

## **STRATEGIC POLITICAL COMMUNICATION AND PROPAGANDA: WINNING FACTORS OF PRABOWO SUBIANTO-GIBRAN RAKABUMING RAKA IN THE 2024 ELECTION**

**Muhamad Nastain, Rindiyanir Irfani Safitri, Nugraheni Attharika Hidayat and Hesti Agustin**

Faculty of Communication Science and Multimedia, Universitas Mercu Buana Yogyakarta

E-mail: [nastain@mercu-yogya.ac.id](mailto:nastain@mercu-yogya.ac.id); [rindiyanirfanisafitri140903@gmail.com](mailto:rindiyanirfanisafitri140903@gmail.com) ;

[nugraheniattharii@gmail.com](mailto:nugraheniattharii@gmail.com) ; [hestiagustin743@gmail.com](mailto:hestiagustin743@gmail.com)

**ABSTRACT.** This article examines the factors that led the Prabowo-Gibran pair to reach the door of victory in the 2024 elections. The twists and turns of the long process can be navigated with various smooth strategies that demonstrate the pair's expertise in politics, ultimately leading to a one-round victory. This research employs a qualitative descriptive method, utilizing data collection techniques that include a literature study and observation. The results showed that various factors contributed to the Prabowo-Gibran pair's victory, starting with the role of President Jokowi as an incumbent who had a significant influence on Prabowo-Gibran's electability, often referred to as the Jokowi Effect. In addition, proficiency in identifying opportunities and managing situations is a key collaboration, such as the formation of "Gemoy" framing, success in reaching Gen Z preferences, and reversing propaganda tactics. The victory was also supported by the TKN's expertise in gaining the support of various political parties, mass organizations, and volunteers. Effective management of situations and opportunities is key, as well as a strategy to stay one step ahead of rivals to achieve success. This research contributes to the field of political communication and highlights the importance of forming public opinion as a key factor in the success of political contestants in democratic elections.

**Keywords:** political communication; Indonesia's elections; propaganda; presidential election; political strategy

## **STRATEGI KOMUNIKASI POLITIK DAN PROPAGANDA: FAKTOR KEMENANGAN PRABOWO SUBIANTO-GIBRAN RAKABUMING RAKA PADA PEMILIHAN UMUM 2024**

**ABSTRAK,** Artikel ini mengkaji faktor yang mengantarkan pasangan Prabowo-Gibran dalam mencapai pintu kemenangan pada pemilu 2024. Lika-liku atas proses panjang hingga polemik bahkan kontroversi dapat dilewati dengan berbagai strategi mulus yang membuktikan kepiawaian pasangan ini dalam berpolitik, hingga mengantarkan pada kemenangan satu putaran. Penelitian ini menggunakan metode deskriptif kualitatif dengan teknik pengumpulan data berupa studi literatur dan observasi. Dari hasil penelitian menunjukan terdapat berbagai faktor kemenangan pasangan Prabowo-Gibran, mulai dari peran presiden Jokowi sebagai incumbent yang memiliki pengaruh besar atas mencuatnya elektabilitas Prabowo-Gibran, yang kerap dikenal dengan istilah Jokowi Effect. Selain itu, kemahiran dalam melihat peluang dan pengelolaan situasi menjadi kolaborasi yang apik, seperti pembentukan framing gemoy, keberhasilan dalam mencapai preferensi gen z, hingga taktik propaganda terbalik. Kemenangan juga didukung kepiawaian TKN dalam meraup dukungan berbagai partai politik, organisasi massa, dan relawan. Pengelolaan situasi dan peluang yang baik adalah kunci sekaligus strategi untuk berada satu langkah lebih maju dari para rivalnya, hingga berhasil mencapai kemenangan. Penelitian ini akan memberikan kontribusi dalam pemikiran bidang komunikasi politik dan urgensi pembentukan opini publik sebagai faktor kunci kemenangan kontestan politik dalam kontestasi demokrasi.

**Kata Kunci:** komunikasi politik; pemilu Indonesia; propaganda; pemilihan presiden; strategi politik

### **INTRODUCTION**

The victory of the couple Prabowo Subianto and Gibran Rakabuming Raka as President and Vice President in 2024 reveals a severe dynamic process. The principle of democracy is a crucial issue that the wider community is actively pursuing. In this context, general elections are one of the primary procedures in a democratic system, allowing the community to actively participate in determining its leaders (Basuki, 2020). Indonesia, as a democratic system state, accommodates the interests of people numbering in the hundreds of millions and comprises

a culturally diverse society spread across various islands, making it essential for all elements of society to have equal access to the political sphere (Herdiansah, 2021). The pair's success in achieving victory indicates strong community support for the vision, mission, and programs they are promoting.

