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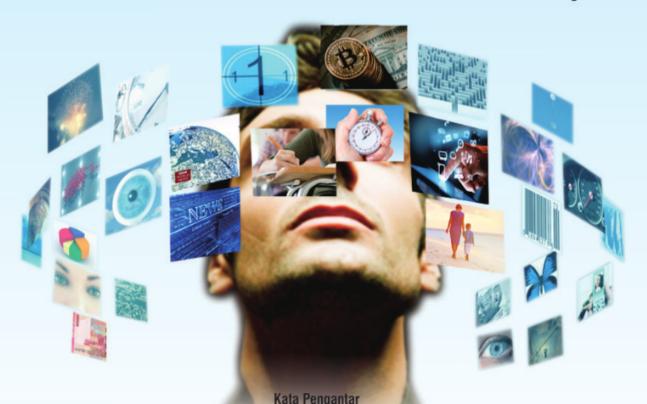
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KOMUNIKASI BERKEMAJUAN

dalam Dinamika Media dan Budaya

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BUKU LITERA

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Daftar Isi

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Political Imaging in Philosophical Communication Review

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Introduction

Political imagery becomes a new paraphrase for political matters in Indonesia, especially during the reformation era. It is no wonder people can recognize that word easily. Some people try to define political imagery as a political gift in order to get specific power during the election, creating specific image, etc. It is also such a common thing when people often define political imagery by relating it to particular figures.

However, behind the controversy about the phrase, political imagery takes a significant role in the national political scene. This is because there is a symbiotic mutualism between the candidates and the people (constituents) in the general election. Candidates need popularity which ends as electability whereas people need a person whose figure is appropriate as a leader so that it will be a=easy to be facilitated by the media.

News and political advertising take a role in this regard as well. The collaboration of agenda setting, framing and priming becomes an absolute theory applied by the media in order to form an ideal figure. SBY, Jokowi and Prabowo might be the most popular examples of it.They are proven to have high electability in politics.

Yasraf Amir Piliang mentioned that the history of political imagery, as he quoted from Gilles Delauze and Guatari Felix, was not

only applicable when the advent of the mass media, the movies, radio and television during the 19th and 20th centuries. Yet, it appeared much earlier, since the ancient Greek. Take the example of it was when Plato published a book entitled *Shopist*. He accused the sophist or philosophers producing illusions and false consciousness. He added that the philosopher was prostituting his intellect for the sake on power , indeed (Piliang, 2005: 383).

From the observations of Plato then, there are two types of image viewed in terms of its function raised by philosophers. First, it is something which resembles the original, reproduce entirely from scratch, an original replica. Second, something which does not resemble the original, which does not reproduce from scratch, but using elements of illusion that is imaginary, virtual and full similarity. With the rapid technological developments and massive, different image production times of Plato and now, but the same substance which Heidegger term cited it as a "framing".

Discussion

Genealogy and Politics Imaging Scope

Politics imaging itself actually derives from two words, word *image* and word *politics*. Word *image* is derived from Sanskrit, which means drawing. Later, it is developed into the image as a synonym word *image* in English (Anwar, 2011: 178). There are three definitions of word *image* based on The Indonesian Dictionary; *first,* a noun which defines image, appearance, picture. Secondly, the impression of mental or visual image that is generated by a word, phrase or sentence, and is a basic element which is typical in prose or poetry. As Frank Jefkins defines in his book *Public Relations Technique*, interpreting the image as an individual or a person will give the result of knowledge and experience. While Jalaluddin Rachmat in his book, *Psychology of Communication* explains that the image is a depiction of reality which is not unnecessarily linked to reality, and is the world's image as perceived by a person (in Soemirat and Ardianto, 2002: 114).

Based on the various definitions of that image, it can conclude that the image is not a tangible object but something that exists in a person's cognitive. Briefly speaking, it is like the construction of

public perception as well as the representation of individuals, groups or institutions related to their work in the context of social, cultural, political society. Therefore, it is not an exaggeration to say that the image is a fragile commodity because the image is dependent on the understanding and experiences of people about something. It means that the image on someone's mind may be different from actual reality. Further, reflecting the image of things intangible and imaginative is certainly not the same as the empirical reality.

