



# FOX Indonesia's Role in SBY-Boediono's Win in the 2009 PILPRES

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## ARTICLE INFO

### Article history:

Received Jan 23, 2020

Revised Feb 14, 2020

Accepted Mar 17, 2020

### Keywords:

FOX Indonesia,  
2009 Election,  
SBY-Boediono

## ABSTRACT

Marketing science as a discipline that develops in the business world is assumed to be useful for political institutions. The methods and approaches contained in marketing science can help political institutions to bring political products to their constituents and society at large. Political institutions can use marketing methods in preparing political products, distributing political products to the public and ensuring that their political products are superior to competitors. Political marketing has become a phenomenon, not only in political science, but also raises various questions for marketers who have been used to it in the context of the business world. The 2009 elections, both legislative and presidential elections, provide evidence that political marketing plays an important role in the success of a candidate. both legislative and presidential candidates. The victory of the Democratic Party is the fruit of the political branding carried out by SBY, as chairman of the advisory board. SBY-Boediono's victory cannot be separated from Fox Indonesia's role as a drafter for SBY's personal branding. The 2009 presidential election is different from the previous one, currently the connection between the legislative and presidential elections is very strong. SBY's victory in the 2009 presidential election, apart from the political marketing support carried out by Fox Indonesia, either directly or indirectly, such as financing survey institutions to form opinions, starting from SBY's victory, to the one-round election, turned out to be successful in influencing the voting public. This is inseparable from the trend of using political consulting institutions for parties who want to run for leadership candidates at various levels of government, even up to the president. The existence of political consultants in Indonesia has brought about a change in the world of politics in the archipelago.

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## 1. INTRODUCTION

The results of the 2009 presidential election illustrate that the world of politics in this country has changed. One form of change, the role of political parties as a tool to convey people's aspirations is increasingly shifting. If in the previous presidential election the role of political parties

was very clear in winning the candidates they promoted, then in the 2009 election this role began to be taken over by political consulting institutions.

Almost everything related to the personal and image of the couple running for the presidential election, especially the SBY-Boediono pair, has received attention from a political consulting agency, which in this case is Fox Indonesia. The role of political parties that were previously considered as political machines has begun to be marginalized.

In fact, when referring to the democratization process, the existence of political parties is a must. Because in countries that adhere to democracy, the idea of popular participation has an ideological basis that the people have the right to determine who will be the leader who will determine public policy (Natalia, 2015) (FIRMANSYAH, 2019).

There are three theories regarding the origin of political parties. First, the institutional theory that sees a relationship between the early parliament and the emergence of political parties. Second, the historical situation theory which sees the emergence of political parties as an attempt by a political system to overcome the crisis caused by changes in society at large. Third, the theory of development that sees political parties as a product of socio-economic modernization (FIRMANSYAH, 2019) (Pradana, 2014).

At the beginning of the reformation, after the collapse of the New Order, many new parties were formed, in an astonishing number. This is something that is natural, as a result of the blockage of democracy for 32 years. The joy of welcoming the reform era makes everyone want to express their passion and desire in politics by forming a political party or joining a political party that they consider to be a vehicle for their aspirations which they have not received from the three parties permitted by the government (Jabar, n.d.).

In the 1999 election, it can be said that it is still the heyday for the existence of political parties. There are many new parties that have the opportunity to place their cadres in legislative institutions, both at the central and regional levels. This can be interpreted by the large role of political parties. The election of Abdurrahman Wahid as president, followed by the appointment of Megawati as president, because Abdurrahman Wahid's eviction is still a triumph for political parties. This happened because power was still played by the power of political parties, where at that time the president was still elected by the MPR, most of whose members came from political parties.

Then in the era of the 2004 General Election, it was a transitional period, namely the transition from conventional elections, which relied on the power of political parties, to elections that highlight the running of political marketing. The differences that exist in conventional elections, the party machine is always proud of. A party that has complete management up to the RT (Rukun Tetangga) level is believed to win the election. All political parties flocked to strengthen their management. A lot of funds are disbursed to form the management of political parties to the lowest level. Every legislative candidate (caleg) is given the responsibility to start the party's engine, to start forming, funding and managing it.

This is different from what happened in the 2009 presidential election, where the role of political parties has shifted. Political parties no longer dominate the strategies used by the presidential and vice presidential candidates in the winning process. For those related to strategy and marketing who are considered to be able to support the pair being promoted, in the 2009 election, they used the services of a political consultant. The role of this consulting agency is to formulate strategies that will be taken in order to introduce and disseminate the fame of the pair being handled, and win them in the election.

It is undeniable that at this time the merging of scientific disciplines to achieve the desired goal is not impossible. One of them is a marketing strategy in the world of politics. Marketing strategies are increasingly needed in the world of politics. The world of today is not completely changed compared to the world of the past. The present is a continuation of the past. But evolution requires humans to apply more appropriate and relevant ways, including political life. Politicians have to resort to new ways. The old ways may still be widely used, but an increasingly critical society demands them to take more persuasive approaches (Purwosusanto & Sumadyo, 2014).

If you look at the results of the 2004 legislative elections, the elections still show results which show that the party machine is still functioning. However, the 2004 presidential election showed that political marketing played a more important role. One example is Wiranto who was promoted

by the Golkar party, the party that won the legislative election, the party whose party engine was mature and strong finally had to swallow the bitter pill of defeat from the SBY-JK pair who incidentally came from a small party and did not win the legislative election. This is a sign that the role of political parties has been reduced, defeated by political marketing, which is packaged in political advertisements in all media.

