

Indonesia's Political Colours: From the New Order to Joko Widodo

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Abstract: *This study aims to examine the meaning behind the political colours in Indonesia. It uses Roland Barthes' semiotics analysis. The results show that yellow is identified with the power of Golongan Karya Party which means oligarch wealth; red symbolises the intertwined association of the communism history and the labour movement in Indonesia with PDI Perjuangan; blue symbolises the values of patriotism and neoliberalist agenda for Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono; whereas the combination of red-white-black of Joko Widodo's plaid shirt symbolises political progressiveness.*

Keywords: *Indonesia, political colour, political communication, semiotic.*

Abstrak: *Penelitian ini bertujuan menganalisis makna di balik warna-warna politik di Indonesia. Penelitian ini menggunakan analisis semiotika Roland Barthes. Hasil penelitian menunjukkan bahwa kuning lambang Partai Golongan Karya yang berarti kekayaan berkuasa; merah lambang Partai Demokrasi Indonesia (PDI) Perjuangan yang berarti hubungan, sejarah komunisme, dan gerakan buruh di Indonesia; biru melambangkan nilai-nilai patriotisme serta agenda neoliberalisme Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono; sedangkan kombinasi merah-putih-hitam dari kemeja kotak-kotak Joko Widodo melambangkan politik progresif.*

Keywords: *Indonesia, komunikasi politik, semiotika, warna politik.*

A lot of political communication research focuses on persuasion and voters' decision making (Miller & McKerrow, 2010; Forgas & Williams, 2016; McNair, 2017). In addition to that, modern political communication research has proliferated beyond the communication field. It has also made its existence in marketing, advertising, and cultural studies and it established semiotics as a part of political communication research (Maarek, 2008; Serazio, 2017; Spenkuch & Toniatti, 2018). However, there are still limited studies that examine and explain the

sociocultural and political meaning behind a political colour in Indonesia. They can be used to understand how a political party colour is tried to be represented and political messages are established. This study attempts to provide a semiotics analysis to look into the existing research gap.

Nevertheless, early studies of political communication suggested, show the strong relationship between symbol-using and politics. Semiotics in political communication research focuses on propaganda and cultural hegemony of the ruling class, visual

representation of political campaign media, and their social meanings (Drechsler, 2009; Berger, 2014). One of the elements examined through semiotics approach is political colours used by politicians and political parties in their campaigns.

The research on significance of colour in political communication flourishes with the development of modern political campaigns. Election campaigns are seen as a form of marketing activities that involve advertising to promote candidates. For example, Presidential Election year of 2008, an amount of US \$2.6 billion was spent on political advertising (Scheinkman, G. V., Mclean, & Weitberg, 2012). Mitt Romney paid his campaign manager an amount of US \$183,000 in 2012 and Barack Obama paid his campaign manager US \$172,000 in 2012 (Sullivan, 2013). This campaign funding was also high in Indonesia. Based on Indonesian Corruption Watch data in presidential election year of 2014, Prabowo-Hatta spent approximately US \$11,390,000, meanwhile Joko Widodo (Jokowi) and Jusuf Kalla spent US \$19,766,000 for their campaign (Indonesian Corruption Watch, 2014).

Candidates are seen as the products in the advertising process with so much money at stake. Political campaign needs strategies for colour using to associate their candidates with certain values the colours have. Previous studies (Labrecque & Milne, 2012, p. 712-714; Lichtlé & Plichon, 2014, p. 5) argue that colours are linked to emotions and human personality. Its have been used to identify and communicate cultural and political ideas and to stimulate buyers' decision to buy a

product. Previous studies have shown that different colours have different emotional impacts on perceivers. Burgoon and Saine (in Argyle, 2013, p. 186) show that yellow has more positive emotional effects on human compared to purple colour. These studies have associated yellow as joyful, cheerful, exciting, and stimulating, and purple colour as the unhappy, dejected, despondent, and melancholy.

