

Tracking Identity Politics in the 2019 Presidential Election Campaign (Framing Analysis of the 2019 Presidential Election Campaign)

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Abstract

The dynamics of national politics in the 2019 Presidential election (Pilpres) attracted the attention of political scientists, including the wider community. The 2019 presidential election brought together Joko Widodo and Prabowo Subianto in a fierce contest. The issue of image politics but also the politicization of identity (identity politics) is unstoppable among the people who are also encouraged by media framing. Political figures often carry out identity politicization to increase electability. The information medium, which is expected to be independent, is actually trapped in the vortex of identity politics ahead of the general election. In fact, the political affiliations of media owners also influence various reports. This study was conducted to track and analyze various framings carried out through mass media coverage in the 2019 Presidential Election. A qualitative approach with secondary data and framing analysis from Robert N. Entman was used. The results of the study show that there is a political framing of imagery and even identity politics in mass media coverage of the 2019 presidential election campaign.

Keywords: *Framing Media, Politik Pencitraan, Politik Identitas, Pilpres 2019*

I. Introduction

The campaign ahead of the 2019 Presidential Election (Pilpres) is expected to be a medium for voters (constituents) to get to know the ideas of the candidates. The best ideas are awaited, with the hope that developments in democracy and ultimately lead to policies that bring prosperity to the people. The reality is that the campaign period leading up to the 2019 presidential election, which brought together the two presidential candidates, Joko Widodo and Prabowo Subianto, was colored by the issue of identity politics. This is also enlivened by various media, including news in the mass media, both print, online, audio and audio visual. Identity politics was capitalized in the campaign

ahead of the 2019 presidential election and even enlivened various media, including social media.

Various news channels and social media were then filled with fake news (fake news), hate speech, as well as commentary wars on various social media related to various television reports that led to non-substantive debates. This situation was further exacerbated by unbalanced media coverage and continued with massive campaign mobilization on social media involving a number of influencers (key opinion leaders), as well as buzzer troops in an effort to accelerate the spread of issues and chaos in cyberspace. Instead of encouraging more qualified and dignified elections and democracy, it encourages polarization, division, and apathy towards elections and the abstention movement (Puskapol-UI, 2019).

Narratives related to identity politics were buzzing both before and after the 2019 presidential election which led to the potential for social rifts in society. The 2019 presidential election is more crowded and has a high escalation compared to the previous period, although only the vice presidential candidates changed in the 2014 presidential election, Joko Widodo paired with Jusuf Kalla and Prabowo Subianto paired with Hatta Rajasa, in the 2019 Joko Widodo-Ma'ruf Amin presidential election, and the other candidate pair. Prabowo Subianto Sandiaga Uno. This condition was also influenced by the presence of a new ideological Islamic force that was driven by the 2012 PA (Alumni Brotherhood) with Habib Rizieq Shihab as the leading figure.

In addition, the social media war that occurs with the massive variety of information that spreads through social media with content that leads to provocation, identity politics, intimidation and the like. This condition is even able to mobilize the masses in the largest number in the history of Indonesian elections and even the world. The Joko Widodo-Ma'ruf Amin campaign on April 13, 2019 at the Gelora Bung Karno Main Stadium recorded 380 thousand people, not to mention those who were not recorded. Likewise with the Prabowo Subianto-Sandiaga Uno pair, which is estimated at 150 thousand to 200 thousand people even though it is claimed as many as 1 million people who were also held in the same place on April 7, 2019.

A series of campaigns in various places was carried out and at the same time politicized issues became the dominant discourse in the 2019 Presidential Election. There were even a few hate speeches and hoaxes made by the campaign teams of each camp, although this was denied. . However, research results from the Center for Political Studies (Puskapol) of the University of Indonesia show that the two political camps clearly capitalize on a number of issues related to identity, especially religious issues to

gain electability. At the same time, program campaigns are not carried out because they are trapped in a circle of campaign nuances with identity politics supported by buzzers and political consultants.

