



PDIP NTB Political Communication in Building Loyalty of Cadres and Constituents in Elections

Nur Ramdhani¹, Rosita Anggraini²

^{1,2}Program Pascasarjana,

^{1,2}Interstudi Sekolah Tinggi Ilmu Komunikasi

E-Mail: deny1899@gmail.com

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ABSTRACT

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The Indonesian Democratic Party of Struggle (PDI-P) as a cadre party cannot be separated from the phenomenon of internal competition. In this case, the central actor of PDIP NTB as the leader of a cadre-based nationalist party in areas where the majority of the Muslim community is required to have a communication adaptation strategy at both the cadre and constituent levels. Although PDIP NTB experienced internal competition among cadres in the 2009-2019 election contestation, the role of the central actor of PDIP NTB was able to reduce and maintain the vote acquisition to win seats in the DPR RI Election of NTB. This study aims to see the role of central actors in building political communication to maintain the loyalty of cadres and constituents in facing the 2009-2019 DPR RI elections. Through the analysis of Political Public Relations (McNair, 2011), this article focuses on the communication role of the central actor in PDIP NTB. in maintaining the loyalty of cadres and constituents to win the legislative seats of the DPR RI in the 2009-2019 elections. This article is a qualitative research based on primary and secondary data in the form of direct interviews to four informant and a collection of official documents explaining the role of the central actor in PDIP NTB. This study argues that, the role of the central elite with the ability of political communication through the use of various internal communication channels and good information management as well as forming the loyalty of cadres and constituents is able to gain seat of DPR RI in the 2009-2019 elections.

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1. Introduction

The dynamics of the contestation of political parties in elections in Indonesia is influenced by the electoral system, especially the open election system, which tends to limit the dominant role of political party elites in determining the elected candidates as members of the legislature. The limited role of political party elites is closely related to the role of regeneration that does not run effectively within the party. This condition then creates the role of political parties as only a tool in the electoral process without including the mechanism of party functions that should run (Diamond & Gunther, 2001). One of the central roles of political parties in the electoral contestation process is the mobilization of masses and cadres in an effort to win elections. This role is a key factor for political parties to win elections through communication processes internally and externally to political parties, especially with regard to building the loyalty of cadres and constituents.



The Indonesian Democratic Party of Struggle (PDIP) is one of the parties that has a strict organizational structure and regeneration mechanism (Nainggolan & Wahyu, 2016). The success of PDIP as the winner of the 2014 and 2019 elections is proof that a strong organizational structure, accompanied by mass mobilization by cadres and the image of Megawati as general chairman and Joko Widodo as President of the Republic of Indonesia, by bringing the idea of nationalism ideology has succeeded in becoming the key to the party's victory. in the election. On the other hand, there is communication in the central direction which spearheads the loyalty of PDIP cadres in winning the election. Therefore, although there are various factions/groups in PDIP, but the existence of communication and centralized direction from the elite is the main factor for PDIP in winning the campaign process in the electoral contestation.

In various studies on political parties in Indonesia since the democratization era, according to Kawamura, there are two main discussions regarding the dynamics of political parties, namely, 1) the party system and 2) the weakness of the organizational functions of political parties (Kawamura, 2013). The first discussion focuses on the existence of current politics and influences the relationship between political parties and their constituents which is largely determined by the existence of social divisions in society (Mietzner 2009; Ufen 2008a; Ufen 2008b). On the other hand, the second discussion relates to the weakening of the role of political parties in representing a public interest and party accountability in running party organizations and government (Tomsa, 2007; Tomsa, 2014; Hadiz, 2003). Based on this view, it can be seen that the development of studies on the dynamics of the role of political parties is closely related to the weakening of the institutional and elite roles of political parties which are influenced by democratization in Indonesia.

In this regard, the democratization that took place in Indonesia at least provided a wider space for the involvement of actors in various political institutions, one of which was political parties. Political parties in Indonesia tend to be dominated by old elites/groups originating from political actors in the New Order era. The role of the elite/old group is a form of the accumulation of elite abilities in utilizing material and non-material resources after the fall of the New Order. According to Buehler, the extensive involvement of the old political actors/elite was due to the actor's ability to adapt to various administrative strategies and political positions at the national, provincial and district/city levels due to the new post-New Order political system as the key to transition. elite (Buehler, 2007; Achmad, 2021). In addition, according to Choi, political parties, party machines and the form of political parties are strongly influenced by local elites who dominate competition in the regions, especially at the level of regional head elections (Choi, 2007). In line with this, Tomsa stated that at least there was elite fragmentation at the local level after the New Order caused by three things: 1) an open electoral system and the absence of a parliamentary threshold in the regions; 2) weak party institutionalization creates a dominant role for actors to switch parties; 3) political campaigns use traditional methods which tend to be expensive and wasteful (Tomsa, 2014).

On the other hand, according to Nedelmann, actors can become subjects that condition parties to mobilize mass in accordance with the wishes of actors in the process of distributing power (Nedelmann, 1987). Mass mobilization is intended not only to distribute power, but also to gain legitimacy for distributed power (Nedelmann, 1987). In this case, the party becomes a medium for actors to achieve their goals in electoral political contestation. In addition, the existence of electoral votes is caused by the weak institutionalization of the party due to the communication relationship between cadres and constituents that is not built with emotional closeness to take root (Nasir, 2016). Based on this view, it can be said that the dominant role in political parties is at the level of actors who have the ability to adjust to the system. However, the success of the party is also measured by the ability of actors in the party to convey messages about future performance (prospective information) compared to delivering messages of success in the past (retrospective information) (Levine & D. Kam, 2016: 1). In other words, the ability of actors within the party to convey messages to the public will determine the party's credibility in gaining support from voters.

As according to Aspinall, that the competition that takes place is at the constituent level, not at the level of policy debate which causes important roles to be at the level of actors, not parties (Aspinall, 2014). This can be seen in the 2009 and 2014 presidential elections which showed that dominant roles were at the actor level, especially the symbols of actors who came forward as president, not at the party institutional level and



the success of identifying actors in their constituents (Honna, 2012; Aspinall & Mietzner, 2014; Kunyanti & Mujiono, 2021). The weakening of the role of political parties is determined by the dominant role contained in the actor makes the orientation of political parties focused only on winning the election. This condition makes the centralized political party on certain actors and weaken the political machine contained within the party. On the other hand, not only the party machine weakened but political parties tend to minimize the bonds is based on ideology and become the party who made the sound in a variety of walks of life to win the election, without showing the image of political parties based on ideology (Alhamid & Prime, 2018; Aminuddin & Ramadan, 2015). In other words, there is a tendency for the orientation of political parties to only focus on the agendas for winning the election contestation, not on the long-term orientation in maintaining the existence of political parties which is not limited to the election agenda.

PDIP has an image as a nationalist party that has tiered regeneration with a strict system in the process of instilling party values (Nainggolan & Wahyu, 2016). In this case, PDIP is considered as a party that not only has political activity only during electoral political contestation agendas, but the regeneration process for cadres and constituents continues to run as a form of carrying out the party's long-term educational function. It is not surprising then, that PDIP constituents are seen as a party—both at the central management level and at the regional management level—become one of the parties in Indonesia that is able to maintain the party process both in the election-winning agenda and in the community agenda. The image of the PDIP as a “little people” party indicates the party's alignment with the lower class society, which is the basis for loyal constituents of the leadership of the PDIP General Chair. This condition certainly cannot be separated from Megawati Soekarno Putri's role as an actor who carries out centralized political communication as a reference for all PDIP cadres in carrying out party work.

In a study in some areas, actors are able to have a centralized communication role under the command of the actors have a great chance of success in the political contest. By running the party's role in political education, aspirations through a variety of both online and offline channels to build a good communication network with groups and individuals, PDIP able to win the dispute in the area (Pattiasina, 2015). In addition, through communication actors that are horizontal / equal between the communicator and the communicant through various channels used and the various issues being used as a message, political actors are able to achieve victory in the elections at the head of the village or district head, until legislators (Maulina, Atika, and Sari, 2019; Narendra, 2011; qalbi, 2015; Djuyandi, 2017; Syaf, 2017). These various channels were built through the work of professionals (spin-doctors) in packaging political messages through paid mass media (advertisement) for news at the grassroots in promoting the work of parties and cadres (Wring, 2001). In other words, the success of political actors in competition can occur if there is a centralized communication in delivering messages by political actors as political communicators.