Colours affect how audience feels about candidates. An effective political communication is often measured by increasing popularity of a political candidate as well. Often, their likability is measured by their public appearance, including the choice of their outfits they wear (Cartner-Morley, 2016). Previous studies showed that people were responded to someone's wearing in public, they were responded to symbols they first encountered in their early emotional development. The symbols has power based on conditioning, modeling, cognitive consistency, affect transfer, and other socialisation mechanisms (De Landtsheer, De Vries, & Vertessen, 2008, p. 22; Medveschi & Frunza, 2018, p. 141). This makes it more important than those political candidates to present a political brand through dress that is appealing to his potential voters. Additionally, this is more important in the digital era, when such political branding has more alternative platforms for distribution. In the age of social media, politicians compete to produce personal image for attracting potential supporters. The motive behind choice of presentation, fashion, and style, will be more essential than the message they convey and

policies they offer (McNair, 2017, p. xviii; Salazar-Sutil, 2008, p. 23-24).

This study proposes theoretical propositions from a series of hypothesis. Firstly, parties and political candidates incorporate colours in their campaigns for voters' identification of their campaign. This makes the use of colours in political campaigns is not different from the use of colours in product packaging for advertising (Kauppinen-Räsänen, 2014, p. 663). Schaffner and Streb (in Conroy-Krutz, Moehler, & Aguilar, 2016, p. 5-6) suggests that colour is important in a political climate where voters have low-information and high political illiteracy (e.g. in the Indonesia's New Order era), in that case, voters will tend to identify their voting preferences with colour coded options. With the way of an election is set-up according to a national standard, colour uses are also standardised and appear consistently to establish a stable symbolic association between the party, objectives, and their colours.

Secondly, according to Marini (2017, p. 3) politicians and party leaders selects their identity colours with taking consideration collective meanings attached to the colours. Her study argues that political elites that have connection to the established ruling class and royal family would refer to their traditional colours and their coats of arms (e.g the British Conservative party), or rather some would associate their political colour with patriotism (e.g the U.S Republican party).

METHOD

This study uses an interpretative semiotics approach. It uses the Barthesian semiotics to

understand the meaning behind the colour symbols based on the social context. In the semiotics approach, representation could be understood as the foundation of the way of words work as signs within language (Hall, 1997). In general, semiotics is the science of signs that can be used to stand for something else. There are three well-known approaches to semiology as known as the

Charles Sanders Peirce, Ferdinand de Saussure, and Roland Barthes. This study uses the Roland Barthes' approaches because the model looks into the social meaning of a sign.

... as a result, [I] acquired the conviction that by treating "collective representations" as sign-systems, one might hope to go further that the pious show of unmasking them and account in detail for the mystification which transforms petit-bourgeois culture into universal nature. (Barthes, 1972, p. 8)

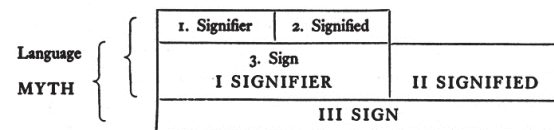


Image 1 Barthes Model of Semiotics Analysis

Barthes' semiotics model defines a sign as something that stands for something else and constituted by a signifier and a signified. Barthes (1972, p. 115) also explains that signs can both work at denotative and connotative levels. The interpretation of these signs will be referred to larger collective social meaning and in the analysis will be coded as "myth" (Hall, 1997, p. 97). This study will categorise the sample colours and analysed them based on the social 'myth' and based on study of Marini (2017) that colour palate as the anchor category.



Image 1 Space from Colour Theory (Marini, 2017, p. 5)



Image 2. Relationship between colour and political party ideologies (Marini, 2017, p. 10)

Using the colour guidance above, this study interprets several colours of Indonesian political icons - yellow, red, blue, and red-black-white (plaid). These colours were selected as prominent political colours in the Indonesian history of politics. These colours will be compared with the relationship of colours designed by Marini (2017) based on the colour classification. This colour classification is used as a control group to signify the objects of the study.

FINDINGS

Semiotics of Political Colours in Indonesia

Signifier (1) Yellow Colour for Soeharto

Signified (1)

In many countries, yellow symbolises prosperity and wealth. Meanwhile, in Indonesia it has been politically associated

