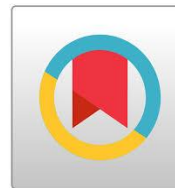


**Political Campaign Strategies in the Era of COVID-19 Pandemic:
 Candidate Experiences in the 2020 Surabaya City Regional Election**



**Strategi Kampanye Politik di Era Pandemi COVID-19: Pengalaman
 Kandidat di Penyelenggaraan Pemilihan Kepala Daerah Kota
 Surabaya 2020**

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ARTICLE INFORMATION	
<p>Keywords <i>Political Campaign; Regional Election; COVID-19 Pandemic;</i></p>	<p>ABSTRACT Amid the COVID-19 pandemic and being promoted only by minor political parties, it didn't impede the mayoral pairing candidate Eri Cahyadi-Armuji from winning the 2020 Surabaya mayoral election. Hence, the purpose of this study is to explain the political campaign strategy carried out by Eri Cahyadi-Armuji using the perspective of the five functional stages of development theory. This study applied a qualitative method with a case study approach. The findings of this study showed that Eri Cahyadi-Armuji successfully implemented the five stages of political campaign, thus he could win the election. However, there was an interesting note at the identification stage where Eri Cahyadi-Armuji preferred to use the identity of a figure rather than slogans. This fact deviated from the theory, yet it was successfully implemented as a surefire strategy to attract voters. Thus, this notable finding may give a contribution in developing the theory of political campaign strategy.</p>
<p>Kata Kunci <i>Kampanye Politik; Pemilihan Kepala Daerah; Pandemi COVID-19;</i></p>	<p>ABSTRAK Di tengah pandemi COVID-19 dan hanya diusung oleh partai politik minoritas, tidak menghalangi pasangan calon Eri Cahyadi-Armuji untuk memenangkan pemilihan walikota Surabaya tahun 2020. Oleh karena itu, tujuan dari penelitian ini adalah untuk menjelaskan strategi kampanye politik Eri Cahyadi-Armuji dengan menggunakan perspektif teori perkembangan lima tahap fungsional. Penelitian ini menggunakan metode kualitatif dengan pendekatan studi kasus. Temuan dalam penelitian ini adalah bahwa Eri Cahyadi-Armuji berhasil menerapkan lima tahapan kampanye politik, sehingga dapat memenangkan pemilihan. Namun, ada catatan menarik pada tahap identifikasi, Eri Cahyadi-Armuji lebih menggunakan identitas ketokohan daripada slogan. Hal ini tidak sesuai dengan teori, namun berhasil diterapkan sebagai strategi jitu untuk menarik minat pemilih. Oleh karena itu, temuan penting ini dapat menjadi sumbangsih bagi pengembangan teori strategi kampanye politik.</p>
<p>Article History Send 14th April 2023 Review 26th May2023 Accepted 21th July 2023</p>	<p>Copyright ©2024 Jurnal Aristo (Social, Politic, Humaniora) This is an open access article under the CC-BY-NC-SA license. Akses artikel terbuka dengan model CC-BY-NC-SA sebagai lisensinya.</p>



Introduction

This study is motivated by the 2020 regional elections conducted in Indonesia amid the COVID-19 pandemic. According to the Government Regulation Number 2 of 2020 concerning Regional Election and the Decision of the General Election Commission Number 258/PL.02-Kpt/01/KPU/VI/ 2020, the 2020 simultaneous regional election voting was held on December 9, 2020. This caused the candidates of the elections to hold the stages of political campaign during the COVID-19 pandemic. Based on the Regulation of the General Election Commission (PKPU) Number 5 of 2020, the campaign period was held on September 26 - December 5. Political campaigns are organized efforts that seek to influence the decision-making process of certain groups (Fatimah, 2018).

The General Election Commission had made a policy regarding campaign procedures by prioritizing health protocols. Based on the Regulation of the General Election Commission on the implementation of simultaneous elections for Governor and Deputy Governor, Regent and Deputy Regent, and/or Mayor and Deputy Mayor in the non-natural disaster condition Corona Virus Disease 2019 (COVID-19) Number 10 of 2020 concerning amendments to the Regulation of the General Election Commission Number 6 of 2020 article 58 paragraph (1), limited meetings and face-to-face meetings as well as dialogues held by political parties or a coalition of political parties, pairing candidates and/or campaign teams were conducted in closed rooms or buildings. The number of participants were limited to fifty people by implementing one-metre distance between campaign participants, and the campaign could be followed through online media. The implementation of health protocols was carried out by arranging rooms and seating as a form of prevention and control of Corona Virus Disease 2019 (COVID-19). This must refer to and comply with the provisions applied by the region organizing the 2020 simultaneous regional elections regarding the handling of COVID-19 (Shalihah, 2020).

