

POLITICAL CAMPAIGNING DURING PANDEMIC: GIBRAN'S POLITICAL BRAND ON INSTAGRAM DURING SOLO MAYORAL ELECTION 2020

Irani, M.I.Kom¹ & Wahyutama, Ph.D²

^{1,2}Paramadina Graduate School of Communication, Indonesia

¹rani.yosef@gmail.com, ²wahyutama@paramadina.ac.id

ABSTRACT

The utilization of social media by politicians for political campaign is increasingly common at the present time. Even more so at the time of pandemic in which the offline interaction between politicians and voters is severely limited. Thus, this research is interested to investigate the utilization of social media by a political candidate (Gibran Rakabuming) during the City Mayoral Election. This research aims to uncover the construct of political brand displayed by Gibran on Instagram during the City Mayoral Election 2020 in Solo, Central Java. This research employs quantitative content analysis on social media contents posted by Gibran (on his official IG account @gibran_rakabuming) during the period of November 8, 2019 until May 31, 2021. From the total population of 2,031 posts, this research selected 90 posts (using non-probability purposive sampling) as samples. The research found: 1) the two elements of political brand dominantly displayed by Gibran on his Instagram account are integrity and competence. In addition, Gibran also displayed the element of social imagery by which he showcased his image as young political candidate (or "millennial generation"); 2) the element of political brand consistently displayed by Gibran was professionalism by which he highlighted his image as a successful entrepreneur; 3) Gibran was not sufficiently found to be using his social media account to develop interaction with his followers. The limitation of this research is mainly come from its sample size and sampling technique. This research utilize non-probability sampling which limit its external validity. Therefore, the findings of this research cannot be generalized to describe the total population (all social media contents posted by Gibran during the election). However, this research provide useful initial study on the strategy utilized by political candidates in Indonesia (through the use of social media) to win election amid the limitation imposed by the pandemic.

Keywords: *Political Branding, Social Media, Gibran Rakabuming, Solo Mayoral Election 2020, Pandemic*

ABSTRAK

Pemanfaatan media sosial oleh politisi untuk kampanye politik semakin umum saat ini. Terlebih lagi pada masa pandemi dimana interaksi langsung antara politisi dan pemilih sangat terbatas. Oleh karena itu, penelitian ini tertarik untuk menyelidiki pemanfaatan media sosial oleh kandidat calon kepala daerah (Gibran Rakabuming Raka) dalam Pilkada Solo 2020. Penelitian ini bertujuan untuk mengungkap konstruksi merek politik yang ditampilkan oleh Gibran di Instagram selama Pilkada Solo 2020. Penelitian ini menggunakan analisis isi kuantitatif pada konten media sosial yang diposting oleh Gibran (di akun IG resminya @gibran_rakabuming) selama periode 8 November 2019 hingga 31 Mei 2021. Dari total populasi 2.031 postingan, penelitian ini memilih 90 postingan (menggunakan teknik non-probability purposive sampling) sebagai sampel. Penelitian ini menemukan: 1) Dua elemen merek politik yang dominan ditampilkan oleh Gibran di akun Instagram-nya adalah integritas dan kompetensi. Selain itu, Gibran juga menampilkan elemen *social imagery* dengan memperlihatkan dirinya sebagai kandidat politik mewakili kaum muda (atau "generasi milenial"); 2) Elemen merek politik yang secara konsisten ditampilkan oleh Gibran adalah profesionalisme, di mana ia menonjolkan citranya sebagai pengusaha sukses; 3) Gibran terlalu menggunakan akun media sosialnya untuk berinteraksi dengan pengikutnya. Keterbatasan penelitian ini terutama berasal dari ukuran sampel dan teknik pengambilan sampelnya. Penelitian ini menggunakan non-probability sampling yang membatasi validitas eksternalnya. Oleh karena itu, temuan penelitian ini tidak dapat digeneralisasi untuk menggambarkan populasi total (semua konten media sosial yang diposting oleh Gibran selama pemilihan). Namun,

penelitian ini memberikan studi awal yang bermanfaat tentang strategi yang digunakan oleh kandidat di Indonesia melalui penggunaan media sosial untuk memenangkan pemilihan di tengah keterbatasan yang diberlakukan selama pandemi.

Kata kunci: Branding Politik, Media Sosial, Gibran Rakabuming, Pemilihan Wali Kota Solo 2020, Pandemi

1. INTRODUCTION

The existence of social media is becoming very popular today and is widely accessed by the public such as YouTube, WhatsApp, Instagram, Facebook, Twitter, and so on. Based on data from research conducted by We Are Social, Hootsuite published in January 2020, that social media users reach 59% of the total population in Indonesia. Where this figure has increased by 3% from research published in January 2019 which is 56%. Then from the data, it is stated that 99% of social media users access it via smartphones. Furthermore, the most visited social media is YouTube with a percentage of 88%, followed by WhatsApp in second place with a percentage of 84% and Facebook in third place with a total percentage of 82%. After that, Instagram was in the fourth position with a total percentage of 79% and managed to surpass Twitter which was in the fifth position with a total percentage of users of 56% of the total population of Indonesia.

In addition, social media also has the power to influence and move the masses, social media has been widely used by activists or the public. The form of communication in social media is becoming increasingly complex because two forms of communication are fused into one, namely interpersonal communication and mass communication (Watie, 2016). For example, when someone uploads content on social media and gets responses from other users, and interaction or interpersonal communication occurs. And at the same time, mass communication also occurs, because everything uploaded on social media will be consumed and enjoyed by a wide audience.

Social media also creates a new space for political dialogue that allows everyone to participate actively (Okan, Topcu, & Akyüz, 2014). Everyone or social media users can participate through content production and media distribution, so they are not just passive consumers. Then this communication process will create interpersonal bonds on the Internet, which are connected through values, concerns, or even by having the same beliefs. But in turn, this relationship will also lead to peer-to-peer networking and civil strife through public discourse. This brings us into the digital era, shifts the political paradigm, and also revolutionizes political marketing. This opportunity is used by politicians or political parties to connect and communicate with the public or voters.

Citizen participation is a core part of a healthy democratic process (McLeod, Kosicki, & McLeod, 2002), many experts have researched what facilitates citizens' political activities both online and offline. Especially after President Obama's two successful political campaigns in 2008 and 2012, which succeeded in using social media to engage voters, invite people to volunteer in campaigns, and raise funds. The campaign carried out by Obama represents a paradigm shift in the presidential campaign because Obama and his team managed to take advantage of technological advances and get the maximum effect. The main strategy in his campaign is to empower his voters to make a difference both individually and collectively, especially through social media.

The concept of political marketing involves many concepts and theories used by commercial marketing in selling goods and services to consumers (Newman, & Perloff, 2004). In political marketing, candidates and political parties are products that will be sold to consumers as in commercial marketing. In general, the ultimate goal of political marketing is the same as commercial marketing, which is to gain market. However, according to Newman's philosophy, both have different goals. Where in business the main goal is to make a profit, while in politics it is to get votes in elections and run a democratic party. In addition, the business world also often follows and implements the results of marketing research, while in politics, the philosophy of a candidate itself can influence the extent to which it will be followed.