with Golongan Karya (Golkar), the ruling party of the Soeharto era which is associated with authoritarianism, military oppression, and corruption. During the New Order period, members of Golkar would proudly wear bright yellow outfits. As a campaign machine for the New Order regime, supporters of Golkar would gather in major rallies, entertained by Indonesian popular celebrities and received money and other souvenirs from the party. Budiman (in Tomsa, 2008, p. 219) suggests that the choice of the colour of yellow as Golkar's signature colour was a token of appreciation for the students of the Universitas Indonesia. They were heavily involved in demonstrations against Soekarno and the Old Order. Universitas Indonesia's students traditionally wear yellow for their uniform following the failure of the "September 30" movement in 1965-1966. Tim Litbang Kompas (in Tomsa, 2008, p. 56) show it has been alleged that the yellow symbolises the intellectual ambition of Golkar as the political party that supposedly represents wisdom, education, and noble character. However, according to Silalahi (in Tomsa, 2008, p. 125), when Golkar was founded in 1964, just before the fall of Sukarno's "guided democracy" regime, the choice of yellow did not have any special meaning. It was chosen because green was already taken by the muslim parties and PKI had taken red. Harry suggests that it is also possible, although he personally doubts it, that yellow was chosen because it symbolises royalty and the old *priyayi* (Javanese aristocratic) culture.

Soeharto's politics was coloured with fascism - a form of such a violent and authoritarian regime that lasted for more

than three decades. His politics focused on protecting his wealth through any necessary means, including violence. His politics did not compromise any civil disobedience and a large number of human rights abuse were not recorded or never investigated properly. Haris (in Sulistiyanto & Erb, 2013, p. 15) claims other instances of other oppressive policies signified with the removal of political figures who were too critical of the government, such as Megawati Soekarnoputri was removed as the head of PDI Perjuangan because she was considered as a strong opponent for Soeharto. Other examples were including the Buru political exiles such as Indonesia's historian Pramoedia Ananta Toer and millions of others who were killed in the 1965 coup.

Haris (in Sulistiyanto & Erb, 2013, p. 15) claims the symbolism of yellow in the Golkar's power and dominance in Indonesia's politics could be seen in the way the party grew to be the only political party in Indonesia that had access to government money and grassroots level, as the system was set up the party to win, despite Indonesia has had general elections since 1955. In addition, their close tie to the military groups, made Golkar as the strongest and the largest political group during the New Order. This close tie was illustrated as the dual face of Angkatan Bersenjata Republik Indonesia (ABRI) and Golkar as the extended ruling power in Indonesia. The example of this power exercise was the paramilitary groups such as Angkatan Muda Siliwangi and Angkatan Muda Diponegoro that mostly positioned across public universities while recruiting

university students as their political members (Dhakidae, 2003, p. 262-263). This dual functions of Golkar as a political party, which is civilian and military, are some examples of how the colour of political party in Golkar symbolises the long oppressive regime that exercised violence in order to maintain power.

Signifier (2) Red Colour for Megawati Soekarnoputri

Signified (2)

Red has contradictory and controversial meaning in the Indonesian politics. However, in Indonesia, red has different interpretation as it has always been associated with communism, but also the national flag symbol of red and white which commemorate the struggle of freedom in Indonesia. Red symbolises people's struggle and it is referred as the as blood of the freedom fighters in the national anthem. However, politically, red has been associated with communism in Indonesia and it has got a negative sentiment especially after the killing in 1965 (Miller, 2018, p. 303).

Historically, red has always been associated with revolution and socialism, particularly after the Paris Commune in 1870. During the French Revolution, red was not only used for liberty caps and the radical flag but also for ribbons and armbands. Red was competed with the tricolour of the republican flag that symbolises three elements of the revolutionary motto, *liberté* (freedom: blue), *égalité* (equality: white), *fraternité* (brotherhood: red)—often *fraternité* is translated as solidarity than brotherhood. The tradition of using the red colour continued

to be integrated in the European workers' movement, the Bolsjevik Red Army, and Labour parties in the Commonwealth countries such as the United Kingdom, Australia, and Canada. However, red is also associated with the power of Communism under Stalin that lost in the Second World War and the power of the U.S propaganda. Red is now associated with communism ideology than the solidarity of the revolution that initiated the use of the colour. In fact, nowadays modern Labour parties have shifted to use the symbol the red rose of the Socialist International rather than the symbolism of revolution that is much associated with communism (Sawer, 2007).

In this context, red signifies the political dynasty of Soekarno through Megawati. In the election of 1955, Soekarno's party, *Partai Nasional Indonesia* (PNI) used the symbolism of black for the buffalo, white for the inner triangle line, and red for the inner colour inside the triangle logo. The PDIP logo under Megawati's leadership is much similar to PNI's logo in its era, with little alteration on the logo. Red in PNI party was associated with his close tie to the growing power of communism in those days. He promoted the ideology of NASAKOM (Nationalism, Religious, Communism), however, the ideology died as he was removed from his power in 1965 (Borgias, 2012). The continuation of Soekarno's legacy was carried on by Megawati. While at grassroots level, Megawati associates her party politics as the party that symbolises the solidarity with the ordinary people, however, Megawati herself often appears to be an elitist further from the image they want to represent.

