

## Theoretical Review of Political Communication and Political Achievement Strategy

### Edhy Prabowo

Doctorate Program of Communication Science  
Faculty of Communication Science  
University of Pajajaran  
Edhyprabowo8@gmail.com

### Sulismadi

Post-Graduate Program  
Social and Political Sciences  
University of Muhammadiyah Malang  
sulismadi@gmail.com

### Safri

Post-Graduate Program  
S3 in Administration Science  
Faculty of Administration Science  
University of Brawijaya Malang  
syafri\_ei@yahoo.co.id, safrimuis@gmail.com

### Abstract

*The objective of this review was to describe and to explain theoretical review of political communication and political strategy. Method used by this review was the approaches of theoretical review and literature review. Result of this review aligned with the findings of communication experts and political experts. (1) Communication was a delivery of message from communicant to communicator. (2) Politic was a process of power making and power division in the community, and taking a form of decision-making process, which is organized by the nation. (3) Political system was a mechanism and a set of functions or roles in the political structure that are interdependent to each other and also that underline a process of emphasizing time dimension (exceeding the current and beyond the future) and striving for collective goal. (4) Political communication involved political messages, political actors, and its relevancy with power, governance and government policy. (5) Political communication strategy can be achieved through planning stages, such as: (a) Problem Analysis, (b) Goal Setting, (c) Identification and Segmentation of Targets, (d) Determining the Messages, (e) Strategy and Tactic, (f) Allocation of Time and Resource, and (g) Evaluation. In general, political party needs strategy planning to have a connection with government. In this case, it is about political communication planning. Indeed, political communication planning associates with the political product. Political messages area delivered and images are shown up. Planning was needed such that the allocation of political party resources was made effective and efficient. Therefore, synergy and consistency between work programs to be done in a political party must be considered in political communication strategy.*

**Keywords:** Communication, Politic, Strategy

## 1. INTRODUCTION

In daily life, human needs other human, because human is a social creature. Being social creature, human must express something to other human, but this expression shall be understood and acceptable. The expression of intension is then called a communication.

Some experts attempt to define what so called with "communication". According to Carl Hovland (1998), communication was a process where a communicator expresses stimulus (usually in words) by aim to change or to modify the behavior of others. According to Harold Lasswell (1972), communication, basically, was a process of *Who says what in which channel to whom and with what effect*.

In this case, communication is used by someone or communicator to express their political intention. To ensure that political intention was understandable and acceptable to others, the communicator must express their intention through articulate and wise words to assure that those whom the communicator communicates with would be good listener or possibly be persuaded.

Politic itself contains with many definitions. Politic can be called as *the science-and-art* of how to master the power in constitutional and non-constitutional ways. Politic was the effort by citizens to achieve collective goods (Aristotle's classical theory). Politic was things related with realization of government and nation. Politic was an activity aimed to obtain and to defend the power in the community. Politic was something about the formulation and implementation of public policy. Of various definitions in politic, some important keys must be understood, such as political power, legitimacy, political system, political behavior, political participation, and political process. Intricacies of political party shall come into consideration.

## 2. COMMUNICATION

Communication has various definitions. Term "communication", according to Nimmo (2007), has many versions. It may be: shifting the information to obtain response; coordinating the meanings between individual and audience; sharing the information, idea or attitude; sharing the substance of behavior, or mode of life through set of regulations; expressing a message from someone to other to give information or to change attitude, opinion, and good behavior, through direct or indirect ways.

What communication means? This word etimologically comes from Latin "*communication*". The root derives from "communis" meaning "similar" (similar meanings). Communication happens only if there is a similar meaning about a message conveyed by communicator and that accepted by communicant (Effendy, 2003:30).

Various definitions of communication have been reviewed and discussed by communication experts. Some definitions were related with "*Who says what in which channel to whom and with what effect*" (Harold Lasswell, 1950) and "*Sharing the information, idea and attitude*" (Wilbur Schramm, 1974). Functions, types, components and processes of communication were also discussed. Several components of communication include Communicator / Sender (the sender of message), Encoding (the process of arranging ideas into symbols/messages), Message, Media / Channel, Decoding (the process of solving/translating symbols), Communicant / Receiver (the receiver of message), and Feed Back / Effect.

