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# THE IMPACT OF IMAGERY ON JOKOWI-PRABOWO'S POLITICAL BEHAVIOR IN THE 2019 PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION

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## THE IMPACT OF IMAGERY ON JOKOWI-PRABOWO'S POLITICAL BEHAVIOR IN THE 2019 PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION

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### Abstract

*This article aims to determine the impact of Joko Widodo and Prabowo Subianto's imagery on the 2019 presidential election. Data is collected through Online kompas.com, liputan6.com, and tempo.co, detik.com media, and Twitter social media. This study used content analysis techniques through the Nvivo 12 Plus application using the Word cloud and crosstab features. Based on the results of the Nvivo 12 Plus analysis, it was found that the political impact of imaging affects communication and the intensity of social media use. In the communication aspect, the candidates will discuss more the political discourse needed by the people in the campaign period. Jokowi on Twitter discussed the economy and magic cards. Prabowo on Twitter discussed the political struggle. For the intensity of use, Jokowi experienced an increase from January to April 2019, and Prabowo experienced a lower power than Jokowi. This research also found that Jokowi's communication style on Twitter was more personal regarding mentions to Kaesang's account, while Prabowo communicated more often with GERINDRA party accounts.*

**Keywords:** *Imagery, Political Communication, and Intensity of Twitter Use*

### INTRODUCTION

Joko Widodo and Prabowo Subianto are presidential candidates competing since the 2014 presidential election. The strong influence of the two can be seen from the results of surveys conducted by several survey agencies so that political parties do not have the confidence to carry candidates from their party cadres. However, the condition has changed drastically since the 2014 elections, where the figure has a high level of popularity compared to party cadres, so it is more favored to become a leader (Rezza, 2014). Joko Widodo and Prabowo Subianto prove that popularity significantly impacts the chances of running for President.

By imagining politics using various symbols that continue to be spread in the media, they could get several votes that were not much different, namely 55.50 percent for Joko Widodo's vote and 44.50 percent for Prabowo Subianto's vote. In today's politics, when a candidate's spouse presents a political image in political advertising, it is no longer something taboo for politicians. Political advertising is presented to attract the people's attention when the election can be elected because it is already known by many people (Sufyanto, 2015). In Indonesia, we have witnessed many activities of politicians in achieving political goals when the elections and

regional elections are about to be held. Usually, one year before the implementation, most candidates have displayed advertisements in the media, on billboards, or on banners in the crowd.

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 and to the., 2018). This imaging style is a factor in boosting votes in the 2019 PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION so that Joko Widodo's name has successively defeated Prabowo Subianto Subianto during the democratic party in Indonesia. This is because Joko Widodo used various social media platforms to gain popularity (Maulina & Muttaqin, 2020; Wicaksono & Aziz, 2020). Despite this, Prabowo Subianto is also a political figure who likes to use imaginary politics; 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). These two candidates are knowledgeable in building a political image in the media.

The culture of imagery arises because of the impact of such vital media interests on politics and politics that are so dependent on the media. Both have a strong interest in strengthening their respective capitals to collaborate to achieve the same goal, namely the power of *opinion (opinion power)*. By supporting beliefs, a group will easily influence a person or even a group according to what is desired. Moreover, with the increasing development of digital media, Indonesia ranks third among whose people use social media platforms, namely 3.5 million people every hour (Saputra, 2019).

This means that the presence of social media as a digital platform provides many ways for politicians to image themselves by the social demands of a country (Dobson & Knezevic, 2018). We can find this phenomenon in the accounts of top politicians who have many followers, some of which are Joko Widodo, Donald Trump, Joe Biden, Fahri Hamzah, Mahfud MD, Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono, and others. The media will highlight figures backed by powerful political tools such as the economy and the media. Moreover, the current media has been transformed into a new mechanism of capitalism that is very effective in building political power (Silvestri, 2019).

