

# The Politics of Media; Questioning for Minimum or Maximum Effect?

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**Abstract**—The mass media with its ability to construct reality, allegedly influence the political situation in society. Various theoretical studies of communication have even formulated several possible effects that the media can contribute to the flow of political activity. Some of the literature reviews in relations with political communication and the media shows a strong tendency of the relationship between them. But the things are different now. The strength of the media which was originally considered strong (strong effect) is now experiencing a decrease in strength (minimal effect). This kind of paradigm shift can be seen in the 2014 legislative elections. This paper wants to explain changes in trends in media effects. By using the comparison of the 2004, 2009, and 2014 election period, the tendency of the media's minimal effects to be seen in the 2014 election, the measurement can be seen from five aspects, namely; effect size, media outlet, theoretical approach, partisan media, and audience. From these five aspects, we get a picture of the tendency of changes in media effects in the 2004 and 2009 election periods which are relatively stronger (strong effect) to tend to be minimal (minimal effect) in the 2014 election period. One of the variables used is the amount of advertising spending and the acquisition of parliamentary seats.

**Keywords**—politics of media; media effect; minimal and maximum effect

## I. INTRODUCTION

Political contestation in the election of Members of the House of Representatives conducted every five years in Indonesia indeed presents various kinds of analysis. Media involvement in a democratic system cannot indeed be involved in the political system itself. Media is often used as a weapon in political struggles. As a function of influencing the public, no media is often used as a means to attract political interests. Since the reform era, various lessons that can be taken since the 2004 and 2009 general elections are as well as the role of the media in the political process. The emergence of many political parties in Indonesia and the recent development of direct elections of heads of government have encouraged increasingly sharp competition between political parties and their candidates. No wonder why political parties and their candidates are willing to spend billions of rupiah on advertising themselves and their parties which aim to attract sympathy and public support.

There are many debates about the impact/effects of mass media in influencing the audience among the scholars, and specifically the impact of the campaign on voter preferences. In this connection, the question is whether the current mass media has the ability to influence such an audience's image of the parties and candidates that will continue to influence voter decisions? A study in the United States seems to support the view that has been quite dominant among advertisers that the mass media, especially television, does have a very significant influence on voter preferences. In this case, the New York Times conducted a poll during the 1988 General Election, the results of which showed that 25 percent of voters claimed that political advertising had influenced their choices against presidential candidates (McNair, 2003 in Rianto 2008). Nevertheless, this view is not the only view that exists and is believed to be true. At least the discussion about the impact of the media in the academic realm finds two opposing positions, namely the view that there is a media that has a strong influence (Bullet Theory) with a view that emphasizes that the media has little influence on the audience (Minimal Effect). The study conducted by Paul F. Lazarfeld, Bernard Berelson, and Hazel (1944) found that personal relationships were more decisive in their choices toward candidates than the direct influence of mass media (McQuail and Windahl, 1981). Based on this study, Ktz and Lazarfeld compile a two-stage (two-step model) communication model in which the influence of the media will take place through opinion leaders and then forwarded through personal contact.

In the Indonesian context, the truths of this theory have not been fully tested. At least, as far as the author's knowledge is concerned, there has not been a convincing analysis publication regarding the effects of political campaigns in determining voter preferences. Kompas Daily (11 April 2014), released an article about the amount of advertising spending costs in the political campaign period of the Indonesian legislative elections in 2014. In its report shows the contradictory conditions between the amount of advertising expenditure costs and the vote acquisition in parliament. This picture becomes interesting when the campaign pattern with the mass media is almost the same but gives a different effect with the election period in 2004 and 2009. The media model and pattern of effects is not the same as what happened in the previous election period where advertising spending will be directly proportional to the number of votes. The high level of exposure to television media was not directly

proportional to the vote after the election. Borrowing the concept of a setting agenda that was previously often used as a basis for the study of media effects, it turned out that television media became weakened in shaping the cognition and behavior of voters in political communication activities.

