

Analysis of ALL JOKOWI MENS in the 2024 RI Presidential Election

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Abstract – All Jokowi Mens itself is indirectly a political tactic from Jokowi's political actors in facilitating the next steps of government to be in the hands of Jokowi supporters such as Ganjar Pranowo and Prabowo Subianto. The purpose of this article is to review the analysis of All Jokowi Mens in the 2024 RI presidential election. The method used is qualitative descriptive analysis, in which the data obtained is processed, reduced and analyzed to become an article. The findings state that the All Jokowi Mens Analysis is a depiction of Jokowi's tactics as a political actor in smoothing the steps for the two candidates for the 2024 RI presidential candidate who will fight for both Ganjar Pranowo and Prabowo Subianto. Therefore in presenting Jokowi as a political actor both in the form of self-image, where he plays two legs to endorse Ganjar and Prabowo regardless of Jokowi's corporate image as a PDIP who obeys party rules especially in implementing the party line to carry Ganjar Pranowo as a candidate for president of the Republic of Indonesia in 2024. As for multi-image and personal appearance, Jokowi is a political actor as well as a King Maker who plays his role competing with other political actors such as Megawati Soekarnoputri, Surya Paloh, Jusuf Kalla who sometimes has hot and cold relations with them. Added to this, Jokowi's role outside of political parties with his ranks of volunteers adds to the impression that to present the next government, it remains to be All Jokowi Mens.

Keywords – All Jokowi Mens, Jokowi, 2024 Indonesian Presidential General Election.

I. INTRODUCTION

The battle for the 2024 presidential candidates is in sight, where in recent times there have been shadows of three presidential candidates who will compete in the 2024 political contestation namely: Ganjar Pranowo, Prabowo Subianto and Anies Baswedan. This is also in line with the changing political map, in which the political parties which previously sat in the ranks of the current government have made moves to form a new political axis as a weapon for the 2024 election which coincides with legislative and executive elections. The first axis is the Koalisi Indonesia Bersatu (KIB) which is driven by Golkar, PAN and PPP which has continued to explore coalitions since mid-2022 when PPP finally decided to join the PDIP coalition. And the last one is that PAN and Golkar decided to carry Prabowo Subianto as a candidate for the 2024 presidential candidate, where previously there were non-parliamentary parties such as the Partai Bulan Bintang (PBB) and the Indonesian Solidarity Party (PSI) doing the same thing by carrying Prabowo Subianto. The second axis is the Change Coalition, which is driven by Nasdem, Democrats and PKS, this coalition is getting more intense when Nasdem openly proposes Anies Baswedan as a 2024 presidential candidate and continues to close himself with Democrats and PKS to determine the vice presidential candidate in accompanying the presidential candidate Anies Baswedan. The third axis is the Greater Indonesia Coalition which is driven by Gerindra and also PKB, where until now there has been no agreement regarding the presidential and vice presidential candidates from this coalition even though Gerindra has proposed Prabowo Subianto's name as a presidential candidate. The

last axis is the fourth axis which is likely to be filled by PDIP as the winning party for the 2014 and 2019 elections which has carried Ganjar Pranowo, followed by PPP, Hanura, Perindo. Therefore, of the several presidential candidates who will compete in 2024, both Ganjar Pranowo, Prabowo Subianto and Anies Baswedan, are trying to raise their respective images to attract public sympathy. In writing, this article does highlight the role of Joko Widodo as a political actor, where both directly and indirectly played quite an intensive role in playing his political role to carry two presidential candidate figures, namely Ganjar Pranowo and Prabowo Subianto as successors to the policies he had compiled. during the two terms of his reign. Therefore, the image of a Joko Widodo needs to be reviewed in this paper.