More detailed explained by Frank Jefkins (1992: 17), he describes the image into five categories, the image of the prevailing (current image), the image of the shadow (mirror image), the image of the company (corporate image), the image of the expected (wish image), and the image of the compound (multiple image). *Mirror image* is the image that conceive people's mind done by the impressionist related to how people acknowledge his/her impression. This image is often not appropriate, because it is only an illusion. *Current image* is the opposite of the *shadow image*. The prevailing image is a real image, that of the outside parties or other parties about ourselves or our organization. However, the *mirror image* can be contrasted with the *current image* depending on the amount of information held by each party. *Wish image*, an image desired by the management of the party or organization. The image is expected to be realized not only for the corporate image, but also the image of the organization as a whole. This image is formed by many things, like among others the performance and success of the organization, a good relationship with stakeholders, and so on. Last is *multiple image,* or a *compound image*. This kind of imagery arises because generally organizations consist of many components that help each other to establish a working system. People might have a positive image of something produced by an organization but at the same time giving a negative image of the public service provided by party leaders and organizations.

Briefly speaking, image is divergent to imaging. Anwar Arifin (2011: 178) defines that imaging is the process of image formation through information received by the audience directly or through mass media connected the messages. Baudrillard in his *Simulations* (1983: 11) describes four stages amplify the imaging, namely:

1. *It is the reflection of a basic reality*
2. *It masks and perverts a basic reality*
3. *It masks the absence of a basic reality*
4. *It bears no relation to any reality. Whatever: it is its own pure simulacrum.*

In further explanation regarding this imaging stage, Baudrillard (1983: 11-12) explains:

> *"In the first case, the image is a good appearance – the representation is of the order of sacrament. In the second, it is an evil appearance – of the order of malefice. In the third, it plays at being an appearance – it is of the order of sorcery. In the fourth, it is no longer in the order of appearance at all, but of simulation".*

The point is, consists of a first stage, the image is a good appearance to represent or be a mirror of reality. Second, ideology was considered the appearance of 'evil' because it gives the wrong image over reality. Third, the actual reality is nothing but its role to replace the image of reality. And fourth, there is no longer the order of appearance at all, but that appears is simulated.

The political term is absorbed from an English word *politics*, which was first introduced by Aristotle. The term came first from the Greek word *polis* to call a town. Later, it developed into politeia, politicos, politica, politer. Politeia term defines a body of citizens who can be categorized as a government or political system which is based on the law. That term is then absorbed into the English language as polity, politics, politics, politician, political and policy. Anwar Arifin also defines politics as all human activity in the community, especially on the struggle to appoint or elect authorities establish a functioning government policy.

On the other hand, Eric Louw (2005: 14-15) speaks out the meaning of politics as a division of political power, i.e who gets what, how to manage resources, and who is duly authorized. As a result, the concept of state politics which contains a number of power, decision making, policy, and the distribution or allocation of resources . This is on the same line with those expressed by Budiarjo (in Cengara, 2011: 24) that politics is an activity that is carried out in a country for the process to set goals and to implement these objectives. In order to implement these objectives , it necessarily needs public policies (public policy) which regulate all existing resources and to

regulate the need of power (power) and authority (authority), so that one's personal and community goals achieved.

When we try to combine between politics and imaging, it will become a stand-alone word, and has a different meaning than politics or imaging. Political imagery based on political communication expert of Indonesia has two meanings. *First*, the formation of one's perception to the public includes the influence, authority, power, strength, teamwork, conflict, consensus to get a positive impression. *Second*, the political imagery or imaging policy is a policy of the state (public policy), the establishment of the image or images to the public, which can be implemented by the government and people either individually or in groups, (Anwar, 2014: 4). Although Eric Louw declines the idea of the second meaning (2005: 21). He said that political imagery can not be attached to government policy. Briefly talking, policies which has ever taken by SBY-JK such as direct cash assistance (BLT), rice for the poor (Raskin), salaries of civil servants, remuneration, certification of teachers and the fuel subsidy can not be categorized into political imagery. Although such policies are very popular, and boost personal electability for president as the spearhead of policy makers. It is because the pure reality of government policy. While political imagery was the formation of public perceptions of the individuals and organizations that require intermediaries such as the media, journalists, campaign team and spin doctors.

Furthermore, the political imagery requires a separate process. so that it can form a series of message in a structured and systematic way in order to attract public understanding. In this case, Barbara O'Keefe explains the thought process behind the message being created require logic preparation of the message (message design logic). The first logic is expressive, which is a process of communication to express your feelings. Second, the conventional logic that sees communication as a regular action since Referring to the established order. Third, the rhetorical logic that sees communication as a process of change by way of negotiation, (Littlejohn and Foss, 2011: 188).

In the logic of the message there are two dimensions, the dimensions of verbal and visual dimensions. Non-verbal dimensions are semantics, syntax and pragmatics. Semantics is the literal meaning of a sign. Syntax refers to the process of preparation of signs with other signs that form a series of signs. While the pragmatic is emergent behavior of a mark. (Littlejhon and Foss, 2011: 158-159).

