

Jokowi-Prabowo's Pattern of Imagery in Online Media and Twitter in the 2019 Presidential Election In Indonesia

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Abstract:- This study aims to find the imaging patterns of Jokowi and Prabowo in the 2019 presidential election. This research data was taken from Online *kompas.com*, *liputan6.com*, *tempo.com*, and *detik.com* media as well as Twitter social media and analyzed using content analysis techniques using Nvivo 12 Plus software. The study results found that Jokowi and PrabowoSubianto portrayed themselves through a symbol and political discourse published online and on social media. For example, in the online press, Jokowi is described as a clean figure with the sign of 'white clothes' worn, and PrabowoSubianto is a religious figure because 'pilgrim prayers always follow every campaign. On the other hand, on Twitter, Jokowi is a would-be leader who promotes the economy as his political discourse. Meanwhile, PrabowoSubianto promotes himself as a figure who fights for the people's interests. Through this research, the politics of imagery is displayed in the form of symbols, and political discourse impacts the behavior of actors in politics. The behavior in question is the increased interaction of political actors and how political actors portray themselves as figures desired by society.

Keywords:- Imagery, Political Behavior, and Framing of Political Actors, White Shirts, and Pilgrim Prayers.

I. INTRODUCTION

The presidential election in 2019 is the second fight for Jokowi and PrabowoSubianto in the national political constellation. The political constellation involving the two political figures invited several quite long and exhausting debates. Moreover, both have militant supporters considered worthy of being presidents for their respective groups. Therefore, Jokowi, carried by the PDI Perjuangan Party and the Gerindra Party, took PrabowoSubianto in the second presidential election and is recognized as having a lot of dynamics in 2019. One of the most apparent was when the terms (Addiansyah, 2019) *cebong* and *kampret* stuck out in the media as symbols pinned to both.

Building public opinion through mainstream media is one of the efforts to build a self-image for the public. Political actors usually play several dramas to create public opinion to go hand in hand with the political interests of rulers and financiers. They dispelled the grand narrative of this nation with touches of imagery to form a would-be leader who could be infiltrated with more significant interests. The 2019 presidential election opened up ample space for the media to build (Irianto, 2014) *public framing* to

continue to focus on Jokowi and PrabowoSubianto. The media is a place to create everything to attract public attention in the media.

National narratives that are usually the subject of campaigning or reference for assessment through political dialogues to each candidate have begun to be abandoned because they are not interested in being covered by the media, especially for millennials who have interacted a lot using social media platforms. It is essential to read the nation's problems for the sustainability of democracy in Indonesia. In the age of technology, a culture of political imaging is urgently needed to build public opinion. It has become a new style for State officials when mental in front of the media stage (Yoo et al., 2018).

In today's political context, self-branding is much more interesting than strengthening national studies, and a few of the problems faced. So, it is natural that celebrities are used to participating in political contestation and even have a role in strengthening the *branding* of a political figure as done by PDI Perjuangan, which carries Krisdayanti as a legislative candidate to enhance the formation of Jokowi in East Java (Dewa, 2020). Political parties are also falling following this trend to increase the party's Popularity and legislative candidates to get the maximum possible votes in the 2019 general elections (Sanur, 2019).

This imaginary political style is a factor in boosting votes in the 2019 presidential election so that Jokowi's name successively defeated PrabowoSubianto during the democratic party event in Indonesia. Moreover, Jokowi uses various social media platforms to gain Popularity (Maulina & Muttaqin, 2020; Wicaksono & Aziz, 2020). Nonetheless, PrabowoSubianto is also a political figure who likes to use imaging strategies; for example, when he first entered politics, Prabowo appeared on television to introduce himself and his party by carrying the narrative of 'farmer's friend' (Qorib & Saleh, 2020). That is, these two candidates are knowledgeable in building an image in the political momentum in the media.

