

The Comparison of Jokowi and Prabowo Subianto Exposed on YouTube

by Redi Panuju

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The Comparison of Jokowi and Prabowo Subianto Exposed on YouTube

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Abstract

This article reviews the exposure ratio of Jokowi and Prabowo in the YouTube channel. Joko Widodo's alias, Jokowi, is the President of the Republic of Indonesia 2014-2019. He will re-join the 2019 presidential election, while Prabowo Subianto is a challenger who is supported by the Gerindra Party and the Prosperous Prosperity Party. The analytical method uses the semiotic concept of Strauss and John Fiske, who view the video as a sign system. The sign system is parsed through five political codes: lifestyle, transfer of power, existence, ideology and vision. This study finds that, in general, Jokowi's videos were more visited and preferred than Prabowo's videos, but Prabowo excelled in the transfer code of power, existence and ideology. In the video, Jokowi tends to impress himself as a person who has several characters. As the President of Indonesia, Jokowi displays a diligent character. As a political activist, Jokowi reinforces his ideology as a nationalist. As a citizen, Jokowi imitates the figure who adheres to the values of tradition. As a man, Jokowi impressed himself as a humanist. Prabowo tends to feature a lavish lifestyle with equestrian sport with a historical background of the descendants of an economic Democrat Prof Sumitro Djohadikusumo and associates himself like Soekarno. Prabowo tends to show his affiliation to the right Islamists. The contestation of the 2019 presidential election followed by Jokowi and Prabowo will show the battle of two different sources of legitimacy.

Keywords:

exposure; image; political code; sign; YouTube

Introduction

The efforts of political figures to approach the constituents via face-to-face communication with the community are not enough, because these take a lot of time, need good stamina and contain higher field risks. President Jokowi is known for using the *blusukan* (impromptu visit) strategy during the contestation to become a presidential candidate in 2014, by coming to his mass base during various activities. However, that strategy is supported by other communication techniques, i.e., mass media exposure (print, audio and audio/visual) and online media.

If the above is understood as a phenomenon of marketing communications,

assuming political support as a buying behavior of what the marketer (political figure) is doing, what Jokowi does is called "integrated marketing" (Morison, 2015), which is marketing using all the promotion techniques ranging from advertising, direct marketing, publicity, public relations and personal sales, to interactive marketing. All types of promotions are operated through all available media.

Nowadays, the internet media increasingly shows its dominance in marketing activities, including political marketing. Morison (2015) said, in the history of communication technology, there is no capable media that is able to match the internet in terms

of the growing users. The internet defeated the entire media as a reference to get references. Television may still be relied on by the public, but only for entertainment; as for reference information, according to Duncan (2005), it only ranks fourth, while the internet is the first.

In Indonesia, the media access behavior will slowly change. Based on survey results, there is a tendency for print media penetration to get smaller while internet media strengthens. In Indonesia, internet media penetration is not new, but a trend continues to increase every year. Based on Nielsen Consumer Media View survey conducted in 11 cities in Indonesia, television penetration is still leading with 96% followed by outdoor media (53%), internet (44%), radio (37%), newspapers (7%), tabloid and magazines (3%). The existence of the internet as a media with a high level of penetration is an indication that the Indonesian people are increasingly fond of accessing various content through digital media (Nielsen, 2017).

The Kompas.com (October 24, 2017) published a survey conducted by the Association of Indonesian Internet Network Providers (APJII); it shows that half of Indonesia's population is connected to the internet. The number of internet users in Indonesia is 132.7 million, while the population of Indonesia is 256.2 million. This number indicates that internet users rose more than 51% from 2014. In 2014, new internet users accounted for 88 million.

Experts call the internet media a new media, because it has different characteristics (new) than the previous media. With the new media, the previous media was called conventional media. These new characteristics can extend beyond traditional media, messaging broadcast patterns such as blurring geographical boundaries, interaction capacity and most importantly, they can be done anytime (in real time). David Beer (2008); Nasrullah (2014) mention the characteristics of the new media

in terms of network, interactivity, information, interface, archive and simulation.

The shift in the use of social media from the purpose of "imaging" to "enlightenment" occurred in mid-2013. The indication can be seen from the fact that elite social media communications are highly authoritative, formalistic, permissive, and go one-way. Politicians are becoming interested in using social media as an imaging strategy (Jati, 2016).