This negates the principle of party characteristics being seen as a source of polarization which can eventually lead to unrest due to group fanaticism, as seen during the general election campaign. Group solidarity is very strong and because of that group fanaticism creates extreme attitudes towards other groups who do not share the same aspirations. So do not be surprised if in the election campaign there is friction between supporters of political parties, which is detrimental to both parties. If it is not handled wisely and wisely, it can lead to disputes at the grassroots level (Jabar, n.d.).

Although Jusuf Kalla (JK) who was running for Soesilo Bambang Yudhoyono (SBY), was a Golkar cadre, but during his candidacy in the 2004 presidential election, JK did not bring up the Banyan Party, only the Golkar elites who had strong funds, to provide financial support for political marketing programs that require extraordinary funds. This is certainly something that has never been done before.

The 2009 elections, both legislative and presidential elections, provide evidence that political marketing plays an important role in the success of a candidate, both legislative and presidential candidates. The victory of the Democratic Party is the fruit of the political branding carried out by SBY, as chairman of the advisory board. SBY-Boediono's victory cannot be separated from Fox Indonesia's role as a drafter for SBY's personal branding.

SBY's victory in the 2009 presidential election, apart from the political marketing support carried out by Fox Indonesia, either directly or indirectly, such as financing survey institutions to form opinions, starting from SBY's victory, to the one-round election, turned out to be successful in influencing the voting public. The politics of imagery has proven to be successful in leading the general public to vote for a particular candidate that previously might not have been their choice. However, because of the massive display of advertisements in electronic and print media, it has an effect on voters in making their choices.

Fox Indonesia is the first "Strategic and Political Consulting" institution in Indonesia which was founded on February 14, 2008 by Choel Mallarangeng, MBA and Rizal Mallarangeng, Ph.D and supported by a number of young intellectuals and reliable practitioners from various disciplines. As a professional institution, Fox Indonesia handles clients for regional head elections (Pilkada), presidential elections (Pilpres), and legislative and corporate elections (Budi, 2011).

Those who have studied in depth about marketing, brand management and marketing communication, of course understand why Choel Malarangeng from Fox Indonesia, immediately gave instructions to the entire success team to use SBY-Boediono as the name for this candidate pair, where previously the name SBY-Boediono was circulating. virtuous. Because the uniformity of the name tag line and brand attributes greatly affects the success of branding a product and then it is embedded in the minds of the people by showing it continuously.

Making tag line, "Continue....!" and the jingle "Indomie.." is a strategystandard raw program branding in world marketing.

Massive advertising screenings with jingles that are easy to remember by the public are certainly a strategy to instill a strong memory for the public, especially ordinary people who like the politics of imagery.

Plasser, as quoted by Akhmad Danial, explains that there are at least five global trends that mark changes in campaign practices and styles in today's world, namely (Kurniawan, n.d.): 1) (Kurniawan, n.d.). Increased campaign communications centered on television. Campaigning in today's era is a win-lose battle between candidates in the air where candidates and parties try to frame various issues in ways that they think are effective; gain voter support with carefully crafted political messages and engineer programs to suit television formats. 2). The increasing importance of political advertising on television with the consequence of increasing the budget for campaign funds. Against this, Plasser noted, in the 1970s, only four countries, namely America, Canada, Australia, and Japan, which allows parties and candidates to buy television time for their political

advertisements. That number rose to 49 countries in the late 1990s, the majority of which were Latin American countries. Eastern European countries and the former Soviet Union also opened up the opportunity to buy television time for political advertisements. These political television advertisements have, in turn, replaced campaign advertisements in traditional media such as billboards. in turn replace the forms of advertising campaigns in traditional media such as billboards. 3). Debates between political leaders on television are increasingly considered important. In the 1970s, such debates took place in only 10 countries, but by the late 1990s, campaign discussions between the candidates were the culmination of television campaigns in at least 35 countries.4). Current campaigns are increasingly candidate-centered, even in countries with "party list" rather than "people list" electoral systems. This is what Mughan calls the phenomenon of "Presidentialization" of campaigns in countries that adhere to a parliamentary government system such as the UK, namely "the shifting of party-based campaigns to media-based personality contests). 5). The increasing role of professional campaign managers and political consultants from outside the party. The campaign has transformed from an amateurish one to a highly professional type of operation. These consultants practice political marketing, issue development through surveys, and planned dissemination of political messages.

## 2. RESEARCH METHOD

In the discussion of this thesis the author uses descriptive and analytical-critical methods. Descriptive method is directed to describe the object or event without the pretension of making conclusions that apply in general. The analytical-critical method seeks to examine how far the role of Fox Indonesia in winning SBY-Boediono in the 2009 presidential election was.

Categorically, this research is included in the type of field research. This means that the research that will be carried out is by going directly to the field and conducting interviews with informants who will be the primary sources in this research. In addition, the author also conducts library research by examining and reviewing scientific works, both those contained in books, magazines, journals, papers and other library data relating to the Fox Institute in the SBY-Boediono victory in the 2009 Presidential Election. Then the writing of this thesis uses data collection methods, namely research conducted by distinguishing primary and secondary data. Primary data is the main object of study in the form of interviews.

In this study, the authors plan to conduct interviews with the management of Fox Indonesia, especially those directly related to political marketing in winning an election.

While secondary data in the form of books, scientific works, newspaper and magazine articles, other writings about political consultants in Indonesia.

## 3. RESULTS AND DISCUSSIONS

### 3.1 2009 presidential election in Indonesia

In the implementation of the 2009 presidential election there were so many criticisms made by SBY's opponents, however, the General Elections Commission (KPU) determined the SBY-Boediono pair as the winner. SBY's unanimous victory, which garnered more than 60 percent of the vote, was far ahead of his rivals. This number of acquisitions also proves that what SBY has to offer is still in demand by most of the Indonesian people, thus leading him to win the 2009 presidential election in one round (Anggraini, n.d.).