Based on the descriptions above, it is clear that social media plays an important role in the process of political communication in the digital era. The interactive communication process makes it very possible that political communication can be carried out more intensely. One of the young Indonesian politicians who use social media for political purposes is Gibran Rakabuming, who is also the eldest son of the current President of Indonesia Joko Widodo. Gibran Rakabuming's accounts were found on several social media platforms such as Instagram, Facebook Page, and YouTube after deciding to run for mayoral election (he was paired with Teguh Prakosa in the election). This pair hereinafter known as the Gibran-Teguh. In the 2020 Surakarta mayoral election (held on December 9, 2020) the Gibran-Teguh competed with the pair of Bagyo Wahyono and FX Supardjo (or called "Bajo").

The authors are interested in conducting research on the contents posted by Gibran on Instagram during the local election in Surakarta. Gibran Rakabuming's Instagram account is named @gibran_rakabuming, which is used to posted contents related to his political campaign

messages. The authors assume that Gibran Rakabuming's Instagram account was used for his political branding purposes.

The researchers formulate the research questions as follows.

1. What are the political images constructed by Gibran Rakabuming through his posts on Instagram?
2. What political images were consistently constructed by Gibran Rakabuming during the pre-campaign, campaign, and post-campaign periods?
3. What is the level of interaction between Gibran Rakabuming and his followers on Instagram during the 2020 Surakarta local election campaign?

2. LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1. The Role of Social Media in Political Campaign

Politicians and political parties are now facing challenge to adapt to the new media environment which will certainly be very different from the old media one. According to Owen (2017), there are changes that the new media bring to the political environment. Those changes are in terms of: 1) form, function, and content of messages; 2) identification of the audience; 3) the effects of media on interest, knowledge, engagement, and voter participation.

The existence of new media has brought fundamental changes to the media environment and political communication system. These changes, of course, have considerable consequences for the political information environment and the extent of its role in helping people meet their information needs (Van Aelst, Strömbäck, Aalberg, Esser, De Vreese, Matthes, & Papathanassopoulos, 2017). Where the changes and trends occur in this digital era, there are also implications for democracy. In this context, for democracy to function properly it takes more than just a formal framework that can ensure that the law protects the same democratic rights for every citizens.

The trend of political communication in the diverse new media environment is a challenge for democracy. There are at least six problems that are closely related to the dissemination and acquisition of political knowledge in the era of democracy and the increasingly diverse media today (Van Aelst, Strömbäck, Aalberg, Esser, De Vreese, Matthes, & Papathanassopoulos, 2017).

First is the decline in the supply of political information. The increasing choice of media surprisingly does not translate to the significant increase of political information compared to the total supply of information available. Second, the decline in the quality of the news

broadcast. There are reasons to be concerned about the declining resources of journalism, the increasing disparity in quality between media, and the actual demand for high-quality news. Third, increasing media concentration and decreasing news diversity.

Fourth, increasing fragmentation and polarization. Increased fragmentation and polarization could contribute to the weakening of inclusiveness and social cohesion by creating more conflict, intolerance, and anti-pluralism. Fifth, increasing relativism; as many studies showed that individuals tends to ignore facts that contradict their beliefs. And sixth, increasing inequality of political knowledge. The shifting from old media to online media to impacts the increasing differences in media use, which will eventually lead to wider gaps in knowledge. Increasing inequalities in political knowledge, will not only hinder opportunities for enlightened understanding of politics in society at large. Bur it will also harm effective participation and inclusivity. This is because individuals who have better information will be better prepared to participate and influence political outcomes.

Seeing how new media works, it is not surprising that all institutions, both government, non-government, political parties, and political actors migrate to the digital realm. Government institutions use social media to inform their works, programs and policies to the public. In addition, political parties and political actors use social media to provide information about the political ideas that they wish to sell as well as their political activities. Many local and world politicians have successfully used social media for these purposes. For example Barack Obama, who used social media for political campaigns and successfully won the United States Presidential election in 2008 and 2012 (Bimber, 2014). Bimber describes some of Obama's superiority in using social media in the 2008 election compared to McCain's. Obama also successfully use social media to exhibit 'social activism style' of campaign, mobilize volunteers, and collect small donations from the community that later proved to be crucial. When his political opponents started to running out of campaign funds to run TV advertisements, Obama still had enough logistics to do so.

1.2. The Core of Political Branding: Integrity, Competence, and Social Imagery

Various studies have shown that the most fundamental categories that form the basis for individuals to judge others are formed by involving two areas, namely integrity or morality, and competence (Cwalina, Falkowski, & Newman, 2011). In the area of integrity, there are very decisive attributes, namely directness, helpfulness, reliability, and honesty. While the area of competence includes characteristics such as perseverance, hard work, and qualifications.

Based on these two categories, it can be seen that this competency category will usually be more profitable for oneself or the individual who has it, while the integrity dimension will be more important for others who see it. Because only this dimension of integrity or morality is an evaluative dimension that is specifically carried out by others.

Glenn Reeder and Marilynn Brewer (in Cwalina, Falkowski, & Newman, 2011) also revealed that individuals in evaluating depend on the nature of the dimensions that underlie the attributes that will be assessed to see different relationships between dispositions and behavior. Then the perceived relationship between disposition and behavior is called an implication scheme. Strictly speaking, it can be said that moral individuals will behave morally, even though immoral individuals can behave morally and immorally because in the end they will be demanded and rewarded in social life. This is in contrast to the dimensions of competence or ability, where each individual can behave incompetently but only competent individuals can behave intelligently. Thus, assessment in competency-related dimensions encourages a more sympathetic and understanding approach to others. In other words, that evaluative picture of the world would be much more positive if a schema of competence or ability and immorality was created.

In conclusion, it can be said that the voters will easily recognize that political candidates are moral and competent or not. Then the voter will evaluate the candidate based on the moral dimension (integrity) and competence, and the results of the evaluation will not only affect the stage of liking and respecting or not but also whether the voter will support the candidate in the election. Thus, voters have the function of a screening mechanism to maximize the quality of candidates. The existence of this function is also very well recognized by politicians and marketing experts, so they strive to present the image of an honest and competent candidate, and it is often considered quite efficient. To gain support, the image of a candidate's success is a key element that is considered attractive by voters without having to have it.

In addition to competence and integrity, the researcher applies the third concept to the core of this political branding, namely Social imagery. Which is a cognitive area part of the model of voter behavior described by Newman, & Sheth, (1985). This social imagery refers to all primary and secondary reference groups, which are relevant and tend to support political candidates. This image is very suitable for use in the scope of Indonesian politics and has even been widely used. This is because many people in Indonesia still believe in opinion leaders or group leaders. In addition, Indonesian people adhere to a collective cultural system based on togetherness or cooperation, which is also prone to conflict if there are differences (Soenjoto,

2019). A political candidate then gets a positive or negative stereotype based on his association with various demographic segments, socio-economic, cultural or ethnic, or also political/ideological society.

