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POLITICAL ADVERTISING STRATEGY OF GOLKAR POLITICAL PARTY CHAIRPERSON ABURIZAL BAKRIE IN THE 2014 LEGISLATIVE GENERAL ELECTION (COMPREHENSIVE CASE STUDY OF POLITICAL MARKETING STRATEGY)

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ABSTRACT

The 2014 Legislative Election is a battleground for three major political parties which won the biggest votes and became the strength of the 2009 legislative elections, namely the Democratic Party (20.85% / 148 parliamentary seats), the Golkar Party (14.45% / 107 parliamentary seats) and the PDI Party. Struggle (14.03% / 93 parliamentary seats). As a major party, Golkar, under its general chairman Aburizal Bakrie, has a target of winning in the 2014 legislative elections and passing Aburizal Bakrie to be a candidate for the 2014-2019 presidential. Golkar Party believes it has this opportunity, because the incumbent president Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono from the Democratic Party won the 2009 election, could no longer run as a presidential candidate in the 2014 election, because he has served as president twice. To realize this ambition, the Golkar party assigned Rizal Mallarangeng, a Party functionary who is also the director of the strategic institute Freedom Institute, to be in charge of designing strategic campaign programs with the output of political advertisements in mass media, especially television stations. This article is the essence of the results of qualitative research with a case study approach to find out how the strategy for planning, implementing and controlling political advertising by Golkar Party Chairperson Aburizal Bakrie in the 2014 Legislative Election, conducted by Rizal Mallarangeng and his team.

Keywords: Political Advertising Strategy, Aburizal Bakrie, Rizal Mallarangeng, 2014 Legislative Election.

INTRODUCTION

Campaign advertisements on television are still the main choice for politicians who are "fighting" in the arena of democratic parties. Campaign advertisements on television allow a candidate or candidate for president and vice president to appear with a "real" figure, both audio (voice) and visual (image) as well as its elements. All these aspects are combined in a series of dramatization of scenes, contexts, verbal messages and non-verbal symbols in the duration of 30 to 60 seconds. According to McNair (2011: 86), "advertising has the power to persuade, that's why advertising is very appropriate for politicians".

In the history of general elections in Indonesia, campaign advertisements on television have played a major role in determining the victory of parties and presidential candidates. In the 2009 elections, for example. In an opinion article on the news portal www.kompas.com which was released on Saturday, April 11, 2009 Pk. 09.54 WIB, Executive Director of Indo Barometer M. Qodari stated, "The victory of the Democratic Party in 2009 was not only due to the popularity of Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono. Political advertising of his party is also a determinant of victory". Data obtained by Istiyana in the Kompasiana.com rubric which was released on January 17, 2012 Pk. 01.12 WIB said, "In the 2009 Election, the Democratic Party spent 123 billion rupiah on television campaign advertisements in 11 thousand ad spots.

This amount is actually less than Golkar Party's campaign advertising spending which reached 185.2 billion rupiah in 15 thousand ad spots. However, the Democrat Party benefits because of its position as incumbent or incumbent. This profit was obtained from the increasing number of departmental public service announcements about the success of government programs. According to M. Qodari, "the incessant advertising by the department ahead of the election will inevitably give positive associations to the Democrats. Considering that SBY, who served as president is seen by the public as the motor of his success." (Source: opinion article on the news portal www.Kompas.com which was released on Saturday, April 11, 2009 at 09.54 WIB). The Golkar Party, despite being defeated, at least achieved significant results from advertising spending on television. In the 2009 Legislative Election, the Golkar Party won 15,037,757 votes or 14.45 percent of the votes, and is in second place behind the Democrats, but far ahead of the Gerindra Party which only won 4,646,406 votes or 4.46 percent of the votes, who spent quite a large amount of campaign advertising on television, valued at 66.7 billion rupiah in 4 thousand ad spots.

