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ANALYSIS OF POLITICAL PARTIES COMMUNICATION MANAGEMENT  
IN INDONESIAN PROVINCIAL GOVERNOR DIRECT ELECTION  
(2017 DKI JAKARTA GOVERNOR ELECTION CASE STUDY)

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**ABSTRACT**

*In general, the incumbent wins every local leaders election (Pilkada), and is supported by the ruling political party (government). The defeat of Ahok-Djarot candidate pair from Anies-Sandi candidate pair in the 2017 DKI Jakarta governor election is interesting to study, especially with regard to political communication. The management of political messages by party elites and candidates/nominees is one of the important factors in achieving victory. The case of religious blasphemy committed by Ahok was considered a factor in his failure. Therefore, political parties and candidates who will advance in the regional head election can manage political communication effectively, in order that not only the victories are obtained but the negative impacts of the election such as black campaign, hoaxes, damage, chaos, and even casualties can be avoided. The method in this research is a case study. This method is carried out naturally, holistically and with in-depth study to answer several problems. Natural means that the data and information were obtained naturally from some party elites. Holistic means that the data are from parties involved in the election as one unit. In addition, in-depth study means that the data is studied in depth until it finds answers to the problems being studied. The results of the study show that the management of political communication by Anies-Sandi candidate pair, especially its political messages, ideas, concepts and programs, is one of the factors and keys to success in the 2017 DKI Jakarta governor election.*

**INTRODUCTION**

The goal of political parties is to create welfare for all Indonesian people (Law Number 31 of 2002 concerning Political Parties). Every political party should carry out this constitutional mandate, however because of its inconsistencies, the public often questions the role and function of the party.

Various studies show the gap between the ideal role of political parties demanded by the post-reform society and its empirical conditions. It is not uncommon for researchers to show the continuity of the characteristics of political parties with the pre-reform era where almost all political parties only pursued power and political interests (Slater, 2004; Ambardi, 2008) or only became predators of power in democracy (Robison and Hadiz, 2004). Even in a more recent study, the failure of political parties is more about internal problems, apart from funding issues (Mietzner, 2013) (<http://ditpolkom.bappenas.go.id>). In addition, the management of political communication is a problem in itself, especially in the simultaneous regional elections.

Political contestation in direct local leaders election (*Pilkada*) today is no longer based on ideas, concepts and programs, but how party elites tend to gain power as stated by Meriam Budiardjo (in Al-Hamdi, 2013: 7) that political parties are only oriented to gain power rather than carrying out its functions. In fact, one of the functions of a party is as a means of political communication, namely as an intermediary medium between the interests of political parties and the community, or the interests of the government and its people, either in the form of complaining or supporting each of its policies with the aim of creating people's welfare.

This is where it is important for political parties to manage communication well, because without good political communication, it is not only a candidate's failure, but messages that are not managed properly have negative impacts (feedback). One of them is Ahok's statement that "*Indonesians should not be lied to by those who use Surat Al-Maidah 51 so as not to choose non-Muslims as their leaders,*" which has caused widespread controversy especially among the Muslim community in Indonesia and this statement has racial roots.

The result of unmanaged messages and statements were chaos, riots, anarchism and even casualties. An example is a physical clash that resulted in casualties in the rioting in Sugapa District, Intan Jaya Regency, as well as the destruction of public facilities and offices with the election for the Regent and Deputy Regent on February 15, 2017 (Suriyanto, 2017). There was also the destruction of the office building of the Ministry of Home Affairs (Pratama, 2017) which occurred in the Special Capital Region of (DKI) Jakarta governor election, where the polarization and disintegration of the nation due to ethnicity, religion, ancestry, and group of people identity politics took place so that Muslim supporters and non-Muslims came in confrontation (Affan, 2017) causing the destruction of the values of unity and integrity that had already been built as a foundation. This shows the need for building good political communication to preserve the nation's cultural values which are not damaged by struggles and political interests to gain power.

