CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

A. **BACKGROUND**

Politics is every human activity which is conducted for the goodness of the people or the nation. In short, politic is an effort to reach a better life (Budiardjo, 2008: 13). A decision is considered as a political decision if the decision making process is based upon the goodness of the people. An action is considered as a political action if it is conducted for the goodness of the people and the nation. Political decision is taken by the government that is selected by the people through an election. Therefore, any decision and action that is taken by the government should always be based on the goodness of the people.

Political party is born to realize people's aspiration. Through political parties, people are able to express their interests and aspiration. Political parties are a special form of social organization. They should not be confused with associations, federations, and social clubs. A political party is a team of men seeking to control the governing apparatus by gaining office in a duly constituted election. Political parties aggregate and articulate social interests. They express public expectations and demands of social grouping to the

political system. Political parties also create a link between the citizens and the political system by enabling political participation of individuals and grouping with the prospect of success (Grabow & Hofmeister, 2014: 16).

In order to fight for the people aspiration, a political party aims to be selected as the government officials in the election. In order to get elected, a strategy is very important. Political marketing is used by the political parties to set the efficient and effective strategy in winning the election. It is undeniable that an election is a political phenomenon, however, the process and the election itself can also be analyzed through a market analysis and marketing approach. By using marketing approach, a political party will be able to create work programs and plans that are expected to answer the demands and needs of the people (Firmanzah, 2012: 148-149).

Organizations that play important roles in the process of interest formulation are the intermediary sector and the civil society. Intermediary sector connects the people and their political system. Some of the examples are like interest groups like the labor group, entrepreneur association, profession organization, religious organizations. Meanwhile from the civil society, there are various initiatives which are concerned toward certain issues, like environment, human right, gender, and so on. One of the biggest differences between interest group and civil society is that the interest group only serves their interest, while civil society is expected to concern to the common good of

the people. Compared to the interest group and civil society, political party plays a very important role that cannot be replaced by any other organizations. Political party is the political centrality which has two dimensions. Political party is the only organization which can translate the interest and the value of the people into binding legislation and public policy (Meyer, 2012: 27-28).

In Indonesia, there are so many political parties. Every party represents unique people aspirations. One of the most common types of parties is a political party which represents religious community. In Indonesia, there are many Islamic parties. There are several factors which affect the establishment of Islamic political parties, such as theology, sociology, history, and reformation. By theological factor, it means that politics and religion are integrated to each other. Islam is a *din wa daulah*, meaning that everything that is in related to the goodness of the people is also the matter of Islam. By sociological factor, it is because the majority of the people are Moslem. By historical factor, Islam played a very important role in the previous colonization war. By reformation factor, it is related to the reformation act that was conducted by the youths and students during Soeharto's era. In this event, people were given the chance to deliver their aspirations, and this opportunity was not wasted by the political elites, including Islam political elites, to create Islamic political parties (Romli, 2004: 29-30).

Some of the largest Islamic political parties in Indonesia are the National Awakening Party (PKB), United Development Party (PPP), and Indonesia Prosperous Justice Party (PKS). These three Islamic political parties have been participating in Indonesian elections for so many times. In Indonesian Legislative Election 1999, PKB obtained 13.336.982 votes (12.61%), PPP obtained 11.329.905 votes (10.71%), and PKS obtained 1.436.565 votes (1.36%) (KPU, 2008).

In Indonesian Legislative Election 2004, PKB obtained 12.002.885 votes (10.61%), PPP obtained 9.226.444 votes (8.16%), and PKS obtained 8.149.457 votes (7.20%) (KPU, 2004). Based on the result, both PKB and PPP had a decrease, meanwhile PKS significantly increased. In Indonesian Legislative Election 2009, PKB obtained 5.146.302 votes (4.95%), PPP obtained 5.544.332 votes (5.33%), and PKS obtained 8.204.946 votes (7.89%) (KPU, 2009). Based on the result, PKB and PPP both had very significant decrease, while PKS obtained a slight increase.

In Indonesian Legislative Election 2014, PKB obtained 11.298.957 votes (9.04%), PPP obtained 8.157.488 votes (6.53%), and PKS obtained 8.480.204 votes (6.79%) (KPU, 2014). The result was very surprising. PKB obtained a very significant increase by 5%, PPP obtained a slight increase by 1%, and PKS obtained a slight decrease by 1%.

