

## Exploring Indonesia's Local Wisdom In The 2024 Presidential Campaigns

Ronny Basista<sup>1</sup>, Fatmawati Moekahar<sup>2\*</sup>, Norhayati Rafida<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup>Universitas Terbuka, Banten, Indonesia

<sup>2</sup>Universitas Islam Riau, Pekanbaru, Indonesia

<sup>3</sup>Universiti Sains Islam Malaysia, Nilai, Malaysia

Email\*: [fatmawatikaffa@comm.uir.ac.id](mailto:fatmawatikaffa@comm.uir.ac.id)

Diterima : 02 Mei 2025

Disetujui : 01 Juli 2025

Diterbitkan : 07 Agustus 2025

### Abstrak

Artikel ini bertujuan mengeksplorasi nilai-nilai kearifan lokal Indonesia pada kampanye presiden 2024 di media sosial. Penelitian menggunakan paradigma konstruktivisme untuk menggali makna dari interaksi kandidat pada kampanye politik di media sosial. Data terkait *local wisdom* masyarakat Indonesia dieksplor melalui wawancara mendalam, *Focus Group Discussion*, observasi dan dokumentasi. Hasil penelitian menemukan nilai-nilai *local wisdom* menjadi pendekatan kampanye politik di pemilu presiden 2024 melalui instagram. Kearifan lokal digambarkan melalui aktivitas religi dan sosial budaya masyarakat Indonesia. Kategori aktivitas religi diperoleh dari pendekatan yang alamiah karena latarbelakang kandidat sebagai umat beragama dan menjadi bagian dari afiliasi organisasi keagamaan. Sedangkan aktivitas sosial budaya memiliki porsi mayoritas dalam pengemasan pesan pada unggahan kandidat di pemilu 2024. Pendekatan *local wisdom* dengan orientasi sosial budaya memiliki *stopping power* ke masyarakat Indonesia karena merasa memiliki kebanggaan atas dirinya yang menjadi bagian dari kandidat. Namun eksplorasi nilai kearifan lokal masih terbatas pada penggunaan simbol-simbol budaya pada masa kampanye pemilu.

**Kata Kunci:** *Kampanye Politik; Pemilu; Kearifan Lokal, Kandidat Presiden.*

### Abstract

The article explores the significance of local Indonesian wisdom in the 2024 presidential campaigns, particularly on social media. It uses a constructivist paradigm to analyze the interactions of candidates in political campaigns. Data on local wisdom was collected through interviews, focus group discussions, and observation. The research findings suggest that local wisdom values were effectively utilized as a central approach in the 2024 presidential election campaigns on social media, particularly on Instagram. The religious and socio-cultural activities of the Indonesian people exemplify the significance of local wisdom in political campaigns. The local wisdom approach with a socio-cultural orientation strongly resonated with the Indonesian populace, but the exploration of local wisdom values was primarily limited to the use of cultural symbols during the election campaign period.

**Keywords:** *Political Campaign, Election, Local Wisdom, Presidential Candidates.*

## INTRODUCTION

Local wisdom refers to local ideas that embody wisdom, good values, and simplicity. This approach emphasizes positive values within society. Local wisdom values are usually used in political campaigns abroad to connect candidates and local communities emotionally. These values often strengthen cultural identity, show the candidate's closeness to the community, and create a sense of trust. In the United States (Baker, 2015), candidates usually wear clothing or accessories typical of a particular community when campaigning in that region, such as cowboy hats in the southwestern states. In Mexico, candidates often raise narratives about local people's historical struggles as part of their promises to continue those struggles (Suaib et al., 2017). In Indonesia, politicians have utilized this approach in their political campaigns to engage the public. This strategy is expected to be employed by presidential candidates in the 2024 elections. They are skillfully integrating the local wisdom of the community into their campaigns, presenting it as an integral part of their platform. These efforts are being carried out both directly and through social media channels.

Indonesia, with its diverse cultures and ethnicities, embodies prominent local wisdom values reflected in local communities' daily habits and principles (Pasya et al., 2012). Examples of local wisdom in Indonesia include mutual cooperation, customs, cultural systems, religion, and other activities that embody typical elements of Indonesian culture. Politicians often seek to capture public attention by enacting dramas that incorporate the values of local wisdom in Indonesia. This research aims to explore the intriguing use of local wisdom in dramatization and its impact.