This study chooses Surabaya City for some reasons. First, it is the second largest city after DKI Jakarta. The population of Surabaya City in 2020 according to the Surabaya Central Statistics Agency (BPS) was 2,874,314 people, consisting of 1,425,168 men and 1,449,146 women (Ginanjari, 2020). This shows that the number of voters in Surabaya City is huge. Second, Surabaya City was the second largest area after DKI Jakarta in positive cases of COVID-19. Surabaya City was the largest contributor to COVID-19 cases in East Java, as of 4 November 2020, there were 16,108 cumulative cases of positive confirmation of COVID-19 (infocovid19.jatimprov.go.id/, 2020). This data showed that Surabaya City was a vulnerable

area to the spread of COVID-19 during the campaign period of the 2020 Surabaya Mayoral Election.

Third, the Surabaya City mayoral election was followed by two pairs of candidates. The General Election Commission (KPU) of Surabaya City officially announced two pairing candidates, Eri Cahyadi-Armuji and Machfud Arifin-Mujiaman Sukirno. The pairing candidate Eri-Armuji was supported by two parties, the Indonesian Democratic Party of Struggle (PDIP) and the Indonesian Solidarity Party (PSI). Meanwhile, the other pairing candidate Machfud Arifin-Mujiaman had the support from eight coalition parties, including Golkar, PKB, PKS, PAN, Gerindra, PPP, Demokrat and Nasdem (Farid, 2020). Interestingly, the pairing candidate Eri Cahyadi-Armuji had fewer political parties compared to their pairing rival, thus the efforts of the winning team and the parties would be harder, especially during the COVID-19 pandemic. Consequently, an effective political campaign strategy during the COVID-19 pandemic was needed by the pairing candidate who lacked of support from parties.

The objective reason of the importance of this research to be conducted profoundly was that even in the midst of the COVID-19 pandemic, the regional elections were still being held. This had forced the way political campaigns performed by the candidates to change, diverse from the usual acts. The period of Covid-19 pandemic had changed all the rules, including the campaign rules in regional elections. This caused the campaign to be different and required extra energy for both the winning team and the pairing candidate. The existence of this campaign is important in a political contestation since the campaign is a means of introduction, approach and promotion to the public (Corputty, 2019). Moreover, Surabaya City was an area prone to the spread of COVID-19 as the data of the people affected was second the highest after Jakarta. Thus, the candidates of the regional elections who conducted political campaigns in Surabaya City faced great challenges.

Some previous researches are relevant to this study. One is regarding the campaign model of regional election to overcome money politics and voter pessimism (theoretical review and implementation concept). The research arranges the campaign design of a candidate to solve money politics and to be implemented in the district level elections as well as can be proposed for independent candidates, candidates from political parties and presidential candidates (Hariyani, 2015). There is also a political campaign model for incumbent legislative members based on friendship in the 2014 elections (Setyo, 2016). It is also found creative campaign models that implemented in the 2014 presidential contestation which prioritized the elements of creativity and art. The results of the research show that the presence of creative campaigns is expected to immediately awaken the public as they are the key determinant of

democracy in order to be able to work together to restore Indonesian politics in its noble, honourable nature and indeed, full of exemplary values (Arianto, 2015). A deliberative campaign model is also identified in the simultaneous regional election designs. The results of the research explain that the current regional election campaign is adversarial, providing insufficient and imbalanced information as well as having campaign material that is normatively irrational (Dewasnyah, 2015).

In addition, the 2014 political party campaigns in Indonesia are conducted by utilizing the social media. The results of the research show that social media has played an important role in the 2014 political campaigns (Ardha, 2014). Political campaigns through the using of internet are now a popular culture (Subiakto & Ida, 2017). One of the example is the role of Facebook in the political campaign of regional election in Ogan Kemiring Ulu Regency. The results of the research indicate that Facebook has a role as a means of finding information for supporters about the pairing candidates of regent and deputy regent. Facebook is a facility to convey aspirations, criticisms and suggestions related to the pairing candidates of regent and deputy regent (Alfani, 2018).

Legislative candidates utilize newspaper media in conducting the 2014 general election campaign. The results of the research show that newspaper is used as a medium to convey programmes as well as vision and mission by the legislative candidates with minor supports. Legislative candidates who have large capital, families of officials and entrepreneurs are the ones who use newspaper media for political campaigns. Hence, capital is an inhibiting factor for the legislative candidates to utilize newspapers in their campaigns (Dollah, 2017). There was found campaign patterns in the regional election of the Special Region of Yogyakarta in 2015. The results of the research show that the use of television media, print media, radio and billboards is still prevalent. The content of the campaign is aimed to convey the vision and mission of the candidates as well as to grasp the hearts of the voters (Setio Budi, 2016).

