From Mass Mediated-Political Marketing to Mixed Mediated-Political Marketing: The Rise of Social Media as Political Marketing Tools During The 2012 Governatorial Election of Special Region of Jakarta, Indonesia

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Abstract

As the capital city of Indonesia, the 2012 Governatorial Election of Jakarta was interested to be discussed regarding the three reasons. First, compare to another region, the Province of Special Region of DKI Jakarta was inhabited by urban and professional Indonesian middle class which had the higher political knowledge, access to multi-channel of media and exposed by national and international political issues. Second, this election was marked by the rise of the social media (especially facebook and twitter) use as political marketing tools of candidate of the Governor/Vice Governor during the campaign and election. Third, in case of one the candidates: Jokowidodo-Basuki Tjahaya Purnama, the centered-personal brand has been successfully developed as innovative political marketing strategy by employing the mixed-mediated political communication while dealing the volatile and commercialized-electorates and the domination of paid publication among the private/commercial television industries as political arenas during the 2012 Governatorial Election of Jakarta. By employing case study method, this paper attempt to examine how has the mixed-mediated political communication been developed by the political marketer teams of Jokowidodo-Basuki Tjahaya Purnama during the 2012 Governatorial election of Special Region of Jakarta

Key words: Mass mediated, mixed mediated, social media, political marketing tools and The 2012 Governatorial Election of Special Region of Jakarta.

I. Introduction

After bloody student demonstration in the capital city of Indonesia, Jakarta, by May 21, 1998, The second Indonesian President, Mr. Soeharto has declared to step down from the Presidential Palace. Most Indonesian scholars named this political moment as the beginning of reform era (Bhakti, 2000). Prof. Eng. B.J. Habibie—the former vice president—has replaced Soeharto as an acting Indonesian President.

Since that time The Reform Era has begun which is indicated by structural political transformation such as: 1) the rise of media/press freedom; 2) the establishment of democratic elections system; 3) the establishment of new democratic political party’s system; 4) the freedom to express public opinion (Gazali, 2004). The Reform Era has lead the transformation of Indonesian political system and mass media system regulation from authoritarian regime to democratic system. First, The Indonesian House of Representative and The Habibie’s Goevernment have begun to establish a new democratic political party...
system policy³. After Reform Era, The Indonesian House of Representative has laid down the Bill No.2/1999 about Political Party which encourage people to establish new political parties. As the result, facing the 1999 General Election, there are 44 of Indonesian political parties which contested their political ideas and interest in the national and local elections. Facing The 2004 General Election, the Indonesian House of Representative has revised that Bill and then decreed the Bill No.31/2002 about Political Parties. While the 2004 Indonesian General Election being held by The Indonesian Election Commission, there are 24 Indonesian political parties as political contestant.

Second, The Indonesian House of Representative and The Habibie’s Goverment had decreed the Bill No.3/1999 about the General Election which cover the election of members of Indonesian Parliament both national and local level, the election of President and Vice President, and the election of member of Group Representative (Utusan Golongan). By this Bill, for the first time, Indonesia had the General Election Commission (Komisi Pemilihan Umum) as the Independent State Agency which have responsibility to carry out the democratic election system. Under this Bill, The Indonesian Supervisory General Election (Komisi Pengawas Pemilihan Umum) has been formed as the Independent State Agencies by the Indonesian House of Representative and The Habibie’s Goverment. The main function of this agency is to ensure that all of the processes and stages of election and campaign can be done democratically.

Third, another political product after the Reform Era is Local Goverment which is held under principles of decentralization and local authonomy. By 1999, Indonesian House of Representative and The Habibie’s Goverment have issued the Bill No.22/1999 about Local Goverment. This regulation has brought on two thing: 1) the changing principles of the Local Goverment rules and authorities; and 2) the changing mechanism to elect the head/vice head of The Local Goverment of Indonesia. This Bill has dictated that the Indonesian Central Goverment begun to accept the democratic, authonomy and decentralization principles of local goverment which is led by the head/vice head of Local Goverment and they were elected by The Local Indonesian House of Representative/members of local parliament. This election system model has been largely critized by public due to lack of the direct system of elections model. After that, by 2004, the Indonesian House of Representative and Megawati’s Goverment had changed the content of that Bill and they had laid down the new Bill that is Bill No.32/2004 about The Local Goverment which declares that The head/vice head of Local Goverment should be elected by direct election system by the local voters⁴.

³ It can be noted that during The New Order Soeharto regime, there are three political parties: 1) Golkar Party; 2) The Indonesian Struggle Democratic Party (Partai Demokrasi Indonesia Perjuangan/PDIP) and 3) The United Development Party (Partai Persatuan Pembangunan/PPP). The New Order Soeharto regime has always intened to retain their power by Golkar Party as single majoritarian-rulling party which is supported by military apparatuses. While The Indonesian Struggle Democratic Party and The United Development Party has acted as semi-controlled oppositionarty of New Order Soeharto’s Goverment.

⁴ The Habibie’s Goverment has been replaced by the Abdurrahmad Wahid (called Gus Dur) by the decree of special session of The Indonesian People’s Consultative Assembly (Majelis Permusyawaratan Rakayt Republik indonesia) as the Highest State Institution of Republic Indonesia. For additional information, this institution since the fall of Old Order Soekarno (1965-1966) had the right to appoint The Indonesian President and Vice President based on the recommendation of majority voices of The Indonesian House of Representative. Abdurrahmad Wahid was appointed as Indonesian President from 1999 up to 2001. Under the special session of The Indonesian People’s Consultative Assembly, by 2001, Megawati Soekarnoputri (The oldest daughter of Mr.Soekarno, the first Indonesian President) was appointed as the Indonesian President. He has ruled the Indonesian Goverment up to 2004. By 2004, the authority of The Indonesian People’s Consultative Assembly (Majelis Permusyawaratan Rakayt Republik indonesia) as the Highest State Institution of Republic Indonesia to appoint the President and Vice President was replaced by the direct election system of voters. Since that time, The President/Vice President of Republic Indonesia was held under direct election system of electorates.
Fourth, the Reform Era has induced for the changing regulation of the mass media system in Indonesia. The Indonesian House of Representative and The Habibie’s Government had laid down the Bill No.40/1999 about The Press which is contained the protection for the Indonesian press industries as the fourt estate of democracy. Moreover, by December, 28, 2002, The Indonesian House of Representative and the Megawati’s Government had decreed the Bill No.32/2002 about The Broadcasting which regulate both three types of Indonesian broadcasting: 1) public broadcasting that are: a) The Television of Republic Indonesia (TVRI); and b) The Radio of Republic Indonesia (RRI); 2) the private/commercial Indonesian broadcasting industries; and 3) the Indonesian communities broadcasting (broadcasting activities which is organized by communities).

Those regulation has lead for the transformation of political communication and political marketing as field study and practices in Indonesia. Particularly, under Bill No.32/2004, each of head-vice head of The Indonesian Local Goverment of provinces, regions and municipalities should be elected by direct election system. This new regulation lead for free competition model of political marketing of head-vice head of The Indonesian Local Goverment. As political market arena, the mass media, especially national and local private television channel was being used by political parties and candidates, especially for delivering the positive political coverage both advertorial or non-advertorial, broadcasting their political advertising, political debates and another their campaign products or campaign events. The main problem is, there is increasing demand to finance the candidates and party’s campaign in the private mass media industries, while there are no regorious regulation to limit the campaign space of candidates and parties. As the result, the rich person who run as the head-vice head candidate of The Local Goverment is benefitted due to their abilities to pay the commercial space of political advertising, while the poorer person will lost their opportunities because of have no enough campaign fund to get this commercial space of private television channel.

As the results the candidates of the head/vice head of The Local Goverment have trying to search the best model of political marketing. The first challenge is how to avoid the the increasing campaign finances by getting large space of the free paid publication of mass media especially broadcasting television. Another challenge is how to assemble their the best political marketing model and its tools by generating the benefit of social media usage and direct political marketing contact to the electorates. Finally, the chalenge for the candidates is having effective political marketing strategies by integrating and generating the traditional approach of political marketing using the direct selling method which is can be mixed in the mass mediated-political marketing model.

