The Nonverbal Image of Political Parties and Politicians: Analysis of Jokowi-Jusuf Kalla Campaign on 2014 Indonesia Presidential Election

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Abstract
The role of political communication in election is important and it becomes the basic tool to win the election. This fact is supported by several election events, where the non-verbal image of politician and political parties during campaign could greatly affect the result. This paper use case study method and data collection uses documentation. In this research, sources of information are gathered from textbook and article in online media. In this paper, the case study focus on Jokowi-Jusuf Kalla as candidate, who used non-verbal image in their political marketing. It is reflected in their costume and their banner. Jokowi used checkered-board shirt that symbolized youthful. Meanwhile, his opponent, Prabowo, used white suit that similar to what Soekarno used, which represents firmness. Beside the costume, Jokowi targeted young generation by cooperating with musicians and the campaign team held a concert which was attended by tons of artists. It legitimates Jokowi image as a young-spirited politicians that can interact with wide variety of audiences. Image also plays an important role to attract the voters. It is shown in survey, where respondents chose their leaders based on their figures, rather than their visions and missions. Nonverbal image was proven to be effective in 2014 Indonesia presidential campaign, because Jokowi-Jusuf Kalla did win the election with 53.15% votes. Content of political campaign will affect “buyers” (society) to determine which candidate that will be chosen. In this case, Jokowi-Jusuf Kalla banners were innovative and creative, in order to attract the society to vote for them.

Keywords: Non-Verbal Image; election; politics; campaign; marketing.

Introduction
In political decision, especially in nomination of President and Vice President, candidates and political parties are commodities that must be able to be sold to the society. The goal is to gain as many voters as possible. An intense competition makes candidates and its political parties must have the right way to win people’s heart. Therefore, nonverbal branding becomes the tool for candidates to gain people’s attention.

In recent years, politicians lean on basic marketing tools, such as campaign, banner, and political debate, so the voters can be more familiar with them. Political marketing is the application of marketing principles and procedures by individual and organization1. The procedures consist of analysis, development, candidates and political party’s campaign strategy and execution. The goals are to determine the public’s opinion and win the election.

Political marketing must be conducted in sophisticated ways, because the content of marketing statement contains people’s emotion and need2. Marketing strategy that is old-fashioned and cannot respond to people’s need will make the candidate

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lose the election. Therefore, candidate’s first impression in the society must be strong, memorable and could be the people’s hope for a change.

The success of political party is displayed in the figure of presidential candidate and measured by the result that the party achieved in election. An example of it was during Germany election in 1998. Candidate from Christian Democratic Party was Helmut Kohl, who had led the country as chancellor for 4 years. His political way was innovative and farsighted. Thus, it could help Germany and European Union (EU) to prepare a new century. Helmut Kohl also could resolve three massive mass strikes well. Besides that, he was known as a figure that could strengthen the bond among EU countries and prepare for currency’s unification. He extended the European countries to approve it.

With all the things that he has done, Helmut Kohl could be the candidates that won the election. However, he lost. Why? It could happen because in the non-verbal campaign in the media at that time, Kohl was portrayed as an old man which had bad temperament towards media. He was not a slender politician, grumpy, and did not meet the appearance criteria of a 21st century politician.

How about his opponent? His opponent was Gehrard Schroder from Social Democrat Party who were very resistant in Germany unification and did not have experience in making bold political decision. However, he won the election and elected as the Germany Chancellor. Why?

It could possibly happen because he knew how to communicate well and he had a slender and gracious figure that match with figure of the 21st century politician.

In Indonesia, there were 2 presidential candidate running for 2014 election. Both of them had different political background. Joko Widodo, known as Jokowi, is politician from huge political party, which is Partai Demokasi Indonesia Perjuangan (PDIP). His background as civilian citizen was known as a figure that was populist, humanist, hard-working, and easy to communicate with the people.

On the other hand, his opponent, Prabowo Subianto, came from military background. He built his own political party, which is Partai Gerakan Indonesia Raya (Gerindra). His background as a military person built his figure as a firm, discipline, bureaucratic, and even authoritarian person. Indonesian citizen who have been under the leadership of Presiden Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono (also an ex-military officer) for 2 periods (10 years), apparently wanted another presidential figure. People were in need for change. Another figure, that was different from the previous president, was believed to be capable to transform Indonesia becoming a better country. In other words, after being ruled by an ex-military officer, people wanted to be ruled by a civilian.

