



The strategy of identity politics in the 2019 Indonesian presidential election in the era of the fourth industrial revolution

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ABSTRACT

Background: Identity politics plays a crucial role in shaping electoral strategies, particularly among millennials who are highly active on social media. This study explores three approaches to identity politics—Primordialism (personal characteristics and political background), Constructivism (self-image and credibility), and Instrumentalism (campaign management)—to assess their influence on the chances of victory in the 2019 Indonesian presidential election. **Methods:** The research applied a quantitative design using questionnaires as the main instrument. Data were collected from 300 millennial respondents who were active social media users and voted in the 2019 election. Logistic regression and factor analysis were employed to analyze the effects of the three approaches on electoral success. **Findings:** The results reveal that self-image, credibility, and campaign management have a significant positive effect on winning chances, while political background shows a significant negative effect. Personal characteristics did not significantly influence victory. The combination of constructivist and instrumentalist strategies proved most effective, yielding a winning opportunity value of 0.92. Conversely, primordialist strategies based on ethnicity, religion, or political background reduced electoral prospects. **Conclusion:** Constructivist and instrumentalist approaches are the most effective identity politics strategies to appeal to millennials and social media voters. Meanwhile, reliance on primordialist factors weakens electoral chances. Effective campaign management combined with a strong candidate image and credibility provides the best formula for electoral success. **Novelty/Originality of this article:** This study highlights the unique electoral behavior of millennials in the digital era, showing that image construction, credibility, and campaign management outweigh traditional primordial factors. It contributes to understanding how identity politics evolves in the context of social media-driven elections in Indonesia.

KEYWORDS: strategy; presidential election; identity politics; millennials; social media.

1. Introduction

The biggest threats in the past usually came from outside the country in the form of military threats or wars because other nations wanted to control Indonesia. However, at present, along with the times and globalization, state threats are not only from military threats but also non-military threats. Non-military threats are essentially threats that use non-military factors such as ideology, politics, economics, socio-culture, technology and information, and public safety which are considered to have the ability to endanger the sovereignty of the state, the integrity of the state territory, and the safety of the entire nation (Santoso et al., 2024). An example of current military threats is cyber crime caused by the development of technology at this time, in contrast to the past where technology was not as

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advanced as it is now so that threats focused on physical threats only. Other examples of non-military threats are political threats and ideological threats. These threats should be watched out for because they concern the nationalistic character of the Indonesian people. This is closely related to the leaders of a country who will determine the political direction and also be at the forefront in maintaining the country's ideology.

In the 2019 presidential election, communication strategies or political marketing through the media as carried out by Soesilo Bambang Yudhoyono can still be applied. However, the most suitable media to be utilized in the current industrial revolution 4.0 era is through social media. According to data collected by the Indonesian Internet Service Providers Association/*Asosiasi Penyelenggara Jasa Internet Indonesia* (APJII) in 2018, there are 171.17 million people in Indonesia who have used the internet. This means that 64.8% of Indonesia's total population of 264.16 million people already use the internet. It can be seen that almost half of the population is people in the age range of 19-34 years, which means that they are productive people and also have the right to vote. The requirements to become a voter in the 2019 elections are Indonesian citizens with a minimum age of 17 years and mentally healthy.

To get votes and win the general election, presidential candidates must have a special strategy both in terms of work programs that will be sold to the public and other marketing strategies so that people decide to vote for the presidential candidate in the general election. Based on research previously conducted by Alsamydai & Khasawneh (2013) regarding the criteria for presidential election candidates to win voters' votes, there are five criteria that candidates must have, namely personal aspects, political background, credibility, communication, and campaign management. This study was conducted in Jordan to Jordanian people who already have the right to vote. These factors influence people as voters to decide to vote for presidential candidates who are entitled to their voting rights.

Another study was conducted by (Hoegg, 2011) that the personal characteristics of candidates reflected by physical attractiveness, charisma and also the geographical background of candidates affect people's voting decisions towards these candidates. In addition, these criteria are also supported by previous research conducted by (Cwalina et al., 2014) in the 2005 Polish presidential election, which states that strengthening the candidate's positive image and neutralizing the candidate's negative image affect the voting results. Another study was conducted by (Teven, 2008) regarding credibility testing based on the perceived competence of the 2008 American presidential candidates Hillary Rodham Clinton, Barack Obama, John Edward, John McCain and Rudi Giuliani.