The competition among candidates in the 2024 election is intense, evident from the diverse strategies showcased on social media. Throughout the 2-month campaign period, candidates extensively utilized social media as a campaign platform, with Instagram being particularly prominent. Table 1 provides an overview of the Instagram posts made by the presidential candidates during the campaign. Instagram's popularity stems from its ability to convey text, audio, and images, making it an effective medium for political campaigns. This study specifically focuses on Instagram, as it has been shown that visual communication simplifies the delivery of political messages and helps shape political agendas by leveraging emotions (Lalancette & Raynauld, 2019).

**Tabel 1. Posts made by the 2024 presidential candidates on Instagram**

| @aniesbaswedan  | @prabowo         | @ganjar_pranowo |
|-----------------|------------------|-----------------|
| 7.4 M followers | 12.9 M followers | 6.7 M followers |
| 400 posts       | 161 posts        | 349 posts       |

Source: Data collected by the researchers, 2024.

Social media plays a crucial role in shaping people's political preferences. It has the ability to influence self-image (Abdillah; & Zulhazmi, 2021), branding (Anshari & Prastya, 2014), and facilitating communication with supporters and donors (Ardha, 2014). Political figures predominantly utilize popular social media platforms such as Twitter (Ardha, 2014; Fatanti, 2014), Instagram (Dhara et al., 2020), Facebook (Abdillah; & Zulhazmi, 2021) (Suratno et al., 2020), dan YouTube (Wirga, 2016). Effective utilization

of social media can cultivate a positive public image and garner support. Conversely, mismanagement and improper usage of social media platforms pose the risk of tarnishing a politician's reputation (Chavez, 2012).

Discussions on social media have also drawn significant attention to the successful presidential candidate teams. As the public engages more with specific topics related to the candidates, they gain popularity in the eyes of the public. Therefore, direct political campaign activities are closely intertwined with social media campaign efforts. Social media algorithms play a crucial role in assessing online audiences. Various strategies are employed, including the use of appropriate hashtags, creating compelling content, and fostering strong connections with the audience on social platforms.

The use of new media as a political campaign tool is an intriguing phenomenon that warrants further study. It would be fascinating to delve deeper into how political campaign activities align with the local wisdom values of the Indonesian people. Researchers have examined the accounts of the three presidential candidates and have categorized the content uploaded during the political campaign period. The three accounts in question belong to @aniesbaswedan, @prabowo, and @ganjar\_pranowo.

The use of social media in political campaigns offers several advantages, such as relatively low costs (Moekahar et al., 2022), the ability to reach a broad and fast audience, and direct interaction with voters (Papakyriakopoulos et al., 2020; Stieglitz & Dang-Xuan, 2013). Platforms such as Facebook, Twitter, Instagram, and TikTok allow candidates to convey messages more personally and engagingly while measuring real-time audience responses (Yarchi et al., 2021).

However, behind its various benefits, the use of social media in political campaigns also raises new challenges. The spread of inaccurate information, manipulation of public opinion through bots or trolls, and the potential for public polarisation are some of the issues that need to be anticipated (Annas et al., 2019; Grover et al., 2019; Marozzo & Bessi, 2018). Therefore, it is essential to understand how social media is used in political campaigns, its impact on political dynamics, and the steps that need to be taken to ensure fair and transparent elections.

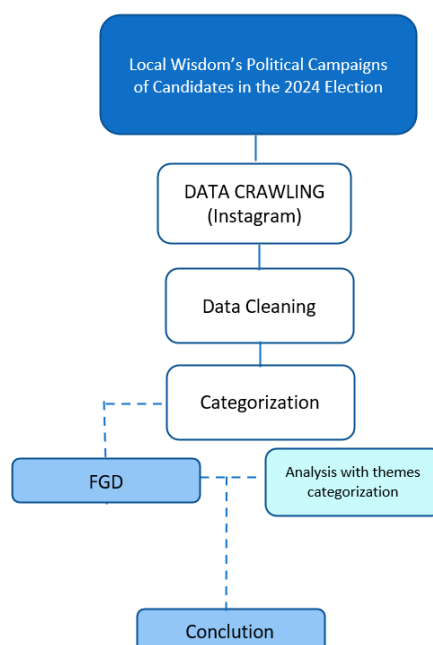
A political campaign is a persuasive effort aimed at communicating well-organized ideas to gain public support and secure victory for a candidate (Venus, 2009). This research focuses on the election campaign timeframe set by the KPU, which spans from November 28, 2023, to February 10, 2024. Data was gathered by analyzing the Instagram activity of each presidential candidate. Social media serves as a cost-effective political campaign platform, capable of reaching a vast and diverse audience across multiple regions simultaneously. As noted by Venus (2009), social media users enjoy freedom in the public sphere, and the hyperactivity of the public on social media platforms (Papakyriakopoulos et al., 2020), makes it a highly profitable campaign medium. Politicians are not constrained by physical space when conveying their political messages through social media.