In the United States, in the era of the 90s to the mid 2000s, television was still considered the most effective medium for political campaigns. This is indicated by the increase in campaign advertising spending on television during the presidential election. According to Biagi (2010; 351), "since 1972, when national political campaigns began to use television, the presidential campaign spent increasing funds, starting from US \$ 2 million in 1972 to US \$ 2.4 billion in 2008. Most of the financial expenses are used to pay for TV commercials "

One of the political figures who appeared through political advertising on television in 2013 was Aburizal Bakrie. Aburizal Bakrie or commonly called Ical, is the General Chairman of the Golongan Karya Party (Golkar). He is also known as an entrepreneur or conglomerate owner of the Bakrie business group, including the Bakrie media group, which consists of television stations ANTV and TVOne and the news portal Vivanews.com. The appearance of Aburizal Bakrie in political advertisements on television is not without reason. Aburizal Bakrie is a presidential candidate for the Golkar Party in the 2014 Presidential Election which was declared on August 2, 2012. He became the first party leader to declare himself a presidential candidate.

LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 Advertising as a Political Marketing Communication Strategy

The concept of marketing in politics is still relatively new in Indonesia. This is the view put forward by Cangara. He said that: Political marketing is a new concept that has not been known in political activity for so long. It includes a concept introduced from the dissemination of social ideas in the field of development by imitating commercial marketing methods, but its orientation is more at the level of awareness, attitude and behavior change to accept new things. This method of dissemination seen from the context and orientation is called "social marketing" (2009: 276).

Lees and Marshment introduced a comprehensive political marketing concept. They call it Comprehensive Political Marketing (CPM). "According to Lees, CPM not only informs how to campaign, but also how politicians design their policies or their organizations so that they can be accepted by the market (Lees-Marshment, 2001a; 1074 in Hasan: 2010). Lees added, marketing concepts and techniques can not only be used as a guide for parties to communicate their "product" but also can guide how parties determine what they will produce and how they should behave in their political market.

Essentially, the political world has adopted the concept of marketing as part of the campaign strategy. The concept of marketing is known as a concept that carries out scientific and measurable principles. This is confirmed by Bruce Newman (1994) that: Currently, political campaigns have been running using business principles, including marketing principles, namely: marketing research, market segmentation, targeting, positioning, strategy development and implementation. (Hasan, 2010).

Thus, in the context of political activity, political marketing is very useful for parties, especially in facing elections.

Advertising in political marketing communications is a tool used in promotional strategies. Hackley (2005: 7) mentions advertising as part of the promotional mix activities. It says:

"Conventionally regarded as one element of the promotional mix, a management tool defined by its explicit promotional, mediated and paid-for character, and differentiated from other marketing communications disciplines

such as public relations, personal selling, corporate communications, sales promotion and so on. ". Which means that advertising is conventionally an element of the promotional mix, a management tool that uses media and paid for it, and is different from other marketing communication disciplines such as public relations, sales, corporate communications, sales promotion and others.

Furthermore, in the promotion mix strategy, the choice of form can be television advertisement. "Through advertisements, candidates or candidates can communicate messages, ideas, programs to potential voters" (Cangara, 2009: 345). Television advertising is considered the best choice in a political campaign. Katz (2008; 63) mentions a number of benefits that can be obtained by using television mass media to convey messages or advertising campaigns as follows:

- The most important advantage of television is the ability to be enjoyed with views, sounds, colors and motion that are alive as they can be seen in real life.
- Television is the medium with which the message is most easily spread.
- Television is a massive medium.

On the other hand, television also has a number of limitations or shortcomings as stated by Katz (2008; 64), namely: "1) High and expensive costs, 2) Short duration and broadcast period, 3) Television shows tend to saturate quickly, 4) Ad placement which the audience avoided".

In the history of presidential elections in the United States, television was used by presidential candidates as campaign media for the first time in 1952. At that time, presidential candidate General Dwight Eisenhower became the first person to use professionals from advertising companies to make campaign advertisements on television at a cost of US One Million Dollars or around 10 billion Rupiah in current money value (2014). At that time, the advertising company designed a television ad campaign with "selling a unique proposition" from the way Eisenhower campaigned for spontaneity. Eisenhower is described as having the ability to be spontaneous by approaching citizens, answering questions and presenting his policies in a relaxed and easy-to-accept manner. The advertisers of Eisenhower then made a television commercial series entitled "Eisenhower Answers America" (Extracted from McNair, 2011: 91-92).

