# Issues Management of Islamic Political Parties to Election Campaign in 2019

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#### **Abstract**

In accordance with Article 29 of the 1945 Constitution of the Republic of Indonesia. Indonesia recognizes the religion and protects the freedom of the people in carrying out its religious teachings. Indonesia is a plural country because of the diversity of beliefs and the beliefs held by the community. But because of this diversity, Indonesia has a sensitivity especially associated with religious issues. In the last two years, the establishment of the negative issues about Islam has been increasing. Consequently, Islam is cornered in Indonesia. This situation is feared to be able to further exacerbate the potential for votes for the Islamic parties in the 2019 election. Therefore, the concept of issues management of Chase W. Howard model is used in this study to answer how the management of the Islamic party issues is to face the 2019 Election. The research method used is the qualitative descriptive approach in the interpretive paradigm with the design of case study research. The results of the research show that the Islamic party has exceeded all elements on the issues management of Chase model. These elements become the step of the Islamic party against the issues of Islam and exist in the democratic system, especially for the 2019 election without reducing the sense of peace in Indonesia.

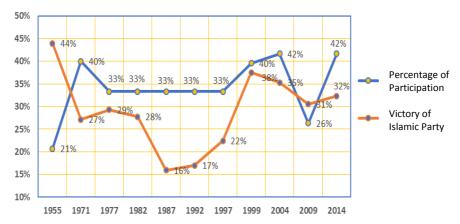
**Keywords:** Issues, Issues management, Islam and Islamic parties

## A. Introduction

Islam entered Indonesia in the 7<sup>th</sup> century, brought and developed to Indonesia by merchants from Gujarat, Arab and Persia. Then in the 13<sup>th</sup> century, the development of Islam grew into Islamic kingdoms in Indonesia, which were mostly located on the coast,

because those welcoming Islam are mostly people in port cities or coastal places<sup>1</sup>. Until now, Islam has developed and become the majority religion in Indonesia. By 2015, the number of the Indonesian people recorded per  $30^{th}$  June 2016 is 257,912,349 inhabitants<sup>2</sup>. While the number of Muslim population in Indonesia is currently estimated at  $70\%^3$ .

Looking at the history of the Indonesian country, the followers of Islam always participate actively. One of them is the role of the Muslims in politics, from the beginning of the 1955 election until the last election of 2014, Muslims always have a role through political parties. Indonesia has held 11 elections. Here is the comparison of participation and victory of the Islamic parties in the election in Indonesia:



Source: Data.

**Figure 1**. Percentage of comparison of participation and victory of Islamic Party in every election in Indonesia.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Kurnia & Suryana, Sejarah (Jakarta: Yudhistira, 2007), p. 70.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Deni Setiawan, *DATA TERKINI, Jumlah Penduduk Indonesia 257,9 Juta, yang Wajib KTP 182,5 Juta, Deni Setiawan* (1 September 2016), http://jateng.tribunnews.com/2016/09/01/data-terkini-jumlah-penduduk-indonesia-2579-juta-yang-wajib-ktp-1825-juta, accessed 21 Jui 2017

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> Rudy Kurniawansyah, *Persentase Kaum Muslim di Indonesia Alami Penurunan. Rudy Kurniawansyah* (31 July 2016), http://www.mediaindonesia.com/news/read/59042/kaum-muslim-di-indonesia-tinggal-70-persen/2016-07-31 accessed 21 July 2017

Based on the comparison of the participation and victory of the Islamic parties in the election in Indonesia, the Islamic Party experienced the declining trend voting although in the last elections in 2014 the Islamic Party increased only 1%, while the Islamic party increased 16%. This is reinforced by the results of a survey by Saiful Mujani Research and Consulting (SMRC) published in February 2013; the survey result showed that the popularity and the electability of the Islamic political parties continued to decrease from time to time. For example: PKS 7.8% decreases to 2.7%, PAN 6.01% decreases to 1.5% and PPP 5.32% decreases to 4.1%<sup>4</sup>. Another survey of the Lingkaran Survei Indonesia (LSI Network) in March 2013 on the estimation of political parties vote in the 2014 Election showed the decline in the electability of the Islamic parties. The survey result showed that all the Islamic parties based on the mass of Islam that has been ratified as the participants of the political parties in the Election 2014, namely PPP, PKB, PAN and PKS, only get vote support below 5%<sup>5</sup>.



Source: (Ekaputri, 2015).

Figure 2. Logo Islamic Party in Indonesia.

Currently, the issue of intolerance between religious people is still a hot issue in Indonesia. It is after the massive demonstrations

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> Aditya Revianur, Mahfud: *Tak Ada Lagi Partai Islam,* Aditya Revianur (04 February 2013),

 $http://nasional.kompas.com/read/2013/02/04/1810342/Mahfud.Tak.Ada.Lagi.Partai.Islam\ accessed\ 21\ Juli\ 2017$ 

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> Art, "Komaruddin Hidayat Ungkap Turunnya Elektabilitas Partai Islam", Art (3 April 2013), http://www.viva.co.id/berita/politik/402435-komaruddin-hidayat-ungkapturunnya-elektabilitas-partai-islam accessed 21 July 2018

action done by the millions of Muslims who demand justice for the case of blasphemy of the holy Qur'an by a non-Muslim. This demonstration was called the Peace Action Movement. This incident led to various assessments both nationally and internationally. This assessment of the Peace Action Movement gets a different view of society. Various views of the society about Muslims in Indonesia one of which is the view<sup>6</sup> of the Indonesian Muslims who look like Muslims in Arab<sup>7</sup>, so that the assessment appears anarchy against the Indonesian Muslims, which is contrasting with peace; they do not love Indonesia and are intolerant to Indonesia's diversity. In fact, the National Police Chief Tito Karnavian believes that Indonesia has been experiencing a diversity crisis<sup>8</sup>.