## 3. POLITICAL SYSTEM

Politic may have different definitions based on the perception of individual who uses the term. Politic represents manners, orders, plans, schemes, procedures or methods used by an individual or a group to achieve certain goal. Politic comes from the word "polis" (state-city). Politic then evolves into several words and definitions through many languages, or at least, remains under influence of what have been done and not done by the state. Aristotle in *Politics* said that polis or state-city was a unity, meaning that it was a system resembling an organism or representing a unit of association.

According to Mufid, "politic was efforts oriented to power, either through obtaining, distributing or maintaining it".

Budiarjo (2010) gave some definitions of politic. One of them was related with public policy. Taking some quotes for various scientists, Budiarjo describes the politic as following. Hoogerwerf reported that the object of political science was government policies, policy-making processes, and its consequences. Public policy was aimed to build the communities on expected direction by exercising the power.

Therefore, politic was a review about the power or the art of the government. It aligns with the definition of politic of "*who gets what, when and how*" (Harold Laswell, 1972), and "*authoritative allocation of*

*values based on discretion*" (David Easton, 1961). Politic associates with "Power and Power Holder". It also represents a decision-making or policy-making for common goods. Politic was an art of governing because it involves the use of influence, the struggle for power, and the competition of allocated values for communities (Politic Analysis Dictionary, Jack Plano et al, 1982). Politic was a process of establishing and distributing the power to communities. It concerns with a process of making-decision by the nation and, therefore, it was the art or the science of how to master the power in constitutional and non-constitutional ways. It was also connected to the operation of government and nation. Politic was the activity aimed to obtain and to defend the power in communities.

In short, politic was defined as the process of establishing and distributing the power to communities. These activities were achieved through a process of making-decision by the nation. Therefore, it combines between various definitions about political essence, which in this case, called as political science.

Political science is activities at certain process on certain structure and function within the unit of association (communities/nation) to achieve common goals. According to G. Almond, political system was an interaction occurring in the independent community to undergo their function of integration and adaptation. It is then concluded that political system was a mechanism comprising of set of functions or roles in political structure that connect one to another. It means that there is a process emphasizing directly to time dimension (beyond the recent and toward the future) in order to obtain collective goals.

#### 4. POLITICAL COMMUNICATION

In general, the definition of political communication is a process of delivering political purposes or messages from the communicator (message deliverer) to the communicant (message receiver) on wider meaning. Therefore, political communication has a distinctive marker, and it associates with message content. This content usually consists of political messages about political actions. Message content in political communication can differ from that in other communication types, such as educational communication, developmental communication, and others. Extensive political communication process may happen in all community layers and it may use various channels that can be used. Therefore, each political communication channel plays similarly important role in determining political success.

Political communication also involves several definitions. According to McNair (1999), it talks about the allocation of public resource with values (whether it is power value or economical value). In this matter, national officers would be given discretion to delegate power and decision in making legislation or regulation (whether it was provided to legislative or executive officers) and they must also subject to sanctions (whether it was detention or monetary fine). Fagen (1966) asserted that political communication was a communication in political system and between its political system and the environment. Muller (2007) declared that political communication was political outcomes from social class, linguistic pattern, and socialization pattern. As said by Galnoor (1980), political communication was political infrastructure because it was a combination of various social interactions where information is related with collective work and becoming a relationship of power in a circulation.

All descriptions above mean that the study object of communication science is about the communication that occurs in the community. Because the object covers wide communities, the emphasis is then given upon communication science, covering interpersonal communication or interfacial communication, including communication through mass media.

Aligning with communication technology advance, then communication science is mostly aimed for mass media, either printed media such as newspapers and magazines, or electronic media, including radio and television. A very dramatic development of electronic media may influence the model and paradigm of communication, especially mass communication.