With these results, SBY succeeded in realizing his tactic with the name bandwagon effect strategy. SBY's pattern of winning the SBY presidential election can at least be matched or equated with the victory obtained by Ronald Reagan in the 1980 United States election. At that time, Ronald Reagan was a well-known American artist, who later shocked the world by winning the US presidential election. It is interesting to hear about Ronald Reagan's victory because at that time Reagan was approaching the age of 70.

Ronald Reagan's victory was determined by the bandwagon effect factor carried out by his successful team. The bandwagon effect is the tendency of people to do or believe something, because the majority of people do or believe it. Even though the voters in America are rational,

they still follow the current trend. At that time, the television network NBC announced Reagan's victory from the exit poll results. Announcement of the exit poll was conducted in the eastern region of the US. Because in the region, the voters after the election. Meanwhile, in the western region of the US, presidential elections have not been held due to time differences. Through this poll, the eastern US states that Reagan won unanimously, because voters in the west know this, they tend to vote for the winner.

Indirectly, the conditions that occurred in the US at that time were similar to those that occurred in the July 2009 presidential election in Indonesia, although they could not be equated. SBY's success team even tried to use the bandwagon effect long before the presidential election took place. This similarity can be seen from the surveys conducted by the SBY – Boediono success team to boost the candidate's popularity. This strategy turned out to be quite effective. In almost every survey that is released every three months, SBY wins more than the other pairs. This has caused SBY's image in the eyes of the general public in Indonesia to be drastically boosted.

The strategy carried out by the SBY-Boediono Team in order to improve their image was not only carried out before the presidential election, even during the voting process. Similar to NBC's efforts, several Indonesian television stations are also actively updating the provisional results of the presidential election through exit polls. Every hour we can monitor how absolute SBY's victory is. The number of Indonesian people who like to join in is also psychologically affected by the results of this exit poll. The majority of them would think, why choose another pair if SBY-Boediono already won?

### **3.2 SBY-Boediono Campaign Design**

In the modern political system, the image of the candidate who will be carried in a fight for power is very important. Many parties are involved in this campaign process, to work hand in hand so that the candidates they propose can be elected. Of the various elements involved in the campaign process, the existence of a political consulting agency currently has a strategic role.

Anas Urbaningrum who now serves as chairman of the Democratic Party, explained that the role of political consultants is very large to achieve success. The consultants formulate a persuasive strategy by mobilizing experts in marketing, ideology, speech writers, statisticians, and fashion designers. All of them are designed to attract customers, seek sympathy, and promote the program. This is the phenomenon of industrial democracy which has begun to mushroom in Indonesia as a new business field. The current democratic industry is no less attractive than the media industry, even though the two work synergistically.

The establishment of Fox Indonesia cannot be separated from Choel Mallarangeng. Although he is not a man with a master's degree in politics, Choel has cultivated his sensitivity to politics in the country since childhood. This is understandable, because apart from his father who was a regional head, his two older brothers (Andi Mallarangeng and Rizal Mallarangeng) also have experience in politics. Choel Mallarangeng saw that politics in the country at that time was very traditional and lacked dignity. He has a vision to start something in Indonesia with a modern, elegant and smart campaign. So, in order to realize his wish, Choel founded Fox Indonesia.

According to Taftajani, the beginning of Fox Indonesia's establishment was when dealing with a client who wanted to run for governor of South Sumatra, namely Alex Noerdin. Political consultants have actually existed in Indonesia for a long time, but have not yet been formed as a professional institution. Each political party has several experts who actually function as political consultants. Likewise, when someone wants to advance in a regional head election, of course they have experts who take care of political consultants. Fox Indonesia is present in Indonesia as a political consulting agency that handles clients who want to run for a regional head election. As he said to the author: "If you look at the history of the presence of political consultants, actually they have existed for a long time. However, in Indonesia, political consultants are still in political parties, as well as the success teams of a candidate. Before the reform era, political consultants were not as institutionalized as they are now. Well, this is where Fox Indonesia is present as a political institution, which previously existed in Indonesia but was not yet institutionalized." (Aminuddin & Ramadhan, 2015).

Furthermore, Choel Mallarangeng explained about the modern and elegant campaign. According to him, the traditional public campaign methods are distribution of basic necessities, distribution of t-shirts, mass circumcision. Modern campaigning methods are the ones you can see in other parts of the world, such as in Europe or the United States. Namely ways to win heartshare and mindshare from the public. According to him, this requires political consultants to enter into the realm of political marketing. Here, most of the budget will be used for introducing the brand, positioning the brand, and differentiating branding. The branding is of course the candidate in question. To do this, the most effective, efficient, and fast, is through media campaigns on local and national radios, local and national TV, print ads,

Modern campaigns also have measurable characteristics. Before conducting a branding campaign, we conducted a survey from a good independent survey agency. And we'll see how much awareness, likeability, and electability are concerned. Then we do the treatment program. After 3 months, we measure again how much it went up, how much it fell. Modern campaigns are holistic campaigns, where there is no longer a campaign method that is superior to others. The way he speaks and makes speeches, what issues he chooses, media relations, all must be strong.

Relations with journalists must be good and close. He also must have more or less the same media strategy. Both branding, positioning, and differentiation are the same from the top to the level of billboards, business cards, posters, radio. All messages are consistent (Jelantik & Kom, 2021).