## **LITERATURE REVIEW**

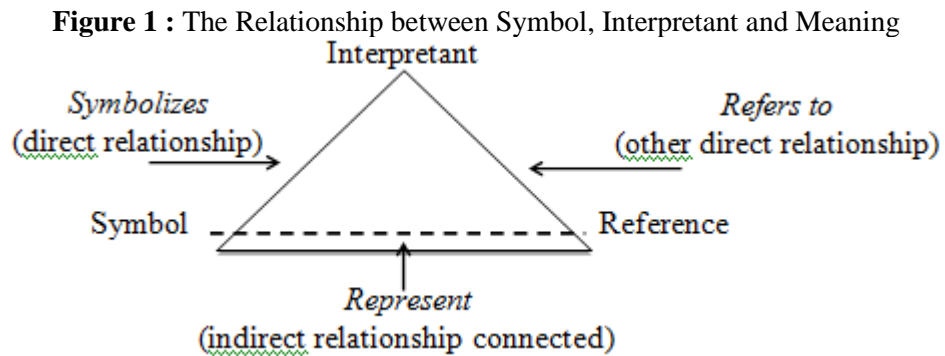
### **Political Communication**

The definition of political communication is basically rooted in Lasswell's (1927) view of propaganda. He defines political communication with basic questions about who-says what-to whom-via which channels-with what effects. This political communication theory emphasizes more on political goals. This is in line with Denton and Woodward (in McNair, 2003: 4) who see that the aspect of the goal to be achieved is how communication has an impact (feedback) on the community or voters including the communicators.

Furthermore MacBride views that communication as a whole cannot be understood if it does not relate to the political dimension. Likewise Almond (in Alfian, 1991: 5-15) understands that communication is one of the main factors in the operation of all functions in the political system. Where the messages in the communication process

are characterized by politics, which are related to the political power of the state, the government and the activities of the communicators in the position of actors of political activities.

In relation to regional election political contestation, communicators determine the direction and support of the communicants (constituents or citizens) as voters. This is very clearly emphasized by J.D. Hallorah that political communicators play a major role in the process of public opinion, even Karl Popper and Leonard W. Doob view leaders have the ability to create public opinion (Dan Nimmo in Abd, Razak Mozin, 2014). Thus, the success of a communicator is largely determined by the content of the message /conversation, in this case in the form of symbols, language and public opinion. As stated by David V.J. Bell said that talk is always related to power, influence and authority, including conflict. To understand the contents of the conversation, it can be seen in Figure 1 below:



Source: Adopted from C.K. Ogden and I.A. Richard, *The Meaning of Meaning*, Harcourt, Brace and World, Inc, New York, in Daan Nimmo (1999: 80)

In the explanation of the picture above, the two lines in the triangle show that there is a direct relationship between the thought or interpretation with a reference (when we think of a red cloth with a bull and a white mouth), and between interpretation and symbol (for example *Partai Demokrasi Indonesia Perjuangan*/Indonesian Democratic Party of Strife (PDIP) flag). However, among symbols and references the relationship is not direct or connected (indicated by a dotted line). This reminds us that symbols are not direct representations of objects; without an active human mind, the flag is not a flag at all, but only a piece of cloth. This means that a reference or object has a use, activity or function. This raises people's thoughts about these references (Clarence Schettler in Daan Nimmo, 2000: 80-81). For example the Ahok – Djarot candidate pair is supported by the PDIP, so the interpretation and reference is that the supporters are all PDIP cadres and from other supporting political parties.

Political communication is understood as an effort to connect political thoughts that exist in the society, be it the internal thoughts of groups, agencies, associations, or sectors of government political life (Kantaprawira, 1993). While Astrid (in Harun & Sumarno, 2006: 4) views communication as directed towards achieving an influence or political goals, where all the elements of communication must work properly, starting from a credible communicator as a source, information as a message, media (channel), communicant or message receiver; and response or feedback or goals achieved or public opinion.

### Political Marketing

Political marketing is a concept introduced from commercial marketing. Where marketing is the means used to connect producers and consumers, while politics is

defined as the art of regulating and managing the state. (Hafied Cangara, 2014: 224). This means that political marketing is not just a concept of selling political parties or candidates to voters. However, it is a concept that offers how a political party is able to create a program that can solve problems and benefit the community (Firmanzah, 2012: 153). This view reminds us that commercial politics (political shopping) should not occur so that people will not see more of the artistic aspects (political advertising) rather than the substance of the political message itself. This is where the importance of political education for the public is, in order to differentiate between political issues and commercial politics. Political issues are closely related to ideology, and not just products that are bought and sold.