Public awareness of the importance of bringing together various communication media raises ideas to create creative ways of campaigning. Arianto (2014) discovered the fact that creative ways of incorporating information technology with conventional campaigns were made in the 2014 presidential election campaign. The emergence of creative campaign models in 2014 presidential contestation, which puts the creativity and the art as a priority. The forms of creative campaigns such as video, music, gaming applications and visual designs supported by the advancement of information technology, have been able to transform from conventional campaign models to modern campaigns. Creative campaigns can be an effective channel of political communication to build a participatory culture. In addition, creative campaigns are very positive in encouraging changes in the political behavior of citizens, which then gives birth to political excitement.

This new media makes it easier for people to communicate in the sense that it can expand its communication network and is not limited by place, time or target. They can then interact directly with their communicating opponents, can disseminate unlimited information and can even access information according to the desired time, as the information in cyber media is stored in ready-to-serve documents and ready to access. Previously, people could be disappointed when blocked from watching an episode of soap operas on television; missing it once would mean missing the only

opportunity, but now people can look for the pending spectacle on the internet, whether via YouTube or otherwise.

YouTube was founded by 3 former PayPal employees, namely Chad Hurley, Steve Chen and Jawed Karim, in February 2005. In July 2006, 65,000 new videos were uploaded to this site and watched by 100 million per day. At the end of 2006, YouTube was bought by Google Inc and with projected earning for 2008 reaching 200 million USD and watched by more than 6 billion per day. YouTube originally uploaded more video entertainment videos such as movies and music, but now everyone is free to upload videos to the site. Thus, YouTube has become a gigantic visual media in the world that contains all the things that the audience wants.

Leaders of political figures have used this media as a way of influencing audiences to gain support. Jokowi and Prabowo Subianto upload their videos via YouTube. The breadth of those who uploaded the videos of Jokowi and Prabowo must have been above his knowledge; the people who are around should have talked about it.

It is hard to deny their video content is watched by countless viewers, both supportive and contra. Little or much video content from Jokowi and Prabowo will be interpreted to have a political purpose, namely, to build a positive image. Both must be aware that media exposure must be properly managed for increasing public support and decreasing resistance. Therefore, it is natural that when Jokowi visited the United States, he took the opportunity to meet the owner of Google Inc, Pichai Sundarajan, in Googleplex in Silicon Valley, California, in February 2016.

Politicians see the importance of the internet because it has its own advantages and disadvantages. As Danesi says (2010), the digital galaxy is an extension or branch of the Gutenberg Galaxy. That means functionally, the media has the same function, i.e., mediating

intents, interests and other representations. Because of its expansion, it is possible that audiences also have the same potential to expand their media mediation. So, if audiences do not believe in one galaxy, they will choose to use another galaxy. If the audiences think television is not objective in mediating a particular representation, for example, because the owner of a television station cannot be independent of the pressure of political interest (the owner of the television could be the party leader), then the audience will seek information from other media galaxy exposures. Therefore, social media content that is often different or opposed to the mainstream media is likely due to an extension as defined by Danesi. For politicians, it is important to consider such media restrictions in order not to lose exposure.

Through YouTube, users have the freedom to manage messages in accordance with their wishes, as well as to measure their effectiveness, because on the wall of the video is an available page for the audience to comment. Users can count how many comments are negative and how many are positive; even users can manage comments through the mobilization of the follower to comment either positively or negatively. Furthermore, it can also mobilize the follower to click the thumbnail pointing up, the "I like this" sign or otherwise clicking the thumbs down which means "I dislike this." YouTube keeps track of total video visitors to represent dominance regarding public attention. In short, through YouTube, audiences are given the opportunity to interact and simultaneously select their tendencies.

Technology, according to Jan Van Dijk (2012), can function as freedom, but it can also control. Taste, interest, and attention boils down to the YouTube video object. Pros and cons (agree and disagree) stops on the cyber world, relatively not being a horizontal conflict. The internet at a certain level is a means of learning to mature in the community, nation

and country. Even in political contexts, Van Dijk states the internet is a tool or a way to build democracy.

Public spaces that previously tended to be in a sociological context, such as in the central government during the royal period, were usually meant for the public to hold a joint event. The airy place is called "alunalun." Relics of the model "public space," similar to the place that still find in the palace of Jogja. In front of the royal palace, used as a place of ceremony Sekatenan in Muharam (the beginning of the new year for Islam, Hijriyah), the alunalunkidul was used to hold a musical performance, traditional arts and food bazaar. Alun Alun is a place where people gather to express their sense of membership as Javanese with a certain tradition. Now the "public space" has slowly morphed into cyberspace. Borrowing the concept of self-awareness in the "public space" of Jurgen Habermas (Hardiman, 2010) individuals have shifted from the empirical world to the cyber world.

