

Exploring Organizational Communication

Through Phenomenographic Approach

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Through Phenomenographic Approach

Gatut Priowidodo, Ph.D.



RAJAWALI PERS
Divisi Buku Perguruan Tinggi
PT RajaGrafindo Persada
D E P O K

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Gatut Priyowidodo, Ph.D.

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RAJAWALI PERS

PT RAJAGRAFINDO PERSADA

Member of IKAPI

Head Office:

Jl. Raya Leuwingu, No.112, Kel. Leuwingu, Kec. Tapos, Kota Depok 16456

Phone : (021) 84311162

E-mail : rajapers@rajagrafindo.co.id [http:// www.rajagrafindo.co.id](http://www.rajagrafindo.co.id)

Branches:

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With thanksgiving, we sincerely praise the Almighty God who have enabled us to complete this manuscript book; *Exploring Organizational Communication through Phenomenography Approach*. This book an outcome of in depth thinking over organisation communication through phenomenography frame. Integrating theory and practice, the book will be an invaluable resource for students of organizational communication as well as others with research interests in related areas.

The reason why phenomenography yields an understanding of variation in a way few other research methods can lies, as we have argued elsewhere (Nerantzi and Uhlin 2012). Thus, this book tries to understand how individual-level interpretations are made — the communication that happens around such actors in organizations. Hence, it is expected to lead to deeper insights in the communicative dynamics of complex and multi-culturally constituted organizational settings.

The book has several chapters that define phenomenography in relation to the theoretical landscape concerning organizational communication, and illustrates how such a perspective can be utilized

for research with organizations by providing case studies relevant to facets of organizational communication. With each chapter composed in an understandable, yet deep manner both flats and sharps will have the ability to gather from what is being offered.

We recognize that this book is not without its own weaknesses and constraints in producing. So we would like to start this process with some constructive feedback and suggestions from readers on how the future editions could be further improved. This book can only be of assistance in this endeavor if it helps advance the field in some substantive way and acts as a stimulus to thought which encourages further research.

Finally, we would simply like to thank everyone—directly or indirectly—who has assisted and facilitated the materialization of this text. I would also like to give special thanks to my two beloved children *Langga Populinda* who is currently studying notarial law at the UGM Postgraduate Program and our daughter *Grace Pangentasan* who is completing her high school education, hopefully she can succeed following the success of her brother. Thank you for almost 25 years of togetherness to my beloved wife *Ari Nurhayati* who is now with the Lord Jesus in Heaven. Your love and compassion are forever engraved in our hearts to continue this life.

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Surabaya, May 14 2024

Gatut Priyowidodo



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Chapter 1

A GLIMPSE OF ORGANIZATIONAL COMMUNICATION

A. Introduction

Research on organizational communication have focused on various organizations. For example, Sharples' (1996) research, focused on educational organization to examine the link between quality management and education, while Boonsathorn (2003) studied multinational corporations (MNC) in Thailand to investigate the link between conflict management styles by Thais and Americans. Meanwhile, Lofka (2007) studied the pattern of communication and decision-making in the Turkish National Police, while Danielson (2008) focused on the process of bureaucratic decision-making in the municipality in Sweden. Priyowidodo (2021) focus on Policy Communication and Digitalization of Land Ownership Identity.

The interpretive approach has also been used to study various organizations. For example, Brown (2000) based on the study among football organization found that there was a choice regarding the engaged workers carrying out work orders. Communication patterns are established solely for the formal relationships, which are the reflection

of the characteristics of today's society. Priyowidodo (2024) based on the study about Indonesia's capital relocation policy.

Kohles (2001), on the other hand found that workers become the most important part in the interaction and decision-making towards implementing some goals. Sandberg (2005, 2000) through phenomenography approach, explored the importance of competence and expertise in carrying out specific tasks in a Volvo car company. He pointed out that, whether the job is to produce cars or to care for the sick in the transportation and education, they really need to obtain competency first. The concept of competence is needed in the workplace, especially for mastering skills and knowledge.

The phenomenography approach has been found mainly in the area of education (Mutch, 2009; Miller, 2007; Vallee, 2006; Sabin, 2004; Jefts, 2004). The main orientation of all phenomenography studies is concentrated on the area of education with all its dimensions. In communication research, studies by Pierson (2007) have used the phenomenography approach which was an interesting phenomena in the communication and cultural identity.

Based on the above, it can be concluded that not many studies of organizational communication have interested the political organization based on phenomenography approach. Thus, there are onthological and epistemological gap in organization communication research. First, on the onthological gap, the question is raised: has organization object always been the non-politic party in nature? In epistemology gap, the question on the expansion of communication study on political party organization is raised.

Political communication; as a sub discipline of communication science, when assessing the political parties, tends to see the effects generated by the media (Norris, 2003; Richard, 2004). The focus of political communication moves are in three areas namely political organizations, the media and citizens (Mc Nair, 2007; Bohman, 2007; Marcus, 2005; Muhtadi, 2008; Priyowidodo, 2024). Therefore, combining organizational communication and political communication provides to be an insightful view pattern of communication in political organization.

The combination of political and organization communication is needed in the area of communication and decision-making process, as these areas are the combination of political communication and dramaturgy (Arriane, 2007), inter-cultural communication and anthropology (Jackson, 2008; Liliweri, 1994), mass communication, media, advertising and sociology (Shaw, 2007; Scammell & Langer, 2006), interpersonal communication and communication management (Kuswarno, 2007).

Adopted from the above phenomena, this study focuses on the patterns of communication that run in the elite's decision-making, and is investigated, while for political communication, the political meanings behind each decision-making by the elite are elaborated. The research objects are the opposition political parties in Malaysia and Indonesia.

The consideration was based on the fact that both countries apply modern democratic political system with multi-parties system. Indonesia is characterized as of presidential-republic government while Malaysia is of parliamentary-monarchy. Both have the view that political party acts as an instrument to the society's articulacy. Therefore, the existence of opposition parties in the political systems of Malaysia and Indonesia serves to control and criticize the authority's policies (Jawan, 2008; Djojosoekarto & Sandjaja, 2008).

B. Statement of the Problem

There are four important issues that are related to organizational communication. Current study attempts to expand our understanding in organizational literature based on the following: First, studies on organizational communication pattern are mainly focused on micro level (Rilley, 2002; Pole, 2004; Heaven, 2006; Rhoades, 2006). For example, previous studies have examined the relationship between communication variables and decision-making within the social groups of an organization (Komala, 2005), and individual emotion (Bo Wang, 2007; Smith, 2008).

However, no matter how far the researchers search, the study of communication pattern associated with decision-making in political organizations is rarely executed (Kohles, 2001; Brown, 2000; Sabin, 2004; Whitlatch, 2008; Moten, 2009).

Based on the facts from the previous studies, it was found that none of the communication pattern researches is specifically focused on the object of political organization. Such consideration further strengthened the objective of the researcher's attempt to fill the vacancy.

The second issue is related to decision-making literature. To date, decision-making research focuses on priority and alternative ways of decision-making. Mumby and Putnam (1992) studies on decision-making are limited to decision-making ability and situation factors. For example, Capelo's (2009) study focuses on the effectiveness in decision-making, while Nielsen (2008) studied on the link between planning and decision-making. Meanwhile, Panova's (2008) study on decision-making has not been fully explored. As noted by Capelo (2009), more studies are needed in order to understand decision-making process, particularly on organization with different culture and context.

The third issue related to organizational conflict is also important to be considered. Generally, in any organizations or political organizations, particularly in Indonesia, Malaysia and in many other countries, the positions of the organizations' members tend to be ignored. In this case, there is the potential for conflict to emerge. Moreover, most organizations only focus on their leader's role. Their leader is considered as the representation of the organizations (Edmondson, 2006). The fact is that, the leader cannot be as equal to the other members of the organization. Andriyani (2000) argued that the difference in the backgrounds of the organization's members (traditional versus modern) stimulates conflict to occur.

Studies on organizations have mainly reflected on the leader or the elite members in an organization. An organization's activities are determined by the leader and the elite. Therefore, the leader becomes a central figure in any decision-making in the organization (Gaskell, 2003; Cabestan, 2009; Hasrullah, 1998; Suryadi, 2007). However, it must be realized that the leader is not the true owner of the organization, but only one component of the organizational drive, while the other members are needed to mobilize the organization. That is why both the leader and organization's members should support each other. The more democratic and modern an organization where the span of control is measured and there is the involvement of members in decision-making process, the easier for the explosion of open conflict

within the organization to be prevented (Brueman & Becger, 1997; Al-Qomari, 2007).

The fourth issue is related to the approach in understanding communication pattern and decision-making. Previous studies on communication patterns and decision-making are mainly dominated by positivist approach. To date, a very limited studies in communication pattern and decision-making approach adopt the inquiry of phenomenography approach. Phenomenography approach to education can be read from a number of research reports such as the one written by Hegarty (1986) on how to interpret the concept of science among students, by Ramsden (1989) on the concept of speed, distance and time, by Marton (1990) on the qualitative approach in educational research and organization.

This subject is related to phenomenography approach application in the course of communication pattern and decision-making research. Phenomenography is still rarely engaged in the study of organizational communication, particularly one which carries out the theme of political parties organizations. Nevertheless, this approach is sufficiently popular in education and several other disciplines. This comes out as potent consideration for the researcher that this approach is relevant to reveal the varied experiences of political parties' leaders or activists throughout their active period in certain organization.

Apart from the development of science, this approach also attracts other disciplines. According to Marton (1986, 1988), Ireland, Joseph, Tambyah, Neofa and Harding (2005), there are at least three lines of phenomenography developments that can be identified. In the first track, phenomenography researches focused on studying the differences in learning outcomes of students where different learning approaches produced different results. The second line of researches focused on specific educational disciplines such as economics, mathematics and physics. The third route viewed phenomenography researches in the perception of their reality outside the field of education such as politics, inflation, social security and taxes. All these three pathways proposed by Marton (1986) are described as the center of phenomenography specialisation.

Marton and his well known phenomenography used scientific approach to inspire some non-educational researches from the field of

philosophy (Ballantyne & Bruce (eds), 1994), technology (Solomonidou, 2007) and multimedia computer (Ekeblad & Lindstrom, 1995; Thomas, 2007), health (Arneson, 2005), public health (Krantz, 2005), medicine (Willen, 2002), management (Sanberg, 2000) as well as the study of death (Yang, Shu Ching Chen, & Shih-fen, 2002).

This means that as a scientific approach, phenomenography has the authority over the territory. It has become a multi-disciplinary property not only in the domain of science education but also in many other areas without boundary, allowing the social sciences to participate as an instrument to perform a specific scientific field of research, including the science of communication.

Topics on communication patterns and decision-making are not new themes (*terra in cog nita*) in communication science research, especially in organizational communication. However, all of the previous researches conducted focused only on non-political organizations. There is no particular research that explore these topics in the political organization (Panderson 2008; Thornton, 2009). Thus, in order to fill the void, the present researcher tries to see the patterns of communication and decision-making by not duplicating the business, but by orienting it towards the organizations of political parties.

The main reason why political organizations were selected was clearly for the consideration towards expanding areas of organizational communication studies, which would also encourage scientific synergy in investigating an object of research. Studies that are inter-studies (Arrianie, 2007; Kuswarno, 2007) would not be the main obstacle in seeing any social phenomenon. In addition, researchers of the organization of communication have also developed the objects of study on social movements, informal networks and the work-home relationship (see, e.g., Buzzanell, 1997; Edley, 2001, 2003; Harter, 2004; Medved, 2004).

Even more extreme, organizational communication scholars have considered the other social issues more widely including environmental degradation and conservation, inequality in health care, transnational labor organizing, poverty and homelessness, dissent and conformity of institutions during war times, and participation in the public sphere (e.g: Anderson & Colvin, 2003; Bullis, 1997; Cloud, 2005; Papa, Auwal, & Singhal, 1995; Stohl & Stohl, 2005; Zoller, 2005).

According to the researcher, this research is done as a comparative study because through the current research, a new perspective to see the communication pattern in decision-making under the oppositional political parties in Malaysia and Indonesia can be found. Both countries claim themselves as democratic countries, yet in certain level the researcher found a different treatment towards the existence of oppositional political parties as the force of “check and balances”. This fact explicitly affects the communication pattern of leader-member interactions and the mechanism of decision-making determination.

Thus, the researcher revert to the main research problem in this study, which are; 1) what is the communication pattern in the political organization, and 2) how is a decision is made decision-making in the political organization (decision-making process).

C. Organization of the Study

Chapter One in this thesis explains the scope of the study, and it is followed by a brief discussion on both communication patterns and decision-making process. The brief discussion and outlines led to the formation of objectives, problem statement, research problem, and significance of the study.

Chapter Two provides the perspective of communication patterns and decision-making process in political organizations. Reviews of background information were drawn from both organizational communication and communication pattern literature to relate to the trends and factors influencing decision-making process in political parties.

Chapter Three deals with the construction of research methodology, research approach, and research paradigm with underlying explanations. The outline of the research design and thematic analysis is also discussed within this chapter. Chapter Four relates to the history of the two political party organizations (People’s Justice Party/PKR and Indonesia Democratic Party of Struggle/PDIP). Chapter Five and Chapter Six analyze the findings of the research and also discuss the research findings using thematic analysis. The final chapter, Chapter Seven discusses the research findings, the implications and limitations of the study as well as provides suggestions for future research in organizational communication.

was selected as the approach employed in the research. Interpretive approach treats an organization as a dynamic institutional structure. In addition, it is the umbrella paradigm. What, why and how this interpretive approach is relevant are discussed in detail in section 3.2 Interpretive/Constructive Paradigm, of Methodology.

Communication in organizations cannot be comprehended based on one view. Its understanding can be obtained through three main perspectives namely the traditional perspective, interpretive and critical perspective (Papa, Daniels & Spiker, 2008). Traditional perspective emphasizes on the factors that influence organizational communication such as the information flow within organizational networks, distortion of messages, breakdowns in the channels of communication, strategies of the managers and supervisors in communicating with their subordinates, and the dynamics of problem-solving and decision-making group. On the other hand, interpretive perspective regards organization as a culture. Seeing from the interpretive perspective, an organization is considered as subjective rather than an objective phenomenon. Social action is possible only to the extent where people can share subjective meanings. The culture of an organization is a network of such meanings. Critical scholars regard organization as the instrument of privilege or even an outright oppression. They focus their attention on the relationship between privileged classes (or privileged conditions) and disadvantaged groups or organizationally oppressed ones.

Littlejohn (2005) believed that organization communication goes through two approaches. Firstly, the traditional approach (functionalist and objectives) which emphasizes that the message handling activities are contained in an organizational boundaries (organizational boundary). Humans are viewed as information processors. The focus is to accept, interpret and act on the information in a context. The emphasis on communication involves regarding it as a tool that allows people to adapt to their environment. This approach is highly stressed in the structure of the organization.

Secondly, interaction process does not reflect the organization, but it is the organization itself. Organizational communication refers to the organizing behaviors that occur, how they are involved in the transaction process and how they give meaning to what is happening. Organizational communication is the process of creating a sense of interaction that

creates, maintains and changes the organization. This approach is more process oriented where the processes involved are the process of collecting, processing, storing, and disseminating communications that allow the organization to function. Based on the above three perspectives, it can be seen that communication most appropriate for the organization to be easily understood is the interpretive perspective. This perspective provides an opportunity to discover a deeper meaning behind the appearance of the organization. Thus, meanings should be viewed qualitatively with relevant approach.

Some examples of organizational communication researches using interpretive approaches can be referred in Child (1981), Hofstede (1980) and Adler's (1983) who focused on culture; as well as Lu and Hebert (2006) or Rori's (2008) who concentrated on leadership and organizational behavior; and also the work of Edmondson (2006) and Leeman (2006) who focused on public and private in religion organization. Topics such as culture, leadership and organizational behavior are very interesting to be studied by anyone because they are the main characteristics of every organization. A research conducted by Mumby, Ashcraft and Lee (2006) and Robbins (2002) on cross-disciplinary organizations in the global context increasingly emphasized that the three characteristics are the mainstream trend-setters of organizational communication researches.

Admittedly, the researcher also found several organizational communication studies which investigated on an object of political party (Scott & Street, 2000; Cool, 2004; Karan, 2007; Hara & Youngmin, 2007; Rori, 2008). Nevertheless, they only focused on the use of internet as communication strategy for media campaign or political protest. Based on the findings, studies that emphasize the patterns of communication and decision-making in organizational communication are still waiting to be implemented. Besides, organizations of any types are very interesting to be studied and understood. Pace and Faules (2006) formulated that people could understand an organization by describing its organizational communication, understanding its organizational life and discovering the kind of life manifested through communication. The stress is on how an organization is constructed and maintained through the process of communication (Littlejohn, 2005). According to Tubbs' (1994), an organization refers to working on another system.

This approach highlights what really happens in the organization. Thus, a study on organizational communication is a study towards taking a number of directions which are legitimate and useful.

Communication functions within the organization, according to Conrad (1985), can be employed in three ways namely; the function of commands which are functions to issue, to receive, to translate and to implement orders, relational function which allows communication between members of the organization to create and maintain business and personal relationships with members of other organizations and ambiguous management function which performs the function of choice in organizational settings, of which are often made in a completely ambiguous situation (*there are always two choices*).

According to Pace and Faules (2006), the people involved in communication are not just actors who interpret their situation in ways that are meaningful, since there are situations other than the situations realized by them that can be experienced through creative activities of their own. Individuals can work together to create a shared reality, but reality is still a subjective construction that needs to be continued to maintain its continuity.

C. Communication Patterns in Organization

Generally, there are two types of communication; non-verbal communication and verbal communication. Non-verbal communication is manifested through signs and symbols. Non-verbal communication can occur without verbal communication but the verbal one cannot happen without non-verbal communication. On the other hand, verbal communication consists of two categories; formal communication and informal communication.

Formal communication is usually associated with the use of officially designated channels. Since such channels are generally specified by a hierarchical system of authority, formal communication is described according to the directions of message flow in the hierarchy: downward communication and upward communication. (1) *Downward communication* in an organization refers to the information that flows from those of higher authority to those of lower authority. (2) *Upward communication* in an organization refers to the information that flows

from those of lower level (subordinates/members) to those of higher level (leader).

Informal communication is usually associated with: (1) *Horizontal communication* or lateral communication, (2) *Cross channel communication* or diagonal communication and (3) *Grapevine communication* (Pace & Faule, 1994: 120-136; Gibson & Hotgetts, 1991:240-243,269-275). *Horizontal communication* or lateral communication consists of sharing information among peers within in the same work unit. A work unit is comprised of individuals who are located at the same authority level in an organization and have the same position. In this case, the communication occurs between an ordinary member and the other, or between a member of the elite and another of the similar group. *Cross channel communication* or diagonal communication has the purpose of sharing information across functional boundaries with individuals who occupy positions that are neither subordinate nor superior to their own. Grapevine communication in terms of communication field is described as “a person to person method of relaying secret reports which cannot be obtained through regular channel” (Stein, 1967 as cited in Pace, 1994: 137). *Grapevine communication* involves a great deal of information (only a portion of Greenwich consists of rumors) usually in clusters occurring in transmission patterns. Besides, it is fast and is more often to be accurate than inaccurate.

Formal communication is written, centralized (vertical) and planned, whereas informal communication is oral, decentralized (horizontal) and unplanned (Stech, 1983). According to Papa, Daniel and Spikers (2008), a more specific and interpretive way of understanding communication structure in an organization is to examine semantic networks. Semantic networks focus on the shared meanings that people have for message content. People who share similar interpretations are semantically linked to one another. The network identified through these ‘connection meanings’ provides a picture of those groups of people who share common understanding. In addition to that, with respect to the relationship between structure and culture, interpretivists have drawn the conclusion that different organizational structures and communications affect the cultures of the organizations.

D. Political Organization as Formal Organization

Based on the pattern of social interaction, the organization can be divided into two types; namely social organizations and formal organizations (Pace & Faules, 2006). Social organizations tend to be formed because the interest is more spontaneous. Networks of relationships and trust to a group call for structure and culture. Group of people adjust to hope, conformity to influence others and the social status; which is consistent with social norms, thus making the opportunity to achieve an organized social interaction increases.

According to Berlo (1960), communication in the social organization occurs in three ways: Firstly, the social system is produced through communication where uniformity of behavior and the pressure to conform to the norms are produced through communication among group members. Secondly, if a social system has evolved, it determines the communication of its members. Communication systems affect the message flow, while social status determines how individuals communicate. Thirdly, knowledge of a social system can help making an accurate prediction of a suitable position for someone in an organization or society.

Formal organization is an organization that is founded with a special purpose. Members must comply with the rules of the organization and organizational structure. The organization is also designed for common good such that business organizations are established to produce and market goods, labor organizations are formed to negotiate with employees, political organizations are built to influence public decision-making process while bureaucratic organizations are established to manage state finances.

The type of organization reflects on how the organization is managed. What are the special characteristics inherent in a particular type of organization? The more the organization is of a command base, the smaller the space to negotiate orders. Everything is conducted as per instructions. The organizations which command others are not from military organization only, but they can also be adapted by civic organizations or companies. In addition, the type of organization, according to Katz and Kahn (1966), has implications on how information is communicated. The rationale is established and the working policy is abided in the practices of the organization.

inferior or dominant patterns of the relationship between the leader and the members. The more dominant the leader of the current control, the smaller the participatory communication (bottom to top). On the other hand, the less dominant the leader is, the bigger the flow of communication from the bottom to the top.

This research has two basic assumptions. First, the elite are dominant in controlling communication means. In this case, communication pattern is formed from top to bottom. Second, the more authoritarian the leader in controlling the members of the elite structure, making the level of participation in decision-making communication is even more limited. On the contrary, the more democratic the elite in building a pattern of communication, the better the participation in decision-making.

In the context of research, assumption can be defined as a basic presupposition, i.e. a statement or a conjecture that is assumed to be true, without being proven first. A research's assumption is the foundation of inquiry and the research's practice. According to its nature, there are three types of assumptions: conceptual assumption, situational assumption and operational assumption. The root of conceptual assumption is admitting to the truth of a concept or a theory. A situational assumption is needed in order to anticipate local conditions or temporary situations that could potentially influence a law or principle and that are able to alter the findings of a research. An operational assumption embarks from operational problems that are still within the reach of the researcher (Mukhadis, & Dasna, 2003).

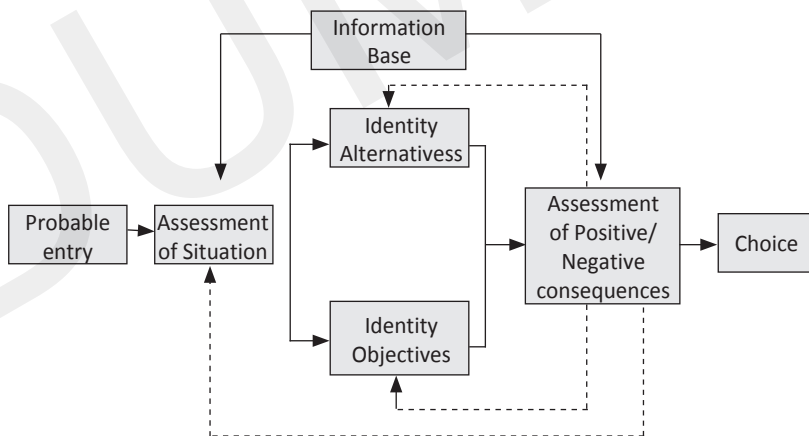
E. Decision-Making in Organization

There are also various studies on decision-making in different types of organizations Such as , in trading (Wang & Benbassat, 2009), economy (Lessard, 2009), medical field (Retsky, 2009; Shahani, 2008; Gildine, 2007; Siminoff et al, 2000; Marschollek, 2012), state (Cabestan, 2009), education (Dias Ferreira, 2009; Panova 2008; Al-Omari, 2007; Brueman, 1997), maritime (Gaskell, 2003), labor (Kalinda, Filson, & Sute, 2000), service (Paul & Ebadi, 1989), environmental issues (de Anguita, 2008) and journalism (Ma Zong, 2009).

is inherent in every organization, regardless of its form and scale. John Dewey in “How We Think” (1910) is considered a pioneer in similar studies, of which has strongly influenced pragmatic ideas in the late 20th century (Littlejohn, 2005).

According to Dewey, a systematic decision-making requires six steps: (1) expressing a difficulty, (2) defining the problem, (3) analyzing the problem, (4) suggesting solutions, (5) comparing alternatives, and (6) implementing the best solution. However, these six steps are still considered insufficient. Therefore, Cyert, Feigenbaum and March (1959, as cited in James, 1990) completed the steps by proposing nine steps namely (1) forecasting competitors’ behavior, (2) forecasting demands, (3) estimating costs, (4) specifying objectives, (5) evaluating plan, (6) re-examining the costs, (7) re-examining the demand, (8) re-examining the objectives and (9) selecting alternatives. Using the nine steps mentioned, the decision maker will have an explanation on how to arrive at the final decision, which is through careful consideration of many elements, including the risk of post-internal-external decision-making.