In Indonesia, until now (read: 2014) advertising on television is still an effective choice to convey messages to the public. That is why the value of advertising spending on television is greater than other media. Data for 2012 shows that television has the greatest value of advertising spending, reaching more than 50 percent, or half of advertising spending in the media. In 2012 media spending has increased. Nielsen Audience Measurement data shows that media advertising spending in Indonesia reached more than 87 trillion rupiah in 2012, or grew 20 percent compared to 2011. From this gain, television still dominates the advertising share, earning 64 percent of total advertising spending. This means that television earned more than 55 trillion rupiah. Then followed by newspapers as much as 33 percent, or around 28.7 trillion rupiah more and magazines or tabloids which won 3 percent or around

2.6 trillion rupiah (Source: www.Vivanews.co.id, 2012). This fact shows that "Indonesian people are the Viewers Society" (Baksin, 2009) or people who prefer television (audio-visual) media, rather than other media. That is why the mass media of television broadcasting has developed into a "giant" industry.

METHODOLOGY

3.1 Political advertising in the perspective of a three-stage advertising strategy model

Advertising strategy includes political advertising, basically the same as marketing communication strategy. Essentially, political advertising is an activity in marketing communication, which analogizes the advertising object as a product. Advertising strategy is an ongoing process that involves three stages of activity, namely: "1) Planning, 2) Implementation, and 3) Controlling" (Hermawan, 2012: 89).

The three stages of the advertising strategy by Hermawan (2012, 89-91) are described as follows:

1. Planning

- a. Collection of all relevant information needed about the product, brand, information about the company itself along with a SWOT analysis (Strength, Weakness, Opportunities, and Threats). This analysis is the key to fully understanding the internal and external factors that are beneficial or detrimental to the company's activities.
- b. Collecting various information about market conditions, competition and competitors, as well as the target audience for advertisements or what is known as a marketing brief.
- c. Determination of goals and messages to be conveyed in advertisements.
- d. Budgeting for the cost of creating and serving ads.
- e. Establishment of measurements and achievement of measurable objectives in the control stage.

2. Implementation

At this stage, all plans are changed into action. In this stage, a planned advertisement is produced. In the context of this political advertising research, the researcher refers to the three stages of television production proposed by Millerson and Owens (2009; 51) namely; "1) planning and preparation or pre-production, 2) production or shooting or filming stages, and 3) post-production or editing stages where the final result is ready-to-serve advertisements.

3. Control

- a. This stage includes the following processes:
- b. Compare results with the goals and references set at the planning stage.
- c. Evaluating advertising campaigns that have been carried out with a focus on the communication effects that have been generated from advertising messages.

HOW DOES RIZAL MALLARANGENG & ITS TEAM RUN THE POLITICAL MARKETING STRATEGY FOR ABURIZAL BAKRIE?

4.1. The Role of Rizal Mallarangeng in Aburizal Bakrie's Political Advertising Strategy

Historically, Rizal Mallarangeng has a close relationship with Aburizal Bakrie. In 2001, Rizal Mallarangeng founded the strategic study institute Freedom Institute, which was funded by Aburizal Bakrie. Then in 2005, Rizal Mallarangeng was appointed as a special staff to the Coordinating Minister for People's Welfare (Coordinating Minister for People's Welfare) in the SBY-JK administration, which was held by Aburizal Bakrie. At the Freedom Institute, Rizal Mallarangeng not only acts as executive director, but also serves as the leader for ad-hoc teams formed for specific tasks.

Rizal Mallarangeng carried out the function of political consultant and political agency Aburizal Bakrie and the Golkar Party unofficially started after the Golkar Party's 3rd National Meeting which took place in Bogor on June 29 to 30, 2012. Rizal Mallarangeng himself at that time was Chairman of the Golkar Party Advisory Council in the Field of Strategy & Media, who has been in this position since Aburizal Bakrie assumed the position of Chairman of the Golkar Party in 2009. There are two roles of Rizal Mallarangeng in producing Aburizal Bakrie's political advertisements, namely as executive producer and copy writer.

4.2. Golkar Party's Strategic Steps in Facing the 2014 Election

There were two strategic steps taken by the Golkar Party in facing the 2014 Legislative Election, which became the basis for Rizal Mallarangeng to carry out his duties as a political consultant and agency for Aburizal Bakrie, namely:

- 1) Declaration of Aburizal Bakrie as a candidate for the Golkar Party presidential candidate on July 1, 2012, or 21 months before the implementation of the voting, namely April 9, 2014.
- 2) Determination of the target for vote acquisition in the 2014 Legislative Election, namely to get 30 percent of the votes.

