2017 圖文傳播數媒科技與藝術國際學術研討會論文集

Proceedings of 2017 International Conference of Digital Media on Graphic Communication Arts & Science

序

　　全球圖文傳播產業受到新數位化科技的發展、全球化產品市場的改變、環境保護議題與數位媒體的影響，產生了結構性的變化，此已不僅僅是圖文的整合，更是一個跨媒體的整合。圖文產業以往以紙媒體為核心，但已跨入多媒體的服務市場；以製造為主架構但需更多的資訊技術服務，由傳統的產業變成以滿足客戶或市場需求的產業。再加上網路、社群媒體、移動通訊的發展，亦改變人們間的溝通模式，也影響整個圖文產業的發展；數位科技同時也融合產業間的界線，包括印刷、包裝、出版、媒體、傳播、廣告、資訊、電子、文件管理、服務與各式解決方案...等產業經營均已牽集在一起。此導致圖文產業中：未來商業印刷商發展緩慢；出版印刷商向數位媒體調整；包裝印刷商穩定向前行；功能性印刷商前景樂觀。

　　本次『2017 圖文傳播數媒科技與藝術國際學術研討會』廣邀集了國內外圖文傳播領域專家與學者，齊聚於國立臺灣藝術大學共同來暢談與分享討論圖文相關攝影、設計、印刷與出版...等各式未來與趨勢議題，同時透過論文之發表，期能透過本研討會的舉行，而能凝聚出產業經驗與智慧，傳承予新一代的領航者。

國立臺灣藝術大學圖文傳播藝術學系
系主任　陳昌郎

目 錄 CONTENTS

主題三：圖文傳播管理與行銷

Visual Political Communication in Contemporary Indonesia Politics: The Red, White, and Black of the Jakarta 2017 Gubernatorial Elections

Rifka Sibarani

Department of Communication
Atmajaya University Yogyakarta (UAJY)

Abstract

Clothes have long communicated more than just comfort or class in Indonesia, a vast and diverse nation with a mix of languages, cultures, and religions. So it is perhaps unsurprising that politicians have also turned to sartorial branding to distinguish themselves. Red, white, and black are three colours that have spread around the Asia Pacific coast. In Indonesia, these three coulours represent scared values in Indonesia ethnic communities. For example, in Indonesian – Hindu community, red, black, white symbolises traditional values such as courage, purity, and solidarity. These three colours also have been traditionally used in other ethnic communities such as in Borneo, Batak (North Sumatera), and Papua. These colour patterns are also seen in Aboriginal communities. But do these colours play similar functions in Basuki Purnama and Djarot Saiful Hidayat's political communication throughout the past election campaigns? What political messages were they trying to convey? And how do their political supporters agree on these patterns as the representation of their political ideologies? This paper is divided into three parts. Firstly, it will layout the theoretical background behind the semiotics of visual ideologies ofpolitical colours. Secondly, it will provide an outlook of the ongoing contemporary politics of the Jakarta election. Lastly, it will discuss the visual ideology behind the campaign of Basuki Purnama and Djarot Saiful Hidayat's colours of their political campaign: red, white, and black.

Keywords：visual ideologies, political communication, Jakarta election, Basuki Purnama 'Ahok'

Visual Political Communication in Contemporary Indonesia Politics: The Red, White, and Black of the Jakarta 2017 Gubernatorial Elections

The checkered shirt of red, white, and black once had a strong political meaning for people of Jakarta in 2012 and Indonesia in 2014. The shirt pattern was popularised by the supporters of Jokowi-Basuki for Jakarta gubernatorial election in 2012. The checked shirt was a big hit back in 2012, young people from different backgrounds love it. It was also affordable that it was sold in malls and even traditional markets. This colour pattern is popular in many Indonesia's ethnic communities. The idea to choose the red, white, and black checkered shirt pattern because Jokowi-Basuki wanted to get rid of the old-fashioned elitist politician image from their campaign. They wanted to offer a new image—the image a diverse, professional and clean government.

The colours of red, white, and black are also popular across Indonesia and they have to mean traditionally and politically. For example, red symbolises power and passion in Batak and energy in Balinese culture. Black symbolises wisdom, while the colour white symbolises purity and neutrality. White also symbolises holiness.