In the context of the existing media in Indonesia, in recent years there has been a trend of ownership of media in Indonesia by political actors. Like Jakob Oetama as the owner of Kompas Gramedia Group, Tribune and Sonora Radio. Then Aburizal Bakrie, owner of TVOne, ANTV and VivaNews, Dahlan Iskan, owner of Jawa Pos, JPPN. com, and Jawa Post Group. Surya Paloh with Metro TV and Media Indonesia, Chairul Tandjung as owner of Trans TV, Trans7, CNN and Detik. Harry Tanoesoedibjo who owns MNC, Global, RCTI, Koran Sindo, Okezone and Sindonews, then Eddy Saiaatmadja who owns SCTV, Indosiar and O-Channel, James Riadi who owns Berita Satu TV and Berita Satu Online (Aulia Adam, Damianus Andreas, 2018) .

Of the many media whose owners are political figures, two of them are the most widely assessed by the public to be involved in the 2019 presidential election, namely Metro TV and TVOne. Metro TV with its owner Surya Paloh, also known as the General Chair of the NasDem Party which in the 2019 presidential election was also one of the main parties in a coalition supporting Joko Widodo-Maaruf Amin along with PDIP, Golkar Party and other parties. Meanwhile, TVOne is a television station owned by Aburizal Bakrie who is also a political figure from the Golkar Party. Researchers observed and analyzed a number of media that have tendencies related to image politics and identity politics.

II. Past Research and Theoretical Framework

Research related to the 2019 presidential election was mostly carried out by political science researchers and political science groups both before and after the 2019 presidential election. In fact, it is often also described in historical records as part of a series since the 2014 presidential election. Prasakti Ramadhana Fahadi (2019) in his journal article entitled *Oligarchic Media Ownership and Polarized Television Coverage in Indonesia's 2014 Presidential Election* provides an explanation that the factors that determine and influence media production and appearance are the idea of media ownership. For him, the nature of media ownership and its impact on the content of election coverage is still lacking (Fahadi, 2019).

This study raises the question, how the media cover the two presidential candidates in the 2014 election is determined by the oligarchic ownership of news tv channels in Indonesia. In particular, I chose Metro TV and TV One as case studies with qualitative and thematic content analysis. As for the findings of this research, namely in events

related to the 2014 Presidential Election, TV One and Metro TV did not comply with the ideal principles of objective and balanced journalism as imposed by the Indonesian Broadcasting Commission. Polarized news coverage on presidential candidates prefers to be presented by television stations. TV One showed a lot of support for the Presidential-Vice Presidential candidate PrabowoHatta Rajasa, while Metro TV for the Joko Widodo-Jusuf Kalla candidate.

It can be clearly seen that media ownership has an influence on the content of the news content that is directed according to the wishes of the oligarchic media ownership. The political agenda of media owners is based on their political affiliations and attitudes. This research was conducted with a qualitative approach and secondary data sources were used to elaborate studies related to media and politics. Further research by Risa Toha Dimitar D. Gueorguiev and Aim Sinpeng (2021) with an article entitled The normalization of intolerance: The 2019 presidential election in Indonesia provides an overview of intolerance behavior in the context of the 2019 Presidential Election. Very high social intolerance occurred during the 2019 presidential election campaign. when candidates tend to underestimate minorities and out-groups (Risa J. Tohaa, Dimitar D. Gueorguiev, Aim Sinpeng, 2021).

The question of this research is, does normalization only affect intolerant candidate supporters or is it spread throughout the population even among opposition supporters? In addition, whether the target of intolerance is a special group or all minorities and outsiders are at risk. Quantitative research through survey data collection was conducted during the 2019 Indonesian presidential election. The results show that normalization affects all voters, albeit in ways that reflect partisan affiliation and rhetoric, which has implications for the study of the politicization of identity and the conditions under which intolerance tends to spread.