This can be seen in several media, especially television, driven by powerful financiers in the country. Such as INDOSIAR, which belongs to the Salim Group, ANTV and TV One belong to the Abu Rizal Bakrie family, and Metro TV belongs to Surya Paloh. This means that during the political events in 2014 and 2019, the media, capital, and political actors have a strong connection in building a circle of power through narratives that create a positive image of a political actor. This kind of political model is all done in favor of political goals (Sufyanto, 2015). Analyzing the development of politics in Indonesia, as well as how the role of celebrities in it both as actors and as political understanding, one of the essential aspects that need to be studied is how the relationship between the media and politics, which until now has contributed significantly to

political patterns in Indonesia, especially for state officials and politicians (Sunarwan & Peter Surlia, 2021).

This is important to discuss, considering that celebrities are a form of intermedia that bridges political campaigns in the media. There is two central praxis in this case: politicized and *politicized media*. *Ploticised media* is a picture of how political interests already co-opt media independence. Politics is one of the contributors to news on a large scale that affects media reporting today. However, on the other hand, the media plays a significant role in the political pieces that political actors want to do (Poon et al., 2019). For example, the presentation about the public's desire for the figure of the leader needed is one of the baits that attract the attention of actors to play according to the wishes of the media, called *politicized media*.

These two terms show how the media's relationship with politics strongly influences each other. From this relationship, celebrities take on the role of political *endorsers* and simultaneously bridge two interests, namely media and political interests. This role can be taken directly by celebrities as professionals in entertainment and promotion or political actors such as state officials (Hasan & Satria, 2009). On the other hand, with the rapid development of the media, the roles of self-popularization using certain cultures have been crowded by state officials.

This phenomenon is then called imaging, which is used to increase the popularity of a political actor on the momentum of the presidential election. This certainly impacts political style, synonymous with advertising and symbol socialization through social media and *online media*. Therefore, this article examines the impact of presidential imaging candidates in 2019 when a political actor is trying to gain popularity by using media and social media.

### **Methodology**

The source of this research data is a social media platform, namely *Online news*, which has an intensity in highlighting the campaign activities of Joko Widodo and Prabowo Subianto in the period from January-April 2019 obtained from *online media* kompas.com, tempo.co, detik.com, and liputan6.com. In addition to *online media*, data is also taken from the social media platforms *Twitter @Jokowi* (Joko Widodo) and *@Prabowo* (Prabowo Subianto). Researchers chose news from online media and social media platform Twitter because it is the most widely used social media platform to do imaging both done personally and done by a successful team of prospective couples.

This research uses a qualitative approach with content analysis techniques. The chosen content analysis technique is discourse analysis, in which researchers collect data from social media *platforms* and Online news analyzed through the Nvivo12 Plus application. This analysis can also be interpreted as a technique of objectively, systematically, and quantitatively deciphering data. This analysis, also called qualitative semantics, aims to analyze text messages delivered in

the media. This study uses the features available in Nvivo12 Plus to analyze data, namely the *Ncapture* part 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 the discourse, issue, or narrative of the candidate's partner under study, *a crosstab* feature to find the actor's correlation with the topic being discussed.

### Imaginary Articulation on Candidates' Political Behavior

Political parties in the era of advances in information technology have experienced a decline or even not being trusted in carrying out the mandate of people's representatives, thus smearing the face of political parties with various negative cases, especially corruption cases (Widoyoko, 2016). Some non-party people use this factor to increase popularity by branding themselves online and on social media. So that in 2014 and 2019, the party, in some momentum, had to be forced to propose to someone who had popularity and a positive image in society to be carried in the general elections representing the party. As a result, cadres of political parties at any level are forced to be satisfied only by becoming a successful team because of a lack of popularity.

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 were first 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. Then, darting from a story that has already been dramatized, symbols appear attached to a person and make it strong electability (Baudrillard, 1981). Finally, 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.