## **METHODS**

This study aims to investigate the use of social media by presidential candidates during political campaigns, with a focus on local wisdom in campaign. Local wisdom covers the knowledge, values, norms, beliefs, practices, and habits that develop in a community or culture, formed by life experiences transmitted over generations and directly interacting with both the social and the natural world. The research follows a qualitative method (Karpf et al., 2015), allowing for the natural collection of field data. Employing a constructivist paradigm, the study seeks to explore, understand, explain, and interpret the interactions of candidates in political campaigns on social media. Data concerning the local wisdom of Indonesian society was gathered through in-depth interviews and focus group discussions (FGD) involving media practitioners, academics, political observers, community leaders, and the general public (voters), as well as through observation and documentation. FGD was conducted in two stages, offline and online. The research utilized primary data obtained through data mining, in-depth interviews, observation, FGD, and secondary data from researcher documentation on social media and other relevant sources. Key informants were selected using purposive sampling techniques with the following criteria: 1) people who have a deep understanding of the 2024 election, 2) permanent voters in the 2024 election, and 3) following social media developments regarding election news and candidate campaigns in the 2024 election. The data was collected during the presidential campaign period for the 2024 election, specifically from November 28, 2023, to February 10, 2024.

The researcher identified the main themes or patterns from the data mining of the three presidential candidate accounts on Instagram. Then the researcher reduced the data. The next stage used the data for interpretation by the informants in in-depth interviews (FGD). In the final stage, the researcher re-checked all the data collected, including documentation and observation results in the field.

Picture 1. Research Flow



## RESULT AND DISCUSSION

The research commenced with classifying the social media posts of the three 2024 presidential candidates on Instagram. Each post was categorized to serve as a basis for delving into the sources through FGDs and in-depth interviews for analysis. The research findings revealed two categories of campaign messages used by presidential candidates in their Instagram posts during the 2024 election: Religious and Socio-Cultural Activities. The resource person recommended these categories based on the FGD results. The religious activity category encompasses local wisdom values with religious undertones that are derived from the community, such as *Tablig Akbar*, *Istighosah*, Christmas celebrations, congregational prayers, sermons/religious lectures (*pengajian*), Isra' Mi'raj, *Sowan Kyai*/visits to Islamic boarding schools, and Chinese New Year. On the other hand, the socio-cultural activity category encompasses all human activities that embody Indonesian values, societal norms, and human behaviour, including customs, the political conduct of candidates, and national or local ideas. These values manifest in various forms, such as Mutual Cooperation, Social Assistance, People's Festivals, regional language slogans, and regional/tribal traditional ceremonies. The categorization of candidate posts culminated in an overview of the political campaign activities of presidential candidates in the 2024 election.

**Table 2. Recap of Candidate Posts During Political Campaigns**

| Instagram       | Number of posts | Religious activities | Socio-cultural activities |
|-----------------|-----------------|----------------------|---------------------------|
| @aniesbaswedan  | 400 posts       | 47 posts             | 353 posts                 |
| @prabowo        | 161 posts       | 5 posts              | 156 posts                 |
| @ganjar_pranowo | 349 posts       | 25 posts             | 324 posts                 |

Source: Data collected by the researchers, 2024.

During the 2024 election campaign, the social media posts of presidential candidates are colored by socio-cultural activities. According to media observers' in-depth interviews, Indonesian politicians have leaned towards a neutral rather than a religious approach since 2014. It has been quantitatively proven that the three candidates have shared more posts related to social and cultural activities than religious activities. This is because a religious approach is often seen as playing identity politics by rational voters. When a campaign does have religious elements, it typically revolves around religious rituals, such as acknowledging Isra' Mi'raj, Eid al-Fitr, and other religious holidays. The neutral approach often incorporates a nationalist perspective, which falls under the socio-cultural category.