Research from Agus Adi, Maya Sari and Rr. Setyowati (2019) Radicalism and Political Identity in Indonesia Presidential Election 2019 explained that while mass media around the world reported on the defeat of ISIS in the Middle East, Indonesia was holding general elections, namely the Legislative Election and the 2019 Presidential Election. information about the ideas offered by the candidates was met with a lot of commotion during the campaign period, when the winner was announced and ended in a riot in Jakarta on May 21-22 2019. This happened because during the 2019 campaign period, it was still dominated by campaigns with identity politics. capitalized on ethnicity, religion, racial and intergroup (SARA) issues, fake news content and hate speech. In addition, there is also mutual ridicule between supporters and non-substantive issues.

This qualitative research shows the findings that behind the phenomenon; there are extremist-radical groups who want to take advantage of the situation; or 'playing in murky water'. Those identified as militants; hard-line; radicals and terrorists plan to carry out terror with ideological aims they have long feared. Identity politics is a new revival of the resistance movement against globalization. The issue of identity politics can basically be used in democracy as long as it is within a reasonable corridor while still prioritizing the values of unity considering that identity is the social reality from which we come. Identity politics is widely used by politicians to sharpen differences that lead to SARA; especially religious and ethnic issues (Agus Adi, Maya Sari and Rr. Setyowati, 2019).

Other research relevant to this study is research from Vicky Kurniawan (2020) which specifically looks at "Comparison of TVOne and Metro TV Media Coverage in the 2014 and 2019 PILPRES". Kurniawan stated that in the 2014 presidential election Prabowo Subianto was supported by the then General Chairman of Golkar who was also the owner of tvOne, Aburizal Bakrie, while Joko Widodo was supported by Surya Paloh as the General Chair of the NasDem Party who also owns Metro TV. In the next election, Aburizal Bakrie no longer serves as the General Chair of the Golkar Party, but the news on tvOne media balances the news carried out by Metro TV. This study was conducted to find out the comparison of news coverage carried out by tvOne and Metro TV in the 2014 and 2019 presidential elections.

Kurniawan's research uses a historical research approach with content analysis with source data obtained from news broadcasts on tvOne and Metro TV as well as a number of other relevant sources. The results of the research obtained are differences in the news content broadcast by tvOne and Metro TV in the 2014 and 2019 presidential elections. TvOne reports with positive content for Prabowo Subianto in the 2019 election series and negative framing for Joko Widodo. The opposite is true for Metro Tv, but in the 2019 Presidential Election, tvOne no longer preaches Joko Widodo with negative content but tends to offset the news from Metro TV, which in the 2019 Presidential Election still uses the same pattern.

Untuk elaborating research both framing and constructing the reality of the existing news, the researcher uses the framing analysis proposed by Robert Entman (Entman, 1993). Entman's framing analysis theory emphasizes how to describe a selection process and highlight certain aspects of reality by the media which is divided into four elements, namely:

Defining Problems, namely how an event is seen as what,
Estimating the Causes of the Problem (Diagnose Causes) i.e. estimating the problem or Source of the problem,
Making Moral Choices (Make Moral Judgment) (making moral choices), what moral values do you want to present in the news,

Emphasizing the Resolution (Treatment Recommendation) that is the resolution of what you want to offer to resolve the conflict (Eriyanto, 2005).

In the framing of Entman, the most basic concept refers to how to provide definitions, explanations, evaluations and recommendations in a discourse to emphasize certain frameworks of thinking about existing events. The researcher uses Entman's theory by trying to elaborate, tracking identity politics in the 2019 Presidential Election. In particular, highlighting a number of media that have a tendency to identity politics in the realm of the presidential election. Entman (1993) developed framing analysis as a method to see a news story as a problem that has causes and backgrounds, so that all news has its own way of solving it. Entman's method is based on the belief that the reader's psychological and physical situation will affect how the reader interprets a news.