Piliang (2011) states that although society still interacts with others, this era of reform is no longer in a real community. In the internet or the virtual world, humans form a social network. With the support of networking and relationships among fellow groups online, the community, especially young people, will be more likely to connect with their peers to share interest in various things (Sugihartati, 2014). The media allows them to share information, ideas and attitudes, including political opinions. In this context, it is precisely what Van Dijk calls the internet as an instrument of democracy.

Prasetyo (2014) exposed why exposing Joko Widodo or Jokowi and Prabowo Subianto is important to research. These two figures are now ready to advance in the election of the President of the Republic of Indonesia in 2019. Previously, both fought in the Presidential Election in 2014. Jokowi paired with HM Yusuf Kalla and Prabowo paired with Hatta Rajasa. Jokowi won the fight within numbers of vote. Joko Widodo - Jusuf

Kalla became the winner with a vote of 70,997,833 votes or 53.13% while the Prabowo-Hatta pair gained 62,576,444 votes or 46.84%.

Tasandra (2017) informs that support for Jokowi as a presidential candidate in 2019 at least has been obtained from parties that have been in coalition with his government. The support of Jokowi's political party has at least been declared by the Golkar Party, the United Development Party (PPP), the Hanura Party, the Indonesian Justice and Unity Party (PKPI), the Indonesian Solidarity Party and the Parindo Party. Prabowo Subianto got support from his party, Gerindra and PKS.

Who is Joko Widodo, aka Jokowi? Jokowi is the 7th President of the Republic of Indonesia (2014-2019), born in Surakarta, Central Java on June 21, 1961. He had a nickname when he was kid: Mulyono. His education history began at Elementary School 112 Tirtoyoso, known as a school for the lower middle-class socioeconomic community. He went on to Junior High School 1 Surakarta and Senior High School 1 Surakarta, but failed; then he went to Senior High School 6 Surakarta. He obtained higher education from the Faculty of Forestry Universitas Gadjah Mada, where he received an engineer degree (Ir). In 2005, he was elected as Mayor of Solo, Central Java and Governor of DKI Jakarta in 2012. In 2014, Jokowi, was elected as President of RI; however, he was previously known as a furniture businessman and was active in political parties (PDIP).

Who is Prabowo Subianto? Prabowo currently serves as Chairman of the Great Indonesia Movement Party (Gerindra). Born in Jakarta October 17, 1951, he is known as the son of economist at the time of President Soeharto (New Order) Prof. Sumitro Djojohadikusumo. He also had careers in the military to the rank of Major General (Maj.) and served as Chairman of HKTI (Association of Indonesian Farmers Association) from 2008-2015. In 2014, he ran for President of the Republic of Indonesia but was defeated by Jokowi.

Methods

This study uses semiotic analysis. In the study of communications, the focus of semiotics is to explore the hidden meaning behind the use of symbols that are then analogized as a text or language. The analysis model uses the semiotics scalpel from Ferdinand de Saussure and Fiske. De Saussure was a linguistic scientist born in Geneva (1857) who died in 1913. Hjelmslev, a Denmark structuralist, developed the continental semiotics theory that continued to be developed by Charles Sanders Peirce and more (Sambas, 2016).

Saussure describes semiotics as the study of signs as part of social life. Semiotics is then elaborated as a tripartite relationship that is a sign which is a combination of a signifier and signified. The signifier represents the element of form or content, while the signified represents the element of concept or meaning (Hermawan, 2011).

According to Fiske, semiotics in communication is defined not only as a process of delivering messages but also as production and exchange of meaning. At this level, communication always involves sign and code. A sign is a material or action that points to "something," while code is a system in which signs are organized; it determines how signs are associated with others (Hermawan, 2011).

Therefore, in this study, the film is assumed to be a collection of signs in the form of signifiers (content and form of video in YouTube) and signified (that contain concepts or meanings). Then, signifier and signified are parsed by certain codes to make a synthesis meaning. The identification process of research tools is as follows: The signs are the title of Jokowi and Prabowo videos that are uploaded on YouTube. The title becomes a sign of its uploader framing with the purpose of establishing a particular general meaning. Signifiers are narrations of Jokowi and Prabowo that are analogous to the text or the content of the video and the accompanying visualization; that is a concrete

form of the idea in the narrative. Signified represents the concepts or meanings formed by Jokowi, and Prabowo Code is a sign system that connects meaning with something else (politics). That code is something that is a source of political support. It consists of lifestyle codes, transfer of power code, code of existence, ideology code, and code of vision.