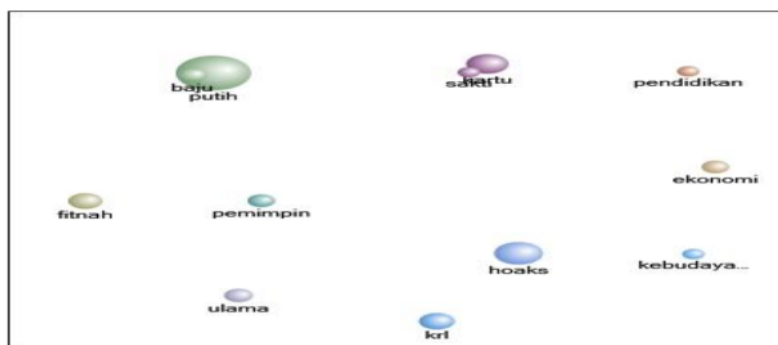


Figure 1: Joko Widodo's Communication on Media Online/source: Nvivo 12 Plus

Based on the research results in online media, Joko Widodo imaged himself through the White Shirt symbol, which aims to convey to the public that he is a clean leader from corrupt behavior. In his oration, he called on his supporters to 'wear white' when going to the Polling Station (TPS); in addition to making it easier for the campaign team to identify, it was also a sign that Joko Widodo is a clean person and worthy of being a leader. Joko Widodo promoted the 'white shirt' as shown in the Online media because he had never been entangled in any case during his time as President. Therefore, the 'white shirt' symbol for Joko Widodo symbolizes cleanliness and sincerity as a leader.

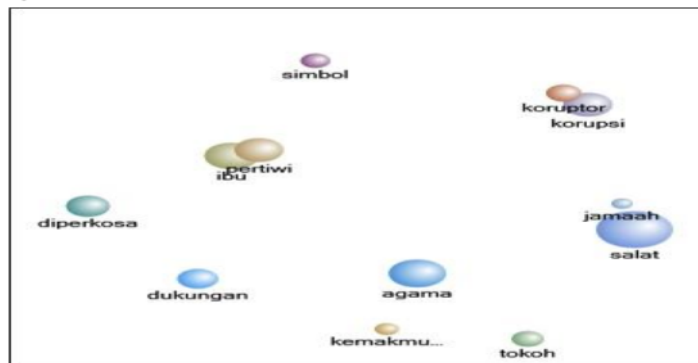
The image with the symbol 'Baju Putih' emphasizes the figure of Joko Widodo, who wants to be regarded as a clean leader. The political idea built by Joko Widodo through online media is a way to build trust in front of the public; political advertising is beneficial as a communication tool so that the public knows the content of the thoughts we are going to convey. Political advertisements containing ideals, symbols, and ideologies can attract society's attention to assess the appropriateness of a person to be elected leader (Goffman, 1956). With the media's role always highlighted, a figure is born that forms support from society (Azhar, 2017).

Joko Widodo is the same, with his success in leading Surakarta as mayor and his blouse style, which is very often highlighted by the media. Even Joko Widodo is known as a leader who is close to the people because of his blouse style (Asmara, 2016). Through this blouse, Joko Widodo became a simple and popular political figure. He is considered the antithesis of former President SBY, who was very elite and elegant when he became a leader. So it is natural that the media often reports on Joko Widodo as a famous leader, willing to get along, and straightforward. Joko Widodo is polished with an image that adapts to the people's conditions to attract public attention to vote for him. Researchers discussed that the imaging model built by Joko Widodo is a form of investment for him to remain known as a simple and famous person so that the voices of small people such as farmers, fishermen, factory workers, and market traders can be drawn.

In addition to being an active figure to interact with the people, people in Indonesia also need a clean leader from corruption. So Joko Widodo as the presidential candidate, made the 'white shirt' a symbol of his political practice that is clean from corrosion. Moreover, Joko Widodo's political imagery in online media impacts the support gained. Through an imaging strategy in the media, Joko Widodo, who in some momentum made *white clothes* as campaign clothes, showed that he was a figure clean from political immorality (Pusparimba and to the., 2021). Moreover, the Indonesian people are so uneasy about the acts of corruption committed by officials that they demand the birth of a prospective leader committed to eradicating corruption. As Goffman has said, the person who portrays himself in the media always corresponds to the segments worked on in his politics (Goffman, 1956).

At the same time, Prabowo Subianto is also actively reported as a religious figure and close to Muslims. In the case of the 2019 presidential election, Prabowo emerged as a persistent figure and was not afraid to crack down on those who injured the Law. But the most highlighted thing is that when all the open campaigns carried out in the 2019 presidential elections were powerful with religious nuances, he was called a candidate for leadership who was holy and respected the interests of Muslims. This is not surprising because of the support the majority gets from Islamist groups members of the 212 alliance (Qorib & Saleh, 2020). Furthermore, Prabowo Subianto is always reported with thick religious rituals when campaigning; this is seen from the "pilgrim prayers" issue depicted in Nvivo 12 plus.

