Along with the author's analysis towards a number of PAN's advertisements, they are the self-images that reflect PAN politicians as representatives of the general public. The advertisements are produced to create the politics imagery that encourage the people interested, because the issues presented in the advertisement are connected from the party's program. Concretely, it is understood that the advertisements are created by PAN as a tool to establish the political image and to attract the public sympathy, and ultimately to seize power. These advertisements are paid by the party to the media indirectly, but there are also unpaid advertisements

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[140] Yahdi Khoir Harahap, Chairman of DPD PAN Coal in the period of 2005-2010 and Secretary General of DPW PAN Sumatera Utara period 2015-2020. Interview dated June 20, 2016 at the secretariat office of DPW PAN Sumatera Utara Jl. Wahid Hasyim.

made through the news. For example, there are PAN'S activities coped by the media, and the media make it as news, so that it also becomes advertising activities that can add information to the community about the PAN.

What DPW PAN of North Sumatra did is certainly a part of the strategy to win the public's attention. In political marketing it is said that political advertisement plays a role in the event of political strategy. This is also confirmed by Falkow et al as cited Budi Setiyono that political advertisement is useful for several things, namely:

1. Establishing a contestant images and emotional attitudes towards the candidates.
2. Helping the voters to get rid of the uncertainty choice because of the tendency to choose a particular contestant.
3. Tool to reconfigure (fix the figure) the contestants' images.
4. Directing to choose a particular contestant.
5. Influencing the public opinion on certain issues.
6. Giving effect of the evaluation and interpretation of the constituents towards the candidates and political programs.[141]

From the analysis conducted by the author, the importance of political advertisements is highly relevant to the content of political developments in Indonesia, especially after the general elections which adopts proportional openness. It means that a candidate can be chosen or not if his voice is more and qualified the rules. It is no longer determined by the rank number. This is one that encourages for politicians to be more excited to take advantage of the political advertisement to establish the political imagery.

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[141]Budi Setiyono, *Iklan dan Politik: Menjaring Suara dalam Pemilihan Umum* (Jakarta: AdGoal Com, 08), p. 346-347.

Along with this, based on the observation, the political parties and politicians take advantages the use of advertising services to build political imagery. Not only PAN but other parties also. The advertisements become part of political communication in the effort to socialize the party's program, or the imaging of a politician. Especially in the era of media freedom, political advertisement is considered as the right strategy and is essential for establishing a political image and popularity of the party or politician. Yasraf Amir Piliang as quoted Tinarbuko, advertisement is important to establish a political imagery, in order to vote what are offered to them.

> *In the politics of information era, the political image of a character built through various printed and electronic media as if a spell to decide a political choice. Through the electronic spell, then the people's political attitudes, perceptions, and views are shaped and even manipulated. It is also been washed away in the passion of the political elites to construct the self-image, regardless it is relation with the actual fact. Politics now has become the political image, which celebrates the image rather than political competence.* [142]

What stated above is an undisputable reality because in the fast growing information era and communication at the moment many political advertisements introduce identity, self-imagery and political figure or group known as political parties. One of political party advertisements that often appear along the years 2005-2010 is the political advertisement of PAN led by Sutrisno Bachir. The PAN's advertisement does not separate from the efforts to build a political imagery. Sutrisno Bachir's made advertisement is modified seriously in order to provide political education

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[142]Tinarbuko, *Iklan,* p. 7.

for the people. The intensity of the advertisement is more visible when the general election time is getting closer. In almost all television stations, even in the local daily newspaper, the advertisement published in a full sheet. For the current context, for example, the political advertisement which has a very high spot is Perindo (Indonesian Unity Party). It can be seen that almost every day and even every hour the advertisement about the party was displayed, whereas the 2019 general elections is still long. Not only the symbols were presented, but the song is also sung by Perindo, so people also know the mars lyrics of Perindo. Although the 2019 general election is still long, the party has been campaigning early through the political advertisements. Here is seen, that advertisement as a politics marketing strategy has a strategic role in promoting the party's vision, mission and programs, so that the party is increasingly recognized by the Indonesian people.

In the author's observation, political advertisement becomes an important instrument in guiding public awareness to choose a party or a candidate leader. Political advertisement becomes more developed as an instrument of political campaign when the politicians realized that conventional means such as campaigns, face to face, visits are not enough to introduce themselves to the party and people. The strong influence of advertisement to build a political image makes political advertisement gets a portion of the excess in various media. In this case, television becomes media that most desirable party and politicians to advertise because they are considered more effective in reaching the public. This condition then triggers the increased political advertisement funding from year to year. In the records of the data presented by AC Nielsen, the cost of political advertisement in 2008 reached 2.2 trillion. This figure is up 66% compared with 2007 that was only 1.31 trillion, or far below the cost of political

general election advertisement in 1999 that only 35.6 billion. Before the 2014 geenral election, for example, the most advertisement fund was 70 billion by HANURA and the Democratic Party for 56.8 billion. After these two parties, PAN listed as the third largest advertisers that spent Rp 43.8 billion.

Apart from the big cost of the advertisement, the important thing to be noted from this phenomenon is the effectiveness of political advertisement also occurs because of the growing of communication media. Especially the developement in television ownership is virtually owned by the whole people from the most slum residents to the most elite who certainly have televisions. This also encourages the parties and politicians to advertise the party and themselves through television, although the cost is relatively expensive.

The hustle of the party and the politicians to build a political imagery through adverrtisement pushes the current advertisement at the top position which is marked by the emergence of political advertisements in various media. The advertisements become more creative and weighted successfully influenced the people to make their choice for one party. As what PAN did, for example, at the time of Sutrisno Bachir ledership, PAN showed its advertisement existence that actually do for people. In that advertisement PAN illustrates the potential that is owned by the Indonesian people and needs to be managed well by good people, so what is done will be useful for the next generation.

Likewiwse, if we consider in the context of North Sumatra, DPW PAN of North Sumatra used advertisement as part of efforts to build political imagery. By searching the related documents, PAN advertisement are varied. As an extension of PAN in the region, then in 2005-2010 PAN advertisements used more Sutrisno Bachir's jargon, and in the year 2010-

2015, it is more colored by PAN advertisemnts words for people, because Hatta Rajasa as the Chairman of the DPP PAN set the party slogan for people. Not only the Chairman's advertisements, but other advertisement conveyed by DPW PAN of North Sumatra is political advertisement in the form of an appeal to attend the grand campaign initiated by PAN North Sumatra. This is explained by Yahdi Khoir Harahap.

> *PAN Realizes that political advertisement is very important in order to support the success of this party program. The advertisement submitted to the people is not just the chairman's advertisement but there are also other activities that should be supported by advertisement, as well as a grand campaign activities conducted by DPW PAN of North Sumatra. Of course these activities need a lot of people. Besides we instruct from DPD to the sub-branch, of course it is advertised through mass media. Usually, if there is a grand campaign, which was attended by national campaigner and also the Chairman of DPP PAN, it certainly made its advertisement. The content of their advertisement appeals to the cadres and sympathizers in order to attend. During this time, the advertisement may influence the PAN cadres and sympathizers from different regions. They come in the grand campaigns. Actually, they were there driven by the functionaries of PAN in the area or at each branch, but they also attend by their own wish. Usually they are PAN sympathizers who are interested in the PAN's programs.* [143]

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[143] Yahdi Khoir Harahap, Chairman of DPD PAN Coal in the period of 2005-2010 and Secretary General of DPW PAN of North Sumatera period 2015-2020. Interview dated June 20, 2016 at the secretariat office of DPW PAN Sumatera Utara Jl. Wahid Hasyim.

Based on the information above, it can be understood that the advertisement submitted by PAN in various media can improve some people sympathetic to PAN. The people's sympathies flows so that in the 2005-2009 general election in North Sumatra PAN is on the sixth rank, and in the year 2009-2014 it is on the fifth. The results encourage PAN to improve its political survival through various ways, including the increase of political party's imagery through political advertisement in local printed media. Admittedly, one way to improve the politics imagery is to maintain good relations with the mass media.

The history of world politics where the leaders could win got support from advertisement in mass media. For example in US general elections, Barack Obama's victory who won twice in succession in the presidential election in the United States was supported by the role of media. The media provide the widest opportunity to advertise introduce Obama as a presidential candidate, even though the American public is already familiar with Obama. Likewise, SBY's victory is inseparable from the media and commercials. SBY image after airing repeatedly through advertisements in the media, eventually attract the Indonesian people's sympathy to choose him in the second period.

This reality show is then encourages several parties and politicians to take advantage of media advertisement as a political image. Political advertisement monopoly in several media, especially the owners of the media are from political parties. The portion of the advertisement displayed is not suitable with KPU regulations. The duration of displayed political advertisements is much different from the short political advertisement. The monopoly owner of this media is perceived that political parties do not have the accuracy of the media. The rise of political advertisement monopoly that occurs in several media, implying that the media has

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changed to capitalism. The media interest does not fully distribute equal information. The media interest even "being hosted" of capital owners. [144]

Apart from that condition, if we consider in the advertisement that showed by PAN of North Sumatra, the overall advertisement can be categorized into three types: *Firstly*, the advertisement that aims to encourage the people to join PAN to make a change for a better life and prosperous. *Secondly*, PAN advertisement shows concern for the people, so that it persuades the people to uphold justice in North Sumatra together. *Thirdly*, PAN sees that the condition of Indonesia needs a good management so that it can be used for the people's welfare.