Signified (3): Blue for Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono (SBY)

Signifier (3)

In the American culture, blue is associated with conservatism and patriotism (Marini, 2017, p. 4). According to the history, blue has always been associated the conservatism and right-wing politics. In this context, SBY associates his party and his signature colour with blue, which follows his political ideas of neoliberalism. SBY has long known for his alliance with the United States since his military years (Rice, 2011, p. 410-411). It could be the case of his preferences in political ideas represent his tie to the United States since he graduated from the several American military schools in the early 1990's, which explains the colour of his party, Partai Demokrat, that is dominated by blue colour that represents patriotism. This may explain the use of blue in his campaigns and his military blue outfits when he delivers public speech. The symbolism of blue influenced SBY's winning in the Indonesia's 2004 presidential election which had altered and reformed Indonesia's political institution (Crouch, 2010). He was known formerly as a reformist army general by media and the first elected president who had served two full terms in office, from 2004 to 2014. His presence in the Indonesia's political stage was often labelled as the first democratic president as he was the first president elected by public, instead of being elected by the parliament (Sheridan, 2012).

Blue was also associated him with the American patriotism and neoliberal ideology (Murphy, 2010, p. 373). This influence of

American patriotism and ideology was translated into his political and financial policies. He protected the free market while campaigning for democracy and better social security programs, just like in the United States. For example, despite his campaign for free healthcare for all Indonesians. In Indonesia, this program is known for the *Badan Penyelenggara Jaminan Sosial* (BPJS) program, however, the way it is managed still follow the business as usual practices. For example, the appointment of PT. ASKES (*Asuransi Kesehatan*) as the government agency to run the public funds for the healthcare has been problematic. PT. ASKES is a privately run company that costs the public more than if it is run by the state.

His presidency also was controversial as a number of human rights abuses left untouched under his presidency. His tie with the military also influenced his policies on human rights, as for example in 2009 the Indonesia's Military group banned the preview of *Balibo 1975* (Thompson, 2009) as they continued to put pressure on the freedom of expression of journalistic work under SBY's leadership. Other examples of this case are the number human rights abuses came uninvestigated or stopped under the way such as the human right abuses in West Papua and Munir (Berger, 2015) and discrimination and abuses towards the Ahmadiyah Islamic group (Hamdi, 2017).

The symbolism of blue in SBY leadership represents his style of American top military leadership. A military general raised by American military with skilled and tactical management style and someone who understands about the power of public

image, however not necessarily represents a progressive reform in the politics.

Signifier (4) Red, Black, White (Plaid Shirt) for Jokowi

Signified (4)

In 2012, Jokowi and Basuki Purnama (Ahok) ran for the 2012 Gubernatorial Election in Jakarta. It was rare at that time for people from outside Jakarta-based elite to run for election on the national stage (the Jakarta governorship, despite being a provincial election, nevertheless places successful candidates on the national stage through their authority over the national capital). Upon his candidacy for the Jakarta election, his supporters used the plaid shirt or more popularly known as the flannel shirt. That shirt was very popular at that time amongst young people. It defines their casual attitude and it was ubiquitous, people could buy them at any clothing store.

The campaign itself targeted young voters through social media and other platforms that were close to young generation, such as music concerts, films, comedy and so on. Therefore, in his early campaign, Jokowi did not rely on old, overused, direct symbols of candidates' face or logos of political parties. Instead, Jokowi created a new identity through new symbols that promoted pluralism and had never been used before in Indonesian politics, such as checkered shirts. The checkered shirt became a symbol of Indonesia's pluralism, which many ethnicities and religions lived together. In addition, the fact that the shirts were easily found in the market, made them easily accessible also it made them feel part of Jokowi's group.