If a message is contained in the form of verbal language, it requires a comprehensive coverage. According to John Searle, any verbal language will load five things. First, he stated assertion (assertive). Second, states directives (directives). Third, the states of attachment (commissives). Fourth, states statements (expressive). Fifth, the declaration (declaration). (Littlejohn and Foss, 2011: 165-166).

Political Actors in The Imaging Frame

In politics, the image is created through the use of visual impressions which are communicated with the physical presence of the candidates, media appearances, experience and track record in role of a political leader who informed integrated into the minds of citizens. Impressions of each candidate strongly influence the support of people who are involved in to reconstruct it (Kaid, 2004: 21). The involvement includes a director, cameraman, editor even to the advertising model and voice.

In the process of planting the public perception, there are some things that trigger or cause the people elect a presidential candidate. According to Lynda Lee Kaid, there are at least five things:

1. The political issue which is the policy of the candidate and promises to put in place if elected.

2. Social Imagery is the use of stereotypes to attract voters by making the relationship between candidates and selected segments of society. This component captures the effect of the role of party affiliation and other important social networks that will shape voter behavior.

3. Personality of candidates that will help to strengthen and produce an image in the minds of voters.

4. Contingency situational stating that the dimension of voters think can be influenced by "hypothetical events" are profiled in the campaign.

5. Value epistemic stating that the dimension that appeals to voters of curiosity about the figure of the candidate, (Kaid, 2004: 20)

While some experts argue that there are two perspectives to look predicate imaging. Namely political predicate image desired by the community and you want highlighted by a candidate in order to meet public expectations. Political predicate image desired by the community as described by Adman Nursal (2004: 189-190) as follows:

Table 1. Political Meaning Orientation and Political Choice of The People

Political Meaning	Orientation options
Social imagery	Military man, Young, Rich, Independent, Wong young, Islamic leaders, intellectuals, Moderate
Identification	Characters long, since the option first, our people, ideological
Emotional feelings candidate	Easy going, Patriotic, Responsible, Confident, Optimistic, Satisfactory, full of hope
Personality candidate	Trustworthy, intelligent, high integrity, energetic, stable, passionate, articulate
Issues and public policy	Government firm, clear and consistent policy, to uphold the law, increasing the authority of the nation, to bring change, developing military and energy, capable of managing the economy, defend the Homeland, pro-people economy, reduce poverty, improve education degree
recent events	Separatist and anti-terrorism, anti-corruption, care about global warming
personal events	Fought topple the New Order
Epistemic Factors	Popular, candidates outside the mainstream

Some of the candidate images which are highlighted according to Scheweiger and Adami in Adman Nursal (2004: 180-181) are as follows:

Table 2. Predicate imaging candidate.

Dimension	Positive Attribute	Negative Attribute
honesty	Honest, credible, could hold his words, transparent, reliable, honest reputation	Scandal, wiping, violating the political contract
quality	Knowledge, educational background, capable, planners, experienced	Not knowledgeable managing government and business, had no international experience, not qualified
the roots of nationalism	Representation of the state, know the needs of the nation, interested in the culture of the nation, love of homeland	Strangers, do not know the history of the nation
strength	Strong, energetic, winner, loud, full of success	Weak, losers, weak, slow

fervency	Love of work, care for the nation, helpful, modern ideas, likes sports, it is easy to know the problems of public	Stubborn, without feeling, difficult compromises

From the description of the two tables above, people have their own perception of the figure of the leader that they hoped to bring this nation better. The candidates as well are striving to be a leader as perceived by the public. There are times when the image is expected by society and which is highlighted by a candidate has in common and also very possible to have differences. If it is concluded then that image includes three aspects, the first aspect is leadership that emphasizes intelligence in managing a country. Second, taste and social life reflected the feelings of a leader and the third is the visible aspect of the physical characteristics of the body shape. Instrumental quality is a candidate's competence in the context of leadership. In the instrumental qualities, there are of two types, namely the managerial competence and functional competence. Managerial competence includes the ability of planning, organizing, problem solving. While the functional competence covers an individual's expertise in the fields of law, economics, security, technology.