Both candidates competed to win people’s heart so they vote for them in the election. The marketing strategy came in various forms, such as campaign, banner, and developing their image. Culture, society, and social idea have taken market instrument and create the value of a brand. However, a literature stated resistant to a view that treat political candidate as a brand. “To convey an impression that candidate marketing is similar to soap marketing is matter of simplifying and reducing the unique value of political marketing applications”

For a large number of people, soap is a product that has low-involvement. We do not spend much time in making decision to buy soap, because it does not cost much

money and does not related to our social status. Imagine going to a convenient store and buying mineral water. We rarely compare the price, color, and ingredients in making the decision. Instead of that, we rely on its brand. We only change our decision if we do not satisfy with previous purchase.

Then, what is the difference in decision making between choosing car and choosing president? Let us assume that a person really likes car. He saw his neighbor’s car and intends to buy a new one. This decision is an important decision for him. He gathers a lot of information, compares the price, shape, and color. He also thinks about the power, acceleration, and technical features. He is a very involved buyer.

Therefore, a consumer/buyer is forced to make complex decision if the product has these criterions:

- Important to the consumer
- Interesting to the consumer
- Has significant risk
- Has emotional appeal
- Well known to certain group

In the case of election, it is normal that voters equip themselves with comprehensive information by reading newspaper, watch news on the television, and compare the candidates. According to research, human are eye animals or, they based on their decision from what they see. What do the voters see in television? The voters see politicians who have already spent more time with their image consultant, train their body language, and arrange their words, rather than arrange their working program. Then, what do the voters see in newspaper advertising? Voters see a power, health, and physical appearance. Do the voters aware of this? How do they decide which politicians to choose? Do they choose based on the content, or the looks? What do they see in televisions, or in banner? Voters will firstly see candidate from the power of the branding, physical appearance, and the healthiness of the candidate.

Strategy of political marketing is a candidate will be promoted using message. Candidate must be well received as a brand product of a company, which is the political party. Campaign slogan and content must be proper, and they also must be credible, authentic, and relevant to certain target group. A candidate needs charisma and attitude that can convince the voters that he/she is a trustworthy person authentic, and relevant
to certain target group. A candidate needs charisma and attitude that can convince the voters that he/she is a trustworthy person.

Besides that, a candidate must have a good quality and uniqueness; also add their own character to build a symbol. Quality and uniqueness are essential for public communication that aims for a unique and credible brand.

According to Newman⁴, candidate from political party has 3 ways of communicating the message:

- Public Relations: The voters believe that the published messages are true, because the voters believe in newspaper and other mass media
- Personal Contact: Candidate could send the message to different target group and communicate with the voters.
- Advertisement: Image can be created and strengthened. Besides that, content can be made by marketing message without any interruption by media.

In 2014 Jokowi-Jusuf Kalla campaign, the message and image are applied through verbal and non-verbal communication. Verbal language comes in a form of vision-missions and campaign pledge, while non-verbal communication is translated in the form of checkered shirt worn by Jokowi and white shirt worn by Jusuf Kalla. Also, the non-verbal image is translated in the banner and figure that would like to be shown to the public.

Without any doubts, selling a figure is the next form of nonverbal communication of a presidential candidate. The goal is to set a figure that is idolized by most people, and Jokowi-Jusuf Kalla manages to build that figure. Interestingly, the number of voters who wanted changes in the government is almost the same with number who vote for Prabowo Subianto. The margin was only 6%. With that little amount of margin, campaign team of Jokowi-Jusuf Kalla worked really hard so the branding and non-verbal image could work well in gaining people’s attention to vote for them. Therefore, when the voters were inside the voting booth, they only thought of checkered shirt, banner that represented “Bhinneka Tunggal Ika”, and candidate’s figure. That was the advantage of non-verbal image and branding. Without any words, attribute that related to the candidate could portray the candidate’s figure, and the voter will vote for them.

Power could be achieved from brand symbol and name. Therefore, a party must inform the voters about the party’s value and goals. The candidate itself also must represent the value and add their own character to build a symbol. The quality and uniqueness is essential thing that is required in political communication. Political communication is advertisement, public relations, and personal presentation of a candidate that has specific marketing message. The goal is to present a credible and unique brand.