However, the classical theory developed by Hirokawa (2003) and his colleagues on decision-making process in a group or organization is visualized as in figure 2.2 below:

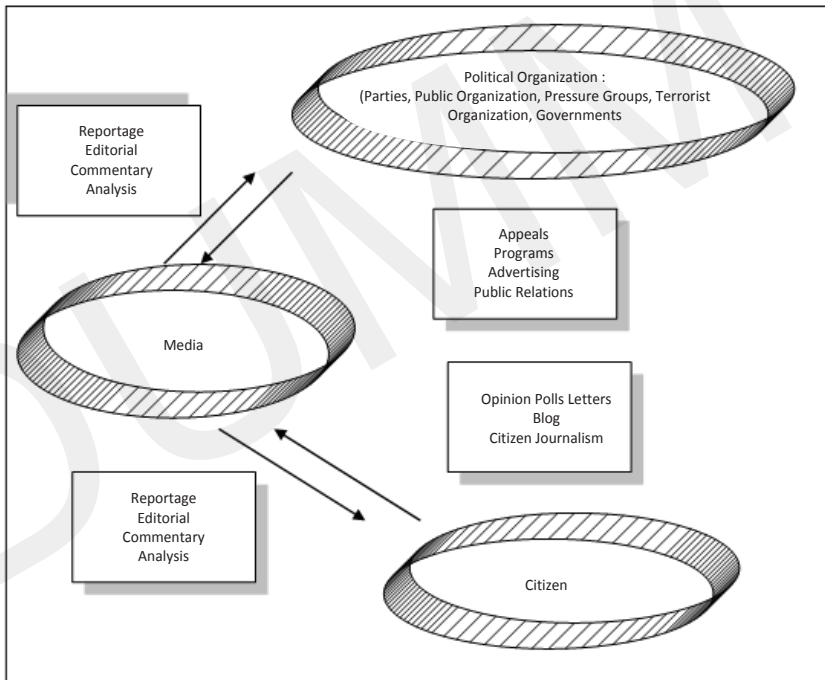


Source: Littlejohn, (2005: 231)

Figure 2.2 The Visualization of Decision-Making Process in a Group or Organization

complemented Laswell’s work which was published in 1927 with the title, “Propaganda Technique in the World War”.

From the 1980s until 1990s, political communication had become more developed and modern. Research areas also grew in a number of fields. Even the ICA (International Communication Association) considered that political communication was one of the 18 areas of specializations recognized by world-class organizations (Harjana, 1999). Previously, political communication researches focused on the behavior of only on a selective few, media campaigns and political actors. However, in 2000, the scope of research areas has included the use of political advertising, media and information technology. Mc Nair (2007) claimed that studies of political communication have three key elements namely political organizations, the media and the citizens.



Source: Mc Nair (2007)

Figure 2.3 Elements of Political Communication

Although the development of political communication research is rapid, the main orientation of research done still revolves around

media (including new media), chosen behavior, political actors and political campaigns. Bahonar (2009) conducted a research on the policy of religious media in Iran. He analyzed the content of religious programs on the television and continued with the presentation of a theoretic view in making a desired religious media a policy in the Islamic Republic of Iran. Papas (2009) and Seawright (2007) examined political actors, while Liu (2008) studied on network and political campaigns. Althaus and Tewksbury (2008) studied on the pattern of internet and traditional news media used in a networked community, while Blumler and Gurewitsch (2008) focused on the new media and political communication.

In further development of the research area, Lamprinankou (2008) specifically identified the importance of theoretical synthesis between party organization and political communication, and marketing approaches, focusing particularly on the role of internal party mechanisms during election periods. The emphasis on political communication research involves the aspect of marketing. The study by Jahan and Shahan (2008) investigated political communication which was implemented at the bureaucratic level in organization.

The variations of the themes of the political communication research in Indonesia are also the same. The topics selected include political actors, behavioral choices, media discourse, the role of officials and political campaigns. The research by Kaban (2005) on artists explained that, an artist as a political actor is expected to play a role to improve the image more than political organization. Hamad (2004) criticized the media discourse with respect to the nine political parties in ten Indonesian newspapers. Political parties, he found, are reported differently from one another in these media, such as the pro-status quo, reformists, constituent supporters and leaders.

Based on the tracking of political communication research results as presented before, it can be concluded that the study of communication patterns in decision-making in political organizations is limited.

H. Phenomenography Perspective

Phenomenography is the empirical study of a limited number of qualitatively different ways in which we experience, conceptualize,

understand, perceive and apprehend the various phenomena in many aspects of the world. Different to these experiences, understandings are also characterized in terms of categories in description, logically related to each other, and which form hierarchies in relation to the given criteria. Such an ordered set of categories of description is called the outcome space of phenomenon (Marton, 1994).

Although inspired by the phenomenological's approach philosophically and psychologically, it actually started with phenomenography and the discipline that was developed into educational science in Sweden in the 1970s. However, the term phenomenography itself was first introduced by a scientist, Ulrich Sonneman (1954). In his book, *Existence and Therapy*, he introduced the word, 'phenomenography' to distinguish Jasper's psychopathology research. Thus, the use of 'phenomenography' term appeared within the phenomenological tradition.

In the latest development, this approach has also attracted other disciplines. According to Marton (1986, 1988, as cited in Irreland, Joseph, Mallihai , Zui Neofa & Harding, 2005), there are three lines of phenomenography developments that can be identified. The first line of phenomenography research only focuses on studies related to differences in learning outcomes of students with different learning approaches. The second line of research focuses on specific learning studies such as Economics, Mathematics and Physics. The third route sees phenomenography research perception of the reality develops outside the field of education such as politics, inflation, social security or taxes (Theman, 1983; Wenestam, 1984; Marton, Fensham & Chaiklin, 1992). All of the three pathways by Marton (1986) are described as the center of phenomenography specializations.

Marton's affirmation and more recognized phenomenography is a research approach that revealed the meaning that was powerful, which eventually inspired several other non-educational researches. This means that as a scientific approach, phenomenography has the authority over the territory. Marton's idea has become a multi-disciplinary property, not only in the education domain. The space without the borders allows other social sciences to participate as an instrument to perform a specific and scientific field of research including communication science.

among groups. This type of phenomenography will show that there are differences between the existing processes and the surface processes in terms of learning strategies (Marton's research example). Naturalistic phenomenography is different from experimental phenomenography. This type of data collection focuses on the actual events in a particular situation without direct involvement of the researchers and then analyzes them as phenomenography.

Hermeneutic phenomenography is more neutral than the specific research methods. This type of approach presents special perspective and has multi interpretations. Sometimes, the latest meaning is very different to the original understanding. Phenomenography analysis is mounted to interpret texts or statements that are not really suitable for analysis purposes. Phenomenological phenomenography is the approach utilized by the fenomenographers by combining phenomenology with phenomenography.

The five dimensions of phenomenography above clearly have their own allotment. In this study, the selected dimension is hermeneutics phenomenography. Its consideration was due to the fact that this dimension can be assessed to reveal something more behind the statement than the text. The next step involves having the courage to explore what will appear (The proven application and steps of phenomenography will be detailed in section 3.9 Data Collection Procedure and section 3.10 Data Analysis Procedure, Chapter Interpretive Paradigm and Phenomonography Approach).

Although phenomenography is rapidly growing and cross-disciplinary in nature, it does not mean that the presence of phenomenography is without criticisms. Uljens (1989, as cited in Anderson & Larsen, 2007) argued that this method relies on descriptions that are too specified and lacks the contexts that are enough for it to be considered. Alexandersson (1994) assessed the conclusions to reflect the contents of phenomenography interview. The cases raised are very limited, which clearly pose risks of obtaining wrong inferences. In studying the case of individuals, the data available can be chosen to search for practicality. This is the reason why according to Larsson (1986, as cited in Anderson & Larsen, 2007), a person who is making the analysis must consider the presence of an independent judge. Despite all these criticisms, the claim remains that phenomenography method

Chapter 3

INTERPRETIVE PARADIGM AND PHENOMENOGRAPHY APPROACH

A. Introduction

In the phenomenographic approach, interpretivist or constructivist researchers are viewed as passionate participants and facilitators who would bridge diverse subjectivities as social actors. In the axiological dimension, researchers emphasize the reconstruction of social reality. This means that each human's action has a specific meaning. In this case, the researchers do not intervene in the critical perspective or perform predictive groups as with classical ones. The actions or experiences of each individual have different explanations. For example, there should be a reason why leaders make decisions to remove fuel subsidies. Based on the interpretive perspective, the research questions of this research are: what is the communication pattern in political organization and how is decision-making process in political organization.

B. Interpretive Paradigm

The purpose of interpretive paradigm is to understand and describe the meanings of social actions. However, they also have a number of

In this perspective, the researcher did not feel that the use of quantitative method, such as the employment of questionnaire survey, would offer the same ability to understand and enter into a person's feelings about organizational leadership and his or her activating conditions in the organization (for an inquiry on organizational communication).

By employing a qualitative method, the researcher would be able to identify the conditions of importance in the human life and to conceptualize them in non-metric categories (Hastrup, 2003: 403; Anderson, et.al., 2007). The research was based on an interview method which was inspired by qualitative method, specifically, the phenomenography approach.

The method combines two different ways of approaching the data; the inductive and the deductive way (Anderson et.al, 2007) with preponderance for the inductive reasoning. An inductive method is viewed as a process where specific experiences are seen as premises used to arrive at and are believed to support conclusions. Deductive reasoning, on the other hand, works from the more general theory to the more specific one. One often begins with thinking about a theory regarding the subject one is interested in. In the next step, one divides the theory into more specific basic assumptions (hypotheses) that can be tested. Then, one breaks it down even further by collecting observations to address the basic assumption. This ultimately makes it possible to test the basic assumption with specific data: a refutation (or no refutation) of the initial theories.

E. Research Design

The paradigm of this research is interpretive where so much emphasis is placed on meaning to describe the depth of social understanding and illustrate the natural entity, and then will it rely on qualitative data to answer the questions of how or why (Denzin & Lincoln, 1998; Lawrence, 1997; Bungin, 2021). Of all the variety of applicable qualitative methods within communication science, qualitative phenomenography was selected. Qualitative phenomenography itself is a more detailed development of phenomenology.

researcher would explore individuals' experiences being in supporting groups and individuals' experiences being in opposition groups. At this stage, the researcher would not argue that there are differences in experience for the same topic. The differences would enrich the data of experiences to be later analyzed.

Subsequently, the researcher would continue to keep all possibilities open during the process of researching to allow all relevant information to be collected. Besides, the researcher would only watch one group and ignore other groups.

H. Informants

The informants in this study are the leaders and member(s) of PKR and PDIP in Malaysia and Indonesia respectively. The researcher chose these organizations because they are the representatives of the opposition parties in the countries under study. The reasons why these parties are chosen are both empirical and academic. PKR and PDIP are parties with a multiracial background and operate on a national scale. In the state of Kedah, PKR has considerably affected the dominance of the dominant party UMNO, while in East Java, PDIP has been able to cause significant concerns over the controlling party GOLKAR. Both had increased the number of chairs they gained in state/provincial parliaments. Both parties had endeavored to attain executive positions in their respective states (Menteri Besar/Governor) although was eventually defeated. Both organizations also claimed to be democratic political parties, although the fact remains that their decision-making processes are largely determined by their central figures, namely Anwar Ibrahim and Megawati Soekarnoputri for PKR and PDIP respectively.

The academic rationale for choosing these two parties was derived from Allen and Brady (1997) which stated that in a comparative study, the two organizations poses three comparable qualifications, which are size, structure, and function. Moreover, researches on political parties in Malaysia and Indonesia are still predominantly conducted on the ruling parties (Shamsul, 1988; Jesudason, 1995; Sahidah, 2006; Suryadinata & Emmerson, 1991; Tanjung, 2007) whereas studies on opposition parties are still scarce. Therefore, in order to explore deeper into the communication patterns and decision-making processes in these two

relationship of the three components of each category (Bruce, 1997; Maybee, 2005) which are listed as follows:

1. The varying meaning structure;
2. The varying structures of awareness; and
3. The varying ways in which information is perceived.

The categories of descriptions and the outcome space represent the collective experience that is analyzed and described by the researcher. It should be noted that the categories represent a collective experience and are not associated with an individual's experience of the organization's activities. The categories provide a description of the conception, and 'the outcome space' shows how the categories are related hierarchically.

Therefore, perfecting the categories can be done after the researcher reads all the materials. The researcher did not determine a number of fixed categories but he only made some outlines of the categories. To determine the categories, the researcher must meet the following criteria (Marton & Booth, 1997):

- i. Each category tells something distinct about a particular way of experiencing the phenomenon,
- ii. The categories have to stand in logical relationship with one another and can be hierarchically arranged, and
- iii. A few categories should be explicated as well as be feasible and reasonable for capturing critical variations in the data.

Therefore, the outline of the categories below involves all criteria as mentioned above:

- i. Communication pattern, that is, how communication patterns can be described and what is typical for communication patterns as a whole.
- ii. Decision-making, that is, how the decision-making can be described and what is typical for decision-making as a whole.

The data was then analyzed through thematic analysis and with the assistance of Nvivo software to create dimensions and sub dimension.

Thematic analysis, according to Keyton (2006) is based on participants' conceptions of actual communication episodes. A theme

Chapter 4

HISTORY OF POLITICAL ORGANIZATION

A. Introduction

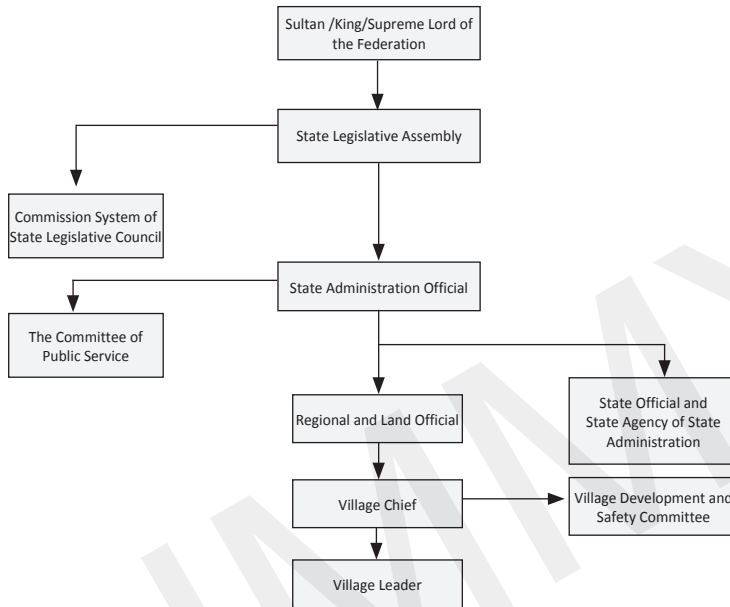
This chapter discusses a brief history of PKR and PDIP. However, before the two political organizations are discussed, the chapter presents an overview of the political system in Malaysia and Indonesia.

B. Overview of Political System: Malaysia and Indonesia

Every democratic country must have at least one political party. Political party is the most important pillar in modern political system. Thus, all modern democratic countries will have political parties. For example, Malaysia and Indonesia are one of the countries that have with multi political party system, although with different constitutions. Malaysia is a parliamentary constitutional monarchy, while Indonesia is a presidential unitary republic. Most importantly, both countries consider the political party as an important element in the construction of their political system.

In the anticipation of commencing the discussion, the researcher explains the position of this political party in the structure of a certain

At the state level, the governmental system and structure are slightly different, but with a more simplified governmental structure. To obtain a clear view of this, figure 4.2 presents the mechanism and performance of each state's governmental elements.



Source: Zainuddin (2005: 249)

Figure 4.2 State Governmental System and Structure

Kedah is one of the five states governed by Pakatan Rakyat (People's Alliance) in addition to Selangor, Kelantan, Perak¹, and Pulau Pinang. However, since PKR? People's Justice Party had a lower voting contribution compared to PAS in the voting collection at the state level, the representative of PAS, Dato' Azizan Abdul Razak (2008–2012) was

¹Perak. Since February 2009, it falls into Barisan Nasional after four ADUNs from People's Alliance (PR) could not maintain the majority seats (31 seats). The resigned four ADUN PRs turning into independent ADUN include ADUN of Behrang, Jamaluddin Mohd Radzi (PAS), ADUN of Changkat Jering, Kapten (B) Mohd. Osman Jailu, ADUN Bota, Datuk Nasaruddin Hashim (PKR) and ADUN Jelapang, Hee Yit Foong (DAP) taking position as independent people's representative. Menteri Besar, previously taken by Datuk Seri Mohammad Nizar Jamaluddin from People's Alliance (PAS), is then replaced by Datuk Dr. Zambray Abd Kadir (UMNO). In this turn of event, People's Alliance could govern Perak for only 10 months, and thereafter, Perak is re-governed by Barisan Nasional.

entitled the position as the Chief Minister or Prime Minister at the federal level. However, PAS failed to form the government individually, since this party failed to acquire absolute victory at a larger level. The quota for parliamentary members from Kedah is 15 persons and ADUN is 36 persons. It is then divided into 15 person for the coalition of Barisan Nasional (BN) (National Front), 20 persons for Pakatan Rakyat (People's Alliance), and 15 persons for PAS. PKR contributed five persons for ADUNs: Mohammad Radzhi Salleh (Lunas), Tan Show Kang (Sidam), Lim Soo Nee (Kulim), V. Arumugam (Bukit Selambau), and Tan Wei Shu (Bakar Arang). However, Mohammad Radzhi Salleh (Lunas) declared his resignation from PKR and was then followed by Tan Wei Shu (Bakar Arang). Practically, there are currently three persons from PKR in ADUN seats. Following the footsteps of the two ADUNs, V. Arumugam (Bukit Selambau) who was elected as an ADUN, , surrendered his position due to strong coercion for his resignation, where he was replaced by S. Manikumar.

Political party organization in its implementation is numerous in reality depending on the applied positions. As Surbakti (1992) claimed, political party positions may be divided into two portions: the ruling party and the opposition party. Both have similar characteristics to collectively serve for the welfare of the people. The only difference is the portion and emphasis involved. The ruling party takes into greater consideration of how to implement a series of pro-people policies. On the contrary, the opposition party performs critical control of each policy designed by the government to prevent it from going beyond constitution.

The form of the ruling party and the opposition party may be implemented in a single or various parties in coalition association. In the results of the general election (PRU XII) 2008 in Malaysia, due the nonexistence of a party which obtained absolute victory or defeat, both the ruling and the opposition parties were satisfied with results. The ruling party, which is Barisan Nasional (National Front), is comprised of at least 12 political parties: Gerakan, LDP, MCA, MIC, PBB, PBRS, PBS, PRS, SPDP, SUPP, UMNO, and UPKO. On the other hand, the opposition party, which is Pakatan Rakyat (People's Alliance), consists of three political parties: Parti Keadilan Rakyat (PKR) (People's Justice Party), PAS and DAP. There were two other separate political parties:

PSM and Independent. For further details, refer to Tables 4.1 and 4.2 below:

Table 4.1 Seat Recapitulation Result in General Election (PRU 10 and 11) in 1999, 2004

Parties Percentages	1990	1995	1999	2004
BN Overall	55.4	65.4	56.5	63.9
Major BN Parties UMNO	59.2	68.2	55.6	65.2
MCA	48.9	63.6	56.9	62.3
MIC	60.0	72.8	57.9	64.2
Gerakan	46.8	68.1	51.1	58.6
Opposition Overall	44.6	34.6	43.5	58.6
Major Opposition Parties				
PAS	41.7	27.5	46.6	35.4
S46	39.9	27.4		
Keadilan-PRM a)			38.8	29.4
DAP	47.6	36.3	42.4	40.1
PBS b)	61.7	28.8	38.7	

(Vote percentages of major parties in contested constituencies, 1999–2004)

- a) PRM contested on its own ticket up to 1999. Its vote in 1999 and 2004 is calculated here together with Keadilan’s vote because they generally represent the third alternative besides UMNO and PAS (as S46 was in 1990 and 1995) for Malay voters.
- b) PBS rejoined BN in 2002.

Sources: Election Commission Malaysia (1992, 1997, 2002); Government of Malaysia (2004).

“As a political power, PDI Perjuangan is now in complicated historical problem. We are provided with pragmatic option between coalition and opposition. Sadly, I feel very sorry since the politic has been reduced to the extent of power gain and distribution only among political powers and elite politics. And, I am very sad since the above conception has turned ethical ideological core of politics into people’s cultural art and means to make political sovereignty, economic self-sufficiency, and our culture’s personality as independent nation, come true. As ideological party, our position is considerably apparent: We will never be the part of non-pro-poor authority. This shall not be implied that PDI Perjuangan is anti-authority. Yet, this is to clarify that supposed if we have to hold the government, we just have to let it happen upon people’s wish. On the contrary, if people elect us to balance power as well as to maintain the principle of checks and balance, just let people’s wish come true.” (p. 3)

Such a political position will of course require not only much energy, but also a considerable number of political risks as well. Since performing its function as an opposition party in 2004, Indonesian Democratic Party of Struggle (PDIP) had to face a decrease in the number of voters. In the general election in 2004, it obtained 18.6% of the total voters (119 seats), while in 2009, the total voters decreased to 14.6% (95 seats). In sum, we can say that, the opposition party will not merely serve as an alternative party for the people, but it is also difficult for it to receive people’s complete support. Moreover, if the party continues expressing criticisms without any solutions reached, then the people will develop more distrust in them.

Difficult access to communicating with people experienced by political party cadres will also constrict the knowledge of whether what has been contributed by the opposition party is worthy of people’s interest. Moreover, when the party is not equipped with the means of communication media for program socialization, the people will refuse to provide their political support on the day of the general election.

Notwithstanding the fact that the elite and the leaders of parties have been concerned about this, unless material and financial supports are satisfied, it will merely serve as the solution at the inventory level, failing to reach the execution stage. Certainly, this is absolutely in contrast with the coalition of the ruling parties. By facilitating the

political parties will be discussed in this research. With reference to the background discussed in Chapter One, the focus of this chapter is restricted to communication patterns in decision-making practiced by two political parties which functions as an opposition party, namely PKR and PDIP.

In scientific justification point of view, Allen and Brady (1997) argued that in conducting a comparative study, there should be at least three elements to satisfy in an organization; size, structure, and function. The same is also suggested by Blau (2006) who stated that, in conducting a comparative study between two organizations, the three similar components shall be complied; organization's size, its bureaucratization, and its function.

Based on the aforementioned criteria, the comparative study on organizations of political parties in Malaysia and Indonesia had sufficient elements to compare. Both were established upon the data and documents obtained by the research, and both have quite similar characteristics in terms of size, structure and function. Table 4.4 clarifies the similarities between both organizations.

Table 4.4 Similarities of Two Compared Organizations

No.	Dimension	People Justice Party (Parti Keadilan Rakyat - PKR)	The Indonesia Democratic Party of Struggle (Partai Demokrasi Indonesia Perjuangan - PDIP)
1.	Size	All Malaysia 12 MPN (States) 1 Federal territory	All Indonesia 33 DPD (Province Level)
2.	Structure	MPP = Majelis Pengerusi Pusat MPN = Majelis Pengerusi Negeri MPC= Majelis Pengerusi Cabang MPK = Majlis Pengerusi Kampung (Ranting)	DPP = Dewan Pimpinan Pusat DPD = Dewan Pimp. Daerah DPC = Dewan Pimp. Cabang PAC = Pengurus Anak Cabang Ranting
3.	Function	To control on government's public policy	To control on government's public policy or as 'check and balances' force

Source: Platform of PKR and PDIP

insertion in Chinese. However, since July 2010, the Federal Government has no longer provided the permit for the extension of the publication of *Suara Keadilan*. It can only be accessed online.

The organizational structure of the party comprises of MPP, MPN, Regional Committee, the Head of Branch, and the Head of Department. As the present research focuses on the state area, this chapter only provides the structure of PKR MPN Kedah.

