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# Analysis of political campaigns through Facebook on Indonesian 2014 presidential election

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**Abstract:** From the beginning to the present, media have the main function as the tools of information dissemination. From an economic point of view, media are used to advertise any products and services up to the dissemination of information about a company's success in the formation of a positive image. In terms of politics in the history of media as a propaganda tool, media are used as a tool to seek support by making political advertising. The emergence of new media into Indonesia in the 1990s developed rapidly from any updates and responses from the public. The phenomenon of the rise of the internet users in Indonesia was marked by the rise of social media communities that have an account. Facebook is a social medium that is still preferred by the people of Indonesia. Therefore, in terms of politics, the current use of Facebook as a political ad or campaign is an effective form of campaign activities to attract support. This report will discuss the influence of political advertising via facebook conducted by the President and Vice President candidates in the 2014 election between Jokowi-Jusuf Kalla and Prabowo-Hatta to Facebook users and examine what they did on Facebook. This study used direct monitoring posts from each of the two Candidates through their fan pages. Future researches are suggested to conduct interviews to the operators of each camp for a better and thorough investigation.

**Keywords:** Media, Facebook, Political Campaigns, Elections, Indonesia

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## 1. Background

The mass media have a very important role in human life. Either individually or in groups, we are always in touch with the activities of mass communication. The existence of a strong drive for interaction between individuals or society is an effective way to communicate and exchange information through the mass media.

Since 1964 mass communication has reached a global audience directly and simultaneously. The development of communication technology / information moving quickly brought us to the era of the information society, that almost every aspect of life is affected by the presence of the media. The influence of the mass media in political life is also very large. Therefore, the role of the media is indispensable. Mass media and politics are said to be an inseparable unity. The mass media and politics will always be independent on each other and they interact with each other. The media have the ability to influence public opinion and a powerful influence in formatting of one's cognition. The media provide information

and knowledge that can ultimately form perception, and perception can affect a person's attitudes and behavior. Various media reports provide feedback to individual cognition.

The campaign is one of the 11 stages of the Election of Members of Parliament, Parliament and the Council as stated in article 4, paragraph 2 g of Law No. 8 of 2012. According to PKPU No. 15 of 2013, the election campaign is the activities in which participants in the election convince voters by offering a vision, mission, and programs of election participants with efficient, environmentally friendly, accountable, non-discriminative, and non-violent principles. According to Lilleker and Negrine (2000), a political campaign is the period given by the election committee to all the contestants, both political parties and individuals, to explain programs and work to influence public opinion as well mobilize people to vote for them when voting.

Several types of campaigns are commonly used, such as face-to-face meetings, dissemination of campaign materials, installation of props, advertising in mass media, public

meetings and other activities that do not violate the prohibition campaigns and regulations as well as in social media.

General meetings nowadays look less crowded because the campaign has turned to social media. Social media can become a media dialogue between candidates and political parties and their constituents. However, there is a need to note that social media can also make the campaign happen rampant black (black campaign), which could further undermine the political order and democracy in Indonesia. According to Niccolò Machiavellian Italian politician and writer based in Florence during the Renaissance, black campaign is how unpopular campaign team use all means to achieve the goal, can be devastating seduction, innuendo or rumors that are spread about the target to the candidate or candidates who are considered to pose less good understanding, especially in terms of public policy. In addition to campaign black, there is also a term negative campaign in Indonesia. Blackcampaign uses arguments that are not based on facts and reality but negativecampaign uses the strategy of attacking with the underlying facts and reality.

Due to the role of social media in politics and society, then this report discusses about the influence of mass media in the political world, which included public participation in general election 2014. When the presidential election campaign was underway, it is reported by social media, One of the media is Facebook. Millions of users of social media (Facebook) in Indonesia made a presidential campaign became more lively and passionate in cyberspace. And not to mention too many negative campaigns that spread through the social networking site, facebook.

Communication patterns that occur in facebook are two-way communication / interactive and in realtime. In political campaigns, facebook can also be a means to capture the aspirations of the people because it can be delivered directly. Facebook used as a means to show participants support to their candidate and also against an adversary to the candidate that they do not supported by using their status and posts.

#### Problem Formulation

1. What did the facebook uses do to support a presidential candidate ?
2. How didthe candidates campaign towards facebook users on facebook?
3. What were the disadvantages in campaigning through social networking facebook?

