

Virtual Box Campaign Strategy for The Gibran-Teguh Candidate Pair During Pandemic in The 2020 Surakarta Elections

Laila Istiana Diana Savitri

^{1,2,3} Muhammadiyah Jakarta University, Indonesia

lailaistiana72@gmail.com

*corresponding author

Laila Istiana Diana Savitri

ARTICLE INFO

Article history

Received : 2022-08-01

Revised : 2022-08-15

Accepted : 2022-08-30

Keywords

Virtual Box Campaign;
Gibran-Teguh, Pandemic;
Surakarta ;

ABSTRACT

The aims of this research are to find out the branding campaign, segment factors that are supporting and inhibiting throughout the Gibran-Teguh candidate pair virtual box campaign during pandemic in the 2020 Surakarta Elections. This type of research is normative legal research. The data obtained from library will be analyzed qualitatively by sorting and selecting the data obtained, then compiled systematically and studied using deductive thinking methods, then conclusions are drawn to answer the problems contained in research.

This research uses qualitative methods, data analysis using data reduction, Data Display and Conclusions Drawing. In the data validity technique triangulation of sources is used, namely the sources including the success team, the community, and members of the Surakarta Election Supervisory Committee. These sources are then described and categorized, that later can create the conclusions.

The results showed that the branding carried out by the team and the candidate pair using virtual box succeeded in influencing the people in Surakarta. Several segmenting points were carried out by the Gibran-Teguh candidate pair, by knowing and understanding the political competition map in the 2020 Surakarta Elections. Factors supporting the virtual box campaign of Gibran-Teguh candidate pair includes virtual box media, personal branding campaign funds, campaign social networks, campaign teams and so on. Meanwhile, factors inhibiting the virtual box campaign are political dynasty propaganda, and Covid-19 conditions. The pandemic has caused a lack of free mass gatherings, so that an efficient campaign strategy is needed during the pandemic.

INTRODUCTION

Local election is an election process that is held once every 5 years to elect candidates for local leaders and candidates for deputy local leaders who will serve for the next 5 years. The simultaneous local elections in 2020 were followed by a number of 270 regions including 9 provinces, 224 regencies, and 37 cities. Many stages in the election, starting from determining the voter list, campaigning, voting, and determining the selected pair of candidates, takes a very long time and requires extra energy for the candidate pairs. (Source: Kompas.com/ accessed on November 20, 2020).

One of the regions that participated in holding the 2020 local elections was the city of Surakarta, Central Java Province. The Surakarta election was followed by 2 pairs of candidates, candidate pair number 1 was carried by the party while candidate pair number 2 registered through an independent route (Source: Kompas.com/ accessed on November 20, 2020). One of the candidates pairs, Gibran Rakabuming Raka-Teguh Prakosa, hereinafter abbreviated as the Gibran-Teguh candidate pair, supported by the PDI-P and six other political parties, both in parliament and non-parliament, received sequence number 1. Meanwhile, the Bagyo Wahyono-FX Supardjo (Bajo) candidate pair who was promoted by



the community organization named Tikus Pithi from the individual or independent path received sequence number 2. As explained in the table below:

Table 1. List of Candidate Pairs

No.	Name	Bearer Party
1.	Gibran Rakabuming Raka-Teguh Prakosa	1.PDI Perjuangan 2.Gerindra 3.PSI 4.Golkar 5.PAN 6.PKB
2.	Bagyo Wahyono-FX Supardjo (Bajo)	Individual/ Independent Route

Source: Bisnis.com/ accessed 20 November 2020

Referring to the table above, the candidate pair number 1 Gibran-Teguh is supported by many parties while the candidate pair number 2, Bagyo Wahyono-FX Supardjo (Bajo), was determined as a candidate pair through the individual route. The two pairs of candidates competed by offering the uniqueness of their respective work programs to be elected as mayor and deputy mayor of the city of Surakarta, Central Java. In particular, during the campaign period, all teams, from the success team, candidate pairs, supporting parties, and campaigners work together to socialize, communicate and listen to the aspirations of the people of the city of Surakarta. This is done so that the candidate pair that is carried can be widely known by the public so that it can increase the electability of the candidate pair and also the public knows the work program for the welfare of the community. The campaign period regulations in the 2020 simultaneous local elections are restrictions on the number of campaign masses carried out due to the Covid-19 pandemic regulations. Based on the General Commission or KPU regulation Number 13 of 2020 article 57 explains that the continued simultaneous election campaign can be carried out with the method of limited meetings, face-to-face meetings and dialogues, public debates or open debates between pairs of candidates, dissemination of campaign materials to the public, installation of campaign attributes, displaying campaign advertisements in the print mass media, electronic mass media, social media, and or online media. Article 57 regarding limited meetings and face-to-face meetings and dialogues is re-emphasized in Article 48 paragraph (1) which reads Political Parties or Combined Political Parties, Candidate Pairs, Campaign Teams, and/or other parties prioritize the campaign method of limited meetings and face-to-face meetings and the dialogue as referred to in Article 57 letters a and b is carried out through social media and online media. Furthermore, paragraph (2) explains that in the limited meetings and face-to-face meetings and dialogues as referred to in paragraph (1) cannot be carried out through social media and online media, limited meetings and face-to-face meetings and dialogues are carried out with special provisions that is the obligation to comply with health protocols. It can be described that KPU regulation Number 13 of 2020 informs about the rules for online campaigning to avoid crowds and mass gatherings that are considered dangerous to public health.