Table 4.5 Organization Structure of State PKR, Kedah

Regional Representative Council of People's Justice Party (PKR) of Kedah (2009-2011)	
Leader	YB Sdr. Ahmad bin Kasim
Vice Leader 1	Mr. Hj Wan Salleh bin Wan Isa
Vice Leader 2	YB Sdr. Tan Chow Kang
Vice Leader 3	Mr. V. Arumugam a/l Ventagatarakoo
Regional Secretary	Mr. Mohd Hafiz bin Mohd Ali
Treasurer	Mr. Teh Kok Soo
Leader of Information Affair	Mr. Razaini Md Isa
Leader of Youth Affair	Mr. Saiful Izham Ramli
Vice Leader of Youth Affair	Mr. Azman Nasrudin
Leader of Women Affair (Women Organization Wing)	Ms. Salma Ismail
The Head of Langkawi Branch	Mr. Hj. Wan Salleh bin Wan Isa
The Head of Jerlun (penaja) Branch	Mr. Nordin bin Ahmad
The Head of Kubang Pasu Branch	Mr. Che On bin Yusof
The Head of Baling Branch	Mr. Razaini Md Isa
The Head of Alor Star Branch	YM Tengku Farris bin Tengku Ahmad Rayyan
The Head of Kuala Kedah Branch	Dr. Azman bin Ismail
The Head of Pendang Branch	Rasdan bin Ismail
The Head of Sik Branch	Habib Danial bin Habib Ahmad
The Head of Merbok Branch	YB Dato' Rashid bin Din
The Head of Sungai Petani Branch	YB Dato' Johari bin Abdul
Padang Serai Branch	Jamaludin bin Hassan

The Head of Kulim Branch	YB Sdr. Lim Soo Nee
Committee Members	YB En. S. Manikumar a/l Subramaniam YB Tan Wei Shu (withdraw April,15 2010) YB Zulkifli bin Nordin

Source: *Organization Structure of State PKR, Kedah (2010)*

Until May 2010, PKR Kedah had only 23,481 active members in the political parties, who were distributed to 15 branches. The details of each branch are provided in Table 4.6:

Table 4.6 The Membership of PKR Kedah Branches

No.	Branch	Party's Members
1.	Kuala Kedah	712
2.	Langkawi	3.299
3.	Kubang Pasu	852
4.	Kulim Bandar Baru	1.982
5.	Padang Serai	3.949
6.	Padang Terap	515
7.	Merbok	4.015
8.	Baling	1.791
9.	Sungai Petani	322
10.	Jerlun	304
11.	Pokok Sena	307
12.	Pendang	536
13.	Alor Setar	753
14.	Jerai	636
15.	Sik	616
	Total	23.481

Source: *Annual Report on the 6th PKR National Congress (2009)*

2. Indonesia Democratic Party of Struggle (PDIP)

Indonesian Democratic Party of Struggle (PDIP) was born due to historical momentum. The history has formed and developed this party. In historical point of view, the party is closely connected with the emergence of the Decree of Provisional People's Consultative Assembly

The agreed name for the party was Indonesian Democratic Party. Eventually, at exactly 00.00 on the 10th of January 1973, the Fusion Declaration was signed by each political party's representatives; Mh. Isnaeni and A. Madjid (PNI), A. Wenas and Sabam Sirait (Parkindo), Ben Mang Reng Say and FX. Wignjosumarsono (Partai Katolik), A. Sukarmadidjaja and M. Sadrie (IPKI), and S. Murbantoko and J. Pakan (Murba). The fusion result was widely broadcast through a press conference on January 11 which was led by Ben Mang Reng Say and was accompanied by Isnaeni, Wenas, Sukarmadidjaja, and Murbantoko. On January 13, 1973, National Executive Council (MPP) was established in each element, represented by five people, and at the same time DPP, consisted of 11 people and the element composition of 3:2:2:2:2, wherein the position of General Leader was given to PNI and Secretariat General of Coordination was given to Parkindo in accordance with the sequence of voting achievement.

Furthermore, Lay (2009) claimed that PDI, as a result of the fusion process, had gone through three cycles. The first period was the period of 10th of January 1973 until 13th of April 1976 and at the conclusion of Congress I. This period may be referred to as the fusion stabilization period or unification period, especially due to the fact that although PDI had been legally considered a formal political party, on December 30, 1975, the congress's plan was rescheduled at a DPP meeting and eventually, after a series of preparation, Congress I was finally held on April 11 until April 13, 1976.

The second period was the period of 1976 until 1981 (Congress II). This period may be referred to as the internal crisis period due to the frequent conflicts because of leadership crisis within PDI (Congress II was finally held on January 13 until January 17, 1981). The third period was the period of 1981 until 1986 (Congress III). This period may be referred to as the reunification period as the main duty of PDI was to reintegrate broken elements and personnel. Besides, it may also be referred to as the ideological stabilization period since Congress II had determined Pancasila as the ideology of the party. Congress III was finally held on April 15 until April 18, 1986.

However, in the researcher's opinion, in order to reach the reformation phase from PDI into PDIP, there was the necessity of two more important cycles, namely the fourth period of 1987 until 1992.

In this period, PDI had successfully achieved the glory in authoritarian political system, which was indicative with the increased constituent support for this party. This is clearly shown by the fact that PDI at the level of House of Representative had obtained an increase in the number of the total seats from 40 in 1987 to 50 seats in 1992. However, the government had a different point of view. The government made plenty of efforts to prevent PDI from becoming more powerful. For this reason, at post-Congress III, several activities were implemented for PDI, who was led by Soerjadi, to not become the biggest rival of the authority. Therefore, at PDI Congress IV in Medan, the plan to terminate Soerjadi's political career should be realized. This was the commencement of the fifth cycle which was also the anti climax (1993 until 1998). Unpredictably, Congress IV (1992) was quarrelsome. Due to being deadlocked, the Extraordinary Congress (KLB) of PDI was finally held in Surabaya in 1993, which then gave rise to the emergence of two groups; Soerjadi and Megawati. In spite of failing to achieve the government's support, in 'de facto', the group of Megawati had successfully controlled the field. The group of Soerjadi was finally finished without achieving any seat and public's support. The implication of the conflict during the period of five years was the decrease in the number of seats experienced by PDI in the general election in 1997 as it managed to secure only 11 seats.

As President Soeharto collapsed on May 21, 1998, a new government should immediately be formed. The only constitutional mechanism for governmental reformation was to organize a general election. Therefore, in complying with the constitution, in order for PDI that was led by Megawati to be permitted to join the general election in 1999, PDI changed its name into PDIP on February 14, 1999 in Istora Senayan, Jakarta. To date, PDIP is 10 years old.

For the time being, PDIP has conducted three congresses; Congress I (Bali, 2000), Congress II (Semarang, 2005), and Congress III (Sanur, 2010). Ironically, within the period of these three congresses, PDIP has never made any regeneration of the leader. The General Leader of one congress to another was continuously held by Megawati Soekarnoputri. Despite the fact that she had once reached the top position in the voter collection in the general election in 1999 (33.74%), her votes, however, continuously decreased within a couple of the following general

elections; one in 2004 (18.53%) and another one in 2009 where the votes obtained were less than 15% (14.03). The following is a complete table concerning PDI and PDIP's seats (1977 until 2009):

Table 4.7 Seat Acquisition by PDI/PDIP from One General Election to Another (1977-2009)

Name of Political Party	1977	1982	1987	1992	1997	1999	2004	2009
Functional Groups (Golkar)	232	242	299	282	325	120	128	107
PPP	99	94	61	62	89	58	58	37
PDI/PDI-P	29	24	40	50	11	153	109	95
PKB						51	52	27
PAN						34	25	43
PBB						13		
Democratic Party							57	150
PKS							45	57
Gerindra								26
Hanura								18

Source: General Election Institution and General Election Committee of Indonesia

PDIP has five structural levels; National Executive Board (DPP), Provincial Representative Council, and Branch Executive Board (DPC). The last level is divided into two more divisions: district level and village level. DPD of East Java is one of the 33 DPDs owned by PDIP. DPD of East Java has at least 37 DPCs, each of which has varied total of PACs and villages depending on the total districts and villages in the region. Specifically for DPD in East Java, PDIP has 665 PACs. The members of regional board East Java PDIP are as follows:

Table 4.8 Organizational Structure of PDIP East Java

Regional Representative Council of Indonesia Democratic Party of Struggle (PDIP) of East Java (2010-2015)	
Leader	Drs. Sirmadji TJ, M.Pd.
Vice Leader of Internal Affair: Pride of Party	Drs. Bambang DH, M.Pd.
Vice Leader of Internal Affair: Politic and Inter-Institutional Relationship	Ir. Suhandayo, SP.
Vice Leader of Internal Affair: Organization, Membership, Cadre, and Recruitment	Bambang Juwono, S.H.
Vice Leader of Internal Affair: Information and Communication	Ir. A.I Sulistyorini Susilo
Vice Leader of Internal Affair: Resource and Financing	Eddy Rumpoko
Vice Leader of Social Affair: Agriculture, Fishery and Marine	Hj.Sadarestuwati,SP,M.MA
Vice Leader of Social Program Affair: Health, Labor, Empowerment of Women and Children.	Hari Putri Lestari, SH.,MH.
Vice Leader of Social Program Affair: Industry and Trade, Micro Industry and Cooperative	Drs. Sudjarwo Arkat, MM.
Vice Leader of Social, Educational, Cultural and Religious Program	HM Bukhori, SH.M.Si.
Vice Leader of Social Program of Youth and Sport	Drs. Isman
Vice Leader of Governmental Affair: Transportation, Infrastructure, Housing, Energy, Mining, and Environment	Ir. Bambang Suhartono, MAP
Vice Leader of Governmental Program and Regional Autonomy	Drs. Ali Mudji, MS.
Vice Leader of Governmental Program: Laws, Human Rights, and Legislation	Andy Firasadi, SH.MH.
Secretary	Kusnadi, SH., M.Hum.
Vice Secretary of Internal Affair	SW Nugroho
Vice Secretary of Program Affair	Sigit Setiawan
Treasurer	MH. Said Abdullah
Vice Treasurer	Suharti, S.Psi.MM.

Source: Organizational Structure of DPD of PDIP of East Java (2010)

D. Application of Phenomenography in the Research Context

The object of this study is political organizations as an opposition party. The total subjects or informants of this research were 17 people. The selected subjects of this research covered three levels. The upper level comprised of four (4) informants and they are the Secretary General and the Head of National Representative Council. The intermediate level consisted of eight (8) people comprising of the representatives of the Regional Representative Council: the leader and vice leader of regional board at the provincial or state level as well as regional level. While the last level was lower level comprising of five (5) informants who are the members or committees of the party, and at the same time hold a position as members at the district level.

The interview that focused on experiences was conducted in at least three stages:

1. Introduction or introductory observation of the subjects,
2. Making appointment to meet, and
3. Performing interview.

At the observation stage, the researcher came to the office of the respective party and made a direct observation on activity forums performed by PKR and PDIP. As for PKR, the researcher attended speeches delivered by Dato' Seri Anwar Ibrahim and participated in National Congress in May 2010. While for PDIP, the researcher participated in Rakerdasus prior to the PDIP congress in Bali in April 2010. Moreover, prior to the Election of Governor in July 2008, the researcher had made intensive observations.

The next stage involved interview technique. At this stage, the researcher arranged interview schedules. Usually, there would be no response for an interview request. Sometimes, even when the schedule was met and the individuals involved were available, unilateral cancellation still frequently occurred. Fortunately for the researcher, after meeting his subjects three times, they had felt convinced to be interviewed. The rest was relatively easy, since some personnel of the respective parties had assisted the researcher by arranging interview appointments and the permit for the interviews.

The interview included using conventional tape recorder with cassettes. Taking security into consideration, no MP3 was used. The interview took place for about one and a half hours to two and a half hours. Subsequently, to complete the interviews, the researcher reaffirmed the informants that all data was only worthy of academic interest.

Despite the seventeen questions prepared with the guidance of 'interview protocol', the researcher managed to collect more data. Essentially, the question guidance was only designed to answer three research problems concerning the subject's experience with communication patterns in decision-making in a political organization.

E. Chapter Summary

Chapter Four is related to the history of the two political party organizations (People's Justice Party/PKR and Indonesia Democratic Party of Struggle/PDIP). This chapter starts with an overview of political system in Malaysia and Indonesia, and it closes with discussions on the profiles of the informants.

Chapter 5

COMMUNICATION PATTERN IN POLITICAL ORGANIZATION: PKR AND PDIP

A. Introduction

This chapter discusses the communication pattern in PKR and PDIP. It is organized into several sub chapters. This chapter will begin with findings and discussions of every dimension and sub dimensions in communication pattern in PKR. It is then followed by discussions regarding dimension and sub dimension in communication pattern in PDIP. In this section, we will provide with the comparison of communication pattern process between PKR and PDIP.

B. Communication Pattern in People's Justice Party (PKR)

The operations of any organization, in whatever orientation and objective, is always reflected in communication patterns, internally built in the organization. In particular in the relationship between the leader and member of the organization, there is significant role played by the leader. Accordingly, if the political opponent is solicitous to underestimate or bring down the credibility of the organization's reputation, the easiest way is by undergoing "character assassination".

the political party satisfies the criteria as formal organization which is established under specific goal.

Formal communication pattern consists two sub dimensions, downward and upward communication. Downward pattern is supported by challenge and background's member. According to Miller (2006) the form of downward communication is orders, rules and directives. But the implementation is not always as easy. Political parties as an organization, cannot employ orders, rules, and directives in command chain such as in military organization. Downward communication is implemented based on organization's rules agreed unanimously.

Downward pattern is supported by sub dimension challenge and member's background. Based on the focus of each level, sub dimension, 'challenge' has three different characteristics. According to Koster and Olebe (1988), the difference in focus depends on each level. On the top and middle level, the challenge is, would the organization's directive be executed or not by the lower level. Meanwhile, on the lower level, is the directive eligible or logical to be executed.

Meanwhile, sub dimension background states that the plurality of leaders and members may affect the downward implementation communication. According to Koster and Olebe (1988), the background plurality may inflict two impacts, which are supportive impacts that are positive to the implementation of communication, and the opposition of lower level to superior's directives, meaning negative.

On the other hand, upward communication is focused more on message delivery from lower to upper level. The communication process is carried out directly or with the use of channel. Devito (1994) suggested that the message from members to leader may be delivered by applying certain instrument in accordance to the need in one group or organization. In PKR context, such instruments may include meeting between members and leaders, letter, facsimile, leaflet, brochure, and mass media. Figure 5.2. describes in detail the formal communication comprising the downward and upward communication as well as their supporting dimensions.

encouraged us to join and struggle. Those now in upper level are of course from grassroots.

The same explanation on two-sided communication pattern is also presented by Informant 8:

Based on my experience, it is sourced from the grassroots, from those coming from the elites. .. Thus, such resurrection flow is from lower people. We find local issue is sourced from the grassroots, and national issues are managed by the leader.

The aforementioned description illustrates that each party must place itself in appropriate position. The elite can take up grassroots' aspiration by using easy-to-understand communication pattern, where the people would, no doubt, present their interest or inspire injustice they receive.

Therefore, it obviously shows that, as the member of political party, they find that their aspiration can easily be communicated. This differs from the experience they feel when they joined UMNO party in the coalition of National Front (BN) to People's Justice Party in the coalition of People's Alliance (PR). Informant 8, for example, as a member of UMNO (previously turning to PKR), has never known about the kingdom's policy/BN government, which suddenly liquidated people's religious schools during the governmental era of Mahathir Muhammad.

In fact, if the political party realizes that the party members are the most important part of an organization, any decision or policy made by the party should first be communicated. So far, PKR, through the available mechanism and communication channel, has made maximum effort in using all available facilities.

The informant 8's description indicates that any policy formulated by the government should first be conveyed to the people. He added:

Since I used to be a member of UMNO, such important decision might be communicated through UMNO's meetings at branch level. Just like the present condition, when I become the member of PKR, I quite know the party's policy since it is socialized through annual congress.

The similar experience is also presented by informant 8, stating that:

The issues on the party will require special discussion, while at the same time, it should be able to be discussed among the members and need not require an official and formal meeting. In Informant 8's opinion, a member of PKR for five years, "Discussion is important in subordinate level. We do not need any conference to make decision".

Technically, such pattern is in fact valuable. The committee and members will have relaxed at that moment to discuss problems in organization and reach appropriate solution. The most important thing is the fact that there is no relationship interference, especially between the members and committee. Moreover, during the research, the finding shows that, there are many members of the party who freely come to PKR office, that is, in PKR of Sungai Petani Branch. Dato Johari, the Chairperson of Sungai Petani Branch suggested that, PKR committee believed that they can settle any member's problem. Therefore, PKR office is always opened for those who desire to visit. Therefore, it is most important to have constructive interaction in establishing such relation.

a. Sub Dimension: Lateral

Lateral communication or horizontal communication consists of sharing information among the peers within the same work unit. A work unit is comprised of individuals who are located at the same authority level in the organization and have the same superior (Gibson & Hotgetts, 1991; Pace & Faules, 2006). In this case, it means, member to member or elite to elite, within PKR party.

The discussion regarding organizational issues is provided at the same level or working area. The lateral communication pattern is relatively free of emotional constraints. Anyone has freedom to express their ideas. Formal space or certain structural position is not so required in an organization. In addition, the topic for discussion is considerably to a greater extent. The discussion may take longer or shorter. All will depend on the feedback by them or the parties involved in the discussion. As admitted by Informant 2 and informant 8:

After joining Justice party led by Anwar Ibrahim, I found compatibility in discussing many things with my companions in the party. Moreover, we can freely compete on our argumentations with other managements. We discuss for the improvement of Justice party in the future.

that in keeping the organization's survival, it is necessary for all parties to comply with the organization's rules as the rule of the game. In conclusion, in distributing any information either formally or informally, the potential of loss suffered by an organization may be controlled.

c. Sub Dimension: Cross Channel

Cross channel communication or diagonal communication is to share information across functional boundaries with individuals who occupy positions that are neither subordinate nor superior to their own (Stein, 1967 in Pace & Faules, 1994).

Such communication pattern seems to be more necessary to expand political party. The members or people are provided with the opportunity to deliver their aspiration, while at the same time, the party also provides relevant information for the organization's success. This moment is highly important because the party members can avoid from being trapped by any misleading information addressed to them. Informant 4 stated:

Just like nowadays, many party members present various problems to the management of the party. They have the freedom to express any problems related to party's programs in each village. Sometimes, they express their personal problem. But the point is that I do not put limitation to communicate with them.

The similar is also presented by informant 3:

When I was an ADUN member, I could communicate with people. The same also occurs when I become MPN committee, and I can receive and have discussion with the party members. Perhaps, we can make use of their ideas to develop Keadilan party for a better future. All inputs are important.

Essentially, PKR, based on the committee's experience, would like to give political education to its members so that any information received from external party can be prevented. All information should be based on clearly and accurately accountable fact.

Fundamentally, cross-channel communication also allows two-way communication opportunity without any partition or obstacle. The members of the party and management can establish communication

regardless of the organizational structure. The message from the members can directly be communicated to MPC, MPN and even MPP. As admitted by Informant 8 as follows:

We believe that we don't have difficulty in establishing communication with the branch management or MPN. Not even when MPP members come to our region. We, the members of Justice Party, may discuss and propose any issue related to the branch to them. No problem.

Based on the elaboration of aforesaid data finding, informal communication comprises of three sub-dimensions: lateral, grapevine and cross channel. At the same time, this finding confirms the theory suggested by Gibson & Hotgetts (1991); Pace and Faules (2006) who stated that informal communication is important in an organization.

Cross channel sub-dimension is practically applied by the informants in communication to discuss various special issues which have become public attention. In PKR's point of view, cross-channel is an appropriate communication mechanism. In other words, every members of the party can directly communicate with the management of MPC, MPN, and even MPP. However, the result of the communication does not bind them. The organization may disobey any concern that is agreed among them.

Quoting Stein's position (as cited in Pace & Faules, 1994), it indicates that cross channel may be analogized as communication among supervisors, leaders and members in an organization. In this context, it is obvious that 'cross channel' in addition to having strength (such as independence in discussion/opinion), has also weakness (such as the decision made is not binding the organization).

3. Socialization Mechanism

Another important issue in PKR is how to socialize programs of the party. The most challenging one is not only the fact that the party does not own adequate media, but that the license is granted by the government via royal police as well. Internal party has successfully built communication pattern between the elites and the members. However, the success of communication pattern has also something to do with the political atmosphere of certain country.

Based on thematic analysis, the finding indicates that the dimension of socialization mechanism comprises of a couple of sub-dimensions: response of member and media. It means that the communication pattern, both formal and informal, may occur, if the socialization mechanism runs well. To Byers (1997); Pace and Faules (2006) the socialization mechanism is a method to deliver message through specific channel. In PKR context, the specific channel are newspaper (*Suara Keadilan*), online media (www.suarakeadilan.com), blog etc. Schein (1997) stated that the content of a message may be delivered based on mission, goal, structure, and procedure in the organization. The kind of feedbacks provided and the use of media type will predominantly determine whether the message has been received by the receiver or not (in this case, the members of the party).

Figure 5.4 clearly illustrates that the dimension of mechanism socialization comprises of two sub-dimensions: response of member and media. The sub-dimension of response of the member is actually determined by two factors: supporting and constricting factors which become the smaller sub-dimension. Meanwhile, the sub-dimension of media is determined by conventional media and alternative media, as its sub-dimension

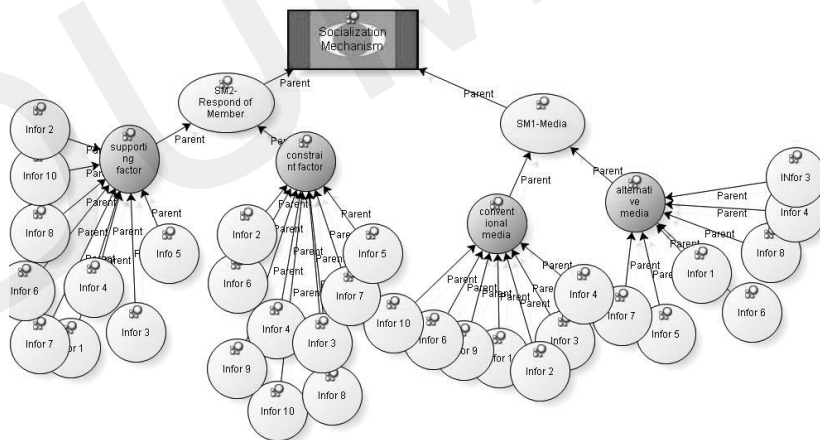


Figure 5.4 Socialization Mechanism Dimension

a. Sub Dimension:Media

The most critical component in socialization mechanism is media. As stated by Mc Quail (2005), media refers to a tool used to transfer message from the source to the receiver. It has a couple of dimensions: politic and normative. The first dimension indicates that media has something to do with the political power. The political power has a tendency to govern and restrict media; however, as a response, the media can have both confirmation and being critical on government. The normative dimension, on the other hand, covers certain social and cultural values.

Both dimensions are important by PKR to understand being the opposition political party. Moreover, if referring to index of freedom of the media published by the Freedom House (2010), the freedom of media in Malaysia is categorized as 'partly free'. It indicates that the score of political rights and civil society falls in the middle position. In such situation, the mass media issued by a political party is tightly controlled by the government. Moreover, Informant 2 said:

The freedom of media in Malaysia is tightly controlled by the government, because all main media belong to pro-government party. Therefore, we should pay attention to the rules issued by the government, such as in publishing and distributing media. We should distribute the media based on PKR supporters. And we should follow the rule. Meanwhile, the government media is freely distributed to any region.

The Political Party and media are just two sides of the currency which cannot be separated. UMNO has *Utusan*, PAS with *Harakah*, DAP with *Rocket*, and PKR with *Suara Keadilan*. It only serves as example of how the media plays an important role in communicating the ideal, struggle and programs of the party to the constituents. Stein (1997) suggested that media refers to a channel used to deliver message from sender (elite) to receiver (member).

In this case, PKR is aware that it is not impossible for all information in Kuala Lumpur (PKR Headquarter) to spontaneously be known by its members across Malaysia. The problem is that such good awareness is not always uniform with the government's policy in media, particularly the media under the control of political party (Balraj, 2008).

The limitation in media policy makes it difficult for PKR to disseminate the party's activities. Informant 9 stated: "In Malaysia, media is limited and it is not easy to deliver information". It indicates that an alternative effort should be made by PKR in facing such non-conductive situation. Therefore, in addition to relying on the important role of printed media and the trend of alternative media, the conservative media such as public meeting, national convention, even road show to the regions, remain to be an effective way for socialization mechanism to the party's members. As the informant 4 further stated:

Irregularly, conventions are still from time to time carried out, and we can propose our idea

These are official channels in form of paper or writing. The capital Alor Star branch approach, if compared to somewhat isolated area, is quite different. We conduct road show...

However, the more important one is that we have to prevent any kind of limitation from diminishing the fighting spirit of the elites and party members. The socialization mechanism by means of conventional media or alternative media shall be made available as long as it complies with the prevailing laws and regulations.

1) Sub Dimension Conventional Media

Mc Quail (2005) suggested that the term conventional media constitutes traditional media. The definition is only to differentiate the emphasis from the orientation of media applied. The conventional media refers to, among others, printed media, radio, television, and movies. And in fact, some political parties could only have one among the four media, that is, printed media. The remaining three media (radio, TV and movie) are often ignored due to high cost of establishment and operation.

As communication instrument, conventional media is very important. Although we are living in internet era, it is unfortunate that many regions in Kedah, such as some of the villages in Jerlun, Sik, Jerai and also some regions in Sungai Petani, do not have access to the internet. They live in the blank spot area or uncovered internet area. This is the reason why PKR still requires the conventional media to inform the party's programs. The only printed media owned by PKR is *Suara Keadilan*; where under such circumstances, any possibility shall be

made functional as maximum as possible. As described by Informant 5 and Informant 2:

We carry out speeches, publish newspapers we call “Suara Keadilan” twice a week, and in addition, we also conduct compositions telling about or explaining about current issue.

As Informant 2 clarified:

The function of media in Malaysia shall not be referred to as the freedom of media. Media, particularly in primary channel, has never offered positive description about activities of political party of pro-opposition, this is very apparent. It is the same for mainstreamed television or newsletter; if the show is only the negative one, perhaps, it will bring impact on reduced support to the opponent party. Only making bad image.

The main principle in socializing the information is the spread of message to public. If a wide range of socialization mechanism is not optimum, there must be another method which is more effective and efficient, word of mouth or seminars. As described by Informants 9 and 10 :

And finally, we are provided with information from mouth to mouth, from one village to another. We want to spread it to them. Malaysian official newsletter does not allow us with the opportunity. Then we use whatever media we have ...

