Political Imagery of PartaiAmanatNasional Through Media inObtaining Public Sympathy, North Sumatra Province, 2005-2015

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Abstract: 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 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. Imaging political strategies performed by PAN is an attempt to maintain the existence of the party.PAN's ability to build the imagery toughen the PAN's survivability in the political scene in North Sumatra since 2005 until now. In some regions, PAN succeeded to put its representatives in the Parliament, for example in Toba Samosir, PAN won one seat and in Nias PAN also won one seat. This also proves the success of PAN imagery using media to people out of Islam, because the majority of people in Tobasa and Nias are Christians. Even in South LabuhanBatu regency, PAN won 11 seats.

Keywords: *Political imagery; media; public symphatic; PAN*

I.   INTRODUCTION

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 relatively tend 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 1.1.The Percentage of PAN's Seats Obtaining in Legislative General Election from 1999 until 2014

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

The above is a national obtained vote. 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 district, PAN obtained as much as 313 555 votes and placed its cadres for 8 seats (7.08%) in North Sumatra DPRD (People's Regional Representative Assembly). This means that PAN is on the fifth rank. In 2009, PAN is on the fifth rank by gaining as many as 248 975 vote. In this period PAN puts its cadres as many as 7 seats in DPRD North Sumatra. While in the 2014 general election PAN 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 decrease further compared to other Islamic based parties, such as PPP and the PBB are still below the PAN's vote. Although from the obtaining of North Sumatra DPRD seats, seemingly PAN decreased, but from the votes obtained, PAN has increased in every election. The changes of the seats obtained, due to the increase in the electoral district into 12.

The interesting thing from the above conditions, 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 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. Imaging political strategies performed by PAN is an attempt to maintain the existence of the party. As political imagery conducted by HattaRajasa, who set PAN with jargon "PAN for people". Likewise, the jargon of "Changes" boosted by ZulkifliHasan as the Chairman of PAN in 2015 - 2020. The political imagery indicates the continuous efforts by the party leaders to build the interesting political imagery so that people still entrust their aspirations to PAN.Based on the arguments that have been raised, the writer is interested in doing a dissertation research on political imagery that DPW (local representative) PAN of North Sumatra. Thus, the writer determinesthe research entitled: Political Imagery of PartaiAmanatNasional through Media in Obtaining the Public Sympathy in North Sumatra Province, 2005-2015.

II. METHODOLOGY

The use of Internet and social media spread widely as communication media said Subiaktoand Ida, causing the media as *public sphere* (public space) which is phenomenal relatively. Social media used actively in politics, considering the media itself can be used by anyone. In it there is a freedom, participation and its coverage has expanded and interconnected.[1]Social media becomes interactive media for communication has proved its effectiveness in social and political communication. The accuracy of the message delivered via mobile phone (short message service), twitter, facebook, newspapers, radio and television is very urgent. The strategic role of social media and mass media in political communication has shown successfully and its ability to gain forces, support for the movement to build a positive image. Through mass media, someone will obtain information about objects, people, images and places that do not experienced directly. The existence of media deliberately presents various messages about the social and political environment. All messages contains political content can establish and maintain the politics image and public opinion towards a party. In an overload information era today, a candidate or a party that does not use the mass media properly will almost certainly fail to win the public support. This argument emphasizes that the presence of the media have an important role on the effectiveness of the delivery of political messages and create the positive image and public opinion for political parties or candidates.In the midst of the various media today, people actually get the ease of access for information. It is different in the previous era of the New Order (OrdeBaru), the political communication does not develop openly as it is today. The phenomenon of political communication development in Indonesia today shows the significant impact on the ways of political leaders in campaign towards the political contestation, for example the election of Legislative Candidates, the election of Local Leaders and the Presidential Election. As what occurred in the night of Indonesian Presidential Election in 2014. It is seen clearly that media show almost all the political leaders who proclaim themselves as candidate or vices. It is supported by the political advertisements and the news media as a good person and on people's side.Through various visual symbols, slogans in the form of phrases, the candidates build imagery. For example, Prabowo from Gerindra as a candidate of vice president build an image through slogans such as "Serve for the nation and the State". The couple Wiranto-HaryTanoe, candidates of president and vice president from Hanura (People's Conscience Party) also build the imagery through the slogan "Win HT Clean, Caring, Strict", accompanied by a picture that shows their care to the poor. Although HattaRajasaexplicitly does not proclaim himself as a candidate of president in 2014, but through political advertising from PAN, buildsimagery with the slogan "PAN in people". The political advertisement seems to featureHattaRajasa as an exact figure for the candidate of president from PAN, while AburizalBakrie from Golkarbuilds an imageryby raising the slogan "Golkar's Voice, People's Voice".Based on the facts, the media in the context of political communication has a strategic role. The position or status of mass media in a democratic society ideally have the following functions: First, the function of monitoring, providing information to the public about what is going on in the society. Second, the function of educating, giving honesty on the meaning and significance of the case facts. Third, providing a platform towards the public political discourse,facilitating or accommodating the public opinion creation and return it to the public opinion. Fourth, the watchdog functions of the media publishing the government and political institutions, creating transparency in the public institutions. Fifth, the advocacy function that becomes channels for political advocacy. When seeing the role and function of the mass media, it has a strategically important position in the political life of a country. Mass media is also often used as a propaganda tool, political imagery, and builds nonpolitical public opinion. The use of mass media is also often used as part of a political strategy. Based on the theory study of SMCR from Rogers, he said that communication as a process where the messages are delivered from the source to the recipient to change their behaviors. *The message Source*in the practice of politics is from