Covid-19 entered Indonesia for the first time after 2 (two) Depok residents were tested positive for Covid-19 in March 2020. Both were exposed after one of them had contact with a Japanese citizen. After that incident, the government issued several policies to reduce the spread of Covid-19 by implementing large-scale and small-scale social restrictions, physical distancing and following health protocols. Likewise with the 2020 regional leader election campaign which is considered to invite a lot of mass in each campaign so that the candidate pair must follow the KPU regulation Number 13 of 2020 by conducting a virtual campaign. Based on this regulation, during the 2020 election campaign, each candidate pair is required to innovate in order to campaign virtually to attract constituents' attention.

In general, in campaigning, many candidate pairs use online media to communicate and deliver their work programs to the public, especially the 2020 election campaign. Some of the popular online media that are widely used by candidate pairs are Facebook, Instagram, Twitter, Youtube and so on. Unlike the case with the Gibran-Teguh candidate pair innovating in virtual campaigns by using virtual

box. the virtual box campaign is unique and attracts the attention of many people. This model campaign was implemented for the first time by the Gibran-Teguh candidate pair in the 2020 Surakarta election campaign.

Candidate number 1 innovated in a virtual campaign using virtual boxes, as an effective tool to communicate remotely with the public during the pandemic. The virtual box campaign is also said to be a tool for the candidate pair to conduct online to constituent houses. With the virtual box, the candidate pair can communicate and listen to the aspirations of the community directly. Likewise, the Gibran-Teguh candidate pair can greet, communicate, and convey the work program if elected as mayor and deputy mayor of Surakarta for the next 5 years. The virtual box campaign initiated by pair number 1 Gibran-Teguh makes it easy for candidates and voters to interact remotely.

The innovation and uniqueness of the virtual box is an interesting reason for further research with the title “Virtual Box Campaign Strategy For The Gibran-Teguh Candidate Pair During Pandemic In The 2020 Surakarta Elections”. Campaign strategy is a principle of thought developed to achieve campaign goals that are usually spread out into various tactical steps based on the situation and field conditions. There are several main principles that should receive serious attention in developing a campaign strategy, namely positioning, branding, and segmenting (Heryanto, 2018: 92-93).

Based on the description of the campaign strategy above, this research focuses on digging deeper into the branding and segmenting through the virtual box of the Gibran-Teguh candidate pair during the pandemic in the 2020 Surakarta election. The research will focus on two main principles of campaign strategy and will not use positioning principles. Based on the principle of positioning, the Gibran-Teguh candidate pair has become a strong candidate pair supported by 6 out of 7 political parties. In addition, Gibran as a candidate for local leader has an image as the son of the President, Jokowi, who is widely known by the public.

Research Problems

Based on the background above, a problem formulation was determined, namely how was the virtual box campaign strategy for the Gibran-Teguh candidate pair during the pandemic in the 2020 Surakarta election?

Research Objectives

After determining the research problems, the research objectives are to determine:

1. Campaign branding through the virtual box of the Gibran-Teguh candidate pair during the pandemic in the 2020 Surakarta election.
2. Campaign segmenting through the virtual box of the Gibran-Teguh candidate pair during the pandemic in the 2020 Surakarta election.
3. The supporting factors for the virtual box campaign of the Gibran-Teguh candidate pair during the pandemic in the 2020 Surakarta election.
4. The inhibiting factors for the virtual box campaign of the Gibran-Teguh candidate pair during the pandemic in the 2020 Surakarta election.

Research Benefits

1. Academically

This research will be able to become a study material or scientific reference in enriching the knowledge of the repertoire of the development of political communication science, especially the virtual box campaign in the regional election and filling changes to build the life of the nation and state in a better direction, namely the implementation of the concept of good and clean governance, especially for universities in political practice.

2. Practically

Provide input to regional leaders candidates and the public regarding political communication of regional leaders and deputy regional leaders candidates during campaigns in the pandemic.

RESEARCH METHOD

Place and Time

The research location is in the constituency of Surakarta, Central Java, Indonesia. This research was conducted from November 2021 to February 2022.

Research Methods

The research methods in this research is using qualitative methods research. It is designed to ensure a match between the data and what people are actually saying and doing. By observing people in their daily lives, listening to them talking about what is on their mind, and viewing the documents they produce, qualitative researchers gain firsthand knowledge of social life without being filtered through operational definitions or rating scales (Taylor et. al. 2016: 23). So, in this research, we will describe the virtual box campaign strategy of the Gibran-Teguh candidate pair during the pandemic in the 2020 Surakarta Election.

Data Collection Technique

This research uses two data collection techniques, namely:

1. Interview

According to Estenberg (in Sugiyono, 2016: 231) defines an interview as “*a meeting of two persons to exchange information and idea through question and responses, resulting in communication and joint construction of meaning about a particular topic*”.

In this research, in-depth interviews will be conducted directly with the informants, namely by asking questions directly to the success team of the candidate. There are three sources who can provide the information needed in this research. The resource persons included the campaign success team, the community and members of the regional election supervisory body of Surakarta City.

2. Documentation

According to Sugiyono (2016: 240) defines the study of documentation that the document is a record of events that have passed. Documents can be in the form of writing, pictures, or monumental works of someone. Documents in the form of writing, such as diaries, life histories, stories, biographies, and policy regulations. This research will document the documents that are considered important or related as a source of information and complement the data acquisition.

Informants and Determination of Informants

Research informants are people who are used to provide information about the situation and condition of the research background and are people who really know the problems to be studied (Moleong, 2015:163). There are three sources who can provide the information needed in this research. The resource persons included the campaign success team, the community and members of the regional election supervisory body of Surakarta City.

According to Sugiyono (2016:300), the determination of informants that is often used in qualitative research is purposive sampling. In this research, the determination of the informants selected by purposive sampling is a sampling technique of data sources with certain considerations and objectives. Certain considerations in question are choosing data sources or people who are considered to know best about what is expected. The resource person who is considered the most knowledgeable is the Gibran-Teguh candidate pair campaign team.