Another issue that is more concerning is the spread and infiltration of radicalism in Indonesia. According to a Leimena Institute study by Jakob Tobing, radicalism has entered into schools and houses of worship by radical ideological parties affiliated with global networks<sup>9</sup>. According to PP Muhammadiyah chairman Ahmad Syafi'i Maarif, the development and strengthening of Islamic radical movements in Indonesia as "misguided Arabism way" is like the ISIS movement that has been openly faced by the world. Islamic radical movements impose anti-democratic ideology, anti-diversity, anti-Pancasila, even anti-NKRI<sup>10</sup>. They considered the state of Pancasila as a failure state, so they wanted to establish a new format of Islamic

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> Alia, *Prisia Nasution Curhat Serba Arab, Netizen Heboh, Alia* (24 January 2017), https://m.tempo.co/read/news/2017/01/24/219839338/prisia-nasution-curhat-serba-arabnetizen-heboh accessed 21 July 2018

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> Ferdinand Waskita, *Kalau Jadi Islam, Jangan Jadi Orang Arab, Kalau Jadi Kristen, Jangan Jadi Orang Yahudi,* Ferdinand Waskita (10 January 2017)

http://www.tribunnews.com/nasional/2017/01/10/kalau-jadi-islam-jangan-jadi-orang-arab-kalau-jadi-kristen-jangan-jadi-orang-yahudi accessed 21 July 2018

Nif, Kapolri: Indonesia Mengalami Krisis Kebhinekaan, Nif (18 January 2017), http://www.rmoljabar.com/read/2017/01/18/32839/Kapolri:-Indonesia-Tengah-Mengalami-Krisis-Kebhinekaan- accessed 21 July 2017

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>9</sup> BBC, *Bagaimana meredam paham radikal di Indonesia?* http://www.bbc.com/indonesia/indonesia-39494134 accessed 21 July 2018

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>10</sup> F. Wardah, *Gerakan Radikal Ditengarai Semakin Mengancam Pancasila*. Retrieved from https://www.voaindonesia.com/a/gerakan-radikal-ditengarai-semakin-mengancam-pancasila/3803632.html

state or Khilafah<sup>11</sup>. Based on this reason too, the Indonesian government dissolved one of the Islamic organizations namely Hizbut Tahrir Indonesia (HTI). The Minister of Politic and Law, Wiranto explained that HTI activities strongly indicated a contradictory with the aims, principles and characteristics based on Pancasila and UUD 1945 that are stipulated in the Acts No. 17 of 2013 on Mass Organization<sup>12</sup>. Moreover, the appearance of a speech video of DPP Chairman of NasDem Party, Viktor Laiskodat, at East Nusa Tenggara, accused the four parties that support the establishment of the khilafah in Indonesia. They are Gerindra Party, PKS, Democratic Party, and PAN<sup>13</sup>. Of course, this condition further worsened the view of Islam in Indonesia, especially the Islamic parties. Even, Vice Chairman of the House of Representatives Commission, II, Ahmad Riza Patria, expressed his concern that the appearance of Islamophobia view from the community affects the dissolution of this organization<sup>14</sup>.

## B. Formulation of The Problem

The Election 2019 will become a special election because this time it will be held simultaneously. Based on the decision of the Constitutional Court (MK), the simultaneous elections are the implementation of the presidential election, the election of DPR and DPRD, and also the simultaneous DPD election<sup>15</sup>. In addition, the

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>11</sup> Fathiyah Wardah, *Gerakan Radikal Ditengarai Semakin Mengancam Pancasila.* Fathiyah Wardah (10 April 2017), https://www.voaindonesia.com/a/gerakan-radikal-ditengarai-semakin-mengancam-pancasila/3803632.html accessed 21 July 2018

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>12</sup> Kristian Erdianto, *Ini Alasan Pemerintah Bubarkan Hizbut Tahrir Indonesia, Kristian Erdianto* (8 May 2017),

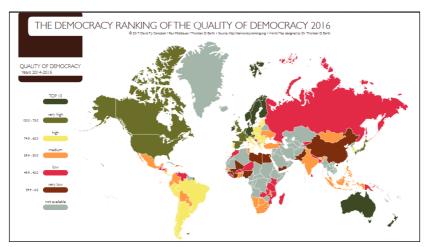
http://nasional.kompas.com/read/2017/05/08/14382891/ini.alasan.pemerintah.bubark an.hizbut.tahrir.indonesia accessed 21 July 2017

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>13</sup> Tony Hartawan, Soal Pidato Viktor Laiskodat, Hanura: Politisi Hargai Parpol Lain, Tony Hartawan (5 August 2017), https://nasional.tempo.co/read/news/2017/08/05/078897328/soal-pidato-viktor-laiskodat-hanura-politisi-hargai-parpol-lain accessed 21 July 2017

Abi Sarwanto, HTI Dibubarkan, Jangan Sampai Dianggap Fobia Islam, Abi Sarwanto (8 May 2017), https://www.cnnindonesia.com/nasional/20170508185813-20-213256/hti-dibubarkan-jangan-sampai-dianggap-fobia-islam/ accessed 21 July 2017

 $<sup>^{15}</sup>$  Rakhmat Nur Hakim, "Pilpres dan Pileg Dilakukan Serentak, RUU Pemilu 2019 Penting untuk Sistem Presidensial", Rakhmat Nur Hakim (19 May 2016),

plenary session of the House of Representatives (DPR) has approved the Elections Law that sets the threshold of 20% of the presidential election from the seats of the DPR or 25% of the national legitimate vote of legislative election<sup>16</sup>.



Source: Global Democracy Ranking (http://democracyranking.org, 2018).

**Figure 3**. The democracy improvement ranking 2016.

In Figure 3, Indonesia is in a "medium quality" position for the assessment of quality of democracy when compared to other countries. The Democracy Ranking 2016 emphasized on the top tenranked countries for 2014-2015 those are Norway (87.1), Switzerland (86.7), Sweden (86.2), Finland (86.0), Denmark (85.1), the Netherlands (83.3), New Zeeland (81.4), Germany (81.3), Ireland (80.9), and Australia (80.5).

The Indonesian election is different from the elections abroad such as the United States, which is followed only by two parties participating those are the Democratic and the Republic Party<sup>17</sup>,

https://nasional.kompas.com/read/2016/05/19/14552751/pilpres.dan.pileg.dilakukan.serentak.ruu.pemilu.2019.penting.untuk.sistem.presidensial accessed 21 July 2017

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>16</sup> BBC, *RUU Pemilu disahkan, ambang batas pencalonan presiden 20%*, (21 July 2017), http://www.bbc.com/indonesia/indonesia-40676544 accessed 21 July 2017

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>17</sup> Andry Trysandy Mahany, *5 Perbedaan mencolok pemilu di Amerika Serikat dan Indonesia*, Andry Trysandy Mahany (09 November 2016), https://www.brilio.net/politik/5-

while Indonesia has many parties. In the 2019 election there are 20 parties registered consisting of 16 national parties and 4 local parties of Aceh Special Region. Another difference is that Indonesia allows all citizens, men and women, even any religion or tribe, to vote. It is different from the election in Saudi Arabia before 2011, in which only men have the right to vote<sup>18</sup>. Based on KPU data, which is based on data from the Commission, the amount of voters in 2019 consists of male 98,657,761 people and female 97,887,875 people<sup>19</sup>. But in the Maldives, non-Muslims are not allowed to become citizens so only Muslim people have the right to vote<sup>20</sup>.