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[1]Henri Subiakto and Rachmah Ida, *KomunikasiPolitik, Media danDemokrasi*(Jakarta: Kencana, 2012), p. 25.

the political parties, also specifically candidates who are following the political contest. *Message* is the messagesdelivered by the party to the public through interpersonal, group, mass communication and other forms of communication. The message conveyed in the form of programs to improve the welfare of the community so that the community is able to make a choice. *Political message* is the statement delivered, written and unwritten, verbal and non-verbal containing political issues. *Channel* (media),isthe media or political channels used by the party as a communicator in conveying their political messages through electronic media or printed media. *Receiver* (communicant), is the people who receive the messages from political communicator. The information delivery or any activities carried out that expected can enhance the positive image of the party. *Imagery*is the message contentthat is given by the communicator, via Internet, or printed media as amedia connector between the party and the people.

III.   DISCUSSION
Imagery through Political Advertising Messages

One of democracy characteristic 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 imagery through mass media. Interestingly, the political imagery dynamic is marked by the increasing number of political parties and the use of advertisement. 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 parties and politicians, as in the political perspective, imagery occupies an important position to influence people's political attitudes and public opinion. PAN in this case takes part in the political imagery. Imagery 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 imagery to be able to captivate the peoples 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 writer 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 writer sees that political imagery becomes something that cannot be separated from the democracy dynamics that will continue. For example as what is described by YahdiKhoirHarahap'"One of PAN's steps by introducing the party to the people in North Sumatra is making advertisements in newspapers. The advertisement's purpose is generally to inform and persuade the public to be willing to follow what is desired in the advertisement. For example, PAN advertises and invited for voting PAN. For this advertising, PAN never hires HarianWaspada in a full page to load PAN picture in it. At that time, SutrisnoBachir as the Chairman of the DPP PAN. The advertisement is the same as shown on television, where the PAN's jargon "Life is An Attitude" According to the writer 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 makesthe advertisement that is expected to attract 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, but the emblem as a member of PAN is never separated from those advertisements".[2]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 image. 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 party cares for people", "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 imagery, 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 candidates ofregional head.Along with the writer'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 images that

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[2]YahdiKhoirHarahap, The Chairman of DPD PAN Batu Bara in the period of 2005-2010 and the General Secretary of DPW PAN North Sumatra in the period of 2015-2020. The interview was on 20 June 2016 in the secretarial office of DPW PAN North Sumatra Jl. Wahid Hasyim.

