The Effects of Leadership, Political Communication, A Party's Image on Loyalty of Voters In Jakarta

[1,]Agus Hermanto , [2,]Bambang Supriyono , [3,]Mardiyono , [4,]Kusdi Rahardjo
[1,2,3,4,]*Faculty of Administrative Science, Brawijaya University*

ABSTRACT : *Public administration plays a very vital and strategic role for the survival of the nation and state. The whole order of the state needs to be set within a framework of good, effective and efficient administration so as to manage to realize the desired objectives. The strategic function of public administration is that there is nothing more important than administration for this modern age at this present. Public administration is really needed in efforts to implement effective and efficient public policies. Public policies are a function of the pillars of the organization and management constituting the main locus of the science of public administration. Based on the description above, the researcher is interested in examining the effects of leadership, political communication and a party's image on loyalty of voters (A Survey Made in DKI Jakarta Province). Based on the analysis in the previous section, it can be concluded that Leadership significantly affects Political Communication, A Party's Image, as well as Loyalty of Voters. Political Communication significantly affects A Party's Image. A Party's Image significantly affects Loyalty of Voters. On the other hand, Political Communication does not significantly affect Loyalty of Voters.*

KEYWORDS : *Leadership, Politica Communication, A Party's Image, Loyality of Voters*

I. INTRODUCTION

Public administration plays a very vital and strategic role for the survival of the nation and state. The whole order of the state needs to be set within a framework of good, effective and efficient administration so as to manage to realize the desired objectives. The strategic function of public administration as stated by Lepawsky (in Siagian, 2006: 1) is that there is nothing more important than administration for this modern age at this present. The survival of civilized governance and sthe urvival of civilization itself rely on the ability to foster and develop a philosophy of administration capable of solving the problems of modern society. Likewise, Siagian (2006: 1) states that the sucess and collapse of a state even the increase and decrease of human civilization and the arising and sinking of nations in the world are not due to wars or disasters, they instead depend on the good or bad of the administration owned. In so doing, it is totally obvious that administration is a very important aspect in the life of the nation. According Thoha (2000: 3), entering the 21st century, public administration gets into a new nation. Public administration is not simply an instrument of the state bureaucracy. Its function is more than that, namely public administration as a collective instrument, as a means to organize public governance of common interest in collective networks to achieve previously agreed public objectives.

This shift indicates that public administration has entered into a more substantive public role. This repositioning to a certain extent also serves as the anti-climax of the practice of the widespread public administration, which puts all public affairs as part of state affairs, the government. Such areas of public administration according to Frederickson (1997: 79) are referred to as public administration as governance. In other words, public administration as governance is basically public administration with loci of synergy in public areas which include genuine actors from the public with an agenda focus of public interest necessary for them (common interest). Public administration is really needed in efforts to implement effective and efficient public policies. Public policies are a function of the pillars of the organization and management constituting the main locus of the science of public administration. In public administration, a state is viewed as an organization while the government is positioned as management. A state is a static container and thus it requires a driving machine in the form of management. The meeting of state elements and government will result in a provision, regulation or common law called public policies. Public policies will be run by the state administration carried out by the government bureaucracy. The main focus of public policies in the perspective of modern states is public services. According Dwiyanto (2007), this is a very logical implication for public polices are the main output of the government. For the government, policies are a principal instrument that can be used to influence people's behavior in an attempt to public affairs. Such efforts, according to Ripley (1985), can be done using domestic policies such as: distributive policies, protective regulatory policies, competitive regulatory policies, and redistributive policies.