When compared to the democratic process of other countries, Indonesia ranked 68<sup>th</sup>, with the following assessment:

	Overall score	Global Rank	Regional rank	I Electoral process and pluralism	II Functioning of government	III Political participation	IV Political culture	V Civil liberties	Regime type
New Zealand	9.26	4	1	10.00	9.29	8.89	8.13	10.00	Full democracy
Australia	9.09	8	2	10.00	8.93	7.78	8.75	10.00	Full democracy
South Korea	8.00	20	3	9.17	7.86	7.22	7.50	8.24	Flawed democracy
Japan	7.88	=23	4	8.75	8.21	6.11	7.50	8.82	Flawed democracy
Taiwan	7.73	33	5	9.58	8.21	6.11	5.63	9.12	Flawed democracy
India	7.23	42	6	9.17	6.79	7.22	5.63	7.35	Flawed democracy
Timor-Leste	7.19	43	7	9.08	6.79	5.56	6.88	7.65	Flawed democracy
Philippines	6.71	51	8	9.17	5.71	7.22	4.38	7.06	Flawed democracy
Malaysia	6.54	59	9	6.92	7.86	6.11	6.25	5.59	Flawed democracy
Mongolia	6.50	60	10	9.17	5.71	5.56	5.00	7.06	Flawed democracy
Sri Lanka	6.48	62	11	7.83	7.14	5.00	6.25	6.18	Flawed democracy
Indonesia	6.39	68	12	6.92	7.14	6.67	5.63	5.59	Flawed democracy
Singapore	6.32	=69	13	4.33	7.86	6.11	6.25	7.06	Flawed democracy
Hong Kong	6.31	=71	14	3.92	6.07	5.56	7.50	8.53	Flawed democracy
Papua New Guinea	6.03	75	15	6.92	6.07	3.89	5.63	7.65	Flawed democracy

Source: The Economist Intelligence Unit, 2017.

Figure 4. Democracy index 2017 in Asia & Australasia 2017.

perbedaan-mencolok-pemilu-di-amerika-serikat-dan-indonesia-161109m.html accessed 22 April 2018

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>18</sup> Stu, *Perempuan Saudi Memilih untuk Pertama Kali.* Stu (13 Desember 2015), https://www.cnnindonesia.com/internasional/20151213162058-120-97888/perempuan-saudi-memilih-untuk-pertama-kali, accessed 25 April 2018

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>19</sup> Amm, *Jumlah Pemilih Pemilu 2019 Mencapai 196,5 Juta Orang*, Amm (16 Desember 2017), https://nasional.sindonews.com/read/1266242/12/jumlah-pemilih-pemilu-2019-mencapai-1965-juta-orang-1513405202, accessed 25 April 2018

Robin Wu, Maladewa, Negeri Dengan Penduduk 100 Persen Muslim yang Anti Paham Radikal, Robin Wu(02 March 2017) https://life.idntimes.com/inspiration/robin-wu/maladewa-negeri-dengan-penduduk-100-persen-muslim-yang-anti-paham-radikal-c1c2/full accessed 25 April 2018

The Economist Intelligence Unit Limited 2018 reveals data that Indonesia ranked 68<sup>th</sup> in 2014-2015. This is a decline from the 48<sup>th</sup> level. It is because the democracy in Indonesia suffered a setback following the mayoral polls in Jakarta, the capital, in which the incumbent governor, Basuki Tjahaja Purnama or known as Ahok, who comes from a minority community, was arrested for alleged blasphemy. Indonesia's stringent blasphemy law has often been used to limit the freedom of expression (The Economist Intelligence Unit, 2017).

It is conceivable that the Indonesian Elections are full of surprises because it has a diversity of participants and voters. The diversity of election participants with 20 parties raised their views. And, the diversity of voters have diverse backgrounds such as gender, religion and ethnicity. Assessment from The Economist Intelligence Unit (2017) on Jakarta election revealed the low level of tolerance for minority rights and freedom of expression among the Indonesia's moderate Muslim majority. The disreputable issue of Islam in Indonesia is feared to further exacerbate the potential for votes for the Islamic parties. This condition becomes an easy challenge especially for the Islamic parties. Therefore, the Islamic parties can work through the issues management to face the 2019 election.

# C. Research Purposes

Referring to the background explanation and problem formulation above, the purpose of this research is how to manage the issue of the Islamic parties to face the 2019 Election.

#### D. Theoretical Framework

# Issues of Islam and Islamic Party in Indonesia

In the last two years, Islam has been in the spotlight because of the negative issues that hit it. Various oblique issues are always identified with Islam and its people. Issues can include problems, changes, events, situations, policies and values<sup>21</sup>. Hennessy (1990)

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>21</sup> Prayudi, *Manajemen Isu Pendekatan Public Relations*, (Yogyakarta: Pustaka Adipura, 2008), p. 36

argues that an issue or a problem is a disagreement on the interests of society and not just for individuals. In other words, the issue is a matter of controversy related to the nature of public interest and then becomes the topic of public discussion through the mass media, such as electronic media and print media, and even social media for now. The subject matter may relate to law, politics, war, economy, commerce, industry, banking, sports, agriculture, crime, education, environment, social, culture, etc.<sup>22</sup>.

Issues about Islam recently become a concern in various segments of society, which then raises opinion of pro and contra on the issue. Public opinion is usually classified into three categories as follows: pro (agree), neutral and contra (disagree) to the developing issues<sup>23</sup>. The contra-attitude to the existence of the Islamic people (Muslims) and also as the Islamic culture then raises fear feeling or hatred against Islam called Islamophobia. The term Islamophobia first appeared in 1922 in an essay entitled "L 'Orient vu Islamophobia" by Etienne Dinet. Then this fear feeling creates the belief that every Muslim is a fanatic of his religious teachings and has a tendency to violence against the non-Muslims and rejects values such as equality, tolerance and democracy<sup>24</sup>. Muslims have had a role in politics even before the Independence Day of Indonesia. This is proved by the formation of Sarekat Islam (SI) as the pioneer of the national movement. Then SI metamorphosed to be Partai Sarekat Islam Indonesia (PSII) that manifested itself as a political party<sup>25</sup>. In the mid-1920s, the disintegrating situation in Sarekat Islam made the organization less attractive to many Westerneducated younger intellectuals in which among them there was Soekarno. Then, two different groups appeared in Indonesia's political discourse: the Islamic group and the nationalist group<sup>26</sup>.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>22</sup> M. Jamiluddin Ritonga, *Riset Kehumasan*, (Jakarta: PT. Grasindo, 2004), p. 99

 $<sup>^{23}\,\</sup>mathrm{M}.$  Jamiluddin Ritonga, Riset Kehumasan, (Jakarta: PT. Grasindo, 2004), p. 99

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>24</sup> Muhammad Qobidl Ainul Arif, *Menguak Eksistensi Sentimen Anti-Islam dalam Isu Keanggotaan Turki*, M.A. (Yogyakarta: Deepublish, 2015), p. 1