On January 26, 2024, presidential candidate number 03 (@ganjar\_pranowo) connected with the people of Manggarai, East Nusa Tenggara as part of their campaign. During the visit, Ganjar Pranowo proudly donned complete NTT traditional clothing, demonstrating a deep appreciation for and affinity with the Manggarai community's customs. Furthermore, on January 22, 2024, he shared a post about enjoying a pencak silat performance in the Lampung area. These traditional clothing and pencak silat experiences symbolize the rich local heritage of the Indonesian people, which is treasured and diligently preserved. This post communicates the candidate's commitment to preserving local customs and culture within the community.

**Picture 2. Cultural Activities in Ganjar Pranowo's Political Campaigns**



Source: Documented by the researchers, 2024

Political campaigns in Indonesia have complex dynamics due to the diversity of cultures, religions, and local values that characterize each region. Local cultural approaches are often used to influence voters to create emotional connections, increase trust, and strengthen support. On January 27, 2024, @aniesbaswedan made a visit to Palembang and was enthusiastically welcomed by a local climber. Additionally, Anies shared a compelling video of a shadow puppet show (*wayang kulit*) in Ponorogo, Yogyakarta, along with a detailed caption expressing his unwavering dedication to preserving cultural arts, particularly the *wayang kulit*, and his resolute commitment to supporting cultural figures to ensure they thrive and lead dignified lives.

### Picture 3. Cultural Activities in Anies Baswedan's Political Campaigns



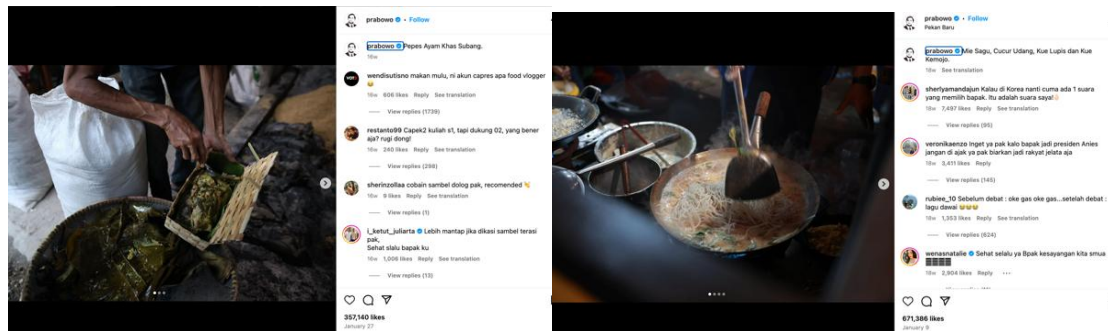
Source: Documented by the researchers, 2024

Candidate number 02, Prabowo, did not come across similar posts but did find several posts showcasing typical food from a region in Indonesia (figure 3), reflecting socio-cultural activities. In addition to expressing his appreciation for regional specialties, the candidate also aims to convey

---

that he enjoys dishes from high-end restaurants, highlighting the value of simplicity as a potential leader.

**Picture 4. Cultural Activities in Prabowo Subianto's Political Campaigns**



Source: Documented by the researchers, 2024

Posts that depict social values, such as the post by @ganjar\_pranowo, exemplify the down-to-earth nature of a presidential candidate while maintaining a humble demeanor. The composition of the photo in the post shows a potential national leader dining in a *lesehan*<sup>1</sup> without any formal service. Gunung Kidul is known for its uncomplicated social environment in Indonesia. Additionally, the caption by Ganjar utilizes gentle and respectful regional language when referring to the homeowner, Mbah Wakiran.

Indonesia has diverse cultural wealth, consisting of various tribes, religions, and local traditions. Cultural approaches in political campaigns utilize specific cultural values, symbols, and practices to attract attention and build emotional connections with the community. In Indonesia, this strategy is often used to strengthen the candidate's identity and create closeness to voters in the local context.