Resources

In this research, key informants are people who are considered to know the problem that is being studied. The key informant in this research is the campaign success team. Then the regular informants, the community and members of the regional election supervisory body of Surakarta City.

Data Analysis Technique

The data analysis techniques used in this research are as follows:

1. Data Reduction

Data reduction is recording and writing all the data that is in the field by grouping according to this need because a lot of data is recorded in the field so that it is easy to determine and choose the focus of the data to be used in determining its goals to make it clearer and easier to use in the future if needed (Sugiyono, 2016: 247). In the data reduction stage, researchers will collect data in the field by interviewing research informants. Interviews were conducted with the campaign success team, the community, and members of the regional election supervisory body of Surakarta City. After conducting interviews, the researchers grouped them based on the research objectives that had been set.

2. Data Display

After reducing the data, the next step is to display the data into this qualitative research, which can be done in the form of tables, graphs, pictograms or others that are similar. The presentation of qualitative data is usually descriptive (Sugiyono, 2016: 249). In this research, after grouping the data after going to the field, the researchers presented the data in the analysis and discussion section. The data presented in the analysis and discussion section of course refers to the points of research objectives that have been set previously.

3. Conclusions Drawing

The conclusion of the data in qualitative research is that it is a new finding that has never existed before. The findings are in the form of descriptive or description of an object that was previously still dim or dark so that after research it becomes clear, in the form of a causal or interactive relationship, hypothesis or theory. At this stage the researcher concludes the results of the analysis and discussion based on the research objectives that have been set. All based on data that is supported and collected (Sugiyono, 2016: 252).

Data Validity Technique

According to Sugiyono (2016: 368), in qualitative research, checking the validity of the data includes 1) data credibility test, 2) transferability test, 3) dependability test, 4) confirmability test, where the data credibility test or trust in the data from qualitative research is carried out by triangulation. Data triangulation is done by means of source triangulation and technical triangulation. Source triangulation is getting data from different sources with the same technique. While technical triangulation means that researchers use different data collections to obtain data from the same source as explained by Sugiyono (2016: 330).

This research is using source triangulation. There are three sources who can provide the information needed in research. The resource persons included the campaign success team, the community and members of the regional election supervisory body of Surakarta City. The three data sources are then described and categorized, which views are the same, which are different, and which are specific to produce conclusions.

Findings

Implementation of this research was conducted by interviewing Dedy Purnomo, Head of the Advocacy Division for the Gibran-Teguh candidate pair success team and Hanny Purnomo, Deputy Chairperson of the PAC PDIP Jebres, Surakarta City, as follows:

1. Branding

Jargon of the Gibran-Teguh candidate pair in the political campaign for the 2020 Surakarta Election, namely *Solo masa kini adalah Solo masa lalu*. Another jargon is *pemilune selamat, wargane iso ngeliwet*. The meaning of the jargon is that together with Surakarta residents is to create safe elections for the welfare and prosperity of Surakarta residents. The meaning of the jargon for the candidate pair's work program is the development of the city of Solo without leaving the local wisdom, culture and philosophy of the previous community. The jargon was chosen to get closer to the cultural roots, typography of the community. The progress of a city without having to replace local wisdom. The jargon can influence people's choices but not significantly, because the electability of the candidate pair and the supporting party is more dominant to strengthen voters.

In addition to jargon, in general, there is a personal brand that is displayed or highlighted by the candidate pair, especially Gibran-Teguh in the political campaign for the 2020 Surakarta Election. Personal brands are the ideal partner for millennials and experienced figures. In addition, Gibran as a millennial has the potential to create a modern Surakarta and Teguh can maintain Javanese values and traditions. Personal brand that is highlighted is *muda banyak lompatan* which means young leaders have many leaps. The meaning of the personal brand displayed by the candidate pair is experienced, responsive, and intelligent. The candidate pair is the ideal partner to realize the harmonious and balanced development of the city of Surakarta. Building a personal brand to be widely known by constituents by installing banners and direct socialization.

Besides the personal brand, there is something more important, namely the products and political promises of the Gibran-Teguh candidate pair. The product and its political promise are to improve programs that have been running, especially education, health, and welfare. The flagship work program is implemented, namely promoting traditional markets, art associations, art communities, and cultural heritage is a magnet that will bring tourists to Surakarta.

This political promise is carried out because it is a basic need that is needed by every society. The political promise was made because the Covid-19 pandemic had a big impact and almost paralyzed the economy in the community, for that Surakarta must rise up and try to recover as soon as possible. Political promises must be supported by political campaign attributes. Campaign attributes used are pamphlets, leaflets, posters, billboards, t-shirts, stickers and other merchandise or hand sanitizers and mugs.

In addition, through social media via Twitter, Instagram, Facebook, the latest breakthrough is Virtual Box. This was initiated by the Gibran-Teguh candidate pair, namely a campaign using virtual box media. The function of the virtual box media in the Surakarta local election campaign is to interact more closely with constituents. Virtual box media as a medium of long-distance communication between the candidate pair and the community.

The advantage of the virtual box media is to increase face-to-face interactions via online to deal with the Covid-19 pandemic situation which is full of limitations by cutting limitations into the interaction of absorption of aspirations, promotions, direct and massive introductions. Virtual Box is extremely useful for reducing face-to-face and reducing crowds. Considering the campaign period is still in the Covid-19 pandemic, the candidate pair has the initiative. This breakthrough is very appropriate, the candidate pair and residents can greet each other and interact without having to cause a crowd. This tool is connected to the internet network easily because it does not use cables. The function and advantages of the virtual box media are as a means of socializing the candidate pair and introducing the candidate pair to the public. Virtual box media can reduce crowds during campaigning.