Political marketing has functions, namely: (a) analyzing market positions to map the perceptions and preferences of voters, both constituents and non-constituents, to election contestants; (b) establish objectives for the campaign, marketing efforts, and allocation of resources; (c) identifying and evaluating strategic alternatives; (d) implementing a strategy to target certain targeted segments based on existing resources; and (e) monitor and control the implementation of strategies to achieve the stated objective goals.

To understand political marketing, there are 9 (nine) approach models, which are positioning, policy, person, party, presentation, push marketing, pull marketing, pass marketing and polling (Nursal, 2009: 241). The nine approaches can be implemented in three approaches to political marketing strategies, namely:

### **Push Marketing**

*Push marketing* is concerned with how to stimulate voters with a direct product delivery, or candidates must be present in person in the community. This means that candidates must be involved or directly touch the community as voters so that they are known more personally (deeply).

Push marketing is a campaign strategy that socializes candidates through face-to-face activities such as discussions and direct dialogue with the public. Where this activity can be carried out through grand meetings, social activities, hands-on operations with the aim of forming a positive image as well as bringing candidates closer to the community.

### **Pull Marketing**

*Pull marketing* deals with individuals or groups in influencing voter opinion. Where the selection of the right influencer will be able to have a big effect on influencing public opinion, beliefs and thoughts. Delivering political products to influencer groups or parties who have influence in the society. Various parties who have influence in society have a strategic value for the candidate, because with the power of influence, these figures can transmit political messages conveyed by candidates to the community or public. The pass marketing strategy is carried out by establishing political relationships with these figures.

### **Pass Marketing**

*Pass marketing* is concerned with delivering messages (political programs) using the media. A strategy that focuses on image formation is believed to be the best means of conveying political messages and products. The use of media through creative campaigns must be utilized to form a positive political image so as to arouse voter sentiment towards political candidates/parties. According to She and Burton, there are at least five things that must be considered in utilizing political products in pull marketing, namely: consistency in message discipline, cost efficiency, timing or momentum, packaging, and finally the game of expression.

In political marketing, activities using mass media are very important in introducing and disseminating candidates to the wider community. In addition, through the mass media, candidates can disseminate their vision, mission and programs to potential voters. The pull marketing strategy is carried out by political campaigns using print media (newspapers) and electronic media (television and radio).

## **RESEARCH METHODS**

The method used in this research is a case study. According to Neumann (2014: 32 & 505) case studies contain comprehensive descriptions and explanations of various aspects of an individual (elite), group or organization (community), an event, or a social situation. Case study for Rahardjo (2017: 5) is a series of scientific activities carried out intensively in detail and in depth about a program, event and activity, whether at the level of an individual, a group of people, institutions, or organizations to gain in-depth knowledge of the event.

The application of this method is to seek and obtain information about the object of research, namely analyzing the communication process of the supporting party elites in the 2017 DKI Jakarta Pilgub. This means that this method is used to collect data, both from party elites and collectively, especially the strategies and communication models supporting party institutions. In addition, this case study approach is carried out in a natural, holistic and with in-depth study (Rahardjo, 2017: 12).

Natural means that the information retrieval is carried out in real life. There is no manipulation or testing on research subjects by the researcher. The information as it is makes the data more accurate and produces unbiased results. Holistic means looking for comprehensive information so that the findings will not raise any more questions. To get it, the researcher does not only uncover the information through interviews but also has to carry it out on people closest to the research subject. The meaning of in-depth study is that a researcher is able to reveal the information broadly and deeply. Both information that is expressed or implied are conveyed by the research subjects, so that the results that are obtained will be exclusive compared to information retrieved in general research.

The purpose of this case study, apart from examining several questions, also reveals the unique characteristics contained in the cases. Therefore, the main objective and focus of this research is on cases that are the object of research (Stake, 1994). This means that the main purpose and focus of the question in this study, namely how the political communication of supporting parties in the 2017 DKI Jakarta governor election can be explained. Through this explanation, it is expected that a political communication model can be formulated in the simultaneous regional elections in Indonesia, especially in the context of building good political communication between elites and political parties.