## 2. Literature Review

### 2.1. Media Ecology Theory

Technological developments have very big influence on the way we communicate. This has led us to the era of mass communication which peak during after discovery the internet. People now have access to more media than before, especially for the middle class and educated people. It must be admitted that the Indonesian public interest is low. Moreover, print media such as books and magazines are

more expensive than the electronic media is now growing. Electronic media is now considered more close to the people of Indonesia and has a greater influence than the print media.

The facts mentioned above show that the community is not passive but active community using the media to meet their needs. So each individual has different needs in getting information.

The definition of ecology is the study of relationships between organisms and their environment. The media will continue to change with the growth and dynamism of society, and will continue to evolve with the needs of the community itself. Instead, society will change following the change in the media.

While the definition for the media ecology is the study of media environments, ideas, techniques, ways of delivering a message, and the message itself. This theory centers on the many types of media and view the media as a media can affect the surrounding environment through the message it conveys. Vice versa, surrounding media will effects media itself. The media also has the power to shape public opinion. A person can use the media to gain political and economic power and even changing the social arrangement of a society, by pulling as much support from the community.

### 2.2. Uses and Gratification Theory

Uses and Gratification theory popularized by Herbert Blumer and Elihu Katz. Uses and Gratification theory was known in 1974 in his book *The Uses of Mass Communications: Current Perspectives on Gratification Research*. In Uses and Gratification theory, they say that media users play an active role to choose and use the media. In other words, media users are particularly active in the communication process. Media users are trying to find a good source of most media in an effort to meet their needs, means uses and gratifications theory assumes that the user has the option of alternatives to satisfy their needs (Nurudin,2003:181).

Uses and Gratification theory gives emphasis on humane approach in view of the media. This means that humans have the power and authority to treat the media (Nurudin,2004:181). Blumer and Katz believe that there are many reasons for using media community. According to this theory people have the freedom to decide how they use media and the media is free to determine which one is able to satisfy the needs of the information that they need, and how it will impact themselves.

Uses and Gratification theory also focus on the user (Uses), medium to obtain satisfaction (Gratification) on one's needs. Most people's behavior will be explained through a variety of interests and needs of the individual. This theory examines the beginning of human needs psychologically and socially, which raises certain expectations of the mass media can lead to fulfillment. In the book "*Komunikasi Massa Suatu Pengantar*" ElvinaroAdrianto say that the study, using the uses and gratification to focus on the usefulness of the content of the media to obtain fulfillment or gratification (Ardianto et al, 2004:70).

Uses and gratification discuss the use of media in order to

meet social or psychological needs of the individual. Select media audience by adapting to the needs and motive of media selection. And it applies to all kinds of media, both print and electronic media. The elements contained in the motive in selecting media is usually done to satisfy the needs.

Mass media compete with other sources of information fulfillment, but fulfillment of the requirements can be met through the media content (e.g. by looking at certain show on television), of a particular genre in the media (e.g. a talk show), from media exposure in general (e.g. watching television, reading the newspaper). Uses and gratification argued that it would affect the need to use and how to respond to the media. Zilman prove the effect of mood on media use. That when bored, people tend to choose the show of interest, while being stressed choose an event that could give you peace. The same event could fulfill different needs for different individuals. Differences in the needs associated with personality, maturity level, and the role of the social backdrop. Growth factors that appear to be associated with the goal of using the media.

Elihu Katz; Jay G. Blumler; and Michael Gurevitch (on Barandan Davis, 2000) elaborate the five elements or the basic assumptions of Media Uses and Gratification as follows:

- (a) Audience is active, and the use of media is goal-oriented.
- (b) Initiative that links between needs satisfaction and specific media choice is located in the hands of the audience.
- (c) The media compete with other sources in an effort to satisfy the needs of the audience.
- (d) People have sufficient self-awareness regarding the use of media, interest and motivation are the evidences to researchers about the description of the accuracy of the use of it.
- (e) The value of considerations about the specific purpose or audience about media content should be established.

Katz, Blumler, Gurevitch also describe a number of logic underlying research of uses and gratification as follows:

- (1) the social psychological conditions a person often means
- (2) the needs of each individual who creates
- (3) the expectations of the
- (4) the mass media and other resources, which leads to
- (5) differences in patterns of media use that in the end produce
- (6) compliance requirements and
- (7) other consequences..

### 2.3. S-O-R Theory

According to Hovland, et al (1953) say that the behavior change process is essentially the same as the process of learning. It illustrates the process of behavior change at the individual learning process consisting of:

- The stimulus (stimuli) were given to the organism can be accepted or rejected. If the stimulus is not accepted or rejected means it is not effective stimulus affect individual attention and stop here. But if the stimulus is received by the organism means there is a concern of the individual and the stimulus is effective.
- If the stimulus has gained the attention of the organism (received) so he understands this stimulus and

continued to the next process.