**Picture 5. Cultural Activities in Ganjar Pranowo's Political Campaigns**



Source: Documented by the researchers, 2024

The three presidential candidates in Indonesia actively engage in religious activities through their social media posts, which significantly influences the preferences of potential voters. These candidates strategically incorporate religious elements into their campaigns due to the predominantly Muslim population in Indonesia. Despite being associated with identity politics, utilizing religious messaging is considered effective in influencing the predominantly Muslim

<sup>1</sup> *Lesehan*: The culture of eating on the floor in Java is a tradition of eating together by sitting on the floor or mat, usually without chairs and high tables, which reflects the simplicity, togetherness, and egalitarian values in Javanese society.



society. According to data from the Ministry of Home Affairs, approximately 87.02% of the Indonesian population is Muslim. (Rizaty, 2023). This particular aspect holds great potential if effectively presented by the candidate. Several social media posts from the presidential candidate's Instagram account demonstrate the candidate's close connections with prominent religious figures or Kyai/Ustadz. All three candidates shared their experiences visiting (*sowan*) with religious leaders overseeing Islamic boarding schools with large student populations. According to sources from East Java who represent the community, it is common for political candidates and their supporters to visit Islamic boarding schools during their campaigns.

Cultural approaches in political campaigns in Indonesia have great potential to create emotional connections with voters and increase campaign effectiveness. However, candidates need to deeply understand local values and ensure that cultural elements are used with respect and inclusivity. With a thoughtful approach, this strategy can strengthen the relationship between candidates and the community, reflecting respect for Indonesia's cultural diversity. The impact on voters in conducting campaigns with a cultural approach is that voters feel valued because their culture is recognized, and voters are more likely to support candidates who are considered to understand their identity.

Religious traditions like *takbir akbar*, *istighasah*, and *pengajian* are customary practices within Muslim society, particularly when there is a shared desire (*hajat*). Additionally, significant religious observances take place during major holidays such as Chinese New Year, *Isra' Mi'raj*, and the Ascension of Jesus Christ. The 2024 election campaign period coincided with several religious holidays, including:

**Tabel 3. Presidential candidate's posts on religious holidays**

| Holidays                                | @aniesbaswedan | @prabowo | @ganjar_pranowo |
|-----------------------------------------|----------------|----------|-----------------|
| Christmas<br>25 Desember 2023           | √              | x        | √               |
| <i>Isra' Mi'raj</i><br>08 Februari 2024 | x              | x        | x               |
| Chinese New Year<br>10 Februari 2024    | √              | x        | √               |

Source: Documented by the researchers, 2024

**Picture 6. Religious Activities in Political Campaigns for Presidential Candidates.**



Source: Documented by the researchers, 2024

During the Christmas season, Anies shared four posts on Instagram. However, only one of the posts was related to Christmas. He visited a church in the Ungaran area of Semarang and shared a photo (Figure 6). On February 8, 2024, @aniesbaswedan did not post anything related to religious activities (Isra'Mi'raj). On that date, Anies Baswedan made 8 Instagram posts, all related to preparations for a grand campaign scheduled for February 10, 2024, at JIS (Jakarta International Stadium). On February 10, 2024, which coincided with the Chinese New Year holiday, he posted 18 times, with the majority of the posts focusing on the major campaign activities at JIS. He made one post about the Chinese New Year, sharing a short video and extending wishes for a happy Chinese New Year. The caption for this post read, "Gong Xi Fa Cai! Happy Chinese New Year 2575 Kongzili."

Posts discussing minimal religious activities were shared by @prabowo on Instagram. Notably, on three religious holidays, Prabowo did not make any posts related to these religious activities. For instance, on December 25, 2023, which was Christmas Day, he did not share any content on Instagram. Similarly, on February 8, 2024, the day of Isra' Mi'raj, Prabowo's Instagram post focused on political campaign activities in Deli Serdang, North Sumatra, rather than the religious occasion. Additionally, on February 10, 2024, during the Chinese New Year, Prabowo did not make any posts related to the religious holiday, opting instead to share seven posts about the grand campaign activities at Gelora Bung Karno Main Stadium, Jakarta.

On the other hand, Ganjar posted four times on December 25, 2023, but none of the posts were related to Christmas. However, he did share a post related to Christmas on December 24, 2024. The post included a video showing his interaction with the Papuan people and a heartfelt caption extending prayers and well-wishes to those celebrating Christmas. On February 8, coinciding with Isra' Mi'raj, Ganjar made five posts, none of which were related to religious holidays, focusing instead on campaign activities in Banyuwangi. On Chinese New Year, he shared a congratulatory post for those celebrating the holiday, accompanied by a specially prepared video featuring him in traditional costume with the three-finger symbol and his *SatSet* slogan. The brief caption conveyed well-wishes for Chinese New Year celebrants.