This article will also review some of the image dynamics that emerged from the two candidates. RI presidential candidates for 2024 are Ganjar Pranowo and Prabowo Subianto. In research (Juniarti et al., 2018), (Panuju, 2017) (Fitri & Adeni, 2020) explains that political image is political identity. Image is a visualization of the attributes given and perceived by outsiders. This image can be in the form of reputation and credibility perceived by the public. (Muchtar, 2016) In presenting an image, of course, several supporting media such as social media etc. are needed, which will raise the positive image of the contestant in constructing his identity while offering political products that are attract and instil a strong positioning in the minds of constituents. (Fadiyah & Simorangkir, 2021) (Pramelani & Widyastuti, 2021) On the other hand, research from (Arafat & Rahmah, 2019) is supported by research results (Griebie & Immelman, 2020) and also (Kellner, 2017) (Niburski & Niburski, 2020) (Newman et al., 2021) which explains the five imaging steps that will be carried out by political candidates, including choosing content that is in accordance with the characteristics to be built, having media channels and publish it massively, be able to create an image that is embedded in the public's mind, measure the media channels that have been used and no less importantly try not to change the image that is considered successful. In research conducted by (Fadiyah & Simorangkir, 2021) and (Lee, 2021) in reviewing Jokowi's political communication, where Jokowi's image is quite strong in current image, image of desire and image of appearance, while mirror image and corporation are considered weak. This can be seen when there is a distance between PDIP and Jokowi who is more often seen comfortable with other parties. This context is in line with (Juniarti et al., 2018) in his research also explaining the design of a strategy in impression management, where the description of this research states that there are three strategies in shaping President Jokowi's impression management ahead of the 2019 presidential election. The three strategies include self promotion, ingratiation, and exemplification. (Feber & Christover, 2021) Therefore, impression management can also be defined as a technique used by actors to foster certain impressions in certain situations to achieve certain goals. (Fitri & Adeni, 2020). Goffman in (Maharanie Putri & Nurrahmawati, 2022) (Alvin, 2019) (Rustanta, 2020) states that when people interact, they want to present a self-image or self-presentation that will be accepted by others such as clothing, how to walk and talk can be used for self-presentation. (Heryanto, 2015) (Steffan, 2020) Therefore, it can also be described that the impression is an image that emerges from the side of representing a personal figure, in this case a political figure who is fighting in the 2024 presidential election. This context also implies that this representation is an interesting study because the candidate and the winning team process various images so that they look good and are voted for by the public on voting day.

II. METHOD

In writing this article, using qualitative analysis with descriptive analysis. The data obtained from several media both from online media and also some news in the mainstream media. Qualitative was chosen by the author considering that this variety is the most appropriate for understanding the text and context of the data to find out what meanings are specifically from the data obtained especially in several symbols and also statements that arise from political contestation as the embodiment of All Jokowi Mens in fighting over chair of the president of the Republic of Indonesia 2024. The data obtained is processed with the author's perception considering that the author's own perception is an instrument in influencing the quality of the writing raised.

III. RESULT AND DISCUSSION

As mentioned earlier, in the analysis of All Jokowi Mens, there is a political contestation battle among Jokowi's assistants in the government, namely between Ganjar Pranowo and Prabowo Subianto to get the status of the successor to the legacy of Jokowi's government. Both Prabowo Subianto and Ganjar Pranowo cannot be united politically even though throughout 2023, many parties want to unite these two candidates in one big boat, namely the grand coalition initiated by President Joko Widodo. The basic reason that is also quite strong between the two camps is the result of electability and the motor of political parties which are quite large which put the two presidential candidates at the top and also neither wants to give up their candidacy for president and vice president. The endorsement role carried out by President Joko Widodo long ago also had an extraordinary impact on the two presidential candidates, both Ganjar Pranowo and Prabowo Subianto. Indeed, if you look at that, of course, the position of President Joko Widodo cannot be underestimated, considering that after all these two candidates, these presidential candidates are classified as President Joko Widodo's confidants who will continue the legacy of President Joko Widodo in continuing the development that has been carried out so far by President Joko Widodo. Behind it all, of course, the scent of competition is quite strong between these two presidential candidates and each of course throws political maneuvers at each other. For the Central Java region, which is indeed a voice-gathering field for Ganjar Pranowo is also contested by the other two presidential candidates, Prabowo Subianto and Anies Baswedan.