Interestingly, the results of the 2014 votes of members of the Indonesian Republic People's Representative Council, especially the People's Conscience Party (Hanura), had to settle for a 5.26 percent seat or 16 seats to occupy the 10th position from the number of votes. Kompas daily released advertising spending for Hanura political parties amounting to 70.5 billion rupiahs and occupied the first position in political party advertising spending. This is inversely proportional between spending on advertising with the results of the votes obtained. Facts like this give rise to the notion that the effect of the media - in this regard is advertising spending - then becomes questionable about its strength. Apart from the complex dimension of audience preferences for the interpretation of the audience of the message conveyed, it now implements changes that tend to experience minimal effects.

On that basis, this paper rests on the view that television media - may experience a tendency towards minimal effects. Although there are also many analysts who hold that in viewing media voter preferences not only in terms of the message delivered but preferential status of voters also depends on the social, political, cultural and technological context that surrounds them. The assumption is that the division of the social structure of the community will have a contribution to the degree of influence of the campaign and the media on the choices of audiences towards candidates and political parties.

This hypothesis is the heart of the discussion in this paper. However, since the reforms, Indonesia has entered an exciting phase for social-political studies and communication. The dynamics of political parties and the reconfiguration of political structures and functions, as well as the democratization of the media, provide many interesting study materials, and of course the influence of political campaigns in the mass media on voter preferences. If these topics get serious attention and study, then it is not possible that these studies will contribute to the development of communication.

#### *A. Media Effects; A Brief Theoretical History*

The media effect on the "communication story" journey is indeed not a new item. The long history of the effects of media is often influenced by government interests and other policymakers, technological changes, activities of pressure groups and propagandists, public attention and discoveries in social science (McQuail, in Junaedi, 2013). The study of media effects continues to evolve following changes in society, technology and media actors themselves. Over the last 30 years the agenda of media settings is a well-documented theory widely used in the study of political and social communication. The study agenda-setting departs from the context of mass communication and voting behavior that sees the idea that the routine of raising social and political issues in the mass media will change or influence audience cognition. The agenda-setting theory offers media agenda will be able to influence the agenda of social audiences. Many studies related to the agenda focus settings to media content associations and responses to them by involving cognitive mechanisms.

Research on Agenda Setting (Lars, 1992) almost provides unidirectional associations between media exposure and public acceptance. This means that the media has a strong effect on the audience. The study of the power of media effects in the 1970-1990 period used mass media as the field of study. But in line with the development of technology, society, and the existing socio-political conditions, the strong effect of media messages began to shift. Bennett & Iyengar, indicated media effects with many factors and changes made them minimal. Even though studies about minimal effects already existed in the 1940s, but technological, social and political changes helped change the pattern of the effects of this media itself. Therefore, further studies are needed regarding the effects of this media in relation to forms of political communication that will be carried out periodically by political actors.

In political communication literature, the study of media effects is alluded to in several focus studies. After much mention of psychological and system effects (Bryant and Zillmann, 2002) other studies have focused more on the types of effects of political communication (McLeod, Kosick, & McLeod, 2002). One focus in the study of the effects of communication is seen in the micro-scoping of effects at the individual level which includes changes and formats of opinions, cognitive, perceptual and behavioral. The effects of media in political communication studies also focus a lot on mass media effects. This indicates that the mass media is widely used as a choice in the process of mass communication, especially regarding the election process.

The selection of mass media as a media campaign certainly takes into account the advantages of the mass media itself. Since Marshal Mc. Luhan (1964; 7) offered the idea of "medium is the message," the conceptualization of subsequent research leads to different media exposures that will have different effects. As was the case with Kennedy-Nixon in the 1960 presidential debate (Katz & Feldman, 1962) where audiences who heard television debates declared Kennedy the winner, those who only listened to the radio celebrated victory for Nixon. This research base shows that using different media for the same message will have different effects. Securities will apply at the individual level.

Recognizing this reality, the study of media effects has developed and given birth to several theoretical bases to examine the phenomenon of media effects themselves. The study of the effects of mass media in relation to forms of political communication has existed since 1910 and has experienced different tidal periods. If traced this change follows the social-political conditions and the development of media technology itself. Media effects themselves are a consequence of media use (media exposure) or

even the interaction of audiences with other users. Media effects also grow influenced by the cumulative and duration of media use.