The researchers conducted an analysis of the social media posts made by the three main presidential candidates for the 2024 election: Anies Baswedan, Prabowo Subianto, and Ganjar Pranowo. They focused on the candidates' Instagram posts related to their political campaigns. The analysis involved interviews, observations, documentation, and focus group discussions. The candidates primarily posted content related to their political campaigns and stayed within this focus during the research period. The FGD results explained that there are two approaches to local wisdom in political campaigns for the 2024 election: first, religious symbols. Religious symbols are used in campaigns as a political communication tool to reach voters based on their religious identity. In the context of Indonesia's predominantly Muslim society, symbols such as the Kaaba, Quranic verses, blessings, or religious figures become tools of persuasion to create an emotional bond between candidates and Muslim voters. This approach is a form of identity politics, where religion is not only a spiritual belief but also an instrument for achieving socio-political legitimacy. This shows that religion remains a strong variable in voting behavior, especially in areas with high religiosity. The use of symbols such as the three-finger salute (Ganjar), mass prayers in the stadium (Anies), or visualization of the Kaaba (Prabowo-Gibran) are efforts to create religious visual

communication that is easily recognized and associated with the candidate's personal image. These visual symbols function as branding, reinforcing the candidate's identity as a "faithful and moral leader." However, when symbols become too dominant without a programmatic narrative, the public may perceive them as a form of politicized symbols, rather than genuine values. This risks undermining public trust in the candidate's intentions and integrity. Candidates use religious symbols to present themselves as moderate and tolerant figures, for example through interfaith greetings, support from moderate clerics, or avoidance of hateful rhetoric. This approach represents an effort to reach the more rational, pluralist voter segment and millennials. However, it has also generated resistance from more conservative groups, who desire more exclusively religious symbols and communication styles. Second, Social-culture. The 2024 election campaign demonstrated the strengthening of identity politics based on ethnicity, religion, and local culture. Candidates not only promoted rational visions and missions but also linked themselves to social groups and cultural values deemed important by voters. Ganjar Pranowo emphasized his image as a Javanese figure who was polite, close to the people, and carried the spirit of a "lineage of state servants"; Anies Baswedan often displays religious narratives and approaches to urban and conservative Islamic communities. Prabowo-Gibran combines military-nationalist symbols with a popular style that is close to youth culture (pop culture, TikTok, memes). Cultural identity is mobilized as a tool of electability, but risks creating social fragmentation if used in an exclusive or provocative manner.

Two main categories of political campaign messages were identified: religious activities and socio-cultural activities. The candidates strategically utilized both categories in their campaign messages. While religious-themed posts were not the dominant focus, they were carefully curated and presented. Anies Baswedan, in particular, was noted for his religious approach, which is supported by his affiliation with political parties that have Islamic ideals.

The research findings also indicated that identity politics, particularly related to religion, was not expected to be a major factor in the 2024 election. It was suggested that Indonesian voters were well-educated in political matters and were unlikely to base their choices on identity politics (Hidayat et al., (2023); Sugianto et al., (2024); Fitria, 2018). The chosen approach is more socio-culturally oriented. As a result, most candidate posts describe activities that are socially and culturally oriented. The diversity of Indonesian society from Sabang to Merauke is an intriguing issue, and the 2024 presidential candidates effectively present the local wisdom approach of Indonesia. Posts by presidential candidates exhibit various approaches to the diversity of specific ethnicities during their political campaign events in the 2024 election. Several studies have been conducted on political campaigns utilizing local wisdom to win elections, including Moekahar, (2018); Hairini et al., (2018); Ridwan, (2015).

In today's digital age, political campaigns on social media have a significant impact on shaping positive impressions and images of politicians (Lalancette & Raynauld, 2019). Instagram, in particular, has proven to be a powerful platform for conveying political messages through a combination of visuals and sound. Leveraging local wisdom in these messages has been especially effective in garnering sympathy from the Indonesian public (Ridwan, 2015); (Hairini et al., 2018). Candidates recognize the need to craft their messages in an appealing manner to resonate with the public, and the use of local wisdom fosters a sense of direct connection with the candidate. Analysis