With this phenomenon's presence, political actors' behavior in influencing people's opinions and perceptions through a positive image is often carried out by taking advantage of the Popularity of celebrities when entering politics so that Popularity also increases (Gods, 2020). Popularity is the principal capital, leaving aside the vision of leadership and the narrative of nationality that is the primary need of the nation and the State. Several well-known politicians imitate the patterns often carried out by

celebrities in increasing popularity imaging in the media like celebrities (Berkman, 2020) even though this country needs prospective leaders with a clear vision and mission when elected leaders are elected.

Ideally, leadership in Indonesia should be built on the problems faced by this nation (Sunaryo, 2014). Economic, socio-cultural, religious, health, and educational issues should be summarized in political dialogues on the campaign days of the candidate's spouse. There is no time to comment on how the appearance, background, or spiritual qualities that in the days of the campaign often sprang up as an attraction to society. Leaders should be able to read people's problems, prioritizing solutions, rather than Popularity that only puts forward symbolic aspects. In his book *Language and Symbolic Power*, Bourdieu explains that the symbols attached to a person who has power have taken away the meaning of power itself (Bourdieu, 1979).

Imagery in a political context will always be synonymous with showing off through various approaches that display specific visions, ideologies, and symbols that make it easier for voters to identify a particular political party or candidate (Dachrud&Soleman, 2018). In Indonesia, the imagery carried out by politicians is widely spread on online news portals and social media because it is straightforward to be accessed by anyone. Moreover, with the rapid development of technology today, all elements of society easily access any content, including politics. In addition, imaging is also interpreted by the publication and socialization activities of discourses, symbols, and ideologies carried out repeatedly to create impressions, build trusted realities, and shape public discourse to match what is displayed.

Interestingly, Popularity in a political context is essential so that the chances of winning the contestation are greater (Dachrud&Soleman, 2018). Popularity is a recognition of many people for someone because of various factors; in the context of politics, Popularity can be obtained, one of which is by imaging. Many politicians do the imaging to be known by the public. Especially with social media today, imaging is so easy for politicians to do. A wide variety of content can be presented; to be sure, the content is always positive and refers to the politician in question. This pattern was also carried out by Joko Widodo when conducting campaigns in 2014 and 2019. His positive image in the eyes of the public, especially the lower class, makes it easy for him to defeat his political opponent, namely PrabowoSubianto(Prasetya, 2017).

So that what is shown as if it were the actual reality that happened, even though what is shown is a simulation with the sole purpose of being the center of attention. Jean Baudrillard called it by the term *simulacra* (Baudrillard, 1981). Interestingly, Jokowi-Prabowo's image in the media is often seen as providing a new reality of political conditions in Indonesia with various imaging patterns both with symbols and political discourses that developed during the 2019 presidential election. Therefore, the study will examine the imaging patterns carried out by JokoWidodo and PrabowoSubianto in the 2019 presidential election.

II. METHODOLOGY

This study uses a social behavior paradigm that looks at the phenomenon of a person's behavior in politics with discourse analysis techniques that aim to understand the text delivered on digital media in depth. The texts to be studied are texts related to the imagery of JokoWidodo and PrabowoSubianto in online news and social media platforms on Twitter in January-April 2019. Researchers use this technique to study the communication created by the person under study and how the subject's behavior plays its role in the 2019 elections in attracting public sympathy and attention. In this regard, the politics of imaging under study does have data collected through social media and news spread in mainstream media such as *kompas.com*, *liputan.com*, *tempo.com*, and *detik.com*.

The source of this research data was collected from the social media platform Twitter and Online news, which had an intensity in highlighting the campaign activities of JokoWidodo and PrabowoSubianto in the period from January-April 2019. After being examined through a search of the Online media portal, there are four Online media selected by researchers as the source of this research data, namely *kompas.com*, *tempo.com*, *detik.com*, and *liputan6.com*. In addition to online media, data is also taken from the social media platforms Twitter @Jokowi (JokoWidodo) and @Prabowo (PrabowoSubianto). Researchers chose this news from Online media and Twitter social media platforms because it is the most widely used social media platform to imagine personally and successful teams of prospective couples.