Some previous researches above discussed about political campaign models, including political campaigns by using conventional media and political campaigns by using digital media. However, there has been no comprehensive research regarding political campaigns during an abnormal period. Thus, this research takes its focus on the campaign strategies carried out by the regional election candidates during the COVID-19 pandemic period. The problem faced during this time is that the campaign regulations have changed as they must comply with the health protocols. This makes the candidates and their success teams work harder in running the political campaigns. Thus, the novelty offered by this research is its focus on the political campaign strategies in the midst of the Covid-19 pandemic by taking a case

study of the mayoral pairing candidate Eri Cahyadi-Armuji in the Surabaya City regional election through the use of the five-stage functional development perspective.

According to Peter Scrooder in Herpamudji (2015), political campaign strategy is the analysis, planning, implementation and control of political and electoral programmes designed to create, build and maintain profitable exchange relationships between parties and voters for the purpose of achieving political marketer objectives. Meanwhile, Firmanzah in Putra (2013) suggests political campaign strategy as a winning strategy. Political campaign is a method and tool for political parties or presidential candidates to approach the public. Furthermore, according to Nursal in Sutrisno, Yuningsih, & Agustino (2018), political campaign strategy is a series of planned, strategic and tactical activities. The aim is to shape and instill voters' expectations, attitudes, orientation beliefs and behaviour. According to Nursal in Sutrisno et al. (2018), there are three political campaign strategies. First is the push political marketing, a political marketing strategy that is directly aimed at prospective voters. Second is the pull political marketing, a strategy conducted by marketing political products through the mass media. Third is the pass political marketing, a political marketing conducted through groups, organizations or influential figures. The theory of five functional stages of political campaign strategy development focuses on campaign activities. The theory of political campaign strategy was introduced by a team of researchers and campaign practitioners at Yale University in the United States. Several variables from the five-stage functional campaign development model include identification, legitimacy, participation, penetration, and distribution (Hariyani, 2015).

The identification stage is the stage of creating campaign identities by candidates. Campaign identities are including taglines, slogans, colours, songs or jingles, and symbols. The legitimacy stage is a stage in a political campaign when a candidate has been registered as a candidate. By this way, legitimacy can be seen through strong survey results from independent institutions. The legitimacy of a candidate can be effectively maintained if the candidate is capable and avoid the abuse of position. Next is the participation stage. This stage can be measured through real support from the community such as volunteering and participating in campaigns. Furthermore, real community participation includes distributing pamphlets, brochures and posters. The penetration stage is the stage where candidates already have programmes and promises that will be offered to the community. Then, their ideas are conveyed through various means used. Lastly is the distribution stage or the proving stage, a stage where the campaign objectives have generally been achieved (Firdiyah & Primasari, 2019).

Regional election is a medium for local people to express their sovereignty. This sovereignty implies that the ultimate holder of power in a country is the people, and the people also determine the style and manner in which the government is organized. Regional election aims to organize changes in the government power in an orderly and peaceful manner in accordance with the mechanisms guaranteed and determined by the constitution (Arif, 2017). Regional election in Indonesia is a direct mandate of the 1998 reform movement. This is based on the argument that the active participation of the community in directly electing their leaders is something that needs to be taken into account (Suyatno, 2016).

Based on Law of the Republic of Indonesia Number 22 of 2014, the elections of governors, regents, and mayors, hereinafter referred as elections, are the implementation of people's sovereignty in provinces and regencies/cities to elect governors, regents, and mayors democratically through people's representative institutions. Regional election is a process of strengthening and intensifying democracy as well as an effort to achieve a good and effective governance. Basically, regional election is a manifestation of people's sovereignty as one embodiment of democratic principles which include guarantees for the principle of individual freedom and equality, especially in political rights (Hanafi, 2014).

Method

This research applied a qualitative method. Qualitative research is a type of research that produces findings that cannot be achieved (obtained) by using statistical procedures or other ways of quantification (measurement) (Rahmat, 2019). The data collection technique of this research is library research, by examining books, literature, notes, and reports that are related to the problem being solved (Sari, 2020). Therefore, the data sources of this research come from the General Election Commission of Surabaya City's website, relevant journals, reputable and credible national online media such as merdeka.com, tempo.com, kompas.com, detiknews.com, tribunnews.com, antaranews.com, Jpnn.com, CNN Indonesia and liputan6.com. Credible local online media such as Jawapos.com, beritajatim.com and suarasurabaya.net are also included.