On the other hand, political parties in conveying messages to voters choose to use approach fear appeals. This approach is used to shape public fear of competitors based on ideology as a message to accumulate support for the party in response to public fear (Scheller 2019: 1). As a support reinforcement, then political parties build direct face-to-face communication strategies through party networks including cadres and sympathizers by utilizing various online and offline channels to maintain constituent support (Purnama, 2019). In other words, actors who have centralized coordination within the party are able to take advantage of face-to-face communication through various messages and channels to be able to mobilize the masses in winning electoral contestations.

One characteristic of both at the central and regional levels, PDIP always has actors who provide centralized communications that are very influential in the internal party management. One of the regions that has an influential central actor in the management of the DPD PDIP is the DPD PDIP NTB. The management of the DPD PDIP NTB shows the same thing, namely the role of the main actor that makes the DPD PDIP NTB able to survive as a nationalist party in the midst of society based on Islamic values. Under the leadership of Rachmat Hidayat as Chairman of the DPD PDIP NTB, the PDIP in NTB was able to survive through centralized communication even in the midst of a society with high religious values. However, this of course also requires the work of cadres who are organized in the central direction carried out by Rachmat Hidayat.



Role as communicators centralized Rachmat Hidayat as a central actor PDIP NTB menjadikannya always managed to win a seat House of Representatives since the election of 2009. Although there are actors who have a different understanding with Rachmat Hidayat in running the party organization, but PDIP NTB able to become party effect even if dealing with the public on the basis of religious values. The difference in views on the internal dynamics PDIP NTB be able to be completed by Rachmat Hidayat as a central actor. On the other hand, the ability of the NTB PDIP to continue to exist in a society based on high religiosity indicates an adjustment process carried out by nationalist actors within the NTB PDIP to be able to gain victory in obtaining legislative seats, especially DPR RI seats. Rachmat Hidayat's victory as Chairman of the DPD PDIP NTB since 1999 until now, proves that there is a dominance of central actors who give instructions that PDIP NTB cadres have an obligation to maintain the party's image as a nationalist party by bringing in actors who also pay attention to values. religious. Sehingga peran aktor utama PDIP NTB yakni menjaga soliditas partai dan juga mempertahankan basis nilai nasionalis religius di Pulau Lombok dan mampu menjadikan PDIP sebagai partai yang memiliki peran penting dalam proses pemilu di NTB. Peran penting tersebut khususnya berada di beberapa daerah sebagai kantong utama PDIP NTB yakni di Kabupaten Lombok Timur, Kota Mataram, Kabupaten Sumbawa, Kabupaten Lombok Barat dan Kabupaten Lombok Tengah (Hidayat, 2019).

With the presence of the dominant actor's role in the internal party, as well as the direction that maintains the values of the PDIP in the midst of a society based on religious values, this article is focused on answering two questions. First, what is the role of communication between the central actors of PDIP NTB in facing the 2009-2019 election contestation on the island of Lombok? This question aims to find out how the communication carried out by Rachmat Hidayat as the central actor of the NTB PDIP in building the loyalty of cadres and constituents. Second, how is the influence of Rachmat Hidayat's communication as Chair of the NTB PDIP in building the loyalty of PDIP NTB cadres and constituents in winning the 2009-2019 DPR RI election? This question aims to understand how far the influence of Rachmat Hidayat's political communication is to bring the loyalty of PDIP NTB cadres and constituents in winning the 2009-2019 legislative elections. This paper, at the beginning, describes the dynamics of the NTB PDIP in the 2009 2014 and 2019 elections, which have always succeeded in obtaining seats in the DPR RI. The acquisition of the seats in the DPR RI is inseparable from the role of the central actor through the centralized communication strategy played by Rachmat Hidayat in the NTB PDIP management structure. This article describes the dominant role of centralized actors who are able to become a means of managing political communication in building the loyalty of cadres and constituents in mobilizing the masses in the electoral political contestation agenda in the province of NTB. This paper will further elaborate on the management of Rachmat Hidayat's political communication which is the key as the central actor of the NTB PDIP in the Indonesian House of Representatives election contestation on Lombok Island in 2009-2019.

2. Method

This research is a qualitative research to obtain an analysis of a specific phenomenon in the field. According to Van Evera, a specific explanation of a phenomenon produces an explanation of the use of a theory in explaining an event in the field (Evera, 1997). As Creswell views, this research is structured based on the characteristics of qualitative research that explains a phenomenon in depth (complex) through data collection studies from various sources including qualitative interviews (face to face interviews) from various informants to reading official documents, as well as data analysis in this study. through inductive analysis based on findings in the field (Creswell, 2014). This research is a research that focuses on data findings in the field. The data becomes very important and the theory used is built based on the data found in the field (Bungin, 2007).

In the process of the validity of the data, researchers used triangulation and analysis of data and theories (Patton, 2001). According to Patton, the triangulation of various sources of data, analysis, and / or theory, researchers can make substantial steps to overcome skepticism on a single method, a single analyst, and the interpretation of a single perspective (Patton, 2001). In this case, the author uses primary data source in the



form of argument-face interviews directly to key informants who are directly involved in activities aimed at in this study. Key informants in this study included 1) Rachmat Hidayat (Chairman of the NTB PDIP DPD and Member of the RI DPR for the NTB 1st Dapil; 2) Hakam Ali Niazi (Vice Chairman of the NTB PDIP DPD for Cadreization and Ideology; 3) Husni Djibril (Secretary of the NTB PDIP DPD and the Regent of Sumbawa Regency; 4) Raden Nuna Abriadi (Vice Chairperson of the NTB PDIP DPD for Party Honor and Member of the NTB Provincial DPRD). On the other hand, this study also uses secondary data in the form of various documents and official archives as a medium for further study and confirmation as well as digging deeper into events that have taken place over a long period of time. The author conducted a study of primary and secondary data with the aim of obtaining in-depth and detailed information as the qualitative research that the author used. On the other hand, to test the reliability of the data, the authors conducted three types of reliability tests, namely stability, consistency and data equivalence (Brink, 1991) which were obtained through both primary and secondary data. With the acquisition of data with stability, consistency and equivalence, the analyzed data can be tested as material for analysis in this article.

3. Result and Analysis

3.1 Management of PDIP NTB Communication Channels in the 2009-2019 Election Contest

Nationalist parties in NTB exist through the presence of nationalist figures who played a role long before the establishment of the NTB Province. The presence of these nationalist figures cannot be separated from the political dynamics of the revolutionary period in Indonesia, especially in the Lesser Sunda Province of the Soekarno government era. According to Magenda's notes, nationalist figures on the island of Lombok in the Soekarno era had a role as a Republican group who tried to present a unitary state government (Magenda, 1989). The Republican movement consisted of a group of local elites who were not from the Sasak aristocrats who held positions as district heads in the colonial era. According to Utama, some of these figures were divided into several elite groups with different backgrounds, namely 1) Mamiq Fadelah and Mamiq Ripa'ah (a group of Sasak aristocrats outside the district head's family); 2) Made Putu Wirja and I Wayan Manski (the Waysa class group in the Balinese community); 3) Ki Agus Alwi and Saleh Sungkar (a group of Banjar and Arab ethnic traders); 4) dr. Raden Soedjono (Javanese group); 5) Tuan Guru Zainuddin Abdul Madjid (Main, 2019). These elite groups had a dominant role in the formation of the Province of West Nusa Tenggara and had loyal followers. Until now, several actors who were educated from these figures came from East Lombok, namely Rachmat Hidayat as the longest serving Chairman of the DPD PDIP NTB.