Furthermore, as the person in charge for the production of political advertising for Aburizal Bakrie and the Golkar Party, Rizal Mallarangeng followed up by designing a comprehensive campaign strategy, namely:

1. Designing roadshows for Aburizal Bakrie to various regions throughout Indonesia.
2. Designing the production and presentation of political advertisements for Aburizal Bakrie and the Golkar Party.
3. Determination of the political summons for Aburizal Bakrie and the tagline or slogan of the Golkar Party, namely ARB.

4.3. The Planning Stage for the Production of Political Ads for ARB and the Golkar Party in the 2014 Legislative Election

At the planning stage, Rizal Mallarangeng took the following steps:

1. Determine the positioning of Aburizal Bakrie as a figure who has many problems or is controversial (Source: Interview with the author with Rizal Mallarangeng, 25 April 2014). A number of cases that hit his company, such as the Lapindo Mud case, the case of tax evasion of three Bakrie group subsidiaries, and the IDD network tender controversy involving Bakrie Telecom. Regarding this situation, Rizal took an approach by looking at the positive side of Aburizal Bakrie as a former minister who had a lot of experience in making policies.
2. Determine the positioning of the Golkar Party as a party that does not have strong grass roots, such as NU or PDIP. Moreover, historically the Golkar Party could not be separated from the New Order regime under the leadership of President Soeharto.
3. Establishing a Communication Action Team (TAK), which consists of a) the ARB Team which is specifically responsible for organizing the Aburizal Bakrie Roadshow activities to various regions in Indonesia from 1 July 2012 until the 2014 Legislative Election campaign period. handle specials such as Media Relations, Grassroots, Ad Production and Media Placement. b) The Elang Kuning Team, which is specifically responsible for conducting FGD (Focus Group Discussion) research activities, forms Aburizal Bakrie sympathizers in the Sahabat ARB forum and manages ARB Direct Mail.
4. Carrying out qualitative research FGDs which functionally serve as data sources for the production of ARB political advertisements. There are three stages of research on the ARB Political Advertising FGD, namely stage 1) FGD on popularity, stage 2) FGD testing the feasibility of ARB political advertisements, and stage 3) FGD examining informants' responsiveness to ARB political advertisements plus a survey of the most popular television shows. ARB political advertising FGDs were held in three regional characteristics, namely a) urban, b) rural and c) semi-rural
5. Determining the target audience for the ARB and Golkar Party Political Advertising in the 2014 Legislative Election. According to Rizal Mallarangeng, he and his team used simple assumptions and analysis, namely that 80 percent of Indonesia's population is from the lower middle class, the majority of which are elementary and junior high school graduates with various status types. social and professional activities, such as teachers, farmers, small traders, taxi and truck drivers, high school students, vocational school, mothers and women. The next target audience is the target of ARB political advertisements, such as certain ethnic groups such as the ethnic groups of Central & East Java, Sundanese, East Indonesian and Muslim communities. The target audience of the middle to lower class groups is a potential audience in gaining election votes. For example, the farmer population based on the Central Statistics Agency in 2014 was recorded at 38 million people, or the fishermen population in Indonesia as of 2011 was 2.9 million people, or the teacher population in 2009 was 1.6 million people, SMA and SMK students as Initial voters numbered 4.5 million in 2011, and mothers and women constitute the largest population in Indonesia, reaching 50 million in 2005.

Basically, the political advertising planning strategy of Aburizal Bakrie and the Golkar Party, which Rizal Mallarangeng and his team run, is a process that runs simultaneously with other activities such as FGD research and roadshows.

4.4. Strategy for the Implementation of Political Advertising Aburizal Bakrie & Golkar Party in the 2014 Legislative Election

There are two main activities in carrying out the strategy for implementing ARB Political Ads and the Golkar Party, namely 1) ARB Political Advertising Production Strategy and the Golkar Party and 2) ARB and Golkar Party Political Advertising Display Strategies on television stations.