Politically speaking, red is the colour associated with the Indonesian Democratic Party of Struggle (*PDI Perjuangan*). However, the colour of red the Communist Party of Indonesia (PKI). Due to the cold war propaganda and *coup d' Etat* of Soeharto, many members or people suspected the members of PKI were murdered. Until now, the colour of red is a controversial political colour. White symbolises conservative religious politics, and black is associated with the defense force.

In his gubernatorial election 2017, Basuki with his vice governor, Syaiful Djarot, was still using the same checkered shirt as their campaign brand. The message was still the same: a diverse, professional, and clean government. The checkered shirts also mean the continuation of Joko Widodo's agenda in Jakarta.

Visuals: the center of political communication

Symbols are arguably the most influential element of all political campaign messages. A symbolic politics approach imposes that people respond to symbols in the early development stage, through conditioning, modeling, cognitive consistency, affect transfer, and other socialization mechanisms (Sears & Funk, 1991). These acquired responses, or symbolic predispositions (e.g., racial prejudice, ethnic identities, partisan attachments, and high values), persist over time. As adults, people respond effectively to symbols that are perceived as similar to the attitude objects to which they acquired conditioned or learned responses years ago (Newman & Perloff, 2007).

The most prominent function of visuals in a political campaign is its powerful impacts (Livingstoon, 2007). Images do not work independently; rather, they tap into existing cultural and historical knowledge within the audience and typically operate in conjunction with linguistic or textual arguments. Although some rhetorical theorists disagree with using the term ''argument'' (e.g., Fleming, 1996), visual rhetoric, like all forms of communication, is a system of signs (Foss, 2005).

Visuals are often used in political contexts to tap into iconic, societal symbols and draw on the emotional power associated with those symbols (Lucaites, 1997; Perlmutter, 1998; Spratt, Peterson, & Lagos, 2005). Amongst its many functions in setting the public agenda, visuals are used to associate candidates with individuals who serve a mythic or symbolic function. For decades, visuals have been heavily used in political propaganda to convey ideologies and other political messages. Propaganda has become a means by which people in power communicate with the rest of the society. Whether it is to sell a political candidate, law, or even a war.

Propaganda can be understood as a process of dissemination of ideas intended to convince people to think and act in a particular way, for a specific purpose in the small interest of a group of individuals. This definition is not set in the stone because there are many different reinterpretations of propaganda. For example, Bernays (2005: 52) defines propaganda as a 'consistent, enduring effort to create or shape events to influence the relations of the public to enterprise, idea or group.' Lasswell (1935:189) argues that 'propaganda may be defined as a technique of social control, or as a species of a social movement. As a technique, it is the manipulation of common attitudes by the use of important symbols (words, pictures, and tunes) rather than violence, bribery or boycott. Propaganda differs from the technique of pedagogy in that propaganda is concerned with attitudes of love and hate, while education is devoted to the transmission of skill … The spread of controversial beliefs is propaganda; the proliferation of popular opinions and expertise is education'.

Martin (1932: 29) states that 'Propaganda is not education; it strives for the closed mind rather than the open mind. It is not concerned about the development of mature individuals. Its aim is immediate action. The propagandist merely wishes you to think as he does. The educator is modest; he is so delighted if you think at all that he is willing to let you do so in your way'. Huxley (1936:39) believes that 'Propaganda gives force and direction to the progressive movements of modern feeling and desire, but it does not do much to create those changes. A propagandist is a man who analyses an already existing stream. In a land where there is no water, he digs in vain'. Bartlett (1940: 65) wrote that 'It is a part of the regular method of propaganda to use the symbol, which stirs the sentiment, always in an atmosphere of stress, strain or crisis. Thus the generalizations which fit the feelings will be met by the enthusiastic sweeping away of criticism which provides the emotion.'

Fraser (1957: 1) proposed that 'Propaganda may be defined as the activity, or the art, of inducing others to behave in a way in which they would not act in its absence.' Quarter (1965: 27) argued that 'Propaganda is thus defined as the deliberate attempt by some individual or group to form, control, or alter the attitudes of other groups by the use of the instruments of communication, with the intention that in any given situation the reaction of those so influenced will be that desired by the propagandist. The propagandist is the individual or group who makes any such attempt.'