Islamic political parties vote percentage have been mostly stable, either gradually increase or decrease. However, there is a very significant increase in the vote that is very interesting, which is the great increase of PKB's vote in 2009 and 2014. PKB had only 4.95% vote in 2009, but it suddenly rocketed up to 9.04% in the next five years.

That significant increase in the number of PKB votes in 2014 made the author become interested to research about the political marketing strategy of PKB. This thesis tries to research and analyze what the campaign strategy of PKB was and how PKB successfully snatched that achievement. Therefore, the researcher would like to propose a research under the title of "THE POLITICAL MARKETING STRATEGY OF THE NATIONAL AWAKENING PARTY (PKB) IN THE 2014 INDONESIAN LEGISLATIV ELECTION".

B. **RESEARCH QUESTION**

Based on the description of the background above, this research question is as follow: "How was the political marketing strategy of PKB in the 2014 Indonesian legislative election?".

C. **RESEARCH OBJECTIVE**

The objective of this research is to find out the implementation process of marketing mix as the political marketing strategy of the National Awakening Party (PKB) which significantly increased the number of vote in the 2014 Indonesian Legislative election.

D. **RESEARCH BENEFITS**

The benefits that are expected from this research are:

1.   The research can provide conceptual contribution toward the political science through an analysis of political marketing strategy implementation (marketing mix) by using a concrete study case taken from a political party in Indonesia.

2.   The research can provide references and considerations for political parties and political candidates toward the importance of political marketing strategy in the election process.

E.   **LITERATURE REVIEW**

In this literature review part, the author describes several researches which are related with this research. This is done to find interesting parts of the research and to see the differences between this research and the other researches. These researches were taken from several journals and thesis.

The implementation of political advertising was found in a research that was conducted by Kaid (2012) from the University of Florida. The research found that political advertising continues to be a foundation in marketing. Her research's perspective provides a look back at what researchers have accomplished in political advertising research over the past five decades, followed by an assessment of the most important priorities for future research. The similarity between the researches lies on the political marketing general topic. However, her research focuses on the electronic political advertising, taking the study case of the United States of America. Meanwhile this research talks about political marketing as a whole and takes the National Awakening Party (PKB) in Indonesia as the study case.

Another research that was used as the literature review is the research of Harris from the University of Chester and McGrath, an independent scholar from Dublin (2012). Their research talked about how political marketing and lobbying are essentially similar. Lobbying practices are basically informed (influenced) by the political marketing theories. The researchers tried to develop

the lobbying practices by using the political marketing theory into the attempts to influence the making of public policy. Although Phil and Conor's research also talks about political marketing, they only focused on the implementation toward lobbying practices. Meanwhile this research talks about the implementation of political marketing theory (marketing mix) towards a campaign strategy of the National Awakening Party (PKB).

The research of Ahmad (2012) from Universitas Gadjah Mada also discussed about political marketing. His research explained how modern political marketing management of parties, government, and parliament have gradually taken place within and across democratic countries ruled under either parliamentary or presidential government systems. His research specifically focused to discuss about political marketing management after the new order or President Soeharto, while this research focuses to discuss the implementation of marketing mix toward the campaign strategy of PKB in Indonesia.

Another political marketing research was also conducted by Falkowski and Cwalina (2012) from the Warsaw School of Social Sciences, Poland. The research was about political marketing, specifically about the structural models of advertising influence and voter behavior. The research talks about how the advertising through media influences the voter's behavior. Although these researches both talk about political marketing, Andrzej and Wojiech's research focused on the media advertising only, meanwhile this research talks about

marketing mix, media advertising is only one part of the theory used in this research.

The research that was conducted by Mubin (2015) applied mass mobility strategy through either internal or external network of the National Mandate Party (PAN) to win Hanafi Rais in Indonesian legislative election 2014. The research shows that Hanafi Rais and his success team used the party's networks from national until village level all over Yogyakarta. Both researches talk about campaign strategy, however Mubin's research only focused on PAN's mass mobility strategy in Yogyakarta, meanwhile this research talks about marketing mix implementation of PKB.