Based on Newman (1991), marketing has been using picture to create and communicate an image for a long time. Political strategy is treated the same way with brand marketing. An example of that is the internet. Internet is a new way of communication channel and a new place to market political party as a brand. It is occurred to Social Democrat Party. The party tried to sell its new identity/brand that stated their

togetherness with society. Their new brand was Viktor Klima, the Austria Federal Chancellor. His face could be seen in every page of newspaper, so it created new brand identity. His name acted as a symbol and the signature he sold was a high social awareness combined with wide political knowledge. His new image was a technical political style. Mass media called him as the mechanics of political world. The problem was he was not the chancellor when his party was chosen. He was the successor of former Federal Chancellor, Franz Vranitzky, which already retired. His political instrument was his political control and power that could protect his political influence. However, he was the type of person that avoided the problem, rather than solved it. The new image he was trying to build was a Machiavellian puppeteer. However, it was still questionable whether the feature was powerful enough to create a new brand.

As a comparison, his opponent, Austria Freedomite Party, tried to uplift the party as an aggressive and spectacular party. Jorg Haider, the chief of the party, was a personification of the party that led his opponents. Politicians depended on him. Therefore, the political party’s image was really depended on Heider. His power and independence is the party’s asset. The strategy he used was the comparison advertisement, even more aggressive than Pepsi vs. Coca Cola advertisement.

Haider also tried to build his image internationally by comparing himself to other famous politicians. He said, “Just like Bill Clinton, I did not oppose foreigner, but I support the natives. We could learn from Bill Clinton Immigration Law. The different between Tony Blair and I are just the name” (quoted from Die Presse, March 25, 1998, in Newman, 1999).

Election campaign for Austria Federal President in 19 April 1998 showed brand power and image is more important than candidates’ pledge. The Austrian citizen believed in experience and reliability of incumbent President, Thomas Klestil, who came from Austria People Party. Thomas Klestil could win the election for the second time although he had strong opponents, health problems, and also family problems. Researcher found out that Klestil’s image as a qualified candidate was still too strong to be defeated by his opponents.

However, branding needs constant and continuous quality. Almost all Klestil’s opponents were new candidate and had to “sell” themselves to the public. Their strategy failed because Klestil was a reliable brand. Political program did not matter, because it was image and brand marketing strategy that wins this election (Die Press, April 21, 1998, in Newman, 1999).

In Germany, 1998 Parliament election campaign was an exhausting event for the candidates, but not for the voters. There was no one who wanted to bore the voters with program, content, and conception. Kohl, the chancellor in charge, was a person that was irreplaceable and had a strong character. He was a personification of a brand. His strategy was branding. His campaign based on competition between lifestyle and emotion. Even his opponent, Schroder, tried to mimic his campaign style. Schroder tried to be the younger and more attractive version of Kohl. The result was Schroder won the election. Although some campaign content did not meet the Schoder’s image, it was not the most essential thing to win the election.

Trend in creating strong brand in political market will continue because decision making process is similar with consumption process, where high-value items are taken
into account. Slogan and symbol play an important role. The reason why people chose the candidate is not only from the campaign content, but rather from the experience of the candidate/political party. Market researcher do not compare political program anymore, but compare the candidate and political party’s image.

**Literature Review**

Newman\(^5\) mentioned that the similarity between company competition and political competition is both of them try to sell products. Product could be defined as program, or a candidate, that has to be “sold” in certain area. Voters are buyers. Experts observe some differences between the buyers and voters’ behavior. In condition where products have same price and condition, consumers do not use fact/sense to make decision. Consumers make decision based on the product’s image. According to Kapfer (1990) in Newman (1999), these are the important points for voters to make decision:

- Candidate’s image
- Candidate’s principle
- Candidates capability
- Candidate’s quality
- Candidate’s availability
- Community representative
- Optical Phenotype

Election campaign is time for political party convincing the voters to vote for them. For several party, their strong candidate’s image plays important role so the voters would vote for them (Schonbach, 1993, in Newman, 1999). Image is a complex model, which uses picture and imagination construction. In political campaign, candidate’s image is “sold” through media, for example news about candidate in television and newspaper, using banner, and news in online media. In creating image, picture is a powerful tool. Newman (1999) stated that picture send all message and tell essential thing quickly and credibly. Picture tends to have better effect than words because these reasons:

- Picture has information that is easy to be seen. In advertisement, pictures are determined first before words. This is important because the element that firstly determined is easy to be remembered.
- Potential activation of a picture can be better controlled, rather that text element. Picture activation will stimulate information processing.
- Humans have almost unlimited capacity to received information as picture. The imaginative material that can be kept could exceed cognitive information.
- The more real the picture is, the picture will be easier to be remembered. Based on dual coding theory, picture can (more or less) replace the verbal information.

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Picture has several advantages in initial step of image creation:
- Picture is determined before words.
- Picture has higher potential activation than words.
- Research about image proved that picture is easier to be remembered compare to words.
- Picture and verbal stimuli create positive product image and can convince the consumer to buy it.
- Image and behavior can be changed without using slogan

Therefore, picture in banner during election campaign is one of the important aspect in creating candidate’s image.

**Research Methodology**
This study use Evaluation Research method. In his book, Qualitative Research & Evaluation Methods, Patton stated that Evaluation Research method is conducted to examine the effectiveness of specific solutions and human intervention. Evaluation Research aims to examine and judge the process and outcomes of the attempted solutions. Evaluator studies about the program, policy, organization, and product. Two different purposes for evaluations are (1) summative evaluation that judge overall effectiveness to inform whether the program should be continued or not, and (2) formative evaluations that aims to improve a program.

Based on Patton (2002), the purpose of Summative Evaluation is to provide overall judgment about the effectiveness of program, policy, or products, whether the program is effective or not. Therefore, there will be a decision if the program will continue or has to be terminated. For example, decision to move a pilot project to a new location, or move the project from temporary funding to permanent funding. Focus of research is goals of intervention. The desired results are there will be judgments about effective types of interventions and conditions under which of those efforts are effective. The key assumption is things that work well under particular condition will also work well in somewhere else.

Formative Evaluation aim to improve a program, policy, or product. Formative Evaluation rely on the process study, implementation, and case study. The focus of research is the strength and weaknesses of program, policy, product, or personnel. The desired outcomes is recommendation for improvement. The key assumption is society could use the information to improve their work.

**Results**
In political campaign, nonverbal image of political parties or politicians are important to attract the voters. In 2014 Indonesia presidential election, this image is depicted in the form of costume that worn by candidates, campaign banner, and candidates’ figure. In term of costume Jokowi explained that the campaign outfits are deliberately created to be different, because it represent the nations motto “Bhinneka Tunggal Ika”, or diversity
in Indonesia⁸. Besides that, Jokowi also explained that the difference in outfits meaning that differences that complement each other. In every campaign event, Jokowi always wore the checkered shirt with red-blue-white color, where Jusuf Kalla wore white shirt (Figure 1).

Figure 1. Jokowi and Jusuf Kalla outfits during 2014 Indonesia Presidential Election⁹

Quoted from online news portal “Republika”, Jokowi mentioned that the checkered shirt was chosen from survey that was conducted to determine public’s perception of Jokowi costume¹⁰. According to Jokowi, 63% respondents were pleased to see him wearing the checkered shirt. The shirt had attached to him and it became his personal brand in the society. Through the costume, there were 2 messages that wanted to be conveyed: young and out of the box. Meanwhile, the white shirt and black pants for Jusuf Kalla was chosen to represents his experience and wisdom.

Beside costume, Jokowi and Jusuf Kalla’s image were also represented in campaign banner. In Aceh, they didn’t use the regular costume that they always use. Instead of using the checkered and white shirt, both of them used traditional local costumes (Figure 2). It reinforced the message that they uphold the diversity in Indonesia.

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Contrast with Jokowi and Jusuf Kalla, Prabowo and Hatta Rajasa wore the same outfits which was white-long sleeves safari, similar to what President Soekarno used (Figure 3). Quoted from online news media portal “Tribunnews”, Hatta Rajasa explained that the costumes symbolized togetherness, modesty, and work together to build the nation. In addition, Aziz Nasution (Gerindra cadre) stated that the white-color shirt and cream-color pants worn by Prabowo was an effort to remember the era of Indonesia independence, like the one that was worn by Bung Karno and Bung Hatta.

