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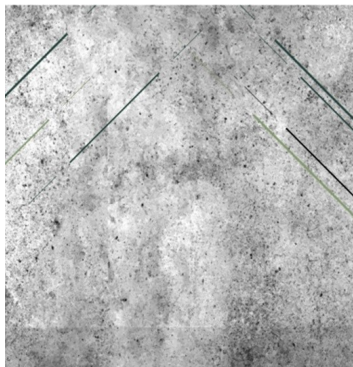
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## Political Campaign of the Partai Demokrasi Indonesia Perjuangan (PDI-P) during the New Order and Reform Era

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### Abstract

Partai Demokrasi Indonesia Perjuangan (PDI-P) is one of the most successful parties in Indonesia. Even so, they sometimes experienced defeat and played an opposition role during the New Order and SBY's reign. Therefore, it is interesting to find out about the PDI-P's campaign strategy when they were the government party and when they were the opposition. PDI-P's continued success to date cannot be separated from the political campaign strategy they implemented. This research discusses the political campaign strategies carried out by the PDI-P using various methods. This research uses a qualitative approach by analyzing various articles discussing the PDI-P political campaign. The results of this research are that the PDI-P experienced a change in campaign strategy between the New Order and the Reformation. PDI-P, which initially had limited means and difficult situations during the New Order era, was able to find various campaign methods since the Reformation era which then led them to success since 2014.

**Keywords:** Political Campaign; PDI-P; New Order Era; Reform Era

### Introduction

The Indonesian Democratic Party of Struggle (PDI-P) is one of the most successful parties in Indonesian history. This is shown by the PDI-P's vote acquisition always being in the top 5 in legislative elections. The Indonesian Democratic Party of Struggle (PDI-P) is one of the most successful parties in Indonesian history. This is shown by the PDI-P's vote acquisition always being in the top 5 in legislative elections. In the 1999 elections, PDI-P emerged as the winner with 33.75 percent. In 2004, the PDI-P's vote share was only 18.53 percent. In 2009, the DI-P's vote share reached 14.01 percent. The increase occurred in the 2014 election where they got 18.96 percent of the vote, and in the 2019 election they got 19.33 percent of the vote. However, Megawati's defeat in the 2004 and 2009 elections positioned PDI-P as the opposition party for 10 years (2004-2014). However, the party consistently maintained a high percentage of votes. One indicator of their success is their campaign strategies. This is why there is a gap that must be looked for, namely why PDI-P lost the 2004 and 2009 elections and what campaign strategy made them lose.

The changes in the electoral system have caused several parties to adapt to the new system. PDI-P is one of the parties that has survived since the New Order era and continues to exist today. Led by Megawati Soekarnoputri, this party has produced cadres with a good track record both at the national and regional levels. Some notable figures from this party who have held positions in the government include Joko Widodo, Puan Maharani, Tri Rismaharini, Ganjar Pranowo, and other party members. As of the 2024 Elections, PDI-P does not require a coalition to nominate a presidential candidate from within its party (Sadono & Amina, 2023). PDI-P utilizes a meritocracy system in selecting candidates for legislative or executive positions to run in elections. PDI-P has previously established a program called "sekolah partai" for candidates who have passed the shortlisting (Budi, 2020). PDI was a party that faced difficulties during the New Order era. The New Order government once engineered the party's congress in 1996 to overthrow Megawati's

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leadership and restore the previous party chairman, Soerjadi (Eklof, 1997). The peak of the conflict occurred on July 27, 1996, known as the Kudatuli event (Twenty-Seventh of July Coup), which involved the forced takeover of PDI's headquarters controlled by Megawati by supporters of Suryadi (Prabawanti, 2023).

The New Order government at that time was afraid of Megawati as she could become their main opposition. The split within PDI garnered significant public sympathy towards Megawati. Eventually, PDI was divided into two factions, namely the Soerjadi faction and the Megawati faction (Saputra et al., 2023). Although Suryadi was ultimately chosen as the chairman, PDI lost a significant number of votes and only won 11 seats in the DPR in the 1997 elections (Tanjung, 2016). After the split in PDI, many of Megawati's supporters switched to *Partai Persatuan Pembangunan* in the 1997 elections. As a result, PDI only received 3% of the votes (Republika, 2023). Eventually, PDI-P was formed with Megawati as its chairperson. PDI-P emerged as a strong party towards the end of Soeharto's regime. PDI-P later led Megawati to become Vice President from 1999 to 2001 and President from 2001 to 2004.