The advantage of the virtual box media is to avoid crowds for the sake of realizing *pemilu selamat, wargane iso ngliwet*. In addition to virtual box media, the success team uses other campaign media, namely social media, and YouTube. It can be said that, it cuts time, distance, and limitations of public meetings because of the health protocols rules.

2. Segmenting

The procedure for the campaign team to analyze the interests and political goals of each community group in the city of Surakarta is to study people's habits and the current paradigm of community typography. Direct campaigns and 'blusukan' are how the campaign team analyzes the interests and political goals of each community group in the city of Surakarta. The success team went directly to interview and seek information on the interests and political goals of each community group.

The candidate pair utilizes the winning team's research and development to find out the interests and goals of each community group, because the survey results are highly effective in determining the level of recognition, level of preference, and reasons for choosing from various segments of society. The success team collaborated with institutions, namely many communities

and volunteers who consistently introduced themselves and the candidate pair's vision and mission. The field that is responsible for tracing and analyzing the interests and political goals of each community group is the research and development for the election winning team.

In addition, the structural field at the city level is responsible for tracing and analyzing the interests and political goals of each community group. In general, the urgent political interests to be realized by each community group are sustainable development and easy access to education and health services. A persuasive approach is a way for the campaign team to identify political issues in each community group in the city of Surakarta to be used as a candidate pair's work program.

Silaturrehman is a way of identifying political communication strategies based on the conditions and characteristics of each community group. Direct communication is a form of political communication strategy carried out by the candidate pair as well as the campaign team based on the conditions and characteristics of each community group. The political communication strategy that is considered the most effective in influencing each community group creates trust as the candidate pair's branding image.

Campaigners, apart from the success team and supporting political parties, use traditional leaders, national figures, and artists as campaigners for the candidate pair. The campaign team analyzes political competition, in this case calculating the probability of winning or losing in each regional zone by calculating the votes acquired by the political parties supporting the candidate pair, in the previous election. The strategy that must be carried out in the winning zone is to strengthen voting power. Continuing to carry out continuous consolidation, both with structural parties supporting, supporting parties and volunteers. The strategy carried out in regional zones that are predicted to lose is to conduct a limited campaign and involve volunteers to optimize voters or reduce the potential for losing.

In addition to taking an approach, campaigns through print media, for example, more pictures of the candidate, are reproduced so that people are more familiar with it and of course through social media. This is done because usually the floating masses do not know the candidates or novice voters. The process of the campaign team to straighten out the black propaganda from the opponents of the candidate pair ignores the performance as factual evidence of branding. It is added that on the winning team there is a team to handle problems like this, especially hoax slander against the candidate.

The advertising strategy for the candidate by the campaign team so that political messages can be received by the public is carried out massively. Selection of broadcast locations in strategic places. The media used for the candidate's campaign advertising are print, electronic, radio and social media.

The fields responsible for compiling content and broadcasting candidate advertisements are Branding fields, publications, and public relations. The distribution of messages and information for the candidate is right on target and can influence people's choices, namely massive mapping according to the characteristics and segments of the community. The distribution of messages and information for the candidates so that they are right on target and can influence people's choices, the success team conveys it to each region. The team in the area immediately conveyed it to the community.

The success team did not conduct a door-to-door campaign to introduce the candidate and its work program but through meetings with community groups. Structural supporter parties have been formed up to the citizen association level or sub-branches whose task is to deliver door-to-door delivery.

3. Supporting Factors

Virtual box media is one of the supporting factors for the Gibran-Teguh candidate pair in the 2020 Surakarta Election political campaign. The virtual box media is incredibly supportive with Virtual Box being faster and able to reach all areas, especially in the Covid-19

pandemic, that is extremely useful. In addition to the virtual box media, the candidate's self-image is a supporting factor in the political campaign for the 2020 Surakarta Election.

Campaign funds are a supporting factor for the Gibran-Teguh candidate pair in the 2020 Surakarta Election political campaign. Campaign funds are of course needed for making APKs for mass collection, and honorariums for witnesses who work at polling stations. Campaign social networks as a supporting factor for the Gibran-Teguh candidate pair in the 2020 Surakarta Election political campaign. Almost all political parties in Surakarta City are close to encouraging support for Gibran-Teguh. This is a capital of many supporting voices. Volunteer network, cultural arts activist network, and youth or millennial network. The work program as a supporting factor for the victory of the Gibran-Teguh candidate pair in the political campaign for the 2020 Surakarta Election. The priority of the work program chosen by the candidate is very precise.

4. Inhibiting Factors

The inhibiting factors for the Gibran-Teguh candidate pair in the political campaign for the 2020 Surakarta Election is scorn as a palace family or the president's son. Black propaganda from the opposing pair was an obstacle for Gibran-Teguh's candidate pair in the 2020 Surakarta Election political campaign. Black propaganda, in principle, was not something that hindered him because Gibran-Teguh's strengths were able to fend off the black campaign. Another obstacle for the Gibran-Teguh candidate pair in the political campaign for the 2020 Surakarta Election is the pandemic situation.

Access and mobility as inhibiting factors for the Gibran-Teguh candidate pair in the 2020 Surakarta Election political campaign. So, an efficient campaign strategy is needed during the pandemic.

DISCUSSION

The challenge of campaigning during the pandemic is how the regional leader election participants can arrange a campaign strategy targeting a large audience and having an impact on attracting the attention of the electorate. This is because the implementation of the campaign in the 2020 local election is not like the campaign in the past regional leader election (Dewanti, 2020: 26-27). If it is explained that the candidates that competed in the election campaign during the Covid-19 pandemic must have a new strategy to influence the choice of constituents. The 2020 election campaign is different from the previous campaign, with a number of new rules that set up a new policy regarding the campaign. During the pandemic, limited face-to-face campaigns can be carried out but must prioritize campaign methods through online media and social media. This is stated in Article 58 paragraph 1 of KPU regulation Number 13 of 2020 which reads, 'political parties or coalitions of political parties, candidate pairs, campaign teams, and/or other parties prioritize the campaign method of limited meetings and face-to-face meetings and dialogues conducted through social media and online media'.