Theoretically, political advertisement performed by PAN is divided to two ways, first is through free regular reporting on the PAN politicians and party activities. Then the second one is through paying to the local and national printed or electronic mass media. The paid advertisements in the writer's observation is in the form of pictures and jargon published in the media, meanwhile the free advertisement is in the form of activities news carried out by PAN. The difference between these two advertisements is that in political advertisement which parties or politicians decide what they show and say and how long the time they want. Meanwhile the news one, there is no rule. It is natural when AC Nielsen puts PAN as the third party that puts the most advertisement funds for the party political imagery. Thus, from the amount of advertisement funds used by PAN, it can be concluded that PAN is the most serious party in political imagery through political advertisement.

g. Imagery through the Party Leading Program

Politics is a way of influencing others to be interested. In other terms, the world of politics is a world of battle that requires strategy and

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[144]Anang Anas Azhar, " Media dan Iklan Politik" in *Harian Analisa,* dated 13 February 2014.

tactics to win it. The imagery strategies conducted by political parties, is one factor in determining victory in political contestation. In addition, the approach of the work program of political parties also has a strong enough influence to build its image in the community, so that with the imagery, the community can be influenced in determining the choice. [145]

One of the political steps that can be done to influence the community is to conduct political imagery through the program. As can be ascertained, that every party or every candidate who is advancing in an election, either in a presidential election, a governor election or a Regent election, certainly has a work program to be offered to the public. Therefore, in establishing the program, the parties and the politicians should pay attention to the potential that exists in society. By paying attention to these potentials, people can feel represented by the work programs offered to them. This is very important, because it can encourage the stronger political image of the party or a candidate, and automatically if people are interested, they will vote to the party or candidate who perceived himself.

In that connection, the efforts of the DPW PAN of North Sumatra to build a political imagery that can win the hearts of the people, was not always with the use of money. As rumors have so far evolved in society, that money is everything that determines the victory of the party or a politician who is following the political contestation. PAN of North Sumatra realized that although money cannot be eliminated from the political procession, but money is not everything that can determine the victory. Even people are also aware of it, that it is not money that can

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[145] The community responses and judgments are an important element in imaging, because the image is a set of beliefs, ideas and impressions of a person towards a particular object. Thus, one's attitude and actions towards one object, will be determined by the image of the object concerned, whether it looks interesting or not.

provide the change, so some people sometimes do not vote for the party or choose the politicians who share money although they took the money, but they did not vote for the party or politician who shared the money.

On the contrary, the people chosen by the community are politicians who have clear mission vision, then have a good program, and the program can be felt directly benefited by society. This shows that the level of political awareness of the community has begun to increase, because not always their voice can be traded. The vast majority of voting societies no longer underlie their choice of parties with money, but they choose parties that are truly able to fight for their aspirations, or parties that have real programs and real activities for society.

In viewing the awareness movement of DPW PAN of North Sumatra is strengthening the pro-people party program. As Parluhutan Siregar explained, DPW PAN of North Sumatra just likes other parties that certainly cannot be separated from imagery, because it is one of the party's strategies to introduce this party to the community, as well as an effort to win the sympathetic community. In this connection, said Parluhutan Siregar, the board of DPW PAN of North Sumatra realized the importance of imagery. However, in doing it, all the cadres are warned to keep the organization's good name, and do not justify any means. For example, in political events, whatever the event, all cadres are banned from practicing money politics.

> *We do realize that the money can help in popularity. It's all right as long as it does not break the rules of the party. If a cadre visits his election, then he gives money to the people who are considered meritorious to help him in his electoral area or provide assistance in the form of money to the community in his electoral area, it is fine. It is forbidden, when the political contest*

is taking place, then he splits the money for him to be chosen. Things like that should not be in PAN. We from the DPW PAN of North Sumatra, advocate making policies and programs that pro people, because it will be more felt by the people than to give money 50 thousand. So we are now, continue to make improvements to the work programs. For example, from past managers, if both programs continue, if less well evaluated and taken into consideration. So in essence, we are PAN officials, focusing on the formulation of a pro-people working program. [146]

Based on the above information, it can be understood that the tendency of PAN of North Sumatran board in building party image is through the strengthening of work program. To build a good image in the community, social issues and political policy are a very important program presence by PAN of North Sumatra. By strengthening the work program that can provide great benefits to the community, PAN of North Sumatra believes it will increasingly make the party more loved by the community. Based on the search conducted on documents owned by DPW PAN of North Sumatera, there are a number of work programs that have been prepared by the party. However, these programs can be categorized in general to the four, namely the field of health, welfare, education and caderization, as well as religious social. These programs are structured in periodically, some are in the form of long-term, medium and short term. But in principle, all the programs that have been formulated, the direction is to strengthen the PAN as a party that really pro people.

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[146] Parluhutan Siregar, Secretary of DPW PAN of North Sumatera period 2010-2015 is also member of DPRD North Sumatra period 2005-2009 election area of ??Well 11, Binjai Langkat, member of DPRD of North Sumatra period 2010-2015 electoral area of North Sumatra 6 Tabagsel. Interview on June 6th in Medan via mobile phone.

From the searches conducted on the documentation of DPW PAN of North Sumatra in the years 2005-2015, some information was obtained that the outline of the program DPW PAN of North Sumatra together with other parties. PAN has programs that cover health, welfare, law supremacy, education and quadrants, development programs and religious social programs.

First is the health program, for example, DPW PAN has one health program in collaboration with Muhammadiyah Hospital, at Jalan Thamrin Medan. The health program is one of the efforts made by DPW PAN of North Sumatra to build a political image. Throughout the year 2005-2010, the health programs are run on an ongoing basis. Even this health program runs until the stewardship period 2015-2020. The health program model is known as Card Membership Card (KTA) initiated by DPW PAN North Sumatra period 2005-2010.

Based on the information obtained by the author of the PAN functionary, this KTA compensation program is a PAN concern for the difficulty of getting treatment for the poor, as explained by Akrim Ashal Lubis, that PAN of North Sumatra is a party that cares about the community, especially the poor. One manifestation of PAN's concern for the poor is to help the community in the field of health. PAN of North Sumatra has a health program called *KTA berdantunan.* Since 2005 until now the program has been agreed as a flagship program, because PAN can work together with Muhammadiyah hospital that is on the road Tamrin Medan. During KTA sponsorship run from 2005 until now, the number of its members has reached 360 thousand people for all of North Sumatra and most come from the city of Medan that is as many as 10 thousand members. KTA sponsorship program in North Sumatra had won the award from the Chairman of DPP PAN who was then Soetrisno Bachir, because it

is able to recruit the KTA members above 300 thousand people. At that time Soetrisno Bachir gave 300 million to the DPW PAN of North Sumatra. Generally the KTA members' sponsors come from the poor families because the program is almost the same with government programs, such as Askes and BPJS.

> *We have a KTA program sponsor. The purpose of this program is to provide compensation for the miserable PAN members, such as one of the dead families, or one of the members having an accident and disability. To those who experienced it was given assistance of 1 million. Provision of compensation for one of the deceased family members was given directly by DPW PAN of North Sumatera at the location of misfortune on the third night and witnessed by the pilgrims who attended the takziyah event. As for members who are disabled by accident, given directly to the house concerned. Even those who have an accident then are treated in the Muhammadiyah hospital, if indeed they are one of the KTA members, they will be given free treatment.* [147]

Second is the superior program of DPW PAN of North Sumatera is in the field of community welfare. Based on searches conducted by the author, the program of community welfare is a program that is closely related to improving the standard of living of the community. In this case, the DPW PAN of North Sumatra has community-based groups aimed at improving the middle to lower class economy. For example, such as the PAN North Sumatra in Labuhan Batu, by empowering 60 Joint Business Group (KUBE). This group is the farmers who are empowered and given assistance by PAN of North Sumatera, so that the farmers manage their

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[147]Akrim Ashal Lubis, Director of KTA bersantunan DPW PAN of North Sumatera Period 2005-2010. Interview dated on 22 July 2016 via mobile phone.

farms well, so that the better the farm. This welfare program is also related to empowerment of home industry, in the form of people business, such as *tempe* business, chips business, handicraft, as PAN did in Serdang Bedagai area. This program is one of PAN's awareness in the effort of improving the people's welfare.

Including in pushing the people's welfare, PAN continues to pressure to the government to flatten the development in North Sumatra. In this case, PAN encourages the government to build the infrastructure needed by the community, such as the main road of the village that can support the economic growth activities of the community. The development is an important issue that is always voiced by PAN, because as in the jargon of Hatta Rajasa is a populist party. The development program offered to the community is one of PAN North Sumatera's efforts to build a political image. To succeed the program, DPRD members from PAN at all levels are encouraged to lead the budget to their respective electoral area, so that what has been promised during the campaign can be felt directly benefited by the people in their respective districts. For example, there is Sub-Regional Assistance (BDB), members of PAN try to lead it to their respective electoral area to accelerate the regional development and foster the welfare of the community.

The efforts made by DPW PAN of North Sumatra aim to improve the welfare of the community. As understood, that there are some people who make welfare as a benchmark of democratic country. When welfare improves, people will praise democracy, but on the contrary, when the welfare of society does not improve, people begin to doubt democracy. That is, people become apathetic, pessimistic and so forth, so often appear words of society that compare democracy with the era of the past. The

phrase is *better the past than now*. This attitude certainly raises the desire to return to the past and tend to blame democracy.

Third, PAN's program is PAN and education. The educational program is one of the things that is very attention by PAN North Sumatra. The attention of PAN North Sumatra in education, implemented through the provision of scholarships to school children who come from poor families. Not only do the institutional parties do this, but a number of cadres at certain times also provide scholarships to outstanding students and come from poor families. As well as the DPW PAN of North Sumatra period 2005-2010 provides the scholarships to underprivileged children which are approximately 2000 children. The event was held in Hajj Dormitory Medan coincides with the inauguration of DPW PAN North Sumatra. The scholarship was also conducted by Kamaluddin Harahap personally to 1000 poor children, while providing compensation to the poor and needy families.

Besides providing scholarships to the poor families, PAN of North Sumatra is also very concerned about the fate of honorary teachers. In this case, the DPW PAN of North Sumatra constantly voiced his aspirations to the honorary teachers to be appointed civil servants. This is conducted by PAN, not just for imaging, but care about the education which is the flagship program that is always put at front by PAN of North Sumatra, and DPD PAN which exist in area.

In the field of percussion, for example, PAN is very concerned and paid attention to it. The caderization is one of the spearheads to strengthen the PAN's political imagery, so for every PAN's cadre is required to always follow the existing cadres in PAN. Formally, for example, PAN implements three-tiered morality models ranging from basic cadre mandate (KAD), then cadre mandates (KAM) and the three main cadre mandates

(KAU). The purpose of these cadres is to strengthen the commitment and the loyalty to PAN as a party of struggle aspirations. KAD is intended for the DPD PAN stewardship in the Districts, KAM for the stewardship of the Provincial DPW, meanwhile KAU is prepared PAN stewardship in the center. However, outside of this formal cadre, PAN performs recruitment by recruiting the young generation, who sympathizes with PAN. This activity is conducted with a more relaxed atmosphere in order to introduce PAN to them, so that from here it is expected to arise a PAN generous generation, and keep the basic values of PAN's struggle.

