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POLITICAL COMMUNICATION OF HM. RIDWAN KAMIL AND DEDDY
MIZWAR WITH POLITICAL PARTIES

(Case Study in the Nomination Process of Direct Regional Election of the West
Java Governor in 2018)

Adiyana Slamet

Faculty of Communication Science, Universitas Padjadjaran, Bandung, Indonesia

Email: adiyana16001@mail.unpad.ac.id

Communication Science Department, Universitas Komputer Indonesia, Bandung, Indonesia

Email: adiyana.slmnet@email.unikom.ac.id

Dadang Rahmat Hidayat

Faculty of Communication Science, Universitas Padjadjaran, Bandung, Indonesia

Email: dadangrahmat@unpad.ac.id

Dede Mariana

Faculty of Social and Political Communication, Universitas Padjadjaran, Bandung, Indonesia.

Email: dedmariana@unpad.ac.id

Karim Suryadi

Faculty of Social Education Science, Universitas Pendidikan Indonesia, Bandung, Indonesia

Email: karimsuyadi@upi.edu

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ABSTRACT

The purpose of this study is to analyze holistically and in-depth about the political communication process of HM Ridwan Kamil and Deddy Mizwar with Political Parties in the

nomination process of the simultaneously direct regional election of West Java governor in 2018, political communication reality and political communication activities of HM Ridwan Kamil and Deddy Mizwar with Political Parties in the nomination process of the simultaneously direct regional election of West Java governor in 2018. This research used qualitative approach with a case study method that is holistic. Data collection was conducted through interviews, records, observations, documentation, archives, physical devices, and literature studies. There are 14 informants, determined by purposive technique. Data analysis was conducted based on theoretical propositions of political communication and developed a case description framework. The results showed that political communication of HM Ridwan Kamil and Deddy Mizwar with Political Parties in the simultaneously direct regional election of West Java governor in 2018 involved a third political communication actor (non-party) as a "bridge" to conduct political communication with political communication actors from political parties, both HM Ridwan Kamil and Deddy Mizwar showed up religious and nationalist symbols, using hybrid media to win the "hearts" of political party elites to gain political capital in the form of recommendation support as a candidate for governor. The reality of political communication that occurs to the governors candidates makes the basic capital (survey results) as a bargaining power and bargaining position with political party elites which raises political pragmatism, strengthened political oligarchy in the process of determining governor candidates conducted by political party elites.

1. INTRODUCTION

Seize the hearts of party elites through political communication by HM. Ridwan Kamil and Deddy Mizwar in the contestation of the Regional Head Election directly simultaneously Governor in West Java 2018 is a substantial need to get political capital ticket recommendations to be carried in the nomination as a Candidate for West Java Governor June 2018. As a prospective Governor who will participate in the Regional Head Election contestation Simultaneously in West Java 2018 both HM. Ridwan Kamil and Deddy Mizwar must be able to communicate by providing information or political claims to overcome problems in West Java in the form of a prospective policy choice (what programs will be carried out when winning the contestation).

If you examine the election procedures and processes directly in the elections, the candidate pair of Regional Head must have three capital, the three capital is political capital, social capital, and economic capital. Political capital means political support, both from the people and from political forces that are seen as a representation of the people. First, political capital has a very important meaning, because the direct local elections that we followed used a 'party system' mechanism in the nomination process Berman (2000) at Marijan (2010). The second capital is social capital, which is related to the development of relationships and trust held by the candidate pair with the community and their voters, including the extent to which the candidate pair is able to convince voters that they have the competence to lead their region. The third capital is economic capital where direct elections clearly require a large cost (Marijan 2010: 186)

Case study Political communication HM. Ridwan Kamil and Deddy Mizwar in this study examine how aspects of political capital due to the consequences of the multi-party system are interesting to study in the process of political

communication. Direct Regional Head Elections are simultaneously Governor of West Java 2018 with political communication actors elite political parties because, first, when researchers conduct pre-research by following several survey releases, HM. Ridwan Kamil and Deddy Mizwar have the basic capital by ranking first and second in popularity and electability. This basic capital in the dynamics of local politics in West Java became one of the barometers of Political Parties to glance at the two figures to win the Governor Concurrent Election in West Java, as for the release of the Indo Barometer, Instrat and Median surveys as follows, a survey by the Indo Barometer in West Java, this survey in the area of West Java Province which covers 27 regencies / cities, on February 27 - March 7, 2017 with 800 respondents and a margin of error of $\pm 3.46\%$, at a 95% confidence level.