The time period for the research data collection was from September to December 2020. This is for the reason that during this period of time, the General Election Commission (KPU) of Surabaya City officially determined the pairing candidates in the Surabaya City Mayoral Election. Moreover, within this time framing, the campaign period for the pairing candidates began. This research used descriptive analysis, where the obtained data was classified and

described in the form of words or sentences separated by category to obtain conclusions. The stages of data analysis were including the data collection and processing, data selection, data analysis between variables and data verification (Al-Hamdi, Sakir, Suswanta, Atmojo, & Efendi, 2020). These stages were conducted for the data to be processed carefully, thus obtaining valid data results and in accordance with the needs of the research.

Result and Discussion

This research applies the theory of five functional stages of political campaign strategy development as a guideline and benchmark. The objective reason for choosing this theory is that this research is intended to explain the political campaign strategy used by the pairing candidate Eri Cahyadi-Armuji in the 2020 Surabaya Mayoral Election. The variables in the five functional stages of political campaign strategy development facilitate this research to focus on explaining the problem.

Identification Stage

Identification stage refers to the creation of a campaign identity that can be easily recognized by the public such as symbols, colors, slogans or taglines and so on. Slogans are one of the identities of political campaigns. Slogans are mottos or phrases used in political, commercial, religious, and other contexts as an expression of an idea or goal that is easily remembered. Political candidates create billboards and campaign slogans that are as attractive as possible to attract voters, the public. This was also performed by the pairing candidate Eri Cahyadi-Armuji in conducting political campaigns.

The identity of the political campaign built by Eri Cahyadi and Armuji as a pairing candidate for Mayor and Deputy Mayor of Surabaya was by utilizing the figure of Tri Rismaharini, the previous mayor of Surabaya City. This could be seen from the use of the tagline "Continuing the Good" in conducting political campaigns. The tagline "continuing the good" means that the pairing candidate Eri Cahyadi-Armuji will continue the performance of Mayor Tri Rismaharini. Surokim Abdussalam, a political observer and researcher of Surabaya Survey Center (SSC), said that the campaign strategy by using Tri Rismaharini's figure was quite unique. The strategy could strengthen more varied branding. Then, it might cause a unique positioning in the mindset of the voters in Surabaya. However, to motivate attitudes, it must be strengthened with independence. Millennial programs are important to be highlighted in order to strengthen the positioning of the pairing candidate (jpnn.com, 2020). Hence, the Indonesian Solidarity Party as the supporting party of Eri Cahyadi and Armuji also campaigned

by using Tri Rismaharini's name. The Indonesian Solidarity Party created an internal campaign team. The team was given the tagline "Continuing Risma Winning Eri" (Rafika, 2020).

The winning team of Eri Cahyadi and Armuji also displayed Tri Rismaharini's photo in the campaign props (APK) in the form of billboards and banners. This prompted Machfud Arifin's team to protest against the appearance of Risma's photo in the design of Eri Cahyadi and Armuji's campaign props (APK). In fact, the General Election Commission of Surabaya City was urged to consult with the General Election Commission of the Republic of Indonesia. However, the General Election Commission of Surabaya City decided to allow the campaign props (APK) of Eri Cahyadi and Armuji to include the picture of Tri Rismaharini. This is due to the position of Tri Rismaharini as an administrator of the Central Leadership Council of the Indonesian Democratic Party of Struggle (DPP PDIP), which is none other than the party supporting Eri and Armuji. The decision was based on the Minutes of the Surabaya City General Election Commission Number 962/PL.02.4-BA/3578/City/X/2020 dated October 7, 2020. The General Election Commission of the Republic of Indonesia also allowed Risma's photo to be installed. Likewise, the Election Supervisory Agency (Bawaslu) of East Java stated that Tri Rismaharini's photo was legal to be installed on Eri and Armuji's campaign props (APK) (Abidin, 2020b). The massive use of campaign props by the pairing candidates actually also illustrates the shift in political campaign strategies due to the COVID-19 pandemic. Eri Cahyadi and Armuji are maximizing the tools that can introduce themselves to the people of Surabaya City without any direct physical contact or crowds that may instigate the violation of health protocols.

Eri Cahyadi also displayed a humanist-religious and persuasive political campaign style, while Armuji featured a local Suroboyoan style that is outspoken and *blokosuto* or what is often referred to as straightforward. Eri Cahyadi and Armuji tried to combine high-context political campaign styles such as conveying implicit messages. While, the low-context political campaign style is a message delivered in a blatant and straightforward manner. This campaign style is considered effective in boosting electability, as stated by Saiful Mujani Research and Consulting (SMRC) (Hakim, 2020a).