The answer to why this party is considered successful lies in the fact that the party with the bull logo has employed various campaign methods in each election cycle, and they have undergone changes in campaign strategies since the party's establishment. Political campaigning is one strategy to deliver comprehensive messages with the goal of gaining more public attention on the main issues being discussed (Margolis, 2010). Political campaigning can have several meanings and definitions, namely: (1) the activity of transforming information into political messages to the public through various channels and media of communication to influence public opinion; (2) organized efforts with the goal of changing the decisions of voters; and (3) a specific political communication conducted by individuals or political organizations at a certain time to gain public support.

Campaigning is an interactive process in which candidates, external groups, media, and voters communicate to build meaning and shape understanding about the candidate and the campaign (Vinson & Moore, 2007). The messages conveyed in a campaign typically involve plans if elected and the promise of better conditions in the future. Political parties are among the groups that engage in campaigning, aiming to garner as many votes as possible to secure seats in parliament. Political campaigning is closely related to the way in which individuals or parties communicate with the public, as one of the key factors in winning the competition in the political arena is how to win public communication (Ardha, 2014).

The latest research by Jauhariyah et al., (2024) examines the use of social media in the 2024 election campaign. The results of this research show that all presidential and vice presidential candidate pairs use all social media to campaign. This use is intended so that they can get votes from the younger generation. The weakness of this research is that it only shows current campaigns and does not explain the history of campaign development from the first presidential election. This research also took election participants in general, not specific parties. Therefore, the research that the author will carry out has the novelty of specifying an example of a campaign in one of the parties and outlining the development of the campaign methods of that party.

The background and concept regarding political campaigning mentioned earlier serve as the basis for the research question in this article, which is "What were the campaign methods carried out by the PDI-P during the New Order and Reformation era?". The New Order period in question is the time leading up to the fall of the Soeharto regime in 1998, especially the rise of PDI-P in the early 1990s due to limited data. The PDI-P campaign strategy is interesting to analyze because PDI-P is one of the most successful political parties in Indonesia. This research can contribute to the discipline of political science in increasing insight into campaign strategy. This research can contribute to the discipline of political science in increasing insight into campaign strategy. The research problem in this article pertains to the changes in PDI-P's campaign strategies from the past, specifically during the New Order era, to the present.

## Method

The research approach used in this study is a descriptive qualitative approach. This means that the research is conducted by describing the research findings and analyzing them using political campaign theories. The qualitative approach also aims to explore hidden meanings that may not be explicitly stated in the research findings (Sugiyono, 2016). Qualitative research aims to find answers to a phenomenon as a whole. Qualitative research emphasizes researchers to search for meaning rather than simply calculating the influence of variables (Neuman, 2014). Descriptive data means that the data is in the form of a description or explanation of the phenomenon that occurs.

This research utilized data collection techniques such as literature review and documentary study. The data used in the literature review consists of books and journals, both at the national and international levels. These sources provide insights into the history of PDI-P's campaigns from the 1997 elections to the most recent 2024 elections. The documentary study involves examining specific political documents, such as news reports from various news service providers, filtered for specific years. The data analysis technique uses a sequence, namely data reduction, data presentation, and drawing conclusions. The data reduction stage means that all the data collected is sorted to select the important parts. The data presentation stage means grouping the sorted data into each category to be synthesized with theory one by one. Drawing conclusions means the overall synthesis of data and theory taken in broad outline.