Candidate pair for President and Vice President number 02 is superior to their competitors in the 2024 Presidential Election, as proven by the vote count results from the KPU, which places the Prabowo and Gibran pair as having the most votes. This pair not only presents an attractive vision and mission but also embodies the concept of unity and

continuity with the previous government's programs. In coalition with their supporting parties, this pair was able to attract support from various community groups, which shows a solid support base. Apart from that, the presence of important figures behind this pair, such as President Joko Widodo, provides an additional advantage. Support from these figures not only provides legitimacy but also strengthens the couple's image in the eyes of the public. In this way, this couple shows a strong commitment to winning the 2024 presidential election and realizing a strong and sustainable leadership vision.

The victory in the presidential election this time is also an important study, considering the unstable political conditions that have resulted in several controversies involving many state officials and law enforcement. Previously, at the start of Gibran Rakabuming Raka's vice presidential candidacy, controversy arose regarding the constitutional court's decision, which was deemed to violate democratic ethics (Hasanah et al., 2024). Even before the election was held, chaos continued to occur, bringing the KPU into line with the Constitutional Court case as an institution that violated democratic ethics, which makes this year's election far from peaceful. The chaos was caused by the debate over Gibran's position as a vice-presidential candidate regarding the age limit for candidacy. However, despite this, it does not hinder the ability of the number two candidate pair to continue building their electability, regaining public trust, and winning the vote. The political dynamics and controversies that occur seem to be normal, and the final decision in a democratic system ultimately comes down to the people's decision to vote (Nasionalita & Nugroho, 2020; Saputro, 2018). The political dynamics and electoral processes of the 2024 election imply a variety of meanings behind nomination events and the campaign strategies employed. Political communication serves as the basis for critiquing social and political facts widely reported in the media (Nugroho & Fitriawan, 2024; Susanto, 2017). This research leads to exploring the facts behind the victory of candidate number two. Winning factor analysis is necessary to explore through literature studies, examining the public's perspective on making assessments and the extent to which they can apply political education in critiquing the government's operations. This research is an important study examining the strategies and winning factors that originate from within and outside the candidate pair itself, where these factors are always related to the political situation and the socio-political dynamics of society (Ardipandanto, 2020).

Democratic politics is a system of governance that regulates the life of a country's citizens. There are many political systems, one of which is democratic politics. A democratic political system is a system that places supreme power in the hands of the people; therefore, democratic politics are freer and more open. In this case, a democratic country can run dynamically if there is active public participation. Apart from that, it is important to foster the public. In terms of criticizing and caring about the problems and political dynamics that are currently occurring (Trijono, 2011), the future of government and political elites is indirectly influenced by the public's critical thinking and logic in determining leaders and policies within the democratic political system.

This research demonstrates that the democratic struggle for power is not merely a political struggle of ideas, academic intelligence, and mastery of social relations but also involves intelligence in producing information and managing public perception. The era of people seeking power in today's media convergence presents opportunities for candidates to win, primarily due to the successful team's ability to frame information and manage public perception, both organically and through strategic efforts. The process of political communication and propaganda, enhanced by the optimization of information technology, is an important area of research that warrants attention, providing political education to the broader political community. The democratic process as a means of obtaining competent, capable, and quality leaders should not be defeated by the power of engineering public perception.

## METHOD

The research method used is a qualitative descriptive method. The qualitative descriptive method is a research approach that involves an in-depth examination of a particular object; that is, the closer the researcher is to the object, the more valid and in-depth the resulting research findings will be. Qualitative research is related to research conducted on natural objects, where the researcher serves as the primary instrument (Hasanah et al., 2024). The data collection techniques employed in this research included a literature study and observation. A literature study is an analysis technique that involves understanding the literature and related draft reports based on the problems the object of research aims to address (Firmansyah et al., 2021; Nastain & Nugroho, 2022).

The literature study in this research includes articles that discuss the political dynamics leading

up to and following the election. The data used also comes from news media, government websites, and scientific journals. Data collection includes the observation of the object under study as supporting evidence, as well as a deeper analysis of existing literature data and consideration of situational analysis (Sitepu & Sabrin, 2020). Data collection was conducted by consulting trusted sources on online news portals, including *kompas.com*, CNN Indonesia, and *detik.com*, which have demonstrated credibility and integrity in maintaining media independence. Data obtained from news channels will be verified and rechecked against various information from official government portals, such as *kpu.go.id* and *komdigi.go.id*. Data from the two sources combined with the results of researchers' observations of phenomena and facts in the field. Researchers collect data from observations of dynamics on social media, as well as conversations and comment columns on these platforms. This process involves data triangulation to ensure that the data obtained are valid and can be accounted for.