Emrus Sihombing, a political observer from Pelita Harapan University (UPH), also conveyed the symbol that became the identity of Eri Cahyadi and Armuji's political campaign. The populist program was one of the simplicity symbols built by Eri Cahyadi and Armuji. The symbol of simplicity was shown by the *blusukan* (visitation to the locals) conducted by Eri Cahyadi and Armuji to greet the residents in Surabaya City (Ryandi, 2020). The utilization of simplicity symbol by the pairing candidate shows the homogeneous image of them with the

society and the representation of the lower class. In terms of communication, a homogeneous society tends to choose a pairing candidate that represents themselves.

The pairing candidate Eri Cahyadi-Armuji also used a serial number as a symbol of their political campaign. Eri Cahyadi and Armuji received the serial number one (1) in the 2020 regional election. Eri Cahyadi said, the serial number one referred to the divinity, everything from the God (Kurniawan, 2020). Eri Cahyadi said this number one made him even more enthusiastic. This was also in accordance with the various programs that Eri Cahyadi had prepared with Armuji, which all the programs put the community first (Lubabah, 2020). Eri Cahyadi and Armuji used the serial number one as a symbol identified with the first principle of Pancasila. Furthermore, this pairing candidate for mayor and deputy mayor of Surabaya also made the serial number one to present their work in the future by connecting with their programs.

Legitimacy Stage

Legitimacy is obtained when a person has been included in the list of the regional election candidates with a strong support in the polls of independent survey institutions (Hariyani, 2015). Eri Cahyadi-Armuji were determined as a pairing contestant of the 2020 Surabaya City regional election by the General Election Commission (KPU) of Surabaya City after completing the administrative verification requirements. Eri Cahyadi and Armuji were promoted by the Indonesian Democratic Party of Struggle (PDIP) and supported by the Indonesian Solidarity Party (PSI). The determination of the pairing candidate was based on the KPU Regulation Number 5 of 2020 (Liputan6.com, 2020).

Regarding the survey results of independent institutions as a form of legitimacy, ten survey institutions released their survey results during the campaign period for the 2020 Surabaya City regional election. The poll results showed that Eri Cahyadi and Armuji excelled in seven survey institutions compared to Machfud Arifin and Mujiaman who excelled in only three survey institutions. Mochtar Oetomo, a political observer from Trunojoyo Madura State University, said that the poll results from the survey institutions provided an overview and guide to see the dynamics in the field of electoral battles ahead of the December 9, 2020's vote. However, the amount of advantages obtained from the results of survey institutions cannot be an absolute measure in the victory of one of the candidates. Because the credibility and the background of the survey institutions are also a concern, thus the results of the survey also have a margin of error (Faizal, 2020b).

One of the survey institutions with a reliable background, Charta Politika Indonesia, also conducted a survey in the Surabaya City regional election. The survey results indicated that the electability of Eri Cahyadi and Armuji was superior to Machfud Arifin and Muji Aman Sukirno. The survey was conducted by Charta Politika Indonesia on November 18-24, 2020, using the multistage random sampling method. The survey involved 1,200 respondents through a direct interview or using a questionnaire. The survey's margin of error reached 2.83 percent. One interesting finding is that the majority of the respondents are satisfied with the performance of the Surabaya City Government. This result directly impacts the electability of Eri Cahyadi and Armuji who have a background as the State Civil Apparatus and have close ties with Tri Rismaharini (detiknews.com, 2020). This shows that Tri Rismaharini's leadership in Surabaya City, which has gained the trust of the community, gives a positive impact toward the pairing candidate Eri Cahyadi-Armuji.

Participation Stage

The participation stage can be measured by real or symbolic community actions. Real participation is the involvement of the community in distributing brochures, posters and pamphlets. It refers to the involvement of the community in volunteering and participating in the political campaigns (Firdiyah & Primasari, 2019). The creativity of the volunteer movement for the mayoral and deputy mayoral pairing candidate Eri Cahyadi-Armuji in the 2020 regional elections had sprung up. The form of volunteer creativity to support Eri Cahyadi and Armuji included making song jingles and t-shirt designs, designing campaign props and stickers, making souvenir designs as well as promoting on social media (Hakim, 2020b). The Indonesian Democratic Party of Struggle (PDIP) together with the volunteers of the pairing candidate Eri Cahyadi and Armuji worked together to invite the public to vote and support this pair of number one. The political campaign conducted by the volunteers was in form of face-to-face meeting by visiting the residents directly door to door to invite and provide them with the brochures containing the performance of Eri Cahyadi when he was a State Civil Apparatus (ASN) of the Surabaya City government. However, as there was a restriction on conducting meetings due to the COVID-19 pandemic, thus the campaign was also carried out online (Koloway, 2020a).