Table 1 Summary of the colour semiotics of Soeharto, Megawati, SBY, and Jokowi

Colour	Signified	Signifier
Yellow	Conservatism, far Right, New Order	Soeharto
Red	Solidarity, Soekarno political dynasty	Megawati
Blue	Democracy, neoliberalism, patriotism	SBY
Plaid shirt	Young and professional, progressive government, non-elitist	Jokowi

Source: Author (2018)

The colour scheme black-red-white were also popular in traditional culture. For example, black is popular across Indonesia as the basic colour for clothing and symbolizes wisdom likewise in Bali. Red itself represents the richness and often worn in celebratory events. For example, in Batak culture their traditional *ulos* uses red thread with some golden colour mix as a gift for newlywed couple. Meanwhile the colour of white symbolizes the holiness across the archipelago likewise in similar culture in the Pacific's (Couacaud, 2016, p. 210).

DISCUSSION

This study has explained of the changing dynamics of the ruling power in Indonesia and its colour representation of their political ideology. By surveying colour related research, it makes an attempt to highlight the denotative meanings of the colour symbolism from each ruling party in Indonesia from the New Order to the Jokowi Widodo's era. By reviewing the current status of colour research in the field of visual communication and political advertising, the study develops a theoretical base and proposes a comprehensive framework that incorporates meanings of those colours and draws inter-relationships between them. By having this approach, the study contributes

to the field in terms of summarizing the existing knowledge.

Over the past half a century, the colouring and outfitting of Indonesia's paramount leaders have reflected and expressed their differing politics and political messaging. In the New Order, the colouring had a military and aristocratic quality. In the period following the fall of the Soeharto regime in 1998, Indonesia's elected presidents have utilised various approaches to their visual communication through dress and colours that have reflected different aspects of the democratisation process, as well as their differing approaches to addressing the challenges of post New Order Indonesia.

The first post-Soeharto president whose tenure was based on free elections was Abdurrahman Wahid (Gusdur). Despite being an icon of the world's largest muslim organisation, he chose a modest form of dress that was not especially or overly explicitly religious in nature. This can be seen as reflecting the fact that Gusdur was ruling at the enthusiastic beginning of the reform (*reformasi*) process. His presidency was the one that most enthusiastically embraced liberal and progressive reforms. Megawati choice of dress and the way her campaigns were coloured reflected

her political heritage. That is secular nationalism in the tradition of the party her father founded the PNI. She often dressed in *Kain* and *Kebaya*, but her version of these were definitely up market, reflecting her place in the established Jakarta elite. SBY also emerged from the Jakarta elite, and had deep roots in the New Order ruling class, through his history as a senior military officer (even if he was considered something of a “cleanskin”) and through integration in powerful social networks, including family connections. However, in his dress and political colouring, he chose a strategy that expressed the opposite of these realities. Blue as a colour of conservatism and neo-liberalism expressed an internationalised commercial professionalism. While he was adroit as president in his relations with other countries (partially through being a fluent English speaker), in this sense his dress and colouring did more to cover up his politics and background than it did to express them. Indeed his presidency, while in many ways continuing the forms of liberal democracy that emerged through the reform process, did see a stalling or stagnation of reform and even the reintroduction of a number of elements of New Order politics, as well as the further development of a number of anti-democratic tendencies in general.

Superficially, the choice of colouring of Jokowi's dress and campaigning is similar to Megawati, with the red, white, and black of his trademark plaid shirts reflecting their common roots in the PDIP, and perhaps also reflecting their more indigent, nationalist politics (red, white,

and black being colours with deep pre-Islamic roots in traditional Indonesia). In this sense, Jokowi's victory in the 2014 presidential election did see something of a return to elements of the communicative forms of the previous PDIP administration. However, the material form of his use of this colour scheme was essentially different from the signature working class plaid shirts, characteristically with sleeves rolled up, sought to express a down-to-earth practicality of the first president to have emerged from a regional centre, rather than the Jakarta elite.

It has been noticeable, however, that since he has become president, Jokowi has distanced himself from this form of communication through dress. Especially since the defeat of his former running mate Ahok in the Jakarta gubernatorial elections, Jokowi has moved to dress in simple white work shirts. This still expresses a certain modesty, simplicity, and pragmatism, but also expresses purity, incorruptibility, and neutrality. To an extent, therefore, it is both an extension of his previous dress strategy and a departure from it, an attempt to place himself above the fray and allow himself room for maneuver as political developments move in unexpected directions. As such, it represents a classic strategy of Javanese power, which can be seen positively to reflect flexibility and practicality, and negatively as a form of opportunism.