## RESULT AND DISCUSSION

### 1. Shifting Political Map

Prabowo is back in the fight in the 2024 presidential election with Gibran. Defeat in the previous two terms against Jokowi made him not a strong candidate to win the election. Significant issues and records remain propaganda ammunition that his opponents continually use. Prabowo's position became even more difficult when PDIP, as the winning party for two terms, also nominated its candidate, Ganjar Pranowo. The right-wing political position is characterized by an academic and religious profile, as exemplified by Anies Baswedan, the 2024 presidential candidate. The political map that previously did not favor Prabowo became different when there was a break in the partnership between Jokowi and PDIP. Jokowi, as president at that time, became a key actor who pushed his son Gibran Rakabuming Raka as a vice-presidential candidate to accompany Jokowi. Jokowi's political ability with all the instruments of power that are still attached is one of the key factors in the shift in political direction in the 2024 presidential election contest. However, there are several factors that serve as turning points for changes in the political landscape.

#### a. Jokowi Effect

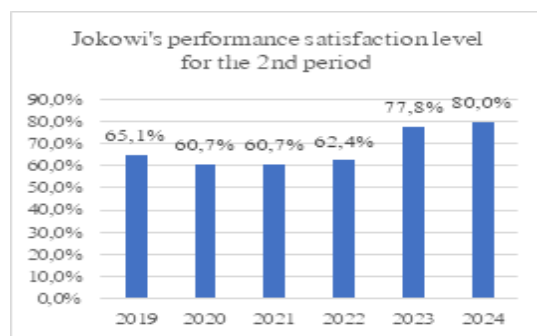
An R&D survey conducted by Kompas shows that as many as 53.5% of those who voted for President

Jokowi in the 2019 election are now exercising their voting rights again by voting for presidential and vice-presidential candidates Prabowo Subianto and Gibran Raka Bumiringraka in the 2024 election. The survey was conducted after the election, specifically on February 14, 2024. Meanwhile, in the previous Kompas R&D survey, voter support reached 40.7% during the period from November 29 to December 4, 2023. This data shows that there is a connection between the influence of Jokowi's electability, which is the belief among Jokowi supporters that those who migrated to Prabowo Gibran's partner are often referred to as the Jokowi effect. Public satisfaction with Jokowi's performance is also an advantage for Prabowo Gibran's candidate partner in increasing their electability. The reason is that this couple is often linked as Jokowi's successor and emphasizes the principle of sustainability (Nita, 2024).



Source: <https://www.menpan.go.id>

Figure 1. Screenshot of data by *menpan.go.id*



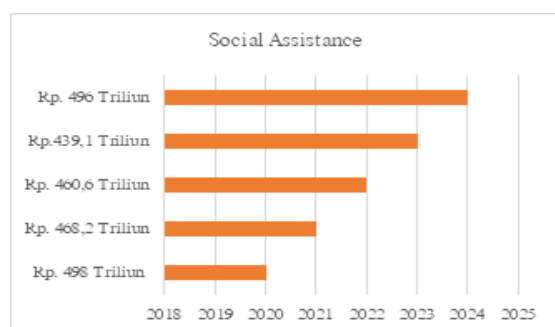
Source: <https://www.populicenter.org>

Figure 2. Results of researcher data processing

#### b. Social Assistance Politics

The massive social assistance or social protection provided by the government in the political year 2024 often draws public criticism. Supported by President Jokowi's direct provision of social assistance to the people, which addressed issues of political interest, it was carried out effectively, which is because the social assistance budget issued by the government in 2024 will reach 496 trillion, almost

matching the amount of the social assistance budget at the start of the 2020 pandemic, namely 498 trillion. This social assistance then began to give rise to issues and preferences among certain parties regarding the politicization of social assistance (Saptohutomo, 2024). According to a study by the Center for Strategic and International Studies (CSIS), which revealed a correlation between social assistance and the electability of presidential candidates. The results of the survey released in December 2023 show that Prabowo has the highest popularity, namely 36.6%, which is support from respondents who received social assistance, which then indicates that presidential candidate Prabowo has achieved the highest popularity (Momole, 2024).



