THE ROLE OF MASS MEDIA IN POLITICAL COMMUNICATION IN INDONESIA

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Abstract
The role of mass media in the context of political communication has a very important role, it is in accordance with the process of political transformation of the authoritative towards the reform is no doubt its existence. Freedom of expression as the basis for the formation of democratic citizens' lives, the mass media has a very important role in the delivery of political messages to society significantly. The mass media has a wide range of advantages and reaches, so that the public will directly influence the reception of messages, in addition to the mass media can influence the community about what they think is very important. The mass media can not determine what to think about, but it can affect what to think about. By choosing certain news and ignoring other news, the mass media will form a positive image among the public. With the involvement of the mass media in the development of political systems and democracy in Indonesia certainly is needed by the community.

Political transformation became part of the mass media contribution and the media had a huge contribution in building the understanding of society, so that its inner political behavior would respond to post-new political change, as media workers confronted a dynamic realm of politics. Such conditions will bring about a change in political behavior among the public. One of the determinant factors is the media publication that preaches the political transformation and the press has the freedom of expression, so through the news that tend to be independent. This is what lies behind the change of political behavior in Indonesia. Various problems that exist can accompany the pattern and intensity of politics among the community background by the massive influence of mass media, it is very interesting and can be observed in the academic paradigm. With the political transformation, it can contribute to the mass media because there will be a change of political behavior among the public that will give birth to publications in the media to support freedom of expression so that in the news can be carried out independently. This is supported by qualitative methods by conducting interviews on educated and politically aware societies. The media in political communication has a very important role because it is as a political publicity to the public.

Keywords: Mass Media, Political Communication, Indonesia
PRELIMINARY

Background Issues

One that makes humans as social beings is that human beings are able to apply good communication between human beings with the aim of communicating basically to express the intent and purpose of someone to others, then apply good communication in everyday life in society. One of them understands the political context itself, where there will be something that needs to be explained to the constituents and needs a good political communication strategy.

Studies of the science of political communication in accordance with the ethical values of Pancasila is a combination of several disciplines. In its development, the study of political communication is more attention by scholars of political science than with communication science graduates with the rule of ethics of Pancasila. Similarly, Cangara disclosed that in Indonesia at first the attention to talk about political communication actually grew up among the scholars of political science and the scholars of communication science itself (Cangara, 2009: 34). Nevertheless communication science has taught much about politics though still not focused and not in accordance with the ethics of Pancasila value. Mark Roelofs says that politics is the talk or more precisely, political activity (politics) is speech (Roelofs in Rachmat, 1993: 8).

Along with the advancement of the times, science and technology have been increasingly changing rapidly, everything has been revealed. It used to be a mystery now and very open. It used to be stagnant now it's getting much better. So even with the science of communication, at first communication only limited the process of personal interaction that includes intra and antarpersonal, but now much more than that. Communicating politics without concrete political action has actually been done by anyone: Lecturers, Students, Private Workers and Government, Traders, and so on. But it is far from the ethics of Political Communications in accordance with the values of Pancasila.

The presence of political communication is as old as the presence of political science itself, it is an organized use of modern mass media for political purposes, especially in the practice of election campaigns, initially leading to a systematic inquiry into political communications and has given topics on its main contemporary identification. After all, political communication is more than just a political campaign. In terms used by Seymour-Ure (1974), it has both horizontal and vertical dimensions. The previous review refers to communication between groups as straightforward as to whether they are members of the same political elite, or citizens who interact and gather together. Vertical communication prevails between the government and the public.

The initial emphasis on electoral campaigns focused on the "top-down" currents in the vertical dimension (from government or Political party to citizens or followers). This, however, leads to the neglect of ethical communication according to the values of Pancasila within certain elite societies and informal and interpersonal communication. We should also take note of "upward", upward, "upward" communication flows in the form of making feedback, voting, or the form of meetings and thoughts held by politicians with the government.