These Republican figures are members of two major parties, namely the Indonesian Nationalist Party (PNI) and the Indonesian Muslim Shura Council Party (Masyumi). PNI as the forerunner of the current PDIP in Lombok was driven by figures such as dr. Raden Soedjono, Mamiq Fadelah, Made Putu Wijaya and I Wayan Manski (Main, 2019). The presence of nationalist figures in the Soekarno era made the roots of the nationalist movement on the island of Lombok grow before the NTB Province was formed. Nevertheless, the nationalist movement on the island of Lombok during the New Order era had very limited nationalist figures due to mass mobilization by the New Order government through Golkar and the Tuan Guru movement as a local figure based on religiosity. In other words, although the forerunner of PDIP through nationalist figures existed before NTB was formed, it had a limited scope in the midst of the repressive New Order regime and its Islamic-based society influenced by Tuan Guru figures on the island of Lombok.

Nationalist figures who joined the PNI on the island of Lombok became the forerunner of a larger movement of nationalist figures. These figures were later incorporated into the PDI in the New Order era and became the strength of a nationalist party that had a large mass base on the island of Lombok through the PDIP after the New Order rule. According to Rachmat Hidayat as Chair of the NTB PDIP, the basis for the PDIP cadre movement in NTB is centered in East Lombok Regency (Hidayat, 2019). In NTB Province, there are 10 regencies/cities located on Lombok Island and Sumbawa Island. East Lombok Regency is the district with the largest area and population in NTB. On the other hand, culturally, East Lombok Regency is strongly influenced by people with a high religious value base. This condition cannot be separated from the role of Tuan Guru who also has an organizational center located in East Lombok Regency. Besides PDIP NTB



having a large mass base in East Lombok Regency, there are also PDIP mass bases in Mataram City and Sumbawa Regency.

The centralization of the PDIP NTB mass base in East Lombok Regency was the result of the movement of early nationalist figures from East Lombok Regency, especially Mamiq Fadelah and dr. Soedjono. In addition, PDIP in the post-Soeharto era was led by Rachmat Hidayat who is also a figure from East Lombok Regency. Therefore, although East Lombok Regency is a community base area that is strongly influenced by the role of the Tuan Guru group, it is also the basis of the nationalist movement on the island of Lombok.

The influence of the PDIP in NTB cannot be separated from the role of the main actors who dominate in the party organization which has made PDIP able to survive in the area based on religiosity. This can be seen through Rachmat Hidayat's role as an old nationalist figure who still managed to hold the top of the NTB PDIP structure. Rachmat Hidayat is an actor who also always appears in front of the public with controversial messages, even being able to become an alternative symbol in the very thick Islamic discourse in NTB. According to Raden Nuna Abriadi, Rachmat Hidayat is able to become the main symbol who always appears in public with ideological slogans that are very closely related to the idea of nationalism, "I have known him (Rachmat Hidayat) since I was in college. I am active in GMNI and he was one of the figures that moved us when we were studying in Mataram. The delivery of ideological messages sometimes always managed to get us first when students were moved by him. Until now, I have appeared with you in the DPD PDIP NTB, Mr. Rachmat always appears with his trademark which is always controversial which can always provoke anger, hahaha especially for the politicians around you" (Abriadi, 2019).

In this case, Rachmat Hidayat succeeded in becoming a central figure who received recognition from the cadres because the messages conveyed to the public, especially the mass media with controversial meanings, attracted attention. According to Hakam Ali Niazi, Rachmat Hidayat's roles on the political stage, one of which is the mass media, is a form of seeking public attention as a provider of alternative answers (Niazi, 2019). One of the political platforms that can be accessed by the public at large is local newspapers which are a means for Rachmat Hidayat to convey messages that have been agreed upon by the party. For Rachmat Hidayat, the message delivered by the controversy is a strategy in the use of space in order to get attention quickly and widely. According to Rachmat Hidayat, the use of mass media channels is an alternative to expand information on the roles played by cadres and elites.

"This time I'm always wearing sentences that make controversy for another party politicians or society at large. It's one of the tricks just to use the newspaper as my media to convey ideas. Now, right now it's also a lot of young cadres to use social media, but segmenting varies. Let young children with facebook and so on, I was to appear in the newspaper and you need to remember iyaaa, what I said in the paper will surely arise also in the social media course for young children's play quote-quote ... "(Hidayat, 2019)

Therefore, Rachmat Hidayat as a central actor who becomes the center of attention for the public and cadres who work to present a single figure makes PDIP NTB still get public attention. As McNair's view states that there are activities designed based on the need to maximize actors accessing the stage through the media (McNair, 2011). This condition was able to be utilized by the NTB PDIP with the figure of Rachmat Hidayat as a central actor and succeeded in winning the DPR RI election contestation in the 2009 elections, 2014 and 2019. In 2009, the NTB PDIP was able to retain one seat in the DPR RI. Rachmat Hidayat as Chairman of the DPD PDIP NTB, in 2009 won one seat in the DPR RI. In the 2004 Indonesian House of Representatives Election, the NTB PDIP received 130,678 votes (KPUD NTB, 2004). PDIP NTB in the 2004 elections received the most votes in East Lombok and West Lombok districts with 30,322 and 25,062 votes, respectively (KPUD NTB, 2004). Meanwhile, in the 2009 election, the NTB PDIP received 92,052 votes.

Table 1
PDIP NTB Vote Gain in the 2009 Indonesian House of Representatives Election

No	Name of party	Bima City	Bima Regency	Dompu Regency	Sumbawa	KSB	Lotim	Loteng	Lobar	Mataram	total
1	PDIP	236	545	572	3.090	398	3.654	2.881	3.539	4.039	18.954
2	Rachmat H	963	2.452	1.675	8.154	1.877	9.199	5.292	3.927	3.092	37.268



No	Name of party	Bima City	Bima Regency	Dompu Regency	Sumba-wa	KSB	Lotim	Loteng	Lobar	Mata-ram	total
3	George W	193	884	331	1.638	296	1.253	1.931	4.408	3.512	14.446
4	Nuraini	1.171	2.129	645	1.167	124	913	956	1.131	486	8.722
5	Abdul Tayib	157	233	116	601	94	900	735	4.012	798	7.646
6	Zulhaedar	13	45	22	215	15	126	86	307	210	932
7	Siti Sriwihati	34	53	37	280	29	295	148	408	331	1.615
8	Winda N. L	4	41	22	279	5	168	86	307	210	1.122
9	Ani Hairani	24	45	21	267	17	185	196	328	264	1.347
10	Party + Individual Votes	2.795	6.427	3.441	15.691	2.055	16.693	13.007	18.288	12.855	92.052

Source: NTB Provincial KPUD, 2009. Details of Votes for Political Parties and Candidates for Members of DPR and Invalid Votes in Provincial KPU.

After becoming a member of the DPRD for the Province of NTB, Rachmat Hidayat as the Chairman of the DPD PDIP NTB also became a Member of the DPR RI for the 2009-2014 period with 37,268 votes from the total votes obtained by PDIP as many as 92,052 votes for the NTB Dapil. The success of the NTB PDIP in the 2009 election to regain a seat in the DPR RI lies in Rachmat Hidayat's ability as a central actor who has access at the DPP level with high communication intensity with the PDIP DPP elite. This can be seen from Rachmat Hidayat's ability to maintain his position as chairman of the DPD PDIP with the longest serving as chairman of the DPD PDIP NTB. Rachmat Hidayat's capacity as Chairman of the DPD PDIP NTB and a local elite who occupies a strategic position in the legislative body in the region is then able to create organizational stability for the DPD PDIP NTB. Thus, the success of Rachmat Hidayat in the 2009 election to win seats in the DPR RI is a form of work in integrating party work by utilizing the public stage carried out by party cadres and constituents.

On the other hand, the ability of the central actors in the internal PDIP NTB to create conditions for the personalization of Rachmat Hidayat as party leader that must be followed by all PDIP NTB cadres. Internal communication that is centralized within the party that is built solidly and also pays attention to the mass base that is continuously maintained in several areas the base of cadres and partisans as well as PDIP constituents is an inseparable part of Rachmat Hidayat's strategy in maintaining the performance of the party machine. This can be seen in several areas on the island of Lombok which are the basis of the PDIP area. According to Husni Djibril, although Rachmat Hidayat is from Lombok Island, Rachmat Hidayat is very well known by cadres on Sumbawa Island due to the centralization of the role played by Rachmat Hidayat in PDIP NTB.