From the search by the author, PAN is well aware, that by continuing to implement the cadre, there will emerge the qualified cadres, so that the perpetrators are carried out continuously at all levels. PAN also realized that the party's future was determined by the ability of its cadres to translate the party's vision, mission and platform. According to the political marketing theory, platform is one form of identity that is often used as party efforts to build the image. For examples are the image formation in business world, image formation in political party also cannot be conducted in a short time. Especially for political parties as growing classified like PAN, of course imaging is not comparable with the strong imaging of old parties. For the old political parties, such as Golkar and PDI Perjuangan, their image is firmly attached to its existence. The Golkar Party, known throughout history, has given rise to imaging as a political party holding power. Similarly, the PDI Perjuangan despite its age of 10 years, but its cultural foundation makes the party's imagery known as the small, nationalist, Soekarnoism party.

For that reason, the author sees that PAN's cadre leads to the improvement of the cadres quality in understanding the PAN principles, and understanding of the principle is the result of a long process of talks

requiring intellectual capacity. It can only be obtained by the cadres through sustainable agriculture. The cadres who know about it are certainly indispensable, so that PAN's continuity as a modern party and the future party can be maintained. This can only be done if the farming is done on an ongoing basis. Parluhutan Siregar also confirmed during the interview session conducted by the author.

> *This PAN 's caderization must be well managed. What is good in the past, it needs to be developed in the future according to the demands of development. I think, this PAN is a cadre party. So to support the development of this PAN, inevitably have to do the caderizations. The recruitment of potential cadres must be a necessity. The results of the cadre are expected to bring cadres who are committed and loyal in supporting the party's struggle. The loyalty and idealism of the cadre is sometimes what has begun to erode now. But to overcome it, the quadrant must go on. The caderization is like the breath of organization. The cadres will be prepared to lead this party in the future. Due to the cadre is a party product, then the product must be packaged good, so if the cadre is good, his party will also be good.* [148]

In the process of recruiting of the party cadres, PAN in principle does not discriminate people who want to join PAN. In fact, its cadres are open to all elements of society, ranging from cross-youth, cross-cultural, cross-ethnic and inter-religious. PAN does not limit that PAN cadres must be from Muhammadiyah people. So in this connection, the regency is an

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[148] Parluhutan Siregar, Secretary of DPW PAN Sumatera Utara period 2010-2015 is also member of DPRD North Sumatra period 2005-2009 election area of ??Well 11 (Binjai Langkat), member of DPRD North Sumatra period 2010-2015 area of North Sumatra 6 (Tabagsel). Interview on June 6th through mobile phone.

effort to strengthen the vision, mission and ideology of the party in a cadre, so that the cadre can be the spearhead of public relations of PAN itself.

The *fourth,* social and religious program which is also a flagship program that always put forward by parties and politicians PAN of North Sumatra. To strengthen the political imagery, almost all parties are always engaged in activities that are socially religious. For examples are providing assistance to the poor, coming to the disaster-stricken community, following the events of Islamic holidays, congratulating them on religious days. This is a place for parties and politicians to do political imagery.

DPW PAN of North Sumatera as a political party also did so. Even from the search by the author, it is found a number of facts that both partying and individual, religious social activities are often used PAN party and politicians to build imaging. The social activities for example are all the activities that are closely related to the community. Several related activities in this context include, PAN conducts the sponsorship activities for orphans, visits to orphanages, conducts mass circumcision, provides free breaking of fast and so on. Even DPW PAN of North Sumatra is also not infrequently plunged into the community to show concern for the disaster that hit the community. As with the eruption of Mount Sinabung, PAN with all its ranks to collect aid in the form of money, groceries and clothing which is then handed over to the eruption of Mount Sinabung eruption communities. In 2007, the DPW PAN of North Sumatra also directly observed the condition of the community of Kotanopan of Mandailing Natal Regency which was displaced by flash floods and landslides. Just as the victims of the eruption of Mount Sinabung, PAN also provided assistance to the Kotanopan community in the form of emergency tents, instant food as the initial advocacy for the people affected by the disaster at Mandailing Natal District of Kotanopan in 2007.

When it is viewed from a political point of view, the image of PAN of North Sumatra through its flagship program, addressed to all people, whether Muhammadiyah or non Muhammadiyah, Moslem or non Islam. Even PAN's political imagery does not see the social class. This shows that PAN is an open party (inclusive) that has a concern for the community. PAN is not a Muhammadiyah party as depicted by most people, especially the people who do not understand PAN. Through the flagship program, PAN shows that the party is an open party whether it is in relation to the cadre recruitment pattern that is open generally to the sympathizers wishing to enter the PAN. PAN's consistency is to run the party program, including part of the effort to form a political image. The intensity of political communication and good political imagery, as PAN acknowledged through its flagship program, will certainly add to the good appraisal of the society.

h. Imagery through Political Jargon

In the history of Indonesian politics, the age of the National Mandate Party (PAN) on 23 August 2016 was 18 years old. As a political party which is born from the womb of reformation, PAN has inspired much for the people of Indonesia. One of the PAN's inspirations was opening the tap of Indonesian political democracy. This started from the tap of the constitution through the amendment of the 1945 Constitution until the amendment of the presidential/vice presidential election law when the reform figure Amien Rais served as the Chairman of the MPR RI. This party is known as a modern party that is expected to change the mindset of Indonesian society to change the people's perspective on Indonesia's real political condition. Especially after the collapse of Soeharto regime who was in power for 32 years, there are many agenda that must be guarded, such as law enforcement supremacy, eradication of corruption and nepotism around the state officials.

Along with the nation's political journey, PAN continues to move to align itself with the other parties. It continues to strive to build a good political image in the eyes of the public. One of the PAN's political imagery efforts is through political jargon. When it is followed by the explanation of Chaer and Agustina, jargon is a social variation that is used in a limited way by certain social groups. [149] Thus, jargon is understood as the entity of a particular cultural community that can be a hereditary tradition as well as a new tradition created naturally according to the interactions that occur in it. But clearly, in the political sphere, the use of jargon is closely related to systems and strategies to gain power, because politics is a legitimate way to gain the legality of power.

In the author's observation, the emergence of the jargons is closely related to the social and cultural phenomena that emerged at that time. The implementation of elections in Indonesia for example, after multiparty, the campaign party model also changed drastically. The pattern of approach taken by the party and the politicians to the society is different. Then, the political imagery is more and more practiced by parties and politicians which runs for the leader. One of the strategies of political imagery in question is the use of jargon in the media campaign, such as banners, billboards and so forth.

The use of this jargon is also conducted by the DPW PAN of North Sumatra as a typical narrative to build the imagery, so that the community as a constituent is interested in PAN. In the author's note, since PAN was established, every change of the chairman, the jargon that was echoed was also changed. For example, when Amien Rais became chairman of the DPP PAN, the political jargon that PAN carried was "*Menuntaskan Reformasi*"

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[149]Abdul Chaer dan Leonie Agustina, *Sosiolinguistik Perkenalan Awal* (Jakarta: PT Rineka Cipta, 2004), p. 68.

(Completing the Reformation). The jargon was echoed by PAN, because it is a reform party, and when Amien Rais is chairman of the DPP PAN, Amien rais considers that the reforms are not yet complete. Therefore, the reform agenda needs to be continued, and PAN in that regard is at the forefront to complete the unfinished reform agenda. Therefore, PAN inspired to amend the 1945 Constitution. Among the contents of the amendment changed the system of presidential election/vice president of the representative system in the MPR/DPR RI into a direct system. It gets good attention from all the people of Indonesia. Nevertheless, the PAN jargon is considered too elite, and the work done to complete the reform involves only certain circles.

That is why the jargon needs to be changed, so that PAN belongs to all Indonesian people because with the jargon, PAN is imaged as a modern party of middle to upper class and urban class. Thus, to respond to all the aspirations of the society, the PAN's jargon was changed during the period of Soetrisno Bachir's leadership. The jargon of Soetrisno Bachir, *"Hidup Adalah Perbuatan"* (Life Is a Work). Soetrisno Bachir wanted to invite all the PAN administrators and cadres to act through a real work program. Because with the real action that PAN will be seen by the community. Real and real work programs are demonstrated through their cadres and addressed to the benefit of the whole community. The jargon used by Soetrisno Bachir indicates an affirmation of his wish that the existence of PAN can provide benefits to the whole society.

The act of life is something that will be remembered by others in the future. In the political context, this jargon is deliberately produced in the best possible way and then socialized to the public in order to build the image. In this case it can be seen, the jargon usage as a tool of political imagery. Almost on all the television stations, Soetrisno Bachir's ads

appear with their jargon, even in local newspapers, the advertisement with the jargon is big, so it appears that Sutrisno Bachir is the presidential candidate of PAN. From this it can be seen that the speech of the jargon is not solely limited to party socialization, but the content of other politicians who packed in it aims to form the political image which at that time as PAN icon is Soetrisno Bachir.

The PAN imagery did not get there, during the leadership of Hatta Rajasa, PAN's jargon was changed. But the interesting thing in this period, there were two changes of jargon. First, namely *"PAN Merakyat, Menunaikan Amanat Rakyat"* (PAN is populist, fulfilling people's mandate). This jargon is used to image that PAN is a party that cares for the people. This jargon is also at the same time a persuasive communication model to approach the hearts of the people at the grass root level. The second jargon of Hatta Rajasa's leadership was the *"Partai Aksi Nyata"* (The Real Action Party). This jargon was launched as the beginning of the party's work facing the 2014 Election. It is proved that the figure of Hatta Rajasa during the lead of PAN gave a positive contribution in party control. Hatta Rajasa managed to build a good political image in the arena of politics in Indonesia. Hatta Rajasa succeeded in bringing big changes to PAN especially in the 2014 election.