The democratic system is adopted, among others, for the purposes to build a transparent, fair, and honest state system. The democratic system serves primarily as a recruitment instrument for state administrators that will fill strategic positions of state institutions. Through democratic processes, it is expected to generate administrators and leaders that are in accordance with the aspirations of the people. Huntington (in Triwahyuningsih, 2001: 29) states that the democratization agenda concerns with the issue of political leadership. Huntington shows that the role of political leadership in the authoritarianism transformation to democracy is vital. A number of theorists of democracy put succession of rulers as one of the important criteria for democracy. Carter and John Herz (in Triwahyuningsih, 2001: 29) considers the peaceful succession of rulers is accompanied with the presence of a model of an effective representative of the people as one of the important and major criteria for democracy. A political system is called democracy when one of the requirements to guarantee the right of citizens to vote and to be elected in periodic and free elections and to effectively provide opportunities of the sucession of the ruling elite are met. Based on the description above, the researcher is interested in examining the effects of leadership, political communication and a party's image on loyalty of voters (A Survey Made in DKI Jakarta Province).

II. PREVIOUS STUDIES

Leadership is a pillar of an organization, so that it becomes the representation of the whole organization. Maxwell (1995: 11) states that every single thing rises and falls because of its leadership. Therefore, a leader is demanded to be able to influence a group of people to achieve a common interest. In the context of organizations, a leader serves as a foothold for the realization of all the goals set together, and thus the realization of organizational goals depends on the leader. If the leader is able to run all leadership functions properly, it will be possible to realize all the organizational goals. However, it is unlikely to materialize such goals if the leader can not perform the leadership functions properly. This is no exception for a political organization or political party, where the party leader becomes the central figure. As the central figure, leaders of political parties will affect the image of the parties as a whole. If the leader has strong integrity and a good personality, then it will be the main attraction for the people. However, if the leaders or elite of political parties do not show integrity and get involved in a number of cases, then it will quickly ruin the party's image. In short, the role of a party leader in building the image of the party is significant. Previous research also indicates that party leadership will shape the party's image. This is shown in a study by Jenssen and Aalberg (2006) indicating that the political-party leaders have an influence on the popularity of political parties.

The existence of leadership in an organization is not only affects the image, confidence and satisfaction, but also have an important impact on loyalty. This condition also applies in the organizational context of political parties, that effective leadership can be an instrument to build loyalty of voters or society. Effective leaders will be capable of keeping the mandate given by the people, so that people will continue to believe and will reselect them in the next election period. However, if the leaders and elites of political parties can not show good and effective leadership, this condition will lead to public mistrust and ultimately make the people reluctant to revote them in the next election period. Souiden and Pons (2009) conducted a study on corporate images of companies experiencing a crises of product recalling in relation to loyalty and buying interest. The data were collected using a 1-5 Likert scale questionnaire with a sample of 573 people, the data werer analyzed using SEM and the findings, among others, suggested that the corporate image of a company has a significant effect on customers' loyalty.

III. HYPOTHESES

In this study, several hypotheses will be tested, namely:
H1: Leadership significantly affects Political Communication.
H2: Leadership significantly affects A Party's Image.
H3: Political Communication significantly affects A Party's Image.
H4: Leadership significantly affects Loyalty of Voters.
H5: Political Communication significantly affects Loyalty of Voters.
H6: A Party's Image significantly affects Loyalty of Voters.

IV. RESEARCH METHODS

In this study, the analysis to test the proposed hypotheses is variables hypothesized using GeSCA. This study aims to investigate the effect of Leadership (X), Political Communication (Y1), and A Party's Image (Y2) on Loyalty of Voters (Z).