According to Klapper's Observations (1978: 332) in Political Campaigns through the mass media, a person whose original view was affirmed turned out to be 10 times the number of people whose persuasions changed. Even if there is a change of opinion, it is an indirect confirmation in the sense that the person concerned is not satisfied with his initial views before his views change (in Indonesia the tendency is mainly concerning members or sympathizers of political parties in the election who are no longer satisfied with the act of some political parties...
And other members or parties in the 2014 election). In other words, they have been predicted to change, and mass communication then reinforces the prediction and shows a certain path to change.

The mass media helps to socialize the human person. Through mass media we supplement what we want to learn about our predecessors. What good values should be inherited, which values should be rejected. Media teaches new value systems that must be embraced and rejected. As an example the value of good communicative ethics in conducting appropriate political activities indigenous values of Pancasila and values about good politics.

One of the elements of democracy is the freedom of the press which can later build political awareness in society. Media contribution is significant to awareness, understanding and political behavior in Indonesia. Various issues that accompany the pattern and intensity of politics among the background of the influence of mass media, this is considered unique because the pattern of media politics is sometimes difficult to measure through the media approach and its relation to the normative and even empirical political behavior. Based on the background, this paper seeks to find out how the role of the media can form a political awareness of society, whether political news in the mass media support political activities in society and how politicians can shape his image through the media in political activities in society.

Mass media is a channel of political communication that can lift messages (information and imaging) massively and reach a diverse audience, or public, far and wide. Political messages through the mass media will strongly influence political behavior in society. The importance of political behavior in supporting the success of political development is evident from the attention of political scientists who remain on the issue. The general assumption suggests that democracy can be preserved and sustained because of the participation of citizens who are active in civic affairs. Their active participation in politics is the most effective medium of dissemination is through the mass media.

### Definition of Political Communication

In line with the development of scientists trying to provide a definition of political communication, the discipline of scientists in studying and explaining about the study of political communication has different views. Soesanto defines political communication as a communication directed to the attainment 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 by political institutions (Astrid.S.Soestanto, 1980: 2 ) which examines some of the above views it can be said that political activity involves several people involved in it.

Nevertheless communication science has taught much about politics though still not focused. Mark Roelofs said that politics is the talk or more precisely political activity (politics) is talking (Mark Roelofs, 1993: 8). Oriented from some of the views of scientists about political communication it can be said that overall it is not easy to define political communication. In connection with the increasing definition of political communication caused by the faucet of difference of point of view, it can be simply said that political communications is the process of conveying political messages.

Political activity is an interaction or can be said that an activity to communicate between people. Politics is closely related to what is called communication. One important study in political activity is that all political activity is closely related to communication. All political action is a reaction to communications one of kind or another. There are however, different
levels and types of communication. Face to face communication is the most basic (Roskin, 1997)

**Mass Media as a Source of Political Influence**

From various literatures studied about political communication, generally associated with the role of mass media in the communication process in its path. This reflects a tendency in paper making and the papers related to political communication are still dominated about political campaigns to gain votes or build a power-oriented political force. In political campaigns can not escape the influence of mass media, both print and electronic media, the consequences can be through the approach with the analysis used and in turn use more analysis of mass media, especially related to theories of media and community relations, such as Theory of the message, while the mechanism of information dissemination that occurs, as well as psychological and sociological effects that can be caused. Related to this theme of political communication has been done and published to provide information that the media also do the construction of political reality in society (Kraus and Davis 1975: 19). Besides, it also discusses issues of political communication position in cases of practical political activity in the process of transformation and the establishment of political communication in society.

Graber's view that political communication is a process of learning, acceptance and approval of customs or rules, structures and environmental factors that affect political life, while Dan Nimmo and Keith Sanders in the Handbook of Political Communication (2000), also reveals the problems of political communication in cases of political activity, Dan Nimmo explains political influences mobilized and transmitted between formal governmental institutions on the one hand and communicating people on the other.

In principle, political communication is not only in political events such as elections, but political communication includes all forms of communication conducted with the intention of spreading political messages from certain parties to gain mass support. Theoretically, the phenomenon of political communication that takes place in a society, as has been described previously is an inseparable part of the political dynamics in Indonesia also can not be separated from the national political process that became the background of his life.