Those kinds of transformation has led for more favourable political environtment which encourage political parties and candidates to develope various models, strategies, and methods of political marketing for dealing with dynamic political market arenas. The best innovative political marketing model is the main challege for Indonesian candidates to be the winner during the local election and campaign events. This paper, therefore will attempt to cover part of the innovative political marketing phenomena in Indonesia especially the dynamic of political marketing of head/vice head of the Local Goverment in Indonesia. The 2012 election of the head/vice head of the Local Goverment of Special Region of Jakarta will

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5 For additional information, during the New Order Soeharto, the Indonesian mass media system was ruled under authoritarian political regime. Under this regime, both print media and broadcast media should follow the Bill No.11/1966 about the Principal Provision of Press which is replaced by Bill No.4/1967, and then it was substituted by Bill No.21/1982 about The Principal Provision of The Press. The content of this Bill was intended to control the publication of Indonesian mass media to remain the sustainability of the New Order Soeharto regime.
be taken as a case to assess the changing pattern of political marketing strategy which is signed by the transformation of the rule of mass media and the rise of usage of social media during the campaign of election.

This paper attempts to discuss the local political marketing transformation facing the rise of social media usage among the Indonesian middle clash during campaign and election of head-vice head of The Local Government of Indonesia. More over, this paper was drawn from main question: how have, in which way and to what extent the transformation of mass media-based political marketing and the adaptation of the social media usage for political marketing tools been developed by the political marketer of the candidates of head/vice head of the Local Government of Special Region of Jakarta, during campaign and local election? Based on case study method, this paper will explore the transformation of mass mediated-political marketing to mixed-mediated political marketing strategies of candidates during the 2012 local election of special region of Jakarta.

II. From The Mass Mediated Political Marketing to The Mixed Mediated-Political Marketing Arena: A Conceptual Framework

Political marketing as field study and practices have been developing by world wide scholars. According to Newman, et.al (1999), political marketing studies could cover five sub-domains. First, political marketing studies relate to the management of campaign of parties and candidates, management of volunteer of parties and candidates, media placements and political fundraising. Second, this field study also could assess the analysis of political market by using the survey research to assess the popularity, likeability and electability of parties and candidates, including marketing research during the campaign and election and exit polls and campaign, and analysis of the factors which determines the voter behavior and non-voter behavior. Third, this field study could examine the political marketing development strategies of parties and candidates, including the direct marketing, political debates which is presented in television, market segmentation and market positioning. Fourth, this field study could go into the analysis of how to formulate the best strategy and implementation of campaign for parties and candidates, manage the lobbyist during the campaign and election, facing various political interest and government interest, and managing the permanent campaign. Fifth, this field study also should enable to reveal the contemporary issues of political marketing such as the transformation of political marketing using the new media, political fundraising problems, political marketing and propaganda and money politics.

The earlier research development of political marketing can be inferred in two focus of studies. First, political marketing research which focuses on parties during campaign and election in various political context, political system, government system and election system. Research on political marketing of parties in the british politics has been revealed by some scholars such as Wring (1997), Lees Marshment (2004), Lees-Marshment (2009) and Lees-Marshment (et.al, 2010). Research in this field also has been discussed the comparative and global political marketing perspective under the different political system, government system and election system (Lilleker and Lees-Marshment, 2005; Lees-Marshment, Stromback dan Rudd, 2010). Second, political marketing research which focuses on candidates in elections and campaign arena. Take for example Schammell (2007) who has explored the personal branding of candidates. Both perspective on political marketing was recognized that the mass media has been the important tools of political marketing.

Meanwhile, in relation with the role of mass media as medium as well as arena of political marketing, Lilleker dan Lees-Marshment (2005) noted three important aspects. First, how has each political parties should enable to promote and deliver their political product to public within various mass media. Political product according to them are the political ideas,
ideology, policies and candidates personalities. Second, how has each political candidate should enable to deliver their policies and images within various media outlets. Third, how has each mass media industries might mediate and construct positive and negative political news framework and political impression both political parties and candidates within their sector of media outlets.

Some of the communication scholars still remain different perspectives and views on normative mass media performance as fourth estate of democracy. Some of them such as McQuail(1992; 2005) proposed the normative theory that mass media must fulfill both three indicator : neutrality, objectivity and impartiality while covering any realities, including the dynamic of political realities during the election and campaign. In other side, some of the communication and journalism scholars recognized that it is impossible for mass media for being neutral, objective and impartial while reporting their political news. In the commercial political economy environment, it is unavodable for the mass media will be more upheld their business interest rather than publict interest. The business interest will lead the mass media policies to produce various commercial space—including blocking space for campaign and political advertising—rather than political news which is more suitable with the public interest.

The paradox of mass media as fourth estate of democracy has been raising under domination of private/commercial media system which is combined with the direct election system. In contrast to public media system, the nature of private/commercial system based on business interest. It was largely recognized that the private/commercial mass media might not only became the medium for delivering any political information or reporting the campaign events and activities. In contrast, the private/commercial mass media can be the strongest actor supporting the campaign activities and candidates while the regulation of campaign spending for political advertising and blocking commercial time in several democratic countries still lack to be restricted. As the result, if the parties or candidates have more campaign finance, they will have more opportunities to buy any commercial space of mass media as their main medium of political marketing.

In modern democracy, the mass media has not only been raising as one important element of political communication, beyond the political organization and citizens (McNair,2011), but also they have been existing as one of the main political marketing arena. As Stromback (2010) stated that there are four political market arena : 1) parliamentary arena; 2) internal party arena; 3) mass media arena and 4) electoral arena. To assess the transformation of political marketing model, this paper will explore the mass media arena, internal party arena and electoral arena. Mass media as arena and medium can be fitted out as political marketing tools in term of instrumental or functional perspective. Both perspective proposed the strategy of political marketing mix of 4P in order to win the electorate arena of parties and candidates based on their segmented voters during campaign and elections (Hanneberg, 2003).

By modifying the McMair (2011)’s idea about elements of political communication and the conceptualization of political market areas which is proposed by Stromback(2010), there are three main political market arenas, that is : 1) political organization which is included the interest groups, the central and local government, political parties, national and local parliaments and public organization; 2) the mass media; and 3) the citizens as electorates as segmented and targetted voters. Political organization can be placed as the political market arena and as political actors. While the mass media and electorates has been widely recognized by political parties and candidates as the strategic political market arena. In modern democracy, especially among the developing countries, the telestrial television industries have been playing prominent rules as medium and arena of political market. Therefore, for over the effort for having the best the mediated-political marketing strategy has
been developed by each parties and candidate during campaign and election for getting the majority of the votes of electorates.

**Figure 1**
**Political Market Arenas**


Nevertheless, for few years the Internet and social media features have been using largely as new tools of political marketing. It is possible for candidate to develope various type of the Internet and social media features usage to build their political parties brand and personal branding of their candidates. According to Lilleker (2005:10), political party brand relates to the three sphere that are : 1) the history, traditions and ethos of parties ; 2) core concepts and constraints of parties; and 3) communication pattern of parties. Emphasizing the political party brand will be relevant if the parties take prominent role during campaign and election and the election system will put the parties as a choice for the voters which lead for the party-centered campaign. However, the situation will be different if the candidate-centered campaign. The personal political branding of candidates will be more important rather than political party branding. Therefore, the mass media, the Internet and social media as medium or arena of political marketing will be employed for marketing the candidates rather than parties.

In developing countries, the television industries still remain the prominent medium of political marketing. Both parties and candidates will need more money to funding their campaign in the commercial/private broadcasting. For the alternative solution, both parties and candidates have tried to employ the Internet and social media as tools of political marketing. The development feature of Web 2.0 and the various type of social media which is used by parties and candidates become interesting to analyse the types of interaction and pattern of communication therein. As mentioned by Rice dan Haythornthwaite (2006) there are three types of interaction in the Internet, that are : 1) the access to the Internet; 2)
communication involvement with the Internet; 3) communication and interaction with and by the Internet.

Figure 2 will describe the pattern of the Internet and social media usage as the medium or arena of political marketing. By modifying the proposed-model of the social media usage by Adi dan Lilleker (2012: 9-12), the Internet and social media can be generated as political marketing arena as a tool for listening, processes of engaging, creating the political message and sharing and integrating values and information to political market and repeating the political message, political product or mention the personal branding of candidates and parties. The political communication processes using the Internet and social media features perform the interconnecting stage which reflect the degree and types of the tendency of political communication performances. A pattern of communication model was made by Lilleker (2011), to address the dynamic of web campaign. Lilleker (2011) proposed the four tendencies of web campaign model, that are: 1) informing; 2) engaging; 3) persuading; and 4) mobilising and interacting. By modifying the Adi and Lilleker (2012) and Lilleker (2011), the pattern of the Internet and social features media usage as the medium or arena of political marketing can be drawn by figure below.