The implementation of marketing in political campaign was found in a quantitative research that was conducted by Doorradi (2006), a political science post-graduate student of Universitas Indonesia. In his thesis entitled "The Implementation of Political Marketing Technique and The Relations to Internal Democracy of Political Party", Doorradi described the implementation differences among political parties, starting from small to big parties, from the central level to the local level, as well as the internal democracy climate in each party (Doorradi, 2006). The research that was conducted by Doorradi was a quantitative research, while this research is a qualitative research. The similarity between these researches only lies in the political marketing implementation.

Another research that is related to political marketing is also found in a research that was conducted by Mentari (2006) who was also a political science post-graduate student of Universitas Indonesia. Her research title is "The Image Construction of Celebrity Politician for Political Marketing by Using Weblogs (Qualitative Study of Angelina Sondakh)". Mentari focused on discussing the use of weblogs in building the political image as a part of political marketing (Mentari, 2006). Although Mentari's research and this research are both qualitative researches, Mentari's research only focused in the use of weblogs as a political marketing strategy, while this research discusses political marketing (marketing mix) as a whole.

A research that was conducted by Perdana (2012) analyzed the political marketing strategy of a new political party in Indonesia, which was Nasdem Party. The research describes that Nasdem party is a sales oriented party and mostly used pull political marketing in delivering their political messages. Both researches talk about political marketing strategy in the campaign process. However, Perdana's research focused on the pull marketing strategy, while this research uses marketing mix theory. Another difference also lies in the subject studied. Perdana's subject was Nasdem party, while this research's subject was the National Awakening Party (PKB).

Another research that used political marketing theory is the research of Rengkung (2012). His research found the importance of political marketing

strategy in order to get support from the people. Furthermore, the effectiveness in capitalizing the human resources involved in the success team is also very important. The biggest difference between these researches lies in Franky's emphasizing of the human resources involvement. Meanwhile this research emphasizes on the whole political marketing strategy.

Baines & Shaughnessy (2014) researched about political marketing and its propaganda, including the uses, abuses, and the misuses. The research simply explained how political marketing is used, either n positive or negative ways. They explained how political marketing is also sometimes used in a bad manner, merely in order to influence the public opinion toward the candidates. The similarity between these researches only lies in the political marketing, meanwhile the context of the two researches are significantly different.

The similarity between this research and the previous researches lie in the use of political marketing theory. Every single previous research stated above used political marketing theory to analyze the problems. However, the main differences between this research and the previous researches are the focus of the research and the study case. Most of the previous researches focused on one or two specific points of 4P in marketing, while this research tries to analyze a study case by using the 4P theory as a whole. The other difference is the study case in which this research uses a study case that has never been

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researched before, which is PKB's campaign strategy in Indonesian election 2014.

F.   THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

In order to analyze the problem, the author takes the theoretical framework of thought by using Marketing Mix Theory. The theory is used to describe the answer to the question raised, as stated in the research question.

1.   Marketing Mix Theory (4P)

a.   Understanding The Marketing Mix Theory

Marketing mix is a set of strategy a business use to promote and sell its products in the market that was first developed by McCarthy in 1960. Marketing mix is basically a science of economic and marketing. Marketing mix is a set of marketing variables used by a company to achieve its sales target (Firmanzah, 2012: 200-209). In this marketing mix theory, there are four important marketing variables which are known as the 4P, they are:

1.   Product. Product is an item produced or procured by the business to satisfy the needs of the customer. It is the actual item which is sold in the market. The product can be tangible or intangible (goods or service). It is not necessary that the business produce the product. It can also

procure it from somewhere else. In short, product is everything that a company offers which can fulfill the demand or needs of the market.

2.   Price. Price is the amount which the consumer pays for the product. A price is determined by various factors which include profits, segment, supply-demand, production cost, marketing cost, and so on.

3.   Place. This variable refers to the product distribution of the business. Any product is useless if it is not well distributed to the target market. Therefore this variable is important to distribute the product to the customers.

4.   Promotion. Promotion is the marketing communication form of the business. It refers to the business activity which spreads the information about the product and persuades customers to buy the product.