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>25</sup> Valina Singka Subekti, Partai Syarikat Islam Indonesia: Konstestasi Politik hingga Konflik Kekuasaan Elite, (Jakarta: Yayasan Pustaka Obor Indonesia, 2014), p. 2

 $<sup>^{26}</sup>$  Bahtiar Effendy, Islam and the State in Indonesia, (Singapore: ISEAS, 2003), p. 19-20

The existence of Islamic political groups in Indonesia, according to Din Syamsuddin, is a continuation of the dichotomy of santri-abangan among the Muslims, and the appearance of the development of pluralism among the Islamic groups themselves. Din explains that the Islamic party is a party based on Islamic ideology and symbols and also parties based on Muslim support<sup>27</sup> (Noer et al., 1999: 30). Thus, there are effects of differences in orientation and program in capturing the teachings of Islam; the political parties established by Muslim figures are divided into two groups. Abd A'la explains that the two groups are as follows: (1) the party that used Islam as a principle and a formal program, and (2) a party that emphasizes the development of Islamic values rather than Islamic symbols<sup>28</sup>.

## Issues Management of Chase Model

Mahfud MD explains about several factors that cause the decline in the electability of the Islamic parties. The fact that Muslims in Indonesia have immature Arab culture that is not in accordance with the Indonesian style does not uphold togetherness and harmony and also does not give the clean soul or is not free from corruption; the behavior of Islamic political parties is leaning towards ideology that is even on the contrary to the teachings of Islam<sup>29</sup>. This factor could have created a coattail effect for the Islamic Party in the 2019 presidential election. Coattail effect is the influence of a candidate on the electoral success of other candidates on the same party ticket. The effect is increased by the party-column ballot,

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>27</sup> Dalier Noer, *Partai-Partai Islam Indonesia saat ini antara nilai formalisne dan pengembangan nilai-nilai Islam.* Basyaib, H. & Abidia, H (Ed.). *Mengapa Partai Islam Kalah? Perjalanan Politik Islam dari Prapemilu '99 sampai Pemilihan Presiden.* (Jakarta Selatan: Pustaka Alvabet, 1999), p. 30.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>28</sup> Dalier Noer, Partai-Partai Islam Indonesia saat ini antara nilai formalisne dan pengembangan nilai-nilai Islam. Basyaib, H. & Abidia, H (Ed.). Mengapa Partai Islam Kalah? Perjalanan Politik Islam dari Prapemilu '99 sampai Pemilihan Presiden. (Jakarta Selatan: Pustaka Alvabet, 1999), p. 18

 $<sup>^{29}</sup>$  Aditya Revianur, Mahfud: Tak Ada Lagi Partai Islam, Aditya Revianur (04 February 2013), http://nasional.kompas.com/read/2013/02/04/1810342/Mahfud.Tak.Ada.Lagi.Partai.Islam accessed 21 July 2017

which encourages straight-ticket voting<sup>30</sup>. In other words, the existence of negative issues about Muslims may have a negative effect on the Islamic party.

At Issue life-cycle theory, issues run into three stages as follows: first, the beginning of an issue is when a problem begins to appear on the surface and to attract attention; the next stage is when the organization is expected to react; and the final stage is when the organization makes changes to resolve the issue or when the issue disappears. When the mass media becomes aware of an issue and finds it interesting, at least in a short term the issue will grow. Then, the media may even create a label or name for the issue and the broader public that is aware of the issue will think that the issue is unresolvable<sup>31</sup> (Littlejohn & Foss, 2009: 206).

The tendency of "change" that affects the organization becomes the keyword of understanding the issue. While issues management is a proactive process in managing issues, trends or potential events, which have both negative and positive impacts to the organization and make the issue as an opportunity to enhance an increase in the reputation of the Islamic party<sup>32</sup>. Reputation in the process of formation takes longer time than image. Reputation describes the identity of parties and candidates who manifest in daily activities and is perceived exactly by the external and internal public<sup>33</sup>. A good reputation is influenced by the high commitment of candidates or political parties to implement activities in accordance with the vision and mission and also to caution against the crucial issues related with routine activities held.

In general, the appearance of issues ahead of the elections is always increasing. Certainly, this demands attention from all parties involved in the elections to manage the issues for the success of the

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>30</sup> Bardes, B., Shelley, M., Schmidt, S, *American Government and Politics Today: The Essentials 2009 – 2010, Edition.* (Boston: Cengage Learning, 2008), p. 307

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>31</sup> Littlejohn & Foss, *Encyclopedia of Communication Theory*, (Singapura: SAGE Publications, 2009)

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>32</sup> Prayudi, *Manajemen Isu dan Tantangan Masa Depan: Pendekatan Public Relations* (Vol 4), (Prodi Ilmu Komunikasi, FISIP, Universitas Atma Jaya, 2007). p.26

 $<sup>^{\</sup>rm 33}$  Prayudi, Manajemen Isu Pendekatan Public Relations, (Yogyakarta: Pustaka Adipura, 2008), p. 7

votes. Ansoff (1980) says about the issues management (IM) that has matured and grown significantly. The primary functions of planning, monitoring and analyzing are recognized as the integral parts of strategic management. Some would argue that it does not have a place in the organization's strategic processes<sup>34</sup>. In Laila Aryani's research on the analysis of Political Issues Management with the object of research of Yuliyatmono and Rohadi (YURO) partner in Karanganyar Election, it identifies that the (negative) issue is in the form of black campaign in the form of banners, the issue of prohibition of holding Yasinan and Tahlillan if YURO win in Pilkada, and the leaflets of embezzlement issues<sup>35</sup>. According to Juliyatmono, they should not be reactive to face the issues arising; they should manage the issue to be something more effective by clarifying the issue as well as campaigning YURO program.

Chase W. Howard describes a model of issue management process that consists of issue identification, issue analysis, choice of issue change strategy, action programming issues and result evaluation. Chase explains about tracking issues and the organization's response to these issues to improve the functionality of public relations to the systematic strategic management level<sup>36</sup> (Heath, 2013: 107). In other words, the above five elements could trace and give response to the growing issues to systematically increase the completeness for the readiness of the Islamic party as a function of public relations to the level of strategic management, especially before the 2019 Presidential Election. Here is the model of the process management issue by Chase W Howard<sup>37</sup>:

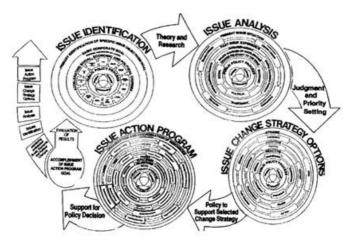
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 $<sup>^{34}</sup>$  Brønn and Brønn. Issues Management as a Basis for Strategic Orientation. Vol 2 No 4, (Sandvika: Journal of Public Affairs, 2002), p 256

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>35</sup> Laila Aryani, *Analisis Manajemen Isu Partai Politik (Studi Deskriptif Kualitatif Manajemen Isu Tim Pemenangan YURO dalam Pilkada Karanganyar (Periode 2013-2018)*, *Vol. VI, No. 2*, (Surakarta: KomuniTi, 2014), p.1.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>36</sup> Robert L. Heath, *Encyclopedia of Public Relations*, (Singapura: SAGE Publications, Inc, 2013). p.107

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>37</sup> Prayudi, Manajemen Isu Pendekatan Public Relations, (Yogyakarta: Pustaka Adipura, 2008), p. 97



Source: Chase W. Howard, 1984.