III. Research methods

This study uses qualitative research methods, namely research based on written or oral narratives or words of actions that can be seen (Moleong, 2007). The researcher uses a descriptive approach to analyze media phenomena in constructing information from a series of cases based on facts that become news. The framing analysis model from Robert Entman is used in this study. The object of this research is a news text related to the 2019 presidential election which has a tendency to identity politics on the Medcom news portal, id, Metro TV and tvOne ahead of the 2019 Presidential Election. Sources of data that will be used in this study are primary and secondary data. Primary data was obtained by collecting and documenting news texts about the 2019 presidential election in the time before the 2019 presidential election.

While secondary data is collected from various sources such as textbooks, journals, internet, theses, dissertations, and research reports that will be used as material in strengthening research (Sugiyono, 2010). While the data analysis technique carried out by the researcher is to obtain and organize data systematically obtained from interviews, documentation and results obtained from the field which are then translated into certain categories by determining which data is important and including a conclusion so that it can be understood by others. .

IV. Discussion

The increasingly complex socio-political dynamics have led to a shift in the model in political campaigns. Individually and in groups (communally) society is increasingly plural along with the various perceptions/opinions they have. Political dynamics are increasingly pursuing emotional ties in order to increase the electability of individual political figures and political parties. Specific symbols of political figures and parties must be present to adjust

to the development of the digital era to increase power or positioning both in gathering support, as well as intimidating political opponents who are considered potential (George, 2017). In the current development of political dynamics, political figures and political parties must adapt to the behavior and tastes of voters.

Lees-Marshment (2011) calls this political adaptation a condition for populism and leadership popularity (regarding the variables of attitude and character as well as speaking style and other self-image attributes (Lees-Marshment, 2011). According to Kirchheimer (Krouwel, 2003) that must be maintained the current era of virtual (disruptive) politics is 'brand differentiation' as a hallmark..

Television and Politics in the 2019 Presidential Election: Metro TV and TVOne

The 2019 Presidential Election presents something different again from the previous elections in the involvement of the mass media. Media alignments can be seen clearly in previous elections and even specifically in the 2014 elections. Furthermore, in the 2019 election, there is still the same tendency regarding mass media alignments for Presidential-Vice Presidential candidates. However, the involvement and coalition of mass media with political camps ahead of the 2019 presidential election is different, for example the news media tvOne and Metro TV which clearly have political support for both the 2014 and 2019 presidential elections, but tvOne takes a position that tends to balance and limit news coverage by producing a negative image of one of the candidate.

Metro TV and tvOne in Indonesia have similarities with CNN and Fox News with the Republican and Democratic Parties in the context of elections in the United States when viewed from the news trends of each television station in the 2014 election. However, in the 2019 presidential election, tvOne tends to change in its reporting which is no longer focuses on efforts to create a negative image of the Joko Widodo pair Ma'aruf Amin. In contrast to Metro TV, the pattern was clear as in the previous election, so what emerged from tvOne was an effort to balance Metro TV coverage.

On the same two issues, each takes news with a different emphasis on the same issue and tries to present different variants of speakers as desired. The neutrality level of the two TV stations is different when the other shows the expertise of Joko Widodo's figure in leading and the shortcomings of Prabowo Subianto's figure and on the other hand presents news by highlighting the expertise, intelligence and firmness of a Prabowo Subianto and the lack of a candidate for President Joko Widodo. Changes occurred in the 2019 presidential election when tvOne was more present with objective news and displayed neutrality with two sides that were displayed to invite the public to come to conclusions independently.

In contrast to the previous period, the Indonesian Broadcasting Commission even gave warnings to five television stations due to unbalanced coverage of the 2019 presidential election (William, 2014). KPI member Iddy Muzzayad at the Senayan Parliament Complex to Tempo.co (2 June 2014) provided information that Metro TV, TV One, and the MNC Group (RCTI, MNC TV. and Global TV) conducted disproportionate broadcasting of presidential candidates. Reports from the five media tend to be neutral, unbalanced and tendentious. This is because the owner of the television station is affiliated with a political party and has political interests in the 2019 presidential election.