"The chairman is highly respected at the level of our cadres. The dominant role of the chairman has attracted the attention of cadres and the community in Sumbawa because any information related to the NTB PDIP, always the chairman who appears in his style, emphasizes the side of provoking emotions, either in newspapers or in discussions of ordinary citizens in the village...one that is very difficult to understand. I forget about the Chairman, who is always good at playing his ideas. Currently, many of the cadres imitate the style of delivering the message in many media, especially now that social media is a channel that is difficult for us to contain and we take advantage of it" (Djibril, 2019).

This condition is certainly a tool for cadres to carry out campaigns through the transfer of messages conveyed by Rachmat Hidayat through various channels. One of the reasons why Rachmat Hidayat, chairman of the DPD PDIP NTB, was able to gain a large number of votes. The popularity built through various channels, one of which has a big influence, namely the newspaper, has made Rachmat Hidayat able to gain a significant amount of votes not only on the island of Lombok, but also on the island of Sumbawa. In Sumbawa Regency there is a significantly larger vote acquisition compared to other regions. This condition did not only occur in the 2009 election, but the NTB PDIP vote acquisition also experienced an increase in the 2014 election.

In the 2014 election, in addition to Rachmat Hidayat's ability as the Chairman of the DPD PDIP NTB, there was an influence from political dynamics at the national level. This influence at least provides an

attraction for PDIP in various regions to get a bigger voice, including in NTB. The PDIP NTB vote acquired in the 2009 DPR RI election was 92,052 votes. Meanwhile, in 2014, the NTB PDIP's vote acquisition more than doubled to 189,569 votes. The increase in votes again gave the NTB PDIP one seat in the DPR RI in the NTB electoral district for the 2014-2019 period.

Table 2

PDIP NTB Vote Gain in the 2014 Indonesian House of Representatives Election

No	Name of party	Mata-ram	Lobar	KLU	Loteng	Lotim	KSB	Sumba-wa	Dom-pu	Bima regenc y	Bima city	Total
1	PDIP	9.737	8.162	2.810	6.846	11.254	1.510	6.736	1.984	2.037	924	52.000
2	Rahmat H	7.621	7.070	2.206	6.512	18.559	2.619	11.594	2.069	3.154	1.556	62.987
3	Sirra P	5.320	5.472	1.013	3.978	6.530	507	2.329	487	757	355	26.748
4	Ani Hariyati	882	807	406	1.297	1.636	208	1.251	317	533	251	7.588
5	M. Saleh	1.062	1.413	470	1.940	2.542	321	1.998	2.042	3.555	2.189	17.332
6	M. Sajiji	364	510	194	605	752	230	591	253	840	608	4.947
7	Melly Z	1.182	586	199	621	1.203	97	399	173	773	529	5.762
8	Awanadhi A	1.173	409	163	373	582	50	547	174	239	93	3.083
9	Siti N. A	690	412	128	414	753	62	378	105	233	128	3.363
10	R. Achmad K	93	134	157	208	656	30	385	66	222	94	1.995
11	Darwis	1.628	245	192	360	317	27	338	1.024	315	58	3.044
12	Party + Individual Votes	28.292	25.220	7.888	23.154	44.784	5.661	26.546	8.754	12.405	6.785	189.569

Source: NTB Provincial KPUD, 2014. Certificate of Vote Calculation Results from Each Regency at the Provincial Level in the 2014 DPR Member Elections.

In the 2014 General Elections, the NTB PDIP managed to get more than twice the votes from the NTB PDIP for the 2009 DPR RI election. The coordinated ability of the NTB PDIP in building communication and integration of cadres within strong party organizations provides room for access to pockets of people. - PDIP NTB voice pockets on Lombok and Sumbawa islands. In the 2014 election, Rachmat Hidayat, who is still the chairman of the DPD PDIP NTB, managed to gain a significant increase in the number of votes to 62,987 votes. The increase in votes coincided with the increase in the number of votes obtained by PDIP NTB in 2014.

This condition did not occur in the 2019 election, although the number of PDIP NTB gains had increased, Rachmat Hidayat's vote had decreased. This is inseparable from the formation of new electoral districts in NTB. The voting bags owned by Rachmat Hidayat on Sumbawa Island cannot be reused, due to the difference in electoral districts between Lombok Island and Sumbawa Island. Although there was a reduction in Rachmat Hidayat's vote, but the votes in the 2 NTB (Lombok Island) electoral district provided another opportunity for Rachmat Hidayat to regain a seat in the Indonesian House of Representatives for the 2019-2024 period. In other words, Rachmat Hidayat as the chairman of the DPD PDIP NTB has also been able to maintain his position in obtaining seats in the DPR RI for three periods, namely 2009-2014, 2014-2019 and 2019-2024.

Table 3

PDIP NTB Vote Gain in the 2019 Indonesian House of Representatives Election for Dapil 1

No	Name of party	Sumbawa	Dompu Regency	Bima Regency	KSB	Bima City	Total
1	PDIP	8.675	2.100	2.218	2.119	586	15.698
2	E. Endang Y	12.777	3.021	3.929	3.138	1.013	23.875
3	Supardi	3.842	1.323	3.894	1.148	791	10.902
4	Dharmasena W	3.791	1.270	1.177	588	211	6.987
5	Total	29.085	7.623	11.218	6.935	2.601	57.462

Source: KPUD NTB Province, 2019. Certificate of Recapitulation of Vote Count Results for Candidates for DPR Members from Each Regency/City in Dapil in the 2019 General Election Province Region.



Table 4
PDIP NTB Vote Gain in the DPR RI Elections for Dapil 2 in 2019

No	Name of party	Lobar	Loteng	Lotim	Mataram	KLU	Total
1	PDIP	9.187	5.987	13.305	11.561	4.863	44.098
2	Rachmat Hidayat	8.138	6.486	20.882	12.662	5.984	54.152
3	Edy Suksomo	2.450	2.201	4.190	3.611	1.792	14.244
4	E. Y. Wenny A	1.624	1.209	2.653	2.782	612	8.880
5	Hakam Ali N	634	847	1.324	401	781	3.987
6	Rospita D A	712	503	1.136	807	854	4.012
7	Sukardi R	507	1.338	1.092	298	444	3.679
8	Suji Hardiani	452	437	678	168	230	1.960
9	Marwan Hadi	335	337	1.129	112	202	2.115
10	Total	24.039	19.345	16.389	32.397	15.762	137.932

Source: KPUD NTB Province, 2019. Certificate of Recapitulation of the Calculation of Vote Gains for Candidates for DPR Members from Each Regency/City in the Dapil in the Province of the 2019 General Election

It became important then that Rachmat Hidayat's role as the dominant actor who became the center of giving instructions in carrying out the coordination of party work. Not only is the process of carrying out political communication only limited to directions for party officials in NTB, but there are internal party adjustments imposed by Rachmat Hidayat related to the ideological and value bases that develop in the people of Lombok Island. In this case, the popularity built by Rachmat Hidayat is a form of utilizing various channels that are used as a political stage to expand the reach of recipients of political messages at the cadre and public levels. Through a controversial message, Rachmat Hidayat has received public attention as an activity designed to maximize popularity through various channels. On the other hand, the image of a party based on a nationalist ideology is certainly a major concern as PDIP is a nationalist party in NTB, however, to build communication and loyalty of cadres and constituents, strict instructions from the party leadership are needed. In this case, Rachmat Hidayat used various adjustments in maintaining the existence of the party in the face of electoral political contestations in NTB.