The term "political communication" was relatively new in the political science. This term was popular since the publication of Gabriel Almond (1960) in a book entitled with *The Politics of the Development Areas* where political communication was discussed in detail. Almond (1966) noted that political communication can be defined as one function that always exists in a political system, and it opens possibilities for political scientists to compare various political systems with different backgrounds. The center of thought from Almond was located at his view that all political systems in the world, currently and in the future, have fundamental similarities, and one of them was a functional similarity (Ardial, 2010).

Political communication was one of seven functions managed by a political system. As noted by Almond (1966), there was a relationship between political function and political communication. The function of political communication was not standing alone. Political communication was a process of delivering messages for seven other functions. It means that political communication was inherently remaining within each political system function.

Based on different perspective, Nimmo (2007) also explained about political communication. By examining the communication core as the process of social interaction, and by viewing the political core as the social conflict, Nimmo (2007) then formulated political communication as the political activities with actual and potential consequences, and these activities also restructured behavior came up in conflict condition.

Communication scientist gives quite different review. They discuss more about the role of mass media in political communication. Indeed, political scientists interpret political communication as a communication process involving communication messages and political actors in their community activities. Communication scientists perceive that communication channel through mass media is very urgent political communication channel. Indeed, political scientists declare that both mass media channel and interfacial channel play important role.

Based on the overview above and the opinion of political scientists, it is concluded that political communication has very wide scope of discussion, not only about how can communication be useful for attaining power and political goal through internal ways, but also about how may the system be defended.

## **5. POLITICAL COMMUNICATION STRATEGY**

In simple words, political communication is a communication involving political messages and political actors, and it associates with power, governing, and government policy. Through this definition, it is a science of application, for political communication is not a new thing. Political communication can also be understood as a communication between "the governing" and "the governed".

Communicating the politic without concrete political action can be done by anyone, including students, lecturers, passenger-picker, shopkeeper, and others. Less surprisingly, if someone says that Political Communication is about neologism, which is a science more than a merely term.

In the practice, political communication was very thick in the daily life. No human can escape from communicating in their daily activities because sometimes, they must do analyzing and reviewing political communication. Laypeople may have their own assessment and analysis, and give social comments about oil price increment. The examples of political communication thickness are varying. One of them is that government action to increase oil price through political communication process should involve agreement from House of Representatives (DPR).

According to Mochtar Pabotnggi (1993), political communication always faces four distortions. (1) Distortion of language as "a mask". It may involve euphemism (smoothing the words). Language can reveal something different from the actuality, and it is called by Benedict Anderson (1983) as "mask language". (2) Distortion of language as "a forget project". Forgetting is also manipulating. It can be created and planned not only by one person but may also involve tens or hundreds millions of people. (3) Distortion of language as "representation". It happens when we describe something not matter how difficult it is. For example, Western mass media always give nasty label for Moslem and Arabs. (4) Distortion of language as "ideology". Two perspectives spread out distortion of ideology. First, this perspective identifies political action as the privilege of certain persons - the political monopoly from certain persons. Second, this perspective merely underscores the highest goal of a political system. Those who attend this perspective only stress on the highest goal of a political system without questioning what is actually expected by the people.

The definition of strategy, pursuant to Simandjuntak (2003:78), is the activity in the organization to deal with the goals or actions of the organization to achieve the best performance.

Political communication strategy of a political party for general community is definitely needed to deal with general election. The successful translation of a political communication strategy by the political party into a planning and also its implementation will influence the rating of political party voice in general election. According to Firmanzah (2008), political communication strategy was very important subject for analysis. Political communication strategy was not only assuring the political winning of rivals, but also influencing the gain of political votes.

Reviewing political communication strategy must be preceded by the understanding of the concept of strategy itself. According to Thompson and Strickland (2010), this strategy was about alternative approaches used to put the related organization into certain position to achieve a sustainable success, and this strategy can be used as the alternative based on optimality estimation to achieve a goal. Political communication strategy brings along implication that there must be many alternatives of action to be conducted systematically to develop a certain political communication plan such that there will be optimization effort to achieve political goal.