At the time of Zulkfli Hasan's leadership, the PAN jargon changed again. The PAN Jargon is, "*Politik Tanpa Gaduh*" (Politics Without Fight). PAN in this case wanted to show, that in the middle of the internal party politics, such as Golkar, and PPP are split into dualism. Instead PAN shows its solidity. Although the succession of PAN leadership gave birth to ripples of conflict, but the ripples did not make the party split in two like the Golkar party and PPP. This is also confirmed by Wildan Aswan Tanjung.

The succession of leadership in PAN does not only to meet the needs of the party's constitution in order to change the leadership. But the succession of leadership in PAN is a gathering place for cadres, supporters and sympathizers. "Politik Tanpa Gaduh" (Politics Without Fight) is a jargon that must be carried together. That is the proof, that PAN cadres must uphold the values of politeness and unity. In this PAN is expected no noise, because political tapa rowdy, will provide a good assessment in the eyes of the community. This rowdy politics also shows to all Indonesians that PAN is a party that holds the principle of kinship, where every cadre and candidate leaders come with the same goal, which is equally to solve community problems. [150]

Based on the above description, it can be concluded that PAN born of reform embryo which imaged itself as an open party to all the citizens of Indonesia. PAN strives to be a leading party in realizing a just and prosperous society. In realizing these ideals, every time PAN cadres must take concrete steps to defend the interests of the people. The jargons wanted to prove to the public that PAN was born to fight for the welfare of society.

1. **Imagery through the Determination of PAN Legislative Candidates Based on Origin**

   The rapid flow of the development of information media as well as the widespread right of the people to be able to directly elect a candidate for a president/vice president, parliament, regent, mayor must encourage parties to reformulate their political strategy. The intense competition between the parties and the politicians who compete in the political arena also demands all the parties and the politicians to go directly to society.

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[150] Wildan Aswan Tanjung, Chairman of DPD PAN Labsel Period 2011-2015 and Chairman of DPD PAN Labusel 2016-2021. Interview dated June 17, 2016 in Labuhan Batu Selatan at PAN DPD Labusel office.

The imagery construction model that developed more varied to attract the public sympathy. Concretely, the changed political system of Indonesia has contributed to the change of political strategy, for example from the conventional to the modern. This system also at the same time places the political party as the main pillar buffer of democracy, so that it is so important the political parties roles, then it is appropriate that the political parties show functional in the life of nation and state.

With the functional political party conditions, it will enable the party to perform good leader recruitment. This leadership recruitment is one of the serious concerns of the DPW PAN of North Sumatra. Based on the analysis conducted, this leadership recruitment is also one of the strategies undertaken by DPW PAN of North Sumatra to strengthen its political imagery. The determination of candidates for example, is the initial strategy of PAN to build party image, both inside and outside the party.

After the passing of the Constitutional Court decision on the majority of votes, the change of the voice calculation system changed. The determination of candidates is no longer based on the serial number, but is set according to the majority vote. For DPW PAN of North Sumatera, the determination of candidates in accordance with the most votes is not too problematic, because PAN is one of the parties that encourage the election of elected legislative seats in accordance with the majority vote. Even the Chairman of PAN Soetrisno Bachir called the Constitutional Court decision that set the candidate according to the majority vote is a victory of the people and democracy is really fair. According to Soetrisno Bachir, PAN is fighting for the most votes. On these results, PAN also held a thanksgiving.

The emergence of the Constitutional Court's decision pushes the DPW PAN of North Sumatra to further improve them to recruit qualified leaders cadres. Selectivity of the determination of the legislative candidates

of PAN of North Sumatra is also increasingly tight in preparing popular people in society as the candidates of the party. Based on the analysis conducted by the author, in determining the candidate, there are three things that are considered PAN. *First*, PAN performs recruitment of candidates based on the consideration of status in the party management. *Second*, PAN performs the placement of the serial number of candidates based on consideration of influence and stature. Thirdly, PAN performs placement of candidates in accordance with their respective regions of origin.

The three steps above, is a fundamental consideration in the determination of PAN candidates. But by taking such a step, it does not mean that the candidates on the most recent list of numbers do not have a chance to win, because the elected system of elections is based on the majority of votes. The alternative of such step in the author's view is a strategy of PAN North Sumatera to build a political imagery, so that the struggle for power in the region can run smoothly. Then the process of recruitment and determination of candidates by region is an effort to facilitate the PAN candidates to socialize themselves to the community. Of course the regional primordial relationship can be a political capital for a candidate. The emotional relationships between candidates and the community can be more easily strengthened, when compared with the legislative candidates who are not local sons. In reality, the regional emotion is often made the community a reason to choose a candidate and even a political leader such as president, regent, mayor and so forth.

What is described above is part of PAN's political imagery strategy which is expected to influence the sympathy of the people. It is also closely related to the explanation given by Yahdi Khoir Harahap.

In determining the legislative candidates of PAN, it is conducted through a selective manner. Some considerations in the determination of candidates, for example we consider his figuring, his management in the party till his area, or from where the candidate comes from. It was all done by PAN in order to succeed the vote in the legislative elections. The more PAN votes of course also the more seats and the stronger in fighting for the aspirations of the people. Hopefully, with the determination of candidates in this way, the more smooth the process of cadres in socialization to the community; it is easier to convince the people and the easier it will also attract the sympathy of the community. [151]

Based on the above information, the determination of candidates based on the three considerations, can be viewed as a positive thing than what happened before the decision of the Constitutional Court. In this system, there is a competition among the fellow candidates, so each candidate works for his person, but at the same time works to raise the party. Interestingly, from the steps of determining the candidate of PAN, of course it has been considered by PAN maturely in accordance with the context of religious social life in North Sumatra. In this case, the author would like to emphasize that in the context of the people of North Sumatra, regional relations, tribal and other primordial reasons are often made public as an excuse to elect a political leader. The existences of conversations that arise in the community, for example are talking about who will be selected this often appear in various places.

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[151] Yahdi Khoir Harahap, Chairman of DPD PAN Coal in the period of 2005-2010 and Secretary General of DPW PAN Sumatera Utara period 2015-2020. Interview dated June 20, 2016 at the secretariat office of DPW PAN Sumatera Utara Jl. Wahid Hasyim.

Some societies for example often discuss, "Who do you choose? Then the answer that often appears "I choose the A only, because he was an area with me. He's a son of a county. Who else is chosen if not the local son. He is a Muslim; he is in one clan with me, still one blood and so forth". These are the phrases that the society often raises ahead of political contestation, mainly in North Sumatra. This reality denies what Clifford Geertz mentioned, that there is a change in voters' behavior today compared to 45 years ago. If the past 45 years the battle among the parties has followed the primordial line, and the people vote not according to their agreement on the party program rationally, but rather on religious, regional and tribal loyalty. Now the word Geertz, the role of the tribe and the region is somewhat changed, but the role of religion remains. [152]

The author differs from the context of Geertz's assertion that now the role of the tribe and the region to be changed. This means that tribalism and regionalism are not so influential in determining choice, as Geertz illustrated in the past 45 years whose influence is so strong. Precisely from the results of research conducted by the author, for the context of North Sumatra the ethnicity, regionalism and even religion, all the three give influence to the community in setting the choice. All the three elements are ethnicity, regionalism and religious synergy in encouraging the sympathy of the community to determine the choice on the leaders. This condition becomes something that is still difficult to circumvent from the people of North Sumatra who have primordial ties that are still strong and entrenched. Primordialism indicators are indicated through regional, tribal, and religious sentiments.

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[152] This view is also different from what Liddle studied with his student Saiful Mujani, and a number of UI researchers, among them Eep Saifulloh Fatah, who also became his disciple. Liddle concluded that voter behavior in the 1999 elections was not much different from voting behavior in 1955, when the first elections were held. See Tawakkal, *Peran*, p. 63.

The strength of primordialism becomes one of the factors that contribute to determining one's choice on the politicians or candidates who are competing in an election event. As confirmed by Ater, there are several main factors that shape voter behavior in Indonesia one of them is the factor of ethnicity. [153] Ethnic groups have a big role in shaping one's attitude, perception, and orientation. The existence of a sense of ethnicity or regionalism affects one's support for a political party. The ethnic loyalty in Indonesia still seems significant, so it can be said that ethnicity can influence one's political behavior.

Liddle also confirms in a study conducted in North Sumatra by taking the research area in Simalungun and Pematang Siantar districts. There is relatively Liddle's words for loyalty (ethnic loyalty) which is relatively high with voting behavior. Liddle relates his macro analysis of local political behavior to what appears to be a macro at the national level. In Simalungun and Pematang Siantar Liddle districts found the links among the local parties with religious, cultural and ethnic groups where at that time the people of Indonesia are eager for parties that will represent their primordialism interests. [154]

From Liddle's description it can be asserted that the ethnicity, including regionalism, and religion have a strong influence on voter political behavior. Liddle concluded that primordialism and the party in Indonesia are like substance and nature. *First*, it is the socio-cultural realities, and the *second* is the natural expression of politics. The facts found raises the question of how the relationship or influence of ethnicity, especially the structure of society and politics to the political behavior of ethnic societies in the political life.

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[153]David. E. Ater, *Pengantar Analisa Politik* (Jakarta: LP3ES, 1998), p.. 209.
[154]R. Wiliam Liddle, *Partisipasi dan Partai Politik di Indonesia Pada Awal Orde Baru* (Jakarta: PT. Pustaka Utama Grafiti, 1992), p. 22-81.

The synergistic of the three elements is one of the considerations of PAN to determine its candidate. For example, in the District of Toba Samosir, PAN established the candidates from local areas, and considered the religious majority of the local population because these three elements are considered as magnets that can attract community sympathy to PAN. The synergies of the three tribal, regional and religious elements can be illustrated as below.