The study of the development of communication effects records the phase of media effects comparing strong and weak effects (see, eg, Berger & Chaffee, 1987; Bryant & Thompson, 2002a; Chaffee & Hochheimer, 1982; DeFleur & Ball-Rokeach, 1988; Delia, 1987; Katz, 1980, 1987; Keppinger, 2008; Noelle-Neumann, 1973; Perse, 2007; Power, Kubey, & Kioussis, 2002; Schramm & Roberts, 1971; Wartella, 1996; Wicks, 1996). Following from some of the pioneer studies the media effect phase can be divided into three phases: strong media effect (1910-1945), weak media effect (1946-1970) and moderate media effect (1971-)

However, by looking at the overall development, we can emphasize three phases in the study of media effects. The first phase is the strong effect phase. The strong effect is characterized by the study of two major events in America, the Orson Welles radio contest entitled *War of the world* (Cantril 1940) and Smith's radio campaign on "sale of war bonds" (Merton 1946). In assessing the strong effect of the basis of the theory that developed at that time was a bullet theory or hypodermic theory. Media effect studies at that time developed with media hypotheses having strong strength so that they could influence the audience quickly.

The second wave of the media effect phase (weak effect) was marked by Lazarsfield's research (1944) in the presidential election in America. In this second phase, it turns out the media has decreased the dramatic side of its influence on the public. In this second phase, Lazarsfield in his study introduced two-step flow communication model, where the opinion leader influence and the role of media selection (selective exposure media use) was used as a basis for changing the audience's effect on media exposure.

The third wave of the media effect phase was started by McCombs & Shaw in the study of the function of the media setting agenda (1972) and the Noelle-Neumann article quietly "return to the concept of powerful mass media" (1973). In this third wave, there is an interesting pull between the minimal effect and the strong polarization effect. In this third phase, many studies believe that media routines influence media effects. Therefore studies that follow a lot use agenda-setting theory to see how the media effect itself works.

Even though these three phases are well documented in media effect studies, there are also many recent studies that are influenced by existing technological developments. At present many studies agree that even though the phases of the study of media effects have been well documented but the media effect continues to change and does not stagnate at any phase. The effects of moving media such as the pendulum follow the context of the cationational "all-powerful" - "limited" - "rediscovered powerful" - "negotiated" effects (Lang & Lang 1981; Chaffee & Hochheimer 1985; McLeod et al. 1991; Wartella 1996; Bryant & Thompson 2002. Therefore Bryant and Thompson (2002, 42, 58) conclude that research on media effects will still evolve and await further research studies based on existing changes.

In Indonesia In the context of voter behavior, many studies in Indonesia measure the level of voter behavior by using political advertising channels as a medium (see; Gery, 2012; Retnowati, 2013; Fenyapwain, 2013; Alfitri, 2009; Saifullah, 2009). This is due to advertisements according to political observer Burhanuddin Independent Survey Institute, as quoted in Beritasatu.com revealing that the role of advertising is very large in influencing 80% of floating voters (swing voters / floating mass) which according to the data in Indonesia also reached 80% of total voters.

Especially regarding the effects of media communication, a relatively new study by Benneth and Iyengar (2008) shows a tendency toward minimal effects. But in this study, the minimal effects proposed by Iyengar did not necessarily repeat the study of the study of minimal effects that existed in the period 1946-1970s. The theoretical basis used also develops along with the existing phenomena. The theory of Uses and Gratification is reported to appear because it responds to the minimal effects of media that have begun to shift.

## II. METHOD

This research is library research (lib, namely a series of studies relating to library data collection methods, or research whose research objects are explored through various library information books, encyclopedias, scientific journals, newspapers, magazines, and documents). Library research or literature review (research literature) is research who reviews or critically reviews the knowledge, ideas, or findings contained in the body of academic-oriented literature (academic-oriented literature), as well as formulates its theoretical and methodological contributions to certain topics. The focus of library research is to find various theories, laws, propositions, principles, or ideas that are used to analyze and solve the research questions formulated. The nature of this research is descriptive analysis, which is the regular decomposition of data that has been obtained, then given understanding and explanation so that the reader can understand it well.

Data collection method used in this research is the documentation method. Documentation method is a method of collecting data by searching for data from literature related to what is meant in the formulation of the problem. The data that

has been obtained from various literature which the website, the facebook. And the other resources that is used to answer the problems that have been formulated.