Political communication strategy gave various benefits through its tactical activities which involved building and creating strengths through continuity and consistency. Clearly defined and collectively agreed direction of strategy will facilitate tactical planning that may be easier and faster. In essence, the considered strategy is *planning* and *management* to achieve the goal. However, in achieving the goal, the strategy is not only giving the roadmap that shows only the direction, but also indicates how operational tactic will be used (Effendi, 1993). Political communication strategy was the mix of planning and management for achieving the goal. To achieve this goal, political communication strategy must show how tactical operation must be executed, or in other words, the approach may change over time depending on situation and condition.

The planning of political communication strategy was very important, not only to understand where the direction of political communication activities was, but also to win the political support from communities. There were elements of political communication planning borrowed from *Public Relation* planning, such as: (1) *Goal* (the expected key result) and *Objective* (the purpose of achieving the goal). The objective must be *information-based* (including educating and awakening) or *action-based* (including changing the opinion or collecting the fund). (2) *Public* or the audience. The public must be specified to avoid the confusing general terminologies such as *community public* or *general public*. List of public can be made based on priority, and short description about each public is also favorable to explain the meaning behind the planning. (3) *Strategy*. It was about a base method to undergo an action. This strategy was a general position or an approach to achieve goal and objective. (4) *Tactic*. It was a specific tool used to deliver message to the target. The goal was to communicate any changes in management. (5) *Budget and time*. It concerned with how the planning was made with the available budget. (6) *Evaluation*. It was aimed to understand the success or failure of the planning. The format may involve opinion survey or media analysis.

## 6. THEORETIC PERSPECTIVE

Theoretic framework departs from the communication itself and goes toward goals and targets of interaction. This is where communication process begins. Political communication process depends on the characteristic of communication. Different communication involves different characteristic, structure and relationship of communication factors. Such difference leads to different communication process. Political communication is one of functions that give input to political system because of reasons, such as: (1) Political communication allows the work of all functions in political system. As being blood in human body, communication helps channeling messages throughout political system body; (2) Political communication, as being blood, flows political messages such as demand, protest, and support (aspiration and interest) to the heart (center) of political system process; and the result of processing, summarized into output functions, will be returned into political system feedback. In this case, communication becomes a dynamic political system.

The function of political communication in the political system is run by mass media, either printed media or electronic media. Therefore, mass media play strategic role in political system. It means that frequency and intensity of mass media should be bigger. These media keep communities "aware of information" with their reliable facility.

Functions of mass media related directly to the making and implementation of policy (Mas'ood and Andrew, 1990) could be explained as following: (a) Function of Interest Articulation; it created a new pattern of relationship to accommodate all interests through a synthesis of aspirations. From this situation, the name of Interest Articulation was emerging. The articulation also associated with a process to cultivate various aspirations of communities. These aspirations would be screened and formulated regularly and advanced to be a policy. (b) Function of Interest Aggregation. It talked about opinion and aspiration of individual or group of individuals that would be disappearing swallowed by modern life crowd unless similar opinions and aspirations were combined. Function of combining many almost similar interests to be united into a policy formulation was then called as Interest Aggregation. Therefore, interest aggregation may understate

individual interest in favor of community interest. (c) Function of Policy Making. This function was done by legislative. To run this function, legislative must cooperate with executive. The House of People Representatives has many rights, such as *the right of initiative* to submit drafts; *the right of amendment* to change drafts; and *the right of budget* to determine the national budget. Besides, there are also *the right of interpellation* to ask for information from the government, *the right of inquiry* to conduct investigation, and *the right of asking question to the government*. (d) Function of Policy Implementation. It was a function of executive and its bureaucratic lines. This function of implementation not only concerns with giving the detail and guidance for implementing regulation. This function also exposes interpretation about regulations that must be understood and obeyed by citizens. (e) Function of Policy Judgment. It attempted to resolve disputes about regulation issue, deviation against regulation, and enforcement of facts for justice. In other words, this function made decision to reflect the justice if there would be contravention against laws and regulations. Regulation judgment was basically aimed to deliver the certainty of law for the orderliness of community.