Based on the results of the author's interview with one of the staff of Fox Indonesia, the author tries to find out about their response to the political conditions in Indonesia. One of Fox Indonesia's staff, Sandra Dewi Priatna, said that the political condition in Indonesia was already leading to a better direction. The democratization process has begun to be accepted by the community with the direct election of the president and his deputy. Likewise, the process of selecting members of the legislature no longer uses the serial number system, but with the majority of votes. As stated by the informant Sandra Dewi Priatna to the author: "I think the political condition in Indonesia is already leading to a better direction. This is marked by the fact that Indonesia has held direct presidential elections twice. I think this is a very big leap from the previous election conducted by the members of the council. In addition, the legislative election process has also improved from one election to another. In the past, people really wanted to be in the number one position because it seemed as if they had received a guarantee to be elected, but now the situation is different. With the majority vote system, the serial number is no longer important. They must try their best, in order to get the most votes from the people. Thus, an honest atmosphere is created in the process of selecting members of the legislature. For the past 10 years, it seems that Indonesia is undergoing a process of political revolution with better regulations." In addition, the legislative election process has also improved from one election to another. In the past, people really wanted to be in the number one position because it seemed as if they had received a guarantee to be elected, but now the situation is different. With the majority vote system, the serial number is no longer important. They must try their best, in order to get the most votes from the people. Thus, an honest atmosphere is created in the process of selecting members of the legislature.

Furthermore, the writer asked about Fox Indonesia's willingness when asked to handle the SBY-Boediono campaign. The author asks about what sells the pair. A Fox Indonesia staff member, Sandra Dewi Priatna, said that the SBY-Boediono couple was an incumbent couple. Although the vice presidential candidate does not come from the world of politics, but comes from the world of academics and practitioners, Sandra Dewi Priatna admits that she is optimistic that this will not reduce the chances of this pair winning the presidential election. Apart from being the incumbent, SBY took Boediono as his deputy, when viewed from the educational background factor, he was a partner which Very qualified, so as to add belief for the public to choose this couple. As expressed by Sandra Dewi Priatna to the author: "In my opinion, of the three pairs who volunteered to run in the 2009 presidential election, the SBY-Boediono pair was the most suitable pair. Apart from SBY himself being the incumbent president, his partner, Boediono, is an academic and practitioner with no doubts about his experience. In addition, if we look at the educational background of the candidates, the SBY-Boediono pair is the most qualified couple in terms of

educational background. This of course can be an attraction for people to make their choice to this couple.”

According to informant Taftajani, in accepting clients, actually Fox Indonesia is not picky. Because Fox Indonesia is a professional consulting agency, so anyone who requests the services of this agency will be served and handled professionally as well. However, this does not mean that Fox Indonesia simply accepts potential clients who want to use its services. There need to be several considerations taken by the Fox Indonesia Team before accepting potential clients. Usually, prospective clients who do not have sufficient political capital are advised not to run in a regional head election, but are advised to become their representatives first. It's different if the prospective client goes forward in a regional head election with the target not to win, but as a long-term investment, then Fox Indonesia will help the prospective client. As told by informant Taftajani to the author: “In accepting prospective clients, Fox Indonesia does not discriminate. But there are several considerations that must be considered when accepting a prospective client. One of them is the ownership of the prospective client's political capital. If we already know that the prospective client is unlikely to win an election, then we will give him advice to become a representative of a stronger candidate. This means that we do not immediately accept people who have the financial capacity as clients. Our consideration is that if the chances of winning are small, why should we be so tired of fighting for it? To put it simply, we prioritize potential clients who have potential, indeed,

When the author asked about the process of accepting prospective clients, informant Taftajani explained that sometimes there were prospective clients who came to the Fox Indonesia office to ask for services in the post-conflict local election. But not infrequently, the initial process of accepting a prospective client is carried out by first conducting casual discussions, which in the end there is an agreement to accept the person as a client of Fox Indonesia. As told by informant Taftajani to the author: “When asked about the client acceptance process, several clients came to our office. Usually there are many local people who come to Jakarta, then take the time to stop by the office. But it is not uncommon for the client acceptance process to be carried out with a casual chat first. A kind of light discussion between us and prospective clients.

Regarding the service fee that the client has to pay to Fox Indonesia, the informant Taftajani explained that this is very relative. Depends on how heavy the task and work that must be done by Fox Indonesia in winning the client. There is no specific rate charged to the client, but it is flexible. Generally, after receiving a prospective client, then an analysis is carried out which will later appear several programs. From that program then emerges how much costs must be incurred by a client. As Taftajani said to the author: “If you ask about the fees that must be paid by a client, I answer that it is very relative. The size of the costs to be incurred is very flexible. Usually, when we have received a client, then we do an analysis that will appear programs that support the client's success. For example, Person A is not well known in his area, so later there will be programs aimed at introducing clients to the community. From these programs, how much costs must be incurred by the client. So there is no certain benchmark regarding the tariff that must be paid by the client.”

The reason for Fox Indonesia's handling of the SBY-Boediono pair cannot be separated from the professionalism of Fox Indonesia itself. As stated by the main informant Koesoemadinigrat to the author: “In principle, we do not discriminate between the clients we will treat. We are a professional consulting agency, so we welcome anyone who needs our services. We will serve and handle it professionally, without being picky about potential clients. But that doesn't mean we take prospective clients for granted, without any consideration. At the very least, we put it together in the team, whether the prospective client is involved in legal problems, or is involved in other issues that could bring the prospective client to the realm of law”.

Further details provided by Taftajani to Writer. According to him, SBY-Boediono is a pair that has very strong political capital. This means that the possibility of the pair being elected in the presidential election is very large. Of course, it eases our task and work in winning the candidate. In contrast, if a partner does not have strong political capital, then Fox Indonesia's duties and responsibilities will be even more difficult. As the author puts it: “As I have said, if the client we work with has strong political capital, the chances of that client being elected in an election will be even

greater. Likewise with the SBY-Boediono pair, this pair has very strong political capital. This makes our job easier, compared to dealing with clients who don't have enough political capital."