The second case study, be it HM. Ridwan Kamil and Deddy Mizwar, both of them were not born from political party cadres, did not fully enter the political world because they did not become members of political parties, so that the process of political communication was at a distance both psychological, sociological atropological and political, so it was interesting to be investigated more deeply, but over time because it was carried by the Demokrat Party in the Election of Governor of West Java, Demokrat Party Chairperson Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono confirmed, Deddy Mizwar will be promoted as a candidate for Governor in the Direct Regional Election of the West Java Governor 2018 after the West Java Deputy Governor was willing to become a Demokrat Party cadre. The third uniqueness is the political symbols attached to HM. Ridwan Kamil as long as the researchers watched were wrapped with modernism symbols such as policies to build city parks, elevated bridges, as well as bringing up nationalist symbols both verbal and nonverbal symbols and religious symbols such as M. Ridwan Kamil's policy on the Fajr Prayer in congregation. Whereas Deddy Mizwar gave rise to religious symbols, because of the construction of thinking the community considered Deddy Mizwar to be a religious figure because of what Deddy Mizwar played in the tv show.

Fourth, in the nomination process, HM. Ridwan Kamil is a challenger who must have a better prospective policy choice than incumbent. Thus, political communication with party elites can be accepted because they have ideas, ideas in the form of work programs to develop West Java. Whereas Deddy Mizwar is incumbent who emphasizes the strengths of past programs to carry out political communication processes with elite political parties. Fifth, both are celebrities, HM. Ridwan Kamil is a celebrity on social media, because he built basic capital (popularity, electability and acceptability) or won the hearts of the public by utilizing popular media, namely using social media. Whereas Deddy Mizwar is a conventional media celebrity who is a celebrity in the world of artists who is used properly to build basic capital and win the hearts of party elites.

The sixth is the strengthening of reporting in online and print media about the discourse that places HM. Ridwan Kamil and Deddy Mizwar as individuals or individuals who were reported most often by media institutions in the period from March to July. The seventh uniqueness that HM. Ridwan Kamil and Deddy Mizwar are more active in conducting political communication with political

parties and conducting political maneuvers, it is seen from statements from both of them in the media, HM Ridwan Kamil admitted that he had established communication with several political parties, such as, PDIP, Nasdem, PPP, PKB and Demokrat. Likewise with Deddy Mizwar claimed to have communicated with a number of political parties both at the central and regional levels, at the DPP level it was Gerindra, PKS and PAN. At the DPD level not yet the DPP level includes the Demokrat Party, PPP and PKB. Based on the seven categories above it is interesting to study more deeply how HM. Ridwan Kamil and Deddy Mizwar conducted their political communication process with the political communication Actors in the political elite of political parties in order to get support and be accepted by political parties to get a ticket to advance in the direct Regional Head Election of the Governor in West Java in June 2018.

Observing the pre-research results, the focus of this research plan is trying to reveal the problems that can occur in political and political communication HM. Ridwan Kamil and Deddy Mizwar with the Elites of Political Parties in the nomination of direct regional elections simultaneously governor in West Java in 2018.

2. LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1. Political Communication

According to Maswadi Rauf (in Rauf and Nasrun, 1993:20), the study of political communication covers two disciplines in the social sciences; political science and communication science. Political communication can be studied by communication scientists as well as political scientists. It seems that textbooks on political communication are written more by communication scientists than political scientists. Perhaps this indicates that the science of communication is more closely related to political communication, than political science. Political communication studies the links between communication and politics or the methodological bridge between the discipline of communication and politics. However, if examined from various literatures, political communication has become a separate study since it has been recognized by the International Communication Association scientific organization along with other divisions, such as the information systems division, interpersonal communication, mass communication, organizational communication, communication between cultures, instructional communication, and health communication (Ardianto and Q-nees, 2007:35).

The elements in political communication generally consist of communicators, communicants, messages, media, goals, effects, and communication resources. Meanwhile Dan Nimmo (1999: VII), mentions the scope or elements of political communication consisting of political communicators, political messages, political persuasion, political communication media, political communication audiences, and the consequences of political communication. Political communicators can be divided into 3 categories based on dominant characteristics, namely: Politicians, Professionals and Activists (Dan Nimmo, 2000: 30).

The function of political communication can be categorized into two, the first function is the function that is in the government, then political communication contains information relating to all policies carried out by the government. The contents of communication are shown to the efforts to realize national loyalty and integrity to achieve broader state goals. The political orientation of the government does not concern one particular group or group or association, but the government is always oriented to the public interest that is adjusted to the aspirations, ideals and hopes of the community or its citizens. The second function, which is in the structure of society, can be seen from the function of aggregation of interests and the articulation of interests, where both functions are communication patterns that take place between groups of associations and patterns of delivery or distribution of communication content to the government from the results of the aggregation and articulation patterns. According to Djuyandi, Putra and Faozan (2018), to build effective political communication political actors need to pay attention to the clear and precise communication, so that the political message can be easily understood by the communicant.