Figure 8
Three Elements of PAN Consideration
in the Determination of Legislative Candidates
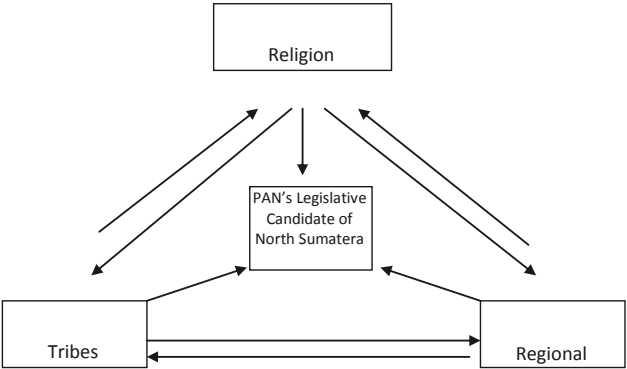
The figure above shows the three important elements that become the consideration of the determination of legislative candidates in the context of North Sumatra. Furthermore, if we review the political journey of PAN in North Sumatra during the years 2005-2015, we can find some important things, related to the pattern of approach taken by individual PAN politicians, and including in this case the party in general. From the point of marketing theory, the concerns of the PAN management are in determining the legislative candidates. From the analysis conducted, in the determination of candidates, PAN chose qualified cadres as well as

representations that are considered to attract community sympathy in electoral areas of each candidate. That is, in this case PAN build an image through the placement of cadres, in the hope that the cadres can create certain associations in attracting voters. For example, a cadre from the Mandailing or South Tapanuli area is placed in the majority of Mandailing tribes or the South Tapanuli community.

What PAN of North Sumatra has done is one form of winning the strategy in every political contestation because the selection of qualified cadres helped to determine the party's image in the community. Even the things that need to be understood in this case, that the behavior of voting, both in the general election, presidential and vice presidential elections, the head regional election (*Pilkada*), which will be marketed are the candidates. Therefore, in order the public to know the person to be chosen, then the candidate itself should introduce himself to the community. This is where PAN sees that the determination of candidates who will compete in any political event, recruited from qualified cadres, has popularity and influence.

The information above also when it is viewed from the theoretical study, DPW PAN of North Sumatra in determining caleg apply collaboration between merit system and spoil system. The merit system is a recruitment mechanism that uses rational reasons as the main reason, such as regionalism and individuality in attracting voter sympathy. Meanwhile the spoil system is a mechanism of election of candidates who do not use rational reasons as the main reason, in this case based on the position of candidates in the party stewardship. The presence of the names of party officials on the finished number (1 and 2) indicates that the party officials still believe that its appeal may attract the sympathizers of the community to the candidates concerned. Therefore, the top serial number remains a

struggle among the party elite, since the phenomenon of choosing the party's most initial number, is still a voting habit that is still difficult to change. Besides that there are people who do not have a candidate choice, but have a party choice, so he only chooses the party. Although the party is purely using the most voting model, but because the party is elected by the public, it is the party that has the right to determine the candidate occupying the seat. What this PAN does is as a political imagery strategy to win the sympathy of society and ultimately can gain the constitutional power.

5.3 The Success of Political Imagery of National Mandate Party (PAN) to Attract People's Sympathy in North Sumatera, 2005-2015

After the collapse of the New Order, the multiparty system became an important part of the democratic system in Indonesia. The multiparty era is a milestone in the beginning of democratic elections in Indonesia. Democracy was originally an idea of the pattern of life that emerged as a reaction to the inhuman social and political reality in society. The reaction comes from people who feel annoyed and intrigued by the existence of restraint and rape of human rights, in this case the determination of leadership. A government can be called democratic if it can provide a regular constitutional opportunity to gain political power.

One of the main characteristics of a democratic country is the general election to elect a political party that will win the people's trust. But it must be understood, that the elections are not just to determine the ruling party. Far more important, the elections are the evidence of democracy. This is what developed in the early days of reform, in which the party wanted to show its existence in the midst of the society. The proliferation of new parties at the beginning of reform is one indication of the attitude of political euphoria expressed by every citizen, and in a relatively short time

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the number of parties in Indonesia reached 140 parties. Of the 140 parties, those who passed the verification were as many as 48 parties and this was eligible for elections in 1999. Of the 48 parties, six election-winning parties emerged, and PAN was one of the new political parties that succeeded in becoming part of the winner of the election.

The PAN's vote as a new political party shows that the emergence of the party cannot be underestimated. Although since its birth up to the 2014 election, PAN nationally has never moved from the middle to the top level, but the movement of votes and the seats of the House of Representatives of PAN in the level of 7% to 9% are very stable. Similarly, in the regions, PAN votes in the DPRD of Regency/City, there are also those that show significant progress. Of course this cannot be separated from the PAN efforts that continue to conduct the political imagery that can reach the sympathetic community. Indeed, the success of PAN is to encourage the survival of DPW PAN of North Sumatra to strengthen. In addition, PAN in some districts/municipalities in North Sumatra became a political contestant who managed to defeat other political contestants, for example as happened in Labuhan Batu Selatan and Serdang Bedagai. Even in a number of non-Muhammadiyah and Islamic-based mass spots, PAN has also succeeded in positioning its legislative candidates, even though it is only 1 seat as in Nias.

5.3.1. The Survival of PAN North in Sumatra is Getting Stronger

As one of the new political parties in Indonesia, PAN from its inception until now can be regarded as one of the worthy party to be reckoned with since the success of this party earned seats, both at national level and at regional level. Nationally, in 1999 election, PAN obtained 7,528,956 votes (7.12%) or equivalent to 34 seats (7.36%). In the 2004 general election, it won 7,303,324 votes (6.44%) or equivalent to 53 seats

(9.64%). In the 2009 General Election, its votes were even more sagging with 6,254,580 votes (6.01%) or equivalent to 43 seats (7.68%). And in the 2014 election, it obtained 9,481,621 votes (7.59%) or equivalent to 49 seats. Its national vote also shows its party as a new party in national politics.

In the context of North Sumatra as well, PAN has shown its success in attracting the community sympathy. It managed to attract sympathetic figures in Medan City and the figures in the area. It has also succeeded in attracting the sympathizers of society, both Islamic and non-Muslim. For example, in Nias, it won one seat, whereas the majority of the population of Nias is Christian. Nias is also known as the PDIP base. Similarly in Toba Samosir (Tobasa), which is the base of PDI-P and also has a Christian population, PAN won one seat in Tobasa parliament.

The strengthening of support from the social figures and people in North Sumatra, both in Medan City and the regions, made PAN as a party to be reckoned with in North Sumatra, although its vote was stable at number 5 and 6. The success of PAN can be seen from the acquisition of votes and seats in North Sumatra DPRD. In the 1999 election, PAN succeeded in placing seven representatives in DPRD of North Sumatra in the period 1999-2004. In the 2004 elections, DPW PAN of North Sumatera succeeded in placing its representative in North Sumatra DPRD in the period 2004-2009 as many as eight seats. And also in the 2009 elections, DPW PAN of North Sumatra managed to place its representative in the DPRD of North Sumatra in the period 2009-2014 as many as six seats. Of course these results indicate that PAN is a party that survives in the middle of the political arena to the daerahan in North Sumatra.

According to the author's observation, the survival of PAN cannot be separated from the party management process that is quite careful in

implementing the pre-eminent program that has been planned. The flagship program is implemented in accordance with the Party Operational Standard (SOP) that the party has set as the outline of the organization. The author also observed that when it is examined from the organizational point of the party, the survival of PAN is supported by the strong attention of the management on the elements of management support. The elements of management here are always termed with 6M, namely; man, money, materials, machine, method, and market. When it is linked to the party, this model can be simplified into 1 I + 5 M. the I here is ideology, meanwhile M here; man (human resources), money (money needed to achieve the goals), machine (tool for production), method (way or work system) and market (place to sell production). [155]

The *first* is ideology. [156] It can be understood that ideology is simply defined as an idea or idea. But more broadly as explained by Syamsuddin Haris, that ideology is a certain understanding that is used to cover all efforts of certain ideal conditions. Ideology relates to power, so ideology becomes a tool for power. The struggle for power is inseparable from ideological struggle. [157]

In this connection the idea of the founding of PAN is for the welfare of the people of Indonesia, through reform in various aspects of life, so that PAN is identified as a reform party that was accidentally founded by

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[155] A simple understanding of management is the process of managing man, money, materials, machine, method, and market (6 M) in order to achieve organizational goals. This definition is of course debatable, because how people interpret management depends on how it interprets the entity whose name is the organization itself. See Siswanto, "*Metafora Budaya Sebagai Pendekatan Manajemen*" in *Jurnal Masyarakat Kebudayaan dan Politik, Th. XXI. No. 3, Juli-September 2009,* p. 257-263.

[156] Useful ideology: First, establish the identity and personality (traits) of a community, nation, and so forth. Second, unite the differences, so feel mutual togetherness and togetherness. Third, bringing together different societies from different backgrounds.

[157] Syamsuddin Haris, dkk, *Persepsi Masyarakat Terhadap Partai Politik Peserta Pemilu 2004* (Jakarta: Pusat Penelitian Politik LIPI, 2003), p. 86.

Amien Rais who is a reform figure. Ideology becomes the basis of one's struggle, because it contains a number of concepts that are regarded as the truths that must be fought for. Therefore, the struggle of PAN ideology encourages each cadre to contribute for the strengthening of the party. The *second* is human. In this case PAN strongly supports the improvement of the cadres quality by conducting various cadre training. PAN is also very concerned about cadre scalping with the area of origin. The *third* is money. Although money is not everything the main factor supporting the success of politics, but as the basic capital, PAN paid attention to money as a force that can encourage PAN survival. Because to perform various activities, certainly it needs money. The *Fourth* is machine. The machine here is not like a factory machine. But the machine in this connection is a party machine that has a unified whole, ranging from provincial DPW to the village level. PAN is very concerned about this condition, so the party machine is not running properly, immediately refreshed with new, more energetic board. The *Fifth* is the method (way of work). In this case, the author noted that PAN is very concerned about the proper way to the work activities. This means that in conducting various activities, PAN always pays attention to the effectiveness and efficiency, so that the target is achieved and there is no waste of party funds. The *sixth* is market. This is related to the target that will be the target of socialization and recruitment targets. In this connection, PAN market is not only to Muhammadiyah people, but PAN also makes other groups, Islamic and non-Islamic communities as market. This is driven by the ideology of PAN which is an open party.