Kotler & Amstrong further developed this 4P theory to become 7P. They believed that there are three more variables that are important to consider in order to better market a product or service (Radix & Sukotjo, 2010: 218-220). The three additional variables are:

5.   People (Participant). It is every actors, people, and participant who plays role in the service presentation which can influence buyer's perception. Some examples of this variable are such as the employees of the company, consumers, and so on.

6.   Physical Evidence. It refers to the real or physical evidence that influence the customers' decision to buy or use the product that is offered by a business.

7.   Process. Process refers to every actual procedure, mechanism, and activity flow that is used to deliver the product. Process reflects how every element of the marketing mix are coordinated to guarantee the quality and consistency of the product that is offered to the customer.

b.   Marketing Mix Theory in Political Arena

Political campaign is strongly related with the making of a good political image of the party, so the people will believe and vote for the party in the general election. In order to create the political image, a good campaign strategy must be set. The use of marketing mix in politic first emerged from a critical question by G.D Wiebe, "Why can't you sell brotherhood like you sell soap?" (Kotler & Zaltman, 1971: 3).

In the development of politics, experts have been trying to use marketing mix theory to set the political campaign strategy. Product in political marketing will be enjoyed by the people after the candidates are elected. The use of 4P is more relevant than 7P in political marketing context of this research because politics do not have physical evidence and process variables. People in 7P mean that every human resources that are involved, such as the candidate, the party members, and the voters, have influences towards the political marketing strategy. However, the other two variables do not exist in political marketing context. Physical evidence in 7P means something tangible while a political product is intangible. Furthermore, process in 7p refers to the supply chain process of a business, starting from the raw material gathering, factory process, until the distribution process. In politics, there are no supplies such raw materials that need to be processed or distributed. The distribution process of the political product can be explained through the place and promotion variables in 4P. The process is not as complex as the supply chain process of a business. Therefore, the use of 4P is more relevant than 7P in this research. Below is the implementation of marketing mix theory (4P) in political campaign strategy:

1.   Product

     According to Niffenegger (Firmanzah, 2012: 200-201), the product of political campaign is the benefits that are offered by the candidates to the voters. Different than product that is offered by a

business, political product can only be enjoyed after the candidates are elected. Therefore, trust is the most important aspect. This product can be seen in the vision and mission of the candidates, the track record of the candidates, and the party's work programs.

The main product of a political institution is a party platform which consists of concept, ideology, identity, and work program of the political party. Furthermore, the track record of what the political party had conducted also contributes to the creation of a political product. Shaugnessy explained that political party sells intangible product which is strongly related to value, in which contains future expectations and promises, attractive visions, long-term benefit, and also multi-interpretable (Firmanzah, 2012: 201).

2.   Price

Price in political marketing can be perceived in two perspectives: the price of the voter (trust) and the price of the party (campaign cost). The price of the voter refers to the people's trust, because the people pay through their votes (trust) in the general election to vote for the trusted candidates. Meanwhile the campaign cost refers to

any expenses during the campaign period, including advertising cost, publication cost, and so on.

According to Niffenegger, price in political marketing includes three aspects, such as economic, psychology, as well as national image. Economic price includes every cost that is expensed for the political campaign process. Psychology price refers to the price perception of the voters, whether the voters are comfortable with the candidate's eligibility and background. While the national image price refers to the voter's trust to believe whether the candidate can become a good national figure or not (Firmanzah, 2012: 205-207).

3.   Place

Place refers to the method used by the party to promote the candidates through the values and the personal characteristics. Place is deeply related with how a party communicates its ideas and messages to the people. A political party should be able to communicate its ideas to the target public segmentation which may be based on geography, demography, or ideology. Place can also refer to the network which consists of people and institution. It is common to find a political party's office in almost every city in Indonesia, like the Central Office, Regional Office, Branch Office, and so on. These offices are included in place variable, so the people

may access and experience the political product easily (Firmanzah, 2012: 207-208).

4.   Promotion

Promotion includes every single activity that the political party had conducted in order to communicate its products (vision, mission, ideology, and etc) to publics. Political marketing's promotion can be conducted in several ways, such as advertising, sales promotion, and so on. Advertising is every single promotion of a candidate through a media to the public, whether presented as an individual or as a political party as a whole. The purpose is to provide information to the people about the candidate's qualification, experience, track record, background, personality, and so on. In this case, media plays a very important role in influencing the public opinion toward the candidates (Firmanzah, 2012: 203-205).