Beside costume and banner, candidate’s figure also plays an important role in attracting voters’ choice. Figure is built from their background, track record and past work. The candidate’s figures have higher selling points compare to their vision and mission. It is proven from Lembaga Survey Nasional (LSN) survey in 2014. On June 29,
2014, LSN held press conference about the result of candidate’s (Jokowi-Jusuf Kalla and Prabowo-Hatta Rajasa) survey.\(^{(14)}\)

The survey was conducted on June 22-26, 2014 in 33 provinces across Indonesia. The population of this survey was all Indonesia citizens that were already eligible to vote and listed in Daftar Pemilih Tetap, or Fixed Voters List (DPT). The total sample was 1,070 respondents that were obtained from multistage random sampling technique. The data collection used interviews technique using telephone. There was 3% margin of error with 95% level of confidence. The results showed that there were 62.2% respondents were rooting for Prabowo because of his firmness figure. Meanwhile, only 12.5% respondents were rooting for him because they were interested in the visions and missions. Then, there were 42.1% respondents that chose Jokowi because of his populist leadership, 17.4% chose him because of his modesty, and 8.9% chose him because of visions and missions. From those LSN survey, it is concluded that the candidates’ figures are more attractive to the voters than the vision-missions of the candidates.

How about the party popularity? Does candidate figure could increase party popularity? In the case of 2014 presidential election with Jokowi-Jusuf Kalla as candidates, Jokowi was nominated as president from Party PDIP. Jokowi was announced as president candidate from PDIP on March 14, 2014, and on March 16, 2014, the open campaign of legislative election was officially started. The effect of Jokowi as a candidate could be measured by comparing the party’s number of vote before and after the announcement of Jokowi as the president candidate. “Indikator” worked with Tempo Magazine conducted 2 national surveys before and after the announcement and campaign schedule. Before the announcement, survey was held on February 28 – March 10, 2014, with total sample of 2,050 respondents, 2.2% margin of errors, and 95% level of confidence. After the announcement, survey was held on March 18-24, 2014, with total samples of 1,220 respondents. Based on the amount of samples, it was predicted that there was ±2.9% margin of errors and 95% level of confidence. The result showed that there was increase in PDIP level of voters after Jokowi was announced as candidate for president (Figure 4).\(^{(15)}\) Among several parties, PDIP achieved the highest increase in level of voters. Its electability increased for about 7.9%, from 16.6% in February-March 2014 survey, to 24.5% in March 2014 survey. PDIP also could attract more voters that was indecisive during the first survey. Therefore, if the election was held at the same time with March survey, PDIP could have won the legislative election. How about the affectivity of the campaign that was conducted by politicians and political parties? The result of survey that was conducted by “Indikator” also showed that PDIP was the party which experienced the highest increase in numbers of voters after the official campaign.

began (Figure 5). Demokrat, PKB, Nasdem, and PKS also showed an increase but it was not significant.

![Trend 12 Partai: Partai yang dipilih kalau pemilu diadakan sekarang (%)](image)

Figure 4. The result of survey conducted by “Indikator” showed the political parties’ electability if the election was held during the survey (March 2014)

Besides “Indikator”, several survey agencies also showed the similar results of the increase of PDIP electability after Jokowi was announced as candidate. The result of Rot Morgan Research survey showed that there was 10% increase, from 27% (February 2014) to 37% (March 2014) on PDIP electability. The similar result also could be found in LSN survey result. According to LSN survey analyst, Dipa Pradipta, the survey was conducted on February 26 – March 15, 2014. The population was Indonesia citizen that were eligible to vote and used 1,230 samples with 2.8% margin of errors. The survey showed that the highest party electability was occupied by PDIP with 20.5% voters, the

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second was Golkar with 19.2%, and the third was Gerindra with 11.9% voters\textsuperscript{17}. Those survey indicated how powerful Jokowi’s image among respondents.

\begin{figure}[h]
\centering
\includegraphics[width=0.6\textwidth]{image.png}
\caption{The result of “Indicator” survey about parties’ electability before and after the campaign.}
\end{figure}

Discussion
From the social science perspective, one of the well-known theories in image production is Impression Management, where the image is seen as an impression of an individual/organization to other people\textsuperscript{18}. Impression Management means focus on target group and explained about communication strategy. Image management means design political message in form of slogan, signs, banner, and strategy. Political campaign must be held with details, like marketing campaign.