4.1. Data Analysis

This study employed the method of path analysis with a relationship model presented in the figure below:
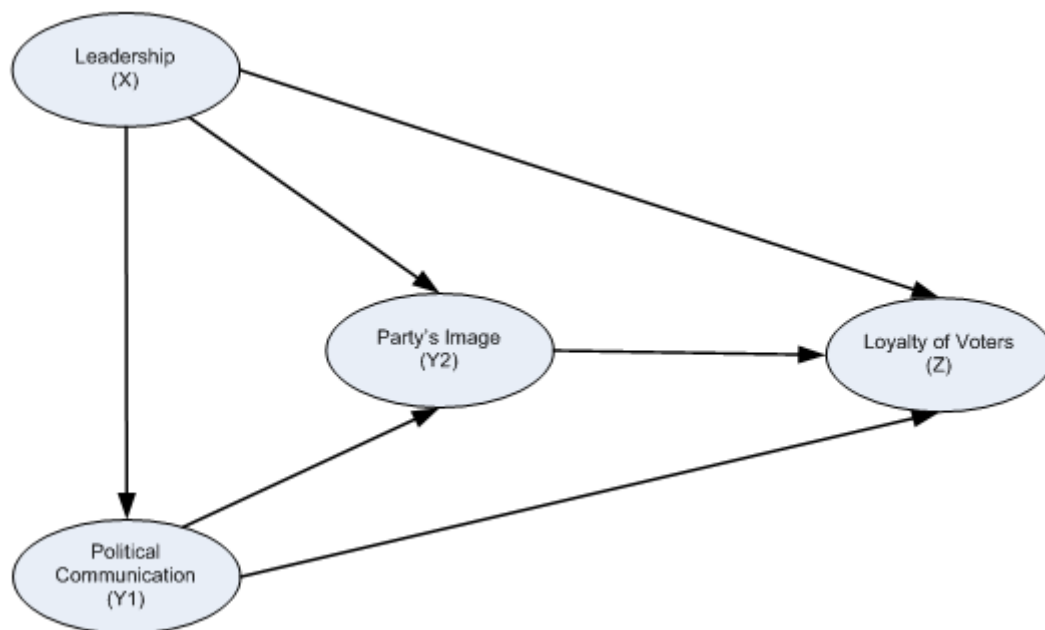

Figure 1: The Path Diagram of the Theoretical Model of the Research

4.2. Research Scope

This study used a survey method. According to McMillan and Schumacher (2006: 233), surveys are used to study attitudes, beliefs, values, demographics, behavior, opinions, habits, desires, ideas and other types of information. In quantitative research, especially if it is designed as survey research, the existance of the research population and the research sample can hardly be avoided. Also, this method was chosen because it covers a wide range of phenomena as they are and enable to conduct broader studies due to the relationship among various variables being studied.

4.3. Sample

The population of this study consisted of the final voters of DKI Jakarta region. According to data from the General Elections Commision (Indonesian: KPU which stands for *Komisi Pemilihan Umum*) of DKI Jakarta, the number of final voters in the Direct Regional Leadership Elections (Indonesian: *Pilkada* which stands for *Pemilihan Kepala Daerah*) 2012 was as many as 6,996,951 people. Research sample calculation using Slovin formula at the error rate of 5% (in Umar, 2003: 98 and in Rakhmat, 2004: 82) was employed with a reason to get a representative and more definite sample that approaches the number of the existing population. Sampling was done using proportional simple random sampling, that is a random sampling technique with the proportional amount for each sub-population in accordance with the size. It can provide a generalization basis that can be more accounted for without taking into account the size of sub-populations and each sub-population (Sugiono, 2004: 59; Sekaran, 2003: 272; Hair, Bush and Ortinav, 2006: 335), In this study, the simple was taken using proportional simple random sampling through a random table based on the distribution of the population in each region. The details are given as follows:

V. HYPOTHESIS-TESTING RESULTS

To test the inner model (the structural model), this study employed GeSCA analysis. The calculation results of the path coefficient suggested that the effects of leadership on political communication, a party's image, and loyalty of voters are summarized in the following table:

Table 1. The Structural Model for GSCA Results: The Direct Effects

| Hypothesis	Relationship	Coefficient	P	Information
1	Leadership (X) → Political Communication (Y1)	0.289	0.001	Significant
2	Leadership (X) → Party's Image (Y2)	0.270	0.003	Significant
3	Leadership (X) → Loyalty of Voters (Z)	0.187	0.047	Significant
4	Political Communication (Y1) → Party's Image (Y2)	0.286	0.000	Significant
5	Political Communication (Y1) → Loyalty of Voters (Z)	0.024	0.603	Not Significant
16	Party's Image (Y2) → Loyalty of Voters (Z)	0.234	0.005	Significant