Figure 2
The Pattern of the Internet and Social Media Usage as The Medium or Arena of Political Marketing


In developing countries, such as Indonesia, the rise of the Internet and social media features usage during the campaign and election has been existing with the traditional model of political communication. In addition, the mass media, especially television broadcasting as the medium and arena of political communication remain to be used as the main medium and arena of political communication among the parties and candidates. Eventhough in the three locus of political communication will produce different character, however, it is possible for political marketer of parties and candidates for crafting the mixed-mediated political communication model. The figure 3 bellow will sketch on how the mixed-mediated political marketing can be developed by party or candidates campaign organization. Based on the mixed mediated political marketing, there are three elements : 1) the Internet and social media based political marketing of candidates; 2) the mass mediated-political marketing of candidates which is included the free mass media publication and the paid mass media publication and political advertising; and 3) the traditional model political marketing of candidates which is included the the direct selling and door to door campaign and word of mouth.

**Figure 3**

*Mixed Mediated-Political Marketing Model*

This model can be employed by both parties and candidate campaign organization, depend on their conditions. By employing the direct-selling political marketing, it will be importan for candidates on making direct contact to their segmented-voters personally. Regarding the local political cultures of the voters, this method might be more effective to build the voter trust, loyalties and sympathy. If the direct-selling can be successfully mixed by the word of mouth political marketing strategy, it might raise the personal branding differentiation of particular candidate. As the result, this model campaign and political marketing activities might lead for attracting and increasing largely free mass media publication. If the direct-selling and the word of mouth political strategy can be mixed by the usage of social media by producing the positive personal branding mention, it is can give advantage for candidates to strenghthen their personal branding during the campaign and election.
Each candidates can start their political marketing program by the Internet and social media-based political marketing and traditional political marketing. Furthermore, they should enable to generate a strategy in order to stimulate and to obtain the free publication of the commercial/private mass media. If their political marketing activities can be crafting as public interest mainstreaming issues which produces various kind of newsworthy based on human interest or another social, cultural or political issues, the commercial/private mass media will be interested to cover their political marketing activities. While implementing both traditional political marketing activities and the Internet and social media based political marketing of candidates, the chief campaign strategies of political marketer of candidates should enable to predict and generate the newvalues of the candidates activities based on the private/commercial media logic. By developing the insight view of political journalist or infotainment producer of television broadcasting, the chief strategies of political marketer of candidates should enable packaging all of campaign activities based on thematic events and framed-issues which fulfill the public interest and met with the demand of the mass media logic. If they fail to do this, the paid mass media publication and buying space for political advertising of the candidate can be the alternative ways. However, the rest strategy will need spending more campaign finances. Therefore, the mixed-mediated political communication can be alternative way to form the effective political marketing model of candidates and parties, if they have not huge campaign finances.

III. Candidates, Parties and Political Market Arena in the Governorial Election of Indonesia

In democratic system, various perspectives, strategies and methods political marketing have been developed by both parties and candidates over times. In any democratic country where they have strong tradition of political parties is usually indicated by the dominant rule of political parties as representation of political interest of their electorates. However, the condition will be different if the one of democratic country carry out the direct election system which lead the candidates of parties to be nominated as public official in the legislative or executive institution. As the results, the candidate will be the main actors as well as product of political marketing during campaign and election.

Political parties—both national and local parties—should became the main actors as well as a product of political marketing. For the first step, each political party should enable to marketize theirself to the local electorates based on their ideological principles, policies-orientation, political party’s brand and other their political products. The rule of political parties as political institution has been decreasing due to the political dealignment, the declining of party identity (Party ID) and partisanship, and the rise commercialized-electorates. In some western democratic countries, partisanship and party identity have might remain been strong, while the other democratic countries are going to came down. As political parties lose their ability to remain voter attachment based on their ideologies policies and product in a democratic systems, people’s mind and preference toward parties will be took over by the rise and the emergence of popularity of candidates who enable to attract their electorates. The tendency is voters will not consider the national or local political

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7 The term commercialized-electorates in Indonesian local election cases will be used to explain not only due to their characteristics as the voter who tend to drive by non-ideological stand point issues (such as left, center and right ideological issues), but also they were indicated by permissive attitude toward money politics. During the election a lot of candidate will spend some money as gift to the electorates by following expectation that during the Election Day they will elect this candidates. Currently, the money politics is one unfinished crucial issues of Indonesian democracy since the direct election system by voting the candidate name due to the lack of strict supervision during the election. Most leader of Indonesian Non-Goverment Organization, especially Indonesian Corruption Watch recognize that money politics during campaign and election is the main causes of the abundant corruption issues both national and local head of Goverment in Indonesia.
parties’s brand any more during the local election. In contrast they tend to ponder the famous person who possibly will be nominated by parties during the local election.

The changing of election system and political market arenas will determine the pattern of political marketing model. By employing the Stromback’s proposition (2011), we can assess the dynamic of the four political marketing arena: 1) parliamentary arena; 2) internal party arena; 3) mass media arena and 4) electoral arena. The main tendency for the election of head/vice head of the Local Goverment of Indonesia is the mass media arena and electoral arena will be the most important factors.

How was the development of Indonesian mass media as political market arena? For a short description, during the New Order Soeharto, the print media, especially newspaper has became the main arena of political communication. By 1990s Under New Order Soeharto, there has been the decreasing the political journalism and the rise of capital producing journalism (Dhakidae, 1991). At that time, the strictly control of New Order Regime toward the content of newspaper and the domination of newspaper as medium and actors of political communication has still remained the both the newspaper as the main medium of political communication led by the goverment’s agenda. The mass media were used by the Central Goverment as state’s propaganda tools to construct and to maintain the developmentalism discourses.

Nonetheless, by 1990s, Indonesian private television has been occupying as main arena of political communication up to the falling of New Order Soeharto. Moreover, some of private television industries in Indonesia had played pivotal rule by covering the critical news frame toward Soeharto regime. During the reform movement in 1998s, scholars such as Ishadi SK (2002) noted that even though the strict control had implemented by political regime, some of the producers of private/commercial television in their newsroom had remained their critical standpoint toward Soeharto regime by covering student demonstration as the object of the violence of military apparatus of Soeharto regime.

After the reform era, the mass media has been taking pivotal role as the medium of political marketing both the parties and candidates\(^8\). Moreover, the private/market media system has been raising as a central medium of political communication and political marketing\(^9\). The two problems has been rose. The first problem has been emerging while the

\[^8\] For addition information, Indonesia has followed the mixed model of media systems, that are : 1) public media system; 2) private/commercial market media system and 3) community media system. The public media system was held by Indonesian Television of Republic Indonesian (Televisi Republic Indonesia/TVRI) and Indonesian Radio of Republic Indonesia (Radio Republic Indonesia/RRJ). Some said that those Indonesian public media as the state’s media. During the New Order Soeharto Regime, those broadcasting media were controlled by the Central Government as tools of political propaganda. As results, the distrust to public media system still has been raising after Reform Era. After New Order Soeharto Era, under Bill No.32/2002 about Broadcasting and Bill No.40/1999 about Press, the new mass media policy and broadcasting system policy was established by Government, however, this regulation seem to be failed while dealing with the tendency of the rise concentration of ownership and the domination of commercial interest of private/commercial television. The main problem is both the Indonesian Broadcasting Commission as appointed Independent State Agency and The Ministry of Communication and Information based on Bill No.32/2002, did not have authority to control the concentration of ownership of mass media industries and the tendency of commercial interest of private/commercial mass media in Indonesia. For further discussion, see Hermin Indah Wahyuni. 2008. Broadcasting Media Regulation. Yogyakarta: FISIPOL UGM, and see Hermin Indah Wahyuni. Indonesia Broadcasting Policy: The Limits of Re-regulation to Create a Democratic Broadcasting System, Asian Mass Communication Quarterly, vol. 33, 2006.

\[^9\] For historical background, by 1990s up to Reform Era, Indonesia has 6 private media industries, that are RCTI, INDOSIAR, ANT V, SCTV, LATIVI (currently transform its name as TV ONE) and TPI (currently transform its name as MNC TV). At that time, there are two influenced private news TV Channel, that are : SCTV and Metro TV. By 1999-present, Indonesia has 9 private media industries, that are RCTI, INDOSIAR, SCTV, TV One, Metro TV, Trans TV, Trans 7, MNC, Global TV. The most private influenced news TV Channel, that are Metro TV and TV One. They are national private television channel which is accessed by public as free to air. The
tendency of owner of Indonesian private/commercial mass media, especially television broadcasting, who is going to become the leader of political parties has been raising. The three media baron of private/commercial television broadcasting has been taking over Indonesian political partie’s leadership. For example Abu Rizal Bakrie, the owner of TV One and Viva Network Groups is the General Chairman of Golkar Party. Surya Paloh the owner of Metro TV and Media Groups, the former of the one of Chairman of Golkar Party, then he lead the National Democratic Party (Nasdem Party). Finally, Harry Tanoe Sudibyo, he former the one of the chairman of Nasdem Party), the switch his political position as one of Chairman of Hanura Party. Indeed, it is difficult for media to avoid their political and business interest of their owners. Even though there are many restrictions toward the mass media content which is abused during the campaign election, however, The Indonesian Election Commission (Komisi Pemilihan Umum) both nation and local level did not have power for sentencing by rigorous punishments.