2.2. Political Parties

Alan Ware considers the existence of political parties (political parties) in the dynamics of politics in the modern state is a necessity. In addition, the existence of political parties is also important because it is an institution that brings people to achieve common goals by exercising power within the state. The concept of political parties according to Ware is: "A political party is an institution that (a) seeks influence in a state, often by attempting to occupy positions in government, and (b) usually consists of more than a single interest in the society and the person to some degree attempts to 'aggregate interests'. Political scientists state that political parties are pillars of democratic political life. Its existence guarantees the implementation of the basic principles of democratic life (Bryce, 1921). Modern democracy is unthinkable save in terms of political parties, said Schattschneider (1942). Stokes (1999) states more clearly that parties are endemic to democracy, an unavoidable part of democracy. For them, political parties are a small world, a replica of the dynamics of national politics. Therefore, understanding the internal dynamics and patterns of relations between political parties is the first step to understanding politics itself.

2.3. Local Political Communication

Local political communication involves all communicative situations in which political claims are being made, which either concern the local public, or originate within its confines. Central actors of political communication within a local public sphere are individual citizens as well as parties, interest groups, non-governmental organizations, the media, government and business. These actors and institutions use four differently aggregated types of communication, which reflect different forms of political interaction: 1. Individual political statements or actions in non institutionalized settings (i.e. a restaurant, or a political discussion at home); 2. Collective acts of political communication or actions, which take place on a continuum from spontaneous (i.e. protests) to

semiinstitutionalized (i.e. round-tables) to highly institutionalized (i.e. local parliaments); 3. Professional communication means (PR, press releases, videos, etc.); 4 Mass communication means and processes (Lang, 2003:172-173). According to Muhtadi, (2008: 199-205) Political reforms that continue to roll following the demands of democratization at all levels of power eventually touched the local government area. Consequently, political communication has increasingly found fertile ground, although in many cases it is still conventional. Political messages began to touch on local themes in accordance with the potential and problems faced by each region. It is as if there is a force that moves these aspirations after being buried for a long time. In the process of electing regional heads at the local level, as at the central level, the party only acts as a political vehicle in the course of obtaining the opportunity to be accepted as a candidate, and no longer significantly influences the size of the votes obtained. From research (Muhtadi, 2008) states that the process of democratization in Indonesia, at least for the last two decades, did not emerge from among socio-political organizations (especially political parties), but rather from non-governmental organizations that did not have a primary orientation to political interests. During the "Orde Baru", political parties did not have the effect of democratization among the people even though political education carried out through the process of election participation always involved nearly 90% of the voting community members. In fact, ideally, elections have a very strategic educational effect for increasing the insight, awareness and political maturity of the community. The centralized system of power has also blocked the opportunity for the growth of local-level democratization. In short, political communication that is built for the benefit of the regional head election process, basically will involve at least two important variables: the mass of voters with all its characteristics, and the mass media as a controlling tool.

2.4. Political Oligarchy Theory

Associated with party oligarchy theory, political party coalitions cannot be separated from the behavior of political elites. In this case, according to the political science lexicon, the behavior of party elites in coalition can be explained in two coalition models. First, the Madisonian model or elitist democracy that emphasizes the classic assumption of Joseph Schumpeter (1943:23) and Munawar (2017) that voters are only useful during elections to form a government". Wiliwam Riker, who comes from the same intellectual tradition states that "The function of voting is to control officials and no more".

3. RESEARCH METHOD

In this study, researchers used a qualitative approach with a case study method by applying a constructivist paradigm, so researchers looked at social conditions as a systematic analysis of meaningful social actions through direct and detailed observation of social actors in the setting of normal or natural everyday life. The subject of this research is HM. Ridwan Kamil, Deddy Mizwar, Chair or secretary of political parties that carry out the process of political communication. Subjects

were chosen purposively and snowball based on their activities and their willingness to explore and articulate their experiences consciously.

The data in this study were sourced from primary data and secondary data. Primary data sourced from information provided by the informants as research subjects through in-depth interviews. In this study, researchers determine informants using purposive sampling techniques, where this technique includes people who are selected on the basis of certain criteria made by researchers based on research objectives. As for the informants in this study are, as follows:

No	Name of the Informant	Description
1	HM Ridwan Kamil	Candidates for Governor of West Java, Elected Governor 2018-2024
2	Deddy Mizwar	Candidates for Governor of West Java
3	TB. Hasanuddin	Chairman of the DPD PDI Perjuangan West Java
4	Abdy Yuhana	DPD Secretary of the PDI Perjuangan West Java
5	Dedi Mulyadi	Chairman of the West Java Golkar Party DPD
6	Abdul Haris Bobihoe	Secretary of DPD Gerindra, West Java
7	Irfan Suryanagara	Chairperson of the West Java Demokrat Party DPD
8	H. Syaiful Huda	Chairperson of the West Java Kebangkitan Bangsa Party (PKB)
9	Sidkon Djampi	DPW Secretary of the Kebangkitan Bangsa Party (PKB) of West Java
10	Pepep Syaiful Hidayat	Secretary of the West Java Persatuan Pembangunan Party (PPP)
11	Saan Mustopa	Chairman of the West Java Nasdem Party DPW
12	Kunkunrat	Deputy for Winning Election of DPW Keadilan Sejahtera Party (PKS) of West Java
13	Uu Ruzhanul Ulum	Candidates for Deputy Governor of West Java Elected Deputy Governor of West Java 2018-2024
14	Ahmad Heryawan	Syuro Council DPP Keadilan Sejahtera Party (PKS) Governor of West Java 2008-2018