In particular for television stations, Surya Paloh's Metro TV as the General Chair of the NasDem Parai supports Joko Widodo and Harry Tanoesoedibjo's MNC Group along with the General Chairman of the Golkar Party, Aburizal Bakrie, who owns tvOne, supports Prabowo Subianto. In fact, in May 2012, KPI noted that Metro TV gave Joko Widodo and Jusuf Kalla a longer portion and duration, while tvOne and the MNC Group reported more news about Prabowo Subianto and Hatta Rajasa. The total number of shows for Jokowi Dodo-Jusuf Kalla on Metro TV is 187 times and Prabowo Subianto-Hatta Rajasa is 110 times. Meanwhile, on tvOne, reports related to Prabowo Subianto-Hatta Rajasa were 153 times and Joko Widodo-Jusuf Kalla were 79 times. In the MNC Group, namely RCTI Joko Widodo-Jusuf Kalla appeared seven times while Prabowo Subianto-Hatta Rajasa only 30 times.

In reporting in each media, the composition of the news needs to be balanced and neutral because it is a channel of information for the public. As a medium of public information, pursuing the substance of the campaign in the form of programs and candidate agendas in greater depth and detail needs media attention. Identity politics in news reporting must be understood as a flaw in a democratic state space. The campaign team from each political camp needs to pay attention to the campaign content of each candidate pair so that it is not directed at the tendency of intimidating, discriminatory and identity politics content..

Medcom.id: Online Media and Identity Politics in the 2019 Presidential Election

Medcom.id is an online media portal as a transformation of metrotvnews.com which is managed by PT Citra Multimedia Indonesia as part of the Media Group. Media Group is a media company that also manages the Metro TV television station and the Media Indonesia (daily) newspaper (Laylia Farida, M. Gafar Yoedtadi, 2019). Media Group is a major national media company owned by Surya Paloh who is also the leader (general chairman) of the Nasdem (National Democrat) party. The following are four news stories

selected by the researchers to explain the online media coverage of Surya Paloh's Medcom.id from the many news that are considered to have identity politics tendencies.:

Figure 4.B.(1) Medcom.id News Chart with Identity Politics Tendency

| Number. | Article Title | Date of issue |
|---------|--|------------------|
| 1 | Ma'ruf: Saya Punya Darah Madura dan Arosbaya | 19 Oktober 2018 |
| 2 | Dunia Islam Mengakui Jokowi | 19 Oktober 2018 |
| 3 | Jokowi Juga Berdarah Boyolali | 05 November 2018 |
| 4 | Ma'ruf Bertandang ke Pondok Pesantren Al-Hidayat | 05 Februari 2019 |

Source : dirangkum dari Medcom.id

Medcom.id News Framing Analysis News Framing Analysis 1

“Ma'ruf: I have Madurese and Arosbaya blood”

The editor highlighted the statement from Ma'aruf Amin who stated that he still has the Arosbaya lineage (Arosbaya blood). Framing is a form of identity politicization carried out by the media with the aim of gaining support and sympathy from the public. This statement was provided by the editor with additional information related to the genealogy of Ma'aruf Amin to support the statement.

This is a form of identity politics to gain support and sympathy from guests who attended the event as well as support from Madurese residents. In addition, the editor also added the genealogy of Ma'aruf Amin to support the statement.