Training and seminar programs. Therefore, we have weak newspaper. We have to behave harmoniously with government party.

If the political party has made hard efforts in optimizing various ways of socialization to its members, then it is targeted that the communication pattern and relationship between the elites and the members can be well-maintained. At the same time, this evidently shows that other than being important, socialization media can maintain the organization’s spirit between the source (elite) and receiver (party member) in order to not being disappointed in facing the difficulty in accessing information.

Based on the elaboration of aforesaid findings, in the essence, the empirical evidences confirm Mc Quail’s (2005) and Griffin’s opinion

(2004) that the existence of conventional media (printed media) is required as the communication instrument with the public. Such opinion is supported by the fact that, firstly, some people still tend to use conventional media to obtain information and secondly, the internet fails to cover all regions.

2) Sub Dimension Alternative Media

McQuail (2005) suggested that the alternative media is also functioned as the new media. This sort of media will bridge the differences in some media and serve as a tool to communicate positive messages, either personal or public in nature. Moreover, according to McLuhan (Griffin, 2004), the power of the printed words is over: "The age of print ... had its obituary tapped out by telegraph". Before his death in 1980, McLuhan predicted that even the staggering cultural impact of this communication hardware would be insignificant compared with the upheaval caused by the computer software to come.

Another option is to allow the ongoing communication between the party leader and its members to be carried out by fully utilizing the alternative media. Each informant admits that the existence of alternative media serves as the key to succeed when obtaining relatively significant seats in General Election 12, 2008. The voters from urban area who have been familiar with internet can mostly access information from a number of websites or blog affiliated with PKR or Dato' Seri Anwar. As described by Informant 7 :

...We have an internet, bloggers and alternative media such as *Malaysiakini*, and each media directly delivers this message and communicates with intellectual persons.

Whether we are aware or not, the more an organization of political party is forced to communicate with its members, the more opportunities for non-formal channels to emerge. The fact is supported with the termination of party media of "*Suara Keadilan*" on July 3, 2010, where eventually, various instruments emerge. Brochures, poster, alternative media (facebook, twitter, blog) which does not require any license from royal party are optimized.

The generation of PKR member's awareness uses alternative media since the condition is forced to do so. The interaction and

from IWS (Internet World Statistic), the penetration of internet usage in Malaysia by 2010 has reached to the level of 65%. It indicates that “coverage area” of internet usage in Malaysia with the population of 27 million people has reached to the level of 65% or equivalent to 17.6 million. Thus, the increased number of voters by PKR is potentially widely opened.

Similar to the suggestion proposed by Byers (1997); Pace and Faules (2006) and Schein (1997), which stated that the socialization mechanism will require an appropriate media to deliver the message. Based on the informant’s information, PKR has actually made such steps. Due to significant constraint whether internal or external, that is faced by this organization, the expected feedback is very minimum.

Jablin’s view (1997) in feedback of the message is not about the sender but about the potential receiver. This is a very fundamental issue to take into consideration by PKR in socializing its activities. Due to minimum media ownership and limited internet access in PKR member-based region, what need to be of concern is the occurrence of distorted content and information spread by certain party.

C. Communication Pattern in Indonesian Democratic Party of Struggle (PDIP)

Indonesian Democratic Party of Struggle is the party claiming that it is based on nationalist ideology (Prayitno, 2009). For this reason, those joining this party comprises of not only pluralist in ethnic, culture, or interest, but ideological basis as well. The research findings show that there are similarities between communication patterns in PKR and PDIP. In details, data findings provided in this sub-chapter cover three categories; formal communication pattern, informal communication patterns and socialization mechanism.

Based on thematic analysis, the finding suggests that the communication patterns emerging in PDIP not only comprise of formal and informal dimensions (Byers, 1997; Pace & Faules, 2006) but also reveal the important dimension of socialization mechanism of an organization. Each aforesaid dimension is supported by different sub-dimensions. Formal dimension comprises of upward and downward dimensions. In greater exploration, nonetheless, this is the fact that

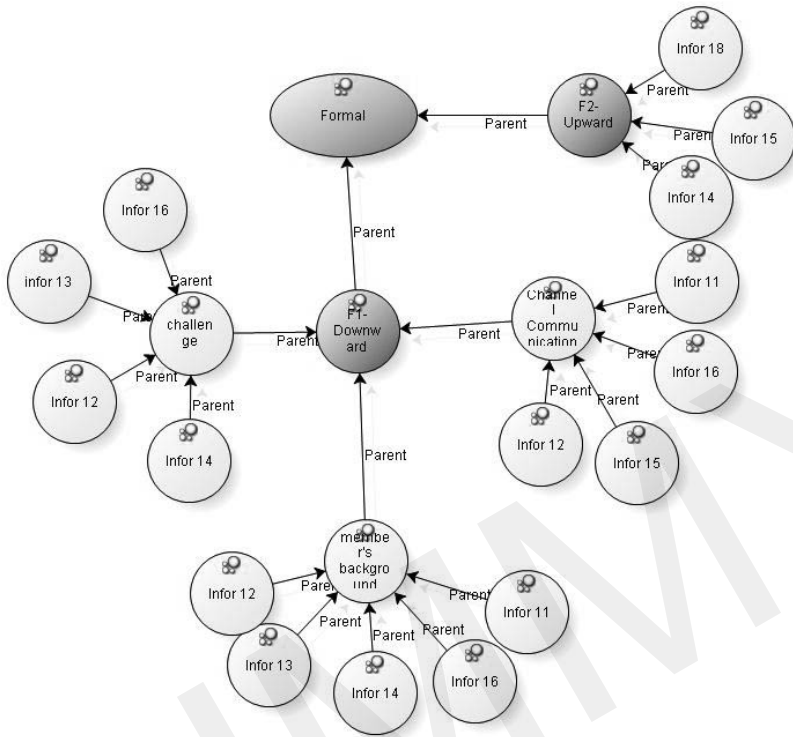


Figure 5.6: Illustrates sub-dimension of downward communication pattern.

a. Downward Sub Dimension

According to Byers (1997); Pace and Faules (2006), and Papa, Daniels, Spicker (2008), downward communication involves the transmission of messages from upper level (leader) to lower level (subordinates/member). Or according to Brass (1984) and Pfeffer (1981), power reflects structural relationship of the organizations.

Downward communication not only is implemented in DPP or DPD level, but also implemented at branch level (DPC). Informant 14, Vice Chief of Nganjuk DPC stated:

We in the DPC, execute downward communication to our members in the villages. The decisions taken by the DPP or DPD must be executed in the DPC level. We only execute all congress or Musda (Musyawarah Daerah) PDIP's decisions. For us in the DPC, the

committee / members of the party believe that they have emotional connection with such historical aspect.

The ideological relation such as this is very clearly stated by Informant 16:

My background of joining PDI Perjuangan, is because I feel suitable with a nationalist ideological party. Those in the party are also very plural. Diverse religions, different ethnics, from low education to university educated. In PDI or PDIP, they key is unity and harmony. I, myself, since college has joined with GMNI (Gerakan Mahasiswa Nasional Indonesia). There, my ideology conscience grew until my graduation and I joined this party.

Informant 12 explained his experience as follows:

I join with PDI Perjuangan because I felt concerned for the society. When I was in college and saw many people demonstrating demanding reformation, my heart was moved to join them. At the time, PDI Perjuangan is a symbol of opposition. There were students, professors, employees or labors, organizational activists. They united to support PDIP through Posko Perjuangan against the regime of Orde Baru.

The same confession was also stated by Informant 11:

Since college I was active in organization. Even in ITB I was the Chairman of Himpunan Mahasiswa Tambang and The Chairman of Forum Komunikasi Himpunan Jurusan Dewan Mahasiswa ITB. My background of active organization in the past, influence my involvement with PDI Perjuangan. Not only that, in High School, I was the Chairperson of OSIS (Organisasi Siswa Intra Sekolah). I join PDI Perjuangan, because there is similarity in the mission for society. Whatever the position in the party, I accept it as a duty.

Informant 13 and 14 told the same experience. They said:

The reason why I joined Indonesian Democratic Party of Struggle is that I am nationalist and marheinstein. I am educated by my father, a Chief of Marheinstein in the level of Village in Gondang District. Since I was a boy, PNI was written in my home, thus marheinstein atmosphere is very strong. Moreover, I once studied in Marhenis Senior High School in Nganjuk, graduated in 1973. As I have marheinstein background, of course, I am Soekarnoist,

thus nationalist. That is my short story, joining PDI, Indonesian Democratic Party of Struggle, a nationalist.

My grandmother and my father, all are members of the Bull (Banteng). I got this enthusiasm from my family. I have idolized Bung Karno for so long. So, Bung Karno will go to any party as long as it is Bull. Bung Karno is my idol from my ancestor.

Based on the elaboration of data finding, it is clear that individual background before entering an organization strongly influence their decision. Organization is benefited with this quality of cadres. Organization does not need to allocate party budget for special leadership training.

According to Frost (1987), individual quality with good background strongly implicates the significance of the organization's existence itself. It means, based on the evidence, this research proves the theory of Frost and Devito that individual background and personal quality are very important to the organization's existence.

Political party, according to Lapalombara and Myron (1966), Lamprinakou (2008) is an organization formed by various interests to find its justification. Although they have different background but their interest and struggle orientation are the same, then their differences are not a factor that weakens but strengthens their organizational consolidation.

2) Sub Dimension: Challenge

According to Viinamaki (2009) in this modern era, organizational governance is facing uneasy challenges. Differences are only on the aims, orientations, and typology of the organization. But in the principal, surviving in a rough competition, any organizations must be able to settle their internal organization's problems, then moving on to settle external problems. Viinamaki recorded at least five challenges faced by the organizations. They are; change in organizational structure and authority, participation, communication, image and perception, and integration of values.

Meanwhile, Payman, et.al (2010) argued that organizational challenges consists of: financial problem, technology and management,

The organization's ability to detect all potentials will be the concrete answers to weaknesses faced. PDIP acknowledges that as a political party based on 'grass-root' with the majority of its members living in rural areas, the limitation of IT development must be faced with optimum potential.

If they did not know IT, then conventional communication distribution must be applied. The shift of orientation of organizing from idealism to pragmatism today is a social fact. Political party must be able to redefine partying through training its cadres and leaders so that militant members may still grow. This kind of method may be considered as a concrete solution amidst minimal or limited budgeting problems.

3) Sub Dimension: Communication Channel

Miller (2006) stated that the downward communication pattern focuses on the importance of communication channel. Communication channel can be implemented as a face to face channel, through written channel, or through a variety of mediated channels, including the telephone or computer. In the context of communication pattern in PDIP, this organization does not know a single communication channel. Considering its wide area and member distribution, in practice, the three modes of communication channel can be cross implemented. The combination of communication channel is adjusted with geographical condition, circumstances, and needs in the field.

The heaviest challenge is that Indonesian Democratic Party of Struggle has officially neither printed nor electronic media as communication channel. Some DPCs have made an effort to issue tabloid and bulletin, but the sustainability cannot be relied on. DPC Nganjuk, for example, has published *Mega Pos* tabloid, and DPD of East Java has online media www.pdi-perjuangan.com. Ironically, DPP (national level) has not even had online media with optimum access. Informant 11 acknowledged that PDIP has a limited communication channel. He said:

I admit that nationally PDIP does not have any official media as communication channel. Because managing a media is not an easy task. What we can do is to utilize existing media through party activities announcement. Hopefully, through the announcement,

This fact was due to the claim as a democratic party forces the implementation of democratic principal. One of the principal is that decision is based on grass-root aspiration (Djojosoekarto, 2008; Held, 2006).

This principal can be executed if the organization or political party is able to build conducive communication pattern between its communication components in the organization. The conducive communication pattern is marked if the message forwarding process from sender (elite) to receiver (party member/grassroot mass) comes in two ways. It means, opening an open space, or dialogues to solve organization's problems.

A concrete example in this research is when DPP decided who was the candidate for governor which would compete in the election for 2008. Governor of Jawa Timur, DPP as the top management did not act according to DPD or DPC aspiration. DPP selected qualified names from below. Two names emerged, Soekarwo and Soetjipto, but selection still went on, which of the two would contribute more to the party. All considerations are taken into considerations, including the potential of resistance and rejection, so that it would all be minimized.

Citing Berlo (1960) or Pace and Faules (2006) various forms of resistance and rejection may be categorized as 'noisy' in the communication process. A good communication pattern is if the message can be delivered and received by sender and receiver with low noisy level. A good communication pattern must also use the appropriate media and produce feedback.

Five key elements (sender, receiver, message, media, and feedback) in a good communication pattern occurred between the elites (party leaders) and grass-root (party member) is determined by the individual and challenge factor. The more qualify the individual is, the better the communication pattern would be. Meaning, the downward and upward pattern can still be implemented because every element works according to its function and role in the formal communication process in an organization.

Moreover, based on the evidence of the above interview citations, at the same time, the communication pattern conducted by Indonesia Democratic Party – Struggle strengthens the theory of Byers (1997),

existence of two supportive factions in the Jawa Timur Governor election. They are divided into two factions, first, the faction supporting Sutjipto and the second, supporting Soekarwo. This fact occurred due to the follow up of Rakerda (Rapat Kerja Daerah) in Situbondo, 26 December 2006. At the time, there was only 11 DPC who chose Sutjipto and 22 DPC supported Soekarwo. Informant 12 said:

Yes, at the time the support to Pak Tjip from 11 DPC while Pak Karwo more than 20 DPC. But need to remember, although only 11 DPC, they are the DPC with the most chairs in the DPRD. To fellow member in the DPC and DPD, I always say that the number of support from DPC does not represent size. But the point is how many voters actually voted. Mass media did not know the real condition in the field. They only know that the number of DPC supporting Pak Tjip was less than Pak Karwo. The announcement from mass media may trigger factions of pros and cons towards Pak Tjip.

Although the pro and con situation can be felt, but organizationally, DPP still support Soetjipto fully. But the domino effect is still felt by DPC. As explained by Informant 13:

Well it is reasonable that someone cannot satisfy all people. I even told my friends in the DPC, anything DPP decided, we would support. It was easier for the DPC friends to relay such message. But in the grass-root, it must be told carefully, to not trigger any rejection. We communicate with all DPC. When they have understood, we could share it with other members.

Based on the elaboration of the above data findings, the topics chose referenced to general events and contained equivalence. But due to the equivalence, the communication pattern is only informal. Gibson and Hotgetts (1991), Pace and Faules (2006) stated that lateral or horizontal communication only affects its own level or structure. This communication pattern is only limited to the same level. Thus, their relation is parallel and no one lead or being led.

media. The reason is that both types of media are frequently used as socialization instruments.

However according to Opoola, Adebisi, and Emmanuel (2009) the classical problem faced by every political party is that most political parties do not have any media specifically managed in professional manner. As an implication, many programs and policies belonging to the party fail to be well socialized to the people or the members of organization.

Based on thematic analysis, the finding indicates that the dimension of socialization mechanism comprise of a couple of sub-dimensions: response of member and media. It means the communication patterns, both formal and informal, may occur, if the socialization mechanism runs well. To Byers (1997), Pace and Faules (2006) the socialization mechanism is a method to deliver message through specific channel. Stein (1997) stated that the content of message may be delivered based on mission, goal, structure, and procedure in the organization. Figure 5.8 shows socialization mechanism in PDIP.

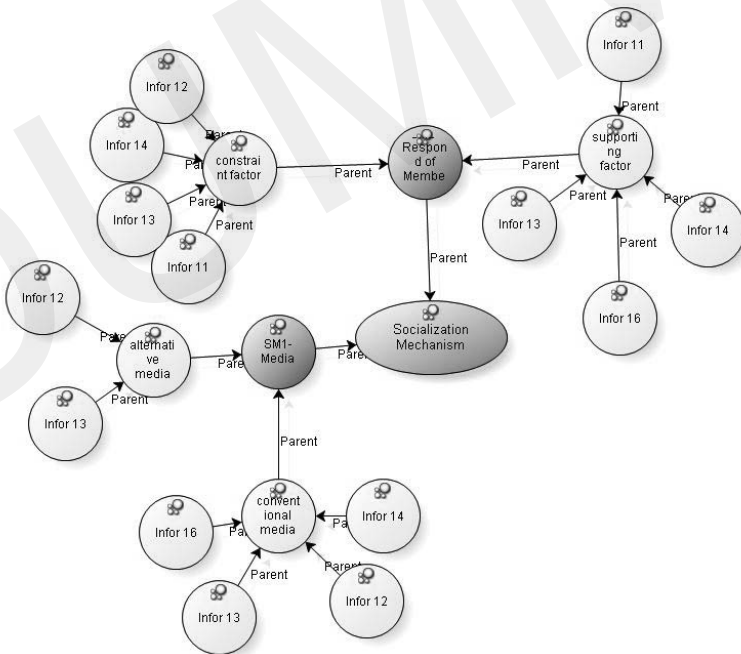


Figure 5.8 Socialization Mechanism of Communication Pattern Dimension

to access government document or to visit campaigning organizations, group of people can engage in discussions through email networks.

Therefore, in this information technology era, the political party should be able to optimally utilize the advancement of technology. Whether they realize it or not, such reality has triggered the rise of newly-born alternative media to bridge the individual or organizational interest.

In addition to the reason of internal condition of the party, information and technological advance will favorably be utilized. Since 2006, Indonesian Democratic Party of Struggle of East Java has operated <http://www.pdiperjuangan-jatim.org> as official website of the party. Therefore, there is no excuse for the party not to deliver the information to the public. Furthermore, Informant 12 added:

Through website, we can post the result of the conference (e.g., in April 1, 2010, Provincial Consolidation Meeting in frame of PDIP Congress preparation in Bali, 5-7th of May 2010) on the website. As, in IRI's (*International Republican Institute*) opinion which surveys party's site in Indonesia, the best site is DPD PDIP of East Java. This is based on IRI's assessment .

Furthermore, in the party's website, PDIP of East Java also uses social media, such as facebook. Through this social media, the information of all activities conducted by PDIP of East Java is easy to upload and distributed to all members directly. Moreover, the Informant 13 stated:

Currently, we also utilize popular social media that is facebook. By this social media, the information is faster since it can be accessed via hand-phone. We make efforts by using various media that we can use to share our activity to the members, and we will work for it maximally.

The rapid development of alternative media has obviously forced every organizational element to make hard effort. Regardless of the maximum utilization of alternative media, the political party will be forgotten or even ignored by the young prospective voters who are familiar with the new media. The awareness about using the alternative media or new media is actually not an option, but in the current era, it is a must. Hence, if there are still many areas uncovered by internet,

In anticipating the message distribution to regions or DPC, we usually make use of press release by either sending it to media or inviting the journalist to come to PDIP's office. In addition, we are also thankful if the journalists come from radio and television. Our important expectation is that the message can be read, heard and viewed by all members of PDIP wherever they are.

Hence, the officer also realizes that not all the members are literate, so, aside from using printed media we also socialize intensively through meeting involving the officer and the members as well. It means that it does not only conducted close to the governor's election, but also it implements in another party activity.

Based on the elaboration of the aforesaid data finding, it is obvious that the function of printed media in this information technology era is highly important. Moreover for those living in rural area with low information technology literacy, the printed media remains to be more appropriate socialization facility.

b. Sub Dimension of Respond of Member

As in Bovee and Till (1991 cited in Setyawati, 2008), Pace and Faules (2006), every communication process may always be measured based on the provided feedback. The feedback is actually an indicator representing the level of receiver's response to the message sent by the source. The higher the positive response of the receiver, the better the supporting factor is given. On the contrary, the poorer the response is given, the higher the constricting factor will be.

Reading the organizational dynamic can actually be carried out by looking at how the members (or receivers) response to the elites (sources). The positive (supporting) and negative (constraining) responses are principally related to the political systems applied by the country. In this context, Malaysia and Indonesia have different experience.

Contrary to Malaysia, Indonesian government has involved in providing the financial support to the political party based on the number of votes achieved. Indonesian Democratic Party of Struggle has obtained significant number of votes since this party nationally falls within the three big voting attainments.

As the support of State, the party members also proactively respond to all activities conducted by the organization. This fact can be seen as the party conducted regional conference or as the party conducted the candidate election of regent, major and governor. Voluntarily, the party members support the activities in terms of the election succeed. As explained by informant 14 and 16 that when filtering and selecting the candidate of governor from internal PDIP, the enthusiasm of party members is very considerable. They provide quick response for the success of election of candidate of governor. Moreover, they voluntarily involve in active participation. Furthermore, both informants said :

Thus, for the level of region which contributes 500 people, even for big regency such as Malang, it can contribute thousands of votes.

They give very good response. We also take a part in socializing Pak Tjip to the district level or lower. He has very strong ideology. No matter who he/she is, if he/she has joined PDIP, he/she will have strong ideology.

This fact evidently indicates that in the middle of people's apathy against the politics, there are still a number of people who are concerned about or involved in the selection process of public official at the level of governor, regent or major. As admitted by Informant 13:

I can still find people's enthusiasm very amazing. They provide good response. It is proven, every time we schedule the campaign of candidate, a great number of them come to see, regardless their motivation, listening to the speech of the candidate of governor, seeing art show or refreshing. The point is that they are willing to come.

The similar observation is also provided by Informant 16. He explained:

We witnessed that in Governor Election 2008, people still allocated their time to come to vote. It indicates that they still provide good response on the political activity. Of course, they have big expectation that with the newly elected governor, they will have better prosperity.

Based on the elaboration of the aforesaid data finding, the members' respond toward the political activity of the governor's election is relatively high. The Data of General Election Committee of East Java

indicates that the level of people's participation is relatively secured for it is above 50%. Such percentage indicates that people still expect reformation through new leadership. Therefore, although the people have obtained information regarding the corruption committed by a number of state apparatus in all lines, they keep on believing that if the leader is democratically elected, the communication pattern established will be democratic as well.

1) Sub Dimension Supporting Factor

As in Bovee and Till (1991 in Setyawati, 2008), Pace and Faules (2006) stated, feedback is an important component in communication process. The feedback is also an indicator representing the level of receiver's response to the message sent by the source. The higher the positive response of the receiver, the better the supporting factor is given.

The supporting factor may be realized in the forms of financial assistance from the state and members, participation in general election, participation in the party's activities, and any kind of members' involvement, which can encourage the achievement of organizational goals.

Indonesia is one of the countries to apply certain policy that the political party is deemed as an important state asset in developing the politic and democracy. As an important asset, PDIP, in spite of claiming as national oppositional party, continues to reserve the right to obtain financial assistance sourced from State Budget. All levels, national (DPP), province (DPD) and regency/city (DPC), shall reserve to receive the donation in amount depending on the votes collected during the general election. As described by informant 11 as follows:

Of course, the government may not provide any support to any party unless it is in connection with the mandate of law governing the State Budget for political party and this is very limited. It was Rp 1000 per person in political party, and now it is smaller, not enough to meet the party's activity. The only thing we can do is by self-energizing to fund the party's activities, members contribution to finance the party's funding.

Although with limited amount of financial support, the government is nationally concerned about the existence of political parties. It also applies to provincial and regional or municipality.

In East Java and some regencies/cities, including Nganjuk Regency, the party with bull's head symbol has successfully collected votes above the average. Thus, the fund of political support, received from Regional Budget could relatively encourage party's programs. In more detail, Informant 13 suggested:

Political Assistance (Banpol) is an assistance from Regional Budget to Political Party, which is used to develop the political party. It is counted per fraction. Each member of fraction will receive Rp. 19 million per year. That is political assistance. DPC will use it, rather than the member of fraction. The calculation will be based on the number of members owned by DPC, and the money will be submitted to DPC.

Such mechanism of financial support of the country to political party indicates that the country is also responsible for the existence of political party. The stable political party implies that any program, decision and policy made by the party will relatively be operable or able to obtain the support, including during the execution of Governor Election in 2009.

The support of State budget for the party is not only at the regency/city level, but also it is for provincial and national as well. The amount received for each party differs from one another, depending on the amount of vote they obtained in general election. The fund awarded is a stimulator. Thus, whether there is an aid or not from the State, the political parties in Indonesia must be able to implement all programs independently. It is in line with Informant 14 who expressed as follows:

So... the fund given to the party is only as stimulus. If compared with the budget spent by political parties each year, then the fund given by State is relatively small. Whatever it is, through the financial support of State, it means that State has a concern that political party is the State's asset as well.

Another form of support to PDIP is militant and member's active participation in the party. This is a sort of determinant supporting factor. The slogan, 'Cooperatively Develop East Java' as tagline of the couple of Soetjipto (candidate of Governor) and Ridwan Hisyam (candidate of Vice Governor) strongly indicates that the support from grass-root is amazing. Informant 16 expressed his experience:

conventional media that some people or party members consider as relevant. In socialization mechanism, the type of media, content and mass media should be inter-filing in terms of getting expected feedback maximally.

Jablin's view (1997) in feedback of the message is not about the sender but about the potential receiver. This is a very fundamental issue to take into consideration by PDIP in socializing its activities.

It is why, if the receiver misinterprete such massage, the effect is that he or she can influence the potential receiver. It means that the information distortion will influence bad image in any organization. This finding research reveals that, even when PDIP had combined two socialization mechanism methods, yet the internal support was still low.