- After that organism will process the stimulus, so will happen stimulus receiving and will be according to stimulus.
- Finally, with the support and encouragement of environmental facilities then the stimulus is having an effect on the individual's action (changing behavior).

Furthermore, this theory says that behavior can be changed only if the stimulus (stimuli) were given actually exceeded the original stimulus. Stimulus that may exceed the original stimulus means a given stimulus must be able to convince the organism. In this organism convincing, reinforcement factor plays an important role.

In the process of change in attitude appears that attitudes can be changed, only if the stimulus that hit actually exceeds the original. Citing the opinion of Hovland, Janis and Kelley stated that in reviewing the attitude that there are only three important variables, namely:

- (a) attention,
- (b) understanding, and
- (c) acceptance

Stimulus or message delivered to the communicant may be accepted or rejected as possible. Communication will take place if there is a concern of the communicant. The next process communicant understand. The ability of these communicants who continue the next process. After communicant process and accept it, then there was a willingness to change attitudes.



Fig. 1. Picture of Joko Widodo's fanpage on facebook with 3.5 million followers / likes.

This theory assumes that the cause of the behavior changing depending on the quality of the stimuli (stimulus) that communicates with the organism. This means that the quality of communication sources (sources) such as credibility, leadership, speaking style will determine the success of behavior change a person, group or community.

### 3. Research Method

#### 3.1. Descriptive Research Method

The method is a way to reveal for the objective truth. The truth is the goal, while the method is the way. The use of methods intended to revealed truth truly based on solid scientific evidence. Therefore, the method can be interpreted also as a procedure or series in a way that systematically explore the scientific truth. While the study can be interpreted as scientific work to be done in a systematic, organized and orderly, both the procedure and the process of thinking about the material (in PrastowoNawawi and Martini, 2011).

### 4. Study



Fig. 2. Picture of Prabowo Subianto's fanpage on facebook with 7.8 million followers/likes.



Fig. 3. Picture of campaign using the hashtag #ramepilih2 in Jokowi's fanpage on facebook, with the caption "You are not alone, because it takes more than one to initiate a change. Let's choose number 2 on 9 July 2014. Regards two fingers!".



Fig. 4. picture of healthy jakarta card campaign in fanpage Jokowi with the caption "Health is a symbol of happiness that are invaluable and should a leader can ensure the health of its people. Support leaders who care about the cost, access, and quality of the health of its people with choose number 2 on 9 July . Regards two fingers".



Fig. 5. Picture of the five steps to improve Indonesia's campaign in Prabowo fanpage on facebook using animated cartoons.



Fig. 6. Picture of Fauzi Baadila (actor from Indonesia) who gave testimonials supporting Prabowo.



Fig. 7. Picture of facebook user that installed facebook profile photos "i stand on the right side" that shows support for Jokowi.

The campaign is always associated with political competition to promote the figure that compete. Various efforts they do to achieve public support and sympathy. One way is by campaign through the virtual world who utilize social media as a means of communication that is now considered to be very close to the people. If were refers to the ecological media theory with assumes that is not the message but the medium that affect us. Medium was greater affect us. Medium shaping the message, not the other way it can be concluded that the emergence of new media (Internet) this is now the medium has a great influence. When emerging new media (internet), people immediately left the radio and television and even newspapers because they no longer meet the needs of people, and that is actually happening is not the content that is enjoyed by the public, but the technology offered by the new media (Internet) itself. New media (internet) comes with many advantages, one of which is the internet has the ability to form virtual communities such as social media, social media account owners can interact and share information anytime, anywhere, and its realtime.

According to Marshall McLuhan (1964) the media will continue to change along with the the growth and dynamism of society. Also on the contrary, society is changing media changes. Social media is now an effective medium of communication to meet the needs of people to socialize, of course, by leveraging existing social networks and widely used one like the facebook community. It is proven, lately campaigned through social media has become a distinct trend in the world of politics in Indonesia, especially ahead of the presidential election on July 9th, even we can easily find the specific movements of sympathizers presidential candidates to campaign on social networking.