Figure 5. Issue management process model.

The first stage is Issue Identification. The appearance of issues is started by trends, changes or events<sup>38</sup>. The appearance of the voter trend and the event that encourages issues may change the voter preferences against the Islamic parties. This requires the Islamic party to identify the issue as early as possible in order to properly create a policy or campaign strategy. Chase hopes that the Islamic party may get any information about the issues growing on the voter. After the Islamic parties have identified the issue, they will get a priority scale of issues that affects the voter preferences in the 2019 presidential election. Priority scale making in the process of identifying this issue has the main objective of helping to capture and select some potential issues to be handled. The issue priority scale of the issue becomes important as the issues may grow and several issues may appear on one occasion. Some examples are the negative issues about Islam developed in the past two years such as the Muslims who are not tolerant of diversity, the establishment of an Islamic state and the replacement of Pancasila as the National Principle. If these issues develop and cannot be identified and cannot

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>38</sup> Prayudi, Manajemen Isu dan Tantangan Masa Depan: Pendekatan Public Relations (Vol 4), (Prodi Ilmu Komunikasi, FISIP, Universitas Atma Jaya, 2007). p.98

anticipate the issues, of course the Islamic party will experience the crisis conditions then will crash in the 2019 election later. The Islamic parties may make an approach by using outside-in thinking and linkages concept followed by a consequence. Along with the anticipation of issues and the consequences that must be faced, the Islamic party must scan the external forces and the voters so that candidates can issue the anticipation strategy in order to anticipate the growing issues.

The second stage is Issue Analysis. There are four important things to be done in the analysis of the issue<sup>39</sup> those are the determination of the origin of the issue, the assessment of the issue compared with the experience of past issues, the situation analysis on the issue, the acquisition of data related to the strengths and weaknesses of the candidate to be issued.

The third stage is Issue Change Strategy Options. According to Monstad (2003: 33), there are three possible alternatives as a strategy to avoid being a victim of other party policy changes<sup>40</sup> (Prayudi, 2008: 101) those are reactive strategy, adaptive strategy, and dynamic strategy. Reactive strategy decides that it will not change its policies, procedures, practices or products to respond to a problem that other parties may try to slow down or to stop the progress of action outside by elected officials or regulators<sup>41</sup>. Adaptive strategy includes openness to change. Islamic parties may choose this strategy but there are demand to change consequences and accommodation with the aim of offering participation in final decision-making of public policy. Dynamic strategy emphasizes the proactive aspect of Islamic parties towards the change and offers the solutions. This means that Islamic parties and their supporters become part of problem-solving rather than the problem itself. When choosing a

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>39</sup> Prayudi, Manajemen Isu Pendekatan Public Relations, (Yogyakarta: Pustaka Adipura, 2008), pp. 100-101

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>40</sup> Prayudi, Manajemen Isu Pendekatan Public Relations, (Yogyakarta: Pustaka Adipura, 2008), p. 101

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>41</sup> Tamara L. Gillis, *The IABC Handbook of Organizational Communication: A Guide to Internal Communication, Public Relations, Marketing and Leadership*, (San Francisco: Jossey Bass A Wiley Imprint, 2006), p.118

strategy, another thing to consider is the need to identify possible responses to the issue<sup>42</sup> in the following:

- 1. Reactive (response against change)
- 2. Accommodative (adapting to change)
- 3. Proactive (affect change)
- 4. Interactive (adjust to change)

The fourth stage is Programming Action Issues. This stage requires the utilization of resources to get the choice of strategy that is chosen<sup>43</sup>. In stage four, Chase suggests formulating several components: policies, candidates, opportunities, media and information, messages and resources. These components may respond to the issues to support changing the strategies and executing the action programs. In this stage there is a communication process in which the Islamic party makes efforts to convey messages and equate thoughts to the voters.

The fifth or the final stage is Evaluation. This stage consists of three elements: implementation checking, in-progress monitoring, and outcome evaluation. The implementation checking of the Islamic party has done a search on the performance of the party connected with the hitting issue. The in-progress monitoring of the party has been controlling the development of the party connected with the hitting issue. The outcome evaluation of the Islamic party evaluates the results achieved and the responsibilities that have not been reached yet.

# E. Methodology of Research

The research is descriptive using the qualitative approach in the interpretive paradigm with the case study research design. The subject of research is the members of the board of the Islamic parties (PKB, PAN, PKS and PPP). Data analysis is done by encoding the explanation pattern and the time series analysis. Case study analysis is used because it leads the researcher to keep abreast of the

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>42</sup> Prayudi, Manajemen Isu Pendekatan Public Relations, (Yogyakarta: Pustaka Adipura, 2008), p. 102

 $<sup>^{\</sup>rm 43}$  Robert L. Heath, Encyclopedia of Public Relations, (Singapura: SAGE Publications, Inc, 2013). p.107

theoretical propositions in which this strategy fits with the purpose of this study. In other words, the researcher will compare the management thinking pattern of Chase model with the data source on the case studied.

#### F. Discussion

## The development of issues and the Islamic Party in Indonesia

Islamic party has been present since the Old Order in the first election of 1955. But along with the shift of power, the current Islamic party consists of only four namely PKB, PAN, PPP and PKS. PKB was born from the formation of Kyai Nahdlatul 'Ulama. PAN was born from the formation of Kyai Muhammadiyah. PPP is the longest party compared to the three Islamic parties, although historically other parties have something to do with the previous Islamic party. Meanwhile, PKS is more synonymous with modern Islam. There are three meanings of the implementation of Islamic Sharia according to PKS. First, PKS accommodates civil and criminal law in the constitution in accordance with its explanation. Second, PKS is trying to fill the constitution and the law in accordance with the explanation with the teachings of Islam so that Islam becomes the main aspect in the national legal system. Third, Islamic Sharia regulates Indonesia by the way of Islam and Muslims<sup>44</sup>.