Choel Mallarangeng, as which the author quotes from The results of an interview with the National Journal, said that he could not make a client suddenly turn out to be clean and nice. According to him, in refusing prospective clients the only filter, perhaps, is if the client has legal problems. If it has been or is rumored to be, that's a different story. However, if there is a clear legal problem, it is impossible to accept. He and his team always look at the results of the measurements. If it turns out to be difficult or tends to be impossible, he will tell you. He admits that he is not a magician. If the cat asks to be turned into an elephant, Fox Indonesia will not be able to. However, if the free-range chicken can look fat, beautiful, big, it can be done through imaging. But if it's a cat, it's still a cat. This means that Fox Indonesia cannot carry out an image that does not come from him. Because,

In accepting prospective clients, Fox Indonesia does not conduct a survey first. On the contrary, the survey is conducted when a client has been handled by Fox Indonesia for further analysis.

When the author asked what strategic steps were taken by Fox Indonesia in dealing with the SBY-Boediono pair, the main informant Koesoemaningrat explained several steps taken by the Team. The first thing that Fox Indonesia did was conduct a SWOT analysis (Strength, Weakness, Opportunity, Threat/strength, weakness, opportunity, threat).

In this SWOT analysis, Fox Indonesia reveals the various strengths possessed by candidates that can be used as weapons in winning the presidential election process. The next step is to look for the weaknesses of the candidate, so that solutions are found to cover these shortcomings so that they are not used as material for attacks by the opposing party. Then the opportunity or opportunity of the candidate by looking at the potential and tract record of the previous candidate. This becomes important, because then it can be an additional weapon from the strength that was previously owned. Finally, there are threats, both those that come from within the candidate's personality, as well as from around the candidate's environment. For more details, the following are the results of the author's interview with the informant: "When we accepted the SBY-Boediono couple as our clients, The first thing we did was to conduct a SWOT analysis (Strength, Weakness, Opportunity, Threat/strength, weakness, opportunity, threat). In this SWOT analysis, we reveal the various strengths possessed by candidates that can be used as weapons in winning the presidential election process. With that power, we use it to entice voters to make their choice to our clients. The next step is to look for the weaknesses of the candidate, so that solutions are found to cover these shortcomings so that they are not used as material for attacks by the opposing party. Various shortcomings from our clients try to find a solution as much as possible. Then the opportunity or opportunity of the candidate by looking at the potential and tract record of the previous candidate. This is important, because then it can be an additional weapon of the strength that was previously owned. Finally, there are threats, both those that come from within the candidate's personality, as well as from around the candidate's environment. Threats can be in the form of the client's inattention to his personal condition, either because of fatigue or because of great psychological pressure, as well as the environment, especially the close family.

The next step is to find a suitable slogan for the SBY-Boediono pair. After conducting a SWOT analysis, Fox Indonesia then looked for the right slogan for the SBY-Boediono pair. The following is the result of the author's interview with Taftajani in explaining the next step, namely the selection of the slogan to be used by the pair: "The consideration in making a campaign slogan for the SBY-Boediono pair is that the words must be concise, concise, and quickly stick in the minds of the people. Apart from that, one has to look at the tract record of the previous SBY government, which according to the opinion of the majority of the community is going well, so it needs to be continued for the next period. If you make a campaign slogan, it is not recommended that it be too long, because it will be difficult for the public to remember. Based on the meeting with the team, finally it was decided to use the word "Continue!" as the campaign slogan of the SBY-Boediono couple" (Santoso, 2018)

Next is to design all campaign attributes, such as slogans, banners, t-shirts, jingles, and so on. The design model is chosen so that it hits the hearts of the people quickly and is not easily lost.

Thus, the image attached to the public's mind will be able to continue until election day arrives. In one of SBY's advertisements, it was heard that the jingle used in the advertisement was a jingle belonging to an instant noodle product (Indomie). The selection of this jingle is of course based on a fairly in-depth analysis, not just for use. When the author asked this, the informant Sandra Dewi Priatna explained why the jingle of instant noodle products was used.

According to him, the jingle was already embedded in the minds of the people. This is an advantage in itself, because it does not take time to introduce it to the public. Simply by changing the lyrics, then people will easily memorize it. In addition, the selection of singers in the jingle was also not just anyone, but a well-known public figure, namely Mike Idol, the winner in the reality show contest *Indoensain Idol*. As stated by the informant Sandra Dewi Priatna: "The selection of a jingle should be based on the ease with which ordinary people hear it, so it doesn't take long for it to be embedded in people's minds. The term used in the music industry is easy listening. Because if we make a jingle that's too heavy, later people are also lazy to hear it or sing it. That's why we chose the jingle used by Indomie by changing the lyrics. In addition, for the singer we also choose a public figure who is famous first. In the jingle, he chose to appoint Mike Mohede or Mike Idol, because he is one of the products of the Indonesian Idol reality show, which of course is well known by the public. If the singer is not well-known, it can reduce the popularity of the jingle itself." (DIRASFUL, Jaiz, & Burhanudin, 2014)

Regarding the campaign strategy, both the selection of jingles and slogans, the main informant, Koesoemadinigrat, admitted that this was really the result of analysis and thought that had been previously held with a team of experts in the field. All decisions regarding the campaign strategy of candidates who are requesting the services of Fox Indonesia, will be discussed in the team with an in-depth analysis first.