## Results

PDI is a combination of national secular parties which was formed in 1973 as a result of the New Order policy to simplify the number of political parties. This merger creates problems, namely the formation of groups within the merged parties. PDI continued to be weakened by the New Order government at every election until there were signs of the fall of the New Order. PDI-P utilized several campaign tools in the elections during the New Order, although the numbers were minimal (Akbarsyah & Niwandhono, 2014). Just like other parties, PDI also carried out campaigns with massive mass mobilization and convoys. However, unlike the Golkar party, the PDI campaign has always received strict supervision from the government. In fact, Megawati said that she was taken by the police three times during the campaign during the New Order era (Rahmawati, 2024). PDI-P uses campaign props such as banners and billboards, although there are not many of them (Akbarsyah & Niwandhono, 2014). However, currently, PDI-P's campaign paraphernalia is abundant and can be found in various cities and districts throughout Indonesia. These campaign materials not only promote the party and its vision but also include materials created by individual PDI-P legislative candidates who are running in their respective regions.

### *Internal Party Splits and the Birth of a New Party*

The rift within the PDI began when in 1996 an incident occurred over the party between Suyadi's group and Megawati's group. The root of the problem with this action began with the PDI's narrow gains in the 1977 and 1982 elections. These narrow gains made Soerjadi, who was still chairman of the PDI DPP, implement the idea of attracting the Soekarno family, one of whom was Megawati, to join the PDI. As a result, PDI's votes increased quite a bit in the 1987 and 1992 elections. Megawati's presence was actually quite influential in boosting the party's votes, but Soerjadi thought that this could threaten the New Order government. PDI held its Fourth Congress in Medan on July 21 1993 with the decision of Soerjadi to be elected as General Chair of PDI. Unfortunately, the election for general chairman was opposed by several groups within the party and they held a PDI Extraordinary Congress (KLB) in Surabaya from 2 to 6 December 1993. The congress resulted in Megawati's name being a candidate for PDI General Chair. Megawati was appointed by acclamation at the National Conference (Munas) on December 22-23 (Hidayat, 2024). Unfortunately, PDI, especially Megawati's supporters, were worried because the Department of Home Affairs asked PDI to ratify the results of the Medan Extraordinary Conference in

1996 (Aspinall, 2005). Soerjadi was re-elected as PDI General Chair at that Extraordinary Conference (Prinada, 2021). This KLB was not attended by Megawati so this event triggered dualism within the PDI. There was a clash at the PDI DPP (*Dewan Pimpinan Pusat*/Central Leader Council) headquarters on Jalan Diponegoro, Jakarta, between Soerjadi's supporters who asked Megawati's management to leave the office. This was triggered by the free pulpit held by Megawati's camp rejecting the results of the Medan Congress. The Soerjadi camp, which did not accept it, then launched a riot. In fact, this action became increasingly heated and spread to other areas in Jakarta. This action later became known as Kudatuli (Riots of 27 July 1996). Several television media that emerged in the early 90s also covered the Kudatuli incident and its developments (RCTI, 2022).

The pattern of the reform era election campaign was not much different from previous elections, namely mass mobilization, street rallies and entertainment involving artists or prominent figures (Yuniarto, 2024). What was new in the reform era campaign was that there were faces of the legislative candidates and vice presidential candidates displayed on the billboards, because the electoral system at this time adopted an open proportional system. Billboards showing the presidential and vice presidential candidates appeared on the billboards for the presidential and vice presidential candidates who continued the competition in the second round in the Lebak Bulus area (Arie, 2004). Apart from billboards, the first presidential and vice presidential debate was held by the KPU at the Borobudur Hotel, Jakarta, from 30th June to 1st July 2004 (Fathoni, 2023).



Figure 1. Billboards campaign for legislative and presidential candidates in Makassar.  
Source: Al-Sham (2023)

### *Role as Opposition*

PDI-P participated in the 2004 election contestation by carrying out several campaign models. On the first day of the campaign, namely March 11th 2004, PDI-P campaigned by holding a convoy on Jalan MH Thamrin Jakarta and filled with speeches by Megawati (Santirta, 2004). The PDI-P open campaign was carried out on a large scale on June 20th 2004 at the Gelora Bung Karno Stadium, Jakarta. The PDI-P campaign in 2004 also involved TV advertisements that advertised PDI-P using Megawati's character at that time, who was often silent and reflective. One use of Megawati's character is an advertisement that shows Megawati sitting in silence looking at several people who are suffering. Megawati is visualized darkly and vaguely as saying "They must be fought for" in the advertisement (Lindawati, 2013).