4. RESULTS AND DISCUSSIONS

In general, political communication is seen as a process, political communication is an ongoing activity. This means that what is happening now is actually a

continuation of what happened before and all will be connected with what happens in the future. As a process, political communication can be understood by involving at least five elements: (a) involved (actor or participant), (b) message, (c) channel, (d) situation or context, and (e) influence or effect. (Pawito, 2009).

4.1. HM Ridwan Kamil's Political Communication Process with Political Parties Elite in the Nomination of West Java Governor

The process of political communication carried out by H.M. Ridwan Kamil with the political communication actors elite political parties is a necessity in the midst of the vortex of the dynamics of political communication of the local elite in West Java and which involves political elites at the central level which are complicated, dynamic and unpredictable.

The process of political communication of the candidate for Governor HM. Ridwan Kamil with the PDI Perjuangan elite designed in advance, it was proven when some of the momentum carried out by Ridwan Kamil was to gain sympathy from the PDI Perjuangan elite political communication actors. Ridwan Kamil since 2015 by trying to bring up the political message through political symbols in winning the hearts of the PDI-P party elite. The political symbols in question namely Ridwan Kamil conveyed the political message through policy when he served as Mayor of Bandung with the inauguration of the name of the road that was previously named Jalan Cikapundung Timur became Jalan Dr. Ir Sukarno on November 10, 2015 and inaugurated the Sukarno Banceuy Monument on Jalan Banceuy. Inauguration of the Sukarno Monument on Jalan Banceuy and Jalan Dr.IR. Sukarno not only touched the basis of the PDI-P's political identity, but researchers considered that the momentum was built by Ridwan Kamil to establish political communication with political actors who were considered to be able to influence other PDI-P's political elites.

Unfortunately HM Ridwan Kamil's strategic political communication with elite political communication actors PDI Perjuangan experienced a dead end, a strategic target to get recommendations as a boat of political capital to advance in the contestation of the West Java Election with PDI Perjuangan boats did not take place, according to the analysis of researchers there are several factors why PDI Perjuangan did not give a recommendation to HM Ridwan Kamil, firstly, confused by the political elite PDI Perjuangan, especially Chairman Megawati Soekarno Putri over the declaration made by HM Ridwan Kamil with the NasDem Party deemed not respecting the PDI Perjuangan in political fatsoen, secondly, HM Ridwan Kamil was not flexible in Political communication, because according to the researchers, HM Ridwan Kamil is too arrogant and has the upper hand due to factors, popularity, high electability and acceptability according to several surveys, so, according to researcher analysis, HM Ridwan Kamil did not want to be paired with the Deputy Governor, the desire of political communication actor HM Ridwan Kamil, who was sticking out at that time Anton Charilan, Puti Guntur and Abdy Yuhana.

In the process of political communication HM. Ridwan Kamil with the elite political communication actor NasDem Party took place, unlike with PDI

Perjuangan which involved a third political communication actor, it was conveyed by H. M. Ridwan Kamil during the interview process with researchers. However, in reality according to the analysis of researchers the process of political communication between HM. Ridwan Kamil with the political communication actor elite NasDem party conducted closed and public access is not open, almost all the candidates in the process of nominating direct regional elections simultaneously governor of West Java which took place according to researchers from data obtained through interviews and observations ignored the urgency of public access.

In its development the political communication process was very fast and brief between HM. Ridwan Kamil with the NasDem Party's elite political communication actor and seemed not well planned, it was marked by being too "easy" H. M. Ridwan Kamil was sympathetic from the political elite of the NasDem party. Instead of H M. Ridwan Kamil's political communication process with the NasDem Party's political communication actors, it became something beyond most people's predictions, because H M. Ridwan Kamil accepted the Nasdem Party's "proposal" and wanted to make a declaration even though in the analysis of the research, the declaration making political communication H M. Ridwan Kamil with the PDI Perjuangan political actor tenuous. That is the political path that cannot always be predicted, giving rise to a paradox that makes a political decision contain a million meanings in it and a thousand possibilities of the decision are seen from its strategic objectives.

