Jokowi in Political Contestation Towards 2024 Presidential Election: Analysis of the Meaning of the Karikatur Koran Tempo version of “Sokongan Bapak dan Partai Tetangga”

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Abstract
This research aims to analyze the political attitudes and strategies of Joko Widodo (Jokowi) in political contestation towards the 2024 Presidential Election through a semiotic approach to communication. This research examines further what the caricature of Koran Tempo version of Sokongan Bapak dan Partai Tetangga means. How the leadership and policies implemented by Jokowi affect the image and support of people who are backgrounded as active presidents. This research method uses the semiotic meaning analysis of Charles Sanders Pierce. The basis of this research is the political phenomena facing Jokowi, including the dynamics of political party competition, controversial issues, and public expectations of future leadership. The analysis also explores the potential global and regional impacts on domestic politics, as well as the role of social media in shaping public opinion related to Jokowi. The research is expected to contribute to a further understanding of political dynamics in Indonesia ahead of the 2024 Presidential Election, as well as providing an in-depth view of the political strategy that can be implemented by Jokowi to gain community support and face increasingly tight political competition.

Keywords: Jokowi; Contestation; Caricature; Koran Tempo.

INTRODUCTION
Caricatures are generally only interpreted as self-portrait images of someone who are made in such a way that they look funny. But caricatures are not lowly works of art. When it comes into contact with politics, caricatures are no longer just images but can become political weapons, tools for criticizing the government, carriers of political messages, or as campaign media, even as propaganda tools. The caricature war between Indonesia and Australia in early 2006 showed that caricatures worked as weapons of propaganda media to attack each other between the two countries. This is possible because in caricatures there is a construction of reality. So it is not surprising that there are hidden messages in it regarding the events depicted. With this ability, caricatures are usually used by the mass media as an editorial with a different style, namely in the form of an image, not text, so that the term editorial cartoon appears, which sometimes contains caricatures (Mahendra, 2009).
The 2024 Presidential Election in Indonesia became a focal point of public attention as the momentum of national democracy approached. In this context, the figure of President Joko Widodo, who is familiarly called Jokowi, became the main highlight as one of the central figures in political contestation. The 2024 Presidential Election is seen as a milestone that will shape the direction and vision of the country going forward. Therefore, this study aims to dig deeper into Jokowi's political attitudes and strategies in the face and ahead of the 2024 Presidential Election using an analytical approach to communication semiotics.

Caricatures in the mass media cannot be separated from their actual nature, because they follow the public discourse that was developing at that time. A certain construction of reality conveyed in visual form is a discourse that appears in caricatures. Caricatures in the media tend to have a certain message that the caricaturist wants to convey. There are many messages that can be captured in a caricature, so in-depth analysis is needed to achieve a common perception. Caricatures in media are a caricaturist's expression or opinion regarding a developing discourse. This message was created intentionally or with a certain concept, but has an ambiguous meaning so that the resulting meaning varies. Caricaturists encourage their readers to criticize a discourse (Putri et al, 2021).

Since the beginning of his leadership, Jokowi has attracted public attention with the icon “Merakyat” which turned out to cause an uproar in the community. Many aspects that underwent a change of direction that was initially Pro-people and then changed direction drastically because it had been in the political party environment. However, a number of changes in the political and economic order of Indonesia become uncertain and problematic. Jokowi's government is not without loopholes, various policies that actually provide opportunities for careless and foreign in terms of development for example and actually disappoint their own people. However, in the face of changing political dynamics, especially towards the 2024 Presidential Election, Jokowi was faced with various critical challenges and questions related to policy, leadership, and community support.

Koran Tempo is present as one of the leading mass media in Indonesia. Koran Tempo are known as mass media that provide in-depth and critical news coverage of political, economic, social, and cultural issues. Newspaper coverage Tempo not only in the country, but also abroad. The increasingly fierce political contestation raises strategic questions about how Jokowi takes a political stance on this complex terrain. In this view, the political attitudes, roles and strategies that Jokowi will implement are very important to analyze through the semiotic approach of communication. Will the success of his previous administration's policies be a solid foundation
for his electoral support? How do the competitive dynamics of local and national political
to affect their opportunities? Will controversial issues have a significant impact on its
image and popularity in the eyes of the public?

The role of mass media in creating culture in society can now no longer be avoided.
Current advances in communication media have a huge influence on society, both in terms of
thinking and lifestyle. The existence of online media is predicted to become a new pattern of
interacting with others. If in the past there were still many people who still considered
friendship activities important, now these activities have been replaced by the media
(Fitriansyah, 2018).