The results showed a significant relationship between voters' trust in candidates because of their competence and voting decisions. According to (Alsamydai, 2000) campaign management has an important role in the success of candidates in general elections with two strategic plans, namely marketing aspects and political aspects. The results of previous research are consistent with Bačová's (1998) theory of identity politics which explains three theoretical perspectives, namely primordialism (physical, religious, geographical, cultural, language or other socio-biological), constructivism (self-image and self-esteem) and instrumentalism (political manipulation and mobilization).

The strategy of identity politics is suitable for use in direct presidential elections. Identity politics can be brought from the point of view of the candidate's own identity or the identity of other candidates who are competitors in the election. For example, in 2017, candidate Anies Sandi used the identity of other candidates to strengthen Anies Sandi's identity. Another pair, Ahok Djarot, is considered to have the identity of Ahok's leadership style which tends to be arrogant and rude during his time as Governor of Special Capital Region of Jakarta/*Daerah Khusus Ibukota (DKI) Jakarta*.

In addition, Ahok also has a Christian identity. The two identities of Ahok were used as Anies Sandi's political strategy to win the DKI Jakarta governor election at that time where Anies' identity had a friendly and polite leadership style and Anies' religious identity was Islam. Anies-Sandi's victory was quite effective by using identity politics strategy. One of Anies's political strategies was declared successful in buying the voting rights of the people of DKI Jakarta in the second round because in the first round Ahok still got the most votes

before there was an issue of religious identity which was then utilized by the Anies-Sandi pair. After this strategy was implemented Anies Sandi could win the 2017 DKI Jakarta Governor election in the second round. In fact, 19 surveys conducted before the election was held, 11 surveys stated that Ahok would win, and only 3 surveys stated that Anies won, the rest stated that Agus would win.

The results of the 2019 General Election in the Presidential Election had slightly different results from the 2017 Governor Election. Prabowo, who also used an Islamic identity politics strategy, managed to win votes in provinces with strong Islamic life such as West Sumatra, Aceh, Banten, South Kalimantan, Nusa Tenggara Barat (Western New Guinea), and West Java. However, this strategy was not enough to defeat Joko Widodo, who won the 2019 presidential election with more than 85 million votes or 55.5% of the vote as shown. On the other hand, Joko Widodo used the results of the performance that had been carried out during the previous 1 period to build Indonesia as a political product offered to the public.

Identity politics strategies have been promoted since the election campaign from September 23, 2018-April 13, 2019. Campaigns with the use of identity sentiment are very crowded through the media, especially social media such as the spread of hoaxes, fake news and misdirection containing elements of identity politics. Especially in the 4.0 era where all types of information are obtained easily and quickly through technology, candidates can use technology such as social media to strengthen their identity so that voters are more confident to vote for the candidate because the candidate's identity matches the voter's self. This is supported by research conducted by Jessica et al. (2012) on the 2008 United States Presidential Election which found that people tend to engage in light political participation through Facebook.

Political participation used to be fairly conventional, with demonstrations taking to the streets to express aspirations (Anwar, 2014). Although this action is still carried out but with a small number. Today's political participation is mostly done through the internet and online media. EACEA (2012) mentions that the political participation of today's young generation tends to be more individualized, spontaneous, based on certain issues and less related to social differences. Millennials have great potential for political power because of their large numbers.

This generation is less interested in participating in conventional politics for various reasons. They therefore prefer more accessible routes to participation such as volunteering and consumer activism through social media (Gilman & Stokes, 2014). Digital media according to Folkerts et al. (2008) are forms of media and media content that are created and shaped by technological change. The internet is one of the digital media in the 21st century. As a sophisticated new technology, media forms and technology appear simultaneously and are called media convergence. Media convergence is a combination of two or more of the previous media (conventional media) into a process that can bring convenience and benefits to its users (Setiawan, 2017). Religious identity politics succeeded in bringing Anies-Sandi to win the 2017 Governor Election but it was different in the 2019 Indonesian Presidential Election which failed to bring Prabowo Subianto-Sandiaga Uno to win. Therefore, research is needed to determine the effectiveness of the identity politics strategy in the 2019 presidential election.

2. Methods

This research method uses two types of analysis, namely factor analysis and logistic regression analysis. Factor analysis aims to determine the identity politics factors that influence voters' decisions. The logistic regression analysis aims to determine the magnitude of the influence of identity politics factors on the victory of presidential candidates and also aims to measure the level of effectiveness of identity politics strategies on the victory of presidential candidates. The analysis was carried out after obtaining survey data to respondents with the condition that respondents were 21-39 years old in 2019 according to the definition of millennials according to Nielsen Media Research. The

list of permanent voters and the largest internet penetration in Indonesia are also in that age range. In addition, respondents also use social media such as Facebook, Instagram and Twitter.