The symbolic factor consists of four things: first, the basic principles of a candidate that includes integrity, sincerity, sacrifice. The second is the emotional performance, the emotional feeling that is reflected from a candidate that includes bold, patriotism, love, excited. The third is an inspirational aura in which all aspects exist in a candidate who is able to inspire and motivate others. The fourth is a social aura that represent to specific groups, such as representations of grassroots, youth, religious leaders, intellectuals, artists and certain tribes. The latter factor is *fonotip optis*, i.e the visual appearance of a candidate. It includes the physical shape, stylish appearance, and health factors. In physical appearance defines as a beautiful, handsome, manly. In style appearance includes how to dress, body style. While the health factors are energetic, active, cheerful. (Nursal, 2004: 207-209).

In contrast to the idea of Lynda Lee Kaid and Adman Nursal, James N. Durckman et al. which cite the views Funk and Kinder in the *Journal of Politics* (Vol 66, 2004: 1182-1183), and according to Leonard Shyles in the *Journal of Political Behavior*, (Vol. 6, No. 2, 1984: 180), imaging a person can be classified as table below.

Table 3. The Political Meaning and Orientation of Public Policy Options

Political Variable Imaging	Indicator	Description	Examples in advertising
Performance based-traits	*Competence*	The image of candidate associated with`special skills, knowledge, abilities, and resources to lead. Including past experiences which focused on the past role of the candidate, work, and achievements that have been achieved during his life	In advertisements often conveyed the experiences never led anything the organization or company, a military career.
	Strength	The image of the candidate associated with vitality, willpower, endurance of a leader	The image that wants to find a candidate associated with vitality, willpower, endurance of a leader
	Leadership	a candidate expertise in giving general instructions, provide services, and directives or instructions in the lead, coordinate and mobilize.	Capable of solving the problems of the nation, e.g, conflict, human rights, economic crisis, poverty, education,
Personal characteristics	*Warmth/ personal qualities*	Capable of solving the national problems, eg, conflict, human rights, economic crisis, poverty, education,	Familiarity with farmers, fishermen. Or being interacted with the children. Often wear clothes related to the farmers.
	Trust/honesty	The image that wants to find a candidate associated with an open mind, honest, promising security and justice, sincerity.	Correspondence between words and deeds.
	Altruism	The image that wants to find a candidate associated with, among others, high social life, pay attention to the needs of others, including virtue and generosity	Parched rice meal with the community, doing charity to society
	Other special qualities	The candidate image associated with particular qualities such as charisma, new innovations, or kindness	A skillful speaker, quickly solve the problem of the nation, strong, fast

Ad Campaign

History of political advertising in Indonesia is not something brand new, in fact. At least since the New Order regime, the political advertisement has begun. In 1977's election, the mass media were widely used as media campaigns. At that time, many media did affiliation. Several newspaper are taken into examples, like Harian Pelita, whose readers were mostly members of the PPP (an Islamic party), as well as the readers of the Harian Kemerdekaan, whose members were nationalists of PDI party. TVRI, as the only television station in that era, were used at that moment by the ruling party, Golkar. However, the modernization of political communication involving mass media began to find form in 1982. That is when Emil Salim, Minister of the Environment, held practices for effective public relations campaign. (Danial, 2009: 122). The political performance by Emil Salim is different to Golkar, which was seemed more soft and intelligent.

In the later reformation, first ads that appear were the ads of CBA in 1998. (Danial, 2009: 173). At that time, Wahid made a star of its ads. In the ad, Gus Dur said:

> «I may have been considered can not see well, but I can hear, hear with both Indonesia we sing. Sang of hope, devotion and struggle ».

Not long ago, the number of political advertising become rising. Starting from Amin Rais who advertised PAN, Megawati's PDI-P and even Golkar chairman's Akbar Tanjung generally also did not want to miss the moment.

Political advertising becomes more and more when the presidential election is conducted in 2004. The first election which contribute the whole adults of Indonesia to choose their future president. Presidential candidates compete to gain popularity, public sympathy in order to be elected as president. This continues until the presidential elections in 2009 and 2014 as well.

There are several techniques of the ad creating based on the communication expert, Brian McNair. The first is a primitive technique in which the presentation of advertisements appear stiff and artificial, here professional political consultants tested. Because it is not possible for a candidate to make their own ads. Both techniques talking heads, in this advertising technique developed to highlight the issues and

convey the image that the candidate is able to handle an issue and resolve the issue. In the technique of talking heads often shown the vision and mission of the media. This can be seen from the motto used by the candidates. The third is a negative ad, which attacked the policy of a candidate or party opponents. This type of advertising done by the Mega-Prabowo. Fourth, *cinema-verite* techniques, namely techniques by providing an informal situation that seems like a natural, for example by showing candidates speaking to people familiar and spontaneous small or side of family life and the environment. This ad is mostly used by all the candidates. Fifth, is the ad delivery technique performed with testimony. The testimony is delivered by someone who is a part of common people, or the admired figure, political figures, scientists, sportsmen as well as from the artist. This ad is widely used by couples JK and Wiranto. (Mulyana, 2001: 97).