The essence of caricature is a drawing or depiction of a concrete object by exaggerating
the characteristics of the object. As a means of communication, cover caricatures in Detik
Magazine are non-verbal messages that can explain and provide a certain emphasis on the
content of the message. The role of cover caricatures is also very influential, because they are
easier to remember than words, and are the quickest to understand and understand the meaning.
The message displayed in this figure also influences the development of political and legal
issues in Indonesia. Current political and legal issues are difficult to separate from the life of the
Indonesian nation, this is also inseparable from the role of the media, whether print, electronic
or online (Abid and Sulih, 2016).

Caricatures are synonymous with humans as the object, the characters appointed are
usually figures who are well-known in society, either because of their achievements or the
problems that befell them. It's different with a work of art, the first thing you will feel is
admiration and then reasoning and that's definitely not a boring thing. Another comparison is
that people will more easily understand an image than writing, because in creating a work an
artist will use thinking in visualizing the object so that they can achieve the desired image
according to the meaning conveyed by the work (Randa et al, 2012).

Through semiotic analysis of communication in the October 2023 issue of Koran Tempo
caricatures, an in-depth understanding of Jokowi's attitude and role in political contestation
ahead of the 2024 Presidential Election can be understood and is expected to contribute
significantly to the community's understanding of politics in Indonesia that is developing and
helping formulate a sharper view of the direction of leadership and future political dynamics
through an analytical approach to semiotics of communication.
RESEARCH METHODS

This research method is qualitative descriptive aimed at exploring the construction of a symbol or visual sign through an analysis approach semiotics of communication. Semiotic analysis seeks to find the meaning of a sign including the things hidden behind a sign (text, advertising, and news). Data sources obtained from the visual cover of the October 2023 issue of Koran Tempo. In the cover there is a thick inscription and capital “Sokongan Bapak dan Partai Tetangga” with 4 caricature objects namely horses, Prabowo, Gibran, and Jokowi. This data will be analyzed using a semiotic approach to communication so that we can find the real understanding of what the meaning behind the caricature and the text is (Kriyantono, 2020).

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

Koran Tempo

Koran are synonyms of newspapers. The Great Dictionary of Indonesian Language states that newspapers are printed mass media that publish news divided into columns and published every day or periodical. Newspapers are one type of print media that publishes information about events and happenings. Newspapers usually contain advertisements, editorials, opinion columns, and others. The term newspaper is taken from the Dutch word “krant” and the French word “courant” (Diknas, 2003).

Koran Tempo is an Indonesian-language digital newspaper published in Indonesia. The owner is PT Tempo Inti Media (also known as Tempo Magazine). First published on April 2, 2001, with a daily circulation of 100,000 copies. The Koran Tempo was originally published in broadsheet format and switched to tabloid format in 2005. This newspaper is one of the few newspapers in Indonesia that uses this format. Koran Tempo stopped publishing the last edition on December 31, 2020 due to changes in newspaper reader behavior and an increase in the number of subscribers of digital versions of Koran Tempo. In January 2021, the newspaper was published exclusively in digital editions that can be accessed through the Tempo website and application (www.tempo.id).

Charles S. Pierce Semiotics

A sign or representative according to Charles S. Pierce is something that to a person represents something else in some way. Something else that Pierce called interpretant. Named as the interpretation of the first sign, it will in turn refer to a particular object. Thus according to Pierce, a sign or representative has a direct “triadik” relation with the interpretation and the
object. Semiosis is a process that combines entities with other entities also called objects. This process was called by Pierce as a signification. Efforts classification made by Pierce against the sign has a characteristic even though it is not said to be simple. Pierce distinguishes the types of signs into: Icon (icon), Index (index), and symbol (symbol) based on the relationship between the representamen and its object (wibowo, 2018).