Taylor (1995: 6) defined propaganda as 'The deliberate attempt to persuade people to think and behave in a desired way. Chomsky (2002: 21–22) wrote that 'Propaganda is to a democracy what the bludgeon is to a totalitarian state.'

Previous experimental studies in political communication show that: "a single photograph can have a clearimpact on voters' judgments regarding a candidate's congressional demeanor, competence, leadership ability, attractiveness, likeableness, and integrity"(Rosenberg, Bohan, McCafferty, & Harris, 1986, p. 123). Their studies find that audiences reproduce visuals faster andmore efficiently than written text. Visuals also contain more symbols that hold the message together (Graber, 1996b, 2001; Paivio, 1979).

Therefore it is important for political candidates to represent an image as a political branding that is appealing to his potential voters. Especially in the digital era, where a political brand has more alternative means of distribution. The more standing out a political brand, the easier voters will notice the product and differentiate it from candidates. On the other hand, the quality of the brand itself has to be consistent with the marketing. Therefore in packaging a propaganda of a political candidate,   it is important to understand visual elements that represent the quality of the candidate that will appeal to the audience.

The checked shirt: young and the class mix

Clothes have long communicated more than just comfort or class in Indonesia, a vast and diverse nation with a combination of languages, cultures, and religions. So it is perhaps unsurprising that politicians have also turned to sartorial branding to distinguish themselves. Checked shirts used to be a favorite style for youth. It is ubiquitous and easy to get even at traditional market. Who wears this kind of shirt? Young people from skaters, music band members, cool kids. In brief, the rock stars in the community. The shirts gave the reformist pair a more informal, hardworking look (image 1) than the batik shirts often worn by traditional politicians (image 2). It is also said to have appealed to trendy young voters - a massive electoral force in Indonesia.

Image 1 Jokowi-Basuki Gubernatorial Election Campaign in 2012

Image 2 Jakarta Gubernatorial's Election Posters (Full Set)

The checked shirt is also a symbol for class collide in Jakarta—the working and middle class of Jakarta—to whom Jokowi-Basuki were more appealing to compared the elites in Jakarta. Since it is everywhere to find and the price is affordable (from roughly US$ 5) when people wear them, they become one team. The use of the checkered shirt was also because their supporters are tired of the traditional elitist political campaign where they would print shirts with their parties' symbols and after the election, you could not wear them anymore. The campaign of the checkered shirt was also the rise of creative power in Indonesia.

The growth of creative power in Indonesia was influenced by the emerging of the global digital market. It also has impacts of how the campaign heavily used the internet as the primary means of their campaign. The internet breaks down the common walls amongst their potential voters. People participate, add values to the campaign materials, and they were organised to make the election a significant game change for Jakarta.

The checkered shirt controversies

Basuki is a controversial profile in Jakarta's history of governors. He is loved and hated at the same time by the people of Jakarta and mostly loved by the people outside Jakarta. His leadership and communication style is more appealing to professionals and middle-class Jakarta. He is loved by many people because of his straight-talking communication style and his integrity to fight corruption and to simplify bureaucratic processes in Jakarta. He is also keen to engage with new technology and the improvement of public facilities which are strongly appealing to businesses and the younger generation.

Basuki is the new face for a more ethnically diverse and a clean government in Jakarta. He has won some integrity awards for his support for a more transparent, non-discriminative, and orderly public administration. He has created a new standard for other public administrators like him across Indonesia. All the things that make people like him are also things that make him a common enemy for corruptors and neo-fascists Islamic groups such as Islamic Defender Front (FPI). For example, Ahok said he also planned to create an electronic budgeting (e-budgeting)

and e-catalog system to improve the selection, implementation, and management of the city's programs.

However, Basuki's popularity slowly sank amongst the urban slum settlers in Jakarta. Some call him an authoritarian because of his policies that are considered 'aggresive' and 'authoritarian' are his gentrification policies. Some argue that his aggressive gentrification policies have caused him his loss at the election (Sydney Morning Herald, 2017; Wilson, 2016). Since taking office as governor in 2014, Ahok has presided over one of the most aggressive campaigns of evictions and forced displacements in the modern history of the city. This policy has been immensely popular amongst the towns middle-class and seen as part of a determined effort to tackle endemic problems of flooding, traffic congestion, and lawlessness.