The four Islamic parties have agreed that they are in the Republic of Indonesia with Pancasila and the 1945 Constitution as its base. On the other hand, there are efforts to change the country from Pancasila as the National Principle to be another democratic political system of certain groups. In fact, there is a desire to change the basic Islamic state with khilafah system, which means to change the basic state of Pancasila to be the basis of Islam, as HTI echoed. Of course this is not appropriate because the view of the establishment of the state of Indonesia is not purely the struggle of Muslims but the struggle of all elements of the nation, so that the Unitary State of the

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>44</sup> Prayudi, Manajemen Isu Pendekatan Public Relations, (Yogyakarta: Pustaka Adipura, 2008), p. 99

Republic of Indonesia emerged with Pancasila and the 1945 Constitution as the basis. Hence, when the Islamic parties were established, they cannot leave the base country. Thus, the Islamic party must also purify the nationalist thought in the middle of this so that people will think that Islam may cover and protect all shelters. It does not have to be a khilafah, to have a khilafah state, by running a country based on the rules of Islam. However, the Islamic parties may apply the Islamic values in the Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia (NKRI) without establishing an Islamic state.

Although the Islamic Party in Indonesia is still guided by the Islamic rules, such as the Statutes and Bylaws based on the Islamic rules, the Islamic party holds that "religion is something to be protected and that power is its guardian". Religion is likened to the Muslims who want a guarantee of freedom in worship. And, power is guard by making regulations that are not on the contrary to what is believed by the Muslims.

## Identification of issues by Islamic parties

The space of democracy in politics cannot be separated from public opinion and political image. Public opinion is the reason a candidate or political party is believed in a democratic system<sup>45</sup>. Nimmo (2005) suggests that public opinion should involve many people who are interested in thinking of an issue in a time<sup>46</sup>. In addition, voters have made their choice by looking for the abstract nature of the candidate's self-image. An example of an ideological self-image indicating a party or candidate according to his political ideology like an educated Islamic elector would tend to vote for the Prosperous Justice Party, which is a strong self-image when voting

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>45</sup> Lampe, Ilyas. (2010). *Konsep dan Aplikasi Public Relations Politik pada Kontestasi Politik di Era Demokrasi (Pemilihan Langsung).* Vol. 2, (Palu: JURNAL ACADEMICA Fisip Untad, 2010), p.471

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>46</sup> Lampe, Ilyas. (2010). Konsep dan Aplikasi Public Relations Politik pada Kontestasi Politik di Era Demokrasi (Pemilihan Langsung). Vol. 2, (Palu: JURNAL ACADEMICA Fisip Untad, 2010), p.472

voters are unaffected by issues, candidates, and events<sup>47</sup>. Therefore, public opinion and self-image cannot be separated from the issues that appear in every election so that they need issues management for the success of candidates or parties.

The first stage of issue management is outside thinking in which the Islamic party could see the character of its voter. This is an important part because voters are the determinant of elections from year to year. In elections before 1999, voters could still be influenced by the opinion of the "patron" who were usually Kyai or clerics. So when the Kyai has said "this is my choice" then automatically the santri or his followers would delightfully follow the choice of the patron. But unlike today, voters are not only looking at people who are chosen but they independently choose because of their own thoughts with different motivations. The different motivations may be caused by viewing the program, looking at the capabilities of the party candidates who will be trusted to represent them, and also the amount of people who vote for temporary pragmatic interests.

Before the era of reform, the term 'political flow' also appeared. Political flow is when voters choose a political party based on their individual beliefs, for example, a Muslim will tend to vote for an Islamic party, a nationalist chooses a nationalist party, and a civil servant chooses Golkar. The 1999 election was run with 48 party participants, following the fall of President Soeharto, the flow of political formation is still ongoing. But when the post-election reform in 2004, the political flow has faded even to the 2009 and 2014 elections. The waning of the political flow is estimated due to the fault of the Islamic party. Because, the Islamic party is considered unable to fight for the interests of Muslims individually.

For the 2019 election, the Islamic parties have begun to regenerate their voters by recruiting from the young. People voters now are more intelligent and critical. They know that they will choose for four levels of elections at once that is choosing the members of House of Representatives in Regency, Province, and

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>47</sup> Lampe, Ilyas. (2010). *Konsep dan Aplikasi Public Relations Politik pada Kontestasi Politik di Era Demokrasi (Pemilihan Langsung).* Vol. 2, (Palu: JURNAL ACADEMICA Fisip Untad, 2010), p.475

National, and then electing the president then also electing the members of Regional Representative Council for non-party representatives. During the campaign period there are any possibility influence of the issues but impossible until 100%.

The next factor in the element of issue identification is the linkage that this factor forces the Islamic party to prepare for its consequences. The Islamic Party has links with the fellows of Islamic parties, governments and parties outside the Islamic parties. The issues that have developed over the past two years have had consequences especially for the Islamic party to awaken the awareness that the Islamic Party is between the principles of Islam and the principle of Pancasila. Although the national party is also divided into parties supporting the government and the opposition, such conditions are banging among the Islamic parties. After the 2014 Presidential Election and Jokowi Cabinet was formed, the Islamic party was split into two camps namely the government camp (PKB and PPP) and the opposition (PAN and PKS). PKB is a consistent and strong party to defend the government while PKS is a party that intensively criticizes the shortcomings of Jokowi's government.

Near the 2019 election, the negative issues affecting Islam are heating up. Similarly, the relationship among the fellows of the Islamic parties is getting sharper ahead of Pilkada DKI Jakarta, added by the case of sacrilege of the holy book of Quran and the massive demos by the Muslims. On this incident, the fellows of the Islamic parties even attacked each other. Meanwhile, in relation to the terrorist and radicalism issues, PKS who most feels the view equates both of them are compared to other Islamic parties (PKB, PAN and PPP). PKS is also considered to have a close association with HTI mass organizations, which wants to replace the state of Pancasila. PPP was shaken by internal divisions, which were fighting over the government decree. PPP is also viral in the social media as a hypocritical party because it defends the religious offender (Al Quran), which in this case is contrast with the symbolization of the party logo with the picture of the Ka'bah.

Another issue in regards to "evironmental scanning" in the identification of Islamic issues influencing Islamic parties in Indonesia is a problem that is not derived from the local politics but the international one and the non-action of fighting against the religious issues that are driven by economic issues. International issues come to Indonesia such as the appearance of the term Islamphobia alhough Indonesia has a majority Muslim population. Fearing that it will arise makes the Muslims in Indonesia have a sense of suspicion towards the Muslim fellows. The following is one example. When the Muslims meet the bearded men wearing the cloak, what appears first in mind is feeling suspicious because they look like terrorist characteristics rather than respecting the other people's religious duties although in the 80s bearded people are even judged as the fans of Rhoma Irama. When it is linked to the economic issues, the appearance of Islamic issues is used as a means of gaining advantage in which Indonesia has a sensitivity to religious and racial plurality.