Likewise, when looking for a jingle format for the SBY-Boediono pair, Fox Indonesia also considered it carefully, so that the goals to be achieved could be achieved. As stated by the main informant Koesoemadinigrat to the author: "When we decide to accept a client, we will try our best to find the best format that will support the success of a candidate selected in an election. The decisions we make in choosing a strategy are discussed in advance and discussed with a team of experts in their field. For the SBY-Boediono pair, we decided to choose the Indomie jingle due to the consideration of the very diverse mass of voters scattered in various regions. It's also called advertising. must be made as attractive as possible and can be absorbed by the community as quickly as possible. Because if you just hear it but don't absorb it in the minds of the people, then the effect will not last long."

The informant Taftajani, one of Fox Indonesia's senior consultants, said the same thing. According to him, the election The jingle for the SBY-Boediono couple is done by first looking for a song that is already familiar to the public. This is to give an effect that sticks in people's minds about the SBY-Boediono pair continuously. Thus, it is hoped that the memory that already exists in the community will continue to stick until election day arrives, and the community makes their choice for the couple. As the informant said to the author: "At that time, we chose the jingle for the SBY-Boediono pair with the consideration that the jingle was already embedded in people's minds. This makes it easier for us to provide a lasting memory in the minds of the public about the clients we work with. By constantly playing the jingle, people's minds will continue to stick to the names of the partners in the jingle. The hope is that the memory will stick around until the election day arrives. Therefore,

The same thing is also done by Fox Indonesia for clients who want to advance in regional head elections. First, search for songs that are very well known by the public, then ask permission from the author to change the lyrics, and use the lyrics for the client being handled. This is done to provide memory to the public about the client.

As Taftajani said to the author: "We also apply the considerations in selecting the jingle to clients who want to become regional heads. We first look for songs that are very well known to the public, then ask permission from the creators to change the song lyrics according to the client's interests. With this in mind, the names of the couples we work with will quickly stick in people's minds more quickly than if they had to create a completely new jingle."

Likewise with the abbreviation of the SBY-Boediono pair. At the beginning of the launch of the pair, the abbreviation chosen was SBY-Berbudi. However, after hearing criticism that being virtuous in one area in Indonesia means lying, the abbreviation was later changed back to its original name, namely SBY-Boediono. Fox Indonesia pays great attention to small things like this, because they have a big impact on society. As stated by informant Sandra Dewi Priatna: "We pay a lot of attention to the little things. For example, at that time we were going to launch the abbreviation of the SBY-Berbudi pair. However, after hearing criticism that being virtuous in Sumatra meant lying, we replaced it again with SBY-Boediono. It sounds trivial, but we pay close attention to these details. Because things that are considered trivial can have a big impact. We really avoid that.

In addition to the jingle issue, Fox Indonesia also pays great attention to the issue of slogans. Slogan selection Continue! Selected based on careful consideration and in-depth analysis. According to informant Sandra Dewi Priatna, one of the reasons for choosing the slogan was the consideration that during the previous 5 years, SBY was considered very successful and needed to be continued. Many programs are very pro-people and must be continued so that the welfare and interests of the people will also continue.

If it is not continued, then these pro-people programs may be lost or abolished. The word continue implies that what has been going well so far does not need to be replaced, it is enough to continue.

This is different from the slogan used by Barack Obama in his campaign which emphasizes change, because the condition of the United States at the time of the election was indeed being hit by an economic crisis and several other international problems. So this requires changes in order to lead to improvements for all citizens. As stated by the informant Sandra Dewi Priatna: "When determining what slogan the SBY-Boediono pair will use, we consider several things. Word selection Continue! It doesn't just appear. But based on reason and in-depth analysis. One of them is the fact that during the previous SBY administration, it was quite successful. So this gives us an idea why not just continue? No need to change leaders because after all the programs that existed in the previous administration went well and were pro-people. In the absence of a change of leadership, these programs do not need to be eliminated, just continue. This is contrary to what happened to the Barack Obama campaign in the United States. At that time the conditions did require a change, because of the various crises that hit America and the international problems that were being faced. So we need a slogan that gives hope to the community, that only with changes will the situation gradually improve." (Mochtar, 2011)

Furthermore, the main informant, Koesoemadiningrat, explained that in order to give an inherent impression in the community, programs during the previous SBY administration were continuously highlighted to the public. Programs such as BLT (Direct Cash Assistance), as well as other programs, should be continued while still electing SBY to continue his leadership. As stated by the main informant Koesoemadiningrat to the author: "In order to give an inherent impression in the community, we emphasize various programs that are successful in the community. One of them is the BLT (Direct Cash Assistance) program. The program has proven to be very helpful for the poor in overcoming their limited purchasing power. This is a government program that directly touches the lower classes of society. This information must reach the public. In addition, other programs, such as reducing fuel subsidies, then shifting them to empowering the lower middle class, are also very successful programs in the SBY administration. For that, it is not wrong if the slogan that we carry for this couple is Continue! This means that what has been achieved by the previous SBY administration can be continued with the permission of the people, by re-electing him to complete other pro-people programs that have already taken place and will take place. I think that in this way, the people will no longer elect a candidate for a leader whose leadership has not been proven. That means they no longer buy cats in sacks." (Mochtar, 2011) (Borgin, 2019)

Indeed, if you pay attention format used in SBY-Boediono's campaign is very similar to that used by Barack Obama in his campaign. Both setting for indoor, outdoor campaigns, as well as designs listed in leaflets, banners, and backdrops. This is very reasonable, because the consultant who handles Barack Obama is Fox who is in the United States.