The deputy chairperson of the winning volunteers of Eri Cahyadi, Ulya Abdillah said that the volunteer team, in addition to carrying out campaign activities, also held a pilgrimage to the grave of *waliyullah* Sayyid Ali Asghor Basyabin and prayed together. The volunteer team of Eri Cahyadi also held a Khotmil Quran event at the Eri-Armuji campaign posts and held compensation for orphans (Abidin, 2020a). These were the efforts shown by the volunteers

to participate in all activities carried out by the pairing candidate Eri Cahyadi-Armuji. Moreover, these activities are shown in order to attract the attention of the people of Surabaya City.

However, the pairing candidate Eri Cahyadi-Armuji also faced problems in their political campaign. The campaign props including billboards and banners belonged to Eri Cahyadi and Armuji were vandalized. The destruction of *baliho* (banners) in some places was in the form of tearing. Then in some villages, Eri Cahyadi and Armuji's small-sized billboards were cut by the wire, causing them to fall off. Marina Lipesik as the spokesperson for Eri Cahyadi and Armuji, said that many reports regarding the destruction of Eri Cahyadi and Armuji's political campaign billboards and banners had been received (Rido, 2020). A number of campaign props (APK) belonged to the pairing candidate Eri Cahyadi-Armudji was allegedly damaged by a number of people. The vandalism was allegedly committed after the Indonesian Democratic Party of Struggle (PDIP) claimed to be superior to its political rivals based on survey results. Meanwhile, M.Agil Akbar as the chairman of the Election Supervisory Agency (Bawaslu) of Surabaya City said that Bawaslu had received several reports related to the destruction of campaign props (APK) from one of the pairing candidates. Bawaslu of Surabaya City also had carried out a verification and identification process at the vandalism location through the sub-district supervisory committee (Panwascam) (Yohanes, 2020).

Penetration Stage

At this stage, a political candidate or political product has been confirmed, and the ideas have also been compiled to be given to the public (Maulida & Kurniawan, 2021). The pairing candidate Eri Cahyadi-Armuji carried their own vision and mission in the 2020 Surabaya City regional election. The vision carried by Eri Cahyadi was about a mutual cooperation towards Surabaya, an advanced, humanist and sustainable world city. Furthermore, Eri Cahyadi and Armuji carried ten missions in their political campaign. The missions were related to the local economic independence, strengthening the competitiveness of Surabaya City, creating an investment climate, building human resources in Surabaya City, structuring city spatial planning, as well as building infrastructure and city utilities. Additionally, Eri Cahyadi and Armuji also had a mission to optimize the Regional Budget (APBD) for the welfare of the community, bureaucratic transformation, as well as creating social order and culture of Surabaya City. Then, there were seven main programs offered by Eri Cahyadi and Armuji, including employment for the people, smart generation, healthy life, clean service, care and harmony, culture and character, and modern green order (Faizal, 2020a).

The way the Indonesian Democratic Party of Struggle (PDIP) in Surabaya City conveyed the vision and mission of Eri Cahyadi and Armuji was by deploying a fleet of campaigners around the villages. The campaigners also implemented health protocols when conducting political campaigns around the villages. Interestingly, in conducting a campaign around the villages, the campaigners brought a sound system (loudspeaker) that was used for speeches. The campaign around the villages complements the campaign methods of the mayoral pairing candidate Eri Cahyadi-Armuji. In addition to face-to-face campaigns by holding limited events, the winning team of Eri Cahyadi and Armuji also conducted door-to-door political campaigns by directly approaching the people of Surabaya City (Utomo, 2020).

The winning team and volunteers of Eri Cahyadi and Armuji conducted a political campaign by going door to door. The winning team and volunteers brought a letter from Tri Rismaharini which contained an invitation for the community to be active in the democratic activity by not abstaining. Achmad as the spokesperson for the winning team said that the door-to-door campaign was effective enough to invite residents to participate in supporting Eri Cahyadi and Armuji. In addition, the letter from Tri Rismaharini given to the community was welcomed positively. Tri Rismaharini as a successful leader of Surabaya City has gained sympathy from the community which greatly supports and raises the electability of Eri and Armuji (Imandiar, 2020). Moreover, virtual campaigns were also conducted by the pairing candidate Eri Cahyadi-Armuji and their winning team by organizing a virtual dialogue through the zoom application. This is a manifestation of an online campaign. The online campaign was held in the form of virtual dialog with certain communities. As the dialog was conducted with the community, the themes raised in the virtual dialog adjust to the interests of the community (Ulfa & Warsono, 2022).