Megawati's presidency did not last long as she was not re-elected in the presidential election during the 2004 general elections. During the 10 years of Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono's (SBY) presidency, PDI-P continued to rely on the prominent name of Megawati as the candidate for president and vice president. In 2004, Megawati put herself forward as a presidential candidate with Hasyim Muzadi as the vice-presidential candidate (Ardanawati, 2020). They made it to the second round but ultimately lost to SBY-Jusuf Kalla. In 2009, PDI-P once again leveraged Megawati's prominent name by nominating her as the presidential candidate, this time paired with Prabowo Subianto. Once again, they were defeated by SBY, who ran with Boediono as his vice-



presidential candidate.

PDI-P always keeps itself outside the palace during times of opposition. Megawati once refused to attend the palace on the anniversary of Indonesia's independence, choosing to celebrate at her party office (Sahid, 2008). PDI-P also always takes firm decisions in maintaining their consistency as an opposition, one of which is by firing cadres who provide support to the coalition (Safa, 2009). PDI-P has always supported investigating corruption cases during the SBY administration, one of which was the Century Bank case (Chusna, 2010). PDI-P always emphasizes that their party is on the side of the "wong cilik" (Jun, 2011). PDI-P participated in every demonstration against the government, especially regarding the increase in fuel oil (Winarto, 2012). During the opposition period, PDI-P always carried out campaigns either directly or indirectly in the field. Every congress, PDI-P always holds several events, for example a shock market. One of the commodities sold by traders at the event was t-shirts with pictures of Megawati or Soekarno (Rohmat, 2010).

### *The Invention of a New Figure: Returning to Government*

Since then, PDI-P began to search for alternative candidates, aside from Megawati, who were deemed popular enough to boost PDI-P's vote count. They found one of their cadres, Joko Widodo (Jokowi), who was a successful mayor known for his good performance in Surakarta (Solo). Jokowi is recorded as always winning in the 5 elections he has participated in (Katadata, 2019). Jokowi gained popularity due to his humble and down-to-earth style. A good experience was experienced by one of the community members, namely Haryo Hendro Purnomo, who testified that Jokowi, during one of his visits to Kebayoran Baru, took the initiative in getting a chair for him (JPNN.com, 2022). This style aligned with PDI-P's slogan of "the party of the common people" (partai wong cilik) that they had previously promoted during the New Order era.

PDI-P seized the opportunity presented by Jokowi's rising popularity by actively promoting and endorsing his candidacy for the position of Governor of Jakarta, alongside Basuki Tjahaja Purnama (Ahok) as his running mate. This pair of candidates brings a distinctive characteristic to each campaign, namely by wearing checkered shirts. Clothes with this motif have become a national clothing trend and are always in demand at every PDIP National Working Meeting (Surya, 2012). One of the things PDI-P did in carrying out the Jokowi-Ahok campaign was to open registration for a success team that would carry out outreach to the candidate pair even to the Rukun Warga or Rukun Tetangga units (Prabowo, 2012). As a result, Jokowi-Ahok successfully won the election and served as the Governor and Deputy Governor of Jakarta from 2012 to 2017. The DKI regional elections were held in two rounds. The first round was attended by six pairs of candidates. The votes obtained in the first round were as follows: The Fauzi Bowo-Nachrowi Ramli pair received 1,476,648 votes (34.05%), the Hendarji Soepandji-Ahmad Riza Patria pair received 85,990 votes (1.98%), the Joko Widodo-Basuki T Purnama pair received 1,847,157 votes (42.6%), pair Hidayat Nurwahid-Didiek J Rachbini received 508,113 votes (11.72%), pair Faisal Batubara-Biem Benjamin: 215,935 (4.98%), and pair Alex Noerdin-Nono Sampono obtained 202,643 votes (4.67%) (Iqbal, 2013). In the second round of regional elections, the Fauzi Bowo-Nachrowi Ramli pair received 2,120,815 votes (46.17%) and the Joko Widodo-Basuki T Purnama pair received 2,472,130 votes (53.82%) (DetikNews, 2012).