Various attempts were made by Prabowo's support groups to gain public sympathy in Central Java. This cannot be separated from Prabowo Subianto's own maneuvers starting in early 2023 by approaching several national figures such as President Joko Widodo. Take a look again after the establishment of Ganjar Pranowo by the PDI-P at the Batu Tulis palace, Bogor, which coincided with Kartini's day April 21 2023 as well as H-1 Eid, Prabowo Subianto after the Eid prayer in Jakarta immediately rushed to Solo to stay in touch with President Joko Widodo. This context shows Prabowo's maneuvers for the first time and clearly to fight for the influence of the presidential legacy, where two days ago President Joko Widodo and the PDI-P had inaugurated Ganjar Pranowo as the RI presidential candidate which had been approved by Megawati Soekarnoputri. This was followed by various meetings, both national political figures and also clerics held by Prabowo Subianto. Not to be left behind, Ganjar Pranowo after being inaugurated as the RI presidential candidate from PDIP immediately stepped on the gas, where one car and one plane were seen with President Joko Widodo after leaving the Batu Tulis palace, Bogor.

Not only that, Ganjar Pranowo also attended the Eid prayer in Solo with President Joko Widodo. Through this, Ganjar Pranowo's image began to lift again and Ganjar Pranowo's magnet became the main attraction for other parties outside the PDIP to form a coalition in carrying Ganjar Pranowo as RI's presidential candidate. In the end, PPP, which was previously part of the KIB coalition with Golkar and PAN, took part and became the first party to officially support Ganjar Pranowo. So since that time the political dynamics in Indonesia have undergone changes, where there are PPP and PDIP which carry Ganjar Pranowo, while Gerindra and PKB continue to carry Prabowo Subianto plus Golkar and PAN who finally agree to nominate Prabowo Subianto. On the other hand, the political strength of President Joko Widodo's volunteers has also become one of the main pioneers apart from political parties, where indeed long ago the names Prabowo Subianto and Ganjar Pranowo were considered as heirs to President Joko Widodo's legacy to continue what President Joko had done. Widodo has been in power for the past 10 years. The emergence of various National Conferences from presidential volunteers Joko Widodo has also pocketed the names of the two presidential candidates, both Prabowo and Ganjar. Therefore, with various existing efforts, both carried out by the Prabowo and Ganjar groups, they began to decorate the media, both social media and social media mainstream coverage. Even so, this is also included in the category of fierce competition to get the legacy from President Joko Widodo.

In terms of electability, Prabowo Subianto's name has also soared in various survey institutions, beating Ganjar Pranowo. One of the things that caused Ganjar Pranowo to stagnate in survey institutions was the image of party officials. As is well known, the image of a "party official" is inherent in the party and often makes the public make many assumptions and most also assume that the executive and legislative candidates who come from PDIP when in power are feared to only be concerned with their party group not for the wider public interest.

Indeed, the issue of "party officials" has emerged since the time of President Joko Widodo running as a presidential candidate in 2014, but the difference is that Joko Widodo has separated from this image and has even been shown to have different views from Megawati Soekarnoputri on several matters. Of course, this context has not been seen in Ganjar Pranowo. From some of these presentations, the current public perception cannot turn away from the several events that occurred prior to

Ganjar Pranowo's presidential election on April 21, 2023. One of the events that caught the public's attention at that time was when Indonesia failed to host the World Cup. The U-20 has been thoroughly prepared. However, suddenly a wave of protests that were quite massive over the participation of the Israeli national team in the U-20 world cup broke out and several regional heads also rejected the Israeli national team's arrival to compete in the U-20 world cup in Indonesia, including Ganjar Pranowo. Apart from some contradictions, Ganjar refused the arrival of the Israeli national team for political reasons, rejecting Israel's foreign policy which still carries out colonialism in Palestine and this is in accordance with Soekarno's teachings not to establish relations with imperialist countries like Israel. In responding to this problem, the public itself has pros and cons regarding Ganjar Pranowo's stance. Public perception itself leads to Ganjar's attitude which mixes political issues in a sports event such as football and has an impact on Ganjar's electability decline after the incident. The public itself compares Joko Widodo with Ganjar Pranowo who are both "party officials", where Joko Widodo is still "able to maneuver to differ opinions" with party policies.