Source: <https://www.kompas.com>

**Figure 3. Results of researcher data processing**

**Table 1. Results of researchers' data processing**

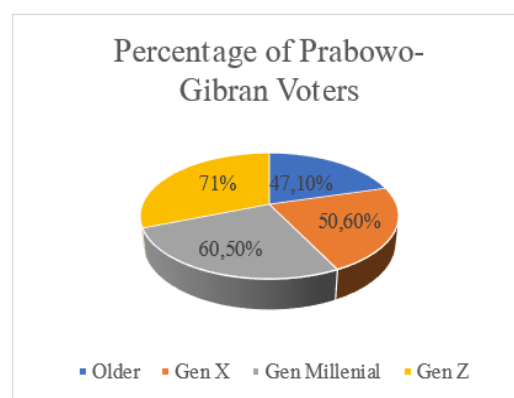
Details of the 2024 Social Assistance Budget		
social assistance	Information	
	Help Value	Recipient
EI Nino direct cash assistance (BLT).	IDR 400,000/family	beneficiary family (KPM)
rice food aid	10 kg rice	
Family Hope Program (PKH)	Rp. 3 million/year	toddlers & mothers giving birth
	Rp.900,000 to Rp. 2,000,000/year	elementary, middle and high school students
	Rp. 2,400,000/year	elderly and people with disabilities
non-cash food assistance (BPNT)	IDR 200,000/month	once every 2 months
Smart Indonesia Program (PIP)	Rp. 450,000 to Rp. 750,000/year	Elementary, Middle School, High School, Vocational School
BLT mitigates food risk	Rp. 600,000/family	beneficiary family (KPM)

Source: <https://www.kompas.com>

### c. Gen-Z Political Preferences

In the 2024 election, the political map shows the dominance of first-time voters, consisting of the millennial generation and Generation Z, which is supported by the results of a survey targeting the Millennial Generation and Generation Z regarding

the preferences of the three presidential and vice-presidential candidates based on the Millennium Community Research Institute (LPMM). LPMM coordinator Alamsyah Wijaya stated that as many as 81.7% of the millennial generation and Generation Z consider the experience of presidential candidates an important criterion to take into consideration (Febryan A, 2024). Based on the exit poll for the 2024 presidential election released by the Indonesian Political Indicator shows that as many as 71% of voters belonging to Generation Z chose the candidate pair Prabowo Subianto and Gibran Rakabuming Raka. Prabowo Gibran's success in gathering votes and support in the 2024 election cannot escape the strong support given by Generation Z and millennials, most of whom are first-time voters, which also shows success in achieving conformity with the preferences of Generation Z and Millennials (Ulya, 2024).



Source: <https://www.kompas.com>

**Figure 4. Results of researcher data processing**

## 2. Massive support from political parties and mass organizations

The shift in the political map, resulting from the split between Jokowi and PDIP, impacted the distribution of political party support for candidates. Prabowo received massive support from established parties that have a high electoral threshold and are regular members of parliament, such as the Democratic Party, Golkar, and PAN. This map of support cannot be separated from the dynamics of politics and Jokowi's involvement in playing the map of political support, which was followed by the emergence of mass organization movements (NGOs) or volunteers who provided support for the Prabowo and Gibran pair. This support is suspected to have become increasingly massive due to Gibran's rise as a vice-presidential candidate and carrying Jokowi's political wagon.

### a. Political Party Support

Prabowo Gibran's victory was motivated by several factors, one of which was the strategy and

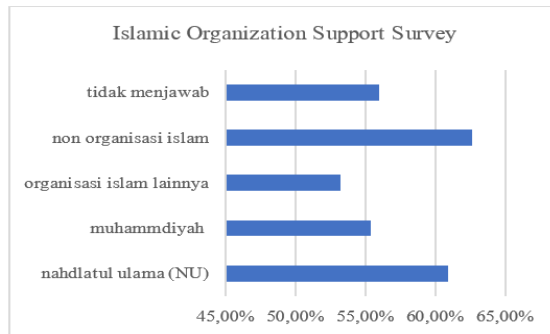
massive support provided by various coalitions of parties, volunteers, and mass organizations spread across many regions in Indonesia. As stated by Pujono Elli Bayu Effendi, chairman of the Advanced Indonesia Coalition for Sragen District, on Monday, November 6, 2023, to solopos.com. The eight KIM member political parties agreed to support Prabowo-Gibran by maximizing the number of seats KIM had in the Sragen DPRD. The eight political parties that are members of this coalition include the Gerindra Party, the Golkar Party, the Democratic Party, the National Mandate Party (PAN), the Indonesian Solidarity Party (PSI), the Gelora Party, the Garuda Party, and the Prima Party. The joining of several major parties in the Advanced Indonesia coalition also boosted confidence in winning the election contest this time. Based on analysis by the National Survey Institute (LSN), the solidity of the voter base of parties that are members of KIM increases daily, strengthening support for these parties and, in turn, enhancing the electability of Prabowo Gibran's running mate.