3.2 Cadre Integration: Internal Communication of PDIP NTB Central Actors

PDIP as a party based on mass and ideology has a strong tradition of building coordination among cadres to achieve goals through party work. The various work orientations of parties in the DPD PDIP NTB are largely determined by several things, particularly with regard to the central role of the elite as actors who have a major influence in the structure of the PDIP NTB. In this regard, the authority in coordination built by PDIP cadres is not spread among elite groups, but is concentrated in several party leaders who are the main symbols in party performance. PDIP NTB is a party that is highly coordinated by a central actor who carries the tradition of centralized communication owned by the chairman of the DPD. In other words, Rachmat Hidayat, as chairman of the DPD PDIP NTB, is the central actor who maintains the tradition of centralized communication in decision-making.

According to Hakam Ali Niazi, Rachmat Hidayat is a leader with very strong personalization of actors with firm orders in providing direction to cadres in carrying out party work programs (Niazi, 2019). Rachmat Hidayat did not hesitate to issue warning letters to the dismissal of cadres who were not in line with the orders of the DPD PDIP NTB chairman to achieve party goals, especially in fighting for the party's victory in electoral political contestation (Niazi, 2019).

"Father is a person who is highly recognized by all cadres across generations in NTB. Since the first time you became Chairman of the DPD PDIP NTB around the late 90s, it has been very visible that his actions have become a symbol for all of us in the management. We, the administrators, are very submissive to what you say because he is the main actor and even a symbol of PDIP in NTB. Even in the long period of

his leadership, you are not afraid at all to fire cadres if there are cadres who do not follow the party's directions..." (Niazi, 2019)

Niazi's view shows that there are activities of actors within the party that form a centralized channel of internal communication. In this case, as McNair (2011) views that internal communication is formed to coordinate party activities. In other words, it can be seen that the main capital in building communication within the PDIP NTB to achieve victory is the centralization of the actor played by Rachmat Hidayat.

As McNair (2001) argues, which states that in an process internal communication there is the formation of internal information channels to coordinate party activities through information engineering by powerful actors who use information as a tool to form public opinion (information management) (McNair, 2011). In this case, Rachmat Hidayat becomes an actor in full power with his role as a central actor who builds information channels controlled by the internal structure of the party management. Rachmat Hidayat's ability as a central actor is a form of influence from the position of the chairman of the DPD PDIP as an interested subject who regulates the party. Nedelmann stated that in mobilizing cadres, actors are subjects as well as actors who regulate the party at the request of the actor by making the party the executor of the actor's interests (Nedelmann, 1987). Rachmat Hidayat managed to build internal communication through his centralized influence in the form of direct orders to win the NTB PDIP. On the other hand, the directive is a form of message transfer to win him in the electoral political contestation since the 2009 - 2019 elections in winning seats in the DPR RI for three periods

To understand the centralization of communication as the key to achieving party goals, PDIP NTB has several strategies including 1) personalization of actors in decision making (principal-agent); 2) organizational structure with adjustments to the ideological basis in the regions; 3) mobilization of cadres in areas that are the basis of PDIP; 4) Utilization of political dynamics at the national level; 5) Ideological-based programs. These strategies are interrelated and not separate from each other in the process of achieving party goals. This actor centralization strategy includes five interrelated parts, especially actor personalization as the main key of this strategy. Rachmat Hidayat as chairman of the DPD PDIP NTB became a personalized actor as an agent well as a principal followed by all PDIP NTB cadres. This is also the case with Megawati Soekarno Putri at the national level.

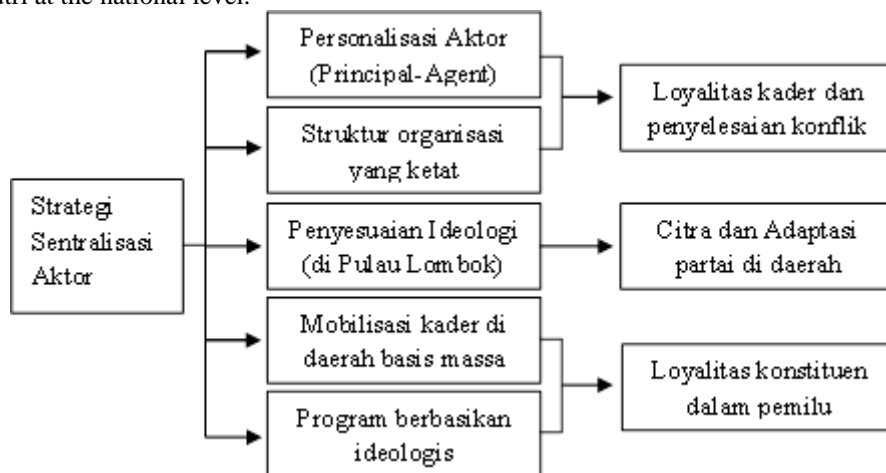


Fig 1. Actor Centralization Strategy

The centralization built by the NTB PDIP is largely determined by the personalization played by Rachmat Hidayat as a unifying actor in the midst of various individual and group interests within the NTB PDIP. Although within the PDIP NTB there are actors who are opposed to Rachmat Hidayat, the integration built within the party is able to become a conflict resolution mechanism within the party. This condition is in line with the view of Raden Nuna Abriadi who said that Rachmat Hidayat gave clear instructions, namely to win the PDIP by mobilizing the entire party network, both cadres and sympathizers (Abriadi, 2019). Rachmat Hidayat gave directions to win elections at various levels, in particular cadres who have occupied structural



positions in the legislature were ordered to win votes at the district/city to provincial levels and simultaneously win the tandem chairman of the DPD PDIP NTB at the national level for the NTB electoral district (Abriadi, 2019). For NTB PDIP cadres, winning the NTB DPD Chair is an order to be able to unify the NTB PDIP structure so that it is solid and intact to win the PDIP in NTB (Abriadi, 2019).

On the other hand, due to strong coordination under the leadership of Rachmat Hidayat, PDIP NTB was able to build adaptability in society based on religious values and relatively stable party dynamics. This condition creates an adaptive environment for PDIP NTB cadres to build and increase loyalty to the party structure. As Norris views that the role of the main actor has an important role in the process of building cadre loyalty within the party. So that cadre loyalty becomes a solid and structured political machine in achieving party goals (Norris, 2004). Cadres who become political machines with a high level of loyalty then have limited communication channels. The channel is the central communication channel owned by the Chairman of the DPD PDIP NTB. This internal communication channel has become a tradition called party command which is aimed at achieving party goals. This command as a central channel is controlled by Rachmat Hidayat. In other words, the directives of the Chairman of the DPD PDIP NTB are central messages that cannot be denied by cadres and become the task of the political work of party cadres. According to Husni Djibril, Rachmat Hidayat has become the identity of the PDIP in NTB as long as the party is trying to survive in the midst of a strong Muslim community:

"Many Rachmat Hidayat admits that not only among cadres, but outside the PDIP family, he has become a symbol since the beginning of this party in NTB. Yes, his very dominant figure from the start made Rachmat Hidayat have power dominant, even if there were naughty cadres, he certainly wouldn't hesitate to give warnings or get fired by him right away... even in some time the loyalty of cadres was built from what Rachmat Hidayat said and precisely from here arose a movement with ties to the grassroots to win the PDIP in NTB" (Djibril, 2019).

In winning the party's work, the NTB PDIP certainly follows the direction of the NTB PDIP DPD chairman, although there are several groups in the NTB PDIP but if there is a decision from the NTB PDIP DPD leadership, then all cadres have consequences for carrying out the party's orders. If there are cadres who do not carry out the party's orders, there will be warnings and even sanctions for dismissal from the party (Djibril, 2019). Strict directions and instructions from the NTB PDIP Chair become a reference for every cadre to be loyal in fighting for party victory in the election, and the movements carried out by cadres to work at the grassroots ultimately create strong bonds so that grassroots constituents remain loyal to support PDIP. in elections (Djibril, 2019).

To understand more about the strategy of PDIP NTB in building communication , **first**, through Rachmat Hidayat who is the main actor (agent) as well as a figure who carries out the principles and is followed by PDIP NTB cadres to create internal solidarity within the PDIP NTB cadres. This internal solidarity creates a strong organizational structure in carrying out the party's work, one of which is in the election contestation in NTB. The role of the dominant central actor as well as a strong organization ultimately creates the loyalty of PDIP NTB cadres to the organization and party leadership. The loyalty of cadres in the internal PDIP allows the central actor to create stability in the party organization, even though there are differences in views to conflicts between cadres within the PDIP NTB organization. In other words, the political communication built by PDIP NTB in internal cadres is communication that takes place on the basis of cadres' loyalty to follow the direction of the party elite. In this case, Rachmat Hidayat's communication has a dominant influence in the DPD PDIP NTB.