In totality, the function of political communication was to create a stable condition of the country to avoid negative factors from disturbing national coherence. The function of political communication in the relationship between political voice and political infrastructure could bridge both sides into a national totality because both sides were interdependent to each other in supporting a national scope system.

The goal of political communication in political system was very relevant with political message conveyed by political communicator. In relation with communication goal, there is a merely delivery of political information, the establishment of political image, and the formation of public opinion. Next, political communication aims to attract audience sympathy to improve political participation in advance of general election and local leader election.

Political communicator cannot escape from their duty of organizing messages into audiences who demand for democratization in nationality, prosperity and justice. The essence of political communication, especially in related with arrangement and distribution of political messages, can influence audiences or candidates (Susanto, 2013: 163).

Political reformation in Indonesia in 1998 had produced the freedom of political communication and democratization. Political communication and democracy were both inseparable sides of a coin. Democracy never existed without freedom of political communication (Holik, 2005). Mass media were key instrument for political communication. In the era of advancing information technology, political communication had evolved interaction and political methods. In current years, social media was an important source for news and political information (Weeks and Holbert, 2013; page 3).

Before establishing political image, it must be understood as the description of someone in relative with politic (power, discretion, authority, conflict and consensus). Political image was associating with public opinion because basically, political public opinion was created as the consequence from the cognition of political communication. Communication indirectly induced certain opinions or behaviors, but it tended to influence the way of audiences in organizing their image in their environment. Indeed, this image influenced opinion or behavior of audiences (Ardial 2010).

Political socialization pushed forward the political image of individual. This political image helped someone to participate in the politic (through political party, discussion, demonstration, campaign, and general election). It was called as *political participation*.

The establishment of public opinion, as said by Clyde L.King (1928) in "*Public Opinion: a Manifestation of Social Mind*", means that public opinion can be assessed from the process of public opinion establishment. If certain issue was considered actual, it was because people usually talked about it without event, time, and place. This talk may be only the share of thought and sometimes, take place in debate. Each side expresses opinion based on facts, feelings (sentiments), prejudices, hopes, fears, trusts, experiences, principles of standing, and predictions of possibilities, as well as aspirations, traditions, customs, and beliefs. The problem in debate was made more explicit through various forms of opinions. Individuals take "a side" and then join with others who have equal standing. Certain assessment was made by certain people on the contrasting actual issues. It is what so called *social judgment*. Then, social judgment about certain issue is called "public opinion".

One function of political communication in political system was to set the strategy to implement political communication planning to create orderliness and direction clarity. This function was a step that must be taken by political communication strategy to achieve the expected goal. Several stages of campaign

planning had been proposed by Gregory (2005) and Venus (2009), and were adopted by a planning of political communication strategy. These stages were: (a) **Problem Analysis**. Early step of planning was problem analysis. To be identified clearly, problem analysis must be structured. The collected information should be relevant with the problem, done objectively, and made in written form to facilitate the retrieval or re-reading at certain time. (b) **Goal Setting**. The goal was set and prepared in written format, and it should be realistic. The realistic setting of the goal was indeed a thing that must do in planning process. Various goals can be achieved with political communication strategy. These goals were to deliver new understanding, to create awareness, to improve the image, to build a perception, and to persuade audiences toward certain action. (c) **Identification and Segmentation of Targets**. By identifying and segmenting the targets, planning would be easier and more precise on target. To facilitate the processes of identification and segmentation of targets, two layers of target were considered. First targeting was called first layer target, while second targeting was second layer target, and next was named based on the goal. (d) **Determining the Messages**. Planning the messages was important step to be done in political communication planning. Political communication messages were a structure carrying over the target to follow the expectation from political communication programs, and the final destination was the achievement of goal. (e) **Strategy and Tactic**. Strategy was the comprehensive approach to be applied into political communication, and for easier, it was called as *guiding principle* or *big idea*. Tactic depends on goal and target. More complex was goals and targets, and more creative and more variance of tactics should be used. (f) **Allocation of Time and Resource**. Political communication must be conducted at certain interval. Sometimes, the time was set by external, especially during election campaign. Other times, time was self-determined. The allocation of operational fund must respect effectiveness and efficiency. (g) **Evaluation**. Evaluation played important role to understand how far the achievement was. Because the result of evaluation should be useful for the review on next programs, then the evaluation must be sincere and within a specific structure.