#### b. Community Organization Support

Simultaneously, the strong support of political parties aligns with that of community organizations. Various national-scale mass organizations that formed the Guaranteed Vote Prabowo Movement (GMPP), which is under the auspices of the Gerindra party, are led by retired officers and major generals (ret.) who are Prabowo Subianto's militant subordinates (Rahmat & Firdaus, 2023). This combination of national-scale mass organizations comprises up to 22 mass organizations, which collectively express a strong level of trust in Prabowo's leadership (Budi, 2023). Apart from that, Prabowo's expertise in convincing and gaining public sympathy has been successful in garnering support from various mass organizations, including the Nahdlatul Ulama (NU), the most prominent Islamic religious organization.

The survey institute Poltracking released the results of a survey conducted from January 25 to 31, 2024, which shows a map of the distribution of support for the 2024 presidential election among Islamic organizations in East Java, with a tendency for NU voters to give their support to Prabowo Gibran. Survey data show that the number of NU voters with a cluster distribution of 79.0% is presented as follows: Anies-Muhaimin (15.3%), Prabowo-Gibran (60.9%), and Ganjar-Mahfud (16.3%). The presentation of support for Prabowo-Gibran has indeed reached a high margin of superiority, especially since they face their political opponents, namely Anies-Muhaimin, who is supported by PKB, with the big name of their

party attached to NU. However, this situation does not become an obstacle for this couple in spreading their wings in various circles and backgrounds of community organizations (zunita putri, 2024).



Source: <https://www.detik.com>

Figure 5. Results of researcher data processing

#### c. Volunteer Support

Prabowo Gibran's victory also cannot be separated from the process and hard work of volunteers who dedicated themselves to expanding the reach of this couple's supporters. At the start of the campaign period, around November 2023, the Prabowo-Gibran national campaign team announced that more than 500 volunteer organizations had joined to provide support. These volunteer organizations are classified into four large groups: the Jokowi volunteer community, the Prabowo volunteer community, the Gibran volunteer community, and the political party volunteers of the coalition supporting Prabowo (Akbar, 2023). Supported by the strength of pro-Jokowi volunteers (ProJo), who declared their support for Jokowi directly after the National Working Meeting held at the GBK arena. This National Working Meeting was, of course, attended by President Jokowi, who opened the meeting's agenda and provided directions, as well as delivered a speech. With the direction given by President Jokowi, "Projo" volunteers interpreted this as a sign of support for Prabowo and decided to go directly to Prabowo's residence to declare their support (Kamil & Rastika, 2023).

### 3. Brand Identity

The third factor in Prabowo Gibran's victory is the ability of his communication team to produce information and influence public perception. The image of "Gemoy," which represents Prabowo, can have a positive impact on forming a public image. This information framing can drown out the negative image of Prabowo, which on many occasions has always been an issue produced at every democratic event, such as human rights violations and kidnapping of activists. The ability to frame and produce



information and form an image is strengthened by optimizing the use of social media across various platforms, especially when targeting Gen Z users. Gibran's role as a young politician holds a special place for Gen Z, serving as a differentiator at a time when many elite politicians, especially presidential and vice-presidential candidates, are dominated by the older generation.

#### a. Reverse Propaganda

To achieve victory in the 2024 election, the Prabowo-Gibran couple is persistent in enhancing their electability by establishing a strong brand identity. Based on data for the period of 10-17 November 2023, collected by the Indonesia Political Survey (IPO), Prabowo received a relatively high electability rating compared to his opponent, at 37.5% (Wijayanto, 2023). In comparison to their high electability achievements, this couple also often has to go through several challenges in responding to disinformation circulating on social media, as stated in *kominfo.go.id*, which explains that Prabowo Subianto replaced Gibran as a deputy candidate because he used a fake diploma, which firmly denied by his party and was proven to be a hoax (Mth, 2023). Another hoax news circulating is the narrative of the DKPP hearing decision, which disqualified the Prabowo-Gibran candidate pair as stated in *kominfo.go.id* (Viska, 2024).

However, as the political dynamics progress from the beginning of the nomination to the campaign period, every moment can be utilized well to shape the image and electability in the eyes of the public, especially young people. Prabowo's brand identity in the two previous election periods, which was known for its militaristic, tough, and assertive character and even earned him the nicknames of "stage lion" and "Asian tiger," will no longer be exploited in the 2024 election. Prabowo's winning team used the "Gemoy" identity given by the public to change Prabowo's image. Iconic persona, often perceived as adorable. Gemoy's choice of words was not without measurable psychological considerations. In terms of meaning and the process of forming public perception, the word "Gemoy" does not have a negative meaning; almost all the meanings associated with this word are positive.