The two facebook account this is one of the media campaign for each candidate, these two accounts have many followers. Jokowi account the number of followers, there were 3.5 million people of facebook users, while the number of followers Prabowo as 7.8 million Facebook users. That number continued to increase from day to day. Both of these candidates account always make a post about the program each candidate and of course an invitation for facebook users to support them as candidates and vote for them in elections on July 9th.

As one of the social networking media that have many users, Facebook would also play a role in political events such as in presidential election, facebook much used as a campaign tool because facebook does give room for each individual to take advantage of this social networking in political interest.

The image above are some of the things that made by the team of Jokowi through the facebook account. The first is the hashtag #RAMEPILIH2, the hash tag is especially popular among Jokowi supporters. Hashtag #RAMEPILIH2 not only popular on facebook but also in other social networks like twitter. #RAMEPILIH2 is a meaningful invitation "let's rollicking choose the number 2". Number two is the number for Jokowi-JK in the presidential election. #RAMEPILIH2 widely used in every talks about Jokowi on facebook,

especially for posts that are positive and support the candidate number two. The second is a post about the success of the *Kartu Jakarta Sehat* program while he served as governor of Jakarta. Jokowi also plans to make *Kartu Indonesia Sehat* when he was elected president of Indonesia. That is the positive side of the figure Jokowi you want highlighted, therefore it is used as one of the campaign material is also on facebook.

Other presidential candidates from the first number is no less creative in the efforts campaigned on facebook. The two images above are a smallpart of the content of the campaign on facebook account Prabowo. In the first picture we can see the campaign themed "5 stepstofix Indonesia" creatively package in the form of animation. The campaigni is a call to improve Indonesia through 5 steps essentially an invitation to choose Prabowo in the presidential election. In the second image, the campaign conducted by celebrification strategy which involves celebrities in the political processor political world. In this case Fauzi Baadilla as a celebrity or public figure used as a booster or endorser to choose Prabowo through a video that contains the testimony of himsel fans everalotherartists, of course, withtheaim of influencing the public, especially fans of the artists chose to participate anyway Prabowo as artists in video such that one of them is Fauzi Baadilla.

Many things were done facebook users to participate in supporting the candidate of their choice. Some of them expressed their support for a candidate by clicking "like" on the fanpage account one candidate they support as found in the previous picture. And the other way is to put a picture of their profiles are edited in such a way with words of support for a particular candidate.

Photos like the above is becoming a trend among supporters or sympathizers Jokowi. Photos with the sentence that read "I stand on the right side" is not only spread in the facebook social networking, but also found in many other social networks like twitter, path, and instagram. Also unique is the number of photo artists or public figures who participated using the photo as a display picture in the personal accounts of their own social networks. We think is interesting because it has never happened in the presidential campaign-Former Indonesian president. "I stand on the right side" is a form of support made by the supporters of Jokowi.

In addition, the form of support from Facebook users must be done through their statuses on facebook. They write a variety of words and phrases that contains their support for one of the candidates in their facebook status, and not seldom gets much like the status of other facebook users. As the picture above we can see the statuses of the account owner who expressed their support with different status. There are only a form of statement which expressed confidence against one candidate and there is also a persuasive invitation to support a particular candidate.

*A. Effect of Presidential Election CampaigninFacebook*

If observed from the user community as a medium, we can use Uses and Gratification Theory popularized by Herbert Blumer and Elihu Katz (1974). In Uses and Gratification

theory, argued that media users (the community) play an active role to choose and use a medium. In other words, society as media users are particularly active in the communication process. Media users are trying to find a good source of most media in an attempt to meet their needs. This theory gives emphasis on human approach in viewing media. This means that humans have the power and authority to treat the media (Nurudin, 2004: 181).

In the case of the presidential election campaign, basically the people have the freedom to determine which media can satisfy the needs of the information that they need. The elements contained in the motif in selecting media is usually done to satisfy the needs. Including the fulfillment of the needs of social or psychological needs for individuals.

We have a lot of media that we can present a variety of news. They can only select media from more reliable sources such as online newspapers, television, newspapers, or social media such as facebook. Which as we all know, not all the news in facebook is correct and trustworthy, in fact we will find a lot of status / comments facebook users that often contains satire, ridicule, and even we can find the status of which is persuasive. Satire or ridicule it is usually in the form of memes, while the status was persuasive, for example like the person who posts a news article in facebook.

What we can try to observe is the reason why people use social media such as facebook to enliven the actual election season is already crowded. We try to break it down like this:

1. Facebook users are very varied.For the present time almost everyone has a facebook account. Starting from a small child at the primary to parents who are old enough.
2. Facebook is easy to access.In the modern era like today, technology allows us to access various social media including facebook.