This analysis can also be interpreted as a technique of objectively, systematically, and quantitatively deciphering data. According to H.D Lasswell, this analysis is also called qualitative semantics (Sidik & Mulya, 2012). This study uses the features available in Nvivo12 Plus to analyze data, namely the *Ncapturepart* to retrieve data from Online media and Twitter social media, *the text research* feature to determine the flow of research based on data in the field (Online media and Twitter), *the word cloud* feature to find discourses, issues, or narratives of prospective couples studied, *the crosstab* feature to find the intensity of news and the power of media use from JokoWidodo and PrabowoSubianto.

III. DISCUSSION

A. Jokowi-Prabowo's Imaging Pattern in Online Media

The political practice proposed by Goffman plays out through political advertisements presented in the media (Goffman, 1956). The media is a stage where politicians present themselves ideally to meet the public's demands of the desired leader. The appearance of the politicians will be driven by the society in which he is located. Researchers realize that political drama is so closely colored in our politics in the reform era. The battle of imagery in the media and social media colored the political struggle between political actors to win public sympathy. They engineered their image by presenting a simple, *easygoing*, and close figure to the people to make them fascinated by his actions (Lalancette&Raynauld, 2019; Lin & Zhao, 2020;

Okdie&Rempala, 2019). Whereas when it was officially in office, the sweet promise offered was never felt at all by the people who voted for it (Ibroscheva, 2020). From this view, it can be said that image politics strongly influence people's political choices.

Based on the results of data analysis using Nvivo 12 software by analyzing aspects of the intensity of news in online media accessed in 2019 with a period in January-

April 2019 according to the open campaign schedule, it was found that there were four media that most consistently reported Jokowi and Prabowo during these campaign periods. The pressis detik.com, liputan6.com, Kompas.com, and tempo.co. As the results of the analysis in Nvivo 12 Plus, the percentage of Jokowi's news in online news is as follows:

Media Online	Jokowi	Prabowo
Detik.com	22	18
Liputan6.com	22	15
Kompas.com	15	12
Tempo.co	17	12

Table 1: Joko Widodo and Prabowo's Reporting on Online Media

(Source: Nvivo12-compass, seconds, coverage6 & tempo)

The percentage shows that tempo.co reported Jokowi 17 times and Prabowo 12 times, Kompas.com reported Jokowi 15 times and Prabowo 12 times, Liputan 6.com said Jokowi 22 times and Prabowo 15 times, and detik.com

reported Jokowi 22 times and Prabowo 18 times in the January-17 April 2019 period. Each of the four platforms has a different type of news, as shown in figures 3 and 4 below.