(1) Icon is a sign that contains a similarity so that it is easily recognized by the wearer;
(2) The index is a sign that has a phenomenal or existential relationship between the representamen and its object. Usually the index indicates causality or causality.
(3) Symbol is a type of sign that is abritar and conventional according to the agreement of a number of people or society. Language signs are generally symbols.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type of Mark</th>
<th>Marked with</th>
<th>Examples</th>
<th>Working Process</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Icon</td>
<td>Likenesses</td>
<td>Picture</td>
<td>Viewable</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Index</td>
<td>Cause and effect</td>
<td>Smoke-Fire</td>
<td>Estimated</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>relationship</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Symbol</td>
<td>Social deal</td>
<td>Word/signal</td>
<td>Studied</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

From Charles S. Pierce's point of view this process of significance could have produced an infinite series of relationships. So that in time an interpreter will become a representative, then become an interpreter again, then a representative again, and so on. Charles S. Pierce divides the sign and how it works into specific categories. In some contexts, icons can be symbols. Many symbols are icons. In addition to being an index, a sign at once also serves as a symbol (Wibowo: 2018).

Sign meanings are divided into two levels, namely the level of denotation and the level of connotation. The meaning of denotation is the meaning of an explicit sign, corresponding to the meaning in the dictionary, fixed in place and information-poor. Meanwhile, the meaning of connotation is the implicit meaning of the sign, indirect and uncertain which means open to various possibilities. Meaning is the process of giving meaning to a message in various forms.
Speech is done by people involved in the communication process. In the context of communication meaning and meaning will always exist (Nawiroh: 2022).

![Sign and Meaning of Charles S. Pierce](image)

**Figure 1. The Sign and Meaning of Charles S. Pierce**

(Wibowo, 2018)

**Caricature**

Cartoon Caricature is all the words that can be realized in the picture. Images like these are commonly found in print, newspapers, magazines, and books. Some readers sometimes just take a cursory look, if by chance they really deserve a laugh of humor. And become interested to see the message conveyed by the cartoonist. Cartoon caricatures are widely used to convey both verbal and non-verbal messages. Caricatures are one form of visual communication that is effective in providing social criticism. In a good caricature there is a combined element of acumen and critical thinking as well as expressiveness in response to public life. This social critique is packaged in a hilarious style (Waluyanto, 2004).

**Analysis**

**Meanings Caricature of Koran Tempo**

Visual newspaper reporting is based on the analysis and perception of individuals. Meaning is the arbitrator so to interpret the visual the researcher will analyze with a semiotic approach. This journalistic caricature displays the text “Sokongan Bapak dan Partai Tetangga”. As for the meaning of the text “Bapak” support here is Jokowi as the President who acts as a buffer as well as supporting his son, Gibran Rakabuming Raka who is advancing as a vice presidential candidate (cawapres) accompanying the presidential candidate Prabowo Subianto's.
The text meaning of “Partai Tetangga” in Koran Tempo indicates the meaning that Gibran Rakabuming Raka got access to the vice presidential seat because of the encouragement and political agreement agreed by the Prabowo-Gibran party such as Golkar party, PAN, Democrats, even PPP.

Caricature titled “Sokongan Bapak Partai Tetangga” describes how the efforts and attitudes of Prabowo, Jokowi, and Gibran Rakabuming Raka towards the hot seat of the 2024 presidential and vice presidential candidates. Although in the form of a caricature, this image is a communication message that is a reflection of the attitude of the Tempo media. Meanwhile, in this caricature there is an object as follows:

![Figure 2. Cover of Koran Tempo October 2023 edition](attachment://figure2.png)

**Koran Tempo Cover Objects**

1. Icon
As for the visual horse here can be interpreted in denotation as a pet that is easily controlled by the master. Its connotation means strength, endurance, or may refer to certain political symbols associated with the horse element. Horses can also be interpreted as a mount that can lead to power. This is also interpreted as a container of the Coalition of Advanced Indonesia (KIM).

As for the visual Prabowo here interpreted denotation is a figure of statesman as well as military soldiers in the past. Connotationally interpreted as a political icon that is being discussed as one of the Presidential candidates. Prabowo is the most frequently advanced
candidate for political contestation for a presidential candidate. The meaning of clean white clothes is a sign of state officials who currently have power and authority. White can also be interpreted as purity, pure, and classic. Prabowo's hand is denoted as a form of help (as above). While the meaning connotedly shows Prabowo's attempt to hook Gibran as a pair of candidates 2024.