Furthermore, to get a ticket in the nomination of a political party as political capital, HM Ridwan Kamil also conducted a process of political communication with political communication actors DPW PKB West Java. It is not easy for HM Ridwan Kamil to convince elite party actors, in this case the Kebangkitan Nasional Party, HM Ridwan Kamil tries to adapt to the PKB environment, in the moment of adaptation the means used can be in the form of language or action, language that represents political symbols as HM Ridwan Kamil did with the emergence of concrete symbols such as turban clothing, green, cap and abstract symbols in the form of adjustments on how Moderate Islam (Ahlussunnah Waljama'iah) in West Java could be built in West Java. Analysis of the symbolic researcher HM Ridwan Kamil is well aware, to win the hearts of political communication actors PKB must first make political communication with Kiai as a figure, or PKB strength, both nationally and in local politics in West Java, not only getting political support to get capital politics, but also get social capital, at least the Kiai NU figure was able to become a "pressure" for HM Ridwan Kamil to the PKB elite political communication actors in obtaining the PKB recommendation as a nominating boat in the 2018 West Java Governor Election. Researcher's analysis from the description above, HM Ridwan Kamil's strategic communication goals with PKB Political Communication actors met a meeting point and succeeded in gaining political capital in the form of recommendations for advancing in the direct local election contestation simultaneously by the Governor in West Java 2018, Ridwan Kamil and Uu Ruzhanul Ulum officially received a decree (SK) recommendation of a partner from PKB. There are at least four categories why HM Ridwan Kamil obtained political capital in the

form of recommendations from PKB as his nominating boat, first, H M. Ridwan Kamil drew on the symbolism of NU, Second, the figure factor, that HM Ridwan Kamil represented the symbol of innovative young leaders, Third, that H M. Ridwan Kamil accepts 9 West Java Inner Birth agendas that represent PKB platform symbols based on Kiai, Islamic Boarding Schools and students as Prospective policy choices, Fourth, the popularity, electability and acceptability factors of H. M. Ridwan Kamil according to various survey agencies during the 2017 period until before the election of the Governor of West Java in 2018.

In the process of political communication HM. Ridwan Kamil to get political capital in the form of recommendations from PPP is not as dynamic as the process of political communication with the PDI-P elite and PKB, according to the researchers' observations it was revealed that the political communication process was the first time conducted by HM. Ridwan Kamil from 2017 with the Uu Ruzhanul Ulum, was one elite or PPP figure in West Java who at that time was the Regent of Tasikmalaya Regency. From the initial process according to the analysis of researchers why the process of political communication H M. Ridwan Kamil with the PPP elite political communication actors is not too complicated because, the one who made the approach in advance to face the 2018 governor election was Uu Ruzhanul Ulum. The involvement of Uu Ruzhanul Ulum in the process of political communication convinced the elite political communication actors of the PPP DPP to be the main key to the issuance of PPP recommendations for H. Ridwan Kamil.

The researcher sees, that HM Ridwan Kamil in the activities of political communication with PPP political communication actors, is also inseparable from the political dynamics of simultaneous direct regional elections in DKI Jakarta in 2017, the issue of identity politics is very strong, so that issues that arise in West Java, that "West Java will be in DKI right", especially the strengthening of the issue "RK will be in Ahok". According to the researchers, the advantage of HM.Ridwan Kamil took political actors from PPP, namely Uu Ruzhanul Ulum, who has a pesantren network, and the alumni of "Hudanya" were able to stem the issues of identity politics.

According to data obtained through observation, after exploring an approach with the political communication actors of the Golkar party elite, finally on November 9, 2017, HM. Ridwan Kamil was finally officially introduced as a candidate for governor supported by the Golkar Party. HM.Ridwan Kamil officially "matched" a duet with Daniel Mutaqien as a candidate for governor and deputy governor candidate in the 2018 West Java Governor Election. However the maneuver conducted by HM.Ridwan Kamil in the dynamics of West Java governor election election is a game of political communication actors, so in the researcher's perspective, the dynamics of political communication between actors are very dynamic and cannot be predicted by anyone. The emergence of recommendations to the HM.Ridwan Kamil-Daniel Mutaqin pair with a pattern of power distribution to offer the position of deputy governor to Daniel Mutaqin caused internal conflict, because the political communication process or HM.Ridwan Kamil's effort to get a recommendation

from the Golkar party is unknown to the chairman of the West Java Golkar Party DPD.

After announcing the duo of Ridwan Kamil and Daniel Mutaqien, the Golkar Party's boat was rocked by the political tsunami problem. Golkar Party Chairperson Setya Novanto is stumbling over legal issues regarding the e-KTP corruption case. West Java Golkar Regional Leadership Council Chairman Dedi Mulyadi urged his party to immediately replace the general chairman. According to data obtained through observations that researchers found that on December 13, 2017 Airlangga Hartato was elected as Chair of the Golkar Party after going through a plenary meeting. In the process on December 17, 2017 the Golkar Party officially withdrew its support for HM. Ridwan Kamil. An attempt to convince the political actors of the Golkar party conducted by HM. Ridwan Kamil was deadlocked due to problems involving how an unexpected factor, namely the capture of the General Chairperson of the Golkar Party due to stumbling on a legal case before the election of the governor of West Java in 2018.