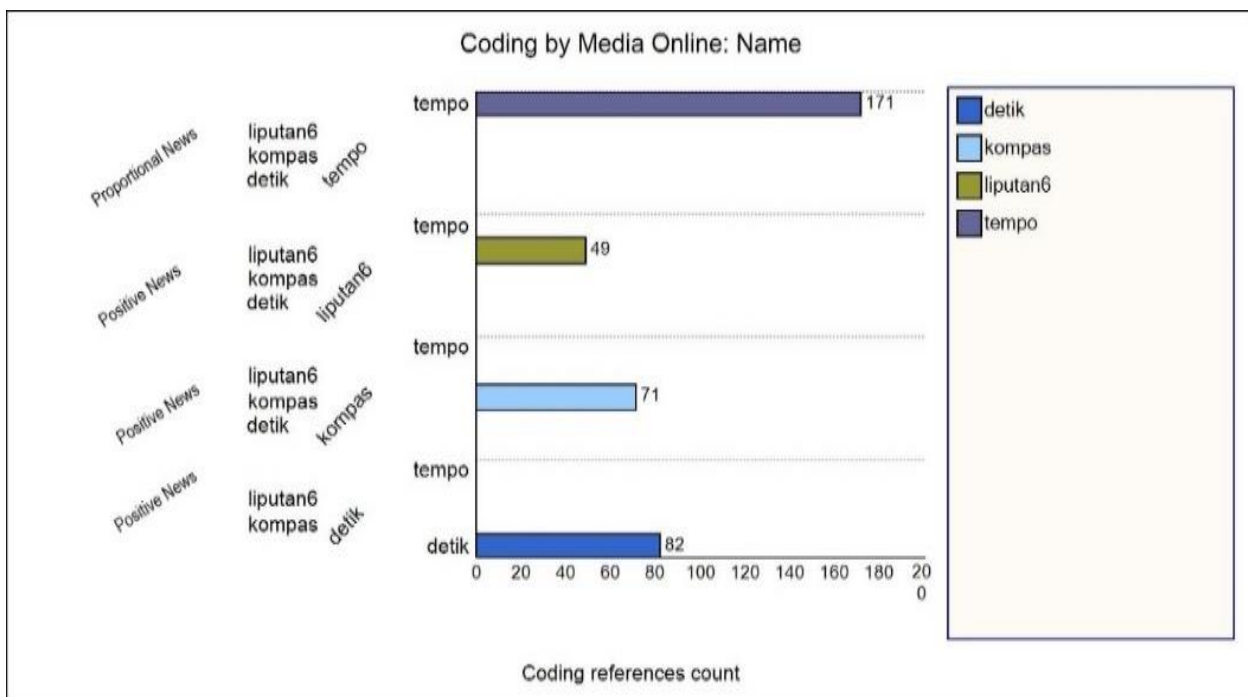


Fig. 1: Jokowi News Content/Source Nvivo12 Plus: tempo.co, Kompas.com, detik.com, & liputan6.com

From Jokowi's reporting in the online media, Joko Widodo's news on the tempo.co contains proportional information, while detik.com, Kompas.com, and liputan6.com tend to report Joko Widodo with positive news. This shows that the four media that reported on Joko Widodo during the open campaign period highlighted positive things regarding the

programs offered, the campaign masses present, or Joko Widodo's political behavior during the campaign period.

Researchers also analyzed Prabowo Subianto's reporting during the media campaign period. Result:

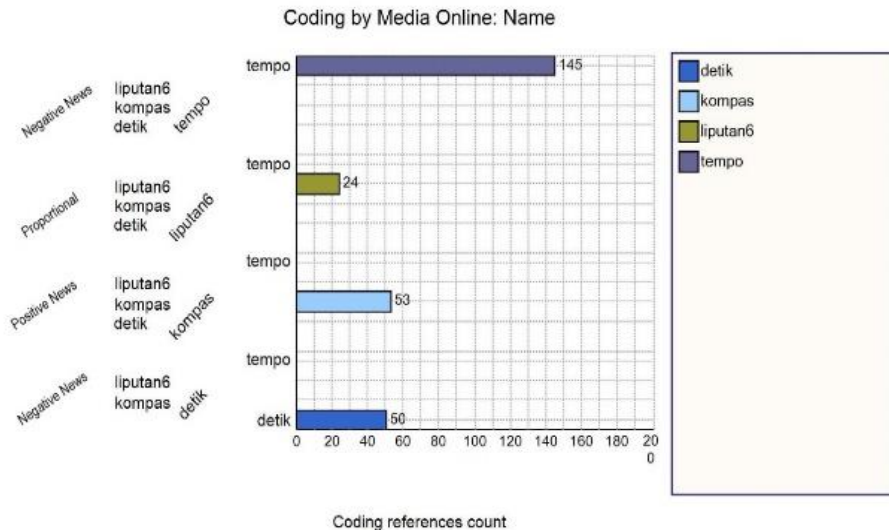


Fig. 2: Prabowo Subianto at Media/Source Nvivo12 Plus:tempo.co, Kompas.com, liputan6.com, & detik.com

Tempo.co and detik.com tend to have negative news towards Prabowo Subianto, while liputan6.com have balanced reporting towards Prabowo Subianto, and only Kompas.com report Prabowo Subianto positively. This shows that not all media that report on Prabowo Subianto have a partiality. So, negative narratives such as *Mother Earth Raped* and *Prabowo Buka Baju* appeared in the news delivered by tempo.co and detik.com (figure 4).