As for the principles of political communication: first consistency in communicating politics, the information conveyed must be consistent with the substantial platform of the party and the constituents of the party paradigm and the solution to the problems faced by the constituents and the public. Second: Replication in communicating politics, information must be repeated many times, so that constituents and the public are well aware of the contents or content of the party platform and what the party is fighting for. Third: Evidence in the political communication of information conveyed by the party must exist and can be proved its truth and existence.

**The Importance of Mass Media in the Spread of Politics**

Related to the important position of communicators in determining the media content according to Dan Nimmo in detail divide the political communicator into three groups namely Politicians, Professionals and Activists. Politicians as political communicators in their implementation sometimes act as partisan representatives and sometimes also act as ideologists. As representatives of participants, political communicators represent certain groups in bargaining and seek compromise on political issues, they act with the aim of influencing others'
opinions, pursuing change or preventing change of opinion. They are realtors or intermediaries who persuade others to come along and agree with the ideas offered.

One of the works revealing the theoretical foundations of political communication is revealed in the book Political Communication, Issues and Strategies for Research. The book edited by Steven H. Chaffee (1975) also reveals cases in the field that are still limited to practical political activities.

In its operation, political communication is developed based on a number of communicative action theories related to rationalization and rationalization developed by communications scientists. Among them Jurgen Habermas wrote Theory Des Kommunikatyiven Hendelns, in general explains that The Theory of Comunicative Action has three goals related to other sartu same:

1. Develop a concept of rationality that is no longer related to and limited by the subjective premises of modern philosophy and social theory.
2. Reconstruct a two-level society concept that integrates the life world and the system paradigm.
3. Mekeketsakan based on the above background, the critical theory of modernity that analyzes and mambahas patalogi in a better way.

The perspective of Allan G. Johnson (1995) which asserts that the social system within the organizational structure as an alternative strengthens the influence of the individual. If this perspective is adopted, then it seems that the rationality of society in determining its political choices is largely influenced by access to political news media. In reality the aspect of the rationality of society in determining its political choices that put forward the rationality is actually decided by conscience or personal choice without any intervention. According to Allan G. Johnson rational choice is determined on the interests of which remain linked with the social system.

In the development of political discourse review is by using discourse analysis. Discourse not only includes speech and other forms of nonverbal communication, but also includes all kinds of "Texts" in the broadest sense. When viewed from the perspective of Extra Linguistic, the word "Text" can be widened its use includes messages formulated through sign systems, such as traffic lights, religious rituals or customs, clothing styles, gestures or codes Indicators that are electronic.

Most oral and written communications from ordinary to detailed consist of complex actions forming messages or discourse (discourse). While the study of the structure of the message referred to as discourse analysis (discourse analysis). According to Scott Jacobs there are three things that need attention in this study: First: Discourse analysis is composed by the communicators in certain ways and principles for someone to know the meaning to be conveyed. Second: Discourse analysis is seen as a matter of action, so that language users know not only the rules of grammar, but also the rules for using larger units to achieve pragmatic goals in certain social situations. Third: Discourse analysis is seen as a search for the principles used by the actual communicator from their perspective or in other words discourse analysis interested in message transaction rules.
THEORETICAL BASIS

Political Communication

Political Communication is a combination of two different disciplines, but is closely related to the Science of Communication and Political Science, therefore, before entering into the discussion of understanding and the process of Political Communication is discussed more precisely about the meaning of Communication and Politics.

As a form of study related to communicating activities there are several opinions of experts who explain some elements of political communication through different angles of the field. Cangara in his book mentions elements of political communication include sources (communicators), Messages, media or channels, recipients and effects (cangara, 2009: 37) are:

1. Political Communicators are all parties involved in the delivery of messages. These parties may take the form of individuals, groups, organizations, governmental institutions and the Government.
2. Political messages are statements that are either written or unwritten, in the form of symbols or verbs containing political elements such as political speeches, laws and so on.
3. Channels or political media is in the development of today's mass media is considered as the right palibng channel to make the process of political communication.
4. The recipients of political messages are all levels of society expected to respond to messages of political communication, for example by voting in elections.
5. Effect and influence is a measure of how far political messages can be received and understood.