Concurrently, data collection is done by collecting, retrieving or capturing research data. Data collection techniques are carried out through interviews, observation and documentation (Suwartono, 2014: 41). At this stage the researcher has an important role, because it is the researcher who can conclude the time to start and end the research and is also able to measure the sufficient data needed. After the data is obtained, it is analyzed systematically by referring to the triangulation technique, which according to Mathinson (in Sugiyono, 2005: 85), "the value of triangulation lies in providing evidence, whether convergent, inconsistent, or contradictory". This means that data collection by triangulation is to determine the data obtained, in this case on the political communication of party elites and candidates for the Governor of DKI Jakarta. This triangulation approach is expected to further increase the power of the data, when compared to a single approach (Patton 1980 in Sugiyono, 2005: 85).

## RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

The 2017 DKI Jakarta governor election is an intense election in the history of governor election, because in addition to the presence of the figure of Basuki Tjahaja Purnama (Ahok) who is running in pair with Djarot Saiful Hidayat, this candidate pair is also supported by the Indonesian Democratic Party of Strife (PDIP) as a government party. So that the governor election cannot be separated from the political contestation of party elites, including Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono supporting Agus Harimurti Yudhoyono (AHY), Megawati Soekarnoputri supporting Ahok, while Prabowo Subianto supporting the Anies Baswedan pair.

### Management of Political Communication in the 2017 DKI Jakarta Governor Election

The success of candidates in gaining public support for the *Pilkada* cannot be separated from good management of political communication. While the communication elements in this study consist of sources or communicators, namely the winning team and candidate pairs, the political message can be understood through the vision, mission and program of the candidate pairs, using print, electronic, and online media. Communicants, in this case citizens of Jakarta, must vote and be registered with the general elections commission (KPU). Meanwhile, public support or the results obtained in the regional election is an impact or feedback from political communication.

The DKI Jakarta governor election is held twice, where in the first round the vote acquisition for each candidate based on KPU data (2017) is AHY – Sylvia candidate (937,950 votes or 17.02%), Ahok-Djarot candidate pair (2,364,577 votes or 42.99%) and Anis – Sandi candidate pair (2,197.33 votes or 39.9%). The success of the Ahok candidate pair in the first round has been predicted by the survey institute, as was the admission of Tubagus Ace Hasan Syadzily (Hendriawan, 2017), as Secretary of the Ahok-Djarot winning team, by saying that:

*"We have studies related to winning strategies, the study, especially the SWAT mapping, was carried out through surveys, we did not specifically use consultants to produce strategic directions for us, but from several political consultants who often interacted with us, we formulated our system, it was a strategy. What is most appropriate for Mr. Ahok-Djarot to win."*

In the second round the results of the Pilgub change, the Anis – Sandi candidate pair is declared the winner. One of the reasons for the defeat of the Ahok-Djarot candidate pair was due to the issue of ethnicity, religion, race, and inter-group relations (SARA) issue, Ace admitted this by saying that:

*" In this second round we suffered defeat because of what, because in principle, apart from the 43%, almost all of them are muslims who do not want to be led by non-muslims. Besides, they see Ahok's character as straightforward etc. So my belief is that people do not choose Ahok due to religious factors, ... "*

Political statements or messages of a candidate in political contestation greatly influence the achievement of political communication goals, particularly success or victory in political contestation. This happened to the Ahok – Djarot candidate pair who had been seeded from the start and even won the first round, but racial statements made this candidate lose in the second round. The three candidate pairs have good visions, missions and programs, as illustrated in table 1 below:

**Table 1.** Vision, Mission and Political Jargon of Candidate Pairs in the DKI Jakarta Governor Election

No. Urut	Candidate Pair & Supporting Parties (Number of Seats)	Vision & Mission	Slogan Politik	Media
1.	<p>Agus Harimurti Yudhoyoni and Sylviana Murni Supporting parties: 1. Demokrat Party (10 Seats) 2. PPP (10 Seats) 3. PKB (6 Seats) 4. PAN (2 Seats)</p>	<p>Vision: "Towards a Jakarta in 2022 which is more advanced, safe, fair and prosperous" Mission: 1. Creating a developed Jakarta 2. Creating a safe Jakarta 3. Creating a just Jakarta 4. Creating a prosperous Jakarta 5. Creating a green Jakarta whose environment is getting better 6. Creating a comfortable and dignified Jakarta</p>	<p>"Jakarta for the People"</p>	<p>Print &amp; Electronic Media, as well as Online Media &amp; Social Media</p>
2.	<p>Basuki Tjahaja Purnama and Djarot Saiful Hidayat Supporting parties: 1. PDI (28 Seats) 2. Hanura Party (10 Seats) 3. GOLKAR Party (9 Seats) 4. NASDEM Party (5 Seats)</p>	<p>Vision: "Making Jakarta the Showcase City of Indonesia which is Modern, Neat, Humane and Focusing on Whole Human Development with Clean, Transparent, and Professional Leadership." Mission: 1. Realizing a government that is free of corruption, collusion and nepotism, is open, and serves the citizens. 2. Ensuring the fulfillment of people's basic needs, specifically health insurance, education insurance, decent housing, affordable foodstuffs, economical public transportation, and employment and business opportunities so that all citizens have a better life and the happiness index of the city of Jakarta is one of the highest among cities in the world. 3. To create human resources who are physically and mentally resilient, competent, and globally competitive with a human development index that is equivalent to that of developed cities in the world. 4. Organizing the city according to changing times to support economic progress, environmental sustainability, and the socio-cultural life of residents. 5. Building a city life based on technology and world-class infrastructure with devout, cultured, cooperative, insightful, tolerant, participatory, and innovative citizens.</p>	<p>Paslon Ahok - Djarot's political jargon often varies: "Hard Work, Great Work" "Brave Hard Work" "Work, Now This is Jakarta"</p>	
3.	<p>Anis Rasyid Baswedan and Sandiaga Uno Supporting parties: 1. Gerindra Party</p>	<p>Vision: Jakarta is a developed and civilized city with all citizens feeling justice and prosperity. Mission: Developing Jakarta people to become empowered citizens by presenting humanist and nurturing leadership, an effective bureaucracy activator,</p>	<p>"Jakarta Moving Forward Together"</p>	<p>Print &amp; Electronic Media, as well as Online Media &amp; Social Media</p>

	(15 Seats) 2. PKS (11 Seats)	maintaining stability and affordability of staple goods, building health, education, culture and solving social problems. 1. Build the environment of the city of Jakarta in a sustainable manner with planning that takes into account the environmental and social supporting capacity. 2. Build prosperity by creating jobs, building infrastructure, and overcoming mobility problems for city residents.		
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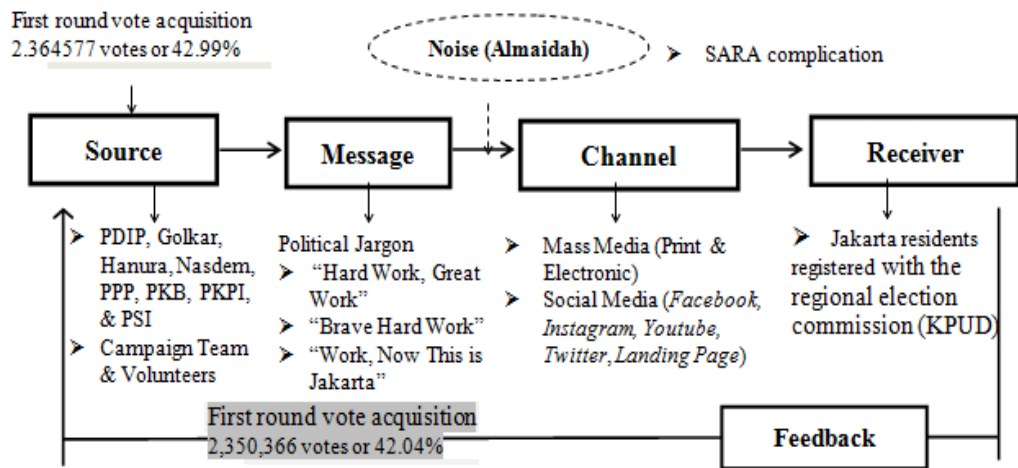
Source: Compiled from various sources, Abd. Razak Mozin, 2020.