In this case, Jokowi succeeded in implementing Impression Management though non-verbal communication on previous 2014 campaign. His checker shirt became his trademark in all segment of the society, especially in younger generation. To strengthen his youthful image, Jokowi also collaborated with musicians that related to young generation, such as Slank and Nidji (Figure 6). On top of that, during the campaign, Jokowi-Jusuf Kalla’s campaign team held a concert called “Salam Dua Jari” in Gelora Bung Karno (GBK) Stadium. The concert was held on July 5, 2014 and it was considered as a phenomenal concert because it was supported by dozens of musicians/artists, and attended by tens of thousands of supporters and volunteers (Figure 7)\textsuperscript{19}. The concert legitimated Jokowi’s image in younger generation, or even all aspects of the society. Gelora Bung Karno Stadium has a capacity of 120.000 people and it was almost full, also the intense media coverage of this event had positive impact to Jokowi-Jusuf Kalla’s image.

Voters and consumers/buyers are seen as individuals who received information, then processed it, and give respond to the objects\textsuperscript{20}. The product of political marketing strategy is candidates are promoted using message. The candidate must be received as a brand of a company, which called as political party. Slogan and candidates’ content must be proper, the candidate must be credible, authentic, and relevant for the target group. Therefore candidates’ banner/billboard becomes an important part in political marketing strategy. Jokowi-Jusuf Kalla banner were attractive because its variety of design, its creativity, and it was innovative (Figure 8). Jokowi-Jusuf Kalla banner in Nangroe Aceh Darussalam was one of them. To attract people’s attention in this province, they use traditional Aceh costumes for the banner (Figure 2). It could enhance people’s pride of their costumes that was worn by the candidates, that could transfer into their support/vote in the Election Day.

Branding needs constant and continuous quality. In that time, Jokowi served as Governor of DKI Jakarta and he had good track record as a leader who works hard, populist, and modest. These images became a high selling point compared to the visions and missions that were delivered during the campaign. The image was also transferred on his banner (Figure 8), so it could grab people’s attention effectively. Jokowi was also portrayed as a figure that was young and act out-of-the box was transferred into his costumes/outfit. He wore outfit that was typical of young people, so that he could have a stronger branding in the society, especially the younger generations.

How about Jokowi’s image to his political party who supported him, which was PDIP? Election campaign is the time where political parties try to convince the voters to vote for them in the legislative. For several parties, their strong candidate image plays an important role to gain voters. This is reflected in several surveys about PDIP electability before and after Jokowi was announced as a candidate. The survey results showed that there was an increase in PDIP electability after the announcement and PDIP placed at the top position in the survey.

**Conclusion**

In political decision, a candidate or party is commodity that is sold to the society. The goal is to gain as much voters as possible. In political campaign, communication between politician and voters are occurred through media. Therefore, success of
communication is the success of election. The content of political message must be composed by marketing experts and received by the society. Therefore, the message should be clear, global, simple, and has a wide range. The message should be appropriate for the target group. To distribute the message and image, political marketing experts do not use words in slogan only, but also use picture/figure. Image is a complex model that uses figure and imaginative construction.

During 2014 Indonesia presidential election campaign, Jokowi’s image was built using costumes that was worn in the campaign, banner/billboards, and figure. Through his costumes, Jokowi and Jusuf Kalla wanted to show that they were candidates that uphold “Bhinneka Tunggal Ika”, youthful, wise, experienced, and out-of-the box. Their banners also indicated the diversity in Indonesia. It is shown in their banner in Nangroe Aceh Darussalam province where they wore traditional costume in the banner. Image that they built was a modest and populist leader. Image is more powerful than visions and missions. It is represented in the survey that most respondent chose their leaders based on their figures, rather than their visions and missions. In the survey, Jokowi’s figure also played an important role in increasing PDIP electability as a party. Nonverbal image was proven to be effective in 2014 Indonesia presidential campaign, because Jokowi-Jusuf Kalla did win the election with 53.15% votes.

References