The second problem is the raise of the demand of paid space of publication of the private/commercial television broadcasting industries in Indonesia. Based on the business interest, the mass media is going to selling the large commercial space for parties and candidates to broadcast their political advertising product or advertorial campaign publication. Eventhough the election regulation and press regulation have been trying to control this tendency, however, there are no rigorous punishment toward parties, candidates and the mass media which is sold their large commercial space for campaign.

The other political market arena in Indonesia is non-mass media commercial space, that are billboard political advertising which is serviced by advertising agencies or political consultant firm. Some rich person who will run as the head-vice head candidate of The Local Goverment enable to pay this commercial space. However, there are many of poorer candidates who can not hire Indonesian advertising agencies or political consultant firm to obtain those commercial space. As result, they should seek the alternative cheapest media arena as political market. The rise of internet and social media usage such as twitter and facebook have been featuring many advantages as new political marketing tools of candidates and parties during the local elections.

The electorate is the main important political market during the local election in Indonesia. There are many type of electorates in Indonesian politics . Some scholars proposed the traditional electorate who will elect party or candidates based on the traditional closed-tied of their social cleavage which is based on religion orientations, and ethnicity(Mallarangeng, 1997; King, 2001). The other belived the emergence of new type of rational voters who will cash their vote based on political-economic issues and leadership (Mujani, 2003; Mujani and Liddle, 2007). The type local electorate in Indonesia will perform different character based on their social structure, demography or sociography. Therefore, in another private television channel such as: 1) the free to air of the local television channel in each Indonesian province; and 2) the pay cable television channel such as KOMPAS TV. By 2004-present the most influenced Indonesian news television channel are Metro TV which is owned by Mr.Surya Paloh, The General Chairman of The Nasdem Party and TV One which is owned by Mr.Abhurizal Bakrie, the General Chairment of the Golkar Party. Post-the 2009 Indonesian general election, another media baron has entered the Indonesian politics. It can be noted that since Tuesday, September, 9 2011, Hary Tanoe Sudibyo—the owner of MNC Group— has formally declared as Chairman of Expert Council of Nasdem Party. This event very important to be viewed as new mode how the media owners endorse their political views. For few years ago Post New Order, we can find that there are some Indonesian media owners such as Abu Rizal Bakrie, general chairman of Golkar Party, and Surya Paloh whose currently hold as a chairman of Party Nasdem. By 2013, Hary Tanoe Sudibyo has moved out from Nasdem Party to Hanura Party which is led by the retired General of Wiranto—the former Chief of Indonesian military, during the last time of New Order Soeharto Regime, and the former Minister of Defence under President of B.J.Habibie.
each province, the political preference of electorate will be determined by religious values and ethnicity and the other province seem to exclude those factors.

What is the condition of parties and candidates during the campaign and election of head/vice head of the local government of Indonesia? The tendency is most parties in the Indonesian during this local election just enable to play as “a board launcher” for the candidates of head/vice head of local government. Indeed, the party role seem will be over after the election held. This situation remain exist due to under direct election system Indonesian political parties had mostly failed to breed the strong leader as popular candidates during the local election of head/vice head of local government. Therefore, they had always searched the popular person to be nominated as candidates during facing the local election, even though they came from out side the party organization or non-party cadre. There is only few political parties such as The Prosperous Juustry Party (Partai Keadilan Sejahtera) which is largely recognized due to their intention to nominate their cadre as candidates for the local elections. The other Indonesian party tend for having no intention for preparing their cadre to be nominated as candidate during the local election.

Why the rich person or popular person has always been nominated by national and local party facing the local election of head/vice of the Local Government in Indonesia? The main reason is, the most them fail to strengthen and build their party organization as campaign and political marketing organization. The phenomenon of party dealignment, declining of partisanship and the rise commercialized-electorates will lead the condition that political marketing of candidates always need more political finance during campaign and elections. By choosing the rich person as the candidate, they will enable to finance their political marketing due their ability for funding their political advertising and another paid broadcasting publication or dealing with the commercialized-electorates. By nominating the popular person as the candidates, parties enable to reduce the campaign finances due to the great attractive of this person will be expected to attach the segmented voters who have strong sympathy and enthusiast to this person without spending much money to mass media for getting large publication and political advertising.

Regarding the huge political finance demand and the preeminent of popularity factors of candidates during campaign in the local election, the tendency is the rich person and also popular person who came from senior government official, the local and national businessman or popular artist/celebrity tend to be nominated by parties or coalition of parties as pragmatic solution for winning the local election. As the result, this direct election system of head/vice head of local government causes the negative impact that is the emergence of both rich person and popular person to nominated as candidates eventhough they came outside the party organization. In consequence, this situation impact to the model of political marketing during campaign and election. Both political parties and candidates during this local election encourage for having various agreement how to manage and establish their political marketing strategies depend on their political agreement and conditions.

While assessing the political marketing approach, it is difficult to employ fully typical political marketing model of parties, such as Product-Oriented Party (POP), Market-Oriented Party (POP) and Sales-Oriented Party which were formulated by Lilleker and Lees-Marhsment (2005). The first problem is, the main actor of political marketing in election of head/vice head of the Local Government in Indonesia is candidates not political parties. In this election, there is not party-centered campaign, but the most prominent is the candidate-centered campaign. In addition, most of the candidates is not cadre of party organization and their political marketing products which are delivered to the electorate are often different with their partie’s endorser. However, due to the direct election system, most of candidates in this local election tend to adopt the market-oriented political marketing model.
How does the political marketing strategies will be held by both parties organization and candidate of head/vice head of local government to assemble the campaign organization, and their choices of model of political marketing strategies?. The campaign organization of marketing the candidates during this election generally follow two pattern. The first pattern is that the campaign organization can be integrated between party campaign organization and candidate’s campaign organization, and the second one, both party and candidates have different separated-campaign organization and they have authority to implement their political marketing strategies to the electorate.

The choices of model political marketing strategies will be organized generally follow two pattern. First, both party and candidates will establish their campaign organization which equipped by marketing research, analysis and developing political marketing strategies basen on assessment and suggestion of their internal and external political consultants. Second, party or candidates will hire the external political consultant who having authority to determine their best strategy to marketize the candidates. The first pattern, both external and external political consultant does not have authority to establish and implement political marketing strategies. All of the decision of political marketing strategies is the authority of appointed leader of party or candidates’s campaign organization. In constrast, the second pattern, all of the authority of political marketing strategies and is implementation is ruled by chief strategiest came from external campaign firm which is appointed and approved by candidates. Based on each choised model of campaign organization, the political marketing strategies will be delivered through out various medium, that are : 1) the mass media-based political marketing; 2) the direct selling-based political marketing and 3) the social media-based political marketing.

IV. Political Marketing Model of Candidates During The 2012 Gouernatorial Election of Jakarta : A Case Study of Jokowi’s Political Marketing Model

The 2012 Governatorial Election is the second direct local election of head/vice head of Local Goverment of Special Region of Jakarta. While, The first similar election was held by 2007. Constrast to the 2007 Governatorial Election which is held in first-round of election, The 2012 Governatorial Election was occured in two-round of election. Involving 6 mate of candidates, by the first round was happened by June 2012.