In addition to face-to-face campaigns, virtual campaigns are highly recommended during the Covid-19 pandemic. The existence of technology has changed human life. In the current era, people are starting to rarely have face-to-face meetings, especially during a pandemic. Everything is performed online, including campaigns. According to Akmaliyah (2013), the implementation of virtual campaigns can be carried out in two ways, by online campaigns and social media campaigns. Online campaigns take advantage of technological sophistication, the internet, by bringing together the pairing candidates with the public as voters through online applications such as Zoom, Microsoft, Google Meet and so on. Social media campaigns (socmed) is conducted through two-way communication to share information related to vision and mission, work programs, and the activities of the pairing candidates in some existing social media accounts, such as Facebook, Instagram, Twitter and others. The

political campaigns carried out by the pairing candidates during the Covid-19 pandemic includes campaign strategies through face-to-face campaigns, virtual campaigns, and hospitality campaigns. However, face-to-face campaigns are campaign strategies that cannot be avoided, and are considered very effective. According to a survey conducted by the Surabaya Center for Democracy and Human Rights Studies in 2020, it was explained that face-to-face campaigns were the most popular campaigns in the community (Dewanti & Kartika Sari, 2021).

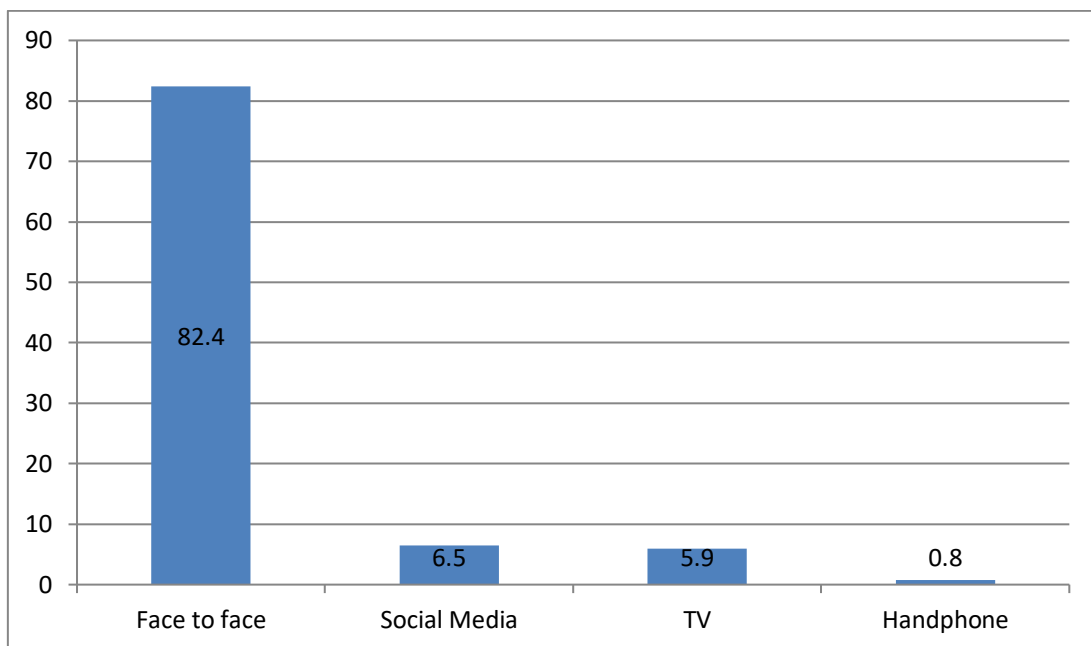


Figure 1. Political Campaign Media during the Covid-19 Pandemic in the Surabaya City Regional Election

Based on the data above, face-to-face campaigns are still influential. Face-to-face campaigns are considered the most influential because there are direct interactions between the pairing candidates and the community. Thus, when the campaign takes place, the messages conveyed can be directly captured and received by the people who attend and gather at the campaign location. During the Covid-19 pandemic, there was a change in which it is not allowed to gather the masses, since this virus spreads very quickly. Thus, people are asked to keep their distance from each other and are not allowed to crowd with many people in a room.

In addition, Tri Rismaharini as the Chairperson of the Central Leadership Council of the Democratic Party of Struggle (DPP PDIP) for Cultural Affairs also campaigned to introduce and garner support for Eri Cahyadi and Armuji. This previous Mayor of Surabaya even submitted a permission letter to the Governor of East Java, Khofifah Indar Parawansa, for a

duty leave. The leave permit was submitted by Tri Rismaharini as she became one of the campaigners for the pairing candidate Eri Cahyadi-Armuji in the 2020 Surabaya City regional election. The content of Tri Rismaharini's political campaign to the public was about the sustainability of her government program if the pairing candidate Eri Cahyadi-Armuji become the elected Mayor and Deputy Mayor of Surabaya (Koloway, 2020b).