1) ARB and Golkar Party's Political Advertising Production Strategy in the 2014 Legislative Election

- Production planning and preparation were carried out simultaneously with roadshows to various regions in Indonesia throughout 2013 until the 2014 campaign period.
- The planning patterns for the production of political advertisements for ARB and the Golkar Party are specifically set up for the production of advertising materials, such as the setting for Aburizal Bakrie to make speeches in front of the public or in front of Golkar Party cadres and functionaries.
- There were 35 roadshow activities to various regions in 2013 in 41 cities and regencies. Then in 2014 there were 8 series of activities in 21 cities and regencies in Indonesia. The production of ARB and Golkar Party political advertisements was also carried out outside the roadshow agenda such as the National Gathering in August 2013, at the Democratic Party Convention and the production of advertisements which were set at the Freedom Institute Building on Jalan Proklamasi number 41 Jakarta.
- ARB Political Ads and the Golkar Party were made with several theme songs adapted from folk songs that are very popular in the community, such as the song Cucak Rowo by Didi Kempot, Kopi Dangdut popularized by Fahmi Sahab, the song Rek Ayo Rek from East Java by A. Riyanto. , The song Maluku Tanah Pusaka popularized by Helmi Pasulima and Zeth Lekatompessy, the song Kebyar Kebyar by Gombloh and there is a song specially created for Golkar in the Golkar Rocky and Suara Rakyat versions.
- During the period 2013 to 2014, Rizal Mallarangeng produced 38 political advertisements for the ARB and the Golkar Party, in which Rizal acted as executive producer, art director and copy writer.
- ARB Political Ads and the 2014 Election Golkar Party were produced with effective and efficient schemes and patterns, where the production process is carried out simultaneously with roadshows involving a small production team with multi-talented abilities and multiple tasks.

2) Implementation Strategy of ARB Political Advertising and Golkar Party in the 2014 Legislative Election on Television Stations

In general, the strategy for broadcasting ARB and Golkar Party Political Ads in the 2014 Legislative Election is directed at two classifications of television stations, namely 1) national TV and 2) local TV. On national TV, ARB Political Ads and the Golkar Party are broadcast on primetime programs starting from Pk. 18.00 - 21.30 WIB, which earned Nielsen's high rating and share and was judged according to the target audience of the ad, namely the middle to lower classes. The illustration is as follows:

a) Media Placement on National TV

- ANTV and TVONE TV stations which began in February 2013 until the 2014 Legislative Election campaign period. The two TV stations are part of Aburizal Bakrie's Bakrie business group.
- On ANTV, ARB and Golkar Party Political Ads are broadcast on the *Pesbukers* program (Monday - Sunday, 17.00 - 19.00 WIB) and *Super Deal* (Monday - Friday, 19.00 - 20.30 WIB)
- On TVONE, ARB Political Ads and the Golkar Party are shown in 18 program programs, eight of which are on primetime programs such as the *Indonesia Lawyers Club*, *Candidate Duel*, *Kabar Evening*, *Round Table*, *Debate*, *Gesture*, *One Hour Closer* and *What is Kabar Indonesia Malam*.
- Indosiar TV stations, ARB Political Ads and the Golkar Party began airing February - 15 April 2014. Advertisements aired in eight programs, four of which were primetime programs such as *New Family 100*, *Hello D'Terong Show*, *Dangdut Academy Final Concert* and *Rerun- his*.
- On TransTV, ARB and Golkar Party advertisements also began airing February to April 5, 201, on one primetime program, namely *Yuk Keep Smile (YKS)* Monday - Sunday, Pk. 19.30 - 22.30 WIB and one non-primetime program, namely *Insert Siang*, Monday - Sunday, Pk. 11.00 - 12.00 WIB.
- The highest performance of the program based on Nielsen's rating and share, including the following: *YKS TransTV* won 6.1 rating points and 27.9 percent share, *Dangdut Academy Indosiar* won 5.0 rating points and 22 percent share. On these 2 TV stations, the ARB and Golkar Party political advertisements got the most viewers.