In general, political party needs a strategic planning to have a connection with communities. In this case, the strategy was political communication planning. Indeed, political communication planning must involve the political products that would be offered, political messages that must be delivered, and images that should be shown up. Planning needs the allocation of resource and political party must use it effectively and efficiently. Therefore, it will produce a synergy and a consistency between work programs carried out by political parties in their political communication strategy.

## 7. CONCLUSION

1. As noted by scientists, it can be concluded that political communication has very wide scope of discussion. Not only discussing how communication can be used to achieve the power and its internal political goal, it is also elaborating about how the existing system can be maintained.
2. Communication is the delivery of messages from communicant to communicator.
3. Politic is a process of establishing and distributing power throughout individuals in communities. One form of this process is a decision-making by the nation.
4. Political system is a mechanism or a set of functions or roles in the political structure that are interdependent to each other and also that represent a process of emphasizing time dimension (exceeding the current and beyond the future) and strive for collective goal.
5. Political communication is a communication that involves political messages, political actors, and also their relevancy with power, governance, and government policy.
6. Political communication strategy can be achieved through planning stages such as: (a) Problem Analysis, (b) Goal Setting, (c) Identification and Segmentation of Targets, (d) Determining the Messages, (e) Strategy and Tactic, (f) Allocation of Time and Resource, and (g) Evaluation.
7. In general, political party needs a strategy planning to have a connection with government. This strategy is political communication planning. Political communication planning concerns with the political products that would be offered, political messages that must be delivered, and images that must be presented. Planning needs the allocation of resource and political party must utilize it effectively and efficiently. Thus, a synergy and a consistency between the programs carried out by political parties in their political communication strategy must be developed.