Political Communication Process

Ideally in the political communication process takes place reciprocity. While the process of political communication is where all elements-communication elements are related to form a meaning or intention to be conveyed achieved. There are two paradigms of political communication that are linear (one-way) and Convergence (two-way)
The Convergence paradigm puts communicators and communications equal to the rotating message stream in the message spin circuit.

Image Scheme I:
Sender ---------------- News ---------------- Receiver

Image Scheme II:

Because of suspicion arises

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Effects of Political Communication
The effect of communication can be seen through two aspects, namely the time period and the effect of the action are:
1. The period of validity
   a. Long-term
   b. Short-term
2. The action of influence
   a. The cognitive effect of political communication takes place at the level of thought
   b. Affective is the effect of communication on the emotional level / feeling / attitude.
   c. Behavioral effect is the effect of political communication on the level of behavior.

After examining various aspects of political communication we can say simply in its development that is trying to explain the subject matter of interdisciplinary political communication study and distinguish it from other science studies, political communication can also be said as a process in which the existence of political institutions and functions of the political system.

Patterns of Political Communication
Patterns of Communication can be divided into 4 (four) groups:
1. Vertical communication pattern (top down, from leader to led).
2. Horizontal Communication Pattern (between individuals and individuals, groups with groups).
3. Formal communication pattern (communication through formal organizational channels).
4. Informal communication patterns (communication through meetings or face-to-face meetings, not following organizational procedures or channels).

Factors Affecting Patterns of Political Communication
Factors influencing the Political Communication Pattern are 5 (five) factors:
1. Physical factors (nature).
2. Technological factors.
3. Economic factors.
4. Sociocultural factors (educational and cultural factors).
5. Political Factors.

DISCUSSION
Political Communication Studies
In practice Political Communication is very thick in everyday life, because in everyday activities no one is not communicating and sometimes have been trapped in the analysis and study of political communication. Gabriel Almond (1960) Political communication is one of the functions that always exist in every politics "All of the functions performed in the political system, political socialization and recruitment, interest articulation, interest aggregation, rule
making, rule applications and rule adjudication are performed by means of communication ". Political Communication is one of the functions of political parties that channel the various opinions and aspirations of the people who regulate it in such a way. Jack Plano et al (1989) in the dictionary of political analysis that political communication is the spread of action, meaning or message concerned with the function of a political system involving elements of communication such as communicators, messages and others.

The study of political communication is a combination of several disciplines. In its development, the study of political communication is more attention by scholars of political science than communication science graduate. Similarly, Cangara disclosed that in Indonesia at first the attention to discuss political communications justrustumbuh among scholars of political science than the scholars of communication science itself (Cangara, 2009: 34). Even so communication science has taught much about politics though not focused.

Mark Roelofs says that politics is the talk or more precisely, political activity is talking (Roelofs in Rachmat, 1993: 8). In line with its development, scientists seek to provide a definition of political communication. Every scientist in studying and explaining about the study of political communication has different views. Soesanto defines political communication as a communication directed to the achievement of an influence in such a way that the problem discussed by this type of communication activity can bind all its citizens through a sanction determined jointly by political institutions (Astrid, S. Soesanto, 1980: 2 ).

To examine some of the above views, it can be said that political activity involves communication among some people involved in it. Oriented from some of the views of scientists about political communication can be said that overall it is not easy to define political communication. Related to the increasing definition of political communication caused by different perspectives, it can be simply said that political communication is the process of conveying political messages.