The 2012 election of head/vice head of The Local Govervement of Special Region of Jakarta was involved six mates of candidates. First, the 4 mates of candidates were nominated by the political parties and the rest mates of candidates were nominated by non-parties. The number 1 is Fauzi Bowo-Nahrowi Ramli nominated by Democratic Party. The number 2 is Hendardji Supandji-Achmad Riza who were nominated by non-parties. The number 3 is Jokowidodo-Basuki Tjahaya Purnama who were called as Jokowi-Ahok, nominated by coalition of The Indonesian Democratic Struggle Party and Gerindra Party. The number 4 is Hidayat Nur Wahid-Didik J.Rachbini nominated by the coalition of The Prosperous Justice Party and National Mandatory Party. The number 5 is Faisal Basrie-Biem Benyamin who were nominated by non-parties. The number 6 is Alex Nurdin-Nono Sampono nominated by the Golkar Party. Each candidates has various background as described bellow.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No</th>
<th>The Candidates</th>
<th>Background</th>
<th>Party</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Faisal</td>
<td>Faisal : lecturer of Faculty of Economy and</td>
<td>Non-Parties</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Candidate 1</td>
<td>Candidate 2</td>
<td>Party</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>------------</td>
<td>------------</td>
<td>-------</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Basri-Biem Benyamin</td>
<td>Busines, The University of Indonesia, political activist and national media commentators in economy and business issues and one of founder of National Mandatory Party) Biem Benyamin: Popular Local Artist of Jakarta/The Local Leader of Betawi Communities</td>
<td>Non-Parties</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hendardji Supandji-Achmad Riza Patria</td>
<td>Hendardji Supanji : Retired Major General of Indonesian Army Achmad Riza Patria : one of Chairment of Gerindra Party</td>
<td>Non-Parties</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hendardji Supanji-Achmad Riza Patria</td>
<td>Alex Nurdin: The Governor of South Sumatera Nono Sampono: Leutnan General (Ret), of Indonesian Navy</td>
<td>Golkar Party</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hidayat Nur Wahid-Didik J. Rachbini</td>
<td>Hidayat: Lecturer, The former of The Indonesian People Consulative’s Assembly (2004-2009) and the former of President of Prosperous Justice Party Didik: Lecturer (Professor), The former of Indonesian Member of Parliament/The Indonesian House of Representative from National Mandatory Party</td>
<td>Coalition of Prosperous Justice Party (Partai Keadilan Sejahtera/PKS) and National Mandatory Party (Partai Amanat Nasional/PAN)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fauzi Bowo dan Nahrowi Rahmli</td>
<td>Fauzi Bowo or called Foke: The Incumbent Governor of Special Region of Jakarta (2004-2012) Nahrowi Ramli : The Major Gerenal (Ret) of Indonesian Army</td>
<td>Democratic Party (Partai Demokrat)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Joko Widodo-Basuki Tjahaya Purnama</td>
<td>Joko Widodo: Major/Head of Municipality of Surakarta, Central Java Basuki Tjahaya Purnama/Ahok: the former Head of West, Belitung (Belitung Timur), Belitung Province and the member of The Indonesian Parliament/The Indonesian House of Representative (2009-2014) from Golkar Party</td>
<td>Coalition of The Indonesian Struggle Democratic Party (Partai Demokrasi Indonesia Perjuangan/PDIP) and Gerindra Party</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Each candidates during the 2012 Governatorial election was supervised by various hired pollster and political consultants. Take for example, Faisal Basri-Biem Benyamin have been appointed Mr.Santoso as chief media strategiest. While Hendarman Supandji-Achmad Riza Patria has hired the unknown campaign manager and they officially did not publish their consultant’s name. Alex Nurdin-Nono Sampono have elected The Indonesian Survey Institute (Lembaga Survei Indonesia) as hired pollster to track their popularity, likeability and electability. Meanwhile, Hidayat Nur Wahid-Didik J.Rahbini has named Furtune PR which is led by Mrs. Indira Abidin as political consultants. Fauzi Bowo-Nahrowi Ramli has hired the two pollster, that are The Indonesian Voices Network (Jaringan Suara Indonesia/JSI) led by Widi Aswidi, and Saiful Mujani Research Consulting (SMRC). Finally, Jokowidodo-Basuki Tjahaya Purnawa has named the Cyrus Network which is led Andrinof Chaniago and Hasan Hasbi, and PolMark Indonesia which is led by Eep Saifullah Fatah.

Table 2
The Pollsters and Political Consultants Hired by the Candidates of the 2012 Governoratorial Election of Jakarta

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No</th>
<th>Candidates</th>
<th>Political Consultants</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Faisal Basri- Biem Benyamin</td>
<td>Mr. Santoso, Personal Professional Consultants, Spin-Doctor and Media Strategist, and Senior Journalist of Radio 68 H Network</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Hendarman Supanji-Achmad Riza Patria</td>
<td>Unknown Campaign Manager</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Alek Nurdin—Nono Sampono</td>
<td>The Indonesian Survey Institute (Lembaga Survei Indonesia)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Hidayat Nur Wahid- Didik J. Rachbini</td>
<td>Furtune PR led by Mrs. Indira Abidin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Fauzi Bowo dan Nahrowi Rahmli</td>
<td>Pollsters and Political Consultants of The Indonesian Voices Network (Jaringan Suara Indonesia/JSI) led by Widi Aswidi, and supported by Saiful Mujani Research Consulting (SMRC)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>Joko Widodo-Basuki Tjahaya Purnama</td>
<td>Cyrus Network (led Andrinof Chaniago dan Hasan Hasbi) and PolMark Indonesia (led Eep Saifullah Fatah)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The tendency facing the first round of the 2012 Governoratorial Election is most pollsters have nominated Fauzi Bowo-Nahrowi Ramli as to be the winner of this race. However, most of them fail for giving accurate prediction of voter preferences toward each candidates. For example the Indonesian Survey Cyrcle (Lingkaran Survey Indonesia) has been conducted three times of survei that is conducted by March 2012, May 2012 and June 2012. Survey has toke 440 respondent, using multy stage random sampling, by direct interviews collecting data with the margin of error ± 4.8 %. Table 3 show the dynamic of the rate of likeability toward the candidates of the 2012 Governoratorial Election of Jakarta. Based on the survey data, Fauzi Bowo and Nahrowi Ramli has came out as the top rate of likeability among the candidates of Governor and vice Governor of Jakarta. While Jokowidodo has obtained as the second winner of the top rate of likeability among the candidates of Governor and Basuki Tjahaya Purnama has just gained his position as the third top rate of likeability among the candidates of vice Governor of Jakarta.

**Table 3**

The Rate of Likeability of the Candidates of the 2012 Governororial Election of Jakarta

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name of Candidates</th>
<th>March 2012</th>
<th>May 2012</th>
<th>June 2012</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Fauzi Wibowo</td>
<td>79.1%</td>
<td>73.2%</td>
<td>81.2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Joko Widodo</td>
<td>75.0%</td>
<td>75.0%</td>
<td>66.6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Faisal Basrie</td>
<td>68.4%</td>
<td>50.4%</td>
<td>60.1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hidayat Nurwahid</td>
<td>66.2%</td>
<td>66.7%</td>
<td>66.8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hendardji Soepandji</td>
<td>59.8%</td>
<td>46.1%</td>
<td>56.2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Alex Noerdin</td>
<td>50.7%</td>
<td>47.4%</td>
<td>50.5%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
# Table 4

**The Rate of Electability of the Candidates of the 2012 Governatorial Election of Jakarta**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>The Candidates</th>
<th>March 2012</th>
<th>May 2012</th>
<th>June 2012</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Alex Noerdin – Nono Sumpono</td>
<td>3.9%</td>
<td>5.3%</td>
<td>4.6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Faisal Basrie – Biem Benjamin</td>
<td>5.8%</td>
<td>4.1%</td>
<td>1.8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fauzi Bowo – Nachrowi Ramli</td>
<td>49.1%</td>
<td>43.3%</td>
<td>43.7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hendardji Soepandji – Ahmad Riza Patria</td>
<td>1.2%</td>
<td>1.1%</td>
<td>0.5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hidayat Nur Wahid – Didik J Rahbini</td>
<td>8.3%</td>
<td>7.6%</td>
<td>5.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Joko Widodo – Basuki Thahja Purnama</td>
<td>14.4%</td>
<td>20.9%</td>
<td>14.4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Undecided Voters/Floating Mass</td>
<td>17.4%</td>
<td>17.7%</td>
<td>29.7%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: The Indonesian Survey Cyrcle (Lingkaran Survei Indonesia). 2012

Facing the second round of the 2012 Governatorial Election of Jakarta, the rate of electability of Jokowidodo-Basuki Tjahaya Purnawa has been raising. It was indicated by survey results of The Indonesian Survey Institute (Lembaga Survei Indonesia) which is conducted by 2-7 September 2012. They has released the interesting results that the rate electability of Jokowidodo-Basuki Tjahaya Purnawa has been going to raise up to 45.6 % of total voters, while the Fauzi Bowo-Nahrowi Ramli has obtained 44.7 %. Regarding the margin of error ± 4.8 %, it was the serious problem to predict who is going to be the winner of the second round of the 2012 Governanorial Election of Jakarta.  