The subject of the video examined in this study is a video that has been uploaded on YouTube and is relevant to the specified code, with five videos in each. The conclusions obtained are applied on the level of image representation, i.e., how Jokowi and Prabowo represented their impression in the video. It can be an early clue to the disadvantages and advantages of Jokowi and Prabowo as the 2019 Presidential Candidates.

Results and Discussion

The observations were aimed at 5 Jokowi and Prabowo videos according to the existing code categories:

Analysis of the Signs in the Code

We begin to examine code (1), which is about lifestyle. Jokowi's video (<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=BPZq-aVatI0>) as a signifier shows the figure of Jokowi playing with his grandson in the pool until his sarong is wet. As a signified, the image has a deep meaning, especially when associated with the value that developed in the Javanese community. Most Indonesian people come from the Javanese ethnic group, which respects the Javanese political values. Firmanzah (2010) mentions the Javanese political values: appreciate calm, courteous, dignified in appearance, as well as physical above average ordinary people. Other experts, Eriyanto (2000) call the value of Javanese political culture as "harmony"; people prefer people who have the ability to adapt to their environment. From these two indications, we can see that the video contains all the values.

Table 1.
Five Videos of Jokowi based on Support Source Code

No	Code	Sign	https
1	Lifestyle	<i>Sarungnya Mbah Jokowi Basah - Liburan Main Bareng Cucu, Jan Ethes</i> (The Sarong of Grandfather Jokowi is Wet – Holiday with Grandchildren, Jan Ethes)	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=BPZq-aVatI0
2	Transfer of power	<i>Megawati Temui Presiden Jokowi di Istana</i> (Megawati Meet President Jokowi at the Palace)	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=c8mtErgEmI8
3	Existence	<i>Terima Kain Ulos, Presiden Jokowi aan Ibu Iriana - Pesta Adat Pernikahan Kahiyang Ayu di Medan</i> (Accepting Ulos Cloth, President Jokowi and Mrs. Iriana - Kahiyang Ayu Traditional Wedding Party in Medan)	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=dpSeTUaB0rE
4	Ideology	<i>Aku Jokowi - Aku Pancasila</i> (I am Jokowi – I am Pancasila)	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=jGhExb8zUW0
5	Vision	<i>Berkat Jokowi Hutang Indonesia terkecil di dunia</i> (Thanks to Jokowi, Indonesia's debt is the smallest in the world)	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=r8kDth--Fps

Source: Jokowi's videos on YouTube

Table 2.
Five Videos of Prabowo Based on Support Source Code

No	Code	Sign	https
1	Lifestyle	<i>Inilah Kuda Pilihan Prabowo</i> (This is the Prabowo's Horse Choice)	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=0sSX6Al33DY
2	Transfer of power	<i>Pidato Prabowo dihadapan Habieb Rizieq dan Umat Islam</i> (Prabowo's speech in front of Habieb Rizieq and the Muslims people)	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=UdHJctPW1Dw
3	Existence	<i>Biografi Prabowo Subianto</i> (Biography of Prabowo Subianto)	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=e_sf4q-cjUY
4	Ideology	<i>Sukarno dan Prabowo dibenci Amerika dibangga Indonesia, kenapa?</i> (Sukarno and Prabowo hated by America, proud by Indonesia, why?)	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=jLaCwBnjio
5	Vision	<i>Sikap Prabowo terkait Aksi Bela Islam dan Bela Ulama</i> (Prabowo's choices related to the Islamic defense action and Ulema advocation)	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=_9FeVLO99b4

Source: Prabowo's videos on YouTube

The description value is on the signified innocent impression when playing with his grandchildren in the pool. Jokowi's expression shows the impression of his sincere loves to the grandchildren. He is also polite in commanding his grandchildren, as well as the physical appearance of Jokowi, whose height is above the average of the Indonesian people, which shows his authority. While the value of harmony is shown on clothes, signified in the form of a sarong used by Jokowi, showing a simple lifestyle (low-profile). Therefore, this video received great attention from audiences. By December 4, 2017, this video was watched by 2,769,290 viewers. The video with the same code belongs to Prabowo (<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=0sSX6Al33DY>).

This video shows the signifier Prabowo riding a horse at his luxurious residence in Bogor. In the narration, it is mentioned that the horse's price was 3 billion IDR. As a signified, this could mean that Prabowo was a rich man, who has a passion for riding horses. Equestrian sport is a sport belonging to the rich because ordinary people cannot afford to buy horses, especially when they cost billions of Rupiah. This exposure may be inconsistent with the lifestyles of ordinary Indonesians. In it, there is no impression of authority as an individual, especially if the sign is parsed through Prabowo's physical appearance that is not high enough (he lost to Jokowi). Therefore, this video gets less attention from the audience and was only visited 48,197 times.