Another finding suggests that, in organizational perspective, PDIP has ignored those disappointed and unsatisfied people with the decision made by DPP PDIP. In return , those disappointed members will perform denial action against the candidate who has been assigned by DPP PDIP. They will not give full support to Pak Tjip, but to another candidate. Such support shift evidently indicates that in some regions which are the basis of PDIP, the candidate of PDIP failed to obtain maximum support.

On the basis of the fact, it can be concluded that media can help the distribution and socialization of message to the party members. But, what needs to be taken into greater consideration will be the feeling of comfort and satisfaction to the party. Both are considered the determining factors for party members to provide their support and denial to the candidate for governor from PDIP.

This research is not aimed to inventorized all causes of low support to the candidate of PDIP. However, based on the informants' confession and experience, the research concludes two concerns related to the communication pattern to implement in PDIP. The first is elite-oriented communication pattern. In this communication pattern, the elites are too dominant thus resulting in party members' participation in subordinate position. The second, the party ignores the members' disappointment which implies the poor support to the candidate for governor who has been determined by DPP PDIP.

The comparative of formal, informal communication patterns and socialization mechanism in the People Justice Party (PKR) and the Indonesian Democratic Party of Struggle (PDIP) may be visualized in the following figures.

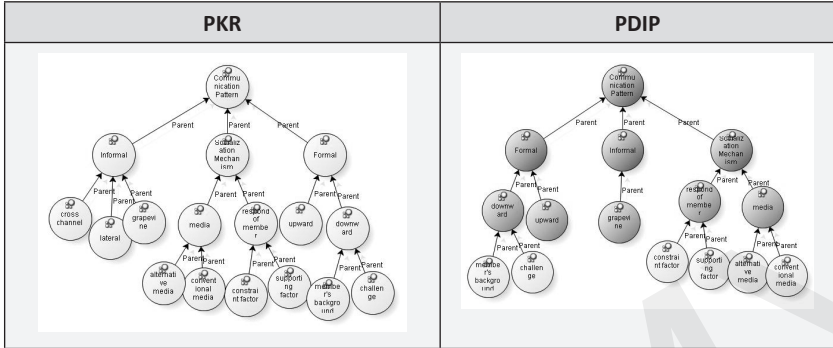


Figure 5.9 The Comparison of Communication Pattern of PKR and PDIP

The fourth level of phenomenography approach is the intentional of the conception. This level describes that each concept or dimension has emphasis in each specific case. Each emphasis demonstrates the unity or integrity of varied experiences from individual or informant. Consequently, in spite of various experiences of each informant, they basically can be categorized based on the similarity and differences when involved in certain organizations. Since the main objective of this research is to ascertain the communication pattern in PKR and PDIP, then the elaboration of the fourth level can be distinctly seen in table 5.2 below.

	Element/ Conception		PKR	PDIP
		C r o s s Channel	Topics or policies made by the party are well communicated among the members or delivered to the committee of the party, but informal in nature.	Party member has a freedom to express ideas, proposes to board member.
		Grapevine	The communication which is frequently takes place as the integral part of organizational dynamic which cannot be controlled by the committee of party. The topics discussed are not based on database or empirical base.	Communication in form of rumors stating that in obtaining recommendation, great amount of money is required.
	Socialization Mechanism	Media	The political party applies conventional media 'Suara Keadilan' (printed media), leaflet, pamphlets. Also alternative media, website, blog, twitter, sms, facebook	The party uses two media, namely alternative media, website of party, facebook and sms. Also forum of conference, local media "Mega Pos", leaflet and pamphlet.
		Members' Response	Active party members give support for every policy made by the party	Active party members give support for every policy made by the party

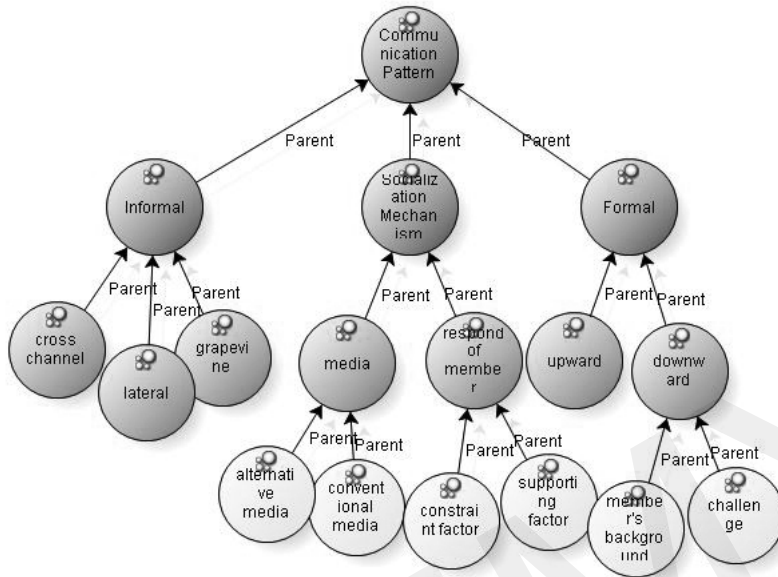


Figure 5.10 The Combination of Communication Pattern of PKR and PDIP

The fifth level of phenomenography approach is establishing the outcome space. This level denotes the quintessence of the entirety of communication pattern process which takes place in PKR and PDIP. In sum, it can be explained that both political parties applied the combination of formal and informal communication pattern. The media utilized as means of communication is the combination of conventional and alternative media. The fifth level's visualization can be seen in figure 5.11 below.

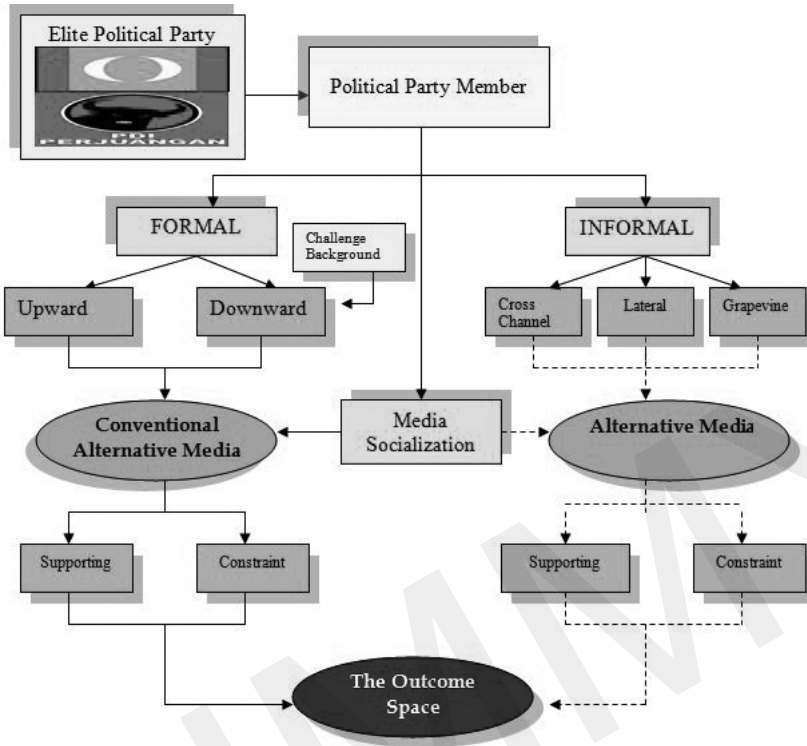


Figure 5.11 The visualization of Outcome Space in Phenomenography

E. Chapter Summary

This chapter presented data finding and discussions of every dimensions and sub dimensions in communication patterns in PKR. It is then followed by discussions regarding dimensions and sub dimensions in communication patterns in PDIP. Finally, this chapter is closed by the comparison of communication pattern process between PKR and PDIP, and the explanation of fourth and fifth level of peneomenography approach.

such opportunity to do so. But, it depends on the position adhered to the respective individual. The portion of decision influence will mainly be based on the position possessed by the individual. But one thing for sure, everyone in an organization may essentially make decision.

Decision making in an organization refers to the process of determining one of two or more existing options. As Harrison (1995) argues, there are six concerns to take into decision making; defining the problem, defining the decision criteria, considering the criteria, generating alternative, assessing all alternatives in each criteria, and calculating maximum decision.

On decision making forum in People's Justice Party as the same level as congress is very interesting. At least, based on the researcher's experience as an outsider, decision-making atmosphere runs quite democratic. In addition to 14 State Assembly (MPN) of PKR delivering proposals and ideas, party organizations, comprising of Justice Women organization, Youth (Young Generation of Justice) organization, and Srikandi organization, were actively involves.

With strong spirit, they deliver all their aspirations. Decision making forum in People's Justice Party (PKR) covers National Assembly (MPP) for federal level, State Assembly (MPN) for state level, Regional Assembly (MPC) for regional level and Village Assembly (MPK).

Based on a thematic analysis, the findings suggest that the decision-making process in PKR not only comprise of context and experience dimensions but also reveal the importance of dominant authority dimension, which is the organization's leader (Rowe & Boulgarides, 1983). Each aforesaid dimension is supported by different sub-dimensions. Experience dimension comprises of duration, process, decision- making type, steps and policy program. The context dimension, on the other hand, is supported by two sub dimensions; they are conducive, and nonconductive. The dominant authority comprises pluralism and regulation sub dimensions. Figure 6.1 illustrates dimension of decision making, which implementation is supported by three smaller sub-dimensions: experience, context and dominant authority.

In MPP level, the decision is oriented to federal-dimensioned concern. The most actual case during this research is the hard effort performed by MPP to enter into mutual agreement to fight against the 'black campaign' launched by UMNO against the PKR leader, Anwar Ibrahim's sodomy accusation. As expressed by Informant 4:

For example, the case of Dato' Seri Anwar ... This is what we spread out. So, in case any speech, this will be distributed. While I am reading on the stage, the people will distribute and read it. So, I am responsible for this, since I have printed this. I have responsibility. And it is documented. I am responsible for this. It is no use for me to talk about nothing, since this is subject to legal indication. This decision is solely made collectively by MPP. We, in MPN or MPC, are only granted duty to distribute to member in our each region.

In fighting against the accusations launched, MPP issued the decree to distribute 250 treatises clarifying the case to all PKR branches across the state. The treatise number SUA2010/Pekeliling/001 dated the 12th day of February 2010 stated that the accusation to the PKR Leader is improper. The accusation to Dato' Seri Anwar Ibrahim is nothing but slander proposed by the leader of UMNO/BN such in 1999 through three authorities; police, district prosecutor, media and court (Ismail, 2010).

The denial issued by the General Secretary of PKR is established upon Clinical Forensic Report of Kuala Lumpur Hospital Number K08/08 carried out by three expert doctors: Dr. Khairul Nizam Bin Hassan, Dr. Mohd Razali Ibrahim and Dr. Siew Sheue Feng stating that the compliant, Saiful Bukhari Azlan, is evidently found to not have been sodomized. Mysteriously, although the report is also supported by Dr. Osman Abd Hamid from Islamic Health Center (PUSRAWI), stating that there is no evidence of sodomy, the district prosecutor continued to process this case. Moreover, the media is under government and the monarch's control. It consistently discloses the event regardless of human dignity, politeness, and moral values. The media arbitrarily embarrasses the honor and the nobility of Dato' Seri Anwar Ibrahim.

The decision to distribute the four-page treatise entitled "*Fitnah Dasyat Berulang Kembali*" with the conclusion: "There is no sufficient clinical evident showing the act of sodomy and there is no violation

against the body” issued by Office of Secretariat General, is a rebuttal against the hard effort by UMNO, which had resulted in a negative image of opposition figure. Everything will be conducted to stop PKR voters in the next General Election 13, (May 5, 2013). As expressed by Informant 4 :

For example, the case of Dato’ Seri Anwar ... This is what we spread out. So, in case any speech, this will be distributed. While I am reading on the stage, the people will distribute and read it. So, I am responsible for this, since I have printed this. I have responsibility. And it is documented. I am responsible for this. It is no use for me to talk about nothing, since this is subject to legal indication. This decision is solely made collectively by MPP. We, in MPN or MPC, are only granted duty to distribute to member in our each region.

By means of the treatise, the public, particularly the member or sympathizer of PKR will obtain not only information unilaterally from the mainstream media, but also alternative information of PKR version. This party owns obsession in any decision making, no manipulation nor sustainability of bad custom or culture.

It is also applicable to decision making on who reserves the right to be Exco member in the government of Pakatan Rakyat in Kedah State. The decision is based on the reasonable considerations. As told by informant 3 who has once been Exco member:

Those elected Exco members are elected ADUN members. However, not all ADUN members are Exco members. Every political party has each proportion in accordance with the number of chairs. PKR, for example, has five seats of ADUN but the elected Exco members are four. MPN proposes four names based on certain consideration to the Menteri Besar. In general, such consideration covers capability or intellectual and regional, and the region which he/she represents.

However, when someone has been Exco member in the government, he should fully support the working programs as stipulated by Menteri Besar. Every year, Menteri Besar reserves the right to evaluate the performance of the Exco members. Base on performance indicator that the Exco member as representative of PKR incapable or with ability below the given standard, the Menteri Besar reserves the right to replace

him/her. However, it should first be communicated with MPN PKR Kedah as organization principal.

The fact that the service period of Tan Wei Shu as Exco member is not extended is prerogative right of Menteri Besar and that he makes decision to resign from PKR is personal political right. As described by Informant 9 as follow:

Yes.... It was prerogative right and political decision of Menteri Besar. We, in PKR, could not make any intervention, since PKR is coalition partner of PAS. Moreover, PKR only has five chairs. Thus, our position is only supporting party of People's Alliance in Kedah led by PAS. However, since he resigns, MPN should also make decision to find the substitute in order to fill the empty position. But I am really sorry why he should resign from the Justice Party.

In MPC level, before making of decision, the crucial issue has also been discussed by all committee member. Indeed, MPC has, either formally or informally, discussed this issue, since ADUN members resigning from the party come from Batang Arang PKR of Sungai Petani branch. As described by Informant 4 as follow:

I myself have met him. Because he is ADUN member from our region. But, that he finally made decision to resign from this party is his political right. In organizational perspective, we also discussed this problem in management meeting in branch level. Yeah... We can not deny that before being ADUN member, he is an ordinary person with profession as tailor. Such background has certainly influenced his personal stability in dealing with the serious problems as Exco member.

The foregoing facts clearly provide concrete description that the resolution of organizational problem is always taken based on the quality of case and scope (Miller, 2004). Every level in organizational structure in PKR has administrative and political responsibility over the authority and power owned. From this point of view, it is obvious that MPC could only handle the problem in the scope of a branch. MPN is one level higher in terms of power, especially the political authority to choose ADUN member as Exco. They can communicate directly to Menteri Besar regarding the performance of party's representative in government of coalition led by PAS. At the same time, MPP places itself

in the party. And I finally joined 'Justice' Party, which fits to my spirit of struggle.

However, such involvement in political party organization is not always that easy. For example, a strategic position in the organizational structure, which is granted to new members may possibly trigger political jealousy and even internal conflict. Furthermore, Informant 3 explains:

Yes., this is very simple problem. I am new in this party before joining using independent ticket. And then, I involved in competition as many people give support. After winning, some are jealous, and finally, I resigned. Now, I practice the experience in the party.

More interestingly, not only the length of they have been active in organization will determine their strategic position, but also how many organizations they have joined and have become members. As stated by Informant 6:

We are from wide range of interests. Some are from NGO and socialist party, and then joined Justice Party, or from ABIM, JIM, professional, and ex UMNO. They have various interests in this party

Based on the elaboration of the aforementioned data finding, the experience in organization also determines the quality of decision making. Organizational experience in the past at least contributes two positive benefits. Firstly, the political party may economize the budget in making organization training. Secondly, the political party is benefited since various experiences and organizations may bring the rise of various alternative of decision making. All will certainly imply what Nutt's (1984, cited in Miller 2004) refer to as implementation stage.

c. Process

According to Noorderhaven (1995), the process of decision making can be conceptualized in many different ways. In order to be satisfactory, at least three more or less distinct phases should be distinguished. First of all, the decision maker should come to realize that there is an opportunity or even a necessity to take a decision, and a first approximate formulation of the problem has to be made. This is the

other words, the steps need to take into account the scope and structure of organization (such as in level of MPP, MPN and MPC).

Moreover, in Noorderhaven (1995), more detailed decision making process requires at least eight steps. They include: recognition, formulation, goal setting, generating options, evaluation options, the act of choice, implementation, and control. Or, if adopting Bales and Strodtbeck's opinion (1951 in Andrews and Herschel, 1996) those eight steps are summarized into three steps: orientation, evaluation and control. And also with reference to Robinson and Hurley's opinion (1999, Mustaffa, 2007), making decision without definite steps and results is very difficult to do. Furthermore, Informants 6 and 4 explain:

The decision is made through two steps. The first step is that official meeting MPP in Kuala Lumpur make decision, proclaimed to me, and finally I announce this in the lower level. I don't have any choice. I have to make decisions required to guard my area.

It is performed once a year. The proposal by the branch is brought to national congress once a year. But, every month, the Central Board always carries out conference, and the branch can propose to the state level any proposal (MPP). In this organizational system, we deliver our proposal to center. And finally, the formulation is made by the central board using any approach. Importantly, we have delivered our proposal.

Based on several steps of decision-making process such as proposal draft, discussing, and also proposal formulation, the decision has finally been made by Central Board. This is the reason why the stages in decision-making process and management scope / level (MPP, MPN and MPC) are very important and become the main concern. Through forum and stages, the members of political party could know whether their proposal is received or decline. If the proposal is accepted in a congress, the decision result will bind for implementation since it has passed through appropriate decision making steps or mechanisms. Informant 10 gives the following explanation:

The proposal applied by the branches in the congress, for example, our proposal has been received and entered into congress proposal. So, we are open in these concerns. We have to be responsible to implement this on the field. Since we realize that it is not that easy for a proposal to be received in a congress. We have to first deal with debate to convince other members or management

It is not surprising that they have a commitment to fight for justice and experience in democratic practice. They are accustomed to position their argumentation in any decision making. The decision will only be made upon collective agreement. Furthermore, Informant 4 explained:

Ehmm.... my idea is not always accepted. Sometimes mine is argued. Sometimes, alternative is given. And we take win-win solution. In other words, we can make decision A, but other committees of party perceive it is not suitable, then we should consider decision B or C. Perhaps, C is more extreme, who don't we choose B. It means we give and take. Finally, we arrive at the final decision; most importantly, it is clear, all is on behalf of people.

Since it is shared decision, then we should respect this, because, the process from idea to final decision will take time and long and exhausting process. This is the best choice for organization, including the decision made by MPN Kedah. MPN's decision is shared decision of all branches, as the members of MPN are the leaders of branches in Kedah. Informant 1 said:

... We take the practice. MPN comprises of members from all leaders of branches. If we enter into negotiation, agreement, then the decision made by MPN shall be deemed the decision which has been collectively negotiated

Based on the elaboration of the aforementioned data, it is obvious that the decision making steps in PKR are not easy. In other words, the organization has to clearly perform SOP (Standard Operating Procedure). Principally, the steps in decision making in PKR, in addition to supporting Goldhaber's view (1993) that decision making should be appropriate and accurate, also confirms Jab's opinion (2005 cited in Mustaffa, 2007) that decision making process should be correct and with the decision makers knowing the positive and negative impact. The decision-making process should also offer alternatives, rather than a single solution (Murray, 1983).

e. Policy Program Sub Dimension

According to Robbins (2002); Andersson (2008), the terminology policy or policy program refers to action plan, which becomes the focus of an institution or organization. Every organization has the experience

of executing its programs as the manifestation of its existence. Since a political party is a mass-based organization, any activity program must be oriented for people's interest. Hopefully, the more activity programs the people can benefit from, the greater they will be attracted to choose the party. This is just a policy chosen by PKR Kedah in the effort of closing PKR to the people.

Through various pro-people policy programs, PKR tries to establish good image before the public. Furthermore Informant 1 gives the following explanation:

For example, the Skim "Kafalah" program, the donation is distributed to the poor in amount of RM 500, if any one of their families is dead. The poor are not only from Malay but all groups. Although, the fact shows that only 70% of Kedah People are Malay of total population in this country, 1.92 million people. Justice for all is a system which is built based on kinship system.

The same opinion is also expressed Informant 7:

This social activity is carried out through regional programs. Such as in Kedah, we have authority to govern. If our government has program for the state lead by the Prime Minister and in the lower level, there are executive councilor. In this level, the programs are used as the stage to deliver the declaration.

However, in addition to organizational policy programs, some special programs are also held by each individual of ADUN members or parliament members. The main purpose is not organizational representation, but one of the method to get close to their constituents. The special programs may include financial support for village activities, for the sick or school financial aid for children in need. Furthermore Informants 4 and 1 said:

Yeah.... There are programs as party's policy in organization but there are also individual programs. For example, in Kedah, the financial support for the poor, in Selangor, scholarship for those who intend to continue their study but they are poor. The individual programs depend on the parliament or ADUN members, whether or not they want to help..

Personally, we don't give a lot of support. The most important for me is any concern for them in difficulty. For example, when one of

the member's children is sick, when their children need school fee, or when there are small-scaled social programs, we can assist them

Within the last 10 years, PKR has been able to carefully choose pro-people policy programs. In return, the party can measure the level of people's trust through their support during the implementation of the party's programs. The greater their participation to the party's programs is, it is expected that they have greater trust to PKR.

Based on the elaboration of the aforesaid data finding, the experience factor with its five sub dimensions is a very determining factor in decision making process. In line with Bales and Strodtbeck's view (1951 cited in Andrews & Herschel, 1996), Noorderhaven (1995) Golhaber's view (1997) and the result of research findings, it is more obvious that the success of decision making is determined by one's maturity in the involvement in an organization. The measured steps, activity process and selected policy programs confirm that the decision making shall not carelessly be carried out. At the same time, prior to making a decision in any level, there should be several alternatives in order to prevent from being trapped in monolithic decision making (Jab, 2005 cited in Mustaffa, 2007).

From the perspective of their involvement and conception in decision-making process, it is obviously clear that the experience of each organizational committee is nothing but very important. They have proven their capacity and capability in responding any difference in decision making process. In any level, the difference should be accepted as the way to find the best decision for the interest of organization.

The experience of each informant shows different variations. But, they have similarity concerning each conception which will be explored (the referential aspect). They argue that their experience is the determining factor in decision making process.

The longer they are active in the organization, the more adequate experience they have in providing the basis of thought in decision making process. This fact is greatly important as any political organization will always have different steps and level in the commission. It implies that if the committee in every level is perceived to have minimum capability, this will bring impact on the quality of decision- making.

Such quality is closely related to the type and policy program taken (the structural aspect). Each has different emphasis. In the level of MPP for example, it is clear that the decision making is higher if compared with MPN. MPN merely views in the regional level; meanwhile MPP takes into consideration for the interest of branch and regional. For example, Kafalah is the program which provides financial support to the poor whose one of the family members is dead. In this case, all poor are treated similarly, whether they are from India, Chinese Malay, or Thailand.

In particular, the decision making process on who is proposed as candidate of executive councilor (PKR-Kedah) also takes many aspects into consideration. In this matter of case, it is obviously clear there is connection between the personal quality (relative-subjective) and organization (objective). Final decision made shall pass many steps in the environment of internal organization.

2. Dimension Dominant Authority

In Zalabak (2009), Goldhaber (1993) and Frost (1987), the term dominant authority refers to one's ability in influencing other parties. At the same time, Robbins (1988) argues, the type of authority comprises of coercive power, reward power, legitimate power, expert power and referent power. Not every individual could have all of five. In personal capacity, one of them must be more dominant. In his opinion, there are four requirements for the authority receivable and operable. Firstly, the organizational members should understand the ongoing communication process. Secondly, when decision making is generated, there should be no decision that is in contrast with the organization's goals. Thirdly, when the leader makes a decision, it should comply with the ethics and moral standards. And finally, the members should be able to adapt with the existing condition. Informant 2 said:

It is important for us to have dominant leader. As an association which brings influence and attracting the mass, we need a dominant leader. Thus, in Justice Party, it is clear that Anwar Ibrahim, currently assigned as General Chairman of People's Justice Party of Malaysia' .

Informant 1 said:

Allah has planted such abilities in him. And we recognize his ability in the field of science, directly or recitation on the items commonly acceptable in the society. The experiences have made him capable of giving the rise of deep insight.

In terms of PKR, the dominant authority sub dimension is clearly practiced by Anwar Ibrahim. However, since the political party is a modern organization, the organizational governance should consider two main aspects: implementation of organizational regulation and pluralism aspect. The regulation implementation emphasizes on organizational rules which should be followed by all organizational components, both members and management. The pluralism aspect emphasizes that PKR is an organization for all groups/communities. Therefore, PKR should be able to accommodate and fight for shared interest, rather than one or two groups. Figure 6.3 below describes how the dominant authority is determined by two factors: regulation and pluralism aspect.