Furthermore, there is a study that discusses the construction of the candidate's image with the findings stating that the candidate's image is constructed by involving the relationship between the attributes perceived by the candidate and the national identity; the relationship between the candidate and his supporters; candidate's personality traits; and the ability of voters to identify candidates personally with themselves (Rachim Marpaung Malik, 2017). Where the ability to identify candidates on a personal level does not only apply in the world of politics, such as in the world of entertainment, fans of certain artists tend to identify and feel connected to artists who have similar characters, lifestyles, to political views.

Putra, Sumadinata, & Sulaeman (2020) said that aspects of social image and candidate image simultaneously influenced voter behavior in the 2018 West Java gubernatorial election in Sukabumi. In the cognitive domain, the behavior of Sukabumi city voters is categorized in a psychological approach, namely feelings and emotional closeness. This is because not all voters have the ability to think, analyze and evaluate what they need. So that voters use shortcuts in assessing candidates such as identifying figures with the proximity factor. Meanwhile, the candidate's competence in fighting for public aspirations and the candidate's character is only the second parameter compared to the feelings of voters towards certain figures. Aspects of the social image also become very influential voter behavior. Where voters can identify the candidate's association or proximity to certain social groups such as young people, religious leaders, and their alignment with the small people.

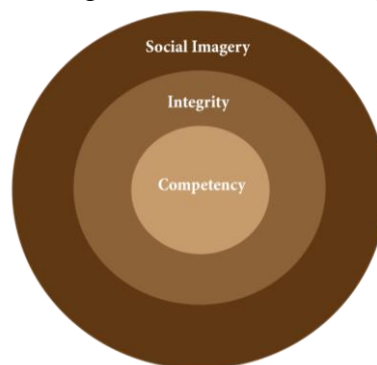


Figure 3 Levels of Political Branding

Figure 3 describes the sequence of dimensions in a political branding that will be easily identified by the public starting from the outermost part, namely social imagery, integrity, and the deepest part is competence. Social imagery, being the outermost layer because it can be

easily identified by the community clearly through their social environment. The second layer is integrity, which is already a little difficult to identify because other people need repeated observations of political candidates to ascertain whether the candidate is moral or not. And the deepest layer is competence, when compared to the integrity dimension, this competence is more difficult to identify. Because in addition to having to make observations, there must also be proof that a political candidate has competencies such as a success or achievement that has been obtained by the candidate.

3. RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

3.1. Research Method

This study applies a content analysis approach. According to Riffe, Lacy, Watson, & Fico (2019) quantitative content analysis is a systematic and replicable test of communication symbols, assigned numerical values according to valid measurement rules, and analysis of the relationship between these values by applying statistical methods. The purpose is to describe a communication phenomenon, then draw conclusions about its meaning. Quantitative content analysis then should meet the following criteria: systematic, replicability or reproducibility, communication symbol, and numerical values or categories according to valid measurement rules and statistical analysis of relationships.

This research analyzes social media posts of Gibran Rakabuming's account (@gibran_rakabuming) with the total population of 2,031 posts (during November 8, 2019 to May 31, 2021). Then the researcher divided the population into three time periods, according to the timeline wherein Gibran Rakabuming before and after becoming the mayor of Surakarta was recorded on his IG account. The three-time periods are pre-campaign, campaign, and post-campaign.

After determining the population, the next procedure is to take samples from the population (Wimmer, & Dominick, 2013). This research uses purposive sampling. According to Herring (2004), most research in computer mediated communication environment use purposive sampling by limiting samples based on sequence, time slices, periodic intervals, based on events, and also based on user demographics (Herring, 2004). This purposive sampling includes selecting respondents, subjects, or elements that are selected to meet certain characteristics and eliminate those who fail to meet predetermined criteria (Wimmer, & Dominick, 2013). In other words, the sample is deliberately chosen not at random.

This study applies a purposive sampling technique by using time and events pieces which are divided into three periods, namely pre-campaign, campaign period, and post-campaign. Samples were taken from each period of the first 30 posts uploaded by @gibran_rakabuming. So that the total number of samples to be analyzed by the researcher is 90 posts in the form of photos and videos along with captions.

In terms of coding, three concepts of political branding (integrity, ability, and social imagery) are measured in this research. According to Cwalina, Falkowski, & Newman, (2011) the fundamental categories that are often used to evaluate political candidates are the dimensions of morality (integrity) and ability (competence). The attributes that determine the dimensions of morality include characteristics such as openness, caring, reliability, and honesty. These attributes are part of the social norms formed by the community. Based on this and observations on Gibran Rakabuming's IG account, the authors formulate the attributes/indicators that make up the dimensions of integrity, namely honest, responsible, caring, polite, and simple.

And the last is the category of social imagery. This category is taken from the model of voter behavior described by Newman, and Sheth, (1985). Social imagery refers to all primary and secondary reference groups that support political candidates. Then the political candidate will get a positive or negative stereotype based on his relationship with various demographics (age, gender, or religion), socio-economic, cultural, or ideological/political. Components of social imagery are measured through image profiles that represent one or more certain types of groups. And the results of observations made on Gibran Rakabuming's IG account, the author formulates several indicators covering this category, namely proximity to small people or society, small and medium entrepreneurs (UMKM) groups, certain groups (religious organizations), millennial groups, and Indonesian culture lovers groups (nationalism). The formulation of the content categories in details can be found in table 1.

Table 1. Content Categories-

Ketegori Konten	Definisi
Integrity;	<p>Honest Content that contains an open, credible, and frank attitude.</p> <p>Responsible Content that describes a consistent and consistent attitude.</p> <p>Care Content that shows an attitude of ignoring or understanding others, caring, and likes to help/share with people in need regardless of status, gender to physical.</p> <p>Politeness Demonstrate friendly behavior, both towards others, and respect for others ranging from children to the elderly.</p> <p>Modest Content that shows a self-image as an ordinary person, not from the upper class, such as the style of dress.</p>
Competency;	<p>Hard worker Content that depicts a high work ethic</p> <p>Intelligent Content that shows ability, is good at finding solutions in certain situations, has creative ideas.</p> <p>Professional When presenting candidates in a political context: meeting voters during a campaign, meeting voters during a campaign, expressing political messages, meeting the media, discussing with other politicians, or appearing in Parliament or Government offices; entrepreneurial ability.</p> <p>Persistence A person who doesn't give up easily/never gives up struggles to move forward in any obstacle/condition.</p> <p>Educated Self-described content with academic qualifications</p>
Social Imagery:	<p>Close to the society Content that shows closeness to society</p> <p>Support UMKM This content shows that support, promote, and will fight for small and medium entrepreneurs (UMKM)</p> <p>Part of certain group Content that shows that you have closeness or are part of a certain group, such as a religious group.</p> <p>Millennial The content of content that shows being part of millennials or with millennial groups.</p> <p>Nationalism The content of content that shows being part of millennials or with millennial groups.</p>
Others	Content whose content does not fit into various categories; Content that is intended to maintain a relationship, but does not provide information or persuasive purposes.