The second code of transfer of power, i.e. who or what is referenced to influence public sympathy. In the video "Megawati Meets Jokowi in Istana" (CNN, 2016, November 21) as a signified show where Jokowi meets Megawati Soekarno Putri at the Presidential Palace. As a signifier, the picture shows that Jokowi's position is higher than Megawati's, because in that position, Megawati is visited. In Javanese ethics, the people who are visited are usually considered more important than those who visit. In fact, in the party, structurally, Megawati is the Chairman of the Indonesian Democratic Party of Struggle (PDIP), which carries Jokowi and Jusuf Kalla as the Presidential and Vice Presidential Candidate in 2014, but this video shows a transfer of power from Mega to Jokowi. The way Megawati sits, folding her hands forward on her thighs and sitting in a corner of the chair shows a non-verbal message that Jokowi is more powerful than Megawati. This video was only visited by 7,131 viewers.

From the Javanese cultural context, Megawati's position on Jokowi's visit is less aligned, because even from Jokowi's current power structure as the president's position above Megawati, the background of Jokowi's presidency is not separated from Megawati's services as chairman of the PDIP party. In this case, Jokowi is considered less *andap asor* (humble). *Andap asor* according to Pitoyo Amrih (2008) is the ability to refrain from self-effacing. If there is a video showing Jokowi visiting Megawati's residence, the audience will be more engaged. In the Prabowo transfer of power, video Tentara Siber Muslim (2017, April 19) code indicates Prabowo is in a crowd of Muslims and speaks as a part of the community. It indicates that Prabowo is absorbing religious power.

Prabowo does not absorb sources of support from cultural or nationalistic elements but from religious sources. This video received greater attention than the video on the same code in Jokowi, which was visited by 40,696

viewers. So far, the relevance of this video with the source of legitimacy is still high, although formally, the Indonesia Constitution cannot accept Islamic politics. By the Act on Social Organization in 2017, social organizations and political organizations are prohibited from using any fundamental other than Pancasila. Community organizations such as Hizbut Tahrir Indonesia (HTI) are dissolved by the Jokowi government with Perpu being No.2 in 2017, because it is considered contrary to Pancasila. However, some Muslims have affiliations to Islamic-based political parties such as PKB, PKS, PPP, PAN and PBB. In the context of Muslim political affiliation, in this power, this Prabowo video becomes relevant. In political history, according to Manning (2000), Muslims under ICMI (Ikatan Cendekiawan Muslim Indonesia) are close to the center of power in the last years of the Soeharto era.

The third code of existence is about how Jokowi and Prabowo were potentially depicted from the video. Jokowi's video (Metrotv news, November 24, 2017) signifies Jokowi and his wife were involved in the marriage ceremony of his daughter Kahiyang Ayu, who married Bobby Nasution. Jokowi and his wife were involved intensively in the traditional ceremony in Solo (Jokowi residence) and also in Medan (residence in law, Bobby Nasution). The video signified that the Jokowi families uphold the customs, but they can accept other ethnic customs. In the view of Javanese culture, the criteria of marriage is determined by *bibit* (pedigree), *bebet*(rank/network) and *bobot*(quality). Moehadi et al. (1988) mentions *bibit* means from good family, *bebet* means descendants of the nobility or royal nobility, while *bobot* means from a family who is capable or wealthy. Especially in the concept of *bebet*, it is often still associated with the same ethnic.

The Javanese often calls other tribes from outside Java as "*orang seberang*" (outsider), which tends to be avoided because "*orang seberang*" is considered not to have the good

manners (politeness). Jokowi, in this case, wants to show that his family is a modern family who is not bound by tribe egocentrism. This is in accordance with other discourses; Jokowi often mentioned that Indonesia is a “*bhinnekatunggalika*” country, although it consists of many ethnic groups (tribes) but remains one.

Unfortunately, this video received less attention from YouTube visitors, being viewed only 19,816 times. The likelihood of such a small number is due to the public perception that viewing the video is not based on the importance of plurality, but in terms of party luxury, the cost and the elite guests are mostly officials and businessmen. The same code about the existence on Prabowo’s video (Subianto, 2014) contains his biography, i.e., containing the exposure of information as the son of an Indonesian economic adversary during Soekarno and Suharto’s era, Prof. Sumitro Djojohadikusumo. He was also the grandson of the founder of the Indonesian bank and a member of BPUPKI (the Investigating Committee for Preparatory Work for Independence). This video is a signified that Prabowo is a figure with the hero consanguinity.