of the 2024 election campaigns reveals that social and cultural activity-themed posts dominated the content shared by presidential candidates. For instance, candidate 01 made 353 out of 400 posts (88%) with this approach, candidate 02 made 156 out of 161 posts (97%), and candidate 03 made 324 out of 349 posts (93%). However, it's worth noting that this approach often revolves around the cultural symbols of specific communities, such as wearing traditional attire or participating in ceremonial moments within certain tribes. The impact on voters in conducting campaigns with a cultural approach is that voters feel valued because their culture is recognized, and voters are more likely to support candidates who are considered to understand their identity. The religious approach in political campaigns is one of the common strategies used in Indonesia, considering the character of its highly religious society. With the majority of the population being Muslim, as well as the existence of other major religions such as Christianity, Catholicism, Hinduism, Buddhism, and Confucianism, this strategy is often applied to build emotional connections, influence voter preferences, and increase candidate electability. Despite its many advantages, the religious approach also faces various challenges, including the polarization of society based on religious identity. The impact of the Religious Approach on Voters is to strengthen voter loyalty to candidates who are considered in line with their spiritual values.

## CONCLUSION

The 2024 presidential political campaign is characterized by candidate posts focusing on socio-cultural activities that incorporate the local wisdom of Indonesian society. These values are divided into two categories: religious and socio-cultural. The religious activities stem from the candidate's personal background and affiliation with a religious organization, while socio-cultural activities form the majority of the candidate's messaging. This local wisdom approach, rooted in socio-cultural orientation, resonates strongly with the Indonesian people, evoking a sense of pride and connection with the candidates. However, the exploration of local wisdom values is currently limited to the use of cultural symbols during the election campaign period.

## REFERENSI

- Abdillah, & Zulhazmi. (2021). Kampanye Digital, Politik Lokal, dan Media Sosial. *IQTIDA: Journal of Da'wah and Communication*, 57–75. <http://ejournal.iainpekalongan.ac.id/index.php/iqtida/article/view/3752>
- Annas, F. B., Petranto, H. N., & Pramayoga, A. A. (2019). Opini Publik Dalam Polarisasi Politik Di Media Sosial Public Opinion Of Political Polarization On Social Media. *Jurnal PIKOM (Penelitian Komunikasi Dan Pembangunan)*, 20(2), 111.
- Anshari, F., & Prastya, N. M. (2014). *Media Sosial Sebagai Sarana Branding Politisi (Studi Terhadap Akun Media Sosial Presiden Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono)*. 337–347.
- Ardha, B. (2014). Social Media sebagai Media Kampanye Partai Politik. *Visi Komunikasi*, 13(1), 105–120.
- Baker, A. E. (2015). Does party support help candidates win? *Social Science Journal*, 52(2), 91–101. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.soscij.2015.02.002>