The intercoder reliability test was carried out by the two coders who tested 30 samples of posts from three time periods, namely: pre-campaign, campaign period, and post-campaign using the Holsti formula. And the reliability of the intercoder generated in the pre-campaign = 0.86, during the campaign = 0.77 and post-campaign = 0.78. Through the intercoder reliability test that has been carried out, it can be seen that the reliability results are high. So it can be

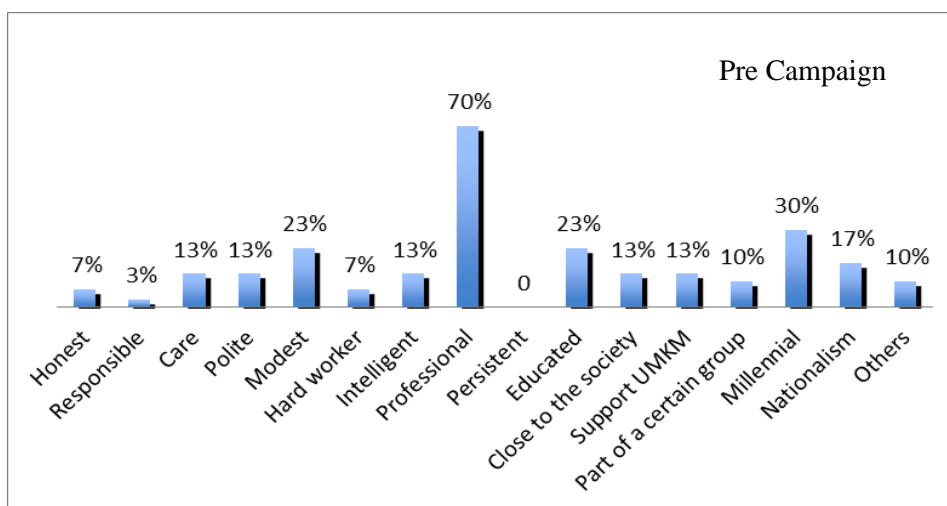
concluded that the categories and procedures applied in the implementation of the test are reliable and valid. Neuendorf (2002) formulated the reliability coefficient guidelines as follows: A coefficient of 0.90 or greater is almost always acceptable, 0.80 or greater is acceptable in most situations, and 0.70 may be appropriate in some exploratory and index studies (Wimmer, 2002). & Dominick, 2013).

4. FINDINGS

Findings of the research will be presented in three parts that reflect the three phases of campaign: pre-campaign, campaign, post-campaign

4.1. Pre-Campaign

Analysis on the social media contents posted by Gibran on IG during the pre-campaign period revealed some interesting findings. Graph 1 shows the percentages of the elements of political brand mostly displayed by Gibran during this period.



Graph 1. Frequency of appearance of political branding aspects in pre-campaign (N= 30 posts)

It can be seen that social media contents that displayed 'professionalism' appear overwhelmingly dominant with the highest percentage of 70%. From various photos or videos along with their descriptions, Gibran showed himself as a professional figure both as a businessman and as a politician. Professionalism as an entrepreneur are often shown by photos and videos posted about his activities in selling his products as can be seen in Figure 4. Meanwhile, professionalism as politicians can be seen in his posts, such as when he met other politicians, such as the Governor of Central Java Ganjar Pranowo when they were having discussion with the media.



Figure 4. One of the business photos owned by Gibran Rakabuming

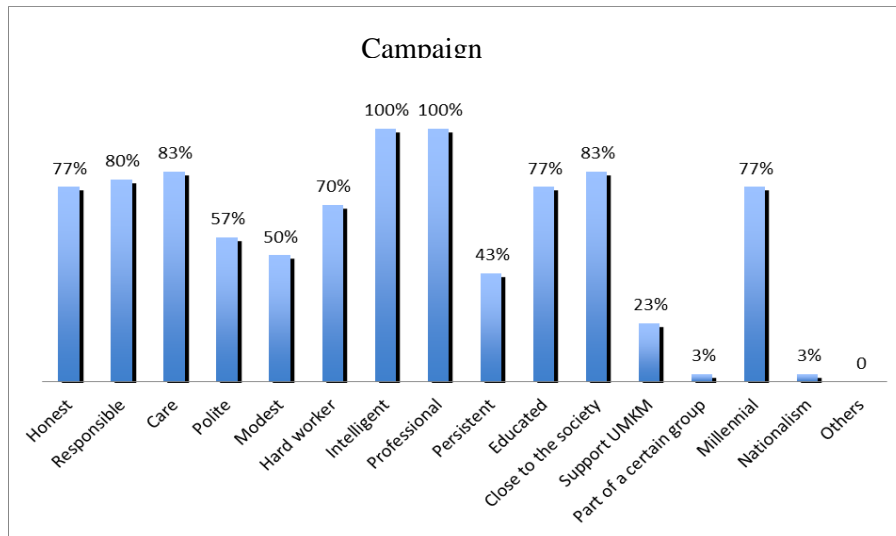
Source: Instagram account @gibran_rakabuming, https://www.instagram.com/p/B41zn-WHD-3/?utm_source=ig_web_copy_link

Other frequently displayed element of political brand was 'educated' with a total of 23% posts. Other elements worthy to note are 'intelligent' which appeared as much as 13% posts, hard workers 7%, and caring and polite as much as 13%. Caring and polite were displayed by Gibran's gesture of concern for the citizens and his polite attitude to older people.

Simplicity is another element of political brand that is interesting to mention. This element appeared in 7% of samples. Simplicity was shown by the style of his clothing, also his closeness to members of ordinary communities (which shows that Gibran is just an 'ordinary guy' and not being flashy). This image is important especially by considering the fact that he is the son of the current President.

Element of social imagery, especially Gibran's image as the so called 'millennial' candidate, is another dominant element found in Gibran's posts during this period. It was found as much as 30% of the samples analyzed. In these posts, Gibran showed himself as a politician representing young group. Photos and captions showcased this 'millennial image' through the depiction of ideas or spirit of young people.

4.2. Campaign



Graph 2. Frequency of appearance of political branding aspects during the campaign period (N=30 posts)

Graph 2 above shows the data from the samples analyzed. During this period, unsurprisingly social media contents posted by Gibran on Instagram were inundated with political messages. These are reflected from the frequent appearance of elements of political brand in Gibran’s posts. For examples, elements of competence, intelligence, and professionalism were appeared in all of the posts analyzed (100%). In this period, Gibran showed mostly his professionalism as a political candidate in campaigning. For example, Gibran showed his discipline and obedience to the KPU’s rules of campaigning during the pandemic (wearing mask, keeping social distance).

Other elements were also significantly appeared more frequent compared to the previous period. Images of caring and closeness to ordinary people for example appeared as much as 83% respectively in this period. This was a significant increase compared to 13% appearance respectively in the previous period. This also show the intensification of political brand construction during this period. Something which is understandable considering this period is the critical phase in which people’s attitude toward candidate could be influenced.

Based on the findings, it can also be seen that during this campaign, Gibran has built a broader spectrum of political brand, not focusing only on certain elements. This is because the campaign period is a decisive moment for candidates to win the sympathy of voters. As previously explained, voters are like consumers who will buy a product, wherein political marketing this product is a candidate (Newman, & Perloff, 2004). Therefore, voters will

analyze and consider whether the candidate to be selected has met the criteria and will fulfill the expectations of the entire community.