What makes Jokowi a figure among the little people is his own actions in carrying out different actions like public officials in general. On December 26 2012, he took action, namely entering a culvert in the Jakarta HI Roundabout area to check the cause of the Jakarta flood (DetikNews, 2012). Jokowi showed that he is a public official who is personally ready to check field conditions, and is not uncomfortable with dirty places such as sewers (Fatayati, 2016). This incident was the initial trigger regarding the public's perception of how the "little people" leaders should behave. This can be seen because in the following time, public officials in Indonesia followed the steps taken by Jokowi to improve their image. One of them is the Governor of DKI Jakarta in the following period, Anies Baswedan, who took part in community service to clean up rubbish on January 5 2020 after floods hit DKI Jakarta previously (Chaterine, 2020). Entering the 2014 general elections, PDI-P once again nominated Jokowi as their candidate for the presidential race. This is in accord-

ance with the PDI-P's statement which opens up equal opportunities for all its cadres to become presidential candidates (Aco, 2012). In short, Jokowi ran as a presidential candidate paired with Jusuf Kalla, who had served as SBY's vice president from 2004 to 2009.

They repeated the campaign methods carried out in previous elections, with a few additional steps. The campaign method used in the previous election, namely billboards for legislative candidates, is still being used. One of them is several legislative candidates who put up photos of themselves as promotions with photos of Jokowi, Megawati and Soekarno in South Sumatra (DetikNews, 2014). PDI-P was recorded as being involved twice in Jokowi's campaign efforts in both elections in 2014 and 2019 involving buzzers (Kurniawan et al., 2021). In 2014, PDI-P began utilizing social media as a platform for their election campaign. The 2014 elections provided the PDI-P with a strategic opportunity to secure victory by employing the services of "buzzer" groups. Buzzer refers to an anonymous collective that is tasked with inundating social media comment sections with praise for Joko Widodo (Jokowi) and the PDI-P. This orchestrated approach aimed to project a positive image by creating the impression of widespread support for the PDI-P and Jokowi.

PDI-P and its cadre members always engage in visits to communities by going from village to village with the aim of listening to their grievances. This approach of visiting villages is commonly referred to as "blusukan," which essentially means engaging in activities by venturing into the outskirts. This strategy has been consistently employed by PDI-P since Jokowi ran for Governor of Jakarta. They emerged victorious in the election, and since then, PDI-P has consistently relied on Jokowi's name to boost the party's votes. They repeated this strategy in the 2019 general elections, which also ended in success for the party.

PDI-P also started creating a website as a tool to provide information to the party. The PDI-P website provides comprehensive information, including the party's Articles of Association (AD/ART) and its vision and mission. Additionally, the website serves as a media platform, featuring news and updates on the party's activities. It was noted that the first news published by the PDI-P website was dated November 3rd 2021 which discussed the formation of a disaster management unit (PDI Perjuangan, 2021).

## Discussion

This section will discuss the changes in political campaign methods examined through various political campaign resources, as political campaigning itself has become an industry. There are numerous resources used for political campaigns (Stockwell, 2005). This research focused on analyzing specific types of resources used in political campaigns by PDI-P, namely: (1) government relations, (2) grassroots lobbying, (3) internet and political websites, (4) campaign material printing, (5) publications and news, (6) public speeches and copywriting, and (7) TV, radio, and other media production. These selected resources will be analyzed to understand the changes in PDI-P's campaign methods over time.

### *Relationship towards the Government*

The relationship between parties and the government is an important issue in modern party politics, as it influences leadership, governance capacity, and administrative abilities. Parties and government institutions always form certain relationships. These relationships can take form of coalitions or cooperation, and even oppositional relationships where they oppose each other. Political parties and the government are interconnected because some political cadres can hold positions within the government.

Parties can provide instructions to their party members who hold public office with specific goals in mind. Each public official can utilize their authority to formulate policies that benefit their party. Parties can engage in lobbying with the government to recommend one of their members for a specific position. However, the relationship between political parties and the government is more complex than mere recruitment. This is because the government itself is an actor with its own interests in controlling the parties that seek to influence it (Andeweg, 2000).

On the contrary, if a party does not have a close relationship with the government, which can be caused by their defeat in previous elections, they may have limited access to the government. Opposition political parties can act as policy advocates, strategic opponents, or obstructive forces, aiming to delegitimize the government and the broader political system (Hough, 2010). These parties tend to criticize government policies, especially if they are perceived as detrimental to the people. Opposition parties serve as a balance of power to prevent the government from becoming too dominant.