### III. FINDING AND DISCUSSION

#### A. *Legislative Election in 2014: The Tendency of Minimal Television Media Effects*

Mass media is the most popular choice for media campaign. Political advertising through the mass media seems to be an alternative that is often chosen by political actors in the implementation of election campaigns. Although it is realized that the funds that must be spent are not small, but given the nature of mass media that can reach audiences quickly and widely, the affairs of funds are things that can be compromised. Through political advertising, political actors try to direct voters' behavior through campaign messages. Campaigns through political advertisements often cause certain effects such as the formation of opinions, perceptions, and voting attitudes.

Researches on media effects related to voter behavior currently play the most in four loci include sources, content, medium, and audience. (Kaid, 2005; Ran-Wei, et-al, 2011; Dimitrova, 2014) In his research, many examined the comparative effects of media with regard to media content and the medium used. The three also tested the review of content and the medium relating to young voters. While studies on the effects of media will link the audience as a variable measure, the effects studied can vary with different test variables.

The media effect that hits the audience has various forms. Kepplinger (2008) in his paper divides the form of media effects, including; Physical, belief, value & attitude, emotion, social behavior, public opinion, and reputation of role. While Moon in his writings of media use & political participant used three hierarchies of effects to see the form of partisan political community. These three hierarchies include Cognition (C), Affection (A) and Behavior (B) known as CAB models. While studies in Indonesia related to political communication, the media effect aspects play a lot in the realm of the effectiveness of advertising or campaign messages on voting behavior. Therefore the limits that can be conveyed in this conceptual review will focus more on indicators of voter behavior and advertising as the variables.

In relation to political communication, Bennet and Inyengar's (2008) argument about minimal effects seems interesting to study. Bennet and Inyengar (2008) say that currently with information disclosure and rapid technological development, it seems likely that our information society environment has now entered the era of minimal effect. Bennet and Iyengar conducted a review of the old paradigm of the agenda theory of media settings. not only Bennet and Inyengar (2008), previously there have been studies that "sued" about the theory of the agenda of the media setting as the power of the media by questioning the same question, namely whether the media still has the power to influence the public. Bennet and iyengar base their arguments on five arguments. First, the number of media and various kinds of technological transformations have increased the supply of information received by audiences such as cable TV and the Internet. Second, the minimal effect occurs because the audience has now been fragmented. By increasing information channels, different information platforms are formed. Third, the increase in the selective exposure of the public to that information. Fourth, now the community environment has been aware of information. Fifth, the emergence of political partisan media.

In its relation to the context of political communication in Indonesia, the effect phase of the media has been eroded. Legislative elections in 2004 and 2009 can be used as a basis for analysis. Referring to the two previous election periods, it appears that the effectiveness of television campaigns has been proven. In the 2004 legislative election, for example, PDIP allocated Rp. 39.25 billion in ad spending to 109 DPR seats (21,026,629 votes). The Golkar Party issued Rp.21.75 billion to obtain 128 DPR seats or 24,480,757 votes (Nielsen Media Research: 2008). Furthermore, in the 2009 Pileg, the Democrats spent Rp. 139.12 billion appearing as winners with the acquisition of 148 DPR seats (21,703,137 votes). Each of these advertising expenditures is almost 75 percent placed in conventional media advertising spending. From the benchmark of spending on advertising in conventional media, it can be interpreted that during the previous two periods of media, particularly conventional media had a significant effect in boosting voter decisions.

In the 2014 legislative elections, there was a shift in media effects in the context of political communication. Of the advertising spending spent by political parties, the largest was the People's Conscience Party (Hanura), which reached Rp. 70.5 billion. The Democrats issued the second largest shopping advertisement with funds spent of Rp. 56 billion. The third position is occupied by the National Mandate Party (PAN) with a shopping value of Rp 43.8 billion. Golkar occupied the fourth position with advertising spending during the open campaign of Rp. 39.8 billion, and fifth by PDI Perjuangan Rp. 33.5 billion. The Hanura party that pays the most "extravagant" advertising costs does not get a seat that is directly proportional to the amount of advertising costs incurred, namely only getting 5, 26 percent of the vote or the equivalent of 16 seats. With this fact there really is no harm, then questions arise why can it happen? has the media experienced weakness? Such questions then make the studies of political communication more attractive.