4.2. Deddy Miswar's Political Communication Process with Political Parties Elite in the Nomination of West Java Governor

In political communication at the local level, Deddy Mizwar exerted his ability to build a communication situation in which political claims. The claims made are in the form of political statements that have relevance to various problems experienced by the local community or that occurred in West Java, and of course statements to continue the previous governor, Ahmad Heryawan, in which Deddy Mizwar as his deputy governor was considered successful in building West Java so the policy must be continued.

Historically Deddy Mizwar and political communication actors from PKS have long been built and are very close, especially for 5 years accompanying Ahmad Heyawan (Aher) as the deputy governor, the process of political communication before the nomination was relatively easy because it had adapted for a long time and proceeded with patterns which is very intense and fairly smooth. Deddy Mizwar already has good political relations or political networks among PKS political communication chords, from the elite of the West Java DPW to the DPP and the PKS Syuro Council. The strategic objectives of Deddy Mizwar's political communication with political communication actors are reaping the rewards. The success of Deddy Mizwar's strategic objectives with the PKS which was marked by building an agreement with the Demokrat Party, PAN on Friday, September 25, 2017, although the rules of the game do not yet have binding legal force, because they have not registered with the West Java Regional Election Commission, it is a breath of fresh air for contestation West Java governor election 2018, but the political dynamics in West Java are so fast and dynamic. The agreement was not entered into the registration process in January 2018 which then allegedly damaged aspects of political communication between Deddy Mizwar and PKS and PAN, which resulted in the breakup of a partnership which resulted in the withdrawal of PKS and PAN support to support Deddy Mizwar. On December 29, 2017, Hidayat Nur Wahid revealed why PKS

withdrew support for Dedy Mizwar in the media by saying that, "The reason his party withdrew support for Dedy Mizwar at the West Java Pilgub in 2018. According to Hidayat, Dedy Mizwar had made a unilateral political contract with the Demokrat. The political contract in question is a matter of statement of support for the presidential candidate who was carried by the Democratic Party in the upcoming 2019 Presidential Election". One of the reasons for the break-up of Dedy Mizwar's partnership with PKS, according to the analysis of the researchers, was that there was no openness in his political communication with PKS so that the integration agreement was not communicated with the elite PKS communication actors.

Next, the researcher analyzed the pressure of Gerindra party cadres to push Dedy Mizwar in Rapimda's momentum in May 2017 in Sentul Bogor, West Java as a way to open Dedy Mizwar in getting political capital from the Gerindra party, but did not give a blank check, meaning that the encouragement was joint same with Gerindra party cadres who are none other than the chairman of the West Java Gerindra DPD party, Mulyadi to be paired with Dedy Mizwar. The dynamics of the process of political communication in the context of convincing the political communication actors in the elite party of the Gerindra party took place, both between the PKS and the Gerindra Party and with Dedy Mizwar. In fact, the researcher traced that, Dedy Mizwar saw an opportunity to get the political capital of the Gerindra party recommendation as a boat in the nomination in the election of the governor of West Java, his chances were very slim because of the tug-of-war of interests.

Dedy Mizwar's political maneuver by trying to make political communication with the Gerindra party's DPP political communication actor made political communication with the Gerindra party's DPD chairman stretched, in addition to the political maneuver, the problem that Mulyadi as the DPD chairman of the West Java Gerindra party was encouraged by Gerindra party cadres to advance as Governor or deputy governor in the 2018 West Java governor election. Researchers noted that Dedy Mizwar had not been able to build consensus with political communication actors from the Gerindra party resulting in conflict with Mulyadi as chairman of the West Java Gerindra Party DPD. The breaking up of a partnership between Dedy Mizwar, PKS and the Gerindra party rose on September 12, 2017, said Mulyadi as chairman of the West Java Gerindra Party DPD.

Then Dedy Mizwar began to open political communication with PDI-P. Dedy Mizwar's political communication on 16 October 2017 visited the headquarters of the PDI Perjuangan West Java DPD to discuss various matters including the Election of the Governor of West Java in 2018. Conditions of the breakup of the Gerindra Party and PKS revocation of support made the position of Dedy Mizwar difficult. On the other hand the PDI-P has not yet determined who will be brought forward to be nominated in the election of the governor of West Java in 2018, because in West Java, only the PDI-P is able to carry the candidate for governor himself. Through interviews and observations, researchers analyzed that the symbolic environment created by Dedy Mizwar that made use of history that his mother was part of the PDI, which is now PDI Perjuangan

emerged when conducting a process of political communication with PDI Perjuangan, according to the researcher, became a significant social capital for Deddy Mizwar approaching political communication actors from the West Java PDI-P in the process of nominating as a candidate for governor of West Java in 2018.