The Indonesian Democratic Party (Partai Demokrasi Indonesia or PDI) had a strained relationship with the New Order government (Aspinall, 2005). PDI served as an opposition party, while the New Order regime favored Golkar. The public was familiar with Suryadi as the chairman of PDI, and later with Megawati as the subsequent chairwoman. The public primarily viewed PDI as Megawati's party, who is the daughter of Soekarno. However, the societal conditions during the New Order era, where people were indoctrinated to harbor resentment towards Soekarno due to his involvement with the Indonesian Communist Party (Partai Komunis Indonesia or PKI) in the past, resulted in less attention being paid to Megawati. Additionally, the public's focus was more directed towards Soeharto and his Golkar party, which consistently won elections held during that time.

During the early years of the reform era in Indonesia, several parties relied on the prominent names of their party leaders who were popular among the public, for instance PKB (Partai Kebangkitan Bangsa) with Abdurrahman Wahid (Gus Dur), PDI-P with Megawati Soekarnoputri, PAN (Partai Amanat Nasional) with Amien Rais, as well as other parties like PPP and Golkar that did not heavily rely on prominent figures (Sherlock, 2004). These three figures played central roles in the power transition that took place from 1998 to 2004. Gus Dur served as the president from 1999 to 2000, while Megawati held the presidency from 2001 to 2004. During this period, PDI-P heavily relied on Megawati's persona, as she was perceived as a strong and influential woman who could not be underestimated, particularly after the events of 1997. This is demonstrated by the support of several political parties, for example Golkar and Islamic reformist parties, in pushing Megawati as president of Indonesia. (Purwaatmoko, 2017). This shows that Megawati was always elected as General Chair of the PDI-P starting from the First PDIP Congress which was held in Semarang in 2000, until the III PDIP Congress which was held in 2010 on the Island of the Gods, Bali.

Political leaders, like actors, need to develop skills to connect with the public and demonstrate warmth, strength, likability, and genuine sincerity to win the hearts of the people (Cronin, 2008). The leaders of PDI-P had the opportunity to become political leaders when Megawati was elected as the president in 2001, replacing Gus Dur. Megawati officially became the first female president of Indonesia. Megawati's strong and resilient personality became closely associated with her. This created a strong connection between PDI-P and the government. However, Megawati's presidency did not last long as she was not re-elected in the presidential election during the 2004 general elections.

PDI-P played an opposition role during the SBY government. Indeed, this situation led to PDI-P being completely outside the government circle and consistently remaining in the opposition. As part of the opposition, PDI-P was known to have conducted several demonstrations against the government, particularly regarding fuel price increases (BBM) (Winarto, 2012). The analysis in this section is only limited to 2014 because in 2014 PDI-P was no longer in opposition.

### *Akar Rumput Lobby*

"*Akar rumput*" is a term commonly used to describe communities that do not have access to the elite. These communities are often associated with rural areas, characterized by simplicity and a limited understanding of politics. The term "akar" translates to "roots" and signifies a position at the bottom but serves as a foundation for the growth above it, much like the roots of a plant. Although these communities may be considered to occupy a lower position, they play a crucial role as a foundation for anyone who relies on their support. Their significance lies in their vast num-



bers, akin to the abundance of grass, making them strategically important for any political party seeking votes in elections.

*Demokrasi akar rumput* plays a vital role in modernizing grassroots governance, achieving community-level democracy, and expanding effective citizen participation in elections (Yao & Wang, 2021). The large numbers and strategic contribution of grassroots voters in elections necessitate that political parties develop specific strategies to appeal to this segment of the population and gain their support. In general, PDI-P's campaign strategy to attract grassroots support in the pre-reform era was not significantly different from the Reform era. This similarity is because PDI-P, since its days as PDI (Indonesian Democratic Party), which later split and gave rise to PDI-P, has already positioned itself as a party of the "common people" ("*Wong Cilik*").