**The Process of Political Communication**

An expert on Michael Rush and Phillip Althoff in Rusnaini's lecture handout (2008: 34) explains "political communication is a process whereby relevant political information is passed from one part of the political system to another, and between social systems and political systems. This process occurs on an ongoing basis and also includes the exchange of information between individuals and groups at all levels. In 1948, political scientist Harold D. Laswell argued that an easy way to describe the communication process is to answer the following questions :

- Who (what)
- Says What (what to talk about)
- In which channel (using what channel)
- To Whom (to whom)
- With what effect (how it affects).

These questions are used to identify common elements in all communications:

- The sender or communicator (sender) is the party that sends the message to the other party.
- Message is the content or intention to be delivered by one party to another.
• Channel (channel) is the media where the message is delivered to the communicant. In interpersonal communication (face-to-face) the channel can be air that transmits vibration of tone / sound.
• The recipient or komunikate (receiver) is the party receiving the message from the other party
• Feedback (feedback) is the response of receiving messages over the content of the message it conveys.

According to Dan Nimmo, Laswellian Formula is the simplest formula that can be used to understand the process of political communication. But Dan Nimmo believes there are still two shortcomings of Laswell's proposition: The first deficiency lies in "one's statement to someone" implying that the communication process is linear. In reality, communication is a simultaneous and cohesive act of mutuality between a person and another. The second shortcoming is the explanation of laswell which implies that communication is a five-element structure. In reality there is no demarcation or border between the parts of the communication process. To overcome this deficiency, Nimmo reformulated the Laswell formula into the following:

Harold D Laswell points out:
- Who?
- What did you say?
- To whom?
- With what channel?
- By what effect?

And Nimmo points out:
- Who?
- What did you say?
- To (with) whom?
- With what (-channel) (s)?
- With what (-effect) consequences?

Communicators, audiences and Political Messages

Communicators in the process of political communication can be positioned by various parties. Parliament, political parties, interest groups, citizens, presidents, ministers, political observers, and so on. They become communicators if they become participants who convey political messages, and turn into communicants if they are positioned as recipients. Political communicators can also be positioned against politicians, for example communicators from coalition members of Political Parties, all of their members are political communicators, because their members A politician who is often in the political world. The contents of the message they convey everything is political.

In political communication, audiences who receive political messages are political audiences. So the audience or the public or the public who receive, interpret and be influenced by news and information or messages that have political content in any form are political audiences. Political audiences can also turn into political communicators in certain situations and interests, and vice versa.
Political audiences are audiences who have an interest in the development of political circumstances, have information about these developments, and are willing to actively participate, a necessity of the political system. Political audiences are one aspect that becomes a stick for members of politicians. But they are so easy to approach political audiences, because they are heterogeneous political audiences in which they are very easy to be influenced by having a capitalist stream.

Thus, in the process of political communication needs the support of its audiences to make it easier for them to win the battle for power, with the support of the audience then the communicator will be confident and confident in the message delivered to the public or the audience. Both sides are competing to find as many audiences to enable them to seize control of parliamentary seats.

Political message is the main message or issues communicator communicated to the communicant. It is believed that political communicators always "fabricate" political messages before they are communicated to the communicant. That is, a message is never made arbitrarily because the entire communicator believes there is always FeedBack in every comment they have. The determination of this issue relates to the concepts of Issue Management and Ownership Issues.

In the competition between the Political Party coalition there are some distinctive features of each Party that design the content of their own altered messages based on their opinions or feelings to attract audiences to support them, as both sides expect positive FeedBack from their audience, so they enter the issue - issues with issues management concepts and issue ownership in order to obtain positive FeedBack from the public or audiences.

Media and Political Marketing

Media in a political communication has a very important role because it is as political publicity to the wider community. Of course with the aim of the public know the political agenda after that sympathy and drop his choice to the party. Any communicator or political activist will try to master the media. No wonder, whoever has mastered the media, then he almost won the political battle.

Since the advent of revolutionary technology and information, print media and electronic media deliver information to the audience very effectively. Utilization of media to boost popularity has actually started to bloom and free since and getting stronger in the 2014 Election. All activities that have the political nuance raised the media aims not only as a means of publicity but also affect the audience to choose it. In addition to having the media, to maximize political publicity to the wider community, political parties or political coalitions must have their own marketing or political management.