Then the author asked about Fox Indonesia's strategy in attracting *parapicker pemula* which aged young, informant Utama Koesoemadiningrat stated that this was achieved by designing advertisements starring young people. This was done in order to attract the interest of early voters, generally they were taking part in the general election for the first time, in order to make their choice for the SBY-Boediono pair. Advertisements that were made to address voters were initially made as attractive as possible by following the tastes and trends that were happening among young people. As stated by the main informant Koesoediningrat to the author: "We did design a strategy that was tailored to the target, which in this case were young voters. They are just following the election for the first time. So we designed advertisements starring young people, with a style that is adapted to the style of young people as well. We do this so that the young voters feel that the candidates we are dealing with care about the world of young people. Thus, these early voters feel that the candidate they are going to elect has concern for them and does not have distance." (Yustiningrum & Ichwanuddin, 2016) (Anugerah, 2011).

Informant Sandra Dewi Priatna added that the advertising campaign segment created by Fox Indonesia was very concerned about its share. Thus, all components of society can be properly covered, without missing anything. For adults who are already mature in their political choices, Fox Indonesia will highlight the successes that have been achieved by the previous SBY administration, if they still choose a candidate who has proven leadership.

In addition, realistic and pro-people programs are highlighted, so that what is wanted to be conveyed in an advertisement can be conveyed to the voters. As the informant Sandra Dewi Priatna said to the author: "In working on the advertising campaign, we are very concerned about the segment we want to target. For young people, the campaign advertisements that we make are made close to the world of young people, so that they feel that they are close to their future leaders. As for adults who are mature in making choices, we highlight programs that have been successful during the previous SBY administration, so that they feel more determined to re-elect the SBY-Boediono pair.

The author tries to find out how Fox Indonesia designed the campaign advertisements for the SBY-Boediono couple to be published in print media. Based on the answers given by the informant Sandra Dewi Priatna, she admitted that the design should be very communicative. So that the message to be conveyed to prospective voters can be accurately and easily understood. As stated by the informant Sandra Dewi Priatna: "For print media, we are more concerned with visual communication, how the advertisement can reach the public. For example, in choosing the background used, we chose various events in which both SBY and Boediono seemed to have a very close relationship with the community. Various layers of society, ranging from farmers, fishermen, traders,

Furthermore, the author asked about Fox Indonesia's response about a strategic way to attract floating masses. As stated by the main informant Koesoemadiningrat, this is done by broadcasting political advertisements continuously in various media, both print and electronic. Thus, the prospective voters who have not yet made their choice, are expected to make their choice to the SBY-Boediono pair. As stated by the main informant Koesoemadiningrat: "To attract voters who are not from political parties or are fanatics with a certain political party which in our language we call the term floating mass, we try to attract them by using campaigns that we put up in various media, both electronic and electronic. nor print. By continuously providing campaign content to the public, especially those who have not made their choice, it is hoped that they will be influenced by the existing advertisements. The use of jingles which are already quite familiar to the public, as well as with an eye-catching campaign ad design, we hope that the prospective voters will be quite interested and remember the existing advertisements. Thus, they were gradually led to choose the candidates we worked with. Various promotional media such as billboards, banners, posters, we also did not escape our attention. As much as possible what we want to convey to the community, is achieved.

From the various answers given by the informants above, it can be concluded that the campaign design made by Fox Indonesia for the SBY-Boediono pair was based on deep analysis and thought. The segment that a campaign advertisement wants to target is very much considered, so that all groups feel that they are part of the candidate government handled by Fox Indonesia.

### 3.3 The Role of Fox Indonesia as a Consultant Agency for the Winning of SBY-Boediono in the 2009 Presidential Election

With the increasingly trending political imagery in Indonesia, many consulting agencies are needed by candidates to be able to win an election. These candidates do not always have the goal of winning the regional head election, but sometimes there are candidates who want to win the election of party chairman. This has led to the emergence of many political consulting and marketing political institutions.

The spectacular victory of the Democratic Party under the rise of SBY's prestige could not be separated from the role of their political consultant, FOX Indonesia. The Malarangeng trio have succeeded in making the image of the Democratic Party under the SBY icon soar like a meteor. No doubt the spectacular numbers in the legislative elections increased tremendously. Perhaps only Golkar during the Suharto era could match the reputation of the Democratic Party under the brilliant polish of this trio of US doctors. In this presidential election, their polish is more intense for SBY. The results of surveys conducted by their survey institutions which are published always show convincing numbers for SBY. The toughness of the three Malarangengs gives confidence to the Democratic Party not to be too bothered by building a coalition with other parties.

Then the writer asked the informants about the percentage of SBY-Boediono's support teams outside Fox, Fox's contribution in winning SBY-Boediono was around 60%. This is in accordance with what was conveyed by Sandra Dewi Priatna regarding the percentage: "In my opinion, the role of Fox Indonesia in winning the SBY-Boediono pair is around 60%. This is based on the role played by Fox Indonesia in the presidential election campaign". Furthermore, the author asks the roles of Fox Indonesia which is considered to have a very large influence in the victory of the SBY-Boediono pair in the 2009 presidential election. Informant Sandra Dewi Priatna provides an explanation that Fox Indonesia had worked long before the presidential election by conducting various surveys that could raise the popularity of the SBY-Boediono pair. Various strategies and steps taken by Fox Indonesia are to raise the image of the SBY-Boediono pair so that they are better known by the public, especially with regard to various pro-people programs. As stated by the informant Sandra Dewi Priatna: "I think the role of Fox Indonesia in the process of winning SBY-Boediono is very big. This is because long before the presidential election, Fox Indonesia has sought various strategies and maneuvers to raise the popularity of the SBY-Boediono pair. We conducted various surveys to get an idea of the popularity of this couple. As stated by the informant Sandra Dewi Priatna: "I think the role of Fox Indonesia in the process of winning SBY-Boediono is very big. This is because long before the presidential election, Fox Indonesia has sought various strategies and maneuvers to raise the popularity of the SBY-Boediono pair. We conducted various surveys to get an idea of the popularity of this couple. As stated by the informant Sandra Dewi Priatna: "I think the role of Fox Indonesia in the process of winning SBY-Boediono is very big. This is because long before the presidential election, Fox Indonesia has sought various strategies and maneuvers to raise the popularity of the SBY-Boediono pair. We conducted various surveys to get an idea of the popularity of this couple.