Distribution Stage

This stage can also be referred as the proving stage. It is for the reason at this stage, the objectives of the political campaign carried by the candidate have been achieved. Political candidates at this stage have obtained the desired power (Hariyani, 2015). In the 2020 Surabaya City regional election, the General Election Commission (KPU) of Surabaya City determined Eri Cahyadi and Armuji as the elected mayoral pairing candidate. The determination of the elected pairing candidate was carried out at an open plenary meeting conducted online by the General Election Commission (KPU) of Surabaya City. In the final recapitulation of the 2020 Surabaya City regional election, Eri Cahyadi and Armuji received 597,540 votes. Meanwhile, the pair Machfud Arifin and Mujiaman Sukirno received 451,794 votes. The decision letter of the General Election Commission (KPU) of Surabaya City Number 49/PL/02.7-Kpt/3578/KPU-Kot/2/2021 became the basis for determining the elected candidates, Eri Cahyadi and Armuji. The decision to determine Eri Cahyadi and Armuji as the elected pairing candidate for Mayor and Deputy Mayor of Surabaya was made after the Constitutional Court of the Republic of Indonesia rejected a lawsuit from the pair Machfud Arifin and Mujiaman. The lawsuit was related to the results of the 2020 Surabaya City regional election (Baihaqi, 2021a).

Previously, Machfud sued Eri and Armuji for alleged structured, massive and systematic frauds. Machfud Arifin and Mujiaman filed a lawsuit to the Constitutional Court (MK) over the results of the Surabaya City regional election. The winning team of Machfud Arifin and Mujiaman claimed to have evidence of the structured, systematic and massive frauds committed by the winning team of Eri Cahyadi and Armuji (Faizal, 2020c). However, Eri Cahyadi and Armuji's legal team denied the allegations. Even in the trial, Eri Cahyadi and Armuji's lawyers revealed the fact that the pairing candidate Machfud-Mujiaman never complained during the recapitulation conducted by the General Election Commission (KPU) of Surabaya City. This happened starting from the polling stations (TPS) of the village to the city. Moreover, the witnesses of Machfud Arifin and Mujiaman also received and signed all

the documents of the minutes and certificates of recapitulation of vote counting results (Baihaqi, 2021b).

Adi Sutarwijono as the head of the winning team for the pairing candidate Eri Cahyadi-Armuji responded to the team of Machfud Arifin and Mujiaman who sued the results of the 2020 Surabaya City regional election to the Constitutional Court. Each party has the right to take legal action regarding the results of the Surabaya City regional election recapitulation. However, it was his party who found evidence of fraud from Machfud's team, by distributing basic foodstuffs, sarongs, and money to the public starting at the early stages to the voting day of the 2020 Surabaya City regional election. Adi Sutarwijono said the findings had been reported to the Surabaya City Election Supervisory Agency (Bawaslu). Furthermore, Eri Cahyadi and Armuji also found the involvement of regional leaders in the East Java region who participated in political campaigns together with Machfud Arifin and Mujiaman through social media (Putri, 2020).

Conclusion

The conclusion of this study is that the political campaign conducted by the pairing candidate Eri Cahyadi-Armuji during the COVID-19 pandemic applied two methods. First, the conventional way, by directly meeting the community. Second, the modern way, by massively using digital/virtual media. The content offered to the public both conventionally and modernly during political campaigns is the leadership style of this pairing candidate which is a combination of humanist-religious-persuasive with a straightforward and blunt Suroboyoan style and emphasizes the simplicity typical of Javanese people. Moreover, the special political campaign method that seems to be the advantage of the pairing candidate Eri Cahyadi-Armuji is to use taglines and campaign props that related to the political figure Tri Rismaharini. This is inseparable from the position of Tri Rismaharini as the former mayor of Surabaya with a successful record and a large base of masses in the region. Therefore, it can be said that the combination of conventional and modern political campaigns accompanied by the right campaign content is very decisive in the conducted elections during the COVID-19 pandemic, especially in the context of the 2020 Surabaya city regional election.

Moreover, Eri Cahyadi-Armuji successfully implemented the five stages of political campaign, thus he could win the election. Nevertheless, there was an interesting note at the identification stage where Eri Cahyadi-Armuji preferred to use the identity of a figure rather than slogans. This fact deviated from the theory, yet it was successfully implemented as a surefire strategy to attract voters. Thus, this notable finding may give a contribution in

developing the theory of political campaign strategy. The limitation in this research is that the data sources obtained are only through credible online media. Therefore, the recommendation for further research is to conduct direct interviews with the pairing candidates and their winning teams in order to obtain more complete and detailed data.

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