Party Imaging

Political Party imagery can be interpreted as a way of attracting public sympathy by selling fake and fake results and achievements and exploiting false populist actions and setting aside things that are actually more substantial and more important Rather than merely pursuing the popularity of the image alone. There are three factors causing and driving the rampant behavior of Political Party Imaging. First, the emergence of industrialization / Corporations Media. With the industrialization / capitalization of those media has led to the dragging of
media in political interests, which has obscured the important role of the media itself as the founder of the National Building. Secondly, there is a shift in the traits of the constituent base (People Voters) that have shifted to the characteristics of consumerism, individualism, changeability and skeptic, thus making them easily influenced by the populist acts they see from the outside only without ever seeing from the depth.

Under such circumstances, the image of a Political Party considered by admirer politicians could easily affect the base of the electorate, especially the floating voters' bases. Third, the rampant phenomenon of political party imaging is also inseparable from the defect of regeneration at the level of Political Parties. That is in creating leaders figures with maximum credibility, integrity and capability. With no leader or charismatic leader, smart and character, political parties rely more heavily and pursuing a purely political image to win every political contest. One of the results of reform is the image of Political Party by politicians in Indonesia.

Political Party imagery emerges as a result of Indonesian politics which can no longer be managed through frightening means such as the New Order style (repression, intimidation, physical violence, subversive allegations), but must be managed in ways that "embrace" the people. The image of political party was born. The name is also the image, so yes its nature definitely dipermukaan. Sep we know that the individual image is conveyed to the audience or the public, they each build a positive image of its own through the media to attract audiences, sometimes imaging they convey too much, as if The imagery makes his character the most glorified person in his country, due to the excessive imagery of the statement - statement that makes political communication becomes unhealthy, because Too many imaging and dropping messages from each of the camps to get the audience they want.

CONCLUSION

In political communication in Indonesia the role of mass media is not only an integral part of politics, but also has a central position in politics. The draft policy should be disseminated to the public to know and participate in discussing it in various forms of public discussion forums. The diverse aspirations of society must be addressed, all in need of channels or media to expose them. Mass media is a channel of political communication that is widely used for these purposes, because the nature of mass media that can lift messages (information and imaging) massively and reach a diverse audience, or public, far and wide. Political messages through the mass media will strongly influence political behavior in society. The importance of political behavior in supporting the success of political development is evident from the attention of political scientists who remain big on this issue. The general assumption suggests that democracy can be preserved and sustained because of the participation of citizens who are active in civic affairs. Their active participation in political life can not be separated from the availability of information, and the most effective channel or media for information dissemination is through the mass media.

Political communication can be concluded as a communication involving in it political messages and political actors while the communication related to power is the way Government and Government Policy and the process of political communication that is interpreted as the process of message delivery, whereas Political Communication comes from two basic words Namely Communications and Politics. Communication is the process of delivering information from one person to another, either by means of the use of Communication media as information packing or through a symbolic transmission, so that information is easy to understand and
ultimately has the same perception. Sedanan Politics is every effort to obtain and maintain and expand the territory of power.

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In the process of Political Communication is where the relevant political information is passed from one part of the political system to the other, and between the social systems and the political systems. This process occurs on an ongoing basis and also includes the exchange of information between individuals and groups at all levels. Communicators in the political communication process can be positioned by various parties. Parliament, Political Parties, Interest Groups, Citizens, Presidents, Ministers, Political Observers, and so on. They become communicators if they become participants who convey political messages, and turn into communicants if they are positioned as recipients.

In political communication, audiences who receive political messages are political audiences. So the audience or the public or the public who receive, interpret and be influenced by news and information or messages that have political content in any form are political audiences. Political messages are the main message or issues communicators communicate to communicants. Media in a political communication has a very important role because it is as political publicity to the public and management or political marketing helps disseminate the content of political messages through certain media - promotion media such as, Advertising, message content management and others.

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