b) Local TV Placement Media

- The strategy for broadcasting ARB and Golkar Political Ads on local TV stations was made based on input from FGD results in various regions.
- ARB Political Ads and Golkar Party airs on 14 local TV stations, namely 1) JTV Surabaya, 2) Malang TV, 3) Madura Channel, 4) Cakra TV Semarang, 5) Jogja TV, 6) Radar Tasikmalaya TV, 7) Banten Raya TV, 8) Dhoho TV Kediri, 9) Jatiluhur TV Subang, 10) Cahaya TV Banten, 11) Radar Lampung TV, 12) Lombok TV, 13) TVRI Aceh, and 14) Palembang TV.
- There are three types of local TV programs that are most watched by local people, namely; 1) local language programs, 2) dangdut music programs and 3) crime news programs.

c) Value of Political Advertising Spending for ARB and Golkar Party on TV stations

- Cumulatively, the value of advertising spending on four national TV stations and 14 local TV stations during the period February - April 2014 reached more than 41 billion rupiah with more than 500 advertising spots on national TV and more than 2 thousand ad spots on local TVs.
- This value does not include advertising spending on ANTV and TVONE during the period 2013.

4.5. Control and Evaluation Strategy of ARB and Golkar Party Political Ads in the 2014 Legislative Election

- a. Based on Rizal Mallarangeng's statement, the campaign funds for the Golkar Party and Aburizal Bakrie were limited. This is due to limited funding sources from the Bakrie business group, whose performance is declining (Source: Author's interview with Rizal Mallarangeng, 23 April 2014). This statement is a strong indicator that from planning to broadcasting of ARB Political Ads and the Golkar Party is tightly controlled by Rizal Mallarangeng as the party responsible for the campaign strategy of ARB and the Golkar Party. As an illustration, FGD activities, roadshows and advertisement production are carried out in a series of activities during visits to various regions. In addition, the number of human resources (HR) of the ARB creative team is relatively small compared to the number of advertisements produced. Here Rizal Mallarangeng adheres to the principle of HR having multi-tasking and multi-talented skills. As well as advertising broadcasting on television stations is only limited to four national private TV stations and 14 local TV stations, with the broadcast program selection strategy deemed appropriate to the target audience for ARB Political Advertising and Golkar Party
- b. The actual evaluation of the ARB and Golkar Party's Political Advertising strategy refers to the 2014 Legislative Election results. The Golkar Party won 18,432,312 votes or 14.75 percent of the votes and 91 seats in the DPR-RI or 16.2 percent. These results did not match the Golkar Party's target of gaining 30 percent of the vote. From the vote acquisition, the Golkar Party actually experienced an increase in voters by 4 million votes compared to the 2009 Legislative Election. As well as in terms of the percentage of votes, the Golkar Party experienced an increase compared to the 2009 Legislative Election, namely 14.50 percent. However, from the point of view of obtaining seats in the parliament, the Golkar Party experienced a decline of 15 seats from the 2009 legislative elections which obtained 106 seats. The winner of the 2014 Legislative Election itself is the PDIP-P Party which won 23,681,471 votes or won 18.95 votes, 109 seats in parliament or a percentage of 19.5 percent.

CONCLUSION

5.1. Aburizal Bakrie's Political Advertising Strategy and the Golkar Party in the 2014 Legislative Election as a comprehensive political marketing strategy

The political advertising strategy of Aburizal Bakrie and the Golkar Party in the 2014 Legislative Election, is the implementation of comprehensive,

integrated and sustainable political marketing communication practices and strategies based on activities and activities that are systematic, methodological and measurable. This can be seen from each of the stages, namely as follows:

1. In the planning strategy, namely conducting a positioning analysis, SWOT analysis, target audience segmentation directed at the target audience of the lower middle class, establishing a professional and experienced communication action team, designing a message strategy tailored to target audience segmentation, and conducting qualitative research FGD or Focus Group Discussion, which is used as a data instrument to determine an advertising message strategy.
2. The strategy for implementing Aburizal Bakrie's and Golkar Party's political advertising production is carried out effectively and efficiently, involving a small team that is professional, experienced, and works integratively in a series of political roadshows or safari activities by Aburizal Bakrie as Chairman of the Golkar Party from mid 2012 to ahead of the 2014 Legislative Election, which resulted in 38 versions of advertisements which were made under full control by Rizal Mallarangeng who acted as art director, producer and ad copywriter. In the implementation strategy of broadcasting ARB and Golkar Party Political Ads on television stations, it is carried out in an effective and efficient manner, carried out by a small, professional and experienced team, and understands media planning strategies, media selection, program selection, frequency, variety of broadcasts so that ad serving according to the expected target audience. The main strategy implemented by the ARB Team in terms of ad serving is the selection of programs that are currently popular and have high ratings and shares.