The term "*Wong Cilik*" emphasizes that PDI-P sees itself as representing the lower-middle class and the large population of grassroots communities. PDI-P plays the role of self-actualization of "underprivileged" people but can build loyalty, militancy and pride as part of the party, as well as by utilizing "patron-client" relationships in order to strengthen party solidarity (Turtiantoro, 2020). PDI-P's grassroots campaign activities are not influenced by changes in political dynamics. The "blusukan" agenda mentioned in the previous section is PDI-P's way of gaining sympathy from the grassroots. They consistently prioritize reaching out to grassroots communities, whether they are in a position of government or opposition.

Although PDI-P did not receive mass support in large numbers during the New Order era, they garnered support from activist students who were dissatisfied with the authoritarian regime. Every campaign conducted by PDI-P was welcomed and supported by students and campus activists, allowing their campaign vision and mission to resonate with the supporting students. Themes that emphasized the shortcomings of the New Order regime were always well-received by students.

#### *Internet and Party's Websites*

Party websites play a crucial role in political campaigns as they provide more detailed information about the party. Party websites serve as a platform for a pluralistic society, increasing the visibility of smaller and marginalized parties, and facilitating interactive relationships between citizens and parties (Norris, 2003). Party websites are a manifestation of transparency, as they showcase various party activities and documents that can be accessed by the public. They also provide links for party membership registration, making it convenient for individuals who wish to join the party. Parties can utilize their websites to provide comprehensive information and engage with the public effectively. Apart from the party website, PDI-P also provides information to the public through social media, for example Instagram and for a "hat trick" (winning 3 times in a row) in the 2014, 2019 and 2024 Legislative Elections. Apart from the party's social media account, they also have a parliamentary faction social media account called @bantengsenayan on Instagram.

During the New Order era, PDI-P did not employ these methods as internet usage and websites were not prevalent in Indonesia. However, with the advent of the Reform Era and the increasing popularity of the internet in the 2000s, PDI-P started utilizing websites for political purposes. The PDI-P website once posted about support for Indonesian workers abroad stating that they were brothers with PDI-P and Jokowi (Widianti et al., 2019). The PDI-P website also uploads the achievements of each cadre. One of the uploads was an appreciation for Tri Rismaharini, who at that time served as Mayor of Surabaya. The city of Surabaya received the Lee Kuan Yew World City Prize award in the Special Mention Category (Widianti et al., 2019).

#### *Campaign Paraphernalia Printing*

Campaign paraphernalia refers to physical media used to provide political information directly to the public. These materials include banners, billboards, flags, pamphlets, posters, calendars, brochures, and similar items. Campaign paraphernalia is typically displayed along highways or at intersections. The installation of campaign materials usually requires permission from the local government.

These materials are commonly installed in the months leading up to the election. PDI-P did utilize campaign paraphernalia during the New Order era, although the quantity was reportedly minimal (Akbarsyah & Niwandhono, 2014). During the Reformation period until now, they continue to campaign using this method. This can be exemplified in the image below when PDI-P used one large billboard.



Figure 2. A few OPP election sympathizers climbed to the top of the *Merdeka* or *Mati* statue on Basuki Rachmat Street, Surabaya, East Java, to put up campaign pictures, Thursday (2/4/1987).

Source (Fathoni, 2023)

#### *Publication and News*

Publication and news are strategic means of conducting campaigns to win elections. News media plays a crucial role in the campaign process, as there is a power struggle between political parties and the media to control the campaign agenda (Seethaler & Melischek, 2014). News coverage is typically conducted by press agencies and provides the latest developments. Therefore, the actors involved in news reporting are external to the political party or government. The press operates independently, ensuring that the news reported is authentic and accurate.

Independence of the media is crucial for a democratic country, and the independence of media regulatory authorities is linked to social, financial, and legal frameworks (Schulz et al., 2013). While press organizations adhere to the principle that the events they report must be real, they do have the power to determine which news stories to cover and which ones to omit. In other words, the press has the ability to allocate the proportion of coverage for each news topic.

During the New Order era, PDI-P benefited from the presence of media outlets that were perceived to be supportive of them. *Merdeka* newspaper, for example, allocated more coverage to PDI-P's campaign compared to Golkar, which was the ruling party at the time (Agustyna, 2016). The media reporting on PDI-P extended beyond newspapers and included television broadcasts, which started to emerge in Indonesia in the early 1990s. One such example is RCTI, which reported on the follow-up developments of the Kudatuli incident in 1996 (RCTI, 2022).