The six elements above, in the observation of the author become the factors that encourage PAN to be more survival in North Sumatra. When it is observed from the superior program implemented by PAN, it can be seen

that among the flagship programs of PAN are: KTA activities programs, social programs, cadre program and consolidate to the twig level. These programs are the main factors that make people interested in PAN. As the information obtained by the author from Yahdi Khoir Harahap, that to the success of PAN in North Sumatra, in PAN meetings either the board meeting or regional meetings, PAN has formulated various forms of program summarized in terms of 5-SI program. The program is an outline that will be run to win any political competition. The 5-Si program was instructed to all DPD PAN in North Sumatra for program guidelines in the success the ideals of the party.

> During this time, there is also a program of PAN which is more familiarly called the 5-Si program: First, the consolidation program. The goal is to strengthen the party's network structure. For examples are holding Regional Meetings (Musda), Branch Meetings (Muscab) Twig Meetings (Musran), and consolidation of organizational arrangements to the village and the environment. Second is the Cadreization program. The aim is to strengthen and confirm the militancy of PAN cadres, throughout the governance structure. The cadreization is needed to see concretely the number of PAN cadres in quality. The Cadreization is conducted through the Basic Command Cadres Training (LKAD), the Exercise of Cadence Cadre (LKAM) and the Training of Primary Congress Cadre (LKAU). The cadreization is conducted based on PAN stewardship structure, starting from twig to regional level. The third is the attribution program. The aim is to procure planks, marks and member data collection at all levels. The attribution is conducted by the member recruitment which is proved through the ownership of

PAN Card Members (KTA). The fourth is socialization program.
This socialization program is aimed at PAN imagery at all levels.
The imagery which is conducted through socialization is done
through mass media. The mass media here is through
newspapers, television, radio and social media such as facebook,
instagram and twitter. The Fifth is action program, which is a
real action program performed by the committee and PAN cadres
in all districts/towns. The action program is conducted as a form
of awareness of PAN cadres to help the less fortunate people,
such as mass circumcision, cooperation and care about poverty
in the existing PAN barn. [158]

Viewing the success of PAN in conducting the imagery to win the sympathy of the community, it can be emphasized that PAN has performed its political function as a party. DPW PAN of North Sumatera managed to increase the public participation to choose PAN. The DPW PAN of North Sumatra also succeeded in mobilizing the masses. The political mobilization as described by Nedelmann, is an attempt by political actors to influence the distribution of power. In this case, it is illustrated that there is one kind of relationship that develops between the party and the politician with the Individual. According to Nedelmann, there are 2 models in the mobilization. *First*, vertical mobilization that is mobilization working in vertical relationships includes downward mobilization model, grass-root or populist mobilization model, and ideal democratic model. *Second* is horizontal mobilization, which includes all possibilities of internal

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processes in the mobilization that takes place between parties, politicians and individuals. [159]

In the observation of the author, these two models are run by PAN to help strengthen its success in building its image and strengthening its survival in North Sumatra. For example, DPW PAN of North Sumatra mobilized the masses up to the grass root masses, ie the common people, so that the community increased their knowledge of PAN and made choices on PAN. DPW PAN also conducted populist movement, which is populist movement with attention to the interests of the small people. Organizationally, PAN also strengthens the movement to society by pushing the party machine to move. This is what the PAN of North Sumatra in achieving its success.

5.3.2 Survival of PAN Votes Based on Areas Is Getting Stronger

The survival of PAN cannot be separated from the increasingly strong support of the community on PAN. If it is noticed, the support is not only in winning seats in the Provincial DPRD, but is included in some areas such as Labuhan Batu Selatan (Labusel) and Serdang Bedagai (Sergai). The strengthening of PAN in Labusel and Sergai is a fact of the success of PAN to win the people's heart, so that PAN in North Sumatra can exist.

Labuhan Batu Selatan and Sergai have almost the same picture in relation to the development of PAN and its success in reaching the seat in DPRD. Labusel and Sergai are two districts in North Sumatera which are the expansion result of the parent regency. Labusel expanded from the parent district of Labuhan Batu; meanwhile Sergai was expanded from the parent district Deli Serdang. Viewing from the PAN party, Labusel was

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[159]Birgitta Nedelmann, *Individuals and Parties - Changes in Processes of Political Mobilization* (European Sociological Review: Oxford University Press, 1987), p. 181-202.

lead by a Regent, Wildan Aswan Tanjung, and Sergai was once led by the Regent, Soekirman. From here it is certainly seen that the success of PAN is also inseparable from the active role of the region head who by chance is the Chairman of DPD PAN. Soekirman for example, was a member and cadre of PAN who was also as a Regent; of course this gave very big contribution in building the PAN imagery.

But apart from that, the author sees that there are other factors that make Labusel and Sergai succeeded in placing their representatives in the DPRD, which is recorded in the history of PAN politics as the largest contributor of seats in the DPRD. In Labusel PAN members were 11 people, meanwhile in Sergai PAN parliament members were 7 people, so that these two areas are considered as part of the PAN mass base for the region of North Sumatra, besides Medan City.

When it is viewed from the current elections system, Labuhan Batu Selatan is divided into 5 electoral area (*Dapil*), namely *Dapil* I, Pinang Subdistrict. In this electoral area, PAN won 2 seats. *Dapil* II, Torgamba A, PAN managed to obtain 2 seats. *Dapil* III Torgamba B, PAN also obtained 2 seats. *Dapil* IV, *Dapil* Kampung Rakyat, PAN obtained 2 seats. *Dapil* V of Sungai Kanan and Kecamatan Silangkitang, PAN won 3 seats. From here it can be seen that PAN vote for the whole Labusel can be said evenly, because almost all of the electoral area of PAN succeeded in positioning its representative.

Based on the conducted searches, the victory of PAN in this area cannot be separated from the support of people who see PAN as their aspiration party. This was also confirmed by Gandi Faisal at the time of the interview.

The strength of PAN in this area is supported by legislative candidates who are financially and are also local community

leaders with strong influence. Those who are members of DPRD
from PAN are influential people. They are business owners. They
are known to be close to the community. This is what makes many
PAN members who are members of the DPRD. In addition, PAN
in Labusel is led by the regent. So the strengthening of the role is
increasingly seen by the community. So the success of PAN in this
area is inseparable from the regional power which by chance the
Regent came from PAN Labusel. [160]

The above information is also closely related to the information
conveyed by the Chairman of DPD PAN Labusel, that PAN Labusel won
11 seats in the DPRD Labusel. The acquisition is a great achievement for
PAN throughout the politics of PAN because only Labusel was able to
reach 11 parliament seats for the whole of Indonesia.0

There is no specific strategy to increase the acquisition of PAN
seats in Labusel from 1 seat to 11 seats. The model that PAN did
to imitate itself in the midst of the society is through a touching
program. For example, PAN helps the poor, giving scholarships
to underprivileged children to continue their education. Besides
that, PAN Labusel management continues to come to the
community to build PAN imagery. PAN attended the people's
houses in order to maintain the constituents so that they did not
run away from PAN. Then, PAN administrators at Labusel
conducted PAN imagery through strengthening the leadersip,
family strength, empowering family networks, utilizing the
services of community leaders. The imagery was for religious

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[160]Gandi Faisal Siregar, Wakil Ketua DPD PAN Labusel dan juga Anggota DPRD Labusel.
Interview on 17 Juli 2016 at a cafee of Bahagia Kota Pinang.

activities. To strengthen PAN's image, its candidates were deliberately chosen from the influential public figures. [161]

From the above information, it is clear that PAN in Labusel succeeded in attracting the sympathizers of the society to choose PAN, so that it won 11 seats in the DPRD Labusel. From the information shown, there are two political communication approaches developed by PAN in achieving the election victory in Labusel Regency, namely structural approach and cultural approach.

First, the structural approach in this case PAN is a party that has a board structure from the center to the village. At the center, the board is called DPP, in the province it is called DPW, in the districts it is called DPD, in the sub district it is called DPC and in the village called the DPRT. Structurally, this stewardship has one command. Starting from the center to village, PAN administrators have the same ideals to realize the mission and vision of PAN. The structural approach through this institution is a structural approach undertaken by PAN in the context of winning the election. The party's institutional approach sees that political parties are institutions that have the structure and function to achieve the goals. In this regard, PAN approaches the public through party from the center to the branch. In this case, PAN moves the party machine maximally from the center until the village to conduct the intensive communication with the community in their respective regions. *Second*, the cultural approach is the approach conducted by doing some social activities. This approach tends to the culture and customs that apply to the local community. This approach is an approach that empowers the community values, maintains appearance,

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[161]Wildan Aswan Tanjung, Ketua DPD PAN Labusel Periode 2011-2015 dan periode 2015-2020. Interview on 17 Juli in Kota Pinang via mobile phone.

builds positive imagery by keeping in touch with friends, visiting people to meetings, to recitals, party events and so on.

When it is examined from the view of the dramaturgy theory of Erving Goffman, it can be understood that what PAN candidates in Labusel did so that they managed to achieve the community sympathy, cannot be separated from the performance. Showing a performance that can draw the community sympathy towards PAN, as Goffman explains, the contestants' performances are often formed when the interactions between actors and select communities, or so-called Goffmans, are seen. The performance or appearance has the meaning of an impression brought by the actor in every interaction with society, and it is an instrument that often positively impacts and influences people's reaction in determining the choices.

From the observations that the authors conducted, it can also be emphasized that the success of PAN which won 11 seats in the DPRD of Labuhan Batu Selatan also cannot be separated from two factors, namely social capital and basic capital factor. *First*, social capital is the ability to build relationships, and popularity in realizing common goals. Social capital is a phenomenon derived from people who form social and network connections based on the principle of trust in relationships and mutual benefit. From the writer's search, this social capital is very strongly owned by PAN Labusel cadres who are already members of DPRD. The most powerful social capital affects the community is the existence of the Regent of Labusel who is the Chairman of DPD PAN. *Second*, the basic capital is financial capital, material and economy. This capital is one factor that the party and the politicians desperately need to win the political contestation. One party cannot exist if it is not supported by basic capital. Basic capital is certainly going to facilitate someone to mobilize the masses, directing the masses to be willing to vote and so forth. The support of social capital can

facilitate a politician to do a transactional politics because there is no doubt that transactional politics is also applicable in support the victory of PAN candidates in Labusel. The transactional politics here is certainly not money politics let alone purchasing the voter votes. Transactional politics is a politician who is performed by a PAN politician through providing aids in the form of facilities such as procurement facilities pengajian facilities, sports facilities of young people, education assistance and so forth.