The involvement of a third political communication actor in Deddy Mizwar's political communication communication process with the PDI Perjuangan elite in West Java, shows that the elite political communication network owned by Deddy Mizwar in PDI Perjuangan is weak despite serving as deputy governor of West Java. Deddy Mizwar who has been identical as a candidate for West Java governor candidate with religious ideology is very contrary to his steps which actually lobbying the party with a nationalist ideology namely PDI-P, according to the researchers is a form of pragmatism Deddy Mizwar as a candidate for governor of West Java to get support from political parties. But surprisingly in the nomination process of the Governor of West Java in 2018, the Indonesian Democratic Party of Struggle chose and supported Major General TNI (Retired) TB Hasanuddin and Anton Charliyan who were former West Java Regional Police Chiefs as candidates for governor and deputy governor of West Java. This makes Deddy Mizwar's strategic goal to be carried out by the PDI-P failed in the election of the governor of West Java in 2018.

In the process of Deddy Mizwar's communication with political communication actors from the Demokrat party, from the beginning the process of nominating Deddy Mizwar as a candidate for Governor of West Java in 2018 was relatively smooth. Deddy Mizwar's formal political communication process with the Demokrat Party DPD political communication actors was seen during his political safari, on October 24, 2017, Deddy Mizwar visited the West Java Demokrat Party DPD office. Observing this matter, the researcher saw that the building of political communication between Deddy Mizwar and the Demokrat from the beginning had found a point of understanding between the two parties, it was seen from the beginning Deddy Mizwar and the Demokrat party together in the process of nominating Deddy Mizwar in the election of the governor of West Java. When the process of political communication with the Demokrat became one of the points related to the withdrawal of PKS support for Deddy Mizwar because Deddy Mizwar signed an agreement in the form of an integrity pact that was listed on October 2, 2017.

The anomaly of the nomination process of Deddy Mizwar in the election of the governor of West Java supported by the Demokrat party, which was then abandoned by PKS, PAN and Gerindra, made Irfan Suryanagara move fast, so the process of political communication was so swift by approaching Dedi Mulyadi as chairman of the Golkar Party DPD, regarding the meeting point, if the researchers look at it, there is a connection with the adigium in politics, namely, "there is no dead end in politics" and even then happens in the final seconds of the registration period of candidates for governor and deputy governor by the West Java Regional Election Committee on the 8th to January 10, 2018, Irfan Suryanaga held a press conference with Dedi Mulyadi on

December 27, 2017 to decide on a coalition with the Golkar party to bring Deddy Mizwar and Dedi Mulyadi.

The statement made by Irfan Suryanagara marks a new chapter, that the support of the Demokrat Party to Deddy Mizwar finally meets the meeting point with the Golkar party and together builds a coalition "parallel" in the election of the Governor and Deputy Governor of West Java in 2018. The strategic objectives of political communication Deddy Mizwar finally succeeded by getting support from the Democratic party and the Golkar party. With the support of Deddy Mizwar by the Democratic party which has 12 members of the West Java Province Regional House of Representatives and the Golkar party which has 17 seats in the West Java REGIONAL HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES, it has already surpassed 20 percent of seats in the West Java Province REGIONAL HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES. Finally Deddy Mizwar got a political capital ticket as a candidate for governor of West Java in 2018 in pairs with Dedi Mulyadi or 2DM which was marked by a declaration as a candidate for governor and candidate for vice governor of West Java, in Sabuga on January 9, 2018, after the declaration event Deddy Mizwar and Dedi Mulyadi yourself to the West Java Regional Election Committee.

4.3. The Reality of Political Communication HM. Ridwan Kamil and Deddy Mizwar in the Process of Governor Nomination

This chapter will discuss how the reality of political communication HM. Ridwan Kamil and Deddy Mizwar ahead of the simultaneous regional head elections for the governor in West Java in 2018. In this case the researchers looked at at least three dominant factors looking at this matter, first the problem that, basic capital (popularity, electability, acceptability) HM. Ridwan Kamil and Deddy Mizwar as political party magnets in determining the nomination of the governor of West Java in 2018. The Basic capital is used as Bargaining power by HM. Ridwan Kamil and Deddy Mizwar in conducting the process of political communication with political party elite political communication actors.