*Fig. 8. Picture of facebook user's argument about body language of Prabowo and Jokowi in the mass media with the headline "Prabowo did not respond Jokowi's greeting in the waiting room"*



Fig. 9. Picture of facebook account who supports Prabowo. He said "let's support Prabowo on facebook. "Likes" to Prabowo's account has reached 6,361,242 and 2,956,105 for Gerindra"

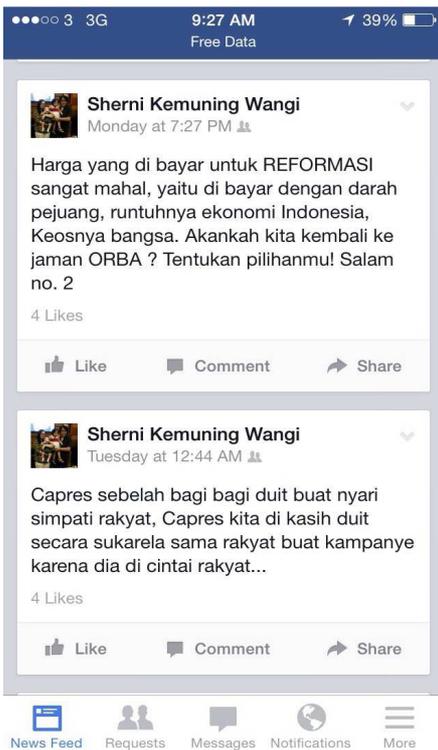


Fig. 10. Picture of facebook account who supports Jokowi's facebook status.

The presence of psychological needs. The encouragement of human beings to express / convey how they feel. For some people, social media such as Facebook is one of the medium to convey the message.

Of the 3 reasons above we can see that Facebook is one of the most effective media for interacting with other people. In addition to a broad reach of social media is also very easy to access. It is not rare for facebook users make a profit with a persuasive way to support one of the candidates that he

supported. Examples such as the post below:

From the post above we can see that the person is trying to support Prabowo to ask their friends on Facebook to like facebook account owned by Prabowo. And how effective is because in the blink of many other facebookusers immediately commented and provided support.

Facebook users also often voluntarily "bring" news stories from the online media to blogs and social media, either in the form of posts, information links, as well as statements in status. And, all of it then creates a long and lively conversation.

While in the post below, the person is trying to invite other Facebook users to think for a moment about Indonesia's struggle to get to this moment. He also tried to compare between pairs of candidates with each other.

According to the theory of Uses and Gratification society also have the freedom to decide how they use media and how it will impact the media themselves. When one reads the posts of others who vilify one candidate, then the response given each person will vary. If someone who supports Jokowi-JK, then he is likely to see positive news about Jokowi and will see the eyes bad news about Jokowi. Because as humans are active, people can think what the impact of a given media for themselves. Like the example below:



Fig. 11. Picture of facebook user's comments about the presidential debate that aired in the media and a picture of someone who shared a link with title "Indonesia led Jokowi? He looks stupid, the villagers, what would the world say?" (Source: kompasiana.com).



Fig. 12. Picture of facebook users who remain neutral and refused black campaign.

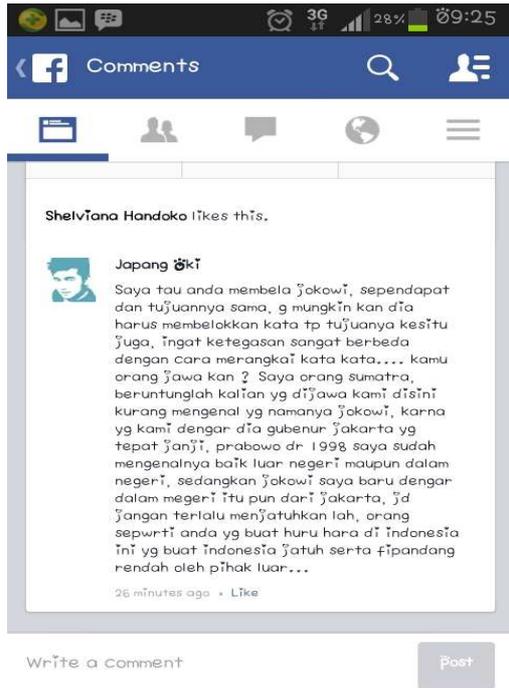


Fig. 13. Picture of the comment from facebook users who hope that the supporters of each candidate is not dropped.