#### b. Gemoy Framing

The nickname "Gemoy," which was created by the public and framed by the media, also stuck in the minds of the public until it became a new phrase that revealed another side of Prabowo, who remains equally firm. According to the results of a

field interview conducted by the deputy commander of TKN Fanta HQ, it was revealed that "Gemoy" politics first emerged from the TikTok community, which responded to Prabowo's style of behavior (Ernes, 2023). According to the LSI survey, Denny JA explained that Prabowo's brand identity or image, characterized by his stocky body and dancing behavior, had a significant influence on his image among beginner voters or Gen Z (Pinterpolitik.com, 2024). Gemoy framing is also used as a campaign strategy to approach young people, especially Generation Z. The Prabowo-Gibran national campaign team also revealed that this "Gemoy" framing was used as a strategy to attract young people by highlighting their uniqueness and something interesting in their minds so that afterward which is hoped that young people would try to find out more and explore and consider the true vision, mission, and essence.

#### c. Social Media Optimization

The creative campaign strategy employed on social media made this pair superior to their opponents, as stated by Ari Ganjar Herdiansyah, a political observer at Padjadjaran University, who noted the diversity of creative content that filled the Prabowo-Gibran couple's social media during their campaign strategy (Sushmita, 2023). Data from social media analyst Drone Emprit revealed results based on observations on TikTok for the period from January 21 to 30, 2024. Prabowo-Gibran had the highest number of engagements, with a total of 1,271,642,826 interactions, calculated based on likes, comments, shares, and views. This data shows a skyrocketing comparison between the opposing pairs, with Ganjar-Mahfud in second place, followed by Anies-Muhaimin, with totals of 570,797,272 and 516,899,152, respectively. This data shows that Prabowo-Gibran was successful in mastering the TikTok social media algorithm and earned the nickname "the king of TikTok." Even when compared to the quantity of content and the length of the campaign carried out through this platform, Anies-Muhaimin can be said to be superior. However, the engagement data reveals the advantages achieved by the Prabowo-Gibran pair, which stem from a more intense influence of interaction and resonance by the audience, thereby affecting the total engagement advantages formed (CNN Indonesia, 2024). (Table 2)

In increasing their electability, candidate pair number two also formed a coalition with supporters of President Jokowi. With the merger of the two Prabowo and Gibran camps, pro-Jokowi supporters chose to back this pair, thereby increasing the

electability of this pair. Before running for the 2024 presidential candidacy, Prabowo Subianto played the role of Jokowi's rival in the previous election, then joined the government as defense minister, often showing partiality towards Jokowi's policies and leadership (Hakim & Zamhasari, 2023). The Jokowi effect is one of the key factors in the electability of the number two pair. The Jokowi effect has been widely discussed long before the general election started. Not only that, but the Jokowi effect also presents many pros and cons for this election. The leadership of the previous President, Jokowi, during his two terms, was sufficient to shape the public's perception of his performance; in fact, many were satisfied and wanted continuity with his leadership style.

**Table 2. Results of researchers' data processing**

Prabowo-Gibran's TikTok algorithm	
Information	Amount
Upload	2.042
Like	73.663.081
Comment	3.362.523
Views	1.197.162.733
Total	1.271.642.826

Source: <https://www.cnnindonesia.com>

Towards the end of his term of office, President Jokowi continues to strive to build public satisfaction with the image of his leadership, which demonstrates care for the welfare of the community, as shown by his enthusiasm for social assistance that is still being provided. The policy on social assistance implemented by Jokowi's government has drawn criticism from some academics, including the call for "samba," a form of university evaluation of the social assistance program carried out by Jokowi. The massive amount of social assistance carried out is viewed with a negative connotation, especially since it was implemented on a large scale to influence the 2024 election. Jokowi's action was seen as a practice of Pork Barrel Politics, a term previously widely discussed by practitioners and academics who criticized Jokowi's government. Pork Barrel Politics, often referred to as pork barrel politics, is taking advantage of political activities by using state resources for personal interests, which in this case is related to social assistance activities which are assistance from the state which then becomes a polemic when it is massively implemented at the same time as the electoral period (Jaidi et al., 2024).

Although this social assistance process has undergone a mechanism with approval from the DPR and other relevant parties, this behavior is still considered to deviate from political ethics.