As for Article 88C KPU regulation Number 13 of 2020, there are at least 6 (six) types of campaign activities that are prohibited in the 2020 regional leader election, namely general meetings, cultural activities such as music concerts or harvests, sports activities in the form of walking or cycling, competitions, social activities in the form of bazaars or blood donations, as well as commemorating the birthdays of political parties. However, the KPU regulation still allows face-to-face meetings for those who are unable to conduct online due to sociological and geographical issues. In Article 58 it is stated that the face-to-face meeting campaign that may be carried out must be in a room or building, limit the number of participants to 50 people and maintain a minimum distance of one meter. The meeting is also required to wear masks and provide adequate sanitation facilities (Dewanti, 2020: 26-27).

In the previous campaign before the 2020 elections, the candidate, the success team, and volunteers carried out direct campaigns, meeting directly with the community or constituents. However, during the 2020 regional leader election campaign, direct meetings with prospective constituents are very limited due to concerns about the massive spread of the corona virus or Covid-19. In the end, the candidates, the success team and the supporting parties rearranged the campaign strategy which was very suitable during

the Covid-19 pandemic. One of the candidates that participated in the 2020 Surakarta election is the Gibran-Teguh candidate pair. Gibran-Teguh was promoted by many parties and opposed the independent candidate. There is one unique way to get around the campaign so that the campaign continues well, namely the Gibran-Teguh candidate pair formulating a campaign strategy using virtual box media.

The uniqueness of the campaign during the pandemic carried out by Gibran-Teguh succeeded in persuading the public to choose the candidate. The uniqueness is to conduct a virtual box campaign to interact with the residents of the city of Solo. A virtual campaign (virtual box) is a set of information technology with an internet network for communication. This tool consists of a television screen, laptop, speakers, microphone, internal modem, to a battery for electricity replacement fuel. The device is arranged in a wooden box with a base that is given four wheels making it easy to move. It takes one to two operators to push or move the virtual box. Furthermore, the virtual campaign box was moved around the village so that Gibran who appeared on the 49-inch plasma television screen could greet the residents (Source: Solopos.com accessed on September 10, 2021).

Virtual box is considered highly effective for communicating remotely with the public in the midst of the Covid-19 pandemic. This online 'blusukan' tool is not only used by Gibran, but the tool can also be used by several campaigners from the party that carries and supports the Gibran-Teguh candidate pair. The virtual box was first used by Gibran during the inaugural campaign with online 'blusukan' in Bonorejo, Nusukan District, Solo, on Saturday, September 26, 2020 (Source: Warta Ekonomi.co.id/ accessed on 10 September 2021).

Referring to the statement above, it is necessary to investigate further regarding the Gibran-Teguh virtual box campaign strategy in the 2020 Surakarta elections. Things to be explored are the campaign strategy and the supporting factors as well as the inhibiting factors in the Gibran-Teguh virtual box campaign.

There are several main principles that should receive serious attention in developing a campaign strategy, namely positioning, branding, and segmenting (Heryanto, 2018: 94-96). However, this research only focuses on exploring the branding and segmenting Gibran-Teguh candidate pair in the 2020 Surakarta election campaign. This candidate was chosen to be studied because it has won the 2020 Surakarta election.

1. Branding

The process of political communication cannot be separated from the formation of public opinion to support political communicators who are proclaiming certain political actions. Political communicators need campaigns to form personal branding and organizational branding related to policies and programs aimed at the audience as campaign targets. Based on this premise, all political processes that involve and require public support require a campaign so that audiences become part of the political communication process which at the same time increases electability in the eyes of the public. Campaign is an important part of political communication. There is no political event that escapes a political campaign. Political campaigns are packaged by political professionals as the goals of political parties and candidates (Wahid, 2016: 152). Therefore, the Gibran-Teguh candidate pair carried out a campaign to establish personal branding aimed at the campaign audience. Personal branding was carried out to increase the electability of the Gibran-Teguh candidate pair in the eyes of the public.

Branding in the context of political marketing is more of a strategic effort to develop identity to attract people's attention and interest to become more familiar with political products. However, they are more than just symbols, ideally giving supporters a promise to give something special. If it is associated with the virtual box, then the campaign team and candidate must convey information on political products and political images so that they are embedded in the minds of the people. Political products and the political image of candidate pairs must be unique and different from other candidate's political products. This makes it easier for the public to distinguish the product of a party or candidate from other products. The following are some points related to the political branding of the Gibran-Teguh candidate pair in the 2020 Surakarta Election:

a. Political Jargon

Jargon is part of branding that can attract people's attention and interest to get to know the candidate better. The jargon of the Gibran-Teguh candidate pair in the political campaign for the 2020 Surakarta Election, namely *Solo masa kini adalah Solo masa lalu*. The meaning of the jargon for the candidate's work program is the development of the city of Solo without leaving the local wisdom, culture, and philosophy of the previous community. The meaning of the jargon is not an easy goal to achieve so that the candidate is sure that they can make it happen.

The group that composes the jargon is the success team of the supporting political parties. The jargon was chosen to get closer to the cultural roots, typography of the community. The development and progress of a city without having to replace or abandon local wisdom. The development of modern society, especially millennials, without compromising traditional culture.