## REFERENCES

- [1]. Almond, G.A. and Powell, G.B., *Comparative Politics: A Developmental Approach*, Little, Brown and Company, Boston, 1966
- [2]. \_\_\_\_ 1978. *Comparative Politics*. Boston: Little, Brown and Company
- [3]. Almond, Gabriel A. & Sidney Verba. 1990. *Budaya Politik Tingkah Laku di Lima Negara*. Jakarta: Bumi Aksara.
- [4]. Almond, Gabriel A. 1960. *The Politics of the Developing Areas*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- [5]. Anderson, Benedict. 1983. *Imagined Communities. Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*. London : Verso
- [6]. Ardial, 2010. *Komunikasi Politik*, Jakarta : Indeks
- [7]. Budiardjo, Miriam. 2010. *Dasar-dasar Ilmu Politik (edisi revisi)*. Jakarta. Gramedia.
- [8]. Carl I Hovland. "Source of Communication". Yale University Publicity. 1998
- [9]. Easton, David. (1953). *The Political System: An Inquiry into the State of Political Science*, New York: Knopf.
- [10]. \_\_\_\_ 1965. *A System Analysis of Political Life*. New York. Easton, David. 1971. *The Political System*. NewYork: Alfred A. Knopf, inc
- [11]. ..Effendy, Onong Uchjana. 1993. *Ilmu Komunikasi: Teori dan Praktik*. Bandung: Remaja Rosda Karya.
- [12]. \_\_\_\_ 1993. *Ilmu, Teori dan Filsafat Komunikasi*. Bandung : PT Citra Aditya Bakti
- [13]. Fagen, Richard R (1966) *Politics and Communication*, Little Brown and Company, USA
- [14]. ..Firmanzah. 2008. *Marketing Politik; Antara Pemahaman dan Realitas*. Jakarta: Yayasan Obor Indonesia
- [15]. Galnoor, I, "Political Communication and Study of Politics," dalam Nommo, D. (eds.), *Communication Yearbook 4*, citation, Brunswick, NJ, 1980, hlm 99-112.
- [16]. Gregory, Anne. 2005. *Public Relations Dalam Praktik*. Jakarta. Erlangga
- [17]. Holik, Idham. 2005. *Komunikasi Politik dan Demokratisasi di Indonesia : dari Konsolidasi Menuju Pematangan*. Jurnal Madani Edisi II, Nopember 2005.
- [18]. ..Lasswel, Harold D. 1950. *Contemporary Politican Science* Laswell, Harold D. 1972. *Politics, Who gets What, When, How*. New york: World Publishing Co.
- [19]. \_\_\_\_ 1960. *The Structure and Function of Communication in Society*, dalam *Mass Communications, a Book of Readings Selected and Edited by the Director of the Institute for Communication Research at Stanford University*. Editor: Wilbur Schramm. Urbana: University of Illinois Press.
- [20]. McNair Brian (1999). *An Introduction to Political Communication* . New York : Routledge
- [21]. Mitchell, Joyce M. 1969. *Political Analysis and Public Policy*. Chicago: Rand Mc Nally
- [22]. Mochtar Mas'oe'd dan Collin Mac.Andrew, *Perbandingan Sistem Politik*, Gajah Mada University Press, Yogyakarta, 2001
- [23]. Mochtar Pabottinggi, "Komunikasi Politik dan Transformasi Ilmu Politik" dalam *Indonesia dan Komunikasi Politik*. Jakarta, Gramedia, 1993.
- [24]. Mufid, Ahmad Syafi'i. "Penggunaan Simbol-simbol Keagamaan untuk Kepentingan Politik", *Jurnal Harmoni; Jurnal Multikultural dan Multireligius*, Volume III, Nomor 12 (Oktober-Desember, 2004), hlm. 76
- [25]. Muller, Heidi L. and Robert T. Craig. (2007). "Introduction". Dalam Robert T Craig and Heidi L. Muller . *Theorizing Communication : Reading AcrossTraditions*. Los Angeles Sage Publications: ix-xviii
- [26]. Nimmo, Dan 2007, *Political Communication and public opinion in America, atau Komunikasi Politik: komunikator, pesan dan media, cetakan kedua, terjemahan Tjun Surjaman*, Penerbit PT. Remaja Rosdakarya, Bandung
- [27]. \_\_\_\_ 1989. *KomunikasiPolitik (EdisiTerjemahanolehTjunSurjaman)*. Bandung : PT. RemajaRosdakarya
- [28]. Plano, Jack C & Roy Olton. 1982. *The International Relations Dictionary, Third Edition*. Santa Barbara: Western Michigan University.
- [29]. ..Schramm, Wilbur. 1974. *How Communication Work*, dalam Jean M.Civiklyed Messages. New York: Random House
- [30]. ..Susanto, Eko Harry. 2013. *Dinamika Komunikasi Politik Dalam Pemilihan*. Jurnal Kajian Komunikasi, Volume 1, No. 2, Desember 2013.

- [31]. Thompson, J. A., Strickland, A. J. And Gamble, E.J., 2010 *Crafting and Executing Strategy, Seventeenth Edition*, Mc Graw- Hill/Irwin, Inc., New
- [32]. ..Venus, Antar. 2009. *Manajemen Kampanye: Panduan Teoritis dan Praktis dalam Mengefektifkan kampanye komunikasi*. Bandung: Simbiosis Rekatama Media
- [33]. ..W. Brooke Grove with an Introduction by Clyde L. King 1928. *Readings in Public Opinion : Its Formation and Control*. New York : D. Appleton & Co. Pp. xxxiv + 1281.
- [34]. ..Weeks, B.E. & Holbert, R.L. (2013, April). *Predicting dissemination of news content in social media: a focus on reception, friending and partisanship*. *Journalism & mass communication quarterly*.