The visual Gibran here is denotationally interpreted as a young figure who also served as a solo mayor. Connotationally interpreted as the son of the ruler, a figure given special privileges by his father as president in Indonesia. The figure of Gibran is also widely discussed by the public because of his controversy in the Constitutional Court which resulted in violations of ethics and legal products so as to perpetuate himself forward as a vice presidential candidate who should not have reached the age of the rules prevails. The meaning of yellow in Gibran clothing means energetic and attractive. The right hand of Gibran raised to the top means there is a desire and agreement to go forward as a vice presidential candidate to accompany Prabowo in 2024.
The visual Jokowi interpreted in denotation is the father of the President of the Republic of Indonesia who still serves until now or public official figures. Connotation is interpreted as a public official who is involved in the phenomenon of cawe-cawe against one of the presidential and vice presidential candidates. It shows the negative things attached to Jokowi as the head of state that should focus on political neutrality let alone still serve as president. The color of Jokowi's clothes is interpreted as purity, neutrality, and clean. The position of Jokowi's hand as if to put pressure or push Gibran towards Prabowo. This is interpreted as an effort to give way to Gibran to become a prabowo couple in the upcoming election.

2. Index

An index is a sign or refers to a sign that has a cause-and-effect relationship or direct empirical relationship with the object it represents.

Table 2. Index on caricature objects

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Index</th>
<th>Meanings</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Prabowo</td>
<td>pointing out Prabowo's actions or existence in a political context, Prabowo is seen as being involved in political activities</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kuda</td>
<td>the horse is a symbol of political support or a political vehicle</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Jokowi in Political Contestation Towards 2024 Presidential Election... (Arif Ridha)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Jokowi</th>
<th>Demonstrate Jokowi's activities in a particular political or policy context</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Gibran</td>
<td>Demonstrating Gibran's involvement in the political context, there are links related to the Jokowi family (ruler)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

3. Symbol

Symbols are signs that have a conventional or mutually agreed relationship between the sign and its object. Symbols have no cause-and-effect relationship or direct empirical relatedness such as indexes, and their meaning depends on convention or social agreement. Researchers found the symbol contained in the object of this Koran Tempo caricature that is in the Gibran shirt that is colored “Yellow”. Yellow is identical to one of the colors of the Gibran party, Golkar Party. And “yellow” is also agreed in the community that the “yellow” party leads to the Golkar Party.

Interpretation of the meaning of Koran Tempo Cover

Based on this research can be drawn the meaning obtained from the object of the sign on the cover caricature of the October 2023 edition of Koran Tempo which shows that there is a relationship of meaning between the objects of icons, indexes, and symbols. All of them have relationships and interrelationships where Prabowo is on horseback that illustrate Prabowo's efforts to be in the top position. Horses are defined as political vehicles for speeding. Meanwhile, Prabowo extended his hand to Gibran to help Gibran to climb on the horse, and then interpreted as an effort to accompany Prabowo in the upcoming election. While the yellow symbol of Gibran clothes indicates that Gibran has officially become a cadre of Golkar Party and officially carried by the party. Thus the meaning of Jokowi who is directing Gibran to Prabowo shows that there are efforts from Jokowi to propose and encourage Gibran to go forward as the next vice presidential candidate Prabowo. It is very clear that there are efforts to grant special privileges or guarantees from the Father to the child as ruler and assistance from coalition parties. From this meaning, the interpretation of meaning is concluded and can be explained in depth what the meaning of Jokowi's attitude and strategy in the 2024 political contestation.
CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

Print mass media such as Tempo is one of the media that consistently convey information from various points of view. The economy, education, and even politics ahead of the 2024 election are not out of reach. Koran Tempo tried to display Jokowi’s attitude and strategy ahead of the 2024 election in visual form. One of them is through cartoon caricatures in which the visual seeks to portray a political phenomenon. From the approach and analysis of semiotics of communication Charles S. Pierce found the relationship of meaning of the existing object resulted in a deep interpretation in which Jokowi as head of state blatantly encouraged Gibran to run as vice presidential candidate to accompany Prabowo with the intention and the goal is to stay around the palace. These attitudes and strategies are carried out to smooth the steps of the desire for power to remain in authority in 2024. Jokowi’s efforts certainly got support from the neighboring party, the Golkar party, willingly accepted Jokowi’s offer to bring Gibran as a vice presidential candidate Prabowo who previously experienced a conflict of age limit conditions. With all the consequences Golkar party must submit to Jokowi and accept the agreement to propose the name Gibran. But because of the efforts and desires of peerless power, the Court of “Paman” Constitution participated in smoothing the move of “Kemanakan” to cross the age limit that actually did not qualify. This dark phenomenon will be a valuable lesson for the Indonesian nation in the future. It is expected in the future that political education in Indonesia is much better and certainly starts from university.
REFERENCES