"He also admitted that he still has the Arosbaya lineage. His ancestor, Kiai Demang Plakaran, was one of the kings in Bangkalan who had a son, Raden Kiai Pragalbo. Raden Pragalbo has a descendant named Zuhra Pradoto Jambringin, the next descendant, Nyai Narantoko. Nyai Narantoko is married to the King of Sumedang Larang, Geusan Ulun. Nyai Narantoko was then given the title Nyai Ratu Arosbaya, or Harisbaya." (sumantri, 2018) (<https://www.medcom.id/pemilu/news-pemilu/GNI2Xn2k-ma-rufsaya-punya-darah-madura-dan-arosbaya>)

News Framing Analysis 2 “The Islamic World Recognizes Jokowi”

The article constructs the existing reality and includes indirect identity politics. The media highlighted an existing fact, namely that Joko Widodo's achievements were listed at the Royal Islamic Strategic Studies Center (RISSSC) as the 50 most influential Muslims in

the world. The motive of this news is to attract the support and sympathy of certain groups by presenting related facts.

<https://www.medcom.id/pemilu/news-pemilu/4ba2000k-dunia-islam-mengakuijokowi>

Analysis of News Framing 5 "Jokowi Also Bleeding Boyolali"

The form of politicization of this news article is the remarks of presidential candidate Joko Widodo who revealed that he has Boyolali blood. The news editor also clarified the family tree of Joko Widodo who came from Boyolali. The hope of this news is to attract the sympathy of the Boyolali people who were disappointed with the case of the "Boyolali look" spoken by their political opponents. In general, what is reported from Joko Widodo's remarks regarding Boyolali is to attract sympathy, support and the estuary is an effort to increase electability.. <https://www.medcom.id/pemilu/news-pemilu/wkBD8W0N-jokowi-juga-berdarah-boyolali>

News Framing Analysis 10 "Ma'ruf Visits Al-Hidayat Islamic Boarding School"

In the article, the editor emphasized the statement that Ma'ruf's side was supported by the kiai. This is a form of identity politics in which the Kiai are part of Islam. So that the emphasis of this statement is of course with the intention of trying to gain the sympathy and trust of Muslims as well as vote support.<https://www.medcom.id/pemilu/news-pemilu/5b2qD2aN-ma-ruf-bertandang-kepondok-pesantren-al-hidayat>

It is necessary to evaluate the overall function of the media, especially in the realm of politics and elections, this is because there are many reports that contain elements of identity politics in many reports. The content of the news with the framing of identity politics is clear and there is also something that is packed with the nuances of political imagery. This condition puts the media at a point of inappropriate neutrality (not neutral). The public certainly needs to be provided with true information. It is important to remember that the media is not a means of any political actor, ideally the media should be present as a public means to articulate information guided by the journalistic code of ethics. Likewise, elections must be present as a democratic party that is overflowing, fair and cheerful, not a moment full of intimidation and discrimination.

V. Conclusion dan Saran

Ahead of the 2019 Presidential Election, the campaign is expected to be an opportunity for constituents to get to know the best ideas in detail and clearly from each candidate. However, the reality is that the campaign is dominated by things that are not programmatic and trapped in non-substantive debates.

As a series of the previous presidential election in 2014, the 2019 presidential election is still under the nuances of a campaign that smells of identity politics in the media.

Although there was a change in media alignments (neutrality) in 2019 but media coverage with all existing framing was greeted by the tumult of social media with a variety of hoax information, intimidation and hate speech.

Media neutrality is also influenced by media ownership by figures affiliated with political parties in strategic positions such as the General Chair of the NasDem party, the General Chair of the Golkar party in the 2014 election and former chairman in the 2019 election and the General Chair of the Perindo party. The presence of major Indonesian media entrepreneurs created political strongholds ahead of the 2019 Presidential Election.

Among the many media involved in neutrality in the 2019 Presidential Election, there are tvOne and Metro TV which can be seen clearly in the framing that is carried out in producing news. Likewise with online and print mass media in one media group such as Medcom.id and many other media.

The author has not done in-depth elaboration for more details on television station news scripts that display news with nuances of identity politics and only provide a general description. Likewise, print and online media still require additional analysis from other media to get a more comprehensive picture of identity politics in media coverage ahead of the 2019 Presidential Election.

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