The rejection that resulted in the failure of Indonesia as the host for the U-20 World Cup has disappointed President Joko Widodo and in his statement ordered those who were considered to be making noise not to mix football affairs with political problems. One of the reasons for this is Ganjar Pranowo, who previously commented on the rejection of the Israeli U-20 national team, which was also echoed by PDIP itself. On that basis, public perception began to doubt Ganjar's figure if he was elected president of the Republic of Indonesia considering that this form of rejection of Ganjar was only a test in order to gain legitimacy from Megawati Soekarnoputri. Not only that, the image displayed by Ganjar Pranowo which is recorded on digital, both Instagram and Twitter, also does not carry many ideas that will later be used as concepts to govern the Republic of Indonesia if elected president.

Meanwhile, his rival, namely Prabowo Subianto, looks quite calm, where the fairly calm politics shown by Prabowo Subianto are indeed a backstage that is rarely highlighted or analyzed. This is in contrast to Prabowo Subianto personally when he entered the 2014 and 2019 RI presidential elections, which had more nuances of temperament. This context is quite interesting when the general election in 2024, according to KPU data, is attended by almost 60% of first-time voters who of course do not know more about Prabowo Subianto's character. Indeed, there has been a specific strategy behind the scenes, in which Prabowo has changed his style of political communication to attract first-time voters, and this is also true as evidenced by the results of several survey institutions in the last week, Prabowo managed to overtake Ganjar Pranowo in first place. . The style of political communication used by Prabowo is indeed similar to Jokowi's to gain public sympathy and the results themselves are also quite spectacular. From several observations, Prabowo's change in political communication style was largely due to the influence of President Jokowi, who had attracted Prabowo, who was his political rival in 2014 and 2019, to enter the world of government and be seated as one of his ministers. During his time as one of President Jokowi's ministers, the closeness between Prabowo and Jokowi can indeed be classified as unique and very mutualism. This closeness has reduced the polarization which is quite strong from the impact of the 2019 election, although it is still visible but not as great as in 2019 and also Prabowo learned a lot from Jokowi. It needs to be underlined that Jokowi himself is a figure that is quite rare, the result of a combination of politicians and businessmen who are quite visionary, full of long-term calculations. This can be seen from the various policies that have been implemented it was decided whether it be IKN, Perpu Cipta Kerja and also downstreaming the industry, even though it was heavily criticized, Jokowi realized that his policies would be beneficial for Indonesia in the future.

This also had an impact on Prabowo, especially on the political communication carried out by Prabowo, which was very different from the style of political communication he carried out in 2014 and 2019. Of course the public still remembers how Prabowo's communication style was, which had many narratives of leaks, anti-foreign interests, etc., and this is different. far away when Prabowo recently announced that he would run for president and said that Ganjar and Anies are also the best sons in Indonesia who are also running as presidential candidates who should also be supported. If you look at this context, Prabowo's calm play has indeed succeeded in attracting public sympathy in addition to Prabowo's visits to several important figures since Eid has raised Prabowo's position as a figure who is calculated to get the legacy from President Jokowi.

Therefore, the figure behind all of them is Jokowi, where in the analysis of All Jokowi Mens, Jokowi's image cannot be separated which includes current image, corporate image, multi-image image, and self-image image.

1. Current Image

Looking at the context of the current image displayed by Jokowi at the moment, namely Jokowi as a political actor and Jokowi as a King Maker in the 2024 presidential election. The explanation can also be stated that Jokowi as a political actor has won political contests for 5 times with a record of 2 times won as regend of Solo, won 1 time as governor of DKI Jakarta, and won 2 times as president of the Republic of Indonesia in 2014 and 2019. Therefore Jokowi himself is a rare and influential figure in political dynamics in Indonesia. Indeed, from the several reasons that have been put forward in the front stage analysis, it can be seen that there are two major groups competing in the political contestation for the 2024 RI presidential election, namely the change group and the sustainability group. Although it has also been said in his explanation that it is a natural thing in a political contestation that opposes change and sustainability. In this backstage, alluding to sustainability, where in the sustainability camp there are indeed 2 presidential candidates who are close to President Jokowi, namely Ganjar Pranowo and Prabowo Subianto. Meanwhile, there are many who are far from President Jokowi's circle of power, namely Anies Baswedan it is assumed that he will be removed from the political stage in 2024.