Norris stated that the concept premodern campaign places the actor at the top of the structure that moves the cadres by targeting specific constituencies and the party becomes the channel to activate the party's work (Norris, 2004). PDIP NTB with a centralized coordination flow on the instructions of the Chairman of the DPD PDIP NTB, placing the chairman can activate cadres to target specific constituents who have been treated at the grassroots. On the other hand, the party is used as a channel to activate the party's work by communicating in the form of direct orders. Hakam Ali Niazi said that Rachmat Hidayat has always been able to hold on to structural positions both in the party and in legislative positions since 1999, because of his ability to communicate with various networks, especially due to his close relationship with Megawati



Soekarno Putri (Niazi, 2019). In other words, Rachmat Hidayat through his proximity to the central figure in the PDIP DPP, makes Rachmat Hidayat a central actor in the region in conducting centralized communication in the NTB PDIP DPD.

Second, the implementation of the process agent-principal, played by one dominant actor, the leadership of the PDIP NTB is easily able to present a space for ideological adaptation on the island of Lombok. This is important because the constituent base on the island of Lombok is a religious community that is strongly influenced by Islamic values. Rachmat Hidayat in building internal party communication always uses an instructional approach in the form of party tasks that must be carried out by cadres. He said that there was only one message that was conveyed through the network of party structures, namely the work of the party in the PDIP NTB as work to guard Soekarno's ideals in practicing the values of Pancasila in NTB (Hidayat, 2019). The party's work contains the doctrine of nationalism as the main message that in NTB PDIP cadres are at the forefront of maintaining Bhineka Tunggal Ika (Hidayat, 2019).

Through a party structure that is obedient to the leadership, Rachmat Hidayat is able to become an actor who packs a message to convey at the grassroots through the work of a solid PDIP cadre structure. PDIP is a party that always maintains solidity in fighting for party values through the work carried out by the entire PDIP network, this is the main reference for PDIP cadres in elections / regional elections (Djibril, 2019). In PDIP NTB, anyone who has received a party mandate to run as a legislative candidate, must be ready to win and be won by every part of the party structure and must be willing to fight for the party's interests, namely the values of nationalism in NTB (Djibril, 2019). Therefore, ideologically charged messages have become a unifying bond with the use of cadres as liaisons at the public level.

The ideology of nationalism with the spirit of maintaining Pancasila values in NTB, became the main message conveyed to all cadres to move to win the NTB PDIP. On the other hand, there is a hidden message behind the instructions to win the PDIP, namely the message that is packaged in a direct directive, namely winning Rachmat Hidayat in the election to get a seat in the DPR RI. These messages were conveyed both openly and privately through party instructions from the chairman of the DPD PDIP NTB as the sole political communicator to the cadres as communicants. Meanwhile, structural cadres become political communicators at the grassroots level with the message of maintaining Pancasila values at the grassroots level. Therefore, the central actor is able to become a subject who can mobilize the masses through open and hidden messages thanks to the instructions of the centralized party.

In addition, the adjustment to the value base believed by the people on the island of Lombok is a form of communication adjustment made by PDIP NTB in the process of maintaining closeness with constituents. It was built as an effort to build loyalty at the constituent level. Even though the programs being fought for still maintain the basis of nationalist values, the communication used at the mass level does not leave the religious values of the people on the island of Lombok. In the end, this form of adaptation gave a positive image to PDIP NTB which was able to establish communication relationships as values believed by the local community. According to Raden Nuna Abriadi, winning the NTB PDIP is the same as guarding Pancasila and the party's ideology still exists on the islands of Lombok and Sumbawa (Abriadi, 2019). PDIP NTB moved one vote on the orders of the Chairman of the DPD PDIP NTB to work hand in hand to maintain the victories that have been achieved by the PDIP NTB to date.

Table 5

Comparison of Vote Gains in the PDIP NTB Basis area

No	Year	Perolehan Suara pada Pemilu DPR RI				
		Mataram Cit	Lobar Regency	Lotim Regency	Loteng Regency	Sumbawa Regency
1	2009	12.855	18.288	16.693	15.691	13.007
2	2014	28.292	25.220	44.784	26.546	23.154
3	2019	32.397	24.039	16.389	29.085	19.345

Source: processed from the 2009 NTB KPUD recapitulation report, 2014 and 2019.



Third, the existence of mass mobilization in the PDIP base area in NTB provides an opportunity for the NTB PDIP to maintain support in several election periods. When referring to the results of the 2009 elections, 2014 and 2019 it can be seen that the four base regions of the PDIP NTB are 1) Mataram City; 2) East Lombok Regency; 3) West Lombok Regency; 4) Central Lombok Regency; and 5) Sumbawa Regency.

Among the five regencies/cities, there were two regions that experienced an increase in the number of votes acquired by the NTB PDIP, namely Mataram City and Sumbawa Regency. Meanwhile, in the other three regions, namely East Lombok Regency, West Lombok Regency and Central Lombok Regency, the number of votes increased only in 2014 while in 2019 there was a decrease in the number of votes. In the three regions, in 2014 there was an increase, the increase in votes in 2014 was inseparable from the performance of parties affected by the presidential election, namely the process of winning from Joko Widodo. The mobilization of PDIP cadres in various regions experienced the same thing, namely the influence of Joko Widodo's victory as President of the Republic of Indonesia in the 2014 election. Although initially there was an internal PDIP conflict in the nomination process of Joko Widodo as a presidential candidate in 2014, however, the division of roles taken by the DPP namely the role of Joko Widodo as Agent and Megawati as Prncipal making PDIP the winner in the 2014 election.

According to Alhamid & Perdana (2018), PDIP is considered to be waiting for the so-called coattail effects of the presence of Joko Widodo who becomes a presidential candidate in 2014. This is because the presidential election tends to overshadow previous legislative elections to produce coattail effects because they tend to choose parties from presidential candidates will be chosen by the constituents, but in the 2019 election, the PDIP NTB vote acquisition in the three regions has decreased. In other words, there was the performance of the NTB PDIP which did not get maximum results in the election contestation, especially the 2019 Indonesian House of Representatives election.

On the other hand, ideologically based PDIP work programs in the 2009 and 2019 winning processes still did not maximize vote gains, but the ideological basis brought in the 2014 elections was able to maximize the NTB PDIP votes. The existence of cadre mobilization within the PDIP NTB base area along with ideological programs gives loyalty to constituents within the PDIP NTB power base area. In other words, the process of mobilizing cadres in the PDIP mass base area as well as the ideological-based program brought vote gains in 2014, but did not have a maximum impact on the 2019 elections.

In the end, Rachmat Hidayat's ability as a central actor was able to create an internal communication channel that could create a sense of unity or loyalty among the cadres. The internal communication channel is a channel used to convey political messages to be achieved both in the interests of the party and personally from Rachmat Hidayat. In addition, Rachmat Hidayat, who is said to have become the identity of the PDIP in NTB, was able to use this channel to maximize the goal to be achieved, namely winning a seat in the DPR RI. Therefore. The internal communication channel used to convey political messages within the PDIP NTB was successfully used as a form of the role of the central actor, namely Rachmat Hidayat as Chairman of the DPD PDIP NTB.

3.3 PDIP NTB Information Management: Forming Cadre and Constituent Loyalty

Through a strategy of centralizing actors in the process of building communication among PDIP NTB cadres, Rachmat Hidayat builds coordination by integrating cadres and adapting to the characteristics of voters in NTB, especially on the island of Lombok. The characteristics of the community on the island of Lombok, which are strongly influenced by Islamic values, are the main considerations for PDIP NTB actors to continue to pay attention to Islamic values in the process of approaching society. Rachmat Hidayat said that,

"We in NTB, especially on the island of Lombok, really pay attention to the values that we want to convey to the community. I and the management team understand very well what the community wants, so the PDIP in NTB still exists by giving directions so that cadres become movers in the community to maintain traditional traditions and Islamic culture here according to directions from the central management..." (Hidayat, 2019).