- Chavez, J. (2012). # Fail: The Misuse of Social Media in the 2012 US Presidential Campaign. May.
- Dhara, K., Hutomo, K., Brigitta, L., & Arzella, N. (2020). Penggunaan Instagram Sebagai Media Kampanye Politik pada Pemilihan Kepala Daerah DKI Jakarta 2017. *COMMENTATE: Journal of Communication Management*, 1(2), 193. <https://doi.org/10.37535/103001220206>
- Fatanti, M. N. (2014). Twitter dan Masa Depan Politik Indonesia: Analisis Perkembangan Komunikasi Politik Lokal Melalui Internet. *JURNAL IPTEKKOM: Jurnal Ilmu Pengetahuan & Teknologi Informasi*, 16(1), 17. <https://doi.org/10.33164/iptekkom.16.1.2014.17-30>
- Fitria, R. dkk. (2018). Pengaruh Agama Terhadap Perilaku Memilih Pemimpin Pada Generasi Muda Dikota Bandung. *Buana Ilmu*, 5(2), 129–139. <http://link.springer.com/10.1007/978-3-319-59379-1%0Ahttp://dx.doi.org/10.1016/B978-0-12-420070-8.00002-7%0Ahttp://dx.doi.org/10.1016/j.ab.2015.03.024%0Ahttps://doi.org/10.1080/07352689.2018.1441103%0Ahttp://www.chile.bmw-motorrad.cl/sync/showroom/lam/es/>
- Grover, P., Kar, A. K., Dwivedi, Y. K., & Janssen, M. (2019). Polarization and acculturation in US Election 2016 outcomes—Can twitter analytics predict changes in voting preferences. ... *Forecasting and Social Change*. <https://www.sciencedirect.com/science/article/pii/S004016251731421X>
- Hairini, S. M., Sari, N., & Paathurrahman. (2018). Politik Sang Ratu: Dramaturgi GKR Hemas di Yogyakarta. *Dinamika Komunikasi & Kearifan Lokal*, 335.
- Hidayat, T., Hidayah, M., & History, A. (2023). Islam Dan Politik Identitas Menjelang Pemilu 2024. *Asketik: Jurnal Agama Dan Perubahan Sosial*, 7(2), 267–283. <https://jurnalfuda.iainkediri.ac.id/index.php/asketik/article/view/1163>
- Karpf, D., Kreiss, D., Nielsen, R. K., & Powers, M. (2015). Qualitative Political Communication| Introduction~ The role of qualitative methods in political communication Research: Past, present, and future. ... *Journal of Communication*. <https://ijoc.org/index.php/ijoc/article/view/4153/0>
- Lalancette, M., & Raynauld, V. (2019). The Power of Political Image: Justin Trudeau, Instagram, and Celebrity Politics. *American Behavioral Scientist*, 63(7), 888–924. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0002764217744838>
- Marozzo, F., & Bessi, A. (2018). Analyzing polarization of social media users and news sites during political campaigns. *Social Network Analysis and Mining*, 8(1). <https://doi.org/10.1007/s13278-017-0479-5>
- Moekahar, F. (2018). Fenomenologi Kampanye Politik pada Pilkada Jawa Timur. *Communication*, 9(1), 57.
- Moekahar, F., Ayuningtyas, F., & Hardianti, F. (2022). Social media political campaign model of local elections in Pelalawan Regency Riau. *Jurnal Kajian Komunikasi*, 10(2), 242–252. <https://doi.org/10.24198/jkk.v10i2.41680>
- Papakyriakopoulos, O., Serrano, J. C. M., & Hegelich, S. (2020). Political communication on social media: A tale of hyperactive users and bias in recommender systems. *Online Social Networks and Media*, 15, 100058. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.osnem.2019.100058>
- Pasya, G. K., Muchtar, S. Al, & Sumaatmadja, N. (2012). *Filosofi Hidup Sebagai Basis Kearifan Lokal (Studi pada Kesatuan Masyarakat Adat Kasepuhan Banten Kidul) Hermanto 1); Gurniwan Kamil Pasya 2); Suwarma Al Muchtar 3); Nursid*

- Sumaatmadja 4). 12(April), 1–14.
- Ridwan, M. (2015). Komunikasi Politik dan Diplomasi Berbasis Kearifan Lokal dalam Masa Kampanye Pemilu Kabupaten Kuantan Singingi Tahun 2011. *Nakhoda: Jurnal Ilmu Pemerintahan*, 12(2), 123. <https://doi.org/10.35967/jipn.v12i2.2906>
- Rizaty, M. A. (2023). *Mayoritas Penduduk Indonesia Beragama Islam pada 2022*. DataIndonesia.Id.
- Stieglitz, S., & Dang-Xuan, L. (2013). Social media and political communication: a social media analytics framework. *Social Network Analysis and Mining*. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s13278-012-0079-3>
- Suaib, E., Jusoff, K., Abdullah, M. Z., Zuada, L. H., & Suacana, I. W. G. (2017). The effect of the party's image relationship to voters' satisfaction and voters' loyalty. *International Journal of Law and Management*, 59(6), 1013–1028. <https://doi.org/10.1108/IJLMA-09-2016-0078>
- Sugianto, Visman, & Darwin. (2024). Politik identitas terhadap polarisasi pemilu 2024. *Universitas Dayanu*, 1(2).
- Suratno, S., Irwansyah, I., Ernungtyas, N. F., Prisanto, G. F., & Hasna, S. (2020). Pemanfaatan Media Sosial Facebook Sebagai Strategi Komunikasi Politik. *SOURCE : Jurnal Ilmu Komunikasi*, 6(1), 89–98. <https://doi.org/10.35308/source.v6i1.1552>
- Venus, A. (2009). *Manajemen Kampanye* (1st ed.). Remaja Rosdakarya.
- Wirga, E. W. (2016). Content Analysis on Youtube Social Media to Support Political Campaign Strategies. *Jurnal Ilmiah Informatika Dan Komputer*, 21(100), 14–26. <https://ejournal.gunadarma.ac.id/index.php/infokom/article/view/1716>
- Yarchi, M., Baden, C., & Kligler-Vilenchik, N. (2021). Political polarization on the digital sphere: A cross-platform, over-time analysis of interactional, positional, and affective polarization on social media. *Political Communication*. <https://doi.org/10.1080/10584609.2020.1785067>