**Political Communication of Ahok – Djarot Candidate Pair**

In political communication there are elements of political communication. Sources or communicators are the main party elites (PDIP and Golkar Party), supporting parties (Hanura and Nasdem) and volunteer teams. The messages are described through the vision, mission, programs and political jargon of the candidate pairs. Meanwhile, the media used are (print media, electronics, social media (facebook, instagram, youtube, twitter and landing fage). Meanwhile, the communicants are citizens of Jakarta who are registered with the KPU. Furthermore, the impact or feedback is in the form of support / citizen votes during the election.

Through the communication elements above, it can be understood how the political communication process of the Ahok – Djarot candidate in the second round. This can be seen in Figure 2:

**Figure 2.** Political Communication of Ahok - Djarot Candidate Pair



Source: Abd. Razak Mozin, Research Results, Bina Nusantara: 2020

In theory, communication can be said to be successful if the communication goals are achieved, said McNair (2003: 4). This means that if the purpose of communication is achieved, it is believed that political communication will work well. In relation to political communication, the Ahok-Djarot candidate pair shows that there is noise in the form of SARA issues, particularly the case of religious blasphemy. The impact of this noise, made Ahok – Djarot candidate pair fail to get the support from the public or voters. The case started with Ahok's statement quoting Surat Al-Maidah verse 51 (in the Thousand Islands, 27 September 2016). This SARA-related statement was uploaded by Buni Yani through her Facebook account and received great attention from the media. As a result, polemics emerged in the community, including various



mass demonstrations, starting from the 411 action, the 212 action, and other series of defending-Islam actions.

Indeed, there were efforts made by the Ahok-Djarot candidate pair campaign team to explain the case of blasphemy, but they failed to convince residents, especially muslim groups. This was admitted by Merry Hotma, as head of the Ahok-Djarot campaign division:

*"Actually, we try to carry out various activities to convince the public that our candidate is describing pluralism not describing religion ... This religious game is massive and structured even up to the RT level, even at the mosque every dawn, even Friday prayers, the lectures are bombarding them. But at the same time this is a barometer for us that our people are still unable to distinguish between a state of democracy and private worship. The divide-and-conquer politics imported from the Netherlands is very successful in accordance with the fragility of the character of the Jakarta citizens because it turns out that we are still fragile with the divide-and-conquer character.*

The result of political statements with the background of SARA was noise in the political communication of the Ahok – Djarot candidate pair, so that in the second round their vote was in the second place. Thus the goal of political communication was not achieved. The vote acquisition in several areas of DKI Jakarta is in table 2:

**Table 2.** Ahok - Djarot Candidate Pair Vote Acquisition in the DKI Jakarta Area

No.	Area	The Number of Votes	Percentage	Number of Voting Place	Supporting Parties
1.	Jakarta Pusat	243.416	42,23	1238	PDIP, Golkar, Hanura, Nasdem Parties
2.	Jakarta Selatan	459.639	37,85	2974	
3.	Jakarta Barat	611.759	47,18	2935	
4.	Jakarta Utara	418.068	42,27	2150	Additional Parties PPP, PKB, PKPI and PSI
5.	Jakarta Timur	612.093	38,13	3698	
6.	Kepulauan Seribu	5.391	38	39	
Total number =		2.351.245	42.05	13.034	

Source: Processed from KPUD DKI Jakarta, 2017

Political statements that smelled of SARA were considered as one of the factors for the defeat of the Ahok-Djarot candidate pair, according to Ace's statement as the Secretary of the Campaign Team that:

*"In this second round we suffered defeat because of what, because in principle, apart from the 43%, almost all of them are muslims who do not want to be led by non-muslims. Besides, they see Ahok's character as straightforward etc. So my belief is that people do not choose Ahok due to religious factors, other factors besides religious factors do exist but are not as big as religious factors. The public's satisfaction with Pak Ahok's performance is above 76%. They are satisfied with Pak Ahok's leadership, but only 43% voted for him. So it means that there is a question there, they admit that Pak Ahok-Djarot is great but they don't want to vote. That means there is something, as mentioned by Burhanudin Muhtadi, the split-voters who are confused between choosing based on rationality and choosing based on religious beliefs. "*