PrabowoSubianto and Jokowi, during the open campaign, the matters discussed were not only related to the campaign. Instead, it jointly called on its supporters to enliven the Polling Stations with certain symbols. Jokowi, in his appeal, raised a lot about white T-shirts or white clothes to identify how many Jokowi-Maruf supporters were at the time. Several media successfully revealed this when Jokowi conducted a grand campaign in several regions. *"Indeed, the party of*

democracy, the time we have to campaign must be spooky?But most importantly, remember Wednesday, April 17, don't forget to choose the white shirt. Because white is us," he said." The white shirt is also a symbol of the campaign promoted by Jokowi as a symbol of a clean government.

Meanwhile, PrabowoSubianto prefers to call on his supporters to keep their respective polling stations from being fooled. PrabowoSubianto expresses this in *ghost terms*. Please take care of the TPS. We don't have any ghosts joining the vote. Be careful; there's a *tuyul* coming along with the ballot. Take care of it, I ask," Prabowo said. Phrases like this became one of the narratives that described Prabowo as a presidential candidate in the Online media. After the researcher analyzed with the NVivo 12 software, it can be seen through the following picture look for Jokowi's news content in online media.



Fig. 3: Jokowi's News Topic in Kompas.com Media, tempo.co, detik.com & liputan6.com/Source: Nvivo12 Plus

Based on the results of researchers' searches through the Nvivo 12 Plus application, it was found that Jokowi's news content in online media highlighted white clothes, fake news, and magic cards that will be offered to the public when he becomes president in the 2019-2024 period. In addition to highlighting the campaign, the media also intensely reported on the activities of Jokowi and PrabowoSubianto during the open campaign period. Some

media even reported Jokowi as a simple figure because he used the Electric Train to get off work.

The white shirt that Jokowi often wears is the most discussed topic, especially during the campaign period. Even in some moments, Jokowi and his partner, KH. Maruf Amin called on all supporters of Candidate Couple number 01 to wear white when leaving for polling stations (polling stations). Another topic often raised is a hoax (fake news) which afflicts him a lot both when he became

president and when he was re-nominated. In his expression when interviewed, Joko Widodo said that *'this broomstick is to clean up hoaxes'* and Joko Widodo's appeal during the campaign period to continue campaigning cleanly and use positive sentences. This statement was made when Pengundi Luhur (PL) alums brought broomsticks to Joko Widodo's campaign in Tangerang, Banten. This expression is covered by kompas.com and liputan6.com

The third topic that is also often highlighted by the media is the magic card that will be issued by Joko Widodo when he serves as president. Smart Indonesia Cards (KIP), Pre-employment Cards, Family Hope Program Cards (PKH Cards), and Smart Family cards. According to Joko Widodo, with these cards, it is hoped that they can help the community solve the problems. He said *'With this card, graduates of high schools, vocational schools, college academies, and those affected by layoffs will be given training so that their skills improve so that they can quickly get to work'*. This program is Joko Widodo's mainstay content when conducting campaigns and is considered innovative and convenient for people in need.

We know that political advertisements on television, mass media, and social media filled with political actors are fighting for an image that is essentially a lie (Baudrillard,

1981). Because the actual reality could have been a failure of the government to meet the needs of its people, so the government needed something to shift the reality from a 'failed government' to a government admired for success. So, all matters relating to a good image are strengthened and published continuously by the government. In these cases, the success of the published government is a false reality because its actual reality is a failure (Baudrillard, 1998).

JokoWidodo is also often reported during visits to Islamic boarding schools and meeting with several clerics as a sign that he is close to Muslims (Qorib& Saleh, 2020). Especially during Joko Widodo's campaign, he became the target of slander from political opponents who considered himself an anti-Islamic figure and very close to groups with communist ideology (Rezza, 2014). In addition, Joko Widodo also discussed the economy as one of the fundamental topics for humanity. Even in the news, Joko Widodo claimed that Indonesia is a country that has a strong economy; even in 2045, the Indonesian economy will enter the top four. *'Jokowi stated that Indonesia and 20 countries worldwide joined the country with a strong economy. In fact, in 2045, Indonesia will become the world's top four country.* A rare topic by Joko Widodo based on the results of the analysis is the issue of education and culture.