The jargon can influence people's choices but not significantly. Because the electability of the candidate and the supporting party is more dominant to strengthen voters. In addition to jargon, personal brands can also influence people's choices.

b. Personal Brand

Gibran-Teguh candidate pair in the 2020 Surakarta Election political campaign has a personal brand that is the ideal partner for millennials and experienced figures. Gibran as a millennial has the potential to create a modern Surakarta and Teguh can maintain Javanese values and traditions. The personal brands that are displayed are experienced, responsive, and intelligent. So, the meaning of personal brand is that the candidate is an ideal partner to realize the harmonious and balanced development of the city of Surakarta.

The process of building a personal brand so that it is widely known by constituents by interacting directly with the public. When interacting directly, the candidate pair expresses the meaning of their personal brand to the wider community. In addition, it can be done by installing banners and direct socialization.

A personal brand is highlighted because the leader is part of the community that serves the community so that a leader who is responsive and able to integrate with the community is needed. A personal brand influences people's choices, especially novice voters.

c. Political Products and Promises of The Candidate

Besides a personal brand, there is something more important, namely the product and political promise of the candidate pair Gibran-Teguh. Political products and promises by improving programs that were already running, especially education, health, and welfare. In accordance with the political jargon, the political products and promises of the Gibran-Teguh candidate pair in the 2020 Surakarta Election political campaign, one of which is Surakarta City must move forward without leaving history.

The superior work programs of the candidate are *waras, warteg, mapan dan papan*. The superior work programs are implemented by promoting traditional markets, art associations, art communities and cultural heritage as magnets that will bring tourists to Surakarta. In addition, it focuses on education, health, tourism, creative industries, economic recovery and maintaining people's purchasing power.

The political promise was carried out because the Covid-19 pandemic had a significant impact and almost paralyzed the economy of the community, especially the city of Surakarta. Therefore, the Gibran-Teguh candidate pair invites together to rise and strive for the economy to recover as soon as possible. The political promises offered are relevant to the problems experienced by the community during the Covid-19 pandemic.

d. Campaign Attributes

Political promises must be supported by political campaign attributes so that the message can influence the target of the campaign. The campaign attributes used by the Gibran-Teguh candidate pair include pamphlets, leaflets, posters, billboards, stickers, t-shirts, and hand sanitizers as well as merchandise. Campaign attributes are in the form of banners, banners that are installed at several predetermined campaign locations. In addition to using attributes, the candidate also uses online media to promote their political promises to the public. These media include Twitter, Instagram, Facebook, and the latest breakthrough is Virtual Box. This was initiated by the Gibran-Teguh candidate pair, namely a campaign using virtual boxes media. The function of the virtual box media in the Surakarta election campaign is to interact more closely with constituents. Virtual box media as a medium of long-distance communication between the candidate pair and the community.

The advantage of the virtual box media is to increase face-to-face interactions via online to deal with the Covid-19 pandemic situation which is full of limitations by cutting limitations into the interaction of absorption of aspirations, promotions, direct and massive introductions. Virtual Box is extremely useful for reducing face-to-face meetings and reducing crowds because the campaign period is still in the Covid-19 pandemic. The device is connected to the internet network, and it is easy to move because it does not use cables. The breakthrough was very precise, the candidate pair and residents could greet each other and interact without having to cause a crowd.

The function and advantages of the virtual box media are as a means of socializing the candidate pair and introducing the candidate pair to the public. The advantage of the virtual box media is to avoid crowds for the sake of realizing *pemilu selamat, wargane iso ngliwet*. By using virtual box media, door-to-door campaign activities run smoothly.

2. Segmenting

Each individual is born into a different family structure, ethnicity, and environment. Each environment has a system of social order that is different from one another. The system of social order is reflected in the value system of beliefs, norms, culture, ethics, morality and customary and government regulations. In this case, political parties must be able to identify groups that exist in society in order to understand the nature and characteristics of these groups to facilitate political expansion according to targets. In political campaigns or marketing, when it comes to segmentation, the goal is to identify potential consumers. Segmenting is done to capture potential voters, ideological loyalists of political parties, constituents, and sympathizers. Each characteristic of a segmented society requires a different approach. The use of one approach for all the characteristics of society is certainly not effective in achieving the desired political goals.

When it comes to the virtual box campaign by the Gibran-Teguh candidate pair, segmentation is needed to compose political messages, work programs, political campaigns, and political socialization and so on. So before carrying out a virtual box campaign, the campaign team must arrange political products based on the region and the character of the voters who will become constituents. Several important points from the segmentation implemented by the Gibran-Teguh candidate pair are as follows:

a. Political Interests and Objectives

Gibran-Teguh's campaign strategy aside from branding is segmenting. The campaign team's strategy was to analyze the interests and political goals of each community group in the city of Surakarta, namely studying people's habits, current paradigms, and community typography. The campaign team analyzed the interests and political goals of each community group by going directly to dig up information.

The success team went directly to interview and seek information on the interests and political goals of each community group. In addition, the struggle of the party carrying, PDIP, has a management structure to the citizen association level which has their respective main functions, especially analyzing the interests of each community group. The success team also distributed pamphlets and interviews to seek information on the interests and political goals of each community group. The success team has a special field to handle this, namely the research

and development of the winning team to find out the interests and goals of each community group. The research and development sector also conducts survey activities to measure the level of public preference for candidates. Because the results of the survey according to the success team are highly effective in knowing the level of recognition, level of preference, reasons for choosing from various segments of society.

b. Work Programs and Political Issues

After conducting the survey, it can be concluded that in general the urgent political interests to be realized by each community group are sustainable development and ease of access to services, economic recovery, education and health. This political promise is packaged attractively by the success team to be conveyed to the voters through political communication.

c. Political Communication Strategy

The political communication strategy that is considered the most effective in influencing each community group raises trust as the candidate's branding image. So, it requires a campaigner who is widely known by the public. Apart from the success team and supporting political parties, they use traditional figures, national figures, artists as campaigners for the candidate.