Such transactional aids, aimed at influencing the voters to gain certain benefits. The transactional politics, like the PAN politicians, is considered a very powerful practice to attract the sympathy of voters, especially the traditional voters who do not know the exact political atmosphere ahead of the general election. For example, as the findings obtained by authors associated with elections in Labusel, PAN victory is inseparable from the transactional practice. The legislative candidates provide goods, facilities and community needs, so the people choose them. In Labuhan Batu Selatan District, initially the seat position of PAN has only one seat, but after being expanded from Labuhan Batu District (parent), then in the legislative elections in 2014, the acquisition of PAN seats in Labusel increased significantly to 11 seats. From some searches conducted by the author, the increase of PAN seats in Labusel supported by the power factor that by chance the Chairman of DPD PAN Labusel as well is also a Regent.

Based on some facts above, it can be concluded that two capitals, namely the social capital and basic capital are very big influences in favor of winning in a political contestation. The relationship of these two capital values reinforced PAN's political imagery in Labusel and Sergai, so PAN won a seat that was quite large in the DPRD. Therefore, the survival of the party will be assured if it has both capitals. As Bordieu affirms, individuals

and collectives who have strong capitals are ensured to master or win contestation. Meanwhile the parties who cannot compete in society due to limited capital, will experience symbolic violence such as marginalized, no paid attention and so forth.

Behind the success of PAN in some areas in North Sumatra, it is noted the failure of PAN in achieving the community sympathy. For example, Karo Regency is a picture of the failure of PAN in building imagery. In the legislative elections of 2014, PAN did not get seats in the DPRD. Like Medan City, it can be regarded as a picture of the failure of PAN in strengthening the imagery. From the data obtained by the author, in 1999 PAN Medan City won seven seats. At that time the Chairman of DPD PAN of Medan City led by Drs. H. Ibrahim Sakty Batubara who is also a Muhammadiyah leader. Historically this period of PAN is not too demanded to work hard, because at the beginning of the PAN reform became the attention of the people widely. PAN helped with the character of Amien Rais who was then chairman of DPP PAN. But in line with the increasingly tight competition among the parties, then in the 2004 general election, the acquisition of PAN seats decreased from the initial seven seats to 6 seats. According to interviews with Ahmad Arief, the decline in PAN votes is due to the weakening of party imagery.

> *According to my experience and perspective, the decrease of PAN seats in Medan city is caused by three things. First, the socialization of PAN cadres to the constituents in electoral area is very small. Second, the popularity of PAN still relies on the character of Amien Rais, meanwhile the cadres are also actually required to show more of their figuring, especially in each electoral areas. This is what I think is less done by the cadres, especially the legislative candidates. This has a significant effect*

on people's choice in the 2004 General Election. It is also recognized that competition among the parties in Medan City is getting tougher. Third, organically, PAN is more preoccupied with interstate conflict because, as a new political party, PAN more complete the stewardship structure to be formed from DPC, DPRT to rayon and sub rayon. Because busy taking care of it, then pay less attention to what should be done. That is, the approach to the community is less done, whereas the constituents need to be taken care of. [162]

What Arif stated did not stop in 2004. From the data obtained by the author, in the 2009 election, PAN of Medan City also only experienced a decrease in votes to 5 seats or rank five to obtain seats in the legislature. From the data obtained by the author, this decrease is caused by three factors. *Firstly*, many legislative candidates do not maximize socialization to their electoral areas. *Secondly*, the determination of legislative candidates is more to the emotional closeness to the party leader. Who is close to the party leader, then he is chosen as the main candidate or serial number 1. *Thirdly*, not place the figures in the strong electoral area of the figuring.

In the 2014 election, PAN seats have been reduced to four seats. From the analysis conducted by the author, the decrease in vote acquisition indicates the failure of PAN's imagery in Medan. This failure is also accompanied by the disproportionate placement of candidates PAN. In addition, PAN did not place its legislative candidates in accordance with the stature and regionalism, as PAN committee did in Labuhan Batu Selatan and Sergai. PAN of Medan City is also less attention to the

[162]Ahmad Arif, The Head of DPD PAN Medan City period 2005-2010, period 2010-2015, member of DPRD Medan City period 2004-2009, period 2009-2014 and 2014-2019. Interview on 5 September 2016 via mobile phone.

condition of voters with the placement of candidates. For example, in electoral area 2, Medan Helvetia and Medan Barat, in those regions, PAN candidates are appointed from Muslims, meanwhile the area is inhabited by a non-Muslim majority. Finally, fellow Muslim candidates from other political parties compete for the Muslim vote. Meanwhile non-Muslim candidates only fight over the masses outside of Islam, or other Bataknese ethnic.

5.3.3. Model of Political Imagery that Can Affect the Sympathy of North Sumatra Community in 2005 - 2015

PAN which was born on August 23, 1998 is still very young age, when compared with other major parties. Since PAN was established and is 18 years old until 2016, the success factor of PAN is supported by the sympathy of the society that continues to flow in various regions throughout Indonesia. Not only the sympathetic factor, but the party's marketing management also supports the development of the party.

1. Maintaining the Figure

Based on the search conducted, the figure is one factor that can affect the sympathetic community to PAN of North Sumatra. This is seen from the acquisition of PAN votes that managed to place its members in the DPRR of North Sumatra. The PAN voters are still very concerned about the factors of the cadres. At the beginning of the PAN establishment in North Sumatra, PAN was held by the Muhammadiyah leader, Amri Husni Siregar. After Amri Husni, the Secod Regional Meeting (*Musywil*) of PAN mandate leadership to figure Ibrahim Sakti Batubara who is a Muhammadiyah leader. The result of PAN won 8 seats in DPRD North Sumatra. Then, in the third Musywil PAN was also led by Muhammadiyah cadre, Kamaluddin Harahap, and PAN won 7 seats in the DPRD at the same time managed to place his deputy as Vice Chairman of North

Sumatra DPRD. But then in the fourth *Musywil*, PAN of North Sumatra in general chairman who is not from Muhammadiyah cadres. In this period PAN of North Sumatra experienced a decrease in votes and only won 6 seats in DPRD of North Sumatra.

This condition shows that the popularity of Muhammadiyah leaders in leading PAN is still a magnet that is very attractive for constituents, especially for Muhammadiyah citizens. The figures are very influential on the popularity of PAN, so that popularity is also what makes the sympathy of society increased and declined. When the figure who leads PAN is a Muhammadiyah figure, PAN votes increased, and vice versa. Similarly, the character of Amien Rais is able to hypnotize the people of Indonesia, so that PAN at the beginning of its establishment is growing rapidly. In the first election, PAN national vote was 7.528.956 votes (7.12%) or equivalent to 34 seats. This vote puts PAN in the fifth party winning the 1999 election.

For PAN absolutely being on the fifth rank is a spectacular result at the start of its development because PAN is a party that is still new and can be said as a party born from the embryo of reform. Amien Rais as a central figure at the time, became an attraction for PAN to achieve the sympathy of Indonesian society because by chance he is the founder of PAN, a reform figure, as well as a Muhammadiyah figure.

Thus, it can be asserted that in political events, either they are in presidential elections, election candidates, or direct elections, the popularity of a political figure is dominating and decisive for the choice of society. Therefore, the attention and maintenance of the figure is very intense done by PAN. The way of PAN did in this regard is by respecting the figures and elders in Muhammadiyah and PAN organizations. Each of PAN's big meetings, even in the PAN event, such as *halal bil halal*, *milad* of PAN, the

figures are always invited to attend. Beyond the use of the media as a channel of imaging political communication, the imagery of central figures of PAN also became part of the party's imagery.

2. Strengthening the Program and the Real Work of the Party

As explained above, DPW PAN of North Sumatra has well-structured programs. These programs are short term and there are also medium and long term programs. Among these programs there are sustainability programs of the party that are carried out continuously, such as *KTA bersantunan* program, fishermen empowerment program, empowerment program of KUBE farmers and so on.

Based on the observation conducted by the author, this leading PAN's program can affect the sympathy of the community on PAN. The attention of the DPW PAN of North Sumatra through the real work by paying attention to the poo is able to improve the political image of the party, so that the community is more sympathetic to the PAN. The sympathy of the community is implemented in the form of willingness to vote for PAN at the time of the election and the high desire of the community to join the sympathizers of the party. This was supported by several community statements at the time of the interview, as described above.

The real strengthening of PAN's work, in some areas can lead to an increase in PAN votes. For example, in Serdang Bedagai PAN won 7 seats. The success of PAN in this area is not due to the Chairman of DPD by chance as the Regent, but another factor of the success of PAN in this area is because of the ability of PAN cadres to mobilize the community, to actively participate in various activities of PAN. For example, the community empowerment program seafront to preserve the mangrove

forests. The program has succeeded in creating the political imagery that can attract the sympathy of the community.

Therefore, the DPW PAN of North Sumatra realized the importance of programs that can attract the sympathy of the community to the party. These conditions encourage the DPW PAN of North Sumatra to design work programs that are continuous and directly felt the benefits for the community. DPW PAN of North Sumatra continues to innovate new programs, without abandoning old programs that can also attract community sympathizers. For example, the work program initiated by PAN in the period 2015-2020, DPW PAN designed the conservation activities around Lake Toba through reforestation. In principle, DPW PAN continues to update the program of populist activities, without prejudice to the old activities that have become the PAN's routine in the past.

3. **Hospitality, Interpersonal Communication and Group Communication**

Based on the description above it can be described that PAN is a party that is often down to the electoral area and down to the regional election. It is one of the obligations that must be done by each cadre. On the same occasion, the party and the politicians of PAN build the political communication to the community, either by using the channels of mass communication, outdoor communication, interpersonal communication and group communication.