While for some people, they try to be more mature in response to the post-post in Facebook. And because of the psychological urge to express what he felt, for that he also participated express an opinion through facebook. The difference is he is not the bandwagon to demonize the presidential candidates, but it also does not show that it supports one of the presidential candidates.

As previously disclosed by Hovland, Janis and Kelley at the top (in theory description SOR) which states there are three important variables defined in the SOR theory. Like, presidential campaign on Facebook in the form of posting information or messages to the public about the Presidential candidate is a stimulus that would be captured by the public organism or community. The organism is a human activity in processing stimuli obtained. In the process of this organism, each community may think or weigh based on their knowledge (knowing the track record is good or bad). Once processed, then the public will respond. In this case, the response that agrees with the post will be pulled-like, but if you do not agree to give negative comments to the post.

From the post above, we can see that the status is written by one of the users of the facebook account is a stimulus to support Jokowi. So, when people read the status, the community becomes involved thinking and see the track record Jokowi. After they finished thinking and it turns out they agree with the post, they will respond with the status like or comment positive.

We can see, there is one of the people who do not agree on the stimulus. After processing in the organism, the community ultimately provide a refuses response caustic comment on the post. And This is what today we often encounter in the facebook social networking between

supporters jeered each candidate, it is becoming an interesting discussion because of the many supporters of the two candidates vying skewed commented on the opponent candidate they support.

In addition to containing the statuses campaign, drawing in the form of a meme can also be referred to as the stimulus. Most of the images were made in the form of a meme is taken from a true story, but politicians made in the form of jokes or innuendo (not directly blasphemous).

Meme is a term for a concept, idea, thought, or other work that is widely used in the Internet as a communication alternate verbal / visual linearly, or to describe a situation, culture, and other things in a unique way.

Meme (pronounced meem) is used to describe a concept that spreads via the Internet. This term leads to the term meme itself, although the true sense of the word meme leads to the concept or category of information a widespread culture. Basically, the internet meme is a unique thing that used to describe something that can only be found on the internet.



Fig. 14. Picture of meme about Prabowo.

For examples:

We can see, that someone who wants to post a picture of this meme yet satirical Prabowo created with a unique and funny. People who do not support Prabowo become President, will give a response like giving disagree and share pictures like this on their facebook account.

However, if there is public support for Prabowo was the President see image memes candidate were reported negative, they will reject or disagree with the response in the form of comments such as "Your jokes are not qualified." It means that Facebook users receive a stimulus and processed in the organism so that it can emerge response or action. As the picture below:



**Fig. 15.** Picture of meme about Prabowo with caption "if this man became president, he was the first president with the Jomblo's predicat (Jomblo is the Indonesian term for states who do not have a companion / partner --- single).

Most of the people may not realize that he had been affected or the other is already hegemony with post-post a status, news articles, and images that appear on facebook memes. Hegemony is a condition in which a person who is in the persuasion does not realize that he was in persuasion. In general, the definition of hegemony is as a rule a social class dominance over other social classes, through intellectual and moral leadership are assisted by domination or oppression. It could also be defined hegemony as domination by one group against another group, with or without the threat of violence, so that the ideas dictated by group domination of the group that dominated / controlled is accepted as something natural and not curb the mind.

A campaign can also be associated with hegemony as the campaign is called as a tool for constructing reality. So, if their construction is done continuously it will become hegemonic. It can be seen from the user account facebook share posts news articles relating to politicians continuously. With the advent of post in the news feed, public or community who accidentally read the posts could change course of the anpolitis be political. The point is that people can change from that originally was not interested in following political developments, but because often read the posts on facebook eventually became interested in following political developments such as the sudden writing to comment on the status of the presidential debate, share a news article about the presidential candidate, or even contributed to comment on other people's posts related to politics. And this is what I have found on facebook since the presidential campaign season, many Facebook users who had

never made a post about it now active political candidate discusses the pros and cons opinions.

## 5. Conclusions

Facebook is one of the most effective media for interacting with other people. In addition to a broad reach of social media is also very easy to access. It is not rare for facebook users make a profit with a persuasive way to campaign. Campaign via social media has become a distinct trend in the world of politics in Indonesia, we can easily find a wide variety of ways in which the sympathetic candidate to declare their support on social networking facebook. However, the campaign through social media also have a negative impact on the spread-spread negative political issues and educate each other down for the community. Thus, in practice, still have required special arrangements for regulating the activities of the campaign via social media in order to create a healthy democracy.

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