Our survey is carried out almost every month, to find out the development of the popularity of the SBY-Boediono couple and other couples. With the results of the survey, we can then determine the strategic steps that must be taken to maintain the existing popularity.

In addition to providing surveys, Fox Indonesia also works hard to create campaign designs, along with logos, jingles, and slogans that are sought to quickly reach people's minds, so they don't forget them quickly. Thus, it is hoped that the public will make their choice over the SBY-Boediono pair.

The big role of Fox Indonesia in winning the SBY-Boediono pair in the presidential election complained by supporting parties.

As quoted from detik.com which states that Fox Indonesia's large role makes supporting parties feel uncomfortable. Specifically regarding the candidacy of Boediono as a vice presidential candidate who is not from a party circle, Fox Indonesia even has to provide special treatment so that it can be well received by public. This is as stated by Ruhut Sitompul, one of SBY-Boediono's winning team, as quoted by detik.com, "That's why Fox Indonesia, who was appointed by SBY as a political consultant, is required to work extra hard to "guide" the former governor. Bank Indonesia (BI) to comply with the directions. Not only polishing Boediono, Fox also protects the vice president from attacks by the opposing party. No wonder when Boediono was attacked about the chaotic monorail project by Jusuf Kalla (JK), Rizal who immediately attacked back. Once Boediono was attacked with neoliberal issues, Fox always prepared a rebuttal and counterattack on the accusation. We really appoint Fox to be imaging consultant. Because we think their work is good and professional,"

In addition, the writer also asked about the role of organizations and foundations that supported the SBY-Boediono pair in the 2009 presidential election. It is undeniable that the majority of Indonesia's Muslim population is a society that is thick with religious nuances. For this reason, the existence of Majelis Dzikir SBY, as a supporter of the SBY-Boediono pair, is considered by Fox Indonesia to be very helpful in the process of winning the pair. However, Fox Indonesia admitted that it did not interfere in the SBY Dhikr Majelis. This is because the religious sphere, such as the existence of the Majelis Dhikr SBY, is not their domain. As stated by the main informant Koesoediningrat to the author: "I think the existence of supporting organizations for the SBY-Boediono pair is very good. They are willing to support the victory of the SBY-Boediono pair, which is certainly an advantage for us. Because after all, the majority of the Indonesian population who are Muslims are indeed very thick with religious nuances. This means that the existence of the SBY Dhikr Council is very helpful in the process of winning the SBY-Boediono pair. However, we do not interfere in the organization, because it is not our domain. We as political consultants only provide input, what steps can help and which can damage, so that the presidential election process can run well and the SBY-Boediono pair is elected." Furthermore, the author asks how Fox Indonesia's relationship with these institutions and the organizations formed by political parties in winning the SBY-Boediono pair. Informant Sandra Dewi Priatna explained that the relationship was only limited to coordination, without Fox Indonesia's interference with the existence of organizations formed by political parties. Again, informant Sandra Dewi Priatna said that this was not the authority of Fox Indonesia. However, Fox Indonesia provides constructive input so that it can help process couple winning SBY-Boediono. Like which revealed by the informant Sandra Dewi Priatna to the author: "Regarding the existence of organizations formed by political parties that support the victory of the SBY-Boediono pair, Fox Indonesia did not interfere much. We only provide input that can help the process of winning the pair that we handle. However, we do not interfere too much, because it is not our territory. We admit that the existence of organizations formed by political parties greatly helped the victory of the SBY-Boediono pair. But they work with political parties, so we don't want to interfere too much. Besides that, it is no longer within our jurisdiction."

From what was conveyed by the informants above, it can be concluded that the role of Fox Indonesia in winning the SBY-Boediono pair was very large. Various issues and strategies were used to win the SBY-Boediono pair. The existence of organizations formed by political parties, as well as existing dhikr majlis of dhikr, helped the process of winning the SBY-Boediono pair. However, Fox Indonesia does not interfere with the performance of these organizations, because it is not the authority and territory that is worked on by Fox Indonesia.

Each organization that claims to support the SBY-Boediono pair in the 2009 presidential election, works according to the rules and authorities of each organization. Thus, the role and function of the organization can run by itself, without any interference from Fox Indonesia.

### 3. CONCLUSION

From the results of the discussion that has been carried out by the author, it can be concluded that the role of Fox Indonesia in winning the SBY-Boediono pair in the 2009 presidential election is as follows: Fox Indonesia provides suggestions and considerations related to the selection of slogans, jingles, banner designs, and campaign media other.

Fox Indonesia's most prominent role in winning the SBY-Boediono pair was the creation of very attractive campaign advertisements that could stick in people's minds. The creative process of making advertising materials certainly requires in-depth analysis and study, supported by a team of experts in their fields.

The strategies that were applied by Fox Indonesia in winning SBY-Boediono in the 2009 presidential election were carried out by means of political mapping, to find out the strengths and weaknesses of the pair and the opposing pair.

The relationship between organizations, both independent organizations that support the SBY-Boediono pair, and the formation of political parties, also contributed to the victory of the SBY-Boediono pair in the 2009 presidential election. However, Fox Indonesia did not interfere with the existence of these organizations. Fox Indonesia only provides constructive input, so that the process of winning the SBY-Boediono pair will be more successful and smooth in the field.

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