Sources: Primary data is processed, 2013
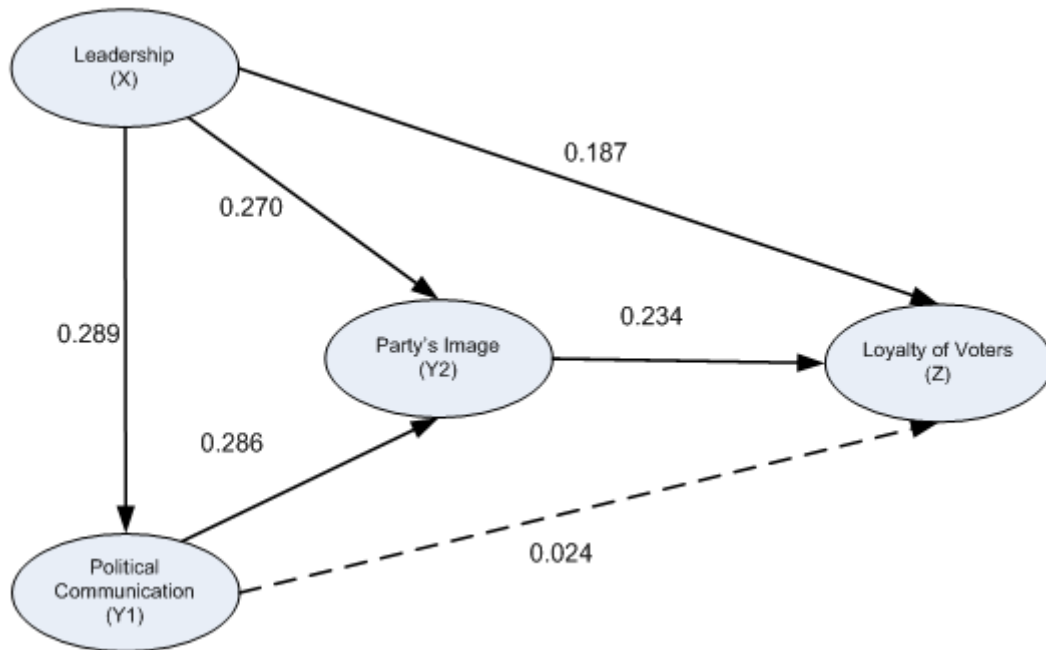
Figure 2. Structural Model Testing GeSCA

5.1. The Results of the First Hypothesis Testing

The testing results regarding the effects of Leadership on Political Communication are intended to answer the problem formulation and the research hypothesis stating that Leadership affects Political Communication as presented in the following figure:
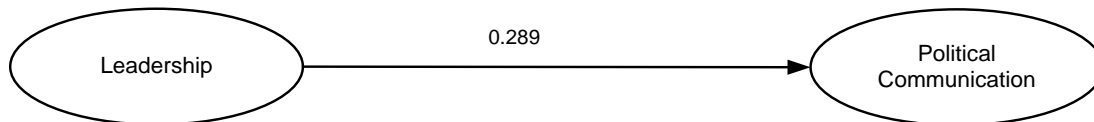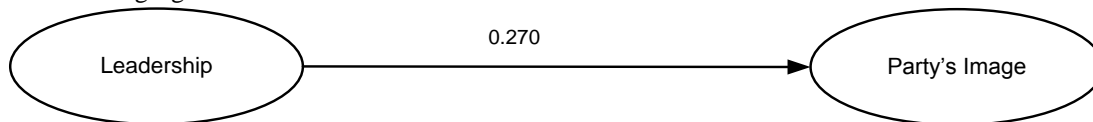