Firmanzah (2010) states that in the system of monarchy, the source of political legitimacy comes from the heredity that has special genes compared to others. In the history of Indonesian leadership, President Abdurrahman Wahid (Gus Dur) has a legitimacy source from his grandfather, KH Hasyim Asyari, the founder of Nahdlatul Ulama (NU). President Megawati Soekarno Putri has the legitimating source of her father, Ir. Soekarno, Indonesia’s first president. So, Prabowo’s existence as the son of an Indonesian economic adversary has its own suggestion in society. Although Indonesia is not a monarchic state, it has a similar myth. Sartono Kartodirjo (1987) mentions that many figures get legitimacy of power because of the descendants’ line. Sartono called it *trahingkusumarembesingmadu*, meaning still

descendants of prominent figures. This video is enough to attract the attention of audiences, visited as many as 33,094 times, which is almost twice as many views as Jokowi’s video on the same code.

The fourth code is about ideology. The Jokowi video “I am Jokowi, I am Pancasila” (Vayireh 2017, Mei 30) confirms Jokowi as a defender of Pancasila. The narrative is, “Pancasila is our body and soul. It’s in your bloodstream and heartbeat. Thanks to the integrity of the nation and the country. I’m Jokowi, I’m Indonesian. I am Pancasila!” As a signified, what Jokowi discloses is his assertion that his ideology is Pancasila. However, a signifier can be interpreted as a reaction to a previously developed discourse. Namely, Jokowi is rumored to have links with the Indonesian Communist Party (PKI). The signs for that, for example, include the publication of Jokowi’s book, written by Bambang Tri Mulyono.

The author was accused of violating Act No. 40 of 2008 about electronic transaction information (ITE), in particular, considered insulting the authorities (article 207). The Blora District Court of Central Java has given the author 4 years in prison. Frans Magnis then underlined the allegations of the writer who called President Jokowi to have a family associated with the Communist Party of Indonesia, the PKI. According to him, the baseless act of the writer is “very dirty” (BBC Indonesia, 2017).

Although the issue has been resolved through the judiciary, the conversation about the contents of the book is widespread through social media, so it is quite possible that some people believe and some are still unsure about Jokowi’s ideology. So, Jokowi saw the need to reinforce it through the video. The video has only been visited 213 times, indicating that Jokowi’s statement does not really need excessive aliases. Even the video received a strong reaction from Permadi S. H., a political figure who was a member of the PDIP but

now signed Gerindra Party. Permadi said that Jokowi's word is fooling the people because Pancasila is the fundamental or ideology of the country; it is impossible and cannot be personified in a person (<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=gprbr8ffhig>). On May 31, 2018, this video was closed.

Permadi's video was actually visited 122,184 times. In the video, Jokowi was so arrogant and wanted to use the discourse of Pancasila to divert the issue of communism (PKI). Many people accused Jokowi of being authoritarian to the party who criticizes him. On the charge, Jokowi denied with confessed confused with the allegations. Jokowi remembers right at the beginning of his reign, many people calling him as an unequivocal president, a village person and too slow. However, later, the assessment was changed. Many people judged Jokowi as an authoritarian and dictator. In fact, all this time, he only enforced the rules (Muhyidin, 2017) resistance than sympathy. Meanwhile, Prabowo's ideology code shows the historical merger signifier and Prabowo's current existence. The association between Prabowo and Soekarno's first Indonesian president is visible from the visualization that both of them are on the same stage facing the people who adore and are proud of them; the video is made in black and white. Also, this is visible from the clothes that are worn and kopiah (black cap) and how to make a speech that fires. As a signified, the video has a meaning of the spirit of Prabowo's struggle that mimics the style of Sukarno. Likewise, the Prabowo narrative begins with the phrase: ... *Jangan sekali kali kita lupa pada sejarah kita bahwa kita berasal dari bangsa yang berani, bangsa yang tidak takluk pada siapa pun, bangsa yang punya kehormatan, bangsa yang punya cita, bangsa yang ingin hidup seperti bangsa bangsa lain* (Don't ever we forget our history that we are from a brave nation, a nation that does not subdue to anyone, a nation that has honor, a nation that has future goals, a nation

that wants to live like other nations).

The phrase of Prabowo's speech is similar to the title of Soekarno's speech at the Independence Day of the Republic of Indonesia on August 17, 1966 entitled "Never Leaving History" or often abbreviated as "jasmerah." Although ideologically, Prabowo's video is more interesting than the narrative or visual aspect, Jokowi does not need to worry, because this video was also empty of visitors, only visited 309 times. There is a tendency that ideological problems are not getting the attention of the Indonesian political community.