Sales promotion is an activity which aims to drive people to buy the products by conducting a direct presentation in front of the buyers. In political marketing, candidates often visit people's residences and villages in order to promote one self and drive the

people to vote for the candidate. In Indonesia, this term is commonly known as *"blusukan"*.

2. **Election**

Election is a process in which the people vote candidates to sit in political positions. There are several definitions on election from political experts. Elections are the occasions when the citizens choose their officials and decide what they want the government to do, and these decisions determine what rights they want to have and keep. In a democratic state, election is one of the main pillars of the people's will accumulation. It is believed that election is the safest leadership succession method if compared to the other ways. Today, democracy through election has become a tradition for most governance in the world. Election is a must for any country that declares itself as a democratic country, because democracy needs to involve people, and election does. Through an election, people will also be able to express what they want for the country (Labolo & Ilham, 2015: 55).

According to Pzeworski, there are two reasons why election becomes a very important variable in a democratic country. First, election is a peaceful political succession mechanism. It is very peaceful because the power legitimacy does not come through power or violence, but through a fair majority

vote instead. Second, democracy provides freedom for individuals. Conflict is a certainty, it happens because there is a fight for power between the candidates. However, this conflict is resolved fairly through legitimate procedure by democratic institutions (KPU, 2016).

There are several elections systems in the world, some of them are plurality/majority system, proportional representation, mixed system, and so on. District system is an election that is based on geographical unity, in which each geographical area has one people representative. Proportional system is a system in which the percentage of seats for people representatives is fairly divided to political parties in accordance to the number of vote that each party gains. While mixed system is a system that mixes both systems above (Sisk, 2017: 6-10). In Indonesia, the election system is proportional mechanism. This mechanism fits the condition of Indonesia since the plurality of the country is very diverse.

The purpose of election is as based on the principle of democracy, which is to ensure that the power is in the hand of the people. Governance that is decided through a process of election (democracy) will have a strong legitimacy, because the chosen officials are selected by the people (Purboadji, 2015: 9). In the election, there are several basic principles, they are:

a.   Direct. It means that the people have the right to vote for the preferred candidates directly.

b.   General. It means that the election is opened for anyone who have met the requirements, without discriminating any particular religions, race, gender, tribe, and so on.

c.   Free. It means that the people have the right to vote for anyone that is preferred, without being forced.

d.   Honest. It means that any parties related to the election must act accordingly and honestly, as in the applicable law.

e.   Fair. It means that any voter and candidate has equal treatment and free from any unlawful act.

Election is not merely conducted for selecting a pair of presidential candidates, but also to select several other leaders. In Indonesia, there are three types of election (Rumahpemilu.com, 2013: 2-4). There are three election types in Indonesia in which each election selects different types of governance, they are:

a.   Legislative General Election

In Indonesia, there are three legislative body, they are the House of Representatives, Regional House of Representatives, and the Regional Representative Board. These legislative bodies are

selected for 5 years period of office term through a proportional election system.

b.   Presidential General Election

President is the highest position for executive function of a country and may be voted twice at most with 5 years period of office term. A political party with more than 25% vote or at least 20% seats of the House of Representative during the legislative election may propose a pair of presidential candidates.

c.   Local Leaders Election

This election selects the leaders for every region level, such as the Governor, Regent, and City Mayor. Each local leader is also selected for 5 years period of office terms with relative majority 30% of the vote.

G.   **CONCEPTUAL DEFINITION**

Conceptual definition is a certain thought that tries to explain about the limitation of one concept with another concept. Conceptual definition also is a

description of particular concepts relationship which determines the interdependent variables. The conceptual definitions of the research are:

No.	Concept	Definition
1.	Political Marketing	A set of marketing strategy and action that that is conducted by political actors to influence people to vote for them in the election.
2.	Election	A process in which the people vote for the future government candidate that they desire through a democratically organized process.