Based on the analysis, the coefficient of the relationship between Leadership and Political Communication was 0.289 with the value of P by 0.001. The analysis results showed that P value was <0.05, indicating that Leadership significantly affected Political Communication. The positive coefficient indicates a unidirectional relationship. It means that increases in Leadership (X) significantly affects increases in Political Communication (Y1), the higher the value of Leadership (X), the higher the value of Political Communication (Y1). Leadership, based on the results of the first hypothesis testing (H1), is shown to have an influence on political communication. It means that the factor of leadership contributes significantly to the attainment of the effectiveness of political communication. In the body of a political party, a leader is the central figure determining the course of political parties. Therefore, if the leader has a good competence, such as the ability to move effectively subordinates, harmonious political communication between the political party and the public

or and other parties can be developed. A leader is a figure expected to inspire and encourage all members of a political party and thus a leader is willing to improve the quality of the relationship with stakeholders. The significance of leadership in an organization, including in the organization of political parties, as suggested by Maxwell (1995: 11), all things will either rise or fall because of leadership. Political parties can also rise or fall due to the factor of leadership, particularly the Chairman of the Branch Leadership Council (Indonesian: DPC which stands for *Dewan Perwakilan Cabang*) of the political party that interacts directly with voters.

Such a condition may occur because leadership reflects an action of a leader in influencing members in order to achieve organizational goals. In the context of political parties, the DPC Chairman promoting behaviors challenging processes, inspiring shared visions, enabling others to act, showing directions, and encouraging members as subordinates (Kouzes and Posner, 1999: 90) may promote the development of good political communication based on the credibility, attractiveness, empathy, openness, and equality (Devito, 1976; Cangara, 2009) and thus allowing both parties to build a mutually beneficial and conducive relationship.

5.2. The Results of the Second Hypothesis Testing
The testing results regarding the effects of Leadership on A Party's Image are intended to answer the problem formulation and the research hypothesis stating that Leadership affects A Party's Image as presented in the following figure:
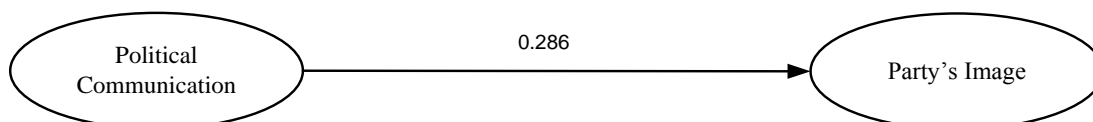

Based on the analysis, the coefficient of the relationship between Leadership and A Party's Image was 0.270 with the value of P by 0.003. The analysis results showed that P value was <0.05, indicating that Leadership significantly affected A Party's Image. The positive coefficient indicates a unidirectional relationship. It means that increases in Leadership (X) significantly affects increases in A Party's Image (Y2), the higher the value of Leadership (X), the higher the value of A Party's Image (Y2). Leadership, based on the results of the second hypothesis testing (H2), is shown to have an influence on images. This finding indicates that leadership has an important part in the effort to create a positive image of political parties. This finding can be accepted considering that a leader is a major figure in an organization and has broad authority to regulate the organization, including in terms of building the image of the organization. As a major figure, a leader will also be the main object considered by outsiders, so that the ability of a leader to lead will contribute to the establishment of the political party's image.

In the context of political parties, the leadership of the DPC Chairman is also important and vital to build the image of the political party. If the DPC Chairman has integrity and a strong and good personality leadership reflected in the leadership behavior, the DPC Chairman will be the main attraction for the people. Conversely, if the leaders or elites of political parties do not show high integrity characterized by aberrant behaviors such as corruption, then it will ruin the image of the political parties. Leaders of political parties are also required to be able to inspire and mobilize their members to do positive things to create a positive image of the parties. It is because if party leaders are not able to inspire and mobilize subordinates, then the behavior of their members will not be well controlled, which eventually may result in bad behavior damaging the parties' image.