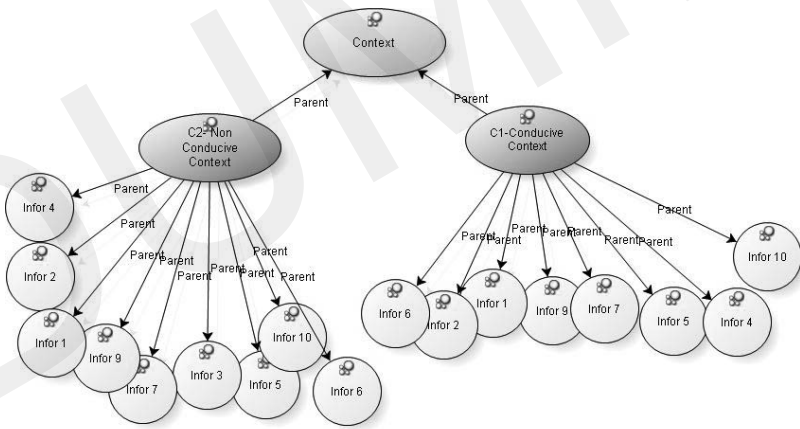


Figure 6.3 Dominant Authority Dimension and regulation and pluralism sub dimension as Supporting in PKR

Essentially, there are two implications related to this dimension. The first is institutional empowerment and the second is organizational attenuation. All informants recognize that dominant authority is irrevocably required by PKR as a newly-established political party.

When the functions of organizational structure have not arrived at stable performance, decision making under dominant authority may still be tolerable. This is due to the fact that this figure has a considerable ability and experience.

a. Regulation Sub Dimension

Zalabak (2009), Andrews and Herschel (1996) suggest that regulation refers to rules to apply in certain organization. There is almost no organization in this world, which is unbound by the ruling system (Conrad & Poole, 2002) or standardized control system (Lawler, 1976 in Paul and Ebady). The company is bound by corporate rule, organization by organizational rule and political party by statute and articles of association of the concerned political party. Furthermore Informant 4 said :

the People's Justice Party has organizational structure in accordance with the organizational rules. After the discussion, all should be referred to the rule. We also follow the rule which has been outlined by the regulation as guideline.

Another similar confession is also expressed by Informant 7 and Informant 6 :

We have to follow the regulation. Each party or organization should be discipline. If no, other problems will occur.

It is clear, regulation is important for the party to be operable. It is due to the fact that each of us has different way of thinking. The interpretation is also different, and so is understanding. Therefore, the regulation made by MPP should be documented.

In addition to the fact that regulation is an important factor, every decision made should take into account each scope. Informant 5 said :

If the decision has been made, it should be conducted and discussed in the following conference. It shall be endorsed and approved by the Central Board. For example, Central Board has thirty members, and so does State Board, and so and thus the decision shall be made by 30 members of MPC or MPN. The decision will serve as regulation which binds MPC or MPN.

...If the decision has been made in the conference, then no party may deny or reject. Yes, the decision made in the conference binds all parties.

It is obvious that new organization will need a symbol to attract the mass. And this can only be done by someone with great extent of influence and a dominant character. However, such leader's character can not guarantee its sustainability in a modern political organization, slowly replaced in order that the system and functions of organizational structure are operable. In addition to the advantages, the existence of dominant leader has also disadvantages. The disadvantages include inadequate control and tendency that every decision made is true. This is due to the fact that the dominant leader is very confident and there is no other power to control. As further explained by Informant 4:

There must be disadvantages. Mahatthir is too dominant in UMNO party. What is wrong with the dominancy. First, he is over-confident, and perceives that every decision he made is true. He is too dominant, not only in the party but also in the government. Dominant in the party and royal. Mahattir is the best example such as Pak Harto and Marcos. They were very dominant. Due to dominancy, he is also adjudicative to the minister, president and the party as well. For this country, this is very big problem.

The same confession is also expressed by informant 8 included into the members of PKR: "If the leader influences a lot to me, then I don't like it. However, I accept positive influence."

It means they agree that the dominant leader must have great influence. The degree of influence must have an impact on decision-making process in an organization. For example, who will be proposed as Exco as representative of PKR in the government of Kedah. When Arrumugam was elected in General Election (PRU) 12, he acted as representative of PKR as Executive Councilor of Kedah for one year.

As the time changed, he was requested to resign the position and re-election was carried out, so that another candidate, Manikumar, can be an Executive Councilor to replace him. The decision to resign was due to the fact that Arrumugam has different perspective, that for the interest of future PKR organization, it was favorable for him to be actively involved in MPN Kedah and the Executive Councilor duty was given to Manikumar.

Another stimulus, as Arrumugam confesses, is also the conception of appreciation towards the PKR figure, Anwar Ibrahim, who was encouraged to put-down the position. He says:

In PKR, there is only one General Chairman, Dato' Seri Anwar Ibrahim, who is very assertive and strong although many people don't like him. In making decision, he always considers the political growth. I think this person is truthful. Of course, you can't satisfy anybody. No problem.

Here, we can clearly see that the role of dominant authority is highly required in managing political organization, particularly, when the organization has to face strategic options which require immediate action in decision making process.

However, such reality should not be maintained any longer. The modern organization should base every activity or implementation of organizational programs on the obvious rule (Conrad & Poole, 2002; Lawler, (1976, cited in Paul & Ebady, 1989), unless the organization will be trapped by myths of dominant leader, eventually bringing about difficulty in leadership succession. In return to this, the organization turns to be stagnant and non-dynamic. Or, as suggested by Paul and Ebady (1989), the members' participation in organization is decreased and emerge apathy.

b. Pluralism Sub Dimension

Pluralism is a concept adopted from sociological discipline. As reported by Kluckhohn and Stodbeck (1961 cited in Mohan, 1993), Subervi-Velez (1986), this concept has something to do with cultural, ethnical, religious, language, or even ideological diversity. As adopted as terminology of organization suggested by Kerr (1963), pluralism in organization refers to thought or ideological diversity in organization. Organization is an association through which various interests are met. In Cox's opinion (1991), positively, diversity brings substantial benefits such as better decision making, greater creativity and innovation.

In PKR context, plurality or diversity is an organizational strength. Therefore, since this political party was first established, it claims itself as multi-racial party which keeps on fighting for justice for people of Malaysia. Informant 4 said :

The People Justice Party was established in April 1999 as the continuation of reformation taking place in 1998. Since it was first realized, this party has been bringing justice mission for all. Therefore, this party is also well known as multiracial party. For example, religious issues, Islam, official religion in Malaysia. And we trust this, as justice for all should be supported by Malay, Chinese, India and Iban. Another example is language issue; we agree that Malay language is official language of Malaysia. But we have to encourage the use of English and other languages. It really doesn't matter. Chinese also agree to use Malay Language as uniting language.

However, it is important for the leaders to anticipate the complicated consolidation process in organization. Those who become the member of PKR are ones that used to be active in UMNO, MIC and others. As the result, the culture or habit in their previous organizations still exists. Furthermore, informants 7 and 8 say:

The members of PKR were previously the members of Barisan Nasional, the people of UMNO, MIC and others, and then they joined PKR. PKR is multiracial party. Although some effort has been launched to make discipline, the culture of former party is frequently brought into PKR.

Not only is the group of Malay as majority, but also is non-Malay. We join Justice Party since it accommodates younger's aspiration. They are provided with the equal opportunity to fight for justice for people. I am interested in joining Justice Party since it comprises of many groups. Malay, Chinese, Indian. This is not based on certain group.

Kedah as a multi-ethnics state should take the fact into account. Malay, Chinese, India, and Thai are some big ethnics that should receive equal treatment by the ruling party. Although they came from different origin, history and ideology, in fact, in the time being, they are Malaysian domiciling in Kedah.

Political party as an organization, when entering into governmental structure, both in state and federal level, shall prioritize not only group interest, but also all people with varied background. As explained by Informant 1 as follow:

We don't make the poor skillful. We should develop the poor, and fight for them. Especially for the poor who dies, no matter who

process. Each level of decision making (MPP, MPN, MPC, and MPK) has a distinctive context. This fact is a result of, among others, different responsibilities and authorities owned by each level.

According to party regulations, the decision-making pattern performed by PKR is hierarchical, established based on regional responsibility or each authority figure.

Table 6.2 The Hierarchy of Decision Making of Party

Level	Working area	Forum	The Nature and Formulation of Decision Making
MPP	Federal	Congress, MPP Meeting	Party Policy, binding all party members
MPN	State/Region	State Representative Council	State Decision and binding all branches in the state
MPC	Branch	Regional Representative	Branch decision and binding all regions and village in the respective branch
MPK	Village	Village Representative	Village decision and binding all party members in the village.

Principally, every MPN has the same organizational line. However, every state is also provided with freedom to show its pro-policy program in accordance with the characteristic of each region. The decision aimed to formulate primary program of every state is determined in the level of State Representative Council. One of the states governed by PKR is Selangor, with specific program added to senior citizen of RM 2500 when the event of death occurs. Another state may take the example or not, since all will mainly depend on the financial ability of each state. Moreover, the youth of Selangor who intends to continue to university has opportunity to obtain scholarship of RM 1000 in cash. Similarly, free clean water program is also applied in Selangor. It indicates that Selangor only serves as an example, in which when PKR governs in this state, several pro-people activity programs were introduced.

The policy which was previously formulated in internal party may then be adopted into the policy which can influence the government since PKR has been the ruling party in the state. In several states, where PKR's position is unfavorable and acts only as oppositional party, the

C. Decision Making Process in Indonesian Democratic Party of Struggle (PDIP)

Decision making in Indonesian Democratic Party of Struggle (PDIP) as a political organization is just like the breath of life. At least there are two operational areas in which decision-making exists. The first is decision making of internal party which is aimed for internal interest of organization, organizational consolidation, and organizational administration discipline. The second is decision making of external party whose interest scope covers the inter-institutional relationship out of party, including inter-political organization and state institution.

In the frame of this study, the discussion will be oriented more on the internal interest of organization. Although in some instances, this is also connected with the external-dimensional decision making. The case under investigation is how the Indonesian Democratic Party of Struggle, in organizational and institutional perspective, performs the decision-making process in appointing Sutjipto the candidate of Governor of East Java Province (2009-2014).

The researcher at the same time took part in the nomination process of Sutjipto far prior to recommendation issuance by National Executive Board of Indonesian Democratic Party of Struggle (DPP PDIP) dated January 26, 2008. When the registration period was opened, there were three names registered: Sutjipto, Soekarwo, and Zainal. As it developed, the third registrant resigned, such that there were only two registrants left: Sutjipto and Soekarwo. Like in PKR, decision-making process in PDIP also be determined by three factors; experience, dominant authority and context.

Based on a thematic analysis, the finding suggests that the decision making in PDIP not only comprises of context and experience dimensions but also the important dimension of dominant authority of an organization's leader (Rowe & Boulgarides, 1983). Each aforesaid dimension is supported by different sub-dimensions. Experience dimension comprises of duration, process, decision-making type, steps and policy program. The context dimension, on the other hand, is supported by two sub dimensions; they are conducive, and non conducive. The dominant authority comprises the aspect of pluralism and the sub dimension of regulation. Figure 6.3 illustrates the

b. Duration Sub Dimension

In Goldhaber (1993), the term duration essentially refers to certain period during which one involves in certain activity or organization. Long and short involvement in organizational activity becomes the parameter of level of concentration contributed. The longer the individual is involved, he/she is assumed to have good understanding on the organization.

Every individual has had different experiences when they first joined the organization. Therefore, the decision-making quality is frequently correlated with their involvement in previous organizations.

In PDIP context, this sub dimension is not too significant. It means there is a limited number of people who had been involved in previous political organizations prior to their PDIP membership. In fact, most of them are cadres who have historical ties to PDIP's root or have associations with PDIP's members. Moreover under careful scrutiny, the loyalist members of the party symbolized by the Bull Head are mostly admirers of Bung Karno, the First President of Indonesia (1945–1966). Informant 17 explains:

My parent was the member of PNI, he was Soekarno admirer. And then he was active in PDI (once) before turning into Indonesian Democratic Party of Struggle (PDI Perjuangan). My father joined and was appointed in PAC. Since 1998, I had also been the member of common party.

Therefore, when conflict occurs in the DPP level, PDIP's members prefer to take the side of those among them in conflict with consanguinity with Bung Karno. Moreover, informant 16 said:

I am just very lucky as I was very active in organization since I was a student. It helped me train my way of thinking. Now, I am getting used to arguing in internal party or DPRD hearing forums for any decision making process. I don't feel awkward or underestimated if they don't agree with my argumentation. That's all.

Consciously or not, the historical aspect of PDIP's members determines their loyalty in involving in party's activities in all levels. Moreover, as explained by Informant 13:

If measured in based on length of service, I have actually been active in PDI or PDIP since 1979s. Although the civil servant was not allowed to be a member of political party, I disobeyed it. Therefore, when I was retired 3 years ago, I was not new member. My past experience was considered by the Chairman of DPC to elect me one of the DPC chairperson in Nganjuk .

Based on the elaboration of the aforesaid data finding, the sub dimension of duration actually has an important role in supporting decision-making process in organization. The experience presented by the informant becomes empirical evidence that personal maturity before joining organization gives positive contribution to the quality of decision made.

Another fact supporting Goldhaber's argumentation (1993) regarding decision-making is that the loyalty of members to their organization is also determined by historical relation context. This empirical evidence of course argues the position that loyalty may be created through good organizational structure and adequate formal and informal socialization process (Miller, 2004).

c. Process Sub Dimension

According to Noorderhaven (1995), the process of decision making can be conceptualized in many different ways. In order to be satisfactory, at least three more or less distinct phases should be distinguished. First of all, the decision maker should come to realize that there is an opportunity or even a necessity to take a decision, and a first approximate formulation of the problem has to be made. This is the 'awareness' phase. Secondly, the decision maker has to consider what it is that he wants to achieve, and compare and evaluate possible option. This is the 'analysis' phase. Thirdly, true to what was stated above, the act of choice should be considered explicitly, as well as the implementation of the decision and the control of the implementation process. This final phase is that of 'action'.

In Goldhaber (1993)'s view, process refers to activity of exchanging idea and message taking place in specific forum. Miller (2004) calls this an activity during assimilation. In Jablin's opinion, the term refers to "those ongoing behavioral and cognitive processes by which individual join, become integrated into, and exit organizations" (Jablin & Krone,

This finding becomes concrete evidence that in decision making process, grass root based political organization is different from profit-oriented business organization.

d. Steps Sub Dimension

Panova (2008) suggests that every decision making step should take into account the decision making model to apply. It divides four decision making models: collegial, politic, hierarchy and anarchy. However, every model has different emphasis in decision-making step. Indeed, if applied in political party, to Murray (1983), it will be more complicated. This is due to the fact that the decision-making steps in political party should pay attention to the complexity of organization, diversity of level, members of party, and elected representatives in parliament.

In Dewey's opinion (Littlejohn, 2005), every decision making should be carried out based on obvious and appropriate steps. Moreover, Nutt (1984, cited in Miller, 2004) has clearly formulated five stages or steps before making decision: formulation, concepts development, detailing, evaluation and implementation. In other words, the steps need to take into account the scope and structure of organization (such as in level of DPP, DPD and DPC). Also important to note includes time of implementation; in monthly (monthly meeting) or annually (such as congress), since, with reference to Robinson and Hurley's opinion (1999, cited in Mustafa, 2007), making decision without definite steps and results is very difficult to do.

In PDIP context, the decision making stages should be clear and concrete, from village, district (PAC), regency/city (DPC), province (DPD) and national (DPP). The proposal begins from the lowest level, and continues to DPD or even DPP, all depending on the theme or issues being main focus of decision making. Furthermore, informants 14 and 15 said:

It was PAC and village committee. In the newest rule, such as the election of Regent/Mayor, it is necessary to first obtain the vote from PAC and the leader, secretary and treasury of village level. In the party, the members have independence in submitting their proposal. After their proposal is obtained, it continues with filtering to obtain the most voters for the proposal. Finally, it is decided to the following level.

First of all, DPC carries out the conference concerning the violation, and reports this to DPP, and we implement the decision. All will depend on the problems to be reported to DPD or DPP.

Based on the finding, PDIP tries as maximum as possible to perform its organizational activities as per pre-determined expectation or rule of game. In principle, the decision making stage refers to process mechanism which is carried out by every organization with reference to each SOP (standard operating procedure).

DPD PDIP East Java, when executing decision making process in nominating the prospective candidate of Governor of East Java, always carefully considers all stages. As stated in Nutt's position (1984) regarding five decision making stages or in Robbins' (2002) concerning six decision making stages, In PDIP context, all have been applied.

e. Policy Program Sub Dimension

According to Robbins (2002); Andersson (2008), the terminology policy or policy program refers to action plan which becomes the focus of institution or organization. Lester and Stewart (2000) define policy program as process or a series of decisions or activities which are designed to cope with problems in organization. Every organization has experience in executing the programs as manifestation of its existence. Since political parties are mass-based organizations, the policy program should be adjusted with members' interest. As depicted by Informants 13 and 14 as follow:

Before governor election, we organized a shadow play (*wayang kulit*) show. To us, it is one of media to gather mass and introduce our candidate of governor to anybody watching the show. I did not know whether it was effective or not. It was aimed that Pak Tjip was known and was elected during Election Day.

We adjusted the program with the condition and need of branch. In cooperation with the department of Women's Affairs, we have carried out activities on women's economic empowerment.

DPD PDIP East Java is very creative in creating party's activity programs. Not all activities are oriented on political interest, but to help low-class society. However, since PDIP is a political party, any

To me, dominant leader is incorrect. If there is such leader, I will include him/her as a dictatorial leader. We should not choose such a person to be the leader. We send letter to DPP, and DPP will decide on it.

I cannot accept such a leader. Not because I dislike him/her. But, as we are human, such natural behavior emerges spontaneously. But if so, we should not hate the person.

Therefore, in reducing relationship disharmony between leader and members, it is important for an organization to generate regulation as shared guideline. Moreover, from a historical perspective, those joining this party have different background. The pluralism aspect should be taken into consideration in order that, when decision is made, the variety of members' interests may be accommodated.

Although PDIP has been established for 15 years, but it still consists of leadership complications. Almost in all levels, the leaders of this party are public figures. They are chosen to be the symbol of the party. This obviously indicates that organization system of the party has not reach optimum performance. Although, some people dislike it, but in fact PDIP still have to challenge this issue.

a. Regulation Sub Dimension

Goldhaber (1993) suggests that regulation refers to rules to apply in certain organization. There is almost no organization in this world, which is unbound by the ruling system (Conrad and Poole, 2002) or standardized control system (Lawler, 1976 in Paul and Ebady). The company is bound by corporate rule, organization by organizational rule and political party by statute and articles of association of the concerned political party.

In other words, although they don't like to personally, but when Congress is conducted the chosen one is a member Soekarno's family. But, the most important thing of all, it is determined through institution. Regulation is made to be followed. Furthermore Informant 14 said :

If all are implemented, then all PACs will run well. If Article of Associations is violated then they will be imposed with sanction. This has also been implemented.

We make decision through Special Regional Working Meeting (Rakerdasus). We send two names to DPP. Indeed, DPP chose Pak Tjip. When he got lost, we have to accept the fact. We should also evaluate if we, in the internal party, have given maximum contribution or not. We argue there are various interests in political party. Of course, all interests could not be accommodated. However, if decision has been made, all party's elements should give their maximum support.

Indonesian Democratic Party of Struggle's failure in winning governor election should be considered the basis of evaluation in decision making for Local Election in East Java. Moreover, in 2010, 18 local elections have been carried out, and Indonesian Democratic Party of Struggle has targeted to win 14 Local Elections. Unfortunately, the number of the candidates of Indonesian Democratic Party of Struggle could only win in 10 regencies/municipalities. For more detail, see the following table:

Table 6.5 The Result of Local Election in East Java 2010

No.	Regency/Municipality	PDIP Candidate	Result
1.	Kediri Regency	dr. Hj. Hariyanti Sutrisno-Drs. H. Masykuri, MM (HARMAS) PDIP, PPP,PKNU,Golkar, Hanura	Win
2.	Surabaya Municipality	Tri Rismaharini-Bambang DH (PDIP)	Win
3.	Trenggalek Regency	Dr. Ir. Mulyadi WR, MMT - Kholiq, SH, M.Si (MK) PDIP, PKB,PPP	Win
4.	Ngawi Regency	Ir. H. Budi Sulistyono - Ony Anwar Harsono (OK) PDI Perjuangan , Golkar, PKS, PAN	Win
5.	Jember Regency	PDIP	Win
6.	Banyuwangi Regency	Azhar Anas, M.Si- Yusuf Widyatmoko, S.Sos (DAHSYAT) PDI Perjuangan , PKB, PKS, PKNU, dan Golkar	Win
7.	Nganjuk Regency	Taufiqurrahman PDIP	Win
8.	Lamongan Regency	Ir. Suhandoyo S – Dra. Hj. Kartika Hidayati, MM (SEHATI) PDI-P	Lost

No.	Regency/Municipality	PDIP Candidate	Result
9.	Blitar Municipality	M. Samanhudi Anwar, SH, MM - Purnawan Buchori (Sampurna) PDIP Perjuangan , PKB, Gerindra, PNBK, PNIM, PDS, PKPI, PPI, Kedaulatan, Barnas, Buruh, PPD	Win
10.	Situbondo Regency	H. Hadarianto, MM-Ir. H. Basunondo (RIDO) PDIP Perjuangan , Gerindra, PKPB, PPRN, PPD, PDP	Lost
11.	Gresik Regency	H. Bambang Suhartono- H. Abdullah Qonik (BANI) PDIP Perjuangan , Gerindra, Hanura, Buruh	Lost
12.	Ponorogo Regency	H. Muhadi Suyono, SH., M.Si - Yusuf Pribadi, SH., MM (HAYU) PDIP. PKB, Hanura	Lost
13.	Sumenep Regency	PDIP (Abuyo Busro Karim-Sungkono Sidik)	Win
14.	Pasuruan Municipality	H. Pudjo Basuki- H. Muhamad Sulaiman Nur (Mas Pudjo&Gus Muh) PDIP P	Lost
15.	Mojokerto Regency	Drs. H. Suwandi, MM - H. Wahyudi Iswanto, SE., SH (WASIS) PDIP Perjuangan , Golkar, Demokrat	Lost
16.	Malang Regency	M. Geng Wahyudi, SH, M.Hum- Drs. H. Abdul Rahman (NGALAM) PDIP, PKB	Lost
17.	Sidoarjo Regency	Bambang Prasetyo Widodo - Khoirul Huda, S.Ag, M.Ag (Setia Huda) PDIP, Golkar, PKNU	Lost
18.	Pacitan Regency	PDIP (Azis Ahmadi-Mardiyanto)	Lost

The dilemma emerging in the Indonesian Democratic Party of Struggle actually originated from historical reality where the basis of the support in this party comes from nationalist society, who perceives to be marginalized and did not obtain any access for the power during the New Order. As a result, when the opportunities bring to rise, this party always fails to make use of the valuable moments.

Based on the elaboration of the aforesaid data, PDIP has not been able to optimally manage the pluralism sub dimension, especially the pluralism of interest. The fact in the field proves that although PDIP has made the decision to propose only one candidate of governor in

Regional Election (Pilkada), in reality, this candidate fails to obtain maximum support. In other words, the party fails to mobilize power in supporting the organizational objectives.

Such empirical reality supports the argumentation by Lapalombara and Myron (1966) stating that the objective of Political Party establishment is not easy to reach. This argumentation is supported by McKelvey (1982) that in realizing the organizational objective, it is required to consolidate organizational elements and perception harmony among the supporting elements. In the PDIP context, several failures in the regional (governor, regent/major) election competition, especially in East Java, may become evaluation material that this party has not optimally performed the organizational consolidation duties.

3. Context Dimension

According to Jablin (1987) context is the framework that embeds behavioral and structural aspects of organization. Quoting the term used by Blau and Schoenherr (1971, cited in Al-Omari, 2007) Context is condition which influences the organizational structure. Moreover, O'reilly, Chatman and Anderson (1987) suggest that the context is strongly correlated with not only organizational structure, but incentive system, group pressure as well.

Therefore, every decision making in the organization should carefully take into account two concerns: conducive and non-conductive aspects. Each factor has two sub factors: internal and external. Every sub factor has each emphasis as point of view.

The term "in PDIP context" is that all decisions made should take into account the supporting (conductive) and disadvantageous (non-conductive) aspects. In other words, the organization should early prepare any implication and consequence emerging from the decision made. Figure 6 below illustrates a clear description that the contextual dimension is determined by two sub dimensions, conducive and non conducive aspects.