Interpersonal communication, both by establishing a relationship to the community and the leaders is the most effective communication channel in an effort to build the political imagery. Because through the interpersonal communication, a PAN politician meets face-to-face with the public to discuss the issues that the people feel, and the politicians can respond personally. The interpersonal communication is also said to be

effective, because it can change attitudes, opinions or behavior of a person because of its dialogical nature of the conversation. The reverse flow is straightforward; the conversation takes place in a dialogical and a relaxed way.

Theoretically, it is mentioned that the superiority of interpersonal communication is the communicators know the response of the communicant at the time of communication took place. The communicators know for sure, whether the communications are positive or negative, successful or not. If it does not work or the communicant response is negative, the communicators can convince the communicant at that moment, because the communicators can give opportunity to communicant to ask as wide as possible. But one of the weaknesses of this interpersonal communication, when a communicator is wrong in communicating is that it will be felt directly in the heart of the communicant. Although the communicators apologize, the error is not necessarily erased. Such conditions can lead to a direct rejection of a communicant.

The second most effective communication model in building the imagery of PAN is by communicating groups. The PAN group's communications by empowering community groups has a huge effect on PAN's political imagery. The fostering of small groups, both groups of fishermen, farmer groups and poor communities like PAN in various regions, are able to strengthen PAN's political imagery. The community as the result of the interviews described above considered that PAN is a party concerned with their condition, PAN is a party that pay attention to poor people. This will certainly strengthen the position of PAN in the middle of society, so that at the time of the election arrived people no longer hassle to choose what party they should choose, because they have chosen the party that pay attention to them.

Thus, interpersonal communication as well as the small group communication, as PAN did with its target groups, is a communication situation that allows people to exchange views on the subject matter. The exchange raises a series of messages and actions. The condition is strengthened and spread, if the group members discuss the messages which are discussed in the small group. Unwittingly, the small groups as well as the people involved in the interpersonal communication become the mouthpiece of information, to a wider society. In this context, PAN communications network is of course a wider scope. Not only the people who are in the group again, but also the people who are outside the small group will get the information.

If the small group communication is considered, there are two relationships that are closely related in the process of communication that took place. *First*, there is an emotional connection of group members to the message being discussed. *Second*, the group members also have stronger emotional ties. In the message content, there are group views in perceiving the contents of the message. In the relationship among the members, there is a view of how one member of the other members. Smiles, frowns, tone of voice, meeting views, body language, are all signs that people wish to know what impressions they have about others in the conversation.

Therefore, in relation to political imagery efforts of PAN of North Sumatra, interpersonal communication and group communication becomes a communication channel for building political imagery. Thus, from the search by the author, it can be asserted that the relationship, interpersonal communication and group communication is part of the political imagery model of DPW PAN of North Sumatera that can attract the community sympathy. Imagery by approaching the community, individually or in groups, can increase the community sympathy for PAN. This is because in

the communication, the mission and vision of PAN also its politicians can introduce themselves personally to the community, especially the people who are still doubtful or people who do not have any choice. AS it is known that the way DPW PAN in building the imagery is directly communicate with the community, to raise the vote so that the political contestation is not too difficult to direct the community.

For example, a member of Legislative Assembly of Labuhan Batu Selatan said that coming to the community to houses is an effective way to attract the community sympathizers. Not just imagery but people feel that the presence of a candidate in his house is a pride.

> *I was elected as a member of Labuhan Batu Selatan parliament. As long as I became legislative candidates from PAN, I diligently went down to the community. I feel that we are not just making enough photos in baleho or slogans on banners. It means imaging is not enough, but it must be proven in real-life activities. I went to the community with the help of the successful team, went to the residents' houses, stayed in touch, asked them to discuss and asked about their aspirations. The meeting's activities are simple but it produces a very strong inner bond. I with a successful team immediately introduced myself to the community, and it is sustainable from one village to another in my electoral area. In a personal or group gathering, I introduce the work program to the community, and convey my seriousness to make any changes in the election that I represent. In the gathering, we only do the activities of eating and discussing. For me, visiting citizens' homes is a very effective way in achieving their sympathy. It needs funding for that, and not just for talking, because we also provide some drinks. Of course it takes funds, but I am in this*

case avoiding the money politics. Not even just visiting the people to the houses, but in building a positive image in the community, I as a candidate participate in cooperation. I did it not just the coming of the election, but long before the election, and the intensity increased in the run up to the election so that people became more confident and familiar. [163]

It is also supported by the information obtained from the community in Asam Jawa Subdistrict of Kota Pinang, Labuhan Batu Selatan that many citizens are considered to eb paid attention by the decrease of legislative candidates to their village. The decline of candidates to the electoral area is one form of concern for the community. This becomes a benchmark for the people to make their choices. The community chose not for money and nine basic necessities, or for having an emotional bond of kinship, but because the presence of the legislative candidate really paid attention to them, as admittedly by a citizen, Muhajir, that in every election, both the candidate and the regional election, of course there is competition between candidates. Personally, he chose a politician not because he was given some money, but there is a sympathetic feeling towards the candidates for the diligent stay in touch with the community. The arrival of a candidate to the home or the willingness of candidates to stay in touch with the community becomes one of the facts that the candidate is concerned about the state of society. That is what makes people interested to help. [164]

4. Political Campaigns and Marketing

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[163] Ahmad Hidayat Ritonga, Secretary of DPD PAN Labuhan Batu Selatan period 2009-2014, and member of DPRD Labuhan Batu Selatan periode 2009-2014. Interview on 16 at di Kota Pinang,

[164] Muhajir, a local person of Desa Asam Jawa District of Kota Pinang, Labuhan Batu Selatan. Interview on 16 at Desa Asam Jawa.

In a political perspective, campaign is part of an organized communication activity and is directly shown to the audiences in order to win the sympathy of society. So in this case, to attract the sympathizers from society, PAN conducted a campaign by highlighting the attraction of party identity that was initially very elitical into a populist party. The identity of PAN's party with the slogan "PAN merakyat" (PAN is populist) is the fact that PAN wants to position itself as a popular party, not an elite party.

From the observations made, the campaign is also one of the most effective political imaging models performed by PAN to attract the sympathizers of the public to the PAN. The campaign activity is the period given by the election committee to the parties and politicians, to expose work programs and influence the public opinion and mobilize the community to vote at the time of the election. The campaign becomes an effective media for DPW PAN of North Sumatra to deliver the programs, visions and missions of PAN to the people. A political campaign is an organized business to allow a nominated party person or politician to be elected by the public in an official position. As explained by Parluhutan Siregar, one of the PAN strategies to attract the community sympathy is through political campaigns. The campaign is an organized step of the party that involves many people, ranging from administrators of twigs to the board of DPW. Usually campaigns are conducted on the election of the President, Vice President, candidates, and head regional elections.

If anyone wants a campaign, not only the party people are invited, but the general publics who have willingness are also invited in the activity. The purpose of the campaign is in order the general public knowing the party program. Besides that, the campaign as an effort introduces the candidates to be selected from PAN. From the campaign conducted, it is

hoped there will be embedded knowledge in the community about PAN. After the people recognize PAN, of course there will be results, whether they will choose PAN or not, it's very dependent on the person. DPW PAN also conducted a campaign not just to build the political imagery, but the PAN campaign also strives to win the popular support for winning PAN candidates so they can hold political positions contested through the process of election. [165]

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[165] Parluhutan Siregar, Secretary of DPW PAN of North Sumatera period 2010-2015 is also member of DPRD North Sumatra period 2005-2009 election area of ??Well 11, Binjai Langkat, member of DPRD North Sumatra period 2010-2015 electoral area of North Sumtera 6 Tabagsel. Interview on June 6th in Medan via mobile phone.

CHAPTER VI
CONCLUSION

Based on the review related to the political imagery conducted by DPW PAN Sumatera Utara in attracting the sympathizers of society, it can be concluded:

First, political imagery which is conducted by the National Mandate Party (PAN) to attract the sympathy of the people of North Sumatra in 2005-2015 used various political communication strategies. The purpose of the imagery is to achieve the community sympathy, so that the electability acquisition of PAN votes can increase. DPW PAN of North Sumatra performs political imagery through the use of mass communication channels, interpersonal communication, outdoor communication, and group communication. PAN political image is also conducted by using political advertisements in newspapers. PAN's political image by using mass media is more likely to the urban community because of their easier access to the mass media. Meanwhile, imagery which is conducted to the village community tends to use the interpersonal communication channel and group communication.

DPW PAN also conducts political imagery through a leading work program, which is summarized in 5 action programs, namely party consolidation, regeneration, attribution, socialization, and action. The 5 action program was implemented in the form of empowerment of community assisted groups, sponsors of poor families, visits to hospitals, hospitality to the characters. DPW PAN also did not miss to do the imagery through political advertisements in newspapers and other media. But PAN's tendency is to use only newspapers. Five Si that has been formulated PAN,

submitted to all elements of the party, ranging from DPW to DPRT, to run to achieve community sympathy. Political imagery is done by the party as well as by politicians of PAN personally.

Second, the varied use of several communication media as well as the work program was summarized in 5 action program which is able to succeed in attracting the sympathetic community. The support for PAN emerged from various social classes, both from public figures and the public. The ability of PAN to build the imagery strengthens PAN's survival in politics in North Sumatra since 2005 until now. In some regions, PAN succeeded in placing its representatives in the DPRD, for example in Toba Samosir District, PAN won one seat and in Nias District, PAN also won one seat. It also proves the success of PAN imagery to the people of Non Muslim, since the majority of Tobasa and Nias people are Christians. Even in Labuhan Batu Selatan District, PAN won 11 seats, and this is recorded as a spectacular result of PAN votes throughout Indonesia. PAN also won 7 seats in Serdang Bedagai District (Sergai), so that these two regions can be categorized as the base of PAN. This is the facts of the success of DPW PAN of North Sumatra in imaging the community.

Third, from several models of political imagery conducted by DPW PAN of North Sumatera, ranging from mass communication, interpersonal communication, group communication, outdoor communication, flagship program, advertisement and political campaign, then the political imagery that most influence the public sympathy is through interpersonal communication channel, party groups and programs. In the context of North Sumatra, communication with religious approaches, such as Islamic communication also affects the community, because the majority of the people of North Sumatra are Muslims.

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