5.3. The Results of the Third Hypothesis Testing
The testing results regarding the effects of Political Communication on A Party's Image are intended to answer the problem formulation and the research hypothesis stating that Political Communication affects A Party's Image as presented in the following figure:
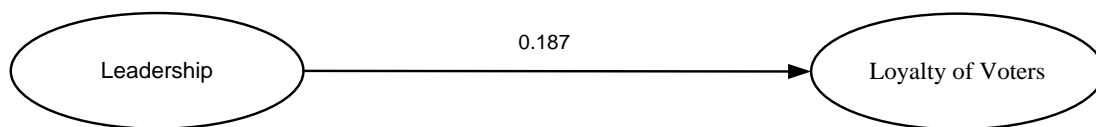

Based on the analysis, the coefficient of the relationship between Political Communication and A Party's Image was 0.286 with the value of P by 0.000. The analysis results showed that P value was <0.05, indicating that Political Communication significantly affected A Party's Image. The positive coefficient indicates a unidirectional relationship. It means that increases in Political Communication (Y1) significantly affects

increases in A Party's Image (Z), the higher the value of Political Communication (Y1), the higher the value of A Party's Image (Z).The results of this study accepted the third hypothesis (H3), meaning that political communication had a significant effect on the image of a party.Based on this finding, political communication is one factor that played an important role in improving the image of a party. Communication is an activity that cannot be separated from everyday life, including the life of political parties. Communication becomes a means to build relationships and understanding and to provide information as well. Therefore, the ability to establish political communication will determine the success of political parties in building the image of the parties. Image-building efforts cannot be separated from efforts to establish communication.

Political communication by political elites which contents reflect and promise credibility, attractiveness, empathy, openness, and equality (Devito, 1976; Cangara, 2009) will promote the development of the image of a political party, that is the image formed of information processing based on knowledge and experiences that previous voters own about political parties. The image is formed either visually, verbally or in a way related to behavior (Smaizen and Orzekausakas, 2006). Knowledge and experience of voters in relation to a political party which then form a positive image of the political party can be achieved by political communication patterns that are based on credibility, attractiveness, empathy, openness, and equality shown by political elites. The investigation results of the previous studies on the effects of political communication on the party's image suggest that no researchers have examined such effects. Therefore, the results of this study provide new findings that in a political organization, political communication significantly affects the party's image.

### 5.4. The Results of the Fourth Hypothesis Testing
The testing results regarding the effects of Leadership on Loyalty of Voters are intended to answer the problem formulation and the research hypothesis stating that Leadership affects Loyalty of Voters as presented in the following figure:

Based on the analysis, the coefficient of the relationship between Leadership and Loyalty of Voters was 0.187 with the value of P by 0.047. The analysis results showed that P value was <0.05, indicating that Leadership affected Loyalty of Voters. The positive coefficient indicates a unidirectional relationship. It means that increases in Leadership (X) significantly affects increases in Loyalty of Voters (Z), the higher the value of Leadership (X), the higher the value of Loyalty of Voters (Z). The results of this study accepted the fourth hypothesis (H4) and thus it can be concluded that leadership affected loyalty of voters. These results provide an explanation that leadership plays an important role in determining voters' loyalty. In political parties, a leader figure is easily recognizable and often becomes a party icon so as to give rise to a strong appeal to the voters. Therefore, any political parties try to recruit someone considered capable of becoming a strong magnet to attract the support of the voting public. In the context of political parties, the attitudes of the DPC Chairman are characterized by the desires that challenge processes of the status quo, inspiring shared visions, enabling others to act, showing directions, and encouraging the symphatizers (Kouzes and Posner, 1999)Several previous studies also prove that leadership effects loyalty, as shown in the study by Wagner and Weßels (2012) suggesting the results that party leaders had an influence on voters' choice in the general election. While in the context of non-political organization, based on previous studies, it is proven that leadership influences loyalty. It is in line with the study by Ding et al (2012), that found that servant leadership affected loyalty. Thus, the results of this study provide support or reinforce previous research on the influence of leadership on loyalty.