During this campaign period, Gibran built an image that he is a caring, responsible and honest candidate through his @gibran_rakabuming account. These indicators can be seen from the uploaded posts showing a caring, responsible and honest attitude towards the public. This is related to the Covid-19 pandemic that is sweeping the world. Therefore, the General Elections Commission (KPU) has updated the regulations regarding the 2020 Pilkada campaign stages during the Covid-19 pandemic situation. The authors identify that Gibran cares about health and community issues, is responsible for following existing directions and rules, and is honest in conveying information. This was shown for example through a post on his IG in tackling campaign problems in the Covid-19 pandemic situation. By campaigning online, using tools to make video calls sent to residents' homes so that they can have a dialogue (figure 5).

The new regulation is contained in PKPU Number 13 of 2020, where the organizer of this general election regulates several sanctions that will be received for violators of health protocols during the 2020 Regional Head Election. The regulation states that each election organizer, candidates, political party, liaison candidates, team campaign, or parties involved are required to implement health protocols for the prevention and control of Covid-19. Therefore, there are many prohibitions contained in the regulation, such as: prohibiting the presence of a mass of supporters during the drawing of the candidates' nomination number; forbidding the face-to-face meetings, dialogues, and debates; and prohibiting involving vulnerable groups such as toddlers, children, pregnant or lactating mothers and the elderly to participate in the campaign activities carried out face-to-face.

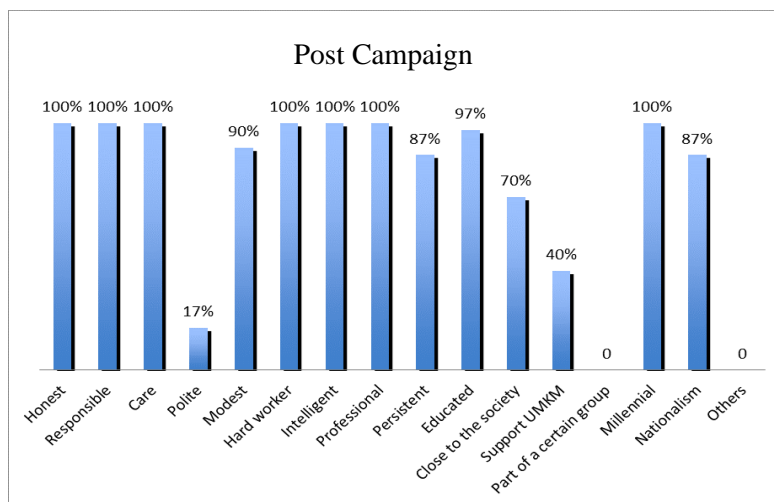


Figure 5 Gibran Rakabuming's online dialogue during his campaign

Source: Instagram account @gibran_rakabuming,
https://www.instagram.com/p/CFmX55ABwfW/?utm_source=ig_web_copy_link

4.3. Post Campaign

The post-campaign period is the time when Gibran-Teguh has won votes in the 2020 Surakarta local election. During this time, Gibran has officially become the Mayor of Surakarta for the 2020-2025 period. In this period, an analysis was carried out on the first 30 posts since the first day of the inauguration to find out the image created by Gibran through his Instagram account. Based on the analysis that has been carried out, the results can be seen in graph 3 below.



Graph 3. Frequency of appearance of political branding aspect in post-campaign (N=30 post)

The data on graph 3 show many changes that occur compared to the pre-campaign period and the campaign period. In this period, as a new elected leader, Gibran seemed trying to boost all of his political images such as honesty, responsibility, caring, hard worker, intelligence, professionalism, and youthful (all of these elements appeared 100% in posts that were observed). Caring was shown through expressing concern toward communities affected by pandemic, honesty was shown by conveying data or the goals and objectives to be achieved by his administration, responsibility was shown by demonstrating his commitment to handle the pandemic and restore the economy of Surakarta. The political image as 'educated' was also found dominant in this period with 97% posts. In this case, Gibran displayed himself as an educated mayor who will be able to solve the problems of the city of Surakarta during his tenure.

Other element that frequently appeared in the post-campaign period was nationalism with a percentage of 87%. The authors observed a fairly high sense of nationalism from the posts uploaded in @gibran_rakabuming during this period. Pictures or animations about national heroes and local cultures were often found (such as regional dances and batik) on his posts. By

uploading animated images of regional culture, Gibran showed his love for the homeland and efforts to preserve regional culture.

To conclude, in the post-campaign period, Gibran is trying to prove that he has the competence as the Mayor of Surakarta 2020-2025. In addition to being a competent figure, Gibran also shows that he has integrity. Then, Gibran also described himself as a young or millennial who has a high spirit of nationalism. So that in the samples selected during this period, Gibran seemed to demonstrate to the public that he deserved to win the vote and became the Mayor of Surakarta. Although he is lacking experience in the governmental area.

5. DISCUSSION

5.1. Competent Candidates

In the pre-campaign period, the author identified the image created by Gibran as a modest and professional political candidate from young or millennial circles. Then during the campaign period, Gibran was described through his IG as a millennial candidate who was intelligent, professional, caring and responsible, and close to society. Whereas in the post-campaign or after being appointed as Mayor of Surakarta, the image displayed is as an honest or transparent leader in the delivery of data and field conditions. Then he cares, is responsible to the Surakarta people, and is also a hard worker, intelligent, and professional, and has a high sense of nationalism. All of this is reflected in the posts uploaded to his Instagram account.

From the overall analysis results in three periods (pre-campaign, campaign, and post-campaign) the image that is most highlighted is the competency dimension through professional indicators. The data can be seen from the analysis results which show that professional indicators are the most consistent indicators in the competency category from pre-campaign to the inauguration. Gibran mostly uploads posts about his culinary business and also his professionalism in the new political field. That is by displaying posts in the form of photos of meetings with public officials or people who sit in government to holding discussions in the media about the business of young people.

As stated by Cwalina, Falkowski, & Newman (2011) that the competency dimension is quite difficult to get a direct reaction from others because of its relative and contextual nature. In addition, competence is also summarized as the efficiency of achieving a goal, where if a person succeeds in achieving his goal efficiently then he is considered to have high competence. Thus it can be interpreted that Gibran emphasizes his professional side because he is considered to have succeeded in achieving his goals as a businessman. His success in

running a culinary business and other non-culinary businesses before he decided to change career in politics had a major influence on the political image that was created. The public has seen Gibran's career and success, so Gibran is also considered to have the competence to become a public official.

5.2. Candidate of Integrity

In the integrity dimension, the public can easily give an impression or judgment quickly, unlike the competency dimension. When Gibran emerged as a political candidate, the public was given the impression that he had integrity like his father (President Jokowi) through his simplicity and candid attitude which is often shown through mainstream media. So that when Gibran came to the people of Surakarta to introduce himself as a candidate for Mayor, the welcome given to him was enthusiastic, and received much support. The enthusiasm of the community in welcoming Gibran's arrival can be seen in Figure 7.

Through figure 7, the authors can identify the criteria for integrity which is shown through Gibran's friendly and courteous attitude towards people who welcome him. It's indicated by a gesture of lowering his body position when shaking hands with older people. In addition, figure 7 shows Gibran's fairly simple appearance wearing a black cap, a white shirt rolled up to the sleeves, and black trousers and casual shoes.