HM. Ridwan Kamil tried to build an initial capital that focused on social media by segmenting people in urban areas, although it did not leave mainstream media and conventional media since 2013. HM. Ridwan Kamil also approaches through the pesantren network, because in the pesantren there are Kiai and santri who can engage in political persuasion as well as the general public. HM. Ridwan Kamil understands very well, politicians in the digital era who are then marked by connectivity, what is the talk in the digital world will come into the discourse of discussion in the spaces of people's daily lives. That is why HM. Ridwan Kamil really utilizes digital space to build his basic capital in order to build popularity, electability and acceptability as a bargaining power value for political parties and as a "magnet" for political parties to provide recommendation support.

Deddy Mizwar relies on or focuses on the mainstream media, instead Deddy Mizwar as an actor in the entertainment world already has a capital base of popularity. Despite having high popularity, Deddy Mizwar did not immediately

become a candidate with the highest electability. Ridwan Kamil who has popularity under Deddy Mizwar has become a candidate with the highest electability. In this case, Deddy Mizwar as someone who has high popularity is actually not able to do positioning and repositioning which is closely related to how the candidate conducts political communication by "selling the products" of his politics to build political image. In fact, Deddy Mizwar also tried to build his political image in accordance with the character of voters in West Java. This means that popularity cannot be interpreted in line with acceptability and electability. Researchers also noted, the popularity of Deddy Mizwar was not all related to electability and acceptability.

The second problem is Pragmatism Political Communication HM. Ridwan Kamil and Deddy Mizwar in obtaining Political Capital for the nomination of the Direct Regional Head Election of the Governor of West Java in 2018, political pragmatism conducted by HM. Ridwan Kamil and Deddy Mizwar in the process of political communication gained political capital by relying on the basic capital of popularity, electability and accountability finally researchers assessed the dynamics of the process of political communication in simultaneous regional elections in West Java, no longer on the rails, meaning that essentially political communication is exchange of political information and strengthening the impression of inequality caused by pragmatic interests, one of which is only to obtain political capital, without providing clear political information.

And thirdly, the strong problems of the Oligarchy of Political Parties and the death of political communication of Local Political Actors in the Direct Regional Head Election of the Governor of West Java in 2018.

5. CONCLUSION

1. The process of political communication HM Ridwan Kamil and Deddy Mizwar to obtain political capital with political communication actors Elite political parties involve third political actors (non political party individuals) to strengthen acceptance of political party elites, both of which bring up political symbols, in political parties religiously oriented, HM Ridwan Kamil gave rise to Islamic Nusantara symbols which were then interpreted as NU symbols, when the process of political communication with Nationalist-oriented political parties, HM Ridwan Kamil gave rise to Soekarno, Pancasila symbols and the idea that West Java as a stronghold Nationalism. Whereas Deddy Mizwar capitalizes the urban Islamic symbol which is interpreted as a PKS symbol due to the closeness to PKS elites, and through the role of Deddy Mizwar's film, it is constructed as a religious politician. Whereas with the nationalist-oriented party, Deddy Mizwar brought up the value of his family's history (his mother used to be a caretaker in the PDI), as well as more aspects of the development of southern West Java and continued good programs of Ahmad Heryawan's policies.
2. In Reality political communication shows two conditions. First about Political Pragmatism HM. Ridwan Kamil, Deddy Mizwar and Political Parties in the nomination process to get support recommendations and provide

recommendations for the recommendation of the Governor of West Java in 2018 and the Oligarchy of Political Parties and the failure of political communication between Local Political Actors in the Direct Regional Head Election of the Governor of West Java in 2018. Second refers to how the level of authorized capital (Popularity, Electability and Acceptability) as the bargaining power of both when conducting a communication process, at least as a "magnet" are both glimpsed by political parties.

3. Political communication models HM Ridwan Kamil and Deddy Mizwar with political communication actors both actors from political party elites and political communication actors from outside political parties in the nomination process that are so dynamically complex and unpredictable. Researchers found changes in the strategic objectives of political communication, so that it would determine the capital of political communication in the form of recommendations for support from political parties as candidates for governor of West Java in 2018. HM. Ridwan Kamil and Deddy Mizwar must be able to win the hearts of party elites with political information in the form of prospective policy choices in the form of "product" political programs to solve the problems that exist in West Java.

Suggestion

1. The process of political communication ahead of the governor's nomination process in an effort to obtain and provide recommendations as a political capital carried out by the prospective governor with political communication actors elite political parties as an example for national political communication by taking into account aspects of openness, proportionality, rationality and normalcy.
2. We recommend that the Simultaneous Local Election Law No. 10 of 2016 be reviewed due to the very large role of the DPP, so that the authority of the DPD of political parties is very weak, because it has implications for the failure of political communication between local political communication actors so that political parties tend to oligarchy in determining candidates for Governor.
3. It is better if both the prospective governor and the political communication actors of the political party elite carry out the communication process by prioritizing political information in the form of prospective policy choice as a message of political communication to convince political party elites on the basis of how to develop West Java in the future by answering existing problems.

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