5.5. The Results of the Fifth Hypothesis Testing
The testing results regarding the effects of Political Communication on Loyalty of Voters are intended to answer the problem formulation and the research hypothesis stating that Political Communication affects Loyalty of Voters as presented in the following figure:
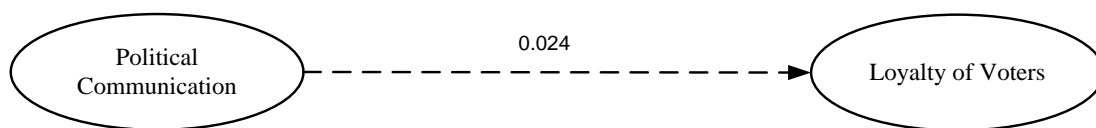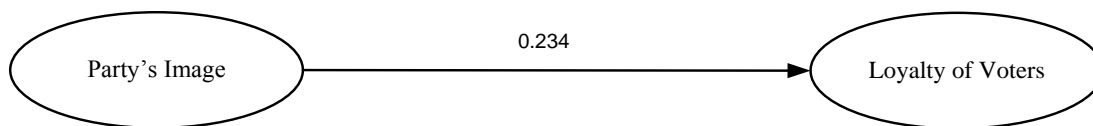
Based on the analysis, the coefficient of the relationship between Political Communication and Loyalty of Voters was 0.024 with the value of P by 0.603. The analysis results showed that P value was > 0.05, indicating that Political Communication did not significantly affect Loyalty of Voters. It means that increases in Political Communication (Y1) did significantly affect increases in Loyalty of Voters (Z).These results rejected the fifth hypothesis (H5), meaning that political communication did not significantly influence voters' loyalty. These findings indicate that in the context of political parties, political communication has no important function in establishing voters' loyalty. Such results may be caused by the presence of a more dominant factor or a top priority of voters encouraging them to remain loyal. If voters have realized their priorities (main expectations), then the factor of communication is no longer considered as an important reason to remain loyal to a party.

In the context of non-political party organizations, some studies have shown a significant effect of communication on loyalty. As suggested by Ball, Coelho and Machas (2004) that communication had a significant effect on loyalty. The findings of the research were also similar to the ones by Ball, Coelho and Vilares (2006) that communication had a significant effect on loyalty. Based on the empirical findings of this study, the position of this study does not support the previous research stating that political communication affects loyalty. It is of course still limited to the context of political party organizations with different characteristics from non-political organizations.

5.6. The Results of the Sixth Hypothesis Testing
The testing results regarding the effects of A Party's Image on Loyalty of Voters are intended to answer the problem formulation and the research hypothesis stating that A Party's Image affects Loyalty of Voters as presented in the following figure:

Based on the analysis, the coefficient of the relationship between A Party's Image and Loyalty of Voters was 0.234 with the value of P by 0.005. The analysis results showed that P value was < 0.05, indicating that A Party's Image significantly affected Loyalty of Voters. The positive coefficient indicates a unidirectional relationship. It means that increases in A Party's Image (Y2) significantly affect increases in Loyalty of Voters (Z). The higher the value of A Party's Image (Y2), the higher the value of Loyalty of Voters (Z).The results of this study accepted the sixth hypothesis (H6), meaning that the image of a party significantly affects voters' loyalty. With this result, the positive image of political parties will be able to increase the loyalty of voters. In the context of political parties, loyalty is a dynamic factor, consequently it is not surprising that changes in choices every election quickly and easily occur. An image of a party in this case has a large role in determining the loyalty of voters. Therefore, it is really natural that the result obtained in surveys suggest that the electability of a political party has decreased dramatically when one or some of its members snagged legal problems. Legal problems such as corruption can very quickly ruin the party's image and further raise the public's reluctance to select it again. This is a clear picture of how large the role of a party's image in determining loyalty of voters.

Previous research in the context of non-parties proves that an image has a significant influence on loyalty. It is in line with the research by Souiden and Pons (2009); Brunner, Stocklin and Opwis (2008) that found that images significantly affected loyalty. Thus, these research findings strengthen the results of previous studies on the effect of images on loyalty.

VI. SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION
Based on the analysis in the previous section, it can be concluded that Leadership significantly affects Political Communication, A Party's Image, as well as Loyalty of Voters. Political Communication significantly affects A Party's Image. A Party's Image significantly affects Loyalty of Voters. On the other hand, Political Communication does not significantly affect Loyalty of Voters.

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Keterangan

Yang kami revisi sudah diberi warna kuning