The 5th Code of Vision, i.e. how the individual will realize his dream in a certain time; Jokowi's video (The Dailli Politik, 2017) contains an interview of a Jakarta TV station with Thomas Lembong; the head of BKPM (Capital Investment Coordinating Board) essentially stated that Indonesia's debt is among the smallest in the world. Indonesia's debt is only 30% of GDP. This was so funny that if the government criticized the debt, even just the economic growth of Indonesia won praise from the World Bank. Foreign investment coming into Indonesia is used to build infrastructure, especially toll roads. Jokowi targets 568 KM toll roads completed by the end of 2017 (Eduardo, 2017). This video received high attention from the public. Within 4 months since the upload, it has been visited 1,224,885 times. This shows that Jokowi's vision for infrastructure development is supported by the community, regardless of the cost of foreign investment. Prabowo's video as a signified contains Prabowo's interview with Rosiana Silalahi from Kompas TV. Prabowo sees the importance of democracy in the future and the large number of Muslim actions taking to the streets with the label "Islamic defense action; Ulema advocacy" is the result of a clogged channel. As a signified of Prabowo's opinion, this could indicate Prabowo's closeness to the Muslim community.

This video has been visited 90,901 times. The closeness of Prabowo with Islam is similar to the closeness Gerindra Party with PKS and PAN. PAN founder Prof. Dr. Amien Rais said he was convinced Prabowo won the 2019 presidential election because of the support of Muslims.

The Prabowo video is at once as signified that getting support from Muslims is important, as the incumbent opponents choose the support from nationalists. In this ideology code, it appears that Prabowo and Jokowi have split the constituent affiliates in two; Prabowo to religious and Jokowi to nationalist. However, seen from the existing party coalition, Jokowi benefited from the support of the National Awakening Party (PKB) and the United Development Party (PPP), a party that accommodates the moderate Islamic masses of Nahdlatul Ulama or Nahdliyin. The National Mandate Party (PAN), which accommodates the urban Islamic community, namely Muhammadiyah, also formally confirmed this. Prabowo practically will only be supported by two parties, namely Gerindra and Prosperous Justice Party (PKS), which since 2014, declared itself as a government opposition party.

Jokowi's vision seems more concrete; the results can be directly seen, felt and measured by the community. While Prabowo's vision is abstract, it tends to be philosophical. In the history of Indonesian politics, there has been a contestation between abstract political ideology and an implementation ideology in the early days of the New Order government (Liddle, 1992).

President Soeharto succeeded in getting support from the public and the military for delivering a concrete vision known as the development trilogy formula, which achieved high economic growth, political stability and equity. Economic growth opens opportunities for industrialization; equity provides hope for economic justice at the grassroots level

and stability becomes the jargon of military inclusion in civilian life. Suharto was able to rule for a very long time (1966-1998) thanks to the concrete outlook of vision, while the existing political parties are busier talking about the matter of Islamic law, Western influence and others. Liddle photographed the shift in Suharto's political view as a shift in orientation "From Ideological Perspectives to Pragmatic Orientation" (Liddle, 1992, p. 82). Pragmatism in political participation still appears in the perspective of post-New Order political culture until now, It became one of the obstacles of the growth of the democratic culture in Indonesia (Mujani, 2010)

The perspective of public acceptance of the political vision can be explained through the analogy of an innovation. Innovation by Rogers (1995) is the concept of new ideas and techniques. Innovation can take the form of an abstract idea and can also be in a concrete form. In some studies, it has been found that concrete elements are appreciated more by the recipients of new ideas because they can be perceived as a relative advantage; they can be tried and more simply understood. In contrast to the abstract element of ideas, in addition to being relatively difficult to confirm relative profits, it also gives the impression of being more complex (Nurulita & Hendrian, 2017). Based on this perspective, the vision code of Jokowi has a greater chance of being accepted by society than Prabowo's vision code.

Visitor Response Analysis (Commenter)

The internet becomes its own "media" with interactive capabilities. The feature of the interactivity of convergent media usage has exceeded the potential of feedback, since the media audience directly provides feedback on the messages conveyed (Gumelar, 2013). Visitors to YouTube sites can provide feedback by typing text in the comment window section, located at the bottom of the video. The feature of feedback is free. Any visitor can comment

about anything, whether it is funny, critical, offering praise or even negative with cursing or swearing. Commenters are visitors who are more concerned with opening a video; to leave a comment requires more time to pay attention to the video content and then think to respond in writing.