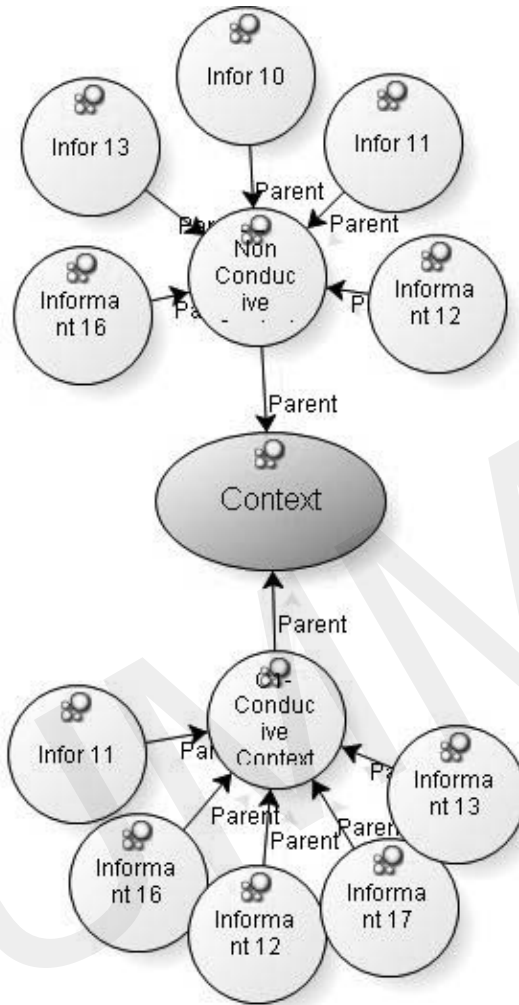


Figure 6.8 The contextual dimension and conducive and non conducive sub dimension of PDIP

a. Conducive Sub Dimension

The organizational context plays an important role in implementing a policy or a decision-making process in an organization (Blau and Schoenherr, 1971, cited in Al-Omari, 2007). However, that is not enough. The success and failure in implementing the decision are, at the same time, highly determined by two factors: conducive and non

conducive. Tierney (1999), Meinen-Dick and Raju (2002) report that the conducive factor takes place if the members of organization accept the change and response with a little resistance.

PDI-P is fully aware that as big political organization with relatively extended networks of organizational structure, decision making process is something complicated to carry on. Stakeholder in this case refers to party member who shall have involvement in order that the decision made is not perceived as elite-oriented one. Principally, the absorption of organizational aspiration should, therefore, be conducted both face to face (in meeting or certain conference) and through the media. The problem is that, after 17 years since its establishment, PDI-P do not have a print media. It does, however, have a website, which serves as a communication tool with its constituents.

In dealing with thus limitation, in 2006, Regional Representative Council of Indonesian Democratic Party of Struggle of East Java (DPD PDIP Jawa Timur) launched party website as accommodating instrument of grass-root's aspiration. As Informant 12 says:

Perhaps, the most crucial challenge for Indonesian Democratic Party of Struggle is failure to have media. No matter who/what we are, we will get difficulty about that. That means we don't need to show any perspectives or success we achieve, that is the point. However, we have, at least, begun with website.

Informant 17 added:

Frankly speaking, so far, we have difficulty in accessing information. However, with the presence of DPD's website, we, particularly those living in the region, could rapidly know the progression and result of meeting decision. Perhaps, this is the benefit of website. We can obtain any information, including Pak Tjip nomination as candidate of governor from there. This is obviously very beneficial for us. It will be very different if I just read newspaper such as *Jawa Pos* or *Surya*; I rarely read the news talking about PDIP.

But, that is not enough. There is still necessity to find another elegant and cost-effective alternative which can create direct interaction. In addition to formal meetings, the socialization of mission and vision proposed by candidate of Governor may also be performed by means of traditional medium, in this case through *wayang kulit* (puppet show) performance. As Informant 13 illustrates:

Actually, we make strong emphasis on Pak Tjip in grass-root, but people have different thought. What is the priority for people in PDI-P is Pak Karwo. Moreover, we also organize *wayang kulit* performance led by Pak Manteb. Many people come, but I find they come for Pak Karwo. In organizational perspective, they have tendency to Pak Tjip, but actually, they prefer Pak Karwo.

The traditional communication media is utilized by PDIP, since the majority members of party live in rural regions. By combining two communication media; modern and traditional, it is expected that the decision made by the party could rapidly and correctly be distributed to the members.

Another conducive aspect in PDIP is organizational network. If compared with other newly-established parties, such as Hanura, PDS, Gerindra, PPP, PAN, PKNU, etc, the network coverage owned by PDIP in East Java is very broad. As admitted by Informant 16:

We are in a party with a lot of members and spreading across regency / city. That is what we have. Therefore, when we declare SR, we are optimistic to get support. In fact, we fail to win, or perhaps God has another plan.

Based on the elaboration of the aforesaid data, the conducive sub dimension as organizational strength has not really used in maximum manner. The utilization of both media: modern (website) and traditional as media in distributing organizational decisions has been on the track. However, the party has not been able to combine with the strength of membership network. Provided that the three strengths are synergized, in Huber and Daft's opinion (1987), the environment may significantly be effected.

The implication of the multi-strength synergy must have impact on the increased number of voters of SR couple nominated by PDIP. Sutjipto (S), a candidate of governor, is a PDIP politician having supporters based in western area of East Java Province. Meanwhile, Ridwan Hisyam (R) is the former of Chairman of Golkar Party, with supporters base in Islamic boarding school area and East Region. However, the political reality has another fact. Such potential of individual's good strength has not optimally been called up. In return to this, there is a small number of SR supporters, and they failed in the gubernatorial election in 2008.

b. Non Conducive Sub Dimension

The organization context plays important role in implementing policy or decision making in organization (Blau & Schoenherr (1971) cited in Al-Omari, 2007). In addition to the conducive aspect, the success in decision making will be nothing but a failure, if the non-conducive aspect is dominant. According to Kazanjian and Drazin (1987), the non-conducive aspect may be sourced from non-innovative bureaucracy or internal organization.

In a decision-making process, such non-conducive factor should carefully be taken into account, particularly, when the decision has been made, but the organization does not have media to distribute the meeting decisions (regular meeting), Special Regional Working Meeting (Rakerdasus), Regional Conference (Musda) or even Congress' decisions. Until the time being, PDIP does not have a professionally managed information media.

Although political party elites argue that media serves as an important communication facility, they are aware that professionally and independently managing the media is difficult to carry out. Alternatively, it is preferably for them to submit the news release of party activity to public media with all consequences adhered thereto. However, political party is constantly required to creatively make innovation in this information technology era. In dealing with this limitation, in 2006, Regional Representative Council of Indonesian Democratic Party of Struggle of East Java launched party website as accommodating instrument of grass-root's aspiration. As Informant 12 said:

Perhaps, the most crucial challenge for Indonesian Democratic Party of Struggle is failure to have media. No matter who/what we are, we will get difficulty about that. That means we don't need to show any perspectives or success we achieve, that is the point. However, we have, at least, begun with website.

This is the fact that the penetration of internet user in Indonesia only reaches 12,5%, if compared with Malaysia reaching to the level of 65,7%, of total population, such that website has not been able to serve as effective instrument to absorb people's aspiration. In whatever way, it does not indicate PDI-P does not utilize the innovation of such information technology. When it was about the event of Gubernatorial

Election of East Java in 2008, official website of PDI-P of East Java has provided space for a couple of proposed candidates to socialize via online media owned by the party. But, that is not enough. There is still a necessity to find another elegant and cost-effective alternative, which can create direct interaction.

That DPP possesses determining authority shall not be defined that DPP is authoritarian, but it is the mechanism of decision making in this party. Above all, this will mainly rely on whether the vote garnered by PDI-P in certain region is more than 15% or less. Based on Laws No. 31/2004, if a party has 15% or more seats in Provincial or Regional/City Representative Council, it is entitled the right to nominate. But, if less than 15%, the party should make a coalition and shall be required to obtain recommendation letter from DPP. As suggested by Informant 12:

The first is for Local Election. For Pilkada (Local Election), the proposed candidate shall obtain prior recommendation from National Executive Board (DPP) of PDI-P. There are a couple of concerns for us, as supporting party, to take into account. When we make proposal of certain candidate, another party may help, acting as supporting party or proposed by another party and PDIP acts as the supporter. Based on the percentage, PDIP gains certain amount of voters, in which, pursuant to applicable laws, it can propose by itself, we can propose more candidates. At least there are 15% seats. In such case, as the proposer in particular, it shall obtain prior recommendation from National Executive Board (DPP). In head of regency or major election, PDIP is not given the requirement of 15% and shall join another party or act as proposing party, which is not required to get recommendation. It means, it is the DPC to determine without any recommendation. On the other hand, the region with voting achievement is required to obtain recommendation letter.

Informant 16 added:

If PDIP is as supporting party in Local Election, it must not have authority to determine who the candidate to join the competition will be. This situation is not conducive for internal party as we only have followers. But, we understand since PDIP seat in DPRD is less than 15%.

The problem is, in practice, there is a perception that recommendation letter contains economic value. Such phenomena is quite similar to that when someone want to be the nominee of the candidate of the member of House of Representative / Regional Representative Council (DPR/ DPRD), he/she shall be obliged to transfer specific amount of money as the signal of seriousness. The amount of down payment will depend on the competed area.

In the essence, this phenomenon is hard to prove. But, the society has already trusted it as truth in spite of misperception. Informant 12 said:

We could not change the people's misperception. The only thing we can do is that if the fact is true, please report us. However, until the time being, the official report from the society regarding 'money politic' does not exist. Thus, in our opinion, perhaps, there are certain parties which intend to worsen the party's image. Indeed, this is very disadvantageous. As the result, the number of voting achievement in Local Election and Governor Election drops.

Direct Governor Election (Pilkada) 2008 is the first Gubernatorial Election, through which the people can directly have the right give their voting to the selected candidate. Based on Laws No. 32/2004, the Election of Governor/Head of Regency/Major during Old Order (1959-1966) and New Order (1966-1998) is conducted through the election in Provincial Representative Council (DPRD). It is the member of DPRD to be entitled the right to choose the candidate of Governor.

During that period, the winner was determined by total seats obtained by political party in DPRD. Since the political party of Functional Groups (Golkar) during New Order (1966-1998) always obtained dominant seats in DPRD, then the candidate of Functional Groups (Golkar) used to win the election. At last, in General Election 1999, Indonesian Democratic Party of Struggle obtained the dominant seats; however, in governor election 2003 (2003-2008), Indonesian Democratic Party of Struggle did not have confidence to exhibit its cadres as the candidate of governor. PDI-P decided to choose incumbent governor (Mayjend Imam Utomo) to be the candidate of Governor for the following period (2003-2008) and ignored its cadres.

PDI-P conceded that in striving for the people's welfare, the cadre must not have been the ruler. There are of course other alternatives. This assessment is supported with the fact that the cadres of PDI-P are not originated from elite group, but they are from common people popularly called as lower class people. Taking into account such condition of party's supporting resource, on behalf of party's image in the next election (2004 and 2009), this party prefers to choose safe zone. More rationally, it proposes a qualified candidate but not the candidate from inside the party but failed to comply with the standard of quality.

The empirical experience of gubernatorial election of Central Java is interesting example. In province of East Java, when PDI-P gained absolute victory in Election 1999, the Leader of Regional Representative Council of Indonesian Democratic Party of Struggle of Central Java, Mardijo who was planned to appear as the candidate of the Governor of Central Java, was not chosen by the Fraction of PDI-P in Provincial Representative Council of Central Java. Similarly, in Election 2004, when Indonesian Democratic Party of Struggle was still dominated, the Leader of PDI-P, H. Murdoko, SH., was not prioritized as the candidate of Governor, but National Executive Board of PDI-P appointed Ali Mufitz and Murdoko was positioned as the associating candidate (*Suara Merdeka*, February 12, 2008), although, at last, PDI-P officially nominated Bibit Waluyo-Rustriningsih and won the governor election of East Java in June 2008.

PDIP realized that as the 'poor people' party, the human resource quality is very poor. In return to this, dilemma frequently occurs in PDIP. On the other hand, we reserve the right to nominate the governor, but in reality, PDIP does not have any qualified human resource. Consequently, this party frequently nominates those from external party. Informant 16 said:

We face disadvantageous fact in the field. There are several regions in which PDIP become a winner, but since we do not have the qualified candidate, we should choose the candidate from the external party. Why does it happen? Yes... since the very beginning, we know that those who wanted to join this party were desperate and courageous persons and in generally unwell-educated".

Based on the elaboration of the aforesaid data, the non conducive sub dimension is the very determining aspect in the party. Some non-

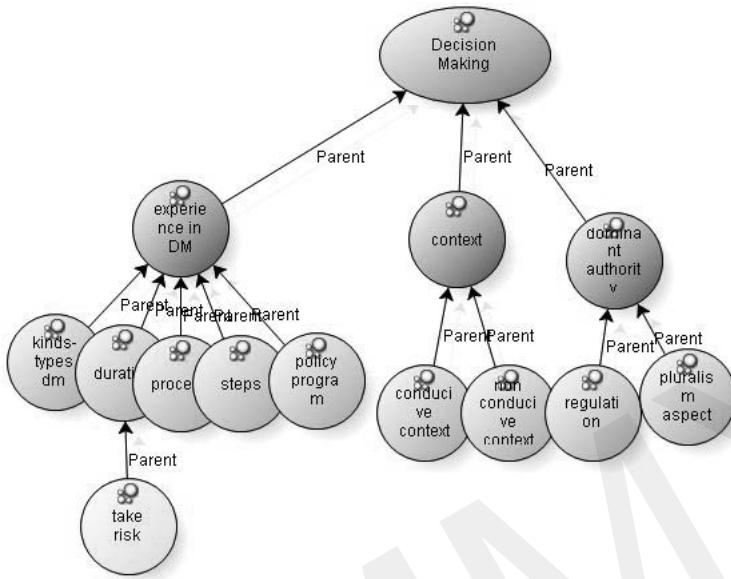


Figure 6.9 The Combination of Decision Making PKR and PDIP

The comparison of thematic analysis result on decision making in PKR and PDIP may be reviewed using the following visualization:

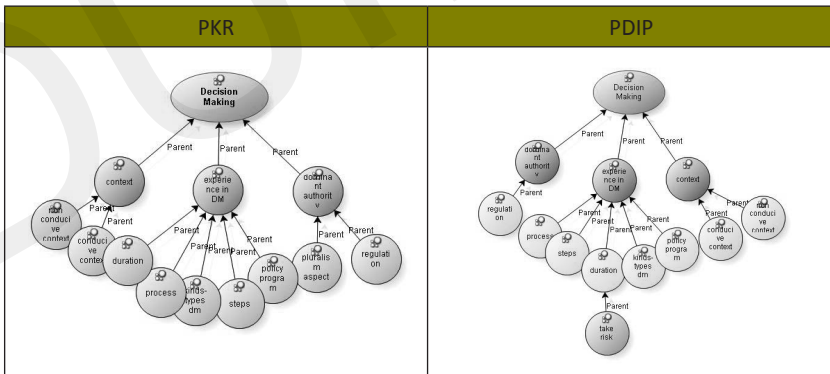


Figure 6.10 The Comparison of Decision Making of PKR and PDIP

Based on phenomenography approach, analysis stage be carried out by stressing on two aspects: the referential aspect and the structural aspect. The referential aspect which denotes the global meaning of

the object conceptualized; and the structural aspect, which shows the specific combination of features that have been discerned and focus on. (Merton and Pong, 2005). Or in phenomenological terminology, the referential aspect serves as *noema* since it is correlated with general conception (the object-correlate), and the structural aspect as *noesis* since correlated with individual, specific experience (the subject-correlate) (Moustakas, 1994;69).

The decision-making process is the manifestation of democratic practice. Therefore, every political organization should have certain mechanism in such activity. In principal, the decision making process shall always be related to three concerns. The first is their experience in decision making involvement. The second is to define the party who has a dominant authority in decision making, and finally, the context of decision making. On top of that, those three principles may not stand-alone. There are at least two or more factors which can support the generation of each principle. Each element shall be explored as the supporting conception of the three aforementioned conceptions.

The experience factor in tree nodes is described within five free nodes: duration, process, steps, kinds/types, and policy program. The experience of each informant shows different variations. But, they have similarity concerning each conception which will be explored (the referential aspect). They (informants from PKR and PDIP) argue that their experience is the determining factor in decision-making process.

The longer they are active in the organization, the more adequate experience they have in providing the basis of thought in decision making process. This fact is greatly important as any political organization will always have different steps and level in the commission. It implies that if the committee in every level is perceived to have minimum capability, of course this will bring impact on the quality of decision making.

Such quality is closely related to the type and policy program taken (the structural aspect). Each has different emphasis. In the level of DPP/MPP for example, it is clear that the decision-making is higher compared to DPC. DPC merely views in the regional level; meanwhile DPP takes into consideration for the interest of branch. For example, Kafalah is the program which provides financial support to the poor whose one of the family members is dead. In this case, all poor are treated similarly, whether they are Indian, Chinese, Malay, or Thai.

In particular, the decision making process on who is proposed as candidate of executive councilor (PKR-Kedah) and the governor of (PDIP - East Java) also takes many aspects into consideration. Furthermore, for the candidate of governor, in addition to personal criteria with good capability, their performance to their party is also taken into account. In this case, it is obviously clear there is a connection between the personal quality (relative-subjective) and organization (objective). Final decision made passes many steps in the environment of internal organization.

The very fundamental problem in organization of political party, particularly PKR and PDIP is minimum function and organizational structure. Wherever it is, the regulation shall be defined as the rules for working guideline for an organization (the referential aspect). However, actuating the rules is not as simple as writing.

Moreover if the political party is always monitored by public figures, then the organization will tend to ignore the given regulation. However, what happens in PKR or PDIP is quite exceptional. Both organizations have made comprehensive effort in enacting the rules of organization. Both figures, Anwar Ibrahim and Megawati Soekarno Putri, are considered the uniting symbol.

They are very important, as they hold many interests among the organization's second lines. PKR (multiracial) and PDIP (nationalists), according to informant's confession, have similarity in ideology for struggle which demands justice. However, in this case, Indonesian Democratic Party of Struggle's informants fail to give explicit statement as multiracial party. In political reality, PDIP can also be deemed multiracial party as it accommodates all elements with different background (the structural aspect).

Pluralism is an icon which is always shown by PKR to attract public sympathy. This also calls to mind that multiracial Malaysian citizens may be united in a single party. And finally, all of its interest may be attained within the association.

They are very important, as they hold many interests among the organizational second lines. PKR (multiracial) and PDIP (nationalists), according to informant's confession, have similarity in ideology for struggle which demands justice. However, in this case, Indonesian Democratic Party of Struggle's informants fail to give explicit statement

as multiracial party. In political reality, PDIP can also be deemed multiracial party as it accommodates all elements with different background (the structural aspect).

The fourth level in the phenomenographical approach is the intentional level of conception. This level describes that each concept or dimension has its own emphasis. Each emphasis delineates an entirety of informants' experiences, along with their variations. This basically means that, notwithstanding individual experiences, categories can be constructed based on the similarities and differences in their organizational involvement. Since the objective of this research is to discover the mechanism of decision-making in PKR and PDIP, an elaboration of how the fourth level of analysis was carried out in the study is presented in the following table.

Table 6.6 The comparison of decision making by PKR and PDIP

	Dimension/ Conception		PKR	PDIP
D E C I S I O N M A K I N G	Experience	Duration	All informants have long experience, based on the involvement in political party of origin, such as UMNO, PAS, Socialists, or NGO.	Historically, political experience is obtained from the previous generation (parents). Still loyal to the party.
		Process	The decision made is based on the process and mechanism of the party. If not, the mechanism is performed through conference.	The decision made based on the level of decision making in the meeting.

	Dimension/ Conception		PKR	PDIP
		Steps	Begins with MPP, MPN, MPC, MPK.	Begins from DPP, DPD, DPC, PAC and level of District or otherwise.
		Types	Decision by MPP, MPN, MPC and also adjudicative decision.	DPP for governor/ election/major election DPP applies to DPP
		Policy Program	Kafalah RMY program of 500/ person, education, health, community development.	Community development
	Dominant Authority	Regulation	In accordance with the rules. The decision made should be reformed. If not included into the rules, conference shall be applied.	In accordance with AD/ART of the party. All rules shall be decided through the agency.
		Pluralism Aspect	Difference of insight, interest, ethnic, nation.	Pluralism should be accentuated.
	Context 9	Conductive	In Kedah, it obtains strong support as it governs with PAS. Grassroot gives strong support.	There is budget support for PDIP through transparent State Budget and Regional Budget. Loyal member of PDIP
		Non Conductive	Inadequate media support for socialization, improvement in members' knowledge.	No publication/ media, low lackness of voter, bad image party, low human resources quality

The fifth level in the phenomenographical approach is establishing the outcome space. This level contains the fundamental precis of the entire process of decision-making in PKR and PDIP. In sum, this research discovered that both political parties applied a decision-making mechanism that was based on a combination of three dimensions/

conceptions, namely experience, context, and dominant authority. The following figure presents a visualization of this level of analysis.

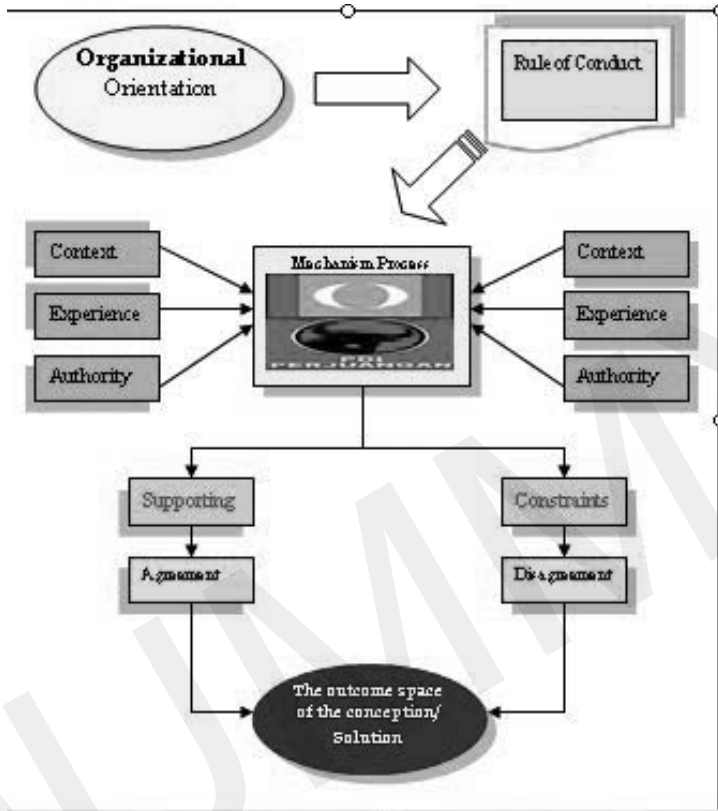


Figure 6.11 The visualization of Outcome Space in Phenomenography Analysis

E. Chapter Summary

This chapter presents data findings and discussion of every dimension and sub dimensions in decision making process in PKR. It is then followed by discussion regarding dimension and sub dimension in decision making process in PDIP. In the last section, the researcher provided the comparison of decision making process applied by PKR and PDIP. This chapter closes with a comprehensive description on the similarities and differences in decision making process experienced by every informant under phenomenographical approach.

Chapter 7

CONCLUSION AND IMPLICATIONS

A. Introduction

This chapter concludes the findings of this research in relation to each of the two main research problems being pursued. It begins with the summary of research, discussion of the findings and highlights the communication pattern and decision-making implications. It is followed with a discussion dealing with the limitation of the study and suggestion for future research and conclusion.

B. Summary of Research

This research is conducted based on two objectives. The main objective is to obtain some insights on communication patterns and decision-making. Other specific purposes are to obtain an understanding of communication patterns in PKR and PDIP, and to comprehend the decision-making process in PKR and PDIP.

Based on the objectives described above, it can be formulated that the main ideas of the research questions are, first, how are the communication patterns in PKR and PDIP and, second, how is the

divided into conventional media and alternative media, with the latter as predominantly used. Likewise, the formal communication pattern in PDIP is also dominated by downward communication pattern. The informal pattern is dominated by grapevine pattern. However, the conventional media are used as the main media of socialization. The second finding highlights the decision-making process in the PKR and PDIP, which considers three aspects, the dominant authority, experience, and context. The dominant authority became the main aspect in PKR decision-making process, and undermines experience and context. The decision-making process in PDIP stressed the experience and dominant authority, while undermines the context aspect.

C. Discussion

The research finding obviously proves that communication pattern also occurs and is applied in political organization. Similar to profit-oriented organization, communications patterns in the non political organizations especially business organizations was determined by reciprocal patterns that is organizational member's compliance to organizational rules and regulations based on their work contract. While managers or supervisor are also subject to rules because of their ?? towards the organizational governance. However, in political organization, the adherence is to a superior feudatory because of member's loyalty towards the party's ideology. Party members acknowledge themselves as elements of the organization and to struggle to reach the party's goal.

This finding is consistent and parallel to various studies on communication pattern which has been carried out by the previous organizational researchers. For example, Riley (2002), Pole (2004), Heaven (2006) and Rhoades (2006) emphasized that communication pattern is restricted to a micro level of the organization and also to the macro level of the organization. Bo Wang, (2007); Smith, (2008) focused on domestic affairs, within the scope of the community. And the last, as a complementary study on communication patterns, the writer cited Darmastuti (2005), who stated that the communication patterns between informal leader and community member were determined by values, norms, religion, local culture, philosophy and symbols of a particular community.