Based on several studies, the release of press reports and other scientific articles looking at the Indonesian context follows a shift in trends in media effects. Taking a comparison of the three election periods will make it easier to track changes in trends in this 2014 election. The following table shows:

**TABLE I. CHANGE MAPPING TREND OF MEDIA EFFECTS**

	<b>Election 2004</b>	<b>Election 2009</b>	<b>Election 2014</b>
<b>Effect Variable</b>	Voting Behaviour	Voting Behaviour	Voting Behaviour
<b>Outlet media</b>	Many – National Wide	Many – National Wide	Many- Local Media, Internet
<b>Basic Theory</b>	Agenda setting	Agenda setting	Uses & Gratification – two step flow
<b>Partisanship</b>	Limited	Limited	Ownership Media by Political Elite
<b>Audience</b>	National	National	National – Fragmented
<b>Type of Effect</b>	Strong	Strong	Minimal

The mapping above is based on Benneth and Iyengar (2008) model which refer to his writing on A New Era of Minimal Effect? The Changing Foundation of Political Communication. The table show there are different comparison periods. Because this study is intended to see minimal effect study studies in Indonesia, the range of periods used is in accordance with Indonesia's election period.

Basically the pattern of media use in political campaigns in these three years is not much different. Political actors still use the mass media as the medium for delivering their political campaign messages. But some shifts and facts are "flipped" during these three periods. Although not specific to the media and voter behavior, Saiful Mujani's research notes and the 2010 Wiiliann Readle R at least became one of the empirical data on media relations with voters. In his research, noting that in the 2004 and 2009 elections, especially political parties that won elections had a tendency to be close to voters through television news and advertisements. Compared to political parties that speak religion by approaching through traditional organizations, *nayatanta* of political parties which are precisely the political parties that are heavily exposed by the media who win the election in the election. Still in its research, 88.8% of voters get political and government information which ultimately affects voters from television, the rest comes from newspapers and radio. While in the 2004 and 2009 elections the use of internet-based media was still very limited.

Political campaigns in the mass media can actually be through news and advertisements. Because in the news, political parties will have limitations in the exposure setting and the message they want to convey therefore the ad has an important role as a media campaign in the mass media. The LSI report titled Voter Rationality shows the Democrat Party's victory in 2009 along with 89% of campaign exposures through political advertisements in the positively associated mass media by voters which eventually encouraged the democratic party in the 2009 election by looking at the amount of fish expenditure and the increase in the number of votes that are the result of the election.

**TABLE II. CAMPAIGN BUDGETING AND 2004-2009 ELECTION VOTES**

<b>Political Parties</b>	<b>Legislative Election 2004</b>		<b>Legislative Election 2009</b>	
	<b>Campaign Budgeting</b>	<b>Election Vote (%)</b>	<b>Campaign Budgeting</b>	<b>Election Vote (%)</b>
Golkar	112.791.035.149	21,58	145.583.002.991	14,45
PDIP	111.435.731.096	18,53	38.944.436.113	14,03
PKB	7.232.761.480	10,57	3.609.500.000	4,94
PPP		8,15	18.338.239.000	5,32
PD	9.040.910.780	7,45	235.168.086.289	20,85
PKS	29.795.410.385	7,34	17.858.157.150	7,88
PAN	23.342.426.509	6,44	36.521.468.175	6,01

**TABLE III. MEDIA CAMPAIGN BUDGETING IN ELECTION VOTES 2014**

<b>No</b>	<b>Political Parties</b>	<b>Media Campaign Budgeting (IDR)</b>	<b>Election Votes</b>
1	Partai Hati Nurani Rakyat	70.5 Billion	5. 26 (16 Seats)
2	Partai Demokrat	56 Billion	10. 19 (61 Seats)
3	Partai Amanat Nasional	43. 8 Billion	7. 57 (49 Seats)
4	Partai Golongan Karya	39.8 Billion	14. 75 (91 Seats)

5	Partai Demokrasi Perjuangan Indonesia	33.5 Billion	18.95 (109 Seats)
6	Partai NasDem	33.2 Billion	6.72 (35 Seats)
7	Partai Keadilan Sejahtera	4.9 Billion	6.79 (40 Seats)
8	Partai Kebangkitan Bangsa	20.6 Billion	9.04 (47 Seats)
9	Partai Persatuan Pembangunan	9.6 Billion	6.53 (39 Seats)
10	Partai Gerakan Indonesia Raya	26.4 Billion	11.81 (73 Seats)