The electorate as political market arena of The 2012 Governatorial Election of Jakarta has been fluctuating over time since the first round up to facing the second round of this elections. Most pollsters and political consultants have recognized that it was not easy to predict the tendency how far the undecided voter will go during this election. For example
survey research which is conducted by The Indonesian Survey Cycle (Lingkaran Survey Indonesia). While conducting survey research for mapping the potential market or tracing the tendency of market sharing, most of pollster and political consultants was challenged by several problems. First, technically, it is not easy to met all of the elected-respondent based on the multistage random sampling. Second, the huge amount of undecided voters at 29.9% by March has became the determinate factor for the next winner of candidates of the 2012 Governorial Election of Jakarta. The main problem is it is not easy to detect their political preference toward the candidates. Third, the multi access of mass media and the dynamic discourse and contestation of personal branding among the candidates in th social media seem has been determining their rate of electability in this election (Arman Salam, one of Senior Pollster of The Indonesian Cyrcle Research/Lingkaran Survei Indonesia, Personal Interview, January, 2013).

During the first-round and second-round of election, each candidates has tried to develop their personal political branding. Some of them develope their personal branding based and in line with their political party brand such as Fauzi Bowo-Nahrowi Ramly (nominated by Democratic Party), Hidayat Nurwahid-Didik Rahbini (nominated by Prosperous Justice Party and National Mandatory Party), and Alex Nurdin-Nono Sampono (nominated by Golkar Party). However, some of them such as Jokowidodo-Basuki Tjahaya Purnama (nominated by coalition of The Indonesian Democratic Struggle Party and Gerindra Party) did not believe that their political parties brand will strenghten their personal political brand. In contrast, the rest of the non-parties candidate tend to generate their personal political branding which is separated from their political party brand. However, most them fail to strengthen their personal branding such as Hendardji Supandji-Ahmad Riza Patria (nominated as non-parties) and Faisal Basri-Biem Bienyamin (nominated as non-parties). There is only one candidates successfully came out as the strongest personal political brand, that is Jokowidodo-Basuki Tjahaya Purnama.

While addressing the element of brand of each candidates, each candidates has been generating their personal political branding from various values. For example Fauzi Bowo-Nahrowi Ramli, and Hendardji Supandji-Achmad Riza Patria had tried to generate the “betawi identities” as indigenous etchnic of Jakarta. While Hidayat Nurwahid-Didik J.Rahbini have tried to create their personal branding as “the national leaders and profesional Islamic leaders of Jakarta”. Regarding the complexity of differisty of Jakarta, Jokowidodo-Basuki Tjahaya Purnama have try to build the new brand “ The New Jakarta (Jaka Baru)” which is contrasted to “The Old Jakarta” (this tagline refer to Fauzi Bowo-Nahrowi Ramli, as incumbent candidates), by emphasizing the “the plaid shirt” as a new symbol of the plurality and unity people of Jakarta.

Having multy ethnic, urban and professional communities and inhabited by the huge amount of Indonesian middle class, the voters of Jakarta seem to be different with any province of Indonesia. Therefore, the electorates as political market were charaterized by several indicators such as the low level partisanship to political party, and multy access to various media outlets, the Internet and social media features. The political marketer of Jokowidodo-Basuki Tjahaya Purnama has recognized that as part of Asian culture, Jakarta’s people have pattern of political communication formally and informally not only connected by mass media, the Internet and social media, they also interconected by direct communication groups contact within various social, economi, cultural and political communities based on their professional association or any community associations. Eventhough Jakarta city was built based on megapolitan cultures, however, the voters of Jakarta tend to uphold their traditional characters like country people, such enjoying direct communication or personal contact, making close connection within their various communities, and building brotherhood in each professional or traditional communities.
based on their original land. Therefore, the association as urban communities tend to be formed based on their similar and original tribes, schools/university, home land, and other tradition tied (Bimo Nugroho, One of Political Marketer of Jokowido, Personal Interview, September 2012).

As political market, Jakarta’s electorates have different political expectations toward the coming governor/vice governor of Jakarta. They are the smart voters and over time they have been looking the best coming governor/vice governor who have strong leadership and best personality to manage the Jakarta City. The expected leaders is the candidates who enable for giving them a best solution dealing main social problems of Jakarta city such as: 1) the social economic divide between the rich and the poor; 2) the transportation management; 3) the effectiveness of public service especially for traditional market; 4) the annual flood disaster; 5) health service for poor people, etc. Regarding this public issues and expected leadership style, each candidates have tried to develop their political marketing strategies based on political partie’s perspective and political personal branding perspective.

**Figure 4**

The Tendency of Political Marketing Model of Political Parties of The 2012 Governatorial Election of Special Region of Jakarta


Refers to Lilleker and Lees-Marshment’s proposition (2005:10), the tendency of political marketing of mates of candidates based on their political parties can be explained bellow. First, sales-oriented party (SOP) seem to be developed by Fauzi Bowo-Nahrowi Ramli who are nominated by Democratic Party, and Hidayat Nur Wahid-Didik J.Rahbini who are nominated by Coalition of Prosperous Justice Party (Partai Keadilan Sejahtera/PKS) and National Mandatory Party (Partai Amanat Nasional/PAN). Second, the the market-oriented party (MOP) was mostly implemented by Jokowidodo-Basuki Tjahaya Purnama who are

![Political Marketing Model Diagram](image_url)
nominated by The Indonesian Democratic Struggle Party (Partai Demokrasi Indonesia Perjuangan/PDIP) and Gerindra Party. Third, product-oriented party (POP) was mostly generated by Alex Nurdin-Nono Sampono who are nominated by Golkar Party.

Refers to the three aforementioned political marketing approaches, it was difficult for making a strict line the strong tendency of their political marketing model of each candidates. Some candidates have seem crafting a mixed combination strategy or adapt part element of that political marketing approach such as between market-oriented party (MOP) and sales-oriented party (SOP) which is generated by Jokowidodo-Basuki Tjahaya Purnama, while mixed political marketing combination strategy between product oriented-party (POP) and sales-oriented party (SOP) are implemented by Hidayat Nur Wahid-Didik J. Rahbini.

Beyond the political marketing based on parties, the 2012 Jakarta Governorial Election has resulted the marketing model based on the personal branding of candidates which is supported by external political consultants and volunteer as political marketer. First, the three mates of candidates were mostly supported by their party campaign organization that are : 1) Alex Nurdin-Nono Sampono (Golkar Party); 2) Fauzi Bowo-Nahrowi Ramli (Democratic Party); and 3) Hidayat Nurwahid-Didik J. Rahbini (nominated by coalition of Prosperous Justice Party/PKS and National Mandatory Party/PAN). All of the three mates of candidates and their supporting party have employed internal and external political consultants both general and specialist political consultants. The second, the two mate of candidates came from non-parties have developed the political marketing based on their personal branding as candidates and they hired the general and specialist political consultants. Third, the political marketing based on volunteer as political marketer which is called “the participatory political marketing” and it was combined with the their strongest political personal branding as candidates. Eventhough, they was nominated by coalition of the Indonesian Democratic Struggle Party/PDIP and Gerindra Party, Jokowidodo-Basuki Tjahaya Purnama have been successfully developed “the participatory political marketing” during campaign and election of the 2012 Governorial Election of Jakarta.

Figure 5
The Dynamic of Political Marketing Model Based on Parties, Candidates and Volunteer of the 2012 Governorial Election of Jakarta
Figure is made based on the personal interviews with Totok Izzul Fatah and Sunarto Cipto Harjono, Senior Political Consultants of Lingkaran Survei Indonesia (the Indonesian Circle Survey), February 2013, Personal Interviews with Bimo Nugroho and Budi Purnomo, Internal Political Consultants of Jokowidodo-Basuki Tjahaya Purnama, February 2013, and Ajianto Dwinugroho, one of the Chief Strategies of Voluntary Manager for Political Marketer of Jokowidodo-Basuki Tjahaya Purnama, September 2012.

Whilst it was guided by participatory political marketing, the campaign of teams of Jokowidodo-Basuki Tjahaya Purnama have tried to generate the mixed mediated-political marketing model based on the combination of three types of political marketing, that are : 1) traditional political marketing which is generated by direct selling, door to door campaign and word of mouth; 2) the Internet and social media based political marketing and 3) the free paid private/commercial mass media political marketing, especially television broadcasting. The figure 5 will describe how does the mixed-mediated political marketing which is developed by political marketing teams of Jokowidodo-Basuki Tjahaya Purnama.

**Figure 6**

**Mixed Mediated-Political Marketing Model of Political Marketer Teams of Jokowidodo-Basuki Tjahaya Purnama**

The first program of political marketing of Jokowidodo-Basuki Tjahaya Purnama is how to develop and implement suitable approach for the traditional political marketing based on their personal political branding by using the direct selling, door to door and word of mouth campaign methods toward the volatile voters of Jakarta. This voters was formed from two main groups, that are : 1) trader communities of traditional market of Jakarta; and
2) the urban communities, especially poorest communities who live in the small sub-region (Kampoeng) of Jakarta. The political marketing activities which is targetted to this group was recognized by Jokowidodo-Basuki Tjahaya Purnama’s campaign teams will results various news values for newspaper and television broadcasting industries. They call, the traditional political marketing activities by direct selling and door to door campaign method by using the generic traditional javaness language, that is “blusukan” (mean: coming to underground communities and making close personal direct contact with the audiences). As predicted, this tradition term has became popular word among the political journalist, including the infotainment journalist of television broadcasting. This term refers to all of Jokowidodo’s traditional political marketing activities while making direct contact to any trader of traditional market of Jakarta or the various urban communities of Jakarta.