It is hoped that this study, which has used the example of the differing dress and colouring strategies of four presidencies

in the reform (*reformasi*) period, has gone some ways to showing that Indonesian politics, like the national politics of other countries, can be read in terms that move beyond the more explicit verbal forms to non-verbal psychological forms such as dress and colouring. What these findings actually say about the shifting spectrum of the Indonesian contemporary politics communicated through the political colours? How these findings can contribute in understanding the communication of political ideologies and parties in Indonesia? Political parties use these colours to marketise their party and ideologies. First, from the findings, the shift of colour ideologies has shifted from yellow-red-blue-and checkered shirt. Based on Marini's work (2017) from the colour theory that extracts the old political colours in a small multi-party system: red–yellow–blue, for socialists, liberals and conservatives, we can understand that the popular ideologies have changed from liberals to socialists to conservative – although to be fair, they do not always represent these colour symbolisms. However, we cannot use the colour theory scheme for the checkered shirt colours. From this colour shift it appears that the polarisation of the Indonesian contemporary politics was moving to something different from just one single colour message scheme. It was expanding into something that actually described the people of Indonesia–unity in diversity.

Colours and clothing are important political brand entities in the western world as much as here in Indonesia. These

findings are also adequate to understand how a political brand is marketised for Indonesian public. As for some people who have experienced different ruling political parties, these monotone colours represent the old elite politics dynasty, however the checkered shirt symbolises something different in the midst of political tipping point. These colours of red, white, and black not only have important traditional meanings for different ethnic groups in Indonesia, but also represent the millennials with their progressive, professional attitude, and more importantly they distant themselves with the same-old politicians. It fits the public image of both Jokowi and Ahok, they are young, and they have good professional track records.

CONCLUSION

The visual strategies of political parties and social movements tell us much about how they are trying to connect with their supporters. They are creating symbolic languages that are about emotional identification as well as about organisational needs for distinctive brands and brand loyalty, to use the language of modern marketing. These symbolic languages may long outlive their organisational origins. Since the human memory tends to keep visuals better than text messages, it makes political colours become important for political branding in campaigns.

In brief, colours have political meanings in political communication. In Indonesian context, there are five prominent colours that have cultural

meaning association, yellow, blue, red, and plaid colour of red, black, and white. Out of these four categories, this study argues that each colour has their own political meaning attached to the history of the Indonesian national politics. These meanings are also attached to their political supporters.

Understanding the political colours and sociocultural meanings that are associated with them is essential for political advertising and developing campaign strategy. As has been shown by this study, conservative parties will be more suitable with darker warmer colour such as blue, magenta, purple or light blue. Meanwhile, brighter-cooler colours will match progressive parties such as red and orange. While independent candidates will stand out with unpredictable colour (Jokowi with his red-black-white shirt). However, colour selection must also take consideration of cultural meaning in a society.

For decades, yellow has been identified with the right wing politics and the authoritarian regime of the New Order. The colour symbolises the celebration of conservatism and the non-democratic way of leadership in Indonesia. With such a long history of using yellow colour for their political party identity, yellow has been associated with Soeharto as its political icon.

Secondly, the symbolism of red in Megawati's leadership means the continuation of Soekarno's political legacy. Unlike the radical history of the colour symbolism itself, Megawati's leadership was considered far from revolutionary grass root movement and much more elitist that it was supposed to be. Thirdly, blue symbolises

the patriotism and the neoliberalism ideology for SBY and his politics. His close tie to the United States coloured his policies towards human rights issues in Indonesia, with a number of human rights cases unsolved under his presidency, made the patriotic image that he wished to build failed. Lastly, there is Jokowi who was an outsider of the national political circle but somehow made his popularity rose because his campaign offered a fresh colour that was far from his opponents—the plaid shirt of red-white-black. He represents himself as someone who was not from the old political circle, a professional government agent, with progressive politics. The idea was also represented the multiculturalism and diversity in the Indonesian voters.

From these different colour symbolisms, this paper draws a conclusion that the political power domination as influenced by the colours their parties are associated with. This study finds that Marini's theory of political colours was relevant to the case in Indonesia, as the political colours match Marini's theory. These findings could be enhanced with more experimental studies to test the Indonesian audience perception on certain political colours in political campaigns. This study will also benefit from a more extensive quantitative approach that identify the effectiveness of the colour selection on voters' intention to cast their votes to a political party. Political communication is a fast growing research field that needs interdisciplinary approach to explore and explain the rapid changing phenomenon of political communication in Indonesia.

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