## Analysis of Islamic party issues

The appearance of issues especially related to Islam may come from the internal like the fellows of the Islamic parties and the impact of the international issues. This could be the result of rapid and massive media framing spreading to the public. Media framing, which later becomes the topic on society about the Islamic parties, gives effect to the difficulties of the Islamic parties of seeking the candidate leaders, cadres and even voters. The Islamic Party label for PKB, PAN, PKS and PPP is just a label from the media. On the other side, the four parties still uphold the values of Pancasila and respect the democratic system. The Islamic Party also has difficulty in exploring opportunities for young voters and also appointing abangan voters of "Islam KTP". Actually the Islamic party does not specialize only for the Muslims. Instead, the Islamic Party is open to the non-Muslims especially in non-Muslim areas for politics through the Islamic parties. Another weakness experienced by the Islamic parties is the limited human resources of the Islamic party and the distribution of unequal cadres.

## Strategy for Issue of Islamic Party

The Islamic Party is taking steps to change the negative Islam issues, especially misconceptions about Islam and the party. The first is the internal reactive strategy of the Islamic party itself. The Islamic Party affirms that all the activities of the party are not to claim that the only one who gets the grace in the world is someone who follows the Islamic party and the state of Islam only. Another reactive attitude is a resistance through internet networks and social media. For example, when someone enters a keyword in searching Google, it does not appear bad keywords that follow the name of the Islamic party.

In addition to the reactive step, the Islamic party uses adaptive step that seeks to synchronize the Islamic law and the application of the existing government systems in Indonesia without having to establish an Islamic state or replace the basic state. Finally, a dynamic step is a supportive attitude to attract the voters. The dynamic step should not be interpreted as a pragmatic attitude in the face of pragmatic paradigm voters. Dynamic effort is the effort of giving solution to the society in which the society itself also becomes part of solution. This is done by explaining way to the community about leadercandidate program and government programs.

After the steps of issue change are done, another important thing is identifying the public response (Reactive, Accommodative, Proactive and Interactive). Unfortunately, the public response is still at the level of reactive response and accommodative with changes or steps taken by the Islamic parties. This reactive attitude proves that the community has not given any sympathy towards the Islamic party, while the accommodative response proves that some people have started to accept the changes of the Islamic parties. In other words, this proves that there is an opportunity for the development of Islamic parties in the 2019 Election.

# Programming issue action by Islamic parties

Not only the strategy planned for the success of the Islamic party in the 2019 Election but the design of the action program must also be prepared. These programs are related to policies, candidates, media, messages and resources. The Islamic parties agree that Indonesia is a unitary state based on Pancasila. However, the values of virtue in the teachings of Islam could be applied in the system and government policy with the aim of providing benefits to all people. In addition, the politicians of the Islamic parties agree with the implementation of God's command in accordance with those contained in the Al Qur'an, while in the nation and state using Pancasila by not breaking away from the system of democracy. At the legislative level, by the representation of Islamic parties, it has the right to guard and control the government policy so as not to harm the Muslims.

Another action program that can be taken by the Islamic parties is to maximize the opportunities in non-Muslim majority areas. It has been said before that the Islamic parties do not close themselves to the non-Muslims. If a non-Muslim is eager to candidate himself for election, it can be easier and has the potential to win through an Islamic party. Why is it like that? For example, a non-Muslim person candidates for a national or a large party then the opportunity to be elected will be more difficult. This is because new people have to fight with the old people in the party. This can be likened to a national party like PDIP, which is a favorite school, and the candidate is a child who wants to enroll in school for the first time. At that time, parents must choose the favorite school with the consequences of intense competition and the child is required to be more survived in that school. Then the Islamic party is like a second opinion school where competition is not too tight but children are still required to fight for win.

In addition to the opportunities in non-Muslim areas, another opportunity is to embrace the young generation, especially the first voters. The Islamic Party is aware that the young voters' age is very large compared to voters in the 50-year-old age range. The Islamic party, especially PPP, has an image like a parent or ancient party. PPP, which is the oldest Islamic party among PKB, PAN and PKS, realizes that there must be reforms for the Islamic party, especially PPP, to be a "slang" party that can be accepted by the young people.

The next action program is related with media and information. On this era mobilephones give people to accept information easily, both trusted news and hoax. Trusted news will become dangerous if it is added by different point of view. Another danger is the issues carrying news that the Islamic party are massively and continuously driven and then the community will accept the message as a truth. This is realized by the Islamic parties. Therefore, the Islamic parties or Muslim forums need the power of cyber teams to fight against the issues in the social media.

Fighting against the issues through the social media must also load messages that could protect the Islamic parties from negative issues and increase the good image of the Islamic parties. So, the Islamic party must decide which message is sent in order not to look like anarchy meets anarchy too. The Islamic party especially PKS must have a message that is out of frame as a part of global terrorism. In this case it also solves an issue that PKS always equates with mass organization HTI.

Message planning that can protect and increase the good image of the Islamic parties is an implementation from public relations function. It forces the Islamic party especially political practice to understand and execute the role as public relations. Then, political practice of the Islamic parties may execute the communication process where the Islamic party makes efforts to send them messages and equaling thought to the voters, one of which is the activity of Corporate Social Responsibility (CSR) that appearing responsibility concept of social responsibility. CSR must be regarded as an investment so that the organization may execute its activity correctly<sup>48</sup>.

Determination of other action programs is to allocate and coordinate resources. The body of the party is divided into two areas as party officials and representatives of the party or the legislative members. Each field must allocate and coordinate its roles in the fight against the issues and gain the voter's sympathy. PKS that often gets the throwing of artificial issues such as terrorism and HTI

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>48</sup> Prayudi, Manajemen Isu dan Tantangan Masa Depan: Pendekatan Public Relations (Vol 4), (Prodi Ilmu Komunikasi, FISIP, Universitas Atma Jaya, 2007). pp. 33-34

has been rarely addressed by the legislative members at the regency, province and national levels. The role of the legislative members of PKS criticizes the government in a consistent way that is appropriate to its level.

## Evaluation of results by Islamic parties

A set of elements that build on issues management ends with an evaluation. The evaluation phase is where the Islamic party conducts a search for performance as an Islamic Party by overseeing the party development and achieving the party results as an Islamic Party as a result of the negative issue of Islam, which then gives effect to the development of the Islamic parties in Indonesia.

After the Islamic party has conducted a search on the performance of the party in solving the issues identical with terrorists and intolerance with diversity, it has given immunity to the Islamic party itself. In fact, if religious issues should be increased, the national parties should be more afraid because the community has a higher awareness of the association with figures that are considered to have religious values, although someone is not a good religious believer who must clearly respect the religious values. This has been proven in PILKADA Jakarta.