2.1 Research design

This research on Identity Political Strategy in the 2019 Presidential Election in the Era of Revolution 4.0 is a quantitative research using numbers or numerical data. This method is used to answer questions in the formulation of the problem, namely the influence of personal characteristics as primordialism identity politics on voting decisions in the 4.0 era, the influence of candidates' political background as primordialism identity politics on voting decisions in the 4.0 era, the influence of candidates' self-image as constructivism identity politics on voting decisions in the 4.0 era, the influence of candidates' credibility as constructivism identity politics on voting decisions in the 4.0 era, and the influence of candidates' campaign management as instrumentalism identity politics on voting decisions in the 4.0 era. The research conducted aims to see 5 dimensions, namely, personal characteristics, political background, credibility, self-image, and campaign management into candidate strategies to win the 2019 presidential election in the 4.0 revolution era and see the most influential strategies. This study consists of two variables, namely variable X as an independent or independent variable, and variable Y as a dependent or dependent variable.

2.2 Population and sample

This research is aimed at people who already have the right to vote in the 2019 presidential election in the age range of 21-39 years and are also active on the internet and social media such as Facebook, Instagram, and Twitter. The total of permanent electoral roll/*daftar pemilu tetap* (DPT) population in the age range of 21-40 years is 86,250,948 people. The sampling method is nonprobability sampling with convenience sampling procedure. This means that members of the population do not have the same chance of being selected to be sampled and the convenience sampling procedure, sampling is carried out based on the availability of elements and the ease of obtaining data.

Determination of the sample number of respondents is based on the statement of Djami & Sembiring (2023), which states that a good sample size can be determined by multiplying the number of statements in the questionnaire by five to ten. So in determining the number of samples in this study is by multiplying the number of questions asked by 10 as the maximum value of the multiplier. The questions to be asked totaled 30 questions so that the sample needed in this study amounted to 300 respondents. It should also be noted that the determination of the sampling implementation and the number of samples based on the limitations faced by researchers in terms of cost and time.

2.3 Instrument data, data collection, and analysis

The type of data used in this study is primary data obtained in the form of numbers from survey results and analysis using statistics. The survey asked is a sub-indicator of the five indicators to be tested. Secondary data is needed related to data and information obtained from existing literature and previous studies related to research topics to increase understanding and assist in developing research models and questionnaire design and development. The type of data used in this study is primary data obtained in the form of numbers from survey results and analyzed using statistics. The survey asked is a sub-indicator of the five indicators to be tested. Secondary data is needed related to data and information obtained from existing literature and previous studies related to research topics to increase understanding and assist in developing research models and questionnaire design and development.

2.3.1 Factor analysis

This study was conducted within a specific scope of objectives, benefits, and time frame. In this study, prior to conducting a survey of 300 people, a pre-test was conducted on 50 samples to determine the suitability of the instrument and the limitations for identifying the most relevant items to be included in the final questionnaire using factor analysis. This study was conducted within a specific scope of objectives, benefits, and time frame. In this study, before conducting a survey of 300 people, a pre-test was conducted on 50 samples to determine the suitability of the instrument and the limitations to identify the most relevant items to be included in the final questionnaire using factor analysis.

Logistic regression aims to estimate the value of the output variable (criterion or dependent, Y) based on the score of the explanatory variable (predictor or independent, X). Unlike ordinary regression, the criterion variable in logistic regression is a binary variable (Strömbergsson, 2009), which has a dichotomous score, 1 (for the occurrence of an event) and 0 (for the non-occurrence of an event). The model used in binary logistic regression analysis is expressed by the equation 1, where p is the probability that $Y = 1$, while X_1 , X_2 , X_3 , and so on are independent variables. The β coefficient indicates the magnitude of the influence of each independent variable on the dependent variable.

$$\ln \left(\frac{p}{1-p} \right) = \beta_0 + \beta_1 X_1 + \beta_2 X_2 + \dots + \beta_k X_k \quad (\text{Eq 1})$$

3. Results and Discussion

3.1 Hypothesis test

After successfully conducting the model fit test, hypothesis testing is then carried out using several test methods such as the omnibus test, model summary and Hosmer & Lemeshow test. The omnibus test is conducted to determine whether the addition of variables to the model has a real and significant effect on the research model. The summary model is carried out to see how much the model with the addition of variables is able to explain the effect