Figure 7 Gibran is welcomed by Todipan villagers

Source: Instagram account @gibran_rakabuming, <https://www.instagram.com/p/B93J7S2hsnz/>

In addition, the dimension of integrity shown by Gibran through posts on his Instagram is reflected in Figure 8 below. In the picture, it is clear that Gibran's position is squatting while having a dialogue with older people who sit in a chair. From the position of the two, it can be identified that Gibran respects elders and is polite, especially the older people who have a

dialogue with him look like someone who is sick because he holds a stick in his arm. This description is sufficient to justify that Gibran is a moral candidate.



Figure 8. Gibran is having a dialogue with one of the residents

Source: Instagram account @gibran_rakabuming <https://www.instagram.com/p/CBC5OSyBBpZ/>

The public or voters can easily identify political candidates who are moral and competent or not. Because voters can evaluate a candidate based on the dimensions of morality (integrity) and competence is shown to voters. As a result, the evaluation does not stop at the stage where voters like or respect the candidate, but ultimately whether the voter will support and vote for that candidate. In this case, voters are functioning as a mechanism for screening qualified candidates (Cwalina, Falkowski, & Newman, 2011). The existence of this function mechanism is also very well recognized by politicians, political parties to the marketing department. So they try to present the image of a political candidate who is moral and competent.

5.3. Candidates Representing 'Millenials'

The core of the third political branding is the social imagery dimension. This dimension is an important part of Indonesian politics and is the easiest for others to recognize. Based on the data from this study, it shows that in the dimension of social imagery, the indicators that are often found in posts uploaded to @gibran_rakabuming are millennials and are close to small people. There should be many posts that have the criteria of proximity or belonging to a certain religious group in this dimension. However, when the analysis was carried out on all selected samples, not many were found. There is only 10% in the pre-campaign and 3% during the campaign, while in the post-campaign it is not found at all.

This is because the samples taken are not appropriate at important moments or religious holidays, so not many have criteria for belonging to certain religious groups. Through observing the posts uploaded to the @gibran_rakabuming account, the author was able to identify that the post refers to Gibran who is part of the largest religious organization in Indonesia, it's Nahdlatul Ulama (NU). NU is the largest religious organization and a repository of voices for politicians in Indonesia (Saepulah, 2021). Therefore, being affiliated with NU is an important asset for many politicians in this country. Figure 9 below is one of the photos uploaded by Gibran which shows that Gibran visited PCNU Surakarta. This means that Gibran is part of NU.



Figure 9 Gibran's visit to PCNU Surakarta

Source: Instagram account @gibran_rakabuming, <https://www.instagram.com/p/CAAI0ZhBx3h/>

Other evidence that confirms that Gibran is part of a certain religious group (NU) can be seen in Figure 10 below. The picture is a photo uploaded by Gibran on February 24, 2020, before the campaign period was set by the KPU (general election commission). The photo and the caption provide information that Gibran was appointed an honorary member of Banser Surakarta.

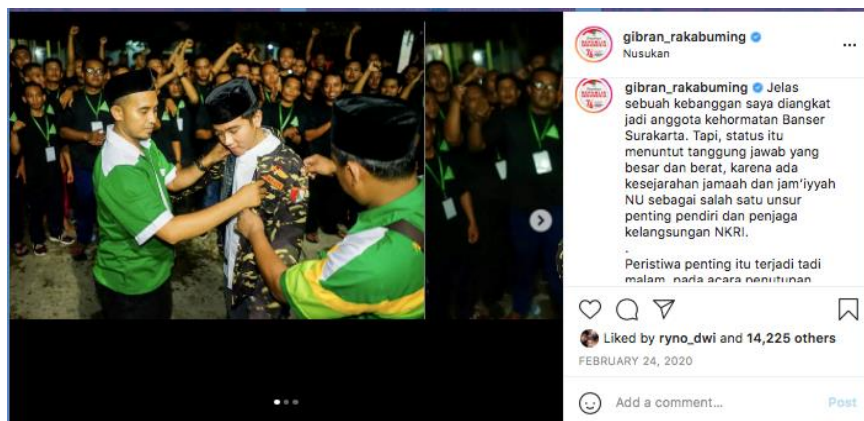


Figure 11 Gibran is appointed as a member of Banser Surakarta

Source: Instagram account @gibran_rakabuming, https://www.instagram.com/p/B87_YziBGyu/

Furthermore, the millennial image which is part of the social imagery built by Gibran in his Instagram shows that Gibran is a figure and representative of the millennials. In this millennial context, the authors questioned the millennial concept which is described as an image built by Gibran. According to Dimock (2019), the definition of millennials is individuals who were born in the range between 1981 to 1996, and those born after that or from 1997 onwards are part of the new generation. Based on the results of analysis and observations of the @gibran_rakabuming account, the author identified the millennial concept that was built by Gibran only as a millennial leader or who came from young people.

This is because when viewed from the concept of novelty in policies that are considered inherent to the millennial generation, it is not visible during the pre-campaign to post-campaign. The steps taken by Gibran to date are still adopting the old leadership style. So that in the end the embedded millennial concept can be said to only follow the trend that is currently developing as a millennial leader. Millennial leadership or in the millennial era is very distinctive with digitalization, which allows leaders to no longer act traditionally. Millennial leaders must understand and use the communication patterns of the millennial generation they lead, encouraging innovation, creativity, and entrepreneurship (Peramesti, & Kusmana, 2018). It is no longer just a discourse, but some processes and results can be enjoyed.

In addition, the most important part of national politics is the social image inherent in the candidate. Currently, Indonesian society still adheres to the opinion of leaders of various organizations or groups, and still adheres to a collective culture. Coming from which circle or group, is the initial identification of the community or voters in general. So it can be concluded that before voters evaluate a candidate, voters will find out the origin of the candidate. And sometimes voters will ignore the competencies possessed by certain political candidates just because they feel they have something in common in a group. Therefore, it is not surprising that many politicians are trying hard to embrace certain groups to increase electability in elections. This is what underlies the researcher to describe the political image (especially in Indonesia) with the outermost layer being social imagery, the second layer of integrity, and the third layer competence being the deepest layer (figure 3. Levels of Political Branding).

5.4. Social Media as Political Branding Space

In addition, the researchers also found that Gibran creating a social media account when he decided to have a career in politics was part of his visibility in cyberspace. It can be seen from the results of the analysis of the entire sample that there is not much interaction between

Gibran and his followers. The communication that is built is only one-way, by uploading photos or videos along with descriptions, without any interaction in the form of responses by replying to comments or liking comments from followers. Whereas social media is an interactive medium whose forms of communication are becoming increasingly complex. Where the two levels of communication are fused into one, it's interpersonal and mass communication (Watie, 2016). Whatever is uploaded on social media will become public consumption and at the same time, interpersonal communication occurs with interactions with mutual comments and direct messages.