Based on the mapping table, it can be seen that there are almost the same political communication patterns but give different results. The use of mass media, especially advertising as a media campaign, is in fact always in line with the results of the vote obtained in the legislative elections. In the 2004 and 2009 election period, political parties with the largest campaign fund reports with advertising spending that was also large actually had a high vote compared to other political parties. Seeing this trend, it might also be used as a reference for larger campaign fund disbursements in the 2014 election period. From the data of the Nielsen Indonesia directorate, in the 2014 election period there was an increase in advertising spending of 92% or 1.065 trillion in the 2009 period to 2,04 trillion in the period of 2014. However, this significant increase was not followed by the same pattern as the 2004 and 2009 election periods. In the 2014 election period political parties with high advertising expenditure did not necessarily get many seats compared to political parties that spent low advertising spending.

Judging from the indicator of advertising spending as a media campaign and the acquisition of votes in the legislative elections these three periods indicate a change in the tendency of media effects. If in the previous period (2004 and 2009) the public had a positive association between exposure to the mass media and voter behavior, in 2014 this was the opposite. This means that the media no longer has a strong effect on the audience and moves towards the minimum. Even though it allows the influence of other factors, in fact the media is now unable to align the media agenda with the public agenda through the exposure of the messages carried out. The impact on this pattern of political communication is that the media cannot automatically direct voter behavior which is actually used as a goal in any effort to use the media in the campaign.

In terms of partisan media, in the 2004 and 2009 election period, partisan media was very limited. The size of the effect is almost certainly derived from campaign advertising in the media. While in the 2014 election period, partisan media was high. This means that in delivering political messages, media owners can not only use political advertising mediums, but also setting the news and slotting time settings. Logically, based on the agenda theory that has been used to view media effects, the media should have a routine of exposing high political messages capable of directing voters.

As far as the author's knowledge, related to partisan media in the 2004, 2009, 2014 legislative elections, there is no specific research that reveals the number of partisan media involved in the three election periods. It's just that we can trace it from the relationship between ownership of the media and the political party that wins the election. Election in 2004. Based on data from the General Election Commission, the Golongan Karya party occupied the first position in the national vote by winning 21,58 percent of the votes or getting a 128 seat. Partai Indonesian Democracy Struggle 109 seats and 52 National Awakening Party. Apart from other factors influencing the Golkar Party's vote of up to 21.58 percent, the author argues that there is a possibility of media relations and election relations at that time. The reason is that in the reform era, a number of mass media showed their partisan attitude towards political parties openly even though they did not formally declare themselves as supporters of one political party.

Mass media involvement with political activities, not merely reflecting media attention to politics, but also implies the existence of an attachment by interest between a media and political power which is reported either economic, political or ideological interests (Hamad, 2004: 75). For print media, the Media Indonesia Daily (MI) is one of the media that often shows its partisan attitude towards political parties. Surya Paloh's actions as the owner of this newspaper in politics cannot be denied affecting his reporting. Especially news about the Golkar Party, where Surya Paloh had been a member of the MPR from this party. When Surya Paloh was still active in the Golkar Party, all news about the Golkar Party was reported positively. A positive image in the news of the Golkar Party conducted by MI shows how the influence of Surya Paloh (as the owner of MI) at that time.

Several studies show how the Media Indonesia daily positively reports on the Golkar Party. The results of Ibn Hamad's research written in his book, *Construction of Political Reality in Mass Media* (2004), revealed that in the news about the 2004 Election, MI showed a positive attitude to image the Golkar Party. The reform situation which tends to discredit Golkar is dealt with so as not to damage the political and economic relations that have been maintained between MI and Golkar (Hamad, 2004: 134). Namely by giving positive discourse to all parties. In fact, one of the most recent studies in the 2009 Election shows that MI reporting tends to side with and support the Golkar Party's presidential candidates. In the MI news, Jusuf Kalla was always positively imaged by reporting on Jusuf Kalla as the most suitable presidential candidate to lead Indonesia (quoted from Dewanto Samodro's thesis abstraction, 2010).