According to Rachmat Hidayat, PDIP NTB cadres in addition to maintaining Pancasila values also always uphold the diverse religious values in NTB, especially for Muslims as the majority (Hidayat, 2019).



Even the PDIP NTB cadres on the orders of Rachmat Hidayat have an obligation as the front line in maintaining tolerant Islamic values in NTB, as the idea is currently a message in ideas at the national level (Hidayat, 2019). In other words, to convince voters in NTB, Rachmat Hidayat ensures the adaptation of values that are adapted to the message of ideas at the national level to be implemented in the regions on the orders of the chairman of the DPD PDIP NTB.

PDIP NTB as a party based on cadres and masses, the party has strong ties in carrying out party work. According to Diamond & Gunther regarding Types of Political Party, they consider that there are five things that emphasize that a party is judged as a Mass-based Party, namely, 1) the candidate within the party is largely determined by the party leadership; 2) loyalty and ideology to the party is very important; 3) the mobilization strategy for the party is focused on mobilizing the use of party resources; 4) interests that are fought for based on party ideology; 5) adjustment in the formation of coalitions between parties is not the main thing due to the encouragement for adjustment in terms of ideology in the agreement (Diamond & Gunther, 2001). In this regard, PDIP NTB is very dominantly influenced by the communication built by Rachmat Hidayat as a political communicator who is able to convey messages containing party ideologies and their interests in the contestation of the DPR RI elections. On the other hand, the process of candidacy in determining mobilization at the cadre and mass levels was also influenced by the orders given by Rachmat Hidayat as Chairman of the DPD PDIP NTB. Therefore, PDIP NTB in mobilizing cadres and the masses relies heavily on Rachmat Hidayat's communication skills in conveying messages about his interests as a legislative candidate in the DPR RI, as well as messages on the interests of the party winning the election in NTB.

As Argenti's view states that actors need to carry out two-way communication to carry out conversations as internal communication to implement strong programs through various communication channels (Argenti, 2008). PDIP NTB has a variety of channels that are used to ensure the intended message can be achieved, especially stratified internal communication. Hakam Ali Niazi explained that Rachmat Hidayat as the Chair of the NTB PDIP always builds internal communication clear, which must be completed internally until no one disagrees with the decisions made internally by the party (Niazi, 2019). Communications built with cadres at various levels are completed at the internal level by involving elites who have important roles in each region. PDIP NTB in formulating goals has undergone a process of argumentative message debate internally and has become a joint decision that cannot be challenged if it has become the decision of the Chairperson of the PDIP NTB DPD. Therefore, Rachmat Hidayat as Chairman of the DPD PDIP NTB became a central actor who was able to mobilize cadres and masses through orders in effective communication in achieving goals both as guardians of Pancasila and the process of adapting religiosity in NTB.

In addition, there is an emphasis given by the NTB PDIP elite in adapting, so that cadres who have built their loyalty are able to move in society without any ideological distance between cadres and constituents. When referring to the characteristics of PDIP voters, the constituent groups of PDIP come from spicy communities. In other words, the existence of a regional basis for PDIP in NTB which is located in East Lombok Regency and Central Lombok Regency cannot be separated from the support of rural communities in the region.

Based on the following data, there is a tendency for PDIP supporters to come from rural communities with low education levels and also lower economic classes. The data also explains that the majority of PDIP supporters are in the people of Java Island. These characteristics can also be an alternative view that people outside Java also have views and ties to post-independence nationalist ideas. According to Kahin (2013), awareness of Indonesian nationalism was built by several aspects, namely: 1) the existence of social and political pressures in the Colonial era; 2) the unity of the language used as a result of the use of the Dutch language which was limited to certain groups of people in the Colonial era; 3) the existence of a unified Islamic religious belief; 4) the view of the glory of Srivijaya and Majapahit; 5) Western education which gives birth to educated actors who bring about change (Kahin, 2013).

As with the idea of PDIP as a "partywong cilik", PDIP supporters are in the lower economic class, but in the 2014 elections there was a change that showed an increase in support for PDIP from the middle class



and urban areas. There is a momentum for party performance assisted by the personalization of actors that occurred in the 2014 election, namely the struggle to win Joko Widodo as president. This is also a factor in the increase in the number of votes owned by PDIP in NTB. According to Raden Nuna Abriadi, the figure of Joko Widodo as the elected president provides capital for PDIP cadres to become a symbol of the common struggle in the regions (Abriadi, 2019). This is in line with the view of Levine & D. Kam, namely that actors in the party will be more influential in conveying messages about the picture of future performance (prospective information) compared to delivering messages of success in the past (retrospective information) (Levine & Kam, 2016). Therefore, the ability of actors within the party to convey messages to the public will determine the party's credibility in getting support from voters.

Table 6
Demographic, Social, and Economic Characteristics of Supporting PDIP

No	Respondent Category	Political Party Voters	Survei Pra Pileg 2009 (%)	Survei Pasca Pileg 2014 (%)		
1	Residential Area Classification	Pedesaan	82,3	69,7		
		Perkotaan	17,7	30,3		
2	Residence Location	Jawa	64,9	59,3		
		Luar Jawa	36,4	40,7		
3	Gender	Laki-laki	56,4	55,6		
		Perempuan	43,6	44,4		
4	Age	17-21	8,7	5,2		
		22-35	36,8	34,3		
		36-50	33	32,5		
		>50	21,5	28		
5	Tribes	Jawa	46,9	50,9		
		Selain Jawa	53,1	49,1		
		Islam	79	79,9		
6	Religion	Selain Islam	21	20,1		
		Rendah	73,6	63,7		
7	Education	Menengah	22	29,5		
		Tinggi	4,3	6,8		
		Pelajar/mahasiswa	3,5	2,8		
		Ibu Rumah Tangga	23,4	25,6		
		6	Job	Pensiunan/ Tidak Bekerja	4,6	3,4
				Aparat Negara	2,7	2,5
7	economy class	Pegawai Swasta	4,6	8,7		
		Wirausaha	61	57		
		Bawah	54,1	54,1		
		Menengah		40,9		
		Atas		5		

Source: Nainggolan, Bestian & Yohan Wahyu (ed), 2016. Kompaspedia of Indonesian Political Parties 1999-2019: Concentration and Deconcentration of Power, Jakarta: Kompas Media Nusantara, pp. 108-109.

The communication that had been built internally at PDIP NTB on the orders of Rachmat Hidayat was then forwarded by cadres to convey the message that the success of PDIP at the national level would be the success of development in NTB. According to Rachmat Hidayat, PDIP's victory at the national level can inspire cadres at the grassroots level to move to fight for party work (Hidayat, 2019). On the one hand, the cadres receive orders that must be carried out, on the other hand, the cadres get a shared spirit to fight for the party as a result of winning at the national level. In this case, Rachmat Hidayat is able to become an actor who takes advantage of the internal management of information in PDIP. As Mcnair (2011) views that there is information engineering by powerful actors who use information as a tool to form public opinion. This



information was successfully channeled through internal communication channels and received by the cadres without any resistance at the grassroots. Therefore, cadres become the driving force at the mass level and then the masses become the determinants in the work of the wider political machine in society.

In addition, the personalization of actors in PDIP then helps the party's image to be accepted by community groups who are not loyal supporters of PDIP. In addition to the image of PDIP as a nationalist party with the party slogan "wong cilik", through the symbolic role of Joko Widodo as an agent and Megawati as the actor principal, PDIP has provided a large flow of support from outside its loyal supporters. According to Alhamid & Perdana (2018), although PDIP has undergone presidentialization due to the figure of Joko Widodo as the holder of executive power, PDIP has also experienced personalization through Megawati's influence as the General Chair of PDIP. PDIP is a party that is centralized in the influence of actors in the internal management who become role models for PDIP cadres in achieving party goals in electoral political contestation. Therefore, the image that is built is not only in institutional buildings, but is also formed through the image of personalized actors as an attraction for PDIP which will also have an influence at the regional level.