Kampung Akuarium, ground zero in Jakarta governor Basuki "Ahok" Tjahaja Purnama's aggressive campaign of forced evictions to tackle endemic problems in the city such as flooding, traffic congestion and lack of green space. According to a local in Kampung Akuarium, the locals were given an eviction notice 11 days before their homes were bulldozed in April 2016. Jokowi, now the president, visited Kampung Akuarium three times during the campaign. Dharma says he made an election contract to end evictions and give land certificates to those who had lived in the kampung for more than 20 years.

Kalijodo, an infamous red light district in West Jakarta, was also demolished in a very short period and left many small bars, brothel, and other business owners around nightlife industry (ABC News, 2016).Basuki announced the evictions after a fatal traffic accident blamed on a man who had been drinking at a Kalijodo bar. Many people who have lived in that area for more than a decade felt frustrated because not just they have lost their houses, but also many of them lost their jobs after the eviction. A local whose job is a debt collector reported that he had lost his money up to 90 million rupiahs (AU$ 9,000) because many people who borrowed from him had lost their businesses and jobs. Kalijodo has turned into an open public space with various public facilities for children. However as Basuki has lost the election, the media reported that the park has degraded and had garbage problems from illegal street hawkers (Tribunnews, 2017).

Kampung Duri in South Jakartaand Kampung Pulo in East Jakarta are Basuki's two eviction targets because of these two slums are located alongside the Ciliwung Riverside and allegedly are the causes of flooding in Jakarta. Kampung Duri residents were devastated when the City Hall staff came with the police force to demolish their houses. Residents in this slum area, like some slum areas in Jakarta, during Jokowi-Basuki's gubernatorial election in 2012 were promised that they would not be evicted. However, they were promised that they would develop an elevated village (kampung deret) in Bukit Duri and other places. When faced about their election promises, Basuki argues that he was just doing what he had promised in 2012: to normalize all rivers in Jakarta and revamp dams to address the recurrent floods in Jakarta. He argues that the demolition of Bukit Duri settlement, South Jakarta, shows that he can fulfill his election promises (Tempo, 2016).

Residents of the flood-prone area of Kampung Pulo in East Jakarta were strongly against the eviction, and they clashed with the city officials when Basuki was reportedly forced them to evict. The locals demanded financial compensations to move to the public housing provided by the Basuki's administration. However, Basuki's argued that the buildings were illegal and they were all on the state land. Had he given them financial compensation to them, he might get arrested for the decision. And even if he were not arrested, the locals would still challenge him because he legitimised their land ownership because of the compensations (Jakarta Post, 2015).

These four Kampungs (slum area) residents have one thing in common. They were strong supporters of Jokowi-Basuki's gubernatorial campaigns in 2012. They were once promised a better living condition but without an eviction. They supported Jokowi-Ahok because of their clean and 'people-guy' image. However, those dreams were shattered as the evictions happened. And as they happened, Basuki lost his supporters from those areas as well. For them, the checkered shirts that once symbolised a new hope for them, had lost its meaning.

His opponent, Anies Baswedan-Sandiaga Uno, use this window of opportunity to launch a campaign to attack the symbolism of the checkered shirt. They changed their campaign jargon from "Oke-Oce" to 'B3rsatu Kita Teguh Berkotak-Kotak Kita Runtuh' (image 4) which means 'together we are solid, in boxes we collapse.' This campaign was also and adaptation from Basuki-Djarot's campaign themselves "#Ba2ukiDjarotMenang" (image 3).

Anies Baswedan-Sandiaga Uno, with their conservative political communication style, was appealing to conservative groups in Jakarta and slum settlers of those kampungs who got evicted by Basuki's administration. Baswedan-Uno is supported by political enemies of Basuki-Djarot and President Joko Widodo. They did not have to work hard to make people vote them because their voters were strategically mapped: conservative Muslims and people who are disappointed with Basuki-Djarot's administration.

Image 3 Basuki-Djarot's Poster in 2017   *Image 4 Anies-Sandiaga's Poster in 2017*

They constantly attempted to bring back the memories of the New Order regime. It is symbolised by their hand style in the image and strong support from neo-fascist Islamic groups such as of FPI and their allies. Their campaign was clearly designed to appeal their supporters. White shirt and songkok hats with the big grind in their campaign poster imitate Soeharto, the dictator of the New Order, in many of his public appearance. This style of political branding certainly is not appealing to the victims of the New Order and people with liberal politics in Indonesia. With their close relationships with FPI, Baswedan-Uno, help to echo their racial, political messages.