Figure 2: Prabowo Subianto's Communication in Online Media/Source: Nvivo 12 Plus



Through reports in online media, the imaging style carried out using religious symbols such as Prabowo is commonly done when looking at the majority of the population of this country are Muslims. Political interests drive this action, and the demand for good behavior from society encourages a person to image himself through symbols of Language, clothing actively, or it can be with religious symbols. According to Pierre Boedieu, it becomes the leading force for a politician for the existence of self-standing used to strengthen the self-image amid the public (Bourdieu, 1979). By being affiliated with the media, these symbols can be material for the people to judge the appropriateness of a person in leading (Goranson & Kastriba, 2019). Especially with the rapid development of technology, people in modern times can already judge a person's behavior.

The religious symbol is the main symbol displayed by Prabowo Subianto so that the majority of Muslims' votes can be obtained in the 2019 presidential election. This is shown in figure 2, where Prabowo Subianto was familiar with religious symbols during the campaign. So most Indonesians consider that Prabowo Subianto is running for President at the instigation of Muslims (Rezza, 2014). This is why imagery is needed by cooperating with certain symbols to legitimize the behavior of politicians as good figures and have similarities with the public in smoothing out political interests that are strengthened by active communication. Similarly, the



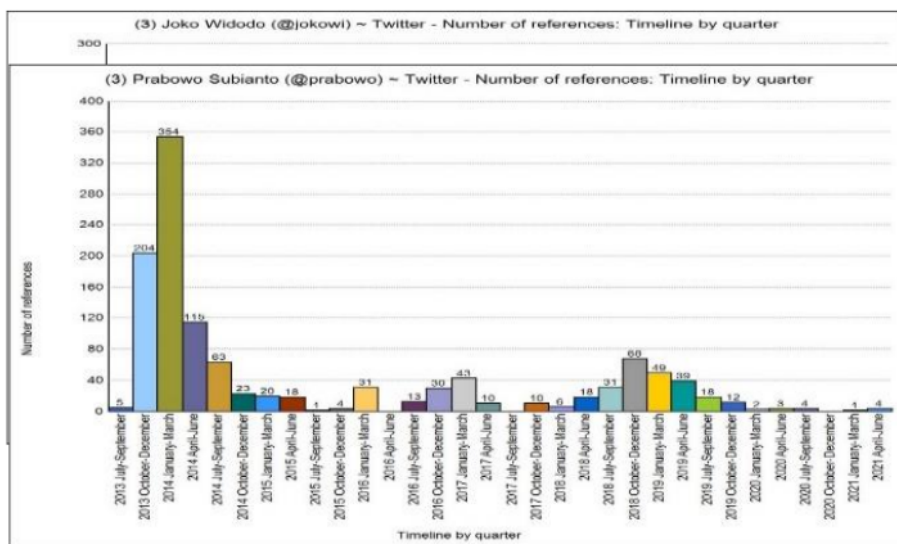
research carried out by Fathul Qorib and Muhammad Saleh showed that symbols highlighted in imaging are essential for society so that a person can be judged and defined (Qorib & Saleh, 2020).

To bring that up, politicians are working together to improve their image by using the media as a tool. Presenting oneself as a figure who nurtures, gives input, and breaks old habits that are considered not in harmony with the times has always been a natural thing to be displayed by politicians who are motivated to become famous persons (Yudarwati, 2017). In line with that, the political actor as a central figure acts as a drawer of public sympathy and empathy to always be centered on him. The most widely used strategy is attracting celebrities with a large following in an area (Pal, 2019).