In the regions, especially on the island of Lombok, it shows that the condition of rural communities who still maintain religious values does not simply accept nationalist views which are considered secular. On the other hand, in the rural communities of Lombok Island, who are tied to the activities of the Tuan Guru group who spread Islam, it becomes a challenge for the NTB PDIP in mobilizing the masses in various party activities. Nevertheless, the followers of PDIP NTB have actually been built since before the NTB province was formed in rural communities on the island of Lombok, there are still groups of people who maintain local customs without wanting to be influenced by the Tuan Guru community who is trying to eliminate the local cultural heritage. In other words, there are communities on the island of Lombok that have a sense of representation through PDIP, not other parties or other political communities.

Although PDIP supporters tend to come from rural community groups, after the 2014 election, PDIP supporters are increasingly scattered in urban communities. This is also inseparable from the emergence of competition that occurs at the national level. For example, the NTB PDIP voters in Mataram City from 2009 to 2019 always had an increase in the number of votes. The change in voice became the strategy of PDIP in building communication with constituents in both rural and urban areas. The communication process that is centralized on one actor actually makes it easier for PDIP NTB to build an image at the constituent level. This was due to clear directions regarding adaptation work and mass mobilization that were focused on the formed mass base. The image of a nationalist party that adapts to societal values can be addressed and accepted in a society with high religiosity. In other words, PDIP NTB utilizes centralized communication that is with the Chairperson of the DPD PDIP NTB by adapting community values. Even though the program is still based on nationalist ideology, the form of communication is in accordance with the values of the local community.

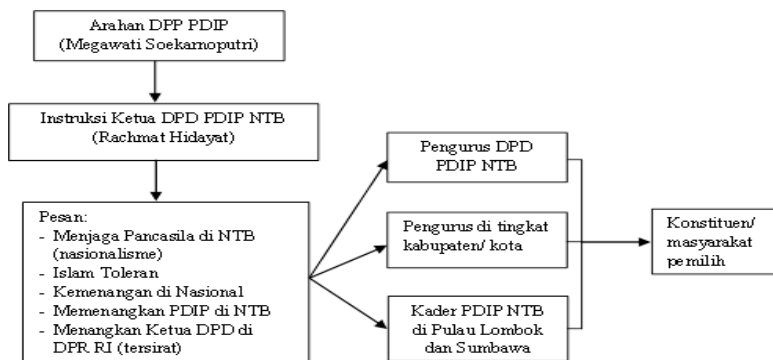


Fig 2. Information Management Through Internal Communication Channels



On the other hand, Rachmat Hidayat's close relationship with Megawati Soekarno Putri as a central actor at the national level gave Rachmat Hidayat access to legitimize his influence in the region and to establish communication with various parties. Rachmat Hidayat's centralized communication within PDIP has a message containing the interests of parties at the central and regional levels as well as their interests in electoral competition in NTB. Rachmat Hidayat's close relationship with Megawati Soekarno Putri then gave him access to manage information to cadres through legitimate internal communication channels. The legitimacy of the internal communication channel is a form of acknowledgment of Megawati Soekarno Putri through messages conveyed by Rachmat Hidayat to cadres in the regions. Raden Nuna Abriadi, said that,

“Our chairman very often gives directions as a form of conveying the wishes of the central management. Let alone for matters relating to management, for election or regional head elections, the chairman will provide tasks that must be carried out by the cadres on orders from the wishes of Jakarta... especially if you mention Mrs. Mega, surely the cadres will follow the orders given by the chairman.. .” (Abriadi, 2019)

The chairman of the DPD PDIP NTB in conveying the wishes of the central management has never been rejected at the regional level (Abriadi, 2019). This condition occurred due to the cadre's order who always saw that what Rachmat Hidayat was doing was a symbol of the wishes of the central management and received legitimacy from Megawati Soekarno Putri (Abriadi, 2019). Centralized communication in the form of directives creates solidity of cadres with high loyalty in carrying out party duties. Therefore, the interest that was instructed by Rachmat Hidayat was a mutually agreed wish to be achieved by PDIP cadres in NTB.

Some of the messages conveyed by Rachmat Hidayat as the sole political communicator in the PDIP NTB include: 1) PDIP NTB cadres are at the forefront of maintaining Pancasila in NTB; 2) NTB, especially Lombok Island, is the basis of the Muslim community, so the cadres are people who maintain religious tolerance as tolerant and friendly Muslims; 3) welcoming the victory at the center with the victory of PDIP in NTB through cadres to be able to sit in the DPR RI; 4) the victory of the PDIP in NTB, namely winning the Chair of the DPD PDIP NTB in the contestation for the DPR RI Election. According to Rachmat Hidayat, cadres who have carried out a tiered regeneration process in the PDIP NTB will certainly not question what the party's decision is and if the party's decision is unanimous, then the cadres will always fight together to achieve that goal (Hidayat, 2019). The position of the message conveyed by Rachmat Hidayat to the cadres then became a means of justification to be able to move the PDIP NTB cadres to win them in the elections in the DPR RI.

On the other hand, PDIP cadres who have received orders from the Chairperson of the NTB PDIP DPD, serve and play a role as political communicators at the grassroots level to convey these messages as the main target in party work. Cadres on the one hand become communicants as well as communicators whose task is to transfer messages and strengthen messages as bonds at the grassroots level. The messages conveyed at the grassroots are the result of managing information through a centralized communication channel played by Rachmat Hidayat. By strengthening the message conveyed on the orders of the central management, all communications directed by the chairman of the DPD PDIP NTB will become party tasks that must be carried out by cadres. This condition ultimately creates a sense of solidity and loyalty to messages both ideologically and the content of various interests that become one in Rachmat Hidayat's centralized communication. In the end, although the constituents on the island of Lombok are the basis of religious communities, the PDIP NTB can still influence and be able to maintain the acquisition of legislative seats, especially in the 2009-2014 DPR RI elections.

4. Conclusion

The success of the NTB PDIP in obtaining seats in the DPR RI in the 2009-2019 elections is a form of the centralization strategy of actors who have roles as agents & principals in carrying out party work. Rachmat Hidayat as Chairman of the DPD PDIP NTB was able to become a unifier in party management and consolidate cadres to be able to win seats in the DPR RI in the 2009-2019 elections. Through strong consolidation within the internal party, PDIP NTB was able to adapt based on the value base found in the



NTB community, especially on the island of Lombok. The combination of dominant central actors, a strong organizational structure with solid cadre mobilization and a process of ideological adaptation, PDIP NTB was able to survive and gain a stable voice in the Province of NTB. In other words, although PDIP NTB is a party based on nationalist ideology, it is able to exert influence in the religious community in NTB.

In addition, the use of a centralized communication channel through various media was able to generate popularity for Rachmat Hidayat both within PDIP NTB and also in the public. Through well-delivered political messages through a centralized communication channel, Rachmat Hidayat succeeded in providing directions as a party task containing information both in the form of party interests to Rachmat Hidayat's individual interests. Therefore, the ability to manage a centralized communication channel and political messages as an instruction made Rachmat Hidayat the central actor of the NTB PDIP.

In the end, the loyalty of cadres and constituents was built based on the characteristics of PDIP supporters in NTB. The ability of PDIP NTB with the strategy of centralizing actors provides space for PDIP to maintain centralized internal communication to maintain cadre solidity. Meanwhile, when cadres deal with constituents, PDIP is able to adjust forms of communication that are open to ideological distances that do not let go of nationalist and religious identities. Strong internal consolidation by party elites has resulted in the image of PDIP as a solid party as well as a party that is open to the religious ideas of the people in Lombok. On the other hand, cadre loyalty and constituent loyalty built through adaptation provide room for parties to gain support outside of loyal supporters who have become the constituent base of PDIP NTB. Thus, the open image as well as the loyalty of PDIP NTB cadres and constituents provides an opportunity for PDIP NTB to gain seats in the DPR RI in the 2009 2014 and 2019 elections.

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