Fig. 4: The Topic of Prabowo's News in kompas.com Online Media, detik.com. Tempo.co & liputan6.com

Turning to PrabowoSubianto's reporting, based on the results of the NVivo 12 Plus analysis, it was found that the issue that is often raised by the media when campaigning is pilgrim prayers because some of the momenta of the pilgrim prayer campaign carried out at the campaign location are usually carried out by PrabowoSubianto's supporters. One of the highlights was when PrabowoSubianto held congregational dawn prayers at the Gelora Karno stadium on April 7, 2019. In the media, this news has several times become a signal that PrabowoSubianto is a figure who values religious teachings very much and does not discriminate against people just because of background. "Presidential candidate number 02 PrabowoSubianto prays after carrying out one of the dawn congregations before the grand campaign at the Gelora Karno Main Stadium (GBK)."

The content that was also widely discussed in PrabowoSubianto's news was his statement about Indonesia's condition, which is experiencing backwardness in various aspects of life. For example, with the term motherland, PrabowoSubianto expressed his anxiety in

every open campaign that the motherland is not doing well or motherland is being raped. In addition, PrabowoSubianto also often talks about corruptors who are still disturbing this country. Moreover, corruption in the era of Joko Widodo's administration is very much happening, even causing a negative image for the government (Panganti, 2020; Widoyoko, 2016).

In his oration, PrabowoSubianto did not want his cabinet to be filled with corruptors; he would only serve his cabinet with this nation's best sons and daughters to realize a clean government. He said, *"We will build a clean government from corruptors. I will demand from all the coalition parties, friends, and volunteers, not political parties, but fighting alongside us. I will ask the kyai, the clerics, and the Habibs. I will ask the labor leader whose advice is. We want to form a government that is clean from corruption"*.

PrabowoSubianto is also a figure who is often reported to be close to Muslims, especially since most of PrabowoSubianto's supporters come from Islamist groups that are members of the 212 actions. AmienRais's statement reinforces this, "*Mr. Prabowo will not discriminate against religion, ethnicity, ethnicity, origin, etc.*". DahnilAnzarSimanjuntak, PrabowoSubianto's spokesperson, also emphasized that Prabowo is a figure close to religious people; However, he is close he remains tolerant and does not discriminate against people from these backgrounds. This was conveyed when Prabowo's campaign was over;Dahnil said, "*The campaign upholds diversity, joys the diversity that is present from many tribes and religions, as well as backgrounds, there are even interfaith prayer sessions as a symbol of tolerance.*"

B. Jokowi-Prabowo's Imaging Pattern on Twitter

The political phenomenon often presents various kinds of imagery on social media is not without purpose. From 2014 until the 2019 elections, the candidates' spouses will use this strategy to achieve their political goals. They are creating a story for the public to see as a reference to choose who is

most appropriate to be the number one person in the country. Departing from a story that has already been dramatized, symbols appear attached to one's self and make it strong electability (Baudrillard, 1981).This image is a weapon to attract the people's voice by convincing them that what the media highlights about the daily life of the candidate's spouse is something that happens naturally without intervention from the surrounding environment.

In addition to online news, researchers also analyzed the narratives of these two political figures through the media platform *Twitter*, where the goal is to find out what reports are often conveyed when surfing social media. Through the status on *Twitter*, we can find out the views expressed by the two to the virtual community. The issue raised on *Twitter* was a narrative written by the @Jokowi account and @PrabowoSubianto. After the analysis of Nvivo 12, 15 records often appear when discussing the 2019 Presidential Election. Based on the results of the study in Nvivo12, it was found that the narratives most concerned by the two figures were:



Fig. 5: Jokowi and Prabowo's Political Discourse on Twitter/Source Nvivo12 Plus: Twitter