During the reform era, PDI-P has undoubtedly been covered by various media outlets. News coverage of PDI-P has been ongoing since the Reform Era. The press freedom granted by the government after the New Order regime allows every media institution to easily access information about PDI-P. The news coverage of PDI-P encompasses not only current activities but also past events, for example (Firdauzi, 2019) reported on the pro-Megawati faction of PDI-P forming an alliance with PPP due to the Kudatuli incident.

#### *TV Production, Radio, and Other Mass Media*

One of the strategies employed in political mobilization involves the strategic utilization of mass media communication channels (Devy et al., 2019). media, as a critical conduit of information and communication, plays a pivotal role in the dissemination of political messages. The te-

rm "press" refers to the industry responsible for the production and distribution of news and information. The press industry commands a substantial and credible audience and followership. Individuals and organizations possess the liberty to establish their own press institutions, provided they adhere to regulatory frameworks and ethical codes governing the press. Additionally, political parties, being political entities, have the potential to establish autonomous press entities.

During the New Order era, PDI-P did not independently utilize mass media for electoral campaigns. Instead, they relied on external media sources, such as newspapers and television channels, to cover their political campaigns. Newspapers played a significant role in reporting on their political campaigns leading up to the elections during the New Order period. The mass media also frequently mentioned the PDI-P's name in the context of their consistent defeats to the Golkar party.

During the New Order era, PDI-P relied on conventional political communication tools. These tools primarily included billboards and flags. However, the usage of such tools was limited due to technological constraints and the repressive nature of the New Order regime. The PDI-P's campaign efforts were thus hampered by the restricted availability of campaign materials, leaving them at a disadvantage compared to the dominant Golkar party. The use of buzzers in the 2014 and 2019 elections proved effective in winning Jokowi. Buzzer activities are designed to create an illusion of political hegemony, particularly targeting information-seeking young voters (Kurniawan et al., 2021). The PDI-P experienced a 1% increase in vote share from the 2014 to the 2019 elections, attributed in part to their utilization of social media (Priyanto et al., 2021).

## Conclusion

The campaign strategies employed by PDI-P underwent significant transformations from the New Order era to the Reformasi era. These alterations encompassed various aspects, including the party's approach to government relations, community engagement, media relations, campaign materials, public speaking, copywriting, and independent media management. It is important to note that several of these aspects were not feasible during the New Order era due to the limited technological advancements prevalent at that time, such as websites and social media platforms.

During the era of President Soeharto, the Indonesian Democratic Party (PDI) faced limitations in accessing a wider audience, especially as press freedom was restricted at that time. PDI was not very active in campaigning, as it struggled to gain popularity compared to the dominant Golkar party. This lack of activity was further exacerbated by the Kudatuli incident, which diverted their focus away from political campaign strategies. Consequently, PDI experienced a drastic decline in the number of votes during the 1997 elections. PDI-P continued to engage in grassroots lobbying efforts, including targeting student activists who shared their discontent with the New Order regime. They also managed to receive media coverage from certain press outlets that were perceived to be sympathetic to their cause.

During the transition to the Reform era, PDI-P received a breath of fresh air, enabling them to campaign freely and express their political views. One prominent figure within PDI-P was Megawati Soekarnoputri, who played a crucial role in the early years of Reformasi and served as President from 2001 to 2004. Although PDI-P experienced periods of opposition from 2004 to 2014, they continually adapted their campaign methods to keep pace with the changing times. PDI-P established a comprehensive website that provided detailed information about the party, and they independently created social media accounts to inform the public about their activities. Their campaign strategies evolved in line with technological advancements and societal changes. For instance, they were strongly suspected of utilizing "buzzers" to improve their public image. The slogan "*wong cilik*" (the common people), which had been championed since the New Order era, was maintained, and PDI-P had numerous public figures who embodied this slogan, showcasing their commitment to representing the interests of ordinary citizens. By leveraging these strategies, PDI-P aimed to connect with the public and demonstrate their continued alignment with the common people. This research can contribute as a reference for further research that discusses campaign strategy or PDI-P.

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