Although Ahok-Djarot did not get enough votes from the Muslim group, their political communication among the Chinese ethnic groups was classified as successful, in some areas where the majority of the population was Chinese, Ahok-Djarot received the majority of votes. Ahok-Djarot's superiority in areas where the majority of the

population is Chinese is because the figure of Ahok is considered a representation of Chinese and non-Muslim groups. Based on data released by Saiful Mujani Research & Consulting (SMRC), Based on data released by Mujani Research & Consulting (SMRC) Ahok-Djarot superior by 79.1% in the region on the basis of ethnic Chinese, as well as superior by 80.4% in the predominantly Protestant and Catholic (Ferdiansyah, 2017; Nasrudin, 2018). This data shows that the issue of SARA is also quite strong on the basis of Chinese and non-Muslim areas, it's just that this issue is not widely raised to the public.

### **Political Communication of Anies – Sandi Candidate Pair**

Unlike the Anies – Sandi candidate pair campaign team, this issue of SARA was exploited and processed in such a way as to attract sympathy from Islamic groups, especially those who were disappointed with Ahok-Djarot's post. This Islamic group has become the main political goal or target, admitted Muhammad Taufik (chairman of the winning team of the Gerindra party) who further stated that:

*"We are indeed targeting all segments of society to choose Anies-Sandi, but specifically we are focusing on how Javanese and Betawi people and muslims because they are the majority in Jakarta."*

The issue of SARA has become a strategic political opinion in attracting sympathy for citizens in the 2017 DKI Jakarta governor election, according to the results of research conducted by Widya and Sardini (2019: 13) who further stated that:

*"The victory of Anies Baswedan and Sandiaga Uno candidate pair in the DKI Jakarta Regional Election was influenced by the resistance of the incumbent, which was very large, so that voters were reluctant to re-elect the incumbent on the grounds of their poor political communication style ... massive identity politics during the Jakarta Pilkada. The campaign containing SARA, as a response to the incumbent's controversial remarks that alluded to the verses of the Quran, provided fresh air that was beneficial to Anies and Sandi."*

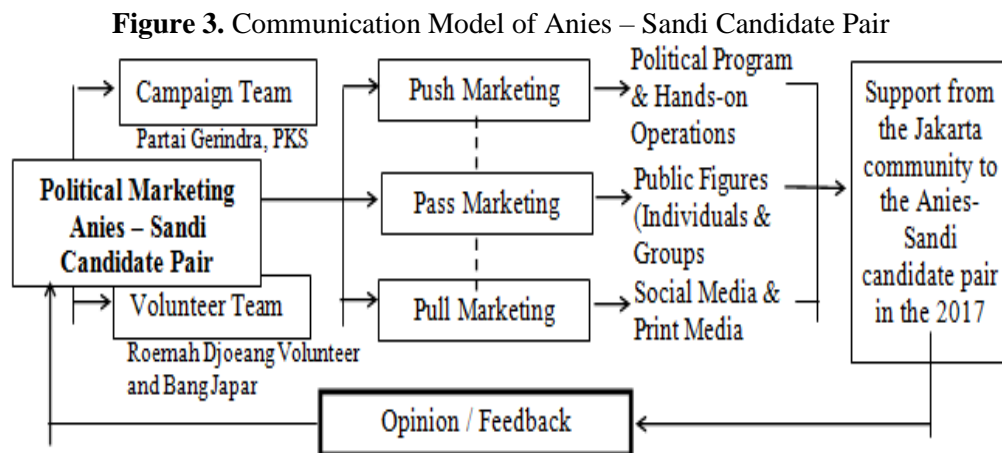
From the explanation above, it can be said that the success of Anis-Sandi's candidate pair cannot be separated from the issue of SARA. Therefore Prabowo as the General Chair of the Gerindra Party appealed to all cadres and citizens of Jakarta by saying that *"Let's finish the rowdy and divided Jakarta under the old governor. Business needs a sense of security. The economy needs political stability. These can be provided more by Anies-Sandi."* This statement is a new spirit and at the same time strengthens the opinion built by the campaign team through the "New Leader" and the political jargon "Forward the City. Happy Citizens. "

In addition to the issue of SARA, the Anies – Sandi candidate pair also managed good political communication through a political strategy of push marketing, pass marketing, and pull marketing. This was admitted by Mardani Ali Sera, as Chairman of the Anies-Sandi winning team from the Prosperous Justice Party, who further said that:

*"All the strategic approaches used by the winning team to the volunteer team have equally important functions, from political marketing in the form of push, pass, and pull to image formation, although yes, each person has his own opinion in seeing Anies-Sandi's victory in Jakarta."*

The victory in a political contest is very much determined by the management of political communication, especially with regard to political marketing. This is clear in the DKI Jakarta gubernatorial election, the candidate pair Anies-Sandi managed their

communication well. The political communication process is shown in the following Figure 3:



Source: Abd. Razak Mozin, Research Results, Binus: 2020

From the picture above, it shows that public support for the Anies-Sandi candidate pair in the second round cannot be separated from the role of political communicators, especially the supporting party elites (Gerindra Party and PKS) and the volunteer team (Roemah Djoeang, Bang Japar and other volunteers). In addition, the strength of the Anies – Sandi candidate pair's personal branding through the STP concept (Segmentation, Targeting and Positioning) is able to influence the community. Where Anies is packaged as a young, gentle, humanist and polite figure is a political positioning to be present as a distinguishing figure from Ahok who is considered to be firm, rude, and open-minded (Widya and Sardini, 2019: 13). Meanwhile, Sandi is packaged as an energetic young entrepreneur who carries the main program of job creation in order to be able to take the segmentation of voters from business circles, young people, and women considering that the availability of employment is a primary problem that befalls the capital city. The presence of Anies-Sandi through education and job creation is a targeting strategy that is able to gain sympathy from the Jakarta voter segmentation with various voter typologies.

The success of the Anis-Sandi candidate pair is also due to good political marketing through push marketing, pass marketing and pull marketing. Push marketing provides a stimulation for voters by presenting candidates directly to the public, such as grand meetings, social activities, and 1000 hands-on operations done in addition to forming a positive image, it is also intended to influence the public to elect Anis-Sandi. Meanwhile, pass marketing is an approach to individual and group figures to influence voter opinion. By choosing the right figure, it will be able to have a big effect on influencing people's opinions, beliefs and thoughts. Among the characters is B.J. Habibie (3rd Indonesian President) and other figures. Meanwhile, pull marketing is related to media utilization. This approach focuses on forming a positive image through political messages and products so as to excite voter sentiment towards political candidates/parties with print, electronic media, and social media.

Based on the description above, it can be concluded that good management of political communication through push marketing, pass marketing and pull marketing gave the Anies – Sandi candidate pair an advantage and victory in the second round. The following table 3 is the results of the vote acquisition in this second round:

**Table 3.** Anies - Sandi Candidate Pair Vote Acquisition in the DKI Jakarta Area

No.	Area	The Number of Votes	Percentage	Number of Voting Place	Supporting Parties
1.	Jakarta Pusat	332.803	57,7	1238	➤ Gerindra Party ➤ PKS  Additional Parties ➤ PAN ➤ Idaman Party
2.	Jakarta Selatan	754.140	62,1	2974	
3.	Jakarta Barat	685.079	52,8	2935	
4.	Jakarta Utara	466.468	52,7	2150	
5.	Jakarta Timur	992.946	61,8	3698	
6.	Kepulauan Seribu	8.796	62,0	39	
Jumlah Total =		3.240.332	57,59	13.034	

Source: Processed from KPUD DKI Jakarta, 2017

### CONCLUSION

The management of proper political communication through push marketing, pass marketing and pull marketing by the campaign team is a factor that determines the success and victory of the Anies-Sandi candidate pair in the 2017 DKI Jakarta governor election. This is clearly seen in the first round of Ahok-Djarot candidate pair as the winner by winning votes of 2,364,577 or 42.99%, however in the second round, the Anies – Sandi candidate pair was the winner with 3,240,987 or 57.96% votes.

### RECOMMENDATION

One of the reasons for the failure of the Ahok – Djarot candidate pair in the 2017 DKI Jakarta governor election is political statements of SARA background. This means that the management of communication, especially political messages, must be considered properly by a political source or communicator, that the message conveyed should not cause problems to the communicant or the public. It is better to avoid controversial messages in the society, and this is expected in the local political contestation (*Pilkada*) in Indonesia so that the fight is not on the issue of SARA but on ideas, concepts and programs.

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