Regarding with the monitoring of party development, the exposure of negative issues affecting the Islamic parties provides a collective awareness of individuals of the Islamic parties to solve the issue through the social media. Yet this is not as an instruction from the internal Islamic party. Of course, if this becomes an instruction, there will be a mobilization and the Islamic party will look reactive. This also becomes an alarm for the government because if Jokowi is wrong in making policies that harm the Muslims, they will rise.

The Islamic Party has an important role to protect the freedom of the Muslims in executing the worship although lately the role has not received attention especially from the Muslims. Evidently, the survey results explain the decline of the electability of the Islamic parties. The example is the role of the Islamic parties through the legislative members who fight for policies such as alcoholism, marriage rules, etc.

Another problem is that the Islamic party has no "figure" in the national level that plays a role in politics, whereas previously the Islamic party has a national figure such as Abdurrahman Wahid. The lack of a figure from the Islamic party ensures that Islamic parties cannot nominate someone at the presidential election level. But the Islamic party can coalesce with other parties like PKB when supporting Jokowi and PKS and PAN when supporting Prabowo in 2014 Presidential Election. As a result, the divided Islamic party into two camps, the government and the opposition, are opposed to defending their respective leaders.

No doubt, the survival of the Islamic parties cannot be separated from the financial strength. Unfortunately, the interest of investors to engage in politics tends to avoid the Islamic party. Investors are more interested in the nationalist party. Of course this is also a consideration for the 2019 election. But this weakness is not 100% of the influence of the success of Islamic parties in the election later. It was proved by the victory of Anies-Sandi as governor and deputy governor in elections DKI Jakarta 2017 that is supported by PKS Islamic party and coalition. Thus, the minimal capital does not necessarily make the failure factor.

## G. Conclusion

The rapid rate of information through the media cannot hinder the emergence of issues, especially in the social media. The most important thing is although the four parties embrace the values of Islam, they have agreed to uphold the Republic of Indonesia and Pancasila as the state with no desire to make Indonesia an Islamic state.

The Islamic Party is well aware of the coattail effect of the negative issues about Islam, because not only the Muslims who get the bad image but even the term of 'Islamophobia' also appears. Through the cycle on issue model management of Chase W. Howard, the Islamic party has carried out a series of processes in issues management. Even the issues such as terrorism and intolerance against diversity have given immunity to the Islamic parties. If the issue is re-emerged in the 2019 election, it will endanger the parties

who play it, because the public awareness about respecting religious values has increased.

In the first element, identification of issues illustrates several things. First, the voter character changes. Second, the consequences of the Islamic party on the negative issue of Islam and the Islamic party are divided into two camps those are the supporters of government and the opposition. Third, the issues that become the priority of handling are that the Islamic party does not have the program "sell" yet, in which the international politics those are Islamphobia and economic issues interfere in the development of the Islamic party and the Islamic party makes efforts to ward off by bumping between the two camps of the Islamic party. Fourth, the anticipation of issues has been done by the Islamic parties through the resistance of issues through the social media and liaison for the issue of human rights of Muslims.

In the second element, the results of issue analysis illustrate that the issue comes from the internal and external of the Islamic parties even from the international. There are several factors that arise and complicate the Islamic party. First, the existence of framing media about the Islamic party has resulted in the Islamic party having difficulty in getting candidates, on the other hand there is more interest in the national party. Second, the appearing issues alienate the Islamic parties from the beginner voters, the young voters, and the abangan voters who have the Islamic ID cards. Third, the self-esteem decreases in the Islamic party cadres. In addition to the difficulties, there are weaknesses that become the strength of the Islamic parties, namely the Islamic Party as a second opinion for candidacy, thus opening greater opportunities for candidates, especially in non-Muslim areas.

In the third element, the strategy of changing the issue consists of the reactive, adaptive and dynamic strategy of the Islamic party. Reactive strategy is used by the Islamic parties to fight against the issues mainly through the social media. This is proved by the non-elected candidate leader who uses the issue of religion in the elections of Jakarta. Adaptive strategy is used by the Islamic party especially PKB as party that supports the government but still

applies the Islamic values without trying to change the state base and become an Islamic state. Dynamic strategy is expected to be a solution where religious issues are no longer raised because it can result in the split of the Indonesian nation. If the issue of religion especially the issue of Islam arises, then the public reactive response will appear.

In the fourth element, an action program issue integrates several components namely policies, candidates, opportunities, media and information, messages and resources. The Islamic Party agrees that Islamic values remain on the implementation according to the holy book of Al Qur'an but as citizens of the nation and state, Pancasila becomes the basic guidance of the state. Islamic parties through representation in the legislative institutions continue to implement the system of democracy and guard the government not to harm the Muslims. Potential voters still can be dug up to 2019, the other is potential in non-Muslim areas and beginner voters. Selection of media, especially the social media can be used as the source of information. The Islamic party must have a message as an action program to get out of the media framing about global terrorism replaced by participation in government policy either as a supporter or supervisor. The division of Islamic party resources is internally to overcome the issues and to obtain the votes.

The last element is an evaluation that gets a few things. The Islamic party is immune to negative issues about Islam. This has been opposed by individual and collective cadres without party instructions. Because, if this is an instruction, it will generate a reactive response to the party. Massive issue resistance movements can be an alarm to not play a religious issue. An important note for the Islamic party is the lack of resources in physical and non-physical form. In addition, there are efforts to isolate the Islamic party.

Political issues are a problem that affects most people and involves extensive personal experience<sup>49</sup>. The politicians of the Islamic parties must have the charm to be broad media coverage, where in the state of the art and politics, the application of common

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>49</sup> Walter P. von Wartburg, *Political Issue Management with Common Sense.* Vol. 3, No. 4, (Basel: SAGE Publications, Industrial Crisis Quarterly, 1989) p. 303

sense to difficult situations of public attention may refer to the elements of strategic planning and crisis management. So, the issue is not a barrier to the success of political parties in the election but can be a good moment when managed with a great structured issue management.

## Limitations and Future Direction

In the last two years, the issue of Islam has become a hot topic in Indonesia. In fact, in other countries there has been an appearance of anti-Islamic issues or called Islamphobia. Islam is a religion of peace and love. Through the management of the Chase W. Howard model issue, it is one of the steps that the Islamic party can fight against the issue of Islam and exist in the democratic system without reducing the sense of peace in Indonesia. The challenge of simultaneous elections in the 2019 Election and 20% of threshold in accordance with the Election Law force the Islamic party to try to maintain and improve the voting power. The primary limitation of this research is that it explores only the Islamic parties in Indonesia. The Islamic party issue management research has not included strategies that can improve the voter. Overall, we still need to develop a detailed understanding of the relationship between the conceptual issue management with the brand trust and loyalty concepts for understanding and managing.

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