Like the new expected idol of Jakarta, all of the traditional political marketing program of Jokowidido has been attracting for most the journalist and senior editor of national newspaper and national television broadcasting. Like artist and celebrity, Jokowidodo’s political marketing activities always produces interesting newvalues among the journalist and senior editors. The personal character of Jokowidodo is very interesting for journalist. He is a simple man, polite person, having good intonation based javaness local accent, equipping by articulative statement (easier for journalist to quote and making thematic news). The Jokowi's dress styles always be consistent by wearing his official campaign dress that is “the plaid cloth”. He is enthusiastic man and always encourage to listen with the ordinary people where he meet. His personal performance is reflected the “ordinary people” of Jakarta. As the result, the Jokowi has been becoming “the new hot spot” of all of the national mass media in Jakarta. This traditional model of political marketing enable to produce the large free publication with positive tone in the national mass media af Jakarta.

The other groups as segmented and targetted voter by traditional political marketing strategy is the young government official staff of Special Region of Jakarta. Why this group should be choses? The main reason is to absorb the expectation of young idealist bureaucrat of Special Region of Jakarta, and to assess their need and expectation for new coming governor and to explore the weakness of the various leadership aspects of incumbent candidates (Governor Fauzi Bowo). The insight qualitative data which is fed by this group was benefitter for strengthening the content and product of Jokowo’s political marketing and to analyze the problem and gabs between the policies of The Local Goverment of Special Region of Jakarta and the poeple’s expectation, as well as their needs and demands (Bimo Nugroho, Personal Interview, January 2013).

The second segmented and targetted political market arena is the senior editor of political desk of national newspaper industries, senior producer of private/commercial national television broadcasting industries in Jakarta. Assisted by his Head of Media Center, Mr.Budi Purnomo, Jokowi having special meeting with them with three special goals. First, making personal to them and sharing the ideas about the future of the Local Goverment of Jakarta as the capital city of Indonesia. Second, to absorb their expectation toward the new coming Governor of Jakarta. Third, organizing the potential cooperation to encourage the engagement of senior editor of political desk of national newspaper industries and senior producer of television industries and their reporter to build the positive framming publication of personal branding of Jokowidodo. As the former of senior journalist, the head of media center of Jokowidodo have various personal contact, close connection and friendship to the most of the senior editor of national newspaper and senior producers of national television broadcasting of Jakarta. This condition was benefitted for Jokowidodo to be accepted as part of their communities. As the results, eventhough Jokowidodo did not spend for commercial blocking space in the mass media, and have no budget for financing his political advertising
in television broadcasting, he always enable to get their regular daily publication during the election of campaign.

The third segmented and targetted political market arena is the volunteer and the most of urban professional communities and various urban communities of the middle class of Jakarta. The Jokowidodo’s volunteer was organized by special team. This team was formed from various professional and urban communities who did not like the Governor as incumbent candidate (Fauzi Bowo). This team was marketize their main political idea that is “The New Jakarta” (Jakarta Baru), which is means Jakarta without discrimination, having positive appreciation toward cultural activities, uphold the idea of plurality and open equality and access to the Jakarta’s people to realize their personal and communitie’s dream. The Jokowidodo’s volunteer is mostly formed from the association of the professional middle class and urban communities who came from various home land outside Jakarta. They thought that Jakarta under Fauzi Bowo’s governement seem to be more discrimative, tend giving benefit the some rich person and managing by authoritarian style. Therefore, by using social media, they have tried to promote the Jokowodido’s personal branding as “the right expected and coming leaders of Jakarta “ (Ajianto Dwi Nugroho, The Chief of The Political Marketer Manager of The Jokowidodo’s Volunteer, Personal Interview, September 2012)

According to Bimo Nugroho (2012:xvii), there are approximately thousands of communities who endorced and become volunteer of Mr.Jokowi during the nomination of candidacy and campaign. They called their self as non-partisanship (that is mean they did not affiliated by any Indonesian existing political parties). This volunteer communities has campaigned for Mr.Jokowi as the candidate of The Head of Special Region of Jakarta, for long time before the Indonesian Struggle Democratic Party (Partai Demokrasi Indonesia Perjuangan) officially has declared Mr.Jokowi as the nominated candidate for the Governatorial Election of this region. The main element of successfull campaign of Mr.Jokowi is the thousands of voluntaree who beloved him as militant supporter to endorse and to strenghten the personal political branding of Jokowi (Personal Interviews, September 2012).

Contrast to another candidates who mostly delivere their political advertising product in television broadcastiing, Jokowi by him self has developed and generated his personal brand’s differentiation based on direct selling marketing approach to voters as political market. He has avoided the paid mediated political marketing due to its expensive campaign spending. As the result, Jokowi has tried to generate their personal direct selling which is intended to attract the free faid mass media publication. First, Jokowi has tried to present him self as ordinary person with personal communication style. Second, Jokowi has awared that most of Jakarta populations is traditional trader of local market. Therefore, he has focused their personal close contact to them, having the informal meeting with them and intensifying the informal discussion directly with them located in their traditional market enclave of Jakarta. Third, Jokowi has branded himself as funny person who having more entertaining statement during chart with the ordinary people by performing his honest character, and friendship to avoid the public cynism.

In line with the direct selling marketing approach, Jokowi’s media center team has managed his personal brand as “new candidate of coming governor idol of Jakarta”. Mr. Budi Purnomo, the former of senior Journalist of Local Newspaper in Surabaya (Surya Daily Newspaper), and the Director of some of national tabloid of Jakarta has crafted the Jokowi’s personal brand image as artist and celebrity. He has awared that the voters of Jakarta thought their expected leaders as an idol. So, they have developed some stratgeic publication based on tabloidization of journalism techniques. Since he was appointed as Head of Media Center by Mr.Jokowi and approved by Campaign Team of Indonesian Struggle Democratic Party, he
has begun to contact many senior editors of private television Industries, especially the producer of television news.

While the incumbent candidate, Mr. Fauzi Bowo based on his personal character is recognized by most Jakarta journalist as non-friendship, Mr. Budi Purnomo has tried to generate this situation. He has aware that journalist always need the best style of news. So, he has produced the politico-taintment release about Mr. Jokowi activities which met with the journalist news standard expectation. The good personality of Jokowi who always being friendly with anyone including journalist, he was benefitted due to the positive impression of Journalist to him. As the results, the positive tone of publication of Mr. Jokowi.

Supported by political marketing activities of Jokowidodo’s volunteer, the Jokowidodo as brand was getting the positive mention in the social media user of the middle class of Jakarta. The Jokowi’s political marketer team has recognized that the using of the social media is very important to generate personal branding of Jokowidodo in the mind of the middle class of Jakarta. Therefore, the political marketer team was preparing the hundreds of social media activist to generate Jokowi’s personal branding by repreating, sharing, integrating, interacting and mobilizing all of direct-selling’s activities of Jokowi while dealing with the traders of traditional political market of Jakarta and sub-region poorest communities of Jakarta which attract the more positive tone of large free publication of mass media, especially television broadcasting. As can be guessed by his campaign team, this mixed mediated political marketing strategy have done well and enable put the Jokowi name as the top of personal political brand during the 2012 Governatorial Election of Jakarta (Budi Purnomo, The Head of Jokowi’s Media Center, Personal Interviews, February 2013).

The social media based-political marketing of Jokowidodo has been implementing by emphasizing the three strategy. First, informing and engaging political marketing strategy using the social media. Jokowidodo have mostly used the twitter and skype for making the personal contact to volunteer, and potential voters. Twitter account of Jokowidodo (@jokowi_do2) had 193.000 followers. During the campaign and election he has been responding all of the comment of his followers. The head of media strategist of Jokowidodo-Basuki Tjahaya Purnama, Mr. Budi Purnomo, is one of the key person who always manage the content and framing of campaign information by social media to produce the positive impression and to engage all segment of electorates, especially the professional and urban communities of the middle class of Jakarta.