d. Political Competition

In addition to prepare a trusted campaigner, the campaign team also focuses on analyzing political competition, in this case calculating the probability of winning or losing in each regional zone, namely by mapping the votes obtained in the previous election or legislative election. The strategy that must be carried out in the winning zone is to strengthen voting power. The strategy carried out in regional zones that are predicted to lose is to conduct a limited campaign and involve volunteers to optimize voters or reduce the potential for losing. In addition, presenting pairs of candidates either in person or via virtual. The strategy carried out in the floating zone is periodic and massive campaigns. In addition to make approaches, campaigns through print media and social media by distributing pictures of the candidate so that people know more closely. Because in general the floating masses or novice voters do not know the candidate who participated in the regional elections more closely. Besides analyzing political competition, the success team must also pay attention to the black propaganda of the opponent. The campaign team's strategy to straighten out black propaganda from opponents is to prepare a broadcast clarification or answers to these hoaxes to be forwarded to teams in the region.

e. Development of Marketing Program

The candidate's advertising strategy is to choose a broadcast location in a strategic place. The media used for the candidate's campaign advertising are print, electronic, radio and social media. Electronic media including TV, especially local TV. Radio is talking directly with listeners. The fields responsible for compiling content and broadcasting candidate advertisements are branding fields, publications, and public relations. In addition to advertise, the distribution of political messages for the candidate is to be right on target so that it can influence people's choices, namely massive mapping according to the characteristics and segments of society. The success team distributes messages through meetings with community groups. In addition, the structural party of the bearer to the citizen association or sub-branches level is tasked with conveying it to their respective regions.

3. Supporting Factors

a. Virtual Box Media

Virtual Box Media is one of the supporting factors for the Gibran-Teguh candidate pair in the political campaign for the 2020 Surakarta Election. The virtual box media is incredibly supportive because Virtual Box is faster and can reach all areas, especially in the Covid-19 pandemic.

b. Candidate's Self-Image

The candidate's self-image is a supporting factor in the political campaign for the 2020 Surakarta Election. Campaign funds are also a supporting factor for the Gibran-Teguh candidate pair for the 2020 Surakarta Election.

c. Campaign Funds

Campaign funds are incredibly supportive for making APKs for mass collection, and honorariums for witnesses who work at polling stations.

d. Campaign Social Networks

Campaign social networks are a supporting factor for the Gibran-Teguh candidate pair in the 2020 Surakarta Election political campaign. In general, the political parties in Surakarta City support Gibran-Teguh in the 2020 Surakarta Election. This is a capital for many supporters, both Volunteer networks, cultural arts activist networks, and youth or millennial networks.

e. Work Programs

Work programs as a supporting factor for the victory of the Gibran-Teguh candidate pair in the political campaign for the 2020 Surakarta Election. Because the priority of the work program chosen by the candidate is very precise.

4. Inhibiting Factors

The inhibiting factors for the Gibran-Teguh candidate pair in the political campaign for the 2020 Surakarta Election is scorn as a palace family or the president's son. Black propaganda from the opposing candidate as an inhibiting factor for the Gibran-Teguh candidate pair in the 2020 Surakarta Election political campaign. The Covid-19 condition also became one of the factors inhibiting the Gibran-Teguh candidate pair in the 2020 Surakarta Election political campaign. However, the Covid-19 pandemic did not completely inhibit the success team from doing the promotions. The Covid-19 pandemic has caused a lack of free mass gathering so that an efficient campaign strategy is needed during the pandemic.

CONCLUSION

In this research, there are four conclusions as to which of the four research objectives as the focus of the research:

1. Campaign branding carried out by the team and the candidate is by compiling political jargon, personal brand for the candidate, political promises, and complex campaign attributes. After being packaged starting from political jargon, personal brand, and political promises, the success team and the candidate socialized it to the voters by using virtual box campaign to influence people's choices. Campaign attributes are part of branding, as a medium in conveying messages to constituents. Campaign branding using virtual box media has succeeded in influencing the choices of the people of the city of Surakarta.
2. Some segmenting for the Gibran-Teguh candidate pair that have been compiled by the success team include political interests, work programs, political communication strategies, political competition, and the development of political programs. This needs to be done so that the Gibran-Teguh candidate pair knows and understands the map of political competition in the 2020 Surakarta Election.
3. The supporting factors for the Gibran-Teguh virtual box campaign include virtual box media, personal brands, campaign funds, campaign social networks, campaign teams and so on.
4. The inhibiting factors for the Gibran-Teguh virtual box campaign include political dynasties, black propaganda and the Covid-19 condition. The Covid-19 pandemic has caused a lack of free mass gathering so that an efficient campaign strategy is needed during the pandemic.

IMPLICATION

1. Virtual box campaign of the Gibran-Teguh candidate pair, namely the political dynasty, black propaganda and the Covid-19 condition for the success team of the Gibran-Teguh candidate pair in the next period became a new challenge that should be able to find the right solution.
2. The virtual box campaign for the Gibran-Teguh candidate pair in the future can still be applied as long as there is a pandemic, but if the pandemic is over this campaign method should no longer be used, because the policy has given the freedom to campaign by collecting mass.