Social assistance is a vulnerable activity and has the potential to be used as a political tool, which is often referred to as political assistance, not social assistance. Moreover, social assistance is a form of state responsibility typically provided to the lower socioeconomic classes. Consequently, it creates the perception that this assistance was personally provided by President Jokowi, which, in reality, is state assistance, thereby indirectly supporting the next leader whom President Jokowi favors. This public perception is a matter of public concern, as the practice of patron-client politics is emerging, which threatens to undermine the values of a democratic country. Therefore, it is natural for criticism to emerge from the public, especially from political activists and academics.

The Prabowo-Gibran pair also leveraged the younger generation to enhance their electability. Gen Z plays a significant role in the 2024 election, which has encouraged the three pairs of presidential and vice-presidential candidates to compete for the interest of the younger generation. Gen Z is one of the largest voting demographics in this election, alongside the millennial generation and other generations. In attracting the interest of Gen Z, the presidential and vice-presidential candidates employed a campaign approach with various strategies that were presented attractively. A more relaxed, light-hearted, and humorous campaign strategy was employed to create a sense of interest among Gen Z. Meanwhile, according to existing data, Gen Z places more emphasis on the experience of presidential and vice-presidential candidates as the primary criterion in determining their choice. Many Gen Z individuals believe that the campaign being carried out is more focused on gimmicks, which causes Gen Z to choose rationally rather than emotionally, influenced by the campaign style that appears on their social media homepage.

This shift in the political map reveals several interesting facts, including the Jokowi effect, social assistance, and strategies for influencing the preferences of new voters, particularly Gen Z, who are the dominant voting bloc, in research conducted by Dede Suprayitno et al. With the title "Exposure of Jokowi Dodo's Political Communication towards the Millennial Generation in the 2019 General Election", this research focuses on President Jokowi's steps in building an approach toward the younger generation, as well as activities that have implicit meanings that President Jokowi Dodo is trying to convey in the 2019 election which was also carried out by the Prabowo-Gibran pair with similar steps and strategies which made young voters the main target in

gaining support in the 2024 election. This aligns with Gibran's advancement as Prabowo's companion, who is close to the younger generation, providing an opportunity to attract their interest with a different approach. Unique, including communication and interaction styles that suit Gen Z preferences.

In boosting the electability of the Prabowo-Gibran pair, the role of support from coalition parties, volunteers, and mass organizations was not spared. Political parties have a significant role in winning candidate pairs. Various party coalitions, including the Democratic Party coalition, also support the Prabowo-Gibran pair, which makes the Democrats one of the parties that are exceptionally loyal to Prabowo, as evident in the 2014 Democratic general election, alongside Gerindra, PAN, and other parties that comprise the red-and-white coalition. Even though they declared themselves neutral at the time, the Democrats ultimately established themselves as part of the Red and White coalition. A similar trend can also be observed in the 2019 general election, where the Democrats chose to rejoin Prabowo in the Indonesia Just Makmur coalition. Likewise, in the 2024 general election, the Democrats joined the advanced Indonesia coalition, a move that contrasts with their previous decision to join the Coalition for Change alongside PKS and Nasdem. However, he again dropped his support for the Prabowo-Gibran camp.

The Prabowo-Gibran pair also excelled thanks to support from community organizations hosted by their political party. Not only that, this couple extends support not only to national mass organizations but also to religious mass organizations, which is undoubtedly contrary to the expectations of some people, considering that the Prabowo-Gibran couple's political opponents are closely tied to religious branding. The strong religious branding of their political opponents makes the Prabowo-Gibran pair quite superior in attracting the interest of the non-Muslim community. As is known, the opposing camp applies political branding that is biased toward the Islamic religion, considering that Indonesia is a Muslim-majority country. However, this opens opportunities for the Prabowo-Gibran camp to attract significant interest and support from the non-Muslim community. Nevertheless, the Prabowo-Gibran pair also remains superior among Muslim communities, as evidenced by the highest percentage of votes received by the Prabowo-Gibran pair in West Java, the province with the most significant number of Muslim communities in Indonesia in 2024.

Research conducted by Randi Hamdani discusses the formation of volunteer organizations through youth movements in increasing political

participation in the 2019 election by involving young figures in forming volunteers and bringing support to the current presidential candidates. Likewise, with the 2024 election, Prabowo-Gibran volunteers continue to voice the pair's vision and mission in a massive and structured manner. The support that comes from volunteers stems from the Jokowi effect. This is evident in the pro-Jokowi volunteers who openly support the Prabowo-Gibran camp in efforts to increase voter participation. Political volunteers play a crucial role in educating the public about the presidential and vice-presidential candidates who will be elected, and they also volunteer to campaign for their preferred candidates. As is known, volunteers do not come from civil society support but also from political party networks.