President Jokowi himself has endorsed directly or indirectly to Ganjar Pranowo and Prabowo Subianto, where later the two names will become the president of the Republic of Indonesia in 2024. This support is indeed visible both from the front and back of the stage. For those behind the scenes, it is quite complicated considering that after all President Jokowi is still considered one of the PDIP cadres who has declared Ganjar Pranowo since April 21 2023, but on the other hand, President Jokowi also has hopes for Prabowo Subianto who incidentally is his closest minister to run as a presidential candidate. As mentioned earlier, President Jokowi plays on both legs to position himself as a king maker and secure the continuity of government programs that will be continued by his successor, who is still classified as Jokowi's person. So when viewed from the concept, then there are several kinds of scenarios. The first scenario is to combine the two political forces that President Jokowi has, namely Ganjar Pranowo and Prabowo Subianto to deal with Anies Baswedan's political power and win the results of the political contestation in 2024. However, this first scenario fails considering that Ganjar Pranowo and Prabowo Subianto are difficult to unite and they forward alone to become a presidential candidate and no one wants to give up being vice president. The second scenario, there are still 3 presidential candidates who will compete but it is predicted that there will be two rounds. Even so, Jokowi seems to have political hopes in Ganjar Pranowo and Prabowo Subianto, considering that after all, the two figures still rule the top ranks in several survey institutions. Not only that, President Jokowi's political game which was elegant enough to make a large coalition of several parties supporting his government functioned for the continuation of the programs and policies that had been carried out by President Jokowi to continue with his successor indirectly approved by President Jokowi be it Ganjar Pranowo or Prabowo Subianto.

2. Corporate Image

For this corporate image, it is in stark contrast to what Jokowi is doing now as a political actor, where in the regulations of the party organization that he oversees, namely PDIP, has its own rules. Within the PDIP, like it or not, Jokowi must fully support the policy issued by Megawati Soekarnoputri, namely to fully support the implementation of Ganjar Pranowo's nomination as a presidential candidate for the 2024 Republic of Indonesia. More precisely, in the last two years, Jokowi has started to endorse Ganjar Pranowo, starting from throwing out several codes intended for a specific purpose. One of the goals was to put pressure on the PDIP, which at that time had not yet made up its mind to nominate a presidential candidate from that party. Not only that, President Jokowi also endorsed Prabowo Subianto in every meeting session with the public by also throwing some codes and even strengthening it since Indonesia failed to host the U-20 world cup. The impact of Indonesia's failure to host the U-20 world cup has also made President Jokowi's relationship with Megawati Soekarnoputri was strained, in which both of them intended to become king makers. If we look back, the two king makers, both President Jokowi and Megawati Soekarnoputri, are indeed competing to instill influence on Ganjar Pranowo. From several sources, one of which was The Straits Times, which commented that it indicated that President Jokowi was not involved in the discussion of the PDIP presidential candidate. This continued in a Straits Times source who explained that Megawati also "ruled" Jokowi's role in choosing a vice presidential candidate for Ganjar and that had driven a distance between Jokowi and Megawati. Previously, President Jokowi had also proposed two names for Ganjar Pranowo, namely Erick Thohir and Sandiaga Uno, but Megawati only responded coldly. As is well known, these two names, both Erick and Sandiaga, play a large enough role for Jokowi's political dynamics. Erick in 2019 became the head of the Jokowi-Ma'aruf winning team and also became one of the biggest donors to expand Jokowi in the second period. Meanwhile, Sandiaga, who is also his former rival in 2019, is also considered

to have contributed to Jokowi in winning his son-in-law, Bobby Nasution, to become the mayor of Medan and also classified as one of the ministers loyal to Jokowi. Seen from Megawati's own eyes, Megawati is "uncomfortable" with Jokowi's closeness to Prabowo and getting closer after the nomination of Ganjar Pranowo from PDIP. From this view, it implies that Jokowi is interfering too much in political matters and is deliberately trying to get close to Prabowo even though he is still within the framework of the grand coalition.