Based on explorations of some previous research, this study notes that there are different aspects in addition to similarity aspect. In more details, the researcher describes as follows. Similarity aspect comprises of communication pattern, organization structure and orientation of organizational decision. The finding indicates that the communication pattern taking place between elites and members is two-direction. This finding is consistent with the studies which have been conducted by Riley (2002), Pole (2004), Heaven (2006) and Rhoades (2006) suggesting that the communication pattern is also conducted two-direction; subordinate-supervisor. This fact supports the perspective as proposed by Pace and Faules (1994, 2006) and Wood et. al (2001) stating that the communication pattern is determined by type and typology of organization. Since the political party is formal organization, mode of communication pattern is characterized in two-direction.

In addition, the finding of this study also emphasizes that PKR and PDIP have hierarchical and fixed structural organization. Such organizationally structure is commonly found in formal organization. This fact is of course consistent with some previous studies such as those by Susskind (2002), Bartels, etc., (2006), Buijzen (2009), Sataloff (2009), Barrington (2009), stating that the organizational structure (in spite of being non-politic) plays a strong role in establishing relation among organization components to achieve organizational goal. This means that the finding supports the perspective as proposed by Gibson and Hodgetts (1991), Pace and Faules (1994, 2006), who suggested that the structure and typology of an organization highly determine whether or not, the organization is formal or social.

The last similarity aspect is orientation of organizational decision. The finding of this research emphasizes that PKR and PDIP has orientation of organizational decision which is focused on the interest of party members and people. The same is also found in several previous studies such as those by Bo Wang (2007), Smith (2008), who focused on community members, and also, Darmastuti (2005) who focused on merely the member of the group. Without any doubt, this empirical fact supports the perspective of Gibson and Hodgetts (1991), Pace and Faules (1994, 2006) stating that the organizational orientation is a determinant factor to which the decision is made.

On the other hand, the different aspect of this research from several previous studies includes organizational orientation, organizational purpose, and decision-making. In sub aspect of organizational orientation, the finding of this research is for the interest of political ideology. The active involvement of political members and the elite is caused by the connection of party's ideology. It implies that any of their activity in organizations (PKR and PDIP) is merely focused on fighting for justice and people's political rights. This fact is certainly different from several previous studies by, among others Bartels, etc., (2006), Buijzen (2009), Sataloff (2009), who highly emphasizing on profit-oriented. They perform their obligation and work in a company or organization to obtain reward of salary only. In return, the decision and policy made by the top management may directly be executed. Meanwhile, in PKR and PDIP, any policy and decision for organizational interest should be hierarchically discussed through party's meetings (from region to center).

Based on the above descriptions the PKR applied both formal and informal communication patterns. The formal pattern consists of downward and upward communication. Based on this two patterns, the most dominant pattern was the downward communication, where modes of communication are influenced by the members' backgrounds and challenges. Therefore, the informal modes of communication pattern was dominated by grapevine and cross channel patterns. Although difficult, PKR leaders keep in touch regularly with the members of the party. They attended weekly or monthly in the party meeting as a speaker.

In addition, the media for members socialization is divided into conventional media and alternative media, with the latter predominantly used. Likewise, the formal communication pattern in PDIP is also dominated by downward communication pattern. The informal pattern is dominated by grapevine pattern. However, conventional media is used as the main media of socialization. This finding adds to the diversity of research results on communication pattern in political organization.

This fact differentiates PKR from PDIP. PKR could at any time carry out meeting with the members, and even invite national figures (MPP) to directly talk to the members. In PDIP, on the other hand, although there is no political obstacle, the elites of party can only conduct political

communication with the members at special moments (such as Pilkada, General Election or “community aspiration networking.”)

The second finding is to answer how to implement the decision-making mechanism in PKR and PDIP. The decision maker in political organization is not dominated by top management. This pattern can be observed both in PKR and PDIP. The decision-making patterns for both parties resulted from organization members’ involvement in the decision-making process. Decision was made in stages based on regions of organizations. Certainly this is very different to a non-political or business organization. On business organizations, decision-making is conducted by the top management and is directly from top management to members. The similarity aspect and differences aspect can be seen in details from as follow.

The similarity aspect of decision-making dimension comprises of a couple of concerns: context and experience. In sub dimension of context, the finding of this research emphasizes that both internal and external conditions of organization are greatly conducive in decision-making process. Indeed, sub dimension of experience highly determines the quality of decision-making. This finding is consistent with the result of several previous studies by, among others Raimundo, et.al., (2009), Herrera (2003), Jan, S. et al., (2003), Hall (1999), Bhatia (1997), Elsinga (1989), and Axelsson (1987), who emphasized that the appropriate decision-making should consider the organization context and experience of the actors operating the organization. This fact is in line with the perspective of Andrew and Herschel (1996) who stated that the demands of situation should be taken into decision-making process.

Meanwhile, the difference aspect in the current study is dominant actor. Due to dominant leadership of organization, the system and regulation of organizational is not maximally implemented. However, the aspiration of grass-root and pluralism of idea should continuously be appreciated in decision-making process. This fact is certainly different from several previous studies such as, among others by Edmondson (2006) stating that the leader acts as the representation of the organizations, Andriyani (2000) argued that the differences of idea or opinion shall not be accommodated in order to achieve an effective decision-making process.

This finding also proves that although a leader represents the existence of an organization, the leaders in PKR and PDIP do not apply its organization's internal and external decision-making in an authoritarian manner. All decision-making processes were discussed based on the organization level. Both political parties (PKR and PDIP) emphasize a deliberate decision-making process. Prior to decision-making, the elites focus on grass-roots', i.e. the political party's members' aspiration.

Findings of this research are consistent with the previous studies on decision-making and non-political organizations. For example, Mumbai and Putman (1992) stated that human beings cannot be a rational actor, thus decision-making ability is limited by a variety of analytical and situational factors within organizational elites. Conrad (1998) further emphasized that decision makers often have limited options, criteria, interests and opportunities. Herera (2003) discovered that the strategic position of someone in an organization gave a different influence. In addition, these findings, which emphasizes members' aspiration as an important element in decision-making process, are in line with the result of Panova's (2008) study, which suggests that organizational structure has important role in the responsibility of each organizational element (members or leaders). Paul and Ebadi (1989), emphasized that leadership style greatly determines the decision-making process. This research also supports the study conducted by Kalinda, Filston and Sute (2000), that the management of organizational members has significant contribution on the decision-making implementation in an organization.

Based on these studies, it became clear that study on object of decision-making in political organization has not been conducted much. Previous studies have only focused on decisions on a micro-scale (family), medium-scale (non-political organizations such as health, business, education, agriculture and labor) and dominant elites at every level of an organization.

Based on the above explanation, this research finding is meant to fill the gap on decision-making studies in political organization. This study also highlights the decisions making process in the PKR and PDIP, by taking into account three aspects, dominant authority, experience, and context. Dominant authority becomes the main aspect

in PKR's decision-making process, whereas experience and context are undermined. The decision-making process in PDIP stressed experience and dominant authority, while undermining context. This is due to the fact that both political parties are still putting their leader as the dominant figure and integrative actor (Parson, 1960).

An additional finding in this study also reveals that phenomenography approach was relevant for organizational communication research. The phenomenography approach has been used extensively for communication organization research but, are mostly focused on education organization (MacGillivray, 2010), health organization (Henrika, et al., 2007), business organization (Lamb, Sandberg, and Liesch, 2011; Sari, et al., 2011) and defense organization (Wagner, 2006). However, it is a relatively new approach for communication organization research on political parties, particularly in Indonesia and Malaysia.

This approach emphasizes that every actor in organization has different and various experiences such as, the experience in decision-making process between elite members of the political parties. The members will feel whether the party's decision has an implication for them. But from the elite's perspective, each decision must be able to accommodate to the grass-roots interests. In this context, the elites think for organizational interest in both national and regional scopes. Meanwhile, the members of the party are only focused on their own interest.

This fact is obvious that all political actors in PKR and PDIP have different point of views towards an organization's issue. This difference is not defined as a factor which can stimulate organizational conflict. On the contrary, it enriches the knowledge and perspective with regards to communication pattern and decision-making process in an organization.

The phenomenography approach adopted in this study does strengthen the findings of this study. Indeed, the use of this approach is getting more extensive in non-educational subject areas (Ballantyne & Bruce, 1994), such as technology (Solomonidou, 2007), multimedia (Ekeblad, & Lindstrom, 1995; Thomas, 2007), health (Arneson, 2005), public health (Krantz, 2005), medicine (Willen, 2002), management (Sanberg, 2000), and the study of death (Yang, Shu Ching Chen & Shih-fen, 2002).

1. Communication Pattern in Political Organization

Based on a phenomenography approach, the analysis was carried out by stressing on two aspects: the referential aspect, which denotes the global meaning of the object conceptualized, and the structural aspect, which shows the specific combination of features that have been discerned and focused on (Merton & Pong, 2005). In phenomenological terminology, the referential aspect serves as *noema* since it is correlated with general conception (the object-correlate), and the structural aspect as *noesis* since it is correlated with individual, and specific experience (the subject-correlate) (Moustakas, 1994:69).

In this level, the researcher discovers that communication pattern performed in both political parties has similar aspect. They agreed that communication pattern is not an independent conception. Communication pattern may be established or run through at least on a couple of patterns: formal and informal, as well as on a single socialization mechanism.

The finding of this research consistent with some previous studies on communication pattern as conducted by Feghalli, (1997), Peltokorpi, (2007), Woloshynowych, (2007) Darmastuti (2005), Bo Wang, (2007), Smith, (2008), Riley, (2002), Pole, (2004), Heaven, (2006), Rhoades, (2006), Susskind, (2002) Bartels, etc.,(2006), Buijzen, (2009), Sataloff, (2009), and Barrington, (2009) which study communication patterns on non-political organization. Among others, they study business organizations which predominantly apply for formal communication, and social organization as well as local community, which emphasizes on informal communication pattern. The relation among organization components is more flexible and independent from any strict organizational rules. The elite give political direction to members. Party members give their input to the elite. Message distribution was delivered directly or via the media. The themes gave strong indication that the communication pattern in a political organization and non political has a resemblance.

In PKR and PDIP case, both of them have similarity in dimension of context and experience. Based on the informant's experience, they acknowledge that the political situation which is almost similar in Indonesia during New Order Era and in Malaysia (now), has grown the

spirit of loyalty of party's struggle. On the other hand, the similarity in pluralistic background has encouraged them to improve their solidarity, yet trigger the conflict. This fact is brought by a brief organization consolidation and poor understanding in ideological understanding.

Nevertheless, other than similarity aspect, differences aspect was found. The differences were in the context of media usage. In previous studies, the media (both conventional media and alternative media) have not optimally used. They just focus on direct media which distribute the message from elite to the members. This is caused by, among others, their organizational object in micro-scale, limited number of organizational members, application of direct communication, non-popular alternative media.

However, the only difference is in terms of the implementation of socialization mechanism in both parties. The difference is due to both parties living under unequal media freedom system. Or in other words, the political parties highly rely on the political system applied in each country. For example, PKR deals with more complicated challenge than PDIP in utilizing the conventional media. This is because the political system in Malaysia applies more restrictive media control and limited media freedom compared to Indonesia (Freedom in the World, 2010; Gong, 2008). As an implication, PKR has to find the appropriate and innovative socialization media in anticipation of emerging conditions, mainly online media, such as using *blogspot.com* and *wordpress*. The effectiveness of alternative media was proven by the increased number of seats gained by PKR at the federal level, 1 seat in PRU 11 and 31 seats in PRU 12. At the level of Negeri Kedah, the increased number of seats, from 0 to five seats, was also gained by PKR.

The referential aspect of formal communication pattern was analyzed by making use of a commonly applied conceptions. The direction of message (downward-upward or upward-downward), source and message receiver (elite-member) and the content of message (aspiration or instruction) are the determining elements. As a modern political organization, both parties (PKR and PDIP) realize that each element must complement one another.

The dimension distinguishing the referential aspect from the structural aspect is the context. To be claimed as a democratic political organization, the elites and committee of the party must not act

arbitrarily. In addition to being entitled the right to give instruction based on the decision of conferences or congresses, they should accommodate members' aspiration in the grass-roots.

This fact is proven in PKR's monthly meeting, where members' proposals are discussed, and finally decisions are made based on the majority of votes. Similarly, in PDIP, in deciding a candidate for governor, the DPD took into account grass-roots' aspiration and made decision based on the majority votes.

The findings are in line with Noorderhaven's position (1995) that a decision-making process begins with awareness that the decision to make is a necessity. Or in Dewey's (Littlejohn, 2005), Noorderhaven (1995), Robinson and Hurley's opinion (Mustaffa, 2007), every decision-making should be carried out based on obvious and appropriate steps.

Members' loyalty to the party is not merely a formality, but it has to be strongly supported by dimensions of emotionality (Yi-Ting & Alison, 2001; Bowen & Shoemaker, 2003).. Because the members own ideology consciousness that as political party members they should be able to articulate the people interests. Therefore, in addition to ideological factor and the principle of struggle, a more important aspect is their background. A combination of historical dimension and family support is an important necessity for members. Since the combination of both aspects becomes the basic capital for every members of the party to have strong loyalty, when a pressure occurs to move to another party, they have strong commitment.

These facts have empowered them to actively take part in a political organization. The implication will be that their involvement in the organization is unrestricted to the relation between members-management. The members have a sense that an organization acts as a medium of articulation and an aggregation of their real interest.

The diversity of political background is able to trigger a democratic practice within communication pattern. If the members are discomfited with the decision and policy made by the elites of the parties, they can freely resign from the party. Based on the background of its members, the Indonesian Democratic Party of Struggle is relatively homogenous. The implication will be that although popular as a democratic party; submission to leader's instruction is far greater.

Megawati Soekarnoputri is still considered an icon, unanimously respected by members of the party to the point that DPP instructs the party's decision on candidates of governor, regent or mayor. Similarly in Malaysia, Dato' Seri Anwar Ibrahim is PKR's uniting symbolic icon. He is the problem solver in MPN. Moreover, in the level of Pakatan Rakyat, he is also respected by his oppositional partner, leaders of PAS and DAP.

In PDIP, the organizational mechanism, i.e. meeting or conference in the level of region, is still conducted prior to decision-making, is subject to implementation. The members' interests and aspirations in the party continue to be taken into consideration. However, the final decision rests in the DPP's hand. DPP's decision should be secured although in contrast with the dynamics of members' aspiration. This fact proves that not all party member' aspirations were accommodated by the DPP. In special cases, DPP have the authority to determine the right decision for the organization's future interest.

The referential aspect of informal communication covers three important points; cross channel, lateral and grapevine. Cross channel is oriented in such a way that the message may be delivered across levels. The receiver and sender of the message may be either a leader or a member. On a lateral level, the source and receiver of the message are on the same level. Grapevine, on the other hand, implies as if real phenomena seems to exist but hard to prove. For example, the issue that the issuance of a recommendation letter for the candidacy of a governor's position involves bribery is believed to be absolutely invalid. The same thing applies in PKR MPN Kedah, that the dismissal of Tan Wei Shu as Exco member due to the intervention of the Leader of MPC Sungai Petani is a misleading issue.

Informants of both organizations (PKR and PDIP) admitted that the most complicated part of informal communication is controlling 'grapevine' phenomena. There is a fact that the sender and receiver failed to validate the message. PKR's informant exemplifies the case encountered by Anwar Ibrahim for the sodomy accusation. Based on forensic testing result No. K08/08 signed by three royal doctors; Dr. Khairul Nizam Bin Hassan, Mr. Mohd Rozali Ibrahim and Dr. Siew Sheue Feng, the accusation was disproved medically. However, the spread of such news is hard to control. It also occurs in the issue of transfer from PKR to UMNO, that it was because of money orientation,

is hard to prove. Another issue that is hard to prove is about some ADUN member and parliamentary members who stated that they have resigned from PKR and become independent representatives, also for money. This finding confirms that grapevine is the communication pattern within the organization, that is difficult to control because it only serves as a strategy in creating public distrust. As Goldhaber's suggestion (1993), this communication pattern fails to obey the rule. Therefore, as in Miller's position (2005), in case of failure in coping with such situation, it will result in implication on internal conflict of the organization.

PDIP's informant admits that it is hard to prevent the spread of the issue that in obtaining a recommendation letter that proposes a member to be a candidate for the head of region, certain amount of money should be allocated. The public believes this as a reality. This is due to the fact that some Indonesian people believe that every issuance of recommendation letter or decree is always connected with the amount of money which has been expended by the candidate of governor, regent or major.

It indicates that in spite of the dubious nature of the news, the public believes them since it appeared to be real. This proves a dimension of the structural aspect where material fact is not the main target. The most important point is the media through which the issue is built and circulated in order to change public perception. When perception changes from positive to negative, it is assumed to have an implication on the support which will be obtained in the general election or elections for heads of regions (Ezzany, 2010).

On the other hand, cross channel and lateral communications have no substantial problems, as both communications in the organizations are tentative, depending on who and what is problem being discussed. Due to the informal nature of these communications, the final decision made will not institutionally bind the organization. Such communication patterns take place in both political parties (PKR and PDIP). This fact substantiates that lateral and cross channel communication patterns have a low bargaining position within the organization, because as a formal organization, the communication pattern between the elite-member prioritize formal communication pattern and because of that, they are tied by organizational rules.

In this case, the context is formed upon two factors: conduciveness and non-conduciveness. Based on the referential aspect, conducive factor gives more emphasis on the support; non-conductive factor, on the other hand, consists of the tendency that organizational activity is always limited. This fact is related with the role of an oppositional party. Especially in Malaysia, the political system stipulated by the empire, dominated by UMNO, does not always provide freedom for the oppositional party to perform political activities.

With reference to the aforementioned, it is obviously clear that PKR's and PDIP's informants have different conception in the context of decision-making process. PKR's informants confess that, particularly in Kedah, they have many conducive situations. This occurs due to the fact that PKR is a part of the governing regime. In contrast, on a federal level, since PKR is as an oppositional party, it has to challenge many pressures and limitations. Ironically, such complicated situation benefits PKR to obtain many public supports (the structural aspect). When various social problems occur, PKR assume this fact as the government's failure and to attract the public to commit to opposition. Meanwhile, PDIP's informants confess that such non-conductive situation is not caused by the situation external to the party, but it changes for internal condition, there is a cultural shift in organization as the result of motivational change. This reality, among others, was caused by a rapid modernization affecting party members, In the past, voluntarism is the main organizational motive, but it now shifts to obtain economic benefit (the structural aspect) for now, almost everyone thinks on what benefits will be obtained when they sacrifice and fight for the party. Table 7.2 briefly shows the differences of each conception of decision-making process from referential and structural aspects in phenomenography approach.

Table 7.2 The Difference of Each Conception of Decision-making

Conception	Referential Aspect	Structural Aspect
Experience	Experience related to the individual's maturity. Informant's experience is the determining factor in decision-making process. The longer they are active in the organization, the more adequate experience they have in providing the basis of thought in decision-making process.	Focused on the individual's quality, type of program and policy of program
Dominant Authority	Dominant Authority related to the leader and organization's regulation. The regulation is defined as the rules for working guideline for an organization	Focused on the personal symbol, ideology for struggle which demands justice and multiracial party/ organization
Context	Context related to the conduciveness and non-conduciveness factors. Conducive factor gives more emphasis on the support; non-conductive factor, on the other hand, consists of tendency that organizational activity is always limited.	Focused on the cultural shift in organization as the result of motivational change.

In the figure below, it is obviously clear that displacement has taken place in the pattern of decision-making process from the former to the new perspective. The former perspective emphasizes that the decision-making process should always pass through conflict process prior to compromise or joint agreement between elites and members of an organization. In the new perspective, on the other hand, the decision-making process is determined by three factors: context, experience and authority. However, the success of those three factors in performing synergy and collaboration in decision-making process should strongly be supported by all organizational elements. If not, decision-making process and its implementation will fail. The visualization on decision-making process changing from former perspective to the new one is clearly shown in the following figure:

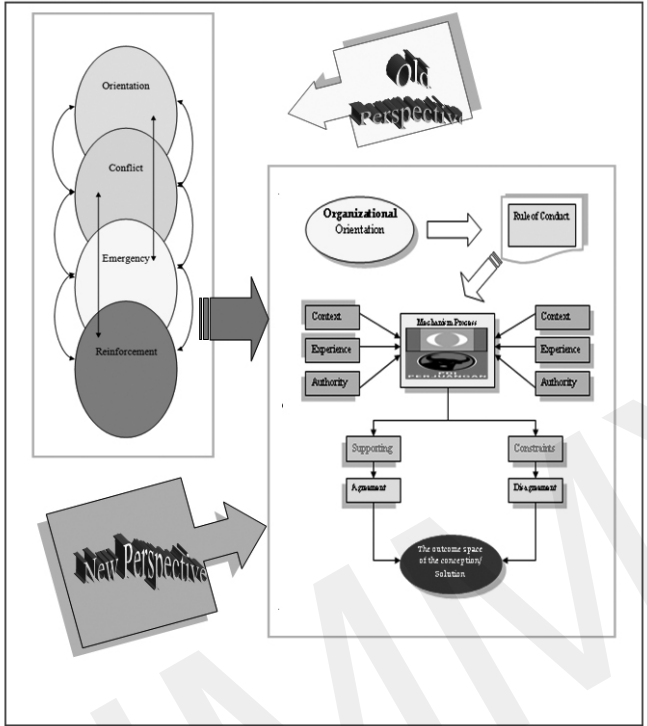


Figure 7.2 The Visualization On Decision-Making Process Changing from *Perspective to the New One*

D. Research Implication

1. Theoretical Implication

a. Research Approach

Phenomenography approach gives enough space to explore the subjects' experience from their own perspective. The experience told a picture of the real fact, so “the second world” as the reflection of “the first world” seems to become real. This kind of approach is very relevant in organizational communication research because the dynamics of organization are very identical to the roles of an organization’s actors.

Though at the beginning, phenomenography is only used for educational studies, but it developed that it has relevance and significance for other disciplines. Moreover, communication, as a

discipline focuses on the communicator relation (sender) and receiver in delivering messages, is very correct in applying it. Phenomenography belongs to the constructionist paradigm, with a qualitative dimension.

b. Communication Pattern

Communication pattern, aside from being divided into formal and informal, through this research, also found to be used as a socialization mechanism. The socialization mechanism consists of media as a communication facility and responses from members to organization's policies or decisions. Almost all the media owned by an organization are utilized. PKR has *Suara Keadilan* (print), *Suara Keadilan* Online, and *Keadilan* website. They also focus on speech, routine meetings, and treatise distribution.

PDIP does not have any print media, nationally or locally. Only the Jawa Timur DPD, does PDIP has a party website with its address www.pdiperjuangan-jatim.org. On the national level, the party's website is always "under construction" at the period of this research, so no available information may be downloaded.

Experience expressed by the subject or informant clarifies that formal communication pattern (upward and downward) has a strong implication in applying organization's decisions. The informal pattern is limited in giving additional information which might enrich the spectrum in policy making or organization's decisions.

c. Decision-Making

Political party's decisions are divided based on two aspects, they are decisions governing party's internal affairs and decisions governing party's external affairs. Party's internal decision-making is oriented to problems concerning political party's routine activities. The consequences are limited and easily controlled. PKR and PDIP are similar in the case of determining decision-making criteria concerning internal dimension. These two see that internal decisions need to be on a limited scale only such as party's institutional setting, party's discipline, party's finance, party's activities, and party member's regeneration.

On the contrary, for external problems, both parties (PKR and PDIP) took more considerations to mind. PKR's decision determines

who will be recommended to be an Exco in Kedah, although in the beginning was an internal party's concern because it has a wide political implication, implemented by a very strict criteria: other than personal credibility, competence, loyalty to organization, also election area. PDIP especially, DPD Jawa Timur, also implemented the same thing. The decision to determine the governor candidates in 2008 Local Election (Pilkada) considered candidate's credibility, personal quality, loyalty to organization, services given to the party, and the historical aspect in the background.

Both parties felt that the decision to choose A or B as party's candidate in the executive institution is because the person will be the political party's organizational direct representation to the public. So, other than observing the formality aspect regulated in the AD/ART of the political party, there was also needs to observe the aspect of competence and proficiency of the candidate. They occupy the position in executive institution not only for their own importance, but symbolically, they must be the instrument that fights for the inspiration and importance of the public. Their orientation may not be reduced just for the interest of its own political party members.

In connection with the three aspects, the researcher offers a couple of suggestions, both theoretical or academic and practical, for the political organization. The academic suggestion emphasizes that phenomenography refers to a micro approach in qualitative research. In the perspective of Jablin (1987), Miller (2008), this approach may be included into symbolic-interaction interpretive paradigm which studies human experience and perception (Anderson et.al, 2006). For this reason, the conclusion in this research shall be applied in general. Therefore, the research argues, in obtaining an optimal theoretical implication, it is highly necessary to combine two approaches: micro approach which deeply studies informant's experience and macro approach which emphasizes on the availability of adequate quantitative data as a supporting factor.

The practical suggestion will be that formal communication pattern should be combined with information communication. It is important for organizational elites to understand that an important decision-making process will easily be implemented if the organization's members understand the benefit of a decision. This is the reason

experience, and context. The dominant authority becomes the main aspect in PKR decision-making process, and undermines experience and context. The decision-making process in PDIP stressed on the experience and dominant authority, while undermines the context aspect. Additional finding on this study also reveals that phenomenography approach was relevant for organizational communication research.

To sum, this research has answered the research questions and research objectives. Furthermore, this research has also successfully introduced a new approach for study on political party.

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