5.2. ARB and Golkar Party Campaign Strategies in the 2014 Legislative Election as a Political Failure

1. Referring to the 2014 Legislative Election target, which is to get 30 percent of voters' votes, the 14.75 percent vote acquisition is a failure of the Golkar Party's campaign strategy, even though the voters' vote count increased by 4 million votes compared to the 2009 Legislative Election.
2. The ARB and Golkar Party's Political Advertising Strategy, which implemented a comprehensive political marketing strategy, failed to boost the Golkar Party's vote acquisition to achieve the target of 30 percent of the voters' votes and passed Aburizal Bakrie as a presidential candidate. This fact reflects the weak influence of political advertising persuasion on the popularity and electability of presidential candidates and political parties. This is in accordance with the views of Hackley (2005). According to him, because it is one-way or linear, advertising falls into the weak theory group. Hackley (2005: 119) mentions there are four weaknesses of advertising in the mass media as well as the characteristics of the mass media itself, namely: a) high cost, b) weak in public attention, c) quickly saturated and d) short life span. Media practitioner and observer who is also the CEO of Wave Media Group Yose Rizal said, "campaigns through social media are more effective than through television advertisements. Campaigns through advertisements and television shows are more

expensive and can only be held during the campaign period. Advertisements on television will not be able to increase electability". (Source: Koran Tempo issue Monday, 26 May 2014, page 4)

3. Failure to achieve the vote target is not entirely Rizal Mallarangeng's failure as the person in charge of political advertising for Aburizal Bakrie and the Golkar Party. As the subject and object of political advertising, basically Aburizal Bakrie and the Golkar Party had "many problems" in the past, which Rizal acknowledged as Aburizal Bakrie's main weakness. Referring to Ohanian R's (1990) Credibility Source Model, Aburizal Bakrie is seen as not meeting the requirements in the dimensions of trust, namely responsibility, honesty, reliability, sincerity and trustworthiness.
4. Aburizal Bakrie and the Golkar Party are considered to have committed many violations of campaign ethics which resulted in low levels of public trust. Among them, the Golkar Party was considered to have stolen a start before the campaign period, by airing political advertisements a year earlier on two TV stations owned by the Aburizal Bakrie business group.
5. The broadcasting of ARB and Golkar Party Political Ads is also considered to have violated the Indonesian Broadcasting Commission (KPI) regulations as stated in the P3SPS or Broadcasting Practice Guidelines and Broadcast Program Standards, including Chapter 7 Article 11 concerning Protection of Public Interests, paragraph 2 which reads compulsory broadcasting institutions. maintain independence and neutrality of broadcast content in each program. In this context, Herman and Chomsky (2000) in Subiakto and Ida (2012: 137) convey their criticism of the condition of the media, especially in the United States, as a universal phenomenon as is happening in Indonesia today. Both said: "He is worried about the movement of the liberal capitalist society, which is starting to" collude "with a new propaganda model. The symptoms were seen when the media business began to be regulated by figures who had weapons and money. The power elites and business elites collaborate to organize media content". Furthermore, Herman and Chomsky said, "Because the mass media is a propaganda instrument, the media content is more filled with lies alone" (Source: Subiakto and Ida, 2012: 138).
6. The broadcast of Aburizal Bakrie's political advertisements and the Golkar Party also received a warning regarding the violation of the rules regarding the limit on the number of ad spots per day on television media, as regulated in Law Number 8 of 2012 concerning Elections, which limits the number of advertisements to 10 spots in a day on television. every television stations.

"Advertising is not only effective in fact but must be ethical" (Source: Interview with Herri Margono, Chair of the P3I Indonesian Advertising Ethics Council, on Wednesday, 19 March 2004). Herri Margono's view can be used as a premise that political advertising is not only about a comprehensive strategy, but also about moral ethics and credibility. That is what happened to Aburizal Bakrie and the Golkar Party in the 2014 Legislative Election.

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