From the accounts of @Jokowi and @PrabowoSubianto, 13 narratives discussed *ideals, slander, economy, justice, Pancasila, Education, struggle, unity, politics, Brotherhood, religious leaders, hate speech, and Muslims*. These narratives were discovered after researchers traced both accounts studied through the *nodes* feature in Nvivo 12 Plus. These two political figures have the same record but have different intensities. The most discussed

issue is the economic issue. The attention of these two figures to the economy is an urgent matter that is considered to be declining in the era when Joko Widodo's leadership declined. This is corroborated by reports in the media where both candidates have significant programs in economic development. In Joko Widodo's camp, financial problems will be overcome with the KartuSakti program, while PrabowoSubianto talks more about 'struggle.'

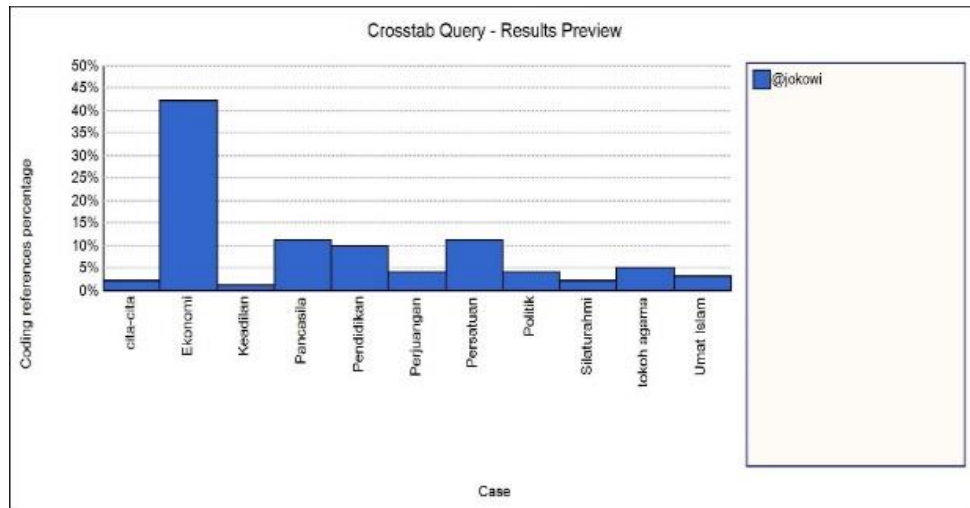


Fig. 6: Jokowi's Political Discourse/Source: Nvivo12 Plus account @jokowi

When analyzed one by one through his *Twitter* account, the most discussed narrative by Joko Widodo is economic issues. Joko Widodo made the *economy* the primary report on his *Twitter* because it is essential for the survival of the people. PrabowoSubianto also discussed the

economy; it's just that the intensity is much lower than Joko Widodo (figure 7). This shows that Jokowi's concern for the economy is more profound than Prabowo's. Nevertheless, despite their different intensity, both figures care about the economy (Wardani, 2019).