With this political attacks from their opponents and the controversies of Basuki-Djarot's administration, the spirit of the checkered shirt has lost its meaning. This could mean that in the next election, Joko Widodo must employ a novel political communication strategy to attract potential voters if he wants to keep his second round of Presidency.

Conclusion

I come to a conclusion that the central message of the checkered shirt propaganda by Basuki-Djarot is still a continuation of Jokowi-Basuki's campaign back in 2012. The key message is still similar: a diverse, clean, and professional government. However, this time Basuki-Djarot's campaign objective is to continue the work that they had started when Basuki was first inaugurated as the vice governor of Jakarta for Joko Widodo. The white, black, and red in the checkered shirts used in their campaign still convey the same message as well, to encourage people to come together to vote for Basuki-Djarot despite their different ethnic, religious, or social-economic background.

This message is resonant the social turmoil that takes place behind the massive Anti-China and Anti-Christian racial propaganda against Basuki Purnama in this election. The far right groups and neo-fascist Islamic groups such as the Islamic Defender Front have been campaigning for Basuki imprisonment for the blasphemy accusation that he had been dealing with throughout his campaign.

The losing of Basuki-Djarot in the election and his imprisonment might not be caused by the blasphemy case, but it might be just the results of his gentrification policies. The checkered shirt symbolism is still powerful—a fact that can be seen it is still used in many political actions to support Ahok as well as worn in daily live by significant number of people –nevertheless it seems entirely possible that it has been tarnished as a symbol as a result of the failure of Basuki-Djarot's campaign. While the impacts of such failures may have been well studied in other contexts (such as in the U.S) the study of visual communications in politics in Indonesia remains in its infancy. In this regard, further investigation is necessary of the why that visual imagery gains or loses power and in the case of checkered shirt symbolism, how a symbol that has lost some power might regain it.

REFERENCES

ABC News. (2016). Jakarta Demolition of Kalijodo Leaves Hundreds Facing Eviction. Available on http://www.abc.net.au/news/2016-02-24/jakarta-demolition-of-kalijodo-leaves-hundreds-facing-eviction/7194330. Updated on 24 February 2016. Accessed on May 10, 2017

Asia News Network. (2012). BRIEF: Surakarta mayor can't stand Jakarta's traffic. Updated February 11 2012. Accessed

Bernays, E. 2005, [1928]. Propaganda. New York: IG Publishing.

Chomsky, N. (2002). Media Control. *The Spectacular Achievements of Propaganda*. New York: Seven Stories Press.

Fraser, L. (1957). *Propaganda*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Huxley, A. 1936. Notes on Propaganda. *Harper's Magazine, Vol. 174*.

Jakarta Post. (2015). Violent eviction of poor in Kampung Pulo. Available on http://www.thejakartapost.com/news/2015/08/20/violent-eviction-poor-kampung-pulo.html. Updated on 20 August 2015. Accessed on 10 May 2017

Jowett, G., & O'Donnell, V. 2006. Readings in Propaganda and Persuasion. *New and Classic Essays*. London: Sage Publications.

Lasswell, H. (1935). The Person: Subject and Object of Propaganda. *Annuals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, 179.

Livingston, S. (2007). Handbook of political communication research, *edited by Lynda Lee kaid: Mahwah*, NJ: Erlbaum, Taylor & Francis Group.

Marlin, R. (2002). *Propaganda and the Ethics of Propaganda*. New York: Broadview Press.

Martin, E. D. (1932). *The Conflict of the Individual and the Mass in the Modern World*. New York: Henry Holt.

Qualter, T. (1965). *Propaganda and Psychological Warfare*. New York: Random House.

Schonhardt, S. (2012). Outsider Breathing New Ideas into Jakarta Election. *The New York Times*.

Tal, D., & Gordon, A. (2016). Jacques Ellul Revisited: 55 Years of Propaganda Study. *Society*, *53*(2), 182-187

Wilson, Ian. (2016). New Mandala: Making enemies out of friends. Available on http://www.newmandala.org/making-enemies-friends/. Updated on 3 Nov 2016