According to Indra J Piliang as quoted by Hafid Cengara (2011: 293), the campaign ads that have been done do not educate people. This can be seen from several things. First, the substance of the ads seem illogical, so that it merely gives the impression of an ecstasy of politics and democracy. Taken as a sample is advertising of presidential candidate Wiranto, who ate parched rice among the people. It was a very small possibility in his daily life. Second, idealism sold candidate too excessive. This is reflected in the desire of each candidate to solve all the problems of the nation in a short time without an explanation. Third, the ads are not offensive duties and responsibilities to be borne if elected, the ad practically only promise without the necessary strategies.

However, many political observers who saw the ad campaigns in Indonesia have not dared to criticize in depth the issue of policy or political opponents, even attacking each other personally. Moreover, Finkel & Geer (1998, 573-595) in the *American Journal of Political Science*, said seven benefits from the campaign or ad attacking methods, namely:

1. Communicate more information about the policies that will be a candidate.

2. There is a Learning Effect: The process of learning for the community (Voters Education).

3. More surprising because it is not normative.

4. Offer the difference between one candidate to another

5. Encourage enthusiasm to come to the polling station (polling place)

6. Potential greater affective response.

7. Increase the capacity to be recalled (removed) back from memory.

Researchers Annenberg School (in Bartels, 1998) has long been considered customary in campaigns or ads to the content of each attack. And they categorize three types of campaigns or political advertising:

1. Ad Advocacy Candidates: types of ads that praise and express all good right about a candidate or policy;

2. Candidates Attack Ads (opponent): focusing on the weaknesses of opposing candidate;

3. Advertising Juxtaposing candidates: containing the explicit comparison between a candidate with the quality, track record, policy proposals opponents.

Researchers from Princeton (in Ghazali, 2011: 283-285) states clearly there is the misconception of what is referred to as "negative advertising". Attacking or compare the ads should not be declared as "negative". All kinds of ads that stated above can be classified as positive or negative in nature. Political advertising can be categorized in a kind of negative advertising: first, relatively nasty or disrespectful, inappropriate, does not deal with the essence of government and public policy; among others e.g the ethnic question, personal appearance, family problems were excessive and so on. Second, relatively inaccurate, which is inaccurate in conveying any data in it. Third, classified as unfair or unjust, for example using pictures or prediction that exceeds the reality, both to increase the quality of candidates or a particular policy or give a negative impression of the party as well as other policies.

Conclusions

According to the above explanations done by some experts on the political dimension of imaging, there are two important components which are associated with the personal qualities of a candidate and quality-based performance or qualities that are beyond themselves. The inherent quality of the candidates themselves are formed based on various refraction and tend to be more psychological. For example,

the simplicity, warmth, love and tenderness. As for the quality of the candidates who are outside themselves formed from the learning process and experience during the course of the political process. For example nationalities, multiculturalism attitude, intelligence formulate the vision, mission and work programs, leadership and public communication.

In addition, advertising on television also takes an important role in spreading the political imagery. This is because the candidates choose instant way to popularize themselves and gain public sympathy. Although advertising require substantial funds. And it may not spend small amounts of money

Many developed countries are making ads attacking other candidates. However, in Indonesia, it is still considerably taboo to conduct attack ads. It is possibly influenced by the eastern culture which is mostly followed by Indonesians so that it makes the candidates more aware if they do ads attacking other candidates since it is able to be a backfire for themselves that is not elected in the election result.

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KOMUNIKASI BERKEMAJUAN

dalam Dinamika Media dan Budaya

Tulisan-tulisan dalam buku ini merepresentasikan tentang komunikasi berkemajuan yaitu komunikasi kekinian yang memberikan manfaat besar untuk masyarakat dan membuat masyarakat jauh lebih terbuka serta moderat. Komunikasi Berkemajuan ini tidak bisa dilepaskan dari dinamika Media dan Budaya yang selalu bersentuhan dengan masyarakat saat ini. Buku ini terbagi dalam tiga bagian besar yaitu pertama Dinamika Media, Budaya dan Politik. Kedua Komunikasi Kesehatan dan *Public Relations*. Ketiga adalah Literasi Media dan Isu-isu Kebencanaan.

ASOSIASI PENDIDIKAN ILMU KOMUNIKASI
PERGURUAN TINGGI MUHAMMADIYAH

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