H.   **OPERATIONAL DEFINITION**

Operational definition is an important part of a research. Operational definition will provide hints in measuring a certain variable in the research activity. With the definition, what the variable indicators are and how to measure the indicators will be determined. The operational definitions of this research are the variables from 4P theory, they are:

No.	4P Variables	4P in Political Marketing	Definition

1.	Product	Party Platform	It includes vision, mission, as well as the programs of the party or candidate in its involvement with the development process.
		Track Record	It is related with the candidate's achievement and track record in the past.
		Personal Characteristic	This is the characteristic of the candidate.
2.	Promotion	Advertising	All forms of communication of a candidate to the people through media, whether as an individual, party, or community that is the candidate's identification within the society.
		Publication	It is the image creation of the candidate toward the public opinion through information, persuasion, and adjustment to obtain the public support toward the candidates.
3.	Price	Economic Price	It includes all cost that is expensed during the campaign period, such as advertising cost, publication cost, campaign team administration, and so on.
		Psychological Price	This refers to the perception of psychological price. For example is whether the voters are comfortable with the ethnicity, religion, and education background of the candidates.
		National Image Price	This refers to whether the voters believe that the candidate will become a positive national figure for the people, both domestic and international.
4.	Place	Personal Marketing Program	This is strongly related to how the candidate or the political party communicates with the people or the

| | | voters and presents its capability. |
| | Volunteer Program | Network that consist of people in several level of area, to distribute the political product to the people. |

So, these variables above are the variables that will be used to analyze the strategy implementation of the National Awakening Party (PKB) which successfully achieved a significant increase in the number of vote in 2014 election.

I. RESEARCH METHOD

1. Type of Research

This research is qualitative through library research. According to Nazir (2003: 27), library research is a data collection technique by conducting analysis towards books, literatures, notes, and reports that are related to the problem. Library research is an important step in which the researcher sets the topic of the research and then conduct a review towards theories that are related to the research topic.

Qualitative is very suitable to be used in this research because it provides wider opportunity for the researcher to focus on the problem deeper by reviewing the related library sources. With the

qualitative method, the researcher conducts analysis descriptive. The method is conducted by providing descriptions and explanations clearly, systematically, and objectively towards the political marketing strategy of The National Awakening Party (PKB) in Indonesian general election 2014. The approach methodology used in the research is a study case approach. Based on that, the necessary data will be collected and described.

2.   Source of Data

The source of data for this research is the library sources. The data is collected by searching, selecting, and analyzing the related literatures. The main source of the data comes from the official electoral body of Indonesia (KPU), the official website of PKB, and national online news like kompas.com, tempo.co, and detiknews.com. The secondary data needed are the documents of election result, journals, and books that are related with the research.

3.   Data Gathering Technique

The method used to collect the data is library research, which is a research conducted by reviewing text sources. The data that are taken supports the validity of the research. The data collection technique is strongly related to the problem that wants to be solved. Therefore, the substance of the library research is then philosophically and theoretically processed (Muhadjir, 2000: 158).

4.   Data Analysis

Data analysis is an activity that organizes data systematically and rationally to provide the variables to answer the problems (Suryana, 2010: 59). The descriptive-analytical method of the research means that the data are gathered, analyzed, critically interpreted, as well as presented systematically to make the research easier to be read and understood. This is conducted in order to obtain a unique and correct description towards the research object (Surakhmad, 1982: 139).

J.   **STRUCTURE OF THE RESEARCH**

In order to help readers in comprehending the study, this research is systematically divided into four chapters. The structure of the research is divided into the following:

CHAPTER I   : INTRODUCTION

Chapter I will be the introduction of the research which consists of background of the research, research question, theoretical framework, hypothesis, scope of discussions, research methodology, and the structure of the research.

CHAPTER II : DESCRIPTION OF RESEARCH OBJECTIVE

Chapter II will explain about the location and object of the research. This chapter will explain about the profile as well as the establishment history of PKB. This chapter will help readers in understanding what PKB is as well as with the ideologies and goals that it upholds.

CHAPTER III : DISCUSSION AND RESULT

This chapter will explain about the strategy of PKB from 2009 until 2014, which will be further analyzed by using Marketing Mix Theory. This chapter will analyze the campaign strategy of PKB and divide them into 4 points, which are Product, Price, Place, and Promotion (4P). This chapter will help the readers to understand what PKB strategy was.

CHAPTER IV : CONCLUSION

Conclusion of the research as well as the recommendations for future research.