In the use of social media for campaigning, Gibran is considered unable to use it properly. Gibran doesn't follow the global trend of maximizing social media to win votes. Like the 2008 and 2012 US presidential elections, Obama's victory in the presidential election was judged by his ability to integrate social media in political campaigns (Bimber, 2014). In addition, Obama is also able to adapt to the new media environment and understand new forms of political expression. Where the form of public participation in politics has shifted from being traditional to being active in online forums to volunteering in supporting communities.

Filimonov, Russmann, & Svensson, (2016) also explore the activity of political parties in Sweden in using Instagram during the 2014 elections, and the results show that digital communication platforms are used only for broadcast media rather than the mass mobilization of supporters. Meanwhile, political party campaign communication can be understood as communication to persuade and mobilize voters to win the election. Parties in Sweden often display the image of candidates through posts uploaded on Instagram in the direction of personalization. The most powerful candidates are portrayed on Instagram in a political or professional context. The results of research by Filimonov, Russmann, & Svensson, (2016) have similarities with those carried out by Gibran Rakabuming, not utilizing Instagram optimally for the benefit of political campaigns ahead of the 2020 Surakarta elections.

Different things were found in the 2016 United States Presidential election, that there was a positive relationship between the use of social media for political information and millennial voter decisions (Ton, & KIM, 2016). In addition, it has also been proven in the two US presidential elections in 2008 and 2012, millennials can influence the success of the presidential candidate's campaign. Overall, Ton & KIM (2016) say that political marketing in the current digital era cannot completely depend on social media alone, because traditional media still plays an important role in setting the agenda. Thus, candidates will continue to look to traditional media for legitimacy. However, due to the rapidly increasing population of social

media users and the nature of social networks that represent a space for certain groups to participate in politics. Political communication continues to develop following technological advances, so it is undeniable that political involvement in social networks greatly encourages millennial participation both online and offline.

The results of this study also identify that the use of Instagram for political campaigns will have a positive effect if it is used optimally according to the characteristics of the media. It is unfortunate that social media, which is interactive and participatory, is not used to influence and mobilize supporters online. As many candidates do, they use social media to broadcast like other traditional media with a one-way communication pattern. One of them is done by Gibran Rakabuming, he uses Instagram only as a medium for delivering messages or information without engaging in intense interaction with his followers. Political candidates should be able to interact with voters through social media so that they can influence voters who have not made their choice to be interested and support them on election day.

5.5. Social Media Facilitates Permanent Campaigns

Another finding that researchers can identify is the use of social media as a new medium of political communication used by politicians to conduct permanent campaigns. Interactive social media allows people to participate and create new political communication spaces where everyone can discuss politics openly. This is what politicians who want to find or are holding certain positions take advantage of to increase media coverage, build a wider image and relationship with the public. Like the research conducted by Domalewska (2018) about the new media (Twitter) used by politicians for permanent campaign purposes during the non-election period in Poland. And the findings confirm that parliamentarians use participatory platforms to increase visibility and share messages or information that is one-way. In addition, to display the popularity of politicians, the results of opinion polls, and the existence of propaganda to bring down the opposition.

The researcher also concluded that Gibran Rakabuming also carried out a permanent campaign through his Instagram social media account. When he decided to become a politician in 2019, the first thing he did was to open various social media accounts such as Facebook Page, Youtube, and Instagram; while this study focuses on Instagram. From 2019 until the determination of the campaign period by the Surakarta KPU was a non-election period, but at that time it was used by Gibran to build his political image and start campaigning online. In this context, it blurs the boundaries where the masses are allowed to campaign and not. As

stated in the KPU regulation (Pasal 25 ayat 1 Tahun 2018) that there is a prohibition on candidates from campaigning before the campaign period begins.

Due to the 2020 local election being held during the Covid-19 virus pandemic, all forms of campaigning must be conducted online. And it is also recommended to use social media to conduct campaigns and follow the rules set out in the General Election Commission (PKPU) Regulation No. 13 Tahun 2020, which contains all forms of prohibitions and sanctions. In the regulation, there is no clear limit to start and stop campaigning on social media. The author found many posts uploaded to the @gibran_rakabuming account which indicate campaign activities carried out during the campaign period have not been established. Activities carried out include meeting with residents, providing social assistance, open discussions, and visiting certain groups. All of these activities are forms of permanent campaigns carried out on social media.

6. CONCLUSION

This research was conducted to identify the formation of political branding through social media Instagram. Researchers observed and analyzed the content uploaded to the Instagram account @gibran_rakabuming, to find out the process of Gibran Rakabuming's political image. At that time Gibran Rakabuming was running for Mayor of Surakarta with Teguh Prakosa as his deputy. After that Gibran-Teguh won the election and became the Mayor and Deputy Mayor of Surakarta for the 2020-2025 period. For this reason, the author divides the total content uploaded by @gibran_rakabuming into three time periods (pre-campaign, campaign period, and post-campaign). By dividing it into three periods, the author can see the image created by Gibran Rakabuming and the significant changes in the process.

Overall, it can be said that Gibran Rakabuming is a political candidate who has integrity, competence, and social imagery. Gibran's image created from pre-campaign to post-campaign can be described as a candidate who comes from the millennial circle who cares, is responsible, honest, or transparent, and is close to society. In addition, Gibran is a political candidate who has the competence to serve as Mayor of Surakarta because he is professional, intelligent, educated, and hardworking. Then, the social imagery attached to Gibran during the pre-campaign to post-campaign is a millennial candidate or representative of the millennial generation.

Next is the consistency of the image that is built from pre-campaign to post-campaign is professional. Based on the results of data analysis for three periods, professional indicators are

always found in the analyzed samples. Gibran Rakabuming is described as a professional political candidate. The professional described through his Instagram posts is his ability to manage a business and as a politician. This is marked by many posts containing the products of his efforts and his association as a politician: meeting the media, meetings with other politicians, or people in government.

Based on the results of this study, shows that there is not much interaction between @gibran_rakabuming and his followers or other users on Instagram. besides that, every post uploaded by @gibran_rakabuming also doesn't get many likes from his followers. It was recorded that only one photo out of three-time periods received the most likes from followers by 17% of the total number of followers on Instagram. Gibran did not maximize the real function of social media for political purposes. So it can be said that Gibran created and used his Instagram account only for his visibility on social media, without taking advantage of the interactive and participatory characteristics of social media for political purposes. So that the communication pattern that occurs is only one-way, Instagram is only used as a medium for conveying messages or information like other mainstream media.

Finally, the research acknowledges the limitation of this research that is mainly come from its sample size and sampling technique. This research utilize non-probability sampling which limit its external validity. Therefore, the findings of this research cannot be generalized to describe the total population (all social media contents posted by Gibran during the election). However, this research provide useful initial study on the strategy utilized by political candidates in Indonesia (through the use of social media) to win election amid the limitation imposed by the pandemic.

REFERENCES

- Ayankoya, Kayode & Cullen, Margaret & Calitz, André. (2014). SOCIAL MEDIA MARKETING IN POLITICS. 10.13140/2.1.1099.1043.
- Bimber, Bruce. (2014). Digital Media in the Obama Campaigns of 2008 and 2012: Adaptation to the Personalized Political Communication Environment. *Journal of Information Technology & Politics*. 11. 130-150. 10.1080/19331681.2014.895691.
- Butler, P. and Collins, N. (1994), "Political Marketing: Structure and Process", *European Journal of Marketing*, Vol. 28 No. 1, pp. 19-34. <https://doi.org/10.1108/03090569410049154>
- Bossetta, M. (2018). The digital architectures of social media: Comparing political campaigning on Facebook, Twitter, Instagram, and Snapchat in the 2016 US election. *Journalism & mass communication quarterly*, 95(2), 471-496.
- Bode, L., Vraga, E. K., Borah, P., & Shah, D. V. (2014). A new space for political behavior: Political social networking and its democratic consequences. *Journal of Computer-Mediated Communication*, 19(3), 414-429.

- Cwalina, W., Falkowski, A., & Newman, B. I. (2011). Political marketing: Theoretical and strategic foundations. ME Sharpe.
- Diehl, T., Weeks, B. E., & Gil de Zúñiga, H. (2016). Political persuasion on social media: Tracing direct and indirect effects of news use and social interaction. *New Media & Society*, 18(9), 1875–1895. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1461444815616224>
- Domalewska, D. (2018). The permanent campaign in social media: A case study of Poland. *Central and Eastern European eDem and eGov Days*, 331, 461-468.
- Filimonov, K., Russmann, U., & Svensson, J. (2016). Picturing the party: Instagram and party campaigning in the 2014 Swedish elections. *Social media+ society*, 2(3), 2056305116662179.
- Grusell, M., & Nord, L. (2020). Setting the trend or changing the game? Professionalization and digitalization of election campaigns in Sweden. *Journal of Political Marketing*, 19(3), 258-278.
- Herring, Susan. (2004). Computer-mediated discourse analysis: an approach to researching online communities. *Designing for Virtual Communities in the Service of Learning*. 316-338. 10.1017/CBO9780511805080.016.
- HOOTSUITE, W. A. S. Y. (2020). Digital 2020. Global Digital Overview.
- Himmelboim, I., Lariscy, R. W., Tinkham, S. F., & Sweetser, K. D. (2012). Social media and online political communication: The role of interpersonal informational trust and openness. *Journal of Broadcasting & Electronic Media*, 56(1), 92-115.
- Kaid, L. L. (Ed.). (2004). *Handbook of political communication research*. Routledge.
- Keller, Kevin L. (1993). Conceptualizing, measuring, and managing customer-based brand equity. *Journal of Marketing*, 57(1), 1–22.
- Keller, Kevin, and Donald R. Lehmann. (2006). Brands and branding: Research findings and future priorities. *Marketing Science*, 25(6), 740–759.
- Kotler, Philip, and Neil Kotler. (1999). Political marketing: Generating effective candidates, campaigns, and causes. In Bruce Newman (Ed.), *Handbook of political marketing* (pp. 3–18). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications.
- Krippendorff, Klaus. (2006). *Content Analysis: An Introduction to Methodology*, 3rd Edition. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications Inc.
- McNair, B. (2017). *An introduction to political communication*. Taylor & Francis.
- McLeod, D. M., Kosicki, G. M., & McLeod, J. M. (2002). Resurveying the boundaries of political communication effects.
- Milewicz, C. M., & Milewicz, M. C. (2014). The branding of candidates and parties: The US news media and the legitimization of a new political term. *Journal of Political Marketing*, 13(4), 233-263.
- Neuendorf, K. A. (2017). *The content analysis guidebook*. sage.
- Newman, Bruce. (1994). *The marketing of a president: Political marketing as campaign strategy*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage
- Newman, B. I., & Perloff, R. M. (2004). Political marketing: Theory, research, and applications. *Handbook of political communication research*, 17-43.
- Newman, B. I., & Sheth, J. N. (1985). A model of primary voter behavior. *Journal of Consumer Research*, 12(2), 178-187.
- Okan, E. Y., Topcu, A., & Akyüz, S. (2014). The role of social media in political marketing: 2014 local elections of turkey. *European Journal of business and Management*, 6(22), 131-140.
- Owen, D. (2017). New media and political campaigns. In *The Oxford handbook of political communication*.
- Peramesti, N. P. D. Y., & Kusmana, D. (2018). Kepemimpinan ideal pada era generasi milenial. *TRANSFORMASI: Jurnal Manajemen Pemerintahan*, 73-84.
- Prasad, B. D. Content Analysis. A Method in Social Science Research, 2018.
- Putra, H., Sumadinata, R. W., & Sulaeman, A. (2020). Social Image and Candidate's Image: A Case Study of Voting Behavior in the Gubernatorial Election in Indonesia's West Java in 2018. *JPPUMA: Jurnal Ilmu Pemerintahan dan Sosial Politik UMA (Journal of Governance and Political Social UMA)*, 8(1), 47-56.

- Rachim Marpaung Malik, Siti A., "The Construction of Candidate’s Political Image on Social Media: A Thematic Analysis of Facebook Comments in the 2014 Presidential Election in Indonesia" (2017). *Electronic Theses, Projects, and Dissertations*. 444. <https://scholarworks.lib.csusb.edu/etd/444>
- Ridge-Newman, Anthony & Mitchell, Mary. (2016). Digital Political Marketing. 10.1057/978-1-137-58440-3_7.
- Riffe, D., Lacy, S., Watson, B. R., & Fico, F. (2019). *Analyzing media messages: Using quantitative content analysis in research*. Routledge.
- Rumata, V. M. (2017). ANALISIS ISI KUALITATIF TWITTER “# TaxAmnesty” DAN “# AmnestiPajak” A QUALITATIVE CONTENT ANALYSIS OF TWITTER “# TaxAmnesty” AND “# AmnestiPajak”. *Jurnal PIKOM (Penelitian Komunikasi dan Pembangunan)*, 18(1).
- Saepulah, S. (2021). *Politik identitas keagamaan warga Nahdlatul Ulama (NU)* (Doctoral dissertation, UIN SUNAN GUNUNG DJATI BANDUNG).
- Skalski, P. D., Neuendorf, K. A., & Cajigas, J. A. (2017). Content analysis in the interactive media age. *The content analysis guidebook*, 2, 201-42.
- Soenjoto, W. P. P. (2019). Eksploitasi Isu Politik Identitas terhadap Identitas Politik pada Generasi Milineal Indonesia di Era 4.0. *Journal of Islamic Studies and Humanities*, 4(2), 187-217.
- Ton, T., & KIM, Y. (2016). Political Marketing in the Digital Era: Millennials’ use of Social Media for Political Information and Its Effect on Voting Decision. DePaul University.
- Van Aelst, P., Strömbäck, J., Aalberg, T., Esser, F., De Vreese, C., Matthes, J., ... & Papathanassopoulos, S. (2017). Political communication in a high-choice media environment: a challenge for democracy?. *Annals of the International Communication Association*, 41(1), 3-27.
- Watie, E. D. S. (2016). Komunikasi dan media sosial (communications and social media). *Jurnal The Messenger*, 3(2), 69-74.
- Wimmer, R. D., & Dominick, J. R. (2013). *Mass media research*. Cengage learning.
- Wood, A. F., & Smith, M. J. (2005). Online communication: Linking technology, identity, and culture.