As a matter of fact, realizing that partisan media is quite high, political rivals who do not have much media use other media through social media. Coordination of opinion and political communication is carried out through social media forums and other

alternative media. As a result, it turns out that those who have no connection with media ownership get the highest votes. Selian factor figure, confidence in the media also decreased. The media can direct the position of the audience in the study agenda setting with high indisputable media routines in the 2014 election period. The study of mass communication related to the use of media, agenda setting theory may no longer be suitable as a theoretical basis for dissecting this phenomenon. Uses and gratification are more appropriate to see the tendency of media consumption so that audience mapping can be done better.

From the results of the analysis above, we can conclude that the Legislative Election that took place in 2014 has shifted the effect of the media in determining voter behavior and there is a tendency for minimal effects. The results of this analysis in the view of the authors need to carry out advanced empirical research later in examining/proving media effect theories at the individual level especially regarding political communication so that studies of media effects in Indonesia will become rich.

#### IV. CONCLUSION

Since the Freedom of the Press which was established in 1998 has provided an exciting atmosphere for studies of communication and media, especially political communication as has been emphasized in the previous discussion. Radical changes in the general elections of 1999 and 2004 became a mouthpiece for governments and political actors in providing later research discourses. In situations where competition between candidates is secure and political parties are getting stronger, candidates will take the path to broad political campaigns using mass media. The combination of the power possessed by the media in influencing and persuading the perception and image of candidates and parties in the public eye will determine the use of media as an effective media campaign. In this situation, there will be a lot of study material for communication and media research by not only focusing on the content of media content as it is carried out so far. But it also touched on the study of the history of the impact of the media that occurred in Indonesia which led to research on the audience. If the Lasswell formula describes the communication process as “who says what in which channel to whom with what effect is received”, then the audience (to whom) and the impact of the media message (effect) should get attention. Thus, understanding the impact of political campaigns and voter behavior will be more easily described.

Following the research agenda offered by Riyanto (2004) the author adds slightly that there are at least three reasons why studies on the effects of media and audience research in the context of this kind of political communication are interesting to study, especially in the Indonesian context. First, the socio-political development is quite dynamic since the 1998 reforms began. Political life, media freedom, voter participation in the electoral process have also experienced differences compared to the previous period. Even these changes can be said to take place in a revolutionary manner (Nordholt, 2003). Viewed from the perspective of voters, mobilized participation models have begun to be abandoned and voter autonomy has become so large. If in the New Order era, when people came to the polling station for one purpose and were filled with fear and worry, then the present people come to the polling place with many voter political motives and preferences. Thus there are actually many sources of information and influence that make them stop the choice of candidates and political parties. therefore testing the media as their political preference will be an interesting study material.

Second, the involvement of media owners as well as political actors later. What happened later was that the media owners used their media to socialize their political interests to the public. Furthermore, the result of this is the absence of a balance of political information in the media. The most percentage of political information in the media will belong to the media owners. Concerns arise with the imbalance in the flow of information for every political actor in these media. The initial assumption was that this would affect the popularity and electability of the party or political actor in question. But it turns out that what happens later is that it has no effect on the electability of the political actors, because ultimately the electability of the political actors or parties they intend is under other political actors who are not media actors.

Third, the presence of new media such as the internet gives a lot of access to the public as much as possible. So that the public eventually becomes fragmented and fragmented (DiMaggio, 2001). The initial assumption was that new media involvement in the political system was able to make the new media a public space. The community can directly assess/find appropriate information about their political preferences. But now the new media seems to be an Electronic Battleground media that results in the split of an audience based on their preference for a political party or candidate (DiMaggio, 2001).

What makes this interesting is the dynamics of democratic and media life as described above, so it is time for research on the impact of media political campaigns to become a research agenda in the future in addition to studies on media content. This kind of study is not only important for practical purposes (for the sake of professional political communication), but also for developing the body of knowledge in communication and media science in campaigns with modifications of various religious studies, depending on the research objectives. For example, we can develop a grounded research to find a new theory or research - ethnography research to explain or seek an understanding of a communication phenomenon, and also use case studies to explore the communication process and political campaigns. in this case, we can develop various researches to examine the effects of media such as bullet theory, agenda setting, uses and gratification theory or develop an inductive research aimed at finding something new again.

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