**Articulation of Political Candidate Imagery on Twitter**

Twitter is a social media platform that politicians actively use to publish their political discourse, vision, or ideology to build self-charm in front of the public. One proof is that the communication activities of political actors are very intensive in political momentums. For example, from the Nvivo 12 Plus analysis results, @jokowi and @prabowo accounts in January-March 2019 and April-June 2019 have different percentages. This is because the intensity of Joko Widodo's interactions in that month was very active compared to other months. Meanwhile, the @prabowo account from the picture above does not show the percentage of intensive interactions like the @jokowi account (144:49). Though Twitter is a widely used platform to interact with the public without any restrictions. We can see this through the results of the Nvivo12 Plus analysis below:

Figure 3: Comparison of the intensity of Twitter usage on @jokowi & @prabowo /Source Nvivo12 Plus:  
 Twitter





Even Twitter in political momentum can be a valuable medium to socialize the political ideas owned by actors supported by the opening of interaction spaces for anyone so that they can make public with political actors. So Twitter has an efficient function to build communication with anyone, supported by a broad reach to make its users free to communicate with anyone, especially if it has to do with the political information built by the candidates.

From this research, we can also see netizens' responses to the political narratives of presidential candidates on Twitter. The reports presented by the two candidates received mixed reactions from netizens. This response was obtained through *the search text* feature in the Nvivo12 Plus application when researchers wanted to find out the reaction of several accounts to the candidates' narratives or communication. One of *the tweets* when Jokowi discussed the economy could be seen as follows:

*"Mr. Jokowi's oath, we are already exhausted in the era of your government!! All-round checking, people"*. Said @Aksan Pranata's account

*"Excuse me, sir, what about the situation of palm CPO and the price of palm oil FFB, sir, the cost of pak is very2 declining."* Submitted by @ntahaloknya account.

Some replied with the *comment*, *"The important thing is that the people are happy, side"* from the @republikdagelan account.

Meanwhile, Prabowo received several responses with posts on Twitter when narrating his struggles during the campaign.

*Mr. President. Kang ojek said, "Congratulations" on the father's election as the 8th President of the Republic of Indonesia". I'm sorry I'm ahead of Allah Almighty's Destiny but based on the calculations that Kang Ojek did until now. So, once again, CONGRATULATIONS and kang ojek leave guard and care for this nation."* Said the @RomitsuT account.

There was also another reply from the @generasi.news account that said:

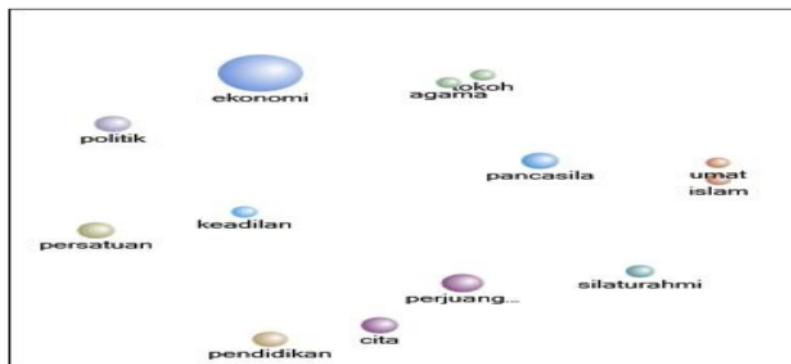
*"There should be a sense of shame that looks at the political friends who always lost in the past few presidential elections, the suggestion me, if want to serve the country and the people, do not have to be president."*

Another account, @cengberkah64, retorted, *"Dg President sekarang people's lives are more complex, and poverty is more increased the most appropriate people's decision #gantipresiden.com. Its President Prabowo aja sudah real promises and his actions aretiqomah"*

Here are some of the public's responses to Jokowi and Prabowo's narrative on social media. At first glance, we can judge that the public does not all give positive and negative

reactions to both of them as presidential candidates. The content discussed by political actors is the primary weapon to attract support from society (Sunarwan & Peter Surlia, 2021). A person's ability to assure the quality of government to be built can impact the political support obtained. Especially in Indonesia, the economic development discourse is a fundamental discussion for the Indonesian people. Research conducted by Sufyanto (2015), written in the book *Political Celebrity* revealed that the public's assessment of the figure of a politician would affect the support obtained; when a politician promotes himself as a figure desired by the community, the chances of winning are wide open.