Second, increasing the sharing and the integrating among the social media user to endorse the Jokowidodo’s personal brand. By September 2012, Rizal noted that facing the first round, Jokowidodo-Basuki Tjahaya Purnama have been supported by 54.9 % buzz of 900.000 netizen of social media user, while Fauzi Bowo-Nahrowi Ramli just got 45.1 % buzz of this social media user. Jokowidodo has recognized that the using social media as political marketing tools has been an important factor for winning the 2012 Governatorial Election of Jakarta. By August 2012, facing the second round of the 2012 Governatorial Election he has conducted meeting with the political marketing volunteer of social media. He said that it is time for volunteer crafting the effective political marketing method using social media to send the fastest and direct message to various potential voters11. By September 2012, the social mention of Jokowi personal brand has been raising up to 26 %, while Fauzi Bowo just obtain 21 %. The positive and negative sentiment toward the personal brand of Jokowi is 8 : 1, and 2 : 1 for Fauzi Bowo. All in all the personal brand of Jokowododo has been raising in the several important social media features such as Twitter, Facebook, Youtube, Google plus, Tumblr, dan Yfrog (KOMPAS, 24 September, 2012)

Third, the mobilizing and interacting of Jokowidodo’s political marketer among the heavy social media users of Jakarta’s electorates. This strategy have been done by political marketer of Jokowidodo by establishing the “The Jokowi-Ahok Social Media Volunter or called JASMEV” by August 2012. Facing the second round of this election, They had more than 10,000 volunteer of social media based political marketer. Jokowidodo had supported by 562,598 unique user, while Fauzi Bowo-Nahrowi Ramli had 309,678 unique user. By September 18, 2012 Jose Rizal one of the Indonesian analyst of social media campaign of The PoliticalWave, said that contrast to Fauzi Bowo-Nahrowi Ramli, the social media political marketing program of Jokowidodo has been followed the divergence pattern which is strenghtened Jokowidodo’s personal brand to various network of social media user. As the results the positive mention of personal brand of Jokowidodo reach 1,365,234 unique user.

Both Jokowidodo-Basuki Tjahaya Purnama and Fauzi Bowo-Nahrowi Ramli have been going in the risk battle. Constrast to Jokowidodo, Fauzi Bowo in the first round election seem to be more confidemt to be the winner in this election. However, the results of the first round of this election was surprised him. As the winner in the first-round election is the Jokowido-Basuki Tjahaya Purna who is supported by 1,847,157 of voter or 42,60 % of total voters, while the second winner is Fauzi Bowo-Nahrowi Rahmli who obtain 1,476,648 of voters or 34,05 % of total voters. The third winner was Hidayat Nurwahid-Dik J.Rahbini who gain 508,113 of voters or 11,72 % of total voters, while the fourth winner was Faisal Basri-Biem Benyamin who acquire 215,935 of voters or 4,98 % of total voters. The fifth winner was Alex Nurdin-Nono Sampono who get 202,643 of voters or 4,67 of total voters, and finally Hendardji Supandji-Ahmad Riza Patria who obtain 85,990 of voters or 1,98 % of total voters.

Based on the local election commission regulation, to become the winner in the first round of this election, each mate of candidate should get more than 50 % of total voters. As the result, the Jokowidodo-Basuki Tjahaya Purnama and Fauzi Bowo-Nahrowi Ramli should compete in the second-round of election. The second-round of election was held by September 2012. As the result, Jokowidodo-Basuki Tjahaya Purnama obtained 2,472,130 of voters or 53,82 of total voters. The second winner is Fauzi Bowo-Nahrowi Ramli who is supported by 2,120,815 of voters or 46,18 % of voters. The detail distribution of the voters of both candidates in sub-region of Jakarta will be described by table bellow.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sub-Region of Special Region of Jakarta</th>
<th>Jokowidodo-Basuki Tjahaya Purnama (Total Voters)</th>
<th>Fauzi Bowo-Nahrowi Ramli (Total Voters)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>The West Jakarta</td>
<td>577,232</td>
<td>474,298</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The East Jakarta</td>
<td>695,220</td>
<td>611,366</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Central Jakarta</td>
<td>256,529</td>
<td>249,427</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The North Jakarta</td>
<td>432,714</td>
<td>300,188</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The South Jakarta</td>
<td>507,257</td>
<td>476,742</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Thousand Island of Jakarta Regency</td>
<td>3,178</td>
<td>8,794</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source : The General Election Commission of Special Region of Jakarta. 2012

The final result of the second round the 2012 Governatorial Election of Jakarta which is officially released by the General Election Commission of Special Region of Jakarta have shown that Jokowidodo-Basuki Tjahaya Purnaman came out as the winner in the 4 sub-region of Jakarta: 1) The West Jakarta; 2) the East Jakarta; 3) The Central Jakarta and 4) The South Jakarta. While the Fauzi Bowo-Nahrowi Ramli just enabled as the winner in the one sub-region of Jakarta that is The Thousand Island of Jakarta. Based on this election results, Finally, By September, 29, 2012, The General Election Commission of Special Region of Jakarta has declared that Jokowidodo-Basuki Tjahaya Purnama as the Governor-Vice Governor of Jakarta for 2012-2017.

V. Conclusion.

The 2012 Governatorial Election of Special Region of Jakarta has been marked by the new model of innovative political marketing model of Jokowidodo-Basuki Tjahaya Purnama as the winner of this race. They has been successfully developing the mixed mediated political marketing. The mixed-mediated political marketing of Jokowidodo has been effective due to its ability to meet the characteristic of political market of the 2012 Governatorial Election of Jakarta. First, the rise of the volunteer as political market arena and then they have became the marketer resources expect the new political leaders which have strong personal branding such as Jokowidodo to challenge the incumbent candidate (Fauzi Bowo). The volunteer who came from the professional association and urban communities of the middle class of Jakarta is the strategic communities. They have personal funding to support various political marketing program of Jokowidodo. As the result Jokowidodo campaign fund just spend no more than 23 Billion rupiah or equal with around 22,000 $ US. Part of this campaign finance is supported by the professional communities of the Indonesian middle class in Jakarta. Therefore, it is not strange if the campaign program of Jokowodidi have became the cheapest campaign finance in the history of the Governatorial Election in Jakarta and among various province of Indonesia (Sunarto Cipto Harjono, Senior Political Consultants of of The Lingkaran Survei Indonesia/The Indonesian Cyrcle Survey, Personal Interview, January 2013).

Second, the mass media’s senior editors, senior producers and reporter as political market arena need the interesting newsvalues of figure of candidates during the 2012 Governatorial Election of Jakarta. In term of business interest, this newsvalues of Jokowodido is very important to increase their rate of publication among the readers of viewers. In term of social interest, they newsvalues of Jokowidodo was very interesting due to their genuinity of political marketing programs and actives which is reflected the common dream of Jakarta’s peoples. Both mass media industries and the Jokowidodo’s political marketer teams seem enable the mutual relationship and as the result this relationship have benefitted each other. Therefore, The Jokowidodo’s personal brand has been raising during the campaign and election due tho this type of relationship(Totok Izzul Fatah, Senior Media Strategiest Consultants of The Lingkaran Survei Indonesia/The Indonesian Cyrcle Survey, Personal Interview, January 2013).

Third, the trader communities of traditional market of Jakarta and the urban communities who are inhabited the small sub-region (Kampoeng) of Jakarta are the best targeted and segmented market during the 2012 Governatorial Election of Jakarta. The trader communities of traditional market is the majority group of urban voters in Jakarta. Traditional market is the heart of daily economi, social and cultural interaction among the ordinary people of Jakarta. They have special characteristic that is huge demand for close personal contact and truely and honestly sympathy from the leaders. By touching this group using direct selling and door to door campaign, the personal branding of Jokowowidodo was going
to raise day by day due to effective strategy of word of mouth campaign among varios community of trader of tradition market in Jakarta sub-region. Meanwhile the urban communities, especially poorest communities in various sub-region of Jakarta is the old unfinished problem of Jakarta city. Yet, this population is a minority voters of Jakarta. However, most of the middle class of Jakarta and the mass media always have interested to cover various problem of this groups. Therefore, all of the political marketing activities to this group will touch humanity interest values which is met with the mass media’s social interest.

In conclusion, a successfully crafting strategy of mixed-mediated political marketing have been shown by political marketer’s teams of Jokowidodo-Basuki Tjahaya Purnama. This model is reflected the type of brilliant innovation of mixed-mediated political marketing model. This model is not only benefitted for Jokowidodo-Basuki Tjahaya Purnama as the candidates of the 2012 Governatorial Election of Jakarta after came out as the winner of this races, but also this model can be one of the best alternative solution for parties and candidates while dealing with the problems of their campaign finanances and facing the volatile of political market arenas, especially the commercial/private mass media and the floating mass of electorates.

**Bibliography**