3. Multi-Image Image

The multi-image image is related quite intensely to the current image displayed by Jokowi, where this multi-image is Jokowi as a political actor and also as King Maker to promote All Jokowi Mens. When referring to the King Maker, it is very clear that the relationship between Jokowi and the other king makers does look hot and cold. In the corporate image itself, it has also been mentioned how Megawati's relationship with Jokowi looks ups and downs and indicates that Jokowi cannot be controlled by Megawati. Not only that, Jokowi's relationship with other king maker candidates such as Surya Paloh and Jusuf Kalla also had ups and downs. Jokowi's relationship with Surya Paloh fell apart, where this emerged after Surya Paloh and his party, Nasdem nominated Anies Baswedan as a presidential candidate. This is indeed a three hundred and sixty degree comparison considering that after all Surya Paloh was very close to President Jokowi and Surya Paloh was the first person with Nasdem to carry Jokowi as president both in period 1 and period 2. Nasdem was not invited to the meeting at the palace and also the silence of several ministers from Nasdem has made the distance between Surya Paloh and President Jokowi become increasingly tenuous. Nasdem's own ambiguous position, namely remaining in government as part of a government coalition and also playing its role as an opposition in criticizing the course of Jokowi's government policies with PKS and Democrats, is also a separate consideration for President Jokowi to keep his distance from Nasdem and Surya Paloh. Not only Surya Paloh who stands behind Anies Baswedan, there is also Jusuf Kalla who has also been close to Anies Baswedan for a long time. As is well known, Jusuf Kalla was a former vice president of SBY and also a former president of Jokowi in the first period and at the same time demonstrated his position as a reliable politician in both of these periods. Together with Surya Paloh, Jusuf Kalla is also counted as the king maker in proposing Anies Baswedan to become the 2024 RI presidential candidate with various forms of consequences. Armed with a fairly long track record in every government, Jusuf Kalla has potential bargaining power for parties supporting the current government except for the PDIP. However, from some of the existing competition, the role of President Jokowi as a king maker with the practice of "cawe cawe" is quite large compared to Megawati, Surya Paloh and Jusuf Kalla.

4. Image Appearance of self

For this self-appearance image, it is a combination of current image, corporate image and multi-image image that in fact Jokowi himself is a political actor and also a King maker who is able to exert his political influence on other political parties outside the PDIP through his ranks of volunteers. In the Jokowi era, the role of volunteers was able to dampen the interests of supporting political parties. Indeed, this went well in the era of President Jokowi, bearing in mind that during the two terms, President Jokowi did maintain thousands of volunteers who were members of several elements of volunteer organizations, both registered and unregistered. So by looking at this, it is related to what was discussed in the third point, namely in the competition between king makers, President Jokowi has a quite big role. In line with this, this is part of the strategy as mentioned above, where one of its functions is to bumper the president's political power. As usual, volunteers in political contests, after the election event ends, should disband themselves. However, in the era of President Jokowi, the role of volunteers after the 5-year political contest ended did not dissolve and continued and was often not in line with the political parties supporting the government. This can be seen from the existing political dynamics and it is not uncommon for them to clash with the interests of political parties. Indirectly, this also created ups and downs with several parties supporting the government, including the PDI-P.

IV. CONCLUSION

The All Jokowi Mens analysis is a depiction of Jokowi's tactics as a political actor in smoothing the steps for the two candidates for the 2024 RI presidential candidate who will fight, both Ganjar Pranowo and Prabowo Subianto. Therefore in presenting Jokowi as a political actor both in the form of self-image, where he plays two legs to endorse Ganjar and Prabowo regardless of Jokowi's corporate image as a PDIP cadre who obeys party rules especially in implementing the party line to carry Ganjar Pranowo as a candidate for president of the Republic of Indonesia in 2024. As for multi-image and personal

appearance, Jokowi is a political actor as well as a King Maker who plays his role competing with other political actors such as Megawati Soekarnoputri, Surya Paloh, Jusuf Kalla who sometimes has hot and cold relations with them. Added to this, Jokowi's role outside of political parties with his ranks of volunteers adds to the impression that to present the next government, it remains to be All Jokowi Mens.

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