encourage 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 public sympathy, and ultimately to seize power. These advertisements are paid by the party to the media indirectly, but there are also unpaid advertisements 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. The term in political marketing it is said that politicaladvertisement 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 voters to get rid of the uncertainty choice because of tendency to choose a particular contestant.
3. Tools to reconfigure (fix the figure) 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.[3]

From the analysis conducted by the writer, the importance of political advertisements is highly relevant to the content of political developments in Indonesia, especially after the general elections 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 imagery. Along with this, based on the observation, 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 imagery thought 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 information era politics, 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 imagery, which celebrates the image rather than political competence.[4]

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-image and political figure or group known as political parties. One political party advertisementsthat often appear along the years 2005-2010 is the political advertisements of PAN led by SutrisnoBachir. The PAN's advertisements does not separated from efforts to build a political imagery. SutrisnoBachir's made advertisement is modified seriously in order to provide political education for the people. The intensity of the advertisement is more visible when 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 screened, 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 lyrics mars of Perindo. Although the 2019 general election is still long, the party has been campaigning early through 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 writer'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 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 triggersthe increased political

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[3]Budi Setiyono, *IklandanPolitik: MenjaringSuaradalamPemilihanUmum* (Jakarta: AdGoal Com, 08), p. 346-347.

[4]Tinarbuko, *Iklan,* h. 7.

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 cost of the advertisement, the important thing to be notedfrom this phenomenon is the effectiveness of political advertisement also occurs because of the growing of communication media. Especially the developementin 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 image 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.Considering 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 advertiosement in the form of an appeal to attend the grand campaign initiated by PAN North Sumatra. This is explained by Yahdi Khoir Harahap.

PAN is aware 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 thegrand 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 PAN programs.[5]

Based on the above information, it can be understood that the advertisement submittedby PANin various media can improve some people's 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 PANto improve its political survival through various ways, including the increase of political partiesimagery through political advertisement in local printed media. Admittedly, one way to improve the politics imagery is to maintain a good relation with the mass media.World history of 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 media's role. 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 imagery 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 political imagery. 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 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 changed to capitalism. The media interest does not fully distribute equal information. The media interest even "being hosted" of capital owners.[6]Apart

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[5]YahdiKhoirHarahap, the Chairman of DPD PAN Batu Bara in the period of 2005-2010 and the General Secretary of DPW PAN North Sumatra in the period of 2015-2020. The interview was on 20 June 2016 in the secretarial office of DPW PAN North Sumatra Jl. Wahid Hasyim.

[6]AnangAnasAzhar, " MediadanIklanPolitik" in *HarianAnalisa,*on 13 February 2014.

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 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 needsa good management so that it can be used for the people's welfare.

Theoretically, political advertisement performed by PAN divided to two ways, first by free media through regular reporting on the PAN politicians and party activities. Then the second one is by paying to the local and national printed or electronic mass media. The paid advertisementsin the writer's observation is in the form of pictures and jargon published in the media, meanwhile the freeadvertisement is in the form of activities news carried out by PAN. The difference between these two advertisementsis that in political advertisement which parties or politicians decide what they show and say and how long the time they want. Meanwhile 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 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.

IV.   CONCLUSION

In variety, the use of several communication media and also the work program are summarized, it can attract the public's sympathy successfully. The support towards PAN come from various life level, either from the leaders or the general public. PAN's ability to build the imagery toughen the PAN's survivality in the political scene in North Sumatra since 2005 until now. In some regions, PAN succeded to put its representatives in the Parliament, for example in Toba Samosir, PAN won one seat and in Nias PAN also won one seat. This also proves the success of PAN imagery to people out of Islam, because the majority of people in Tobasa and Nias are Christians. Even in South Labuhan Batu regency, PAN won 11 seats, and this achievement is recorded as PAN's spectacular result across Indonesia. PAN also won 7 seats in Serdang Bedagai (Sergai), so that these two regions can be categorized asbase of PAN. These are some of facts the success of DPW PAN of North Sumatra in performing the imagery through media to the public people.

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