REFERENCE

BOOK

- [1]. Arifin, Anwar. (2011). *Komunikasi Politik*. Yogyakarta: Graha Ilmu Cangara.
- [2]. Hafied. (2011). *Komunikasi Politik Konsep, Teori, dan Strategi*. Jakarta : Rajawali Pers.
- [3]. Heryanto, Gun Gun. (2018). *Media Komunikasi Politik: Relasi Kuasa Media di Panggung Politik*. Yogyakarta: IRCiSoD.
- [4]. Junaedi, Fajar. (2013). *Komunikasi Massa Pengantar Teoritis*. Yogyakarta: Santusta.
- [5]. Moleong, L. (2015). *Metodologi Penelitian Kualitatif. Edisi Revisi*. Bandung: PT. Remaja Rosdakarya.
- [6]. Rosdakarya Mulyana, Deddy. (2013). *Ilmu Komunikasi Suatu Pengantar*. Bandung: PT Remaja Rosdakarya.
- [7]. Sugiyono. (2017). *Metode Penelitian Kuantitatif, Kualitatif, dan R&D*. Bandung: CV. Alfabeta.
- [8]. Tabroni, Roni. (2014). *Komunikasi Politik pada Era Multimedia*. Simbioasa Rekatama Media. Bandung.
- [9]. Taylor, Steven J., Robert Bogdan, dan Marjorie L. DeVault. (2016). *Introduction to Qualitative Research Methods: A Guidebook and Resource*. 4th ed. New Jersey: John Wiley & Sons.
- [10]. Wahid, Umaimah. (2016). *Komunikasi Politik; Teori, Konsep, dan Aplikasi Pada Era Media Baru*. Remaja Rosdakarya: Bandung.

JOURNAL

- [11]. Albalat-Mascarell, A., & Carrió-Pastor, M. L. (2019). *Self-representation in political campaign talk: A functional metadiscourse approach to self-mentions in televised presidential debates*. *Journal of Pragmatics*, 147, 86–99. doi:10.1016/j.pragma.2019.05.011.
- [12]. Apriani, Reni. Maharani. (2019). *Strategi Pemenangan Pasangan Calon Herman Deru dan Mawardi Yahya pada Pilkada Sumatera Selatan Tahun 2018*. *JSSP*, Vol. 3, No. 1.
- [13]. Damayanti, Novita. Radja Erland Hamzah. (2017). *Strategi Kampanye Politik Pasangan Jokowi-JK pada Pemilihan Presiden 2014*. *Wacana*. Vol.16, No. 2.
- [14]. Dawkins, R. (2017). *Political participation, personality, and the conditional effect of campaign mobilization*. *Electoral Studies*, 45, 100–109. doi:10.1016/j.electstud.2016.11.018.
- [15]. Dewanti, A Maya. (2021) *Strategi Kampanye Politik Pasangan Calon Bupati dan Wakil Bupati Gresik Pada Pilkada 2020 Di Masa Pandemi Covid-19. Kajian Moral dan Kewarganegaraan*. Volume 9 Nomor 3, 704 -718.
- [16]. Dewanti, A Maya dan Sari, Maya MK. (2020). *Strategi Kampanye Politik Pasangan Calon Bupati dan Wakil Bupati Gresik Pada Pilkada 2020 Di Masa Pandemi Covid-19*.

- [17]. Dewanti, Siti Chaerani. (2020). *Kebijakan Kampanye secara Daring pada Pilkada Serentak 2020. Bidang Politik dalam Negeri, Vol. XII, No. 19/I/Puslit Badan Keahlian DPR RI.*
- [18]. Herpamudji, Dini Hidayanti. (2015). *Strategi Kampanye Politik Prabowo-Hatta dan Perang Pencitraan di Media Massa dalam Pemilu Presiden 2014. Jurnal POLITIKA, Vol.6, No. 1.*
- [19]. Hoferer, M., Böttcher, L., Herrmann, H. J., & Gersbach, H. (2019). *The impact of technologies in political campaigns. Physica A: Statistical Mechanics and Its Applications, 122795. doi:10.1016/j.physa.2019.122795.*
- [20]. Lestari, Fadhilah Juwita.,Pebrianti, Shany., Ruhendi Syaifullah, Aceng. (2018). *Strategi Kampanye Ridwan Kamil dalam Media Instagram. Jurnal Pendidikan Bahasa dan Sastra Indonesia, Vol. 13, No. 2.*
- [21]. Nagar, Pnina Shukrun. (2020). *Constructed general truths against specific political rivals in politicians' Facebook posts. Journal of Pragmatics. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.pragma.2020.10.003.*
- [22]. Nulty, P., Theocharis, Y., Popa, S. A., Parnet, O., & Benoit, K. (2016). *Social media and political communication in the 2014 elections to the European Parliament. Electoral Studies, 44, 429– 444. doi: 10.1016/j.electstud.2016.04.014*
- [23]. Rahmawati, Mia dan Yusa Djuyandi. (2019). *Strategi Kampanye Pasangan Sudrajat-Ahmad Syaikhu (Asyik) pada Pemilihan Gubernur Jawa Barat 2018. Jurnal Transformative, Vol. 5 No. 2.*
- [24]. Zamora, A Edria. *Strategi Pemenangan Pasangan Khamamik-Ismail Ishak Dalam Pilkada Mesuji Tahun 2011. Fakultas Ilmu Sosial dan Ilmu Politik Universitas Diponegoro.*

WEBSITES

- [25]. <https://kabar24.bisnis.com/> diakses pada 20 November 2020
- [26]. <https://regional.kompas.com/read/2020/09/24/17560211/pengundian-nomor-urutpaslon-pilkada-Surakarta-gibran-teguh-nomor-1-dan-bajo?page=all>, diakses pada 20 November 2020
- [27]. <https://nasional.kompas.com/read/2019/06/13/08374291/pilkada-serentak-2020-digelar-di-270-daerah> diakses pada 20 November 2020
- [28]. <https://www.solopos.com/ini-fungsi-virtual-campaign-box-andalan-gibran-untuk-kampanye-di-masa-pandemi-covid-19-1083216> diakses pada 10 September 2021
- [29]. <https://www.wartaekonomi.co.id/read307247/gibran-mau-tambah-virtual-box-untuk-kampanye-nanti-ibu-megawati-bisa-pakai> diakses pada 10 September 2021
- [30]. *PKPU Nomor 13 Tahun 2020*