Gambar 4: @Jokowi & @prabowo account communication on Twitter/Nvivo 12 Plus Source: Twitter



Imagery that uses the media as a stage for political interests contributes significantly to the framing of the public towards Joko Widodo and Prabowo Subianto (Ikasari & Arifina, 2020). As found in Nvivo 12 Plus, Joko Widodo has framing as a clean figure as a leader and has a political discourse that could ensure the welfare of the community. Meanwhile, Prabowo Subianto is a religious figure willing to fight for the people's interests through political channels. What Joko Widodo and Prabowo Subianto published as political actors in the momentum of the 2014 and 2019 presidential elections is a reality in itself for the media industry and Indonesia's political reality. Strengthening political discourse on social media and strengthening symbols in Online media is done to get impressions from others

Imagery in the media is the right way to explore his identity that fits the character of society in Indonesia in choosing a leader (Irianto, 2014). Coupled with the existence of millennials who are so actively playing on social media, it significantly impacts the presence of political figures. Another thing that cannot be separated from the phenomenon of imaging is that it has become a media culture that fills people's free time. The presence of the media gives a lot of time for the public to pay attention to a lot of information, one of which is political information. If referring to the theory of Erving Goffman, the politics of imagery works at the instigation of political actors or political parties in establishing an ideal image that will be displayed to the public (Goffman, 1956).

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).

Through the socialization of symbols and political discourse, people believe that everything that is conveyed is something that will happen. Society forgets that political discourse gave something still in the mind's realm. However, because it was delivered repeatedly and massively in the media (stage play), the public finally believed and made it something that happened as it is. For example, when Prabowo Subianto spoke about his struggle during the campaign period, he said that the campaign process he has carried out so far is a struggle to help the people achieve prosperity. His posts that read, "*our struggle must be within the corridors of the constitution*" and "*fight for a sovereign nation*" are phrases that often appear on *Twitter* during campaign days as a symbol that Prabowo Subianto is a leader who is willing to fight for the interests of the nation and the state.

Meanwhile, Joko Widodo wants to be considered a figure who cares about the nation's economy. Many narratives presented by Joko Widodo on *Twitter* describe his political vision of the economy. By claiming that Indonesia's economy is one of the largest in Indonesia. He revealed that the effort to improve the country's economy is an investment. Through investment, people will have a more significant opportunity to work. Joko Widodo also revealed that *Indonesia's economy is in the top four in Southeast Asia, ranking below India*. Through this statement, Joko Widodo's most significant political focus is the economic area because it dramatically impacts people's lives. This shows that Joko Widodo is a figure who cares about the economy and considers that the economy is everything to the Indonesian people.

This is common because every human interaction always looks for information about the person through the impressions displayed (Shaili, 2019). For example, a political figure who visits a pesantren or Islamic-based mass organization must see a religious belief, using the style as befits the group visited. This was made so that the political figure would not lose face in the face of the people. This scene must be displayed in front of the stage so that people are impressed that what is shown is accurate. It is this situation that the simulation by Jean Baudrillard says, in which a person simulates a role according to the state of his environment so that a new reality is created that affirms that the position that a political actor is playing a part is indeed completely natural (Baudrillard, 1981).

## Conclusion

The articulation of imagery on the candidate's political behavior can be seen from the *framing* that appeared in the Online media and how the two candidates conveyed political discourse on *Twitter*. In online media, Jokowi is a figure who wants to be regarded as a potential leader who is clean from corruption and fake news through the white shirt symbol used in every campaign. Meanwhile, Prabowo is a figure who has a religious image because he is close to clerics, and campaign activities are carried out continuously with congregational prayers. Another impact of imagery in political momentum is the increasing intensity of the use of social media as a campaign stage, by narrating political discourse continuously by using *the mention* feature on *Twitter*.

In addition, the communication of the presidential candidates also focused on the political discourses during the campaign. This aims to increase public confidence in the candidates, so they have a great chance of becoming winners in the political constellation. Similarly, Erving Goffman said that a person promoting the media through advertising usually introduces who he is, what his goals are, what his competence is like, and what is offered to people so that they are willing to follow his will. This is shown in the 2019 presidential election where Joko Widodo and Prabowo Subianto are actively imaging online and on social media.

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