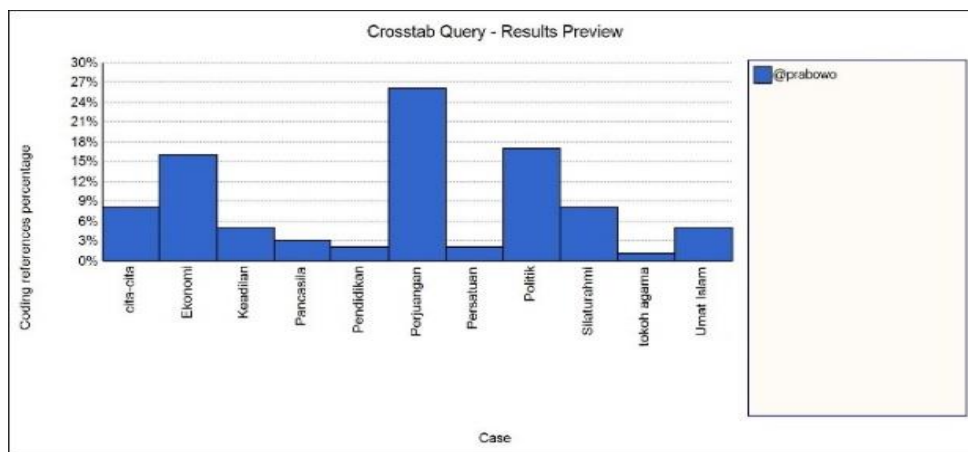


Fig. 7: Prabowo's Political Discourse on Twitter /source: Nvivo12 Plus account @prabowo

PrabowoSubianto discussed a lot about his struggle to fight for the mandate given by the community. According to PrabowoSubianto, what is being done now (campaign) is a form of effort to defend the rights of the people. The narratives of the two figures can be seen from their status on *Twitter* which has been processed in Nvivo 12 plus (figures 6 & 7), which displays the difference in the intensity of the narrative discussed by the two 2019 presidential candidates. The history delivered on *Twitter* describes how the two conveyed the grand vision he would bring when he became president (Goranson&Kastriba, 2019).

These narratives are used as research data to see the imaging patterns carried out by JokoWidodo and PrabowoSubianto on Online media and social media (*Twitter*). JokoWidodo and PrabowoSubianto carry out this imaginary politicsto increase Popularity in the community to get the maximum possible sympathy so that the political

interests of becoming ruler can be achieved (Malonda, 2019). Therefore, it can be concluded that the politics of imagery through narratives that do not touch the realm of nationality is the way that PrabowoSubianto and JokoWidodo do in the media; even the imagery that is done is not uncommonly close to ha-things that smell of religion, culture, or community habits (Baudrillard, 1981).

Campaigns, socialization, and publications continuously triggered the emergence of a political stage in which actors performed something that was always ideal for people to consume. The politics of imagery needs a location to be continuously watched by the public; with massive publications, the public is forced to vote based on the political advertisements with the most decisive influence. What is shown in the media or stage is an artificial reality that is constantly repeated until the public believes it to be the actual reality. Using the principle of dramaturgy, people

can understand social reality more clearly when presented in the metaphor of drama (Goffman, 1956).

IV. CONCLUSION

Based on the findings of this study, it was found that Jokowi and Prabowo's imaging patterns used political symbols and discourses published online and on Twitter media. Through intensive preaching, the characters introduce the political mission to the public. In online media, Jokowi is a figure who portrays himself with the symbol of white clothes as a sign that he is a clean personal figure. Meanwhile, Prabowo is a religious figure who is very thick with the image of pilgrims' prayers every time he conducts a campaign.

Meanwhile, political discourse is constructed and narrated through the social media *Twitter* of political actors. The politics of imagery is a form of political communication that aims to influence the public to have views that are as expected. As we all know, one of the social media platforms that discusses political issues the most is *Twitter*. On *Twitter*, actors freely narrate political discourse brought to gain the public's support. The presence of *Twitter* provides a vast space for anyone to have an opinion. Build lessons through hashtags or popularize discourse through interactions such as *tweets* and *retweets*.

Political advertising, as the primary medium of political imagery spread in various media, is intended to introduce themselves to the public so that they are known and famous. Erving Goffman said that a person promoting the media through advertising usually presents who he is, what his goals are, what his competencies are like, and what is offered to people so that they are willing to follow his will (Goffman, 1956). This is shown in the 2019 presidential election, where Joko Widodo and Prabowo Subianto are actively imaging online and on social media.

Imagery plays as an impression-shaping, publishes discourses and symbols, and depicts the figure of a political actor as ideally as possible. The politics of imagery also gives the people the view that the leader is a person who has a good nature, is close to the people, and cares about the condition of the people based on the appearance of the candidate in the media. This means that the people's assessment of a leader is more about the attitude displayed and published online or on social media. This indeed overrides the public's evaluation of the quality of a prospective leader because it is not conveyed massively (Sunaryo, 2014).

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