This feedback indicates interest and involvement in both the content and the subject. Distribution of visitors and commentators can be seen in the following table:

Table 3.
Comparison of Number of Visitors on Video Jokowi and Prabowo

No	Code	Jokowi	Prabowo
1	Lifestyle	2,791,692	48,255
2	Transfer of power	7,147	40,711
3	Existence	20,083	33,120
4	Ideology	214	311
5	Vision	1.228.995	90,918
Total		4,048,031	1,133,314

Source: *www.youtube.com*

Table 3 shows that overall, the audience's attention to Jokowi's videos is more than that of Prabowo's videos. The data above cannot be used to generalize that people prefer Jokowi over Prabowo. The attention level of YouTube visitors is likely to be influenced by the overall impression of the first stimulus. In communication psychology, this phenomenon is often referred to as a misperception of the "halo effect." For example, YouTube visitors only pay attention to the signed text on the video's home page. After this, they continue to open the video. Once open, YouTube automatically records it as a visitor (viewer) without paying attention to the long-standing visitors watching the video. After a few seconds, it is possible the user may become disappointed, because the video may not meet their expectations. Baron & Paul (1991) state that misperceptions are often induced because they are tempted by a complete first impression. The impression has a very strong effect on

the individual to assess the specific feature. However, from the attention aspect, the data shows that in the video, Jokowi is able to lead audiences to visit him. The next communication can be more effective because it is already there to get the first attention. Effendi (2007) mentions that the communication process often follows the logic from attention to action. If at first, a communication has attracted attention, then it can lead to action. When Jokowi has initially attracted, further attention potentially becomes acceptable and then electable.

As a preliminary sign of communication through YouTube media, in terms of the number of visitors, Prabowo lost much to Jokowi, but Prabowo is still better in the code of transfer of power, existence and ideology. Jokowi only leads in two codes, namely lifestyle code and vision. It can be said that Prabowo is interesting from the source of his dignity derived from his parents (Prof. Sumitro); Jokowi is from Megawati, who has no blood relation. Prabowo also attracted attention because of Prabowo's relatively more credible biography from being a military, entrepreneur to party leader (existence), compared to Jokowi who has never been chairman of the party. Prabowo's other source of concern is on his ideological powers that show his independence to certain religions (Islam). If Prabowo wants to steal the attention of the audience through YouTube, then he should focus on the 3 codes. Jokowi seems to get more attention because of his simple lifestyle code and humanism and his vision of building infrastructure.

The favorite level can be tracked through a thumbs-up that is under the video. When the thumb is up, it means likes ("i like this") and when it is pointing down, it means dislike ("i dislike this"). Distribution of likes and dislikes on both Jokowi's and Prabowo's videos are shown in tables 4 & 5.

Table 4 & 5 show Jokowi's video is preferred by YouTube visitors, both in quantity and percentage. This video shows likes 97.8%

Table 4.
Number of Likes and Dislikes -
Jokowi's Video

No	Code	Like	Dislike
1	Lifestyle	40,000	1,000
2	Transfer of power	51	11
3	Existence	147	8
4	Ideology	4	0
5	Vision	6,000	1,000
Total		46,202 (97.8%)	1,019 (2.2%)

Source: www.youtube.com

Table5
Number of Likes and Dislikes -
Prabowo's Video

No	Code	Like	Dislike
1	Lifestyle	49	5
2	Transfer of power	309	52
3	Existence	60	26
4	Ideology	0	0
5	Vision	646	85
Total		1,064 (84.3%)	168 (15.7%)

Source: www.youtube.com

and only 2.2% of visitors who expressed dislike, while Prabowo's video had 84.3% likes and 15.7% dislikes. The reason why visitors say "likes" or "dislikes" can actually be traced through text narratives in existing comments, but in this study, it has not been studied by researchers.

Conclusion

A YouTube channel is an on-line media that provides politicians the opportunity to create their image to get support from prospective voters. Jokowi and Prabowo both used this channel. Jokowi's videos garnered the attention from the audience by showing human interest aspects of him, which describe the president's lifestyle with a low-profile or simple lifestyle; other videos that got a lot of audience views contain works of Jokowi as president in the form of toll road infrastructure development. However, Prabowo's video with many views is one that contains a sign of the source of his power that comes from his parents. In Indonesia, the credibility of a figure

is still seen from the family tree. Prabowo was the son of an economist in both orders: the Old Order and the respected New Order, Prof. Dr. Sumitro Djojohadikusumo. Then, there was a video containing the history of his career ranging from military officers (major general), businessmen, to party chairman. In general, in comparison, Jokowi's video is more likeable than Prabowo's video. As it relates to lifestyle code and vision, Jokowi received the most thumbs-up from viewers.

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