Not only did they rely on support from volunteers, but there were also many factors that led the Prabowo-Gibran couple to victory in this election. The "gemoy" framing that is inherent is not only interpreted as an approach towards young people but is also used as a form that is initially perceived as elastic, which can also be viewed from an impression management perspective using a dramaturgical approach. This approach, if observed from the formation of Prabowo's gemoy framing, is interpreted as the social interaction carried out by Prabowo as an actor on the political stage who can create the desired impression to be embedded in the minds of the public (Abdurrohman, 2024). The "gemoy" gimmick employed by Prabowo can be considered one of the advertising strategies. An advertising strategy that is new with its uniqueness in the campaign process. New advertising strategies that help change the political process become a public spectacle, thereby encouraging new political behavior (Abdurrohman, 2024). If we look closely, this is an effort made by Prabowo to create a new political image in front of the public who wants to include elements of humor in every event of political dynamics that occurs. Politics, which was previously considered only serious and stressful, is now seen as fun and relaxing.

Apart from that, "gemoy" framing helps capture the public's attention, especially that of young people. Prabowo's cool character can help divert the circulating issues related to the controversy that has cornered this couple. During issues of controversy and pressure from various parties, Prabowo remains consistent with his relaxed stage character with his signature dance moves. Often, if we pay close attention to several events, Prabowo does not forget the "joint gemoy" action, which seems to have become his political token. This "gemmy" gimmick



is also connected to another reality, which depicts Prabowo as a patient and forgiving figure, as seen in various moments, such as during the presidential and vice-presidential debates, which became a trending topic. During the debate, his opponents raised many arguments that cornered him—Prabowo, who then attracted much sympathy from his supporters. However, Prabowo seemed to show a relaxed attitude and forget about any problems by dancing happily. Indirectly, this leads the public to perceive Prabowo as a party that is persecuted, does not fight back, and chooses not to address this problem.

This phenomenal “gemoy” framing indeed cannot be separated from the significant influence of social media, which is one of the media used as a political campaign tool. Moreover, during the campaign process, the Prabowo-Gibran couple targeted TikTok. This highly effective medium is particularly close to the younger generation, especially Gen Z. The existing algorithm system also supports the success of the campaign that has been carried out. The existence of political tokens was a development in digital campaigns that were heavily influenced by Americanization, which was more directed towards neoliberalism, prioritizing politics as a form of marketing. In this research, it was revealed that the campaign style was more focused on gaining votes rather than debating the program being promoted. This style of campaign tends to spread quickly through digital media, often facilitated by word of mouth, making it faster than older-style campaigns, such as mass gatherings, which require considerable effort (Isrofillah, 2024).

In optimizing social media, there is also a need for reasonable control and management on the part of Prabowo’s winning team to maintain algorithm stability and intense positive interaction with the public or audience until the election takes place. Digital traces are something that often reappears when comparing the situation and attitudes of each pair of candidates strictly through the public’s digital lens. Digital traces that may be considered unfavorable have the potential to resurface as discourse to criticize any new arguments, attitudes, or framings that emerge during the campaign period, potentially disrupting the branding that has been established. Therefore, optimizing social media is not as easy as relying on algorithms and managing campaign content. However, many things need to be done by management, as well as good affiliation with various parties.

## CONCLUSION

The 2024 election reveals more complex political dynamics, as evidenced by the shift in the political map

that reflects trends from previous election periods. Polemics and democratic challenges accompany the journey until the election is held. However, it all comes back to decisions based on the votes of the people that are collected. Behind the political chaos that occurred, the campaign ultimately achieved success in gaining sympathy and support, with votes far exceeding those of their rivals. During the long process of winning the 2024 presidential election, Prabowo-Gibran has a unique approach to adjusting to the target audience, adapting to each generation so that it can gather new strength. The winning strategy is also bolstered by the strength of the brand identity that is built upon success in adopting an emotional approach and showcasing a character that is the opposite of the figure previously known to the public. In addition, the new color in this year’s democratic party is a shift in the political maps, which is the most important factor in supporting victory, namely with the term often called the Jokowi Effect, which in the previous election took the role of Prabowo’s rival, now in this election it takes the opposite role.

The combination of epic winning strategies and supportive political situations enabled this pair to excel significantly in vote acquisition. In this study, the data and information presented are based on the results of a literature review sourced from the internet and previous journal articles. Further research should be conducted with more comprehensive data and information sources, such as field interviews with relevant parties. It is hoped that further research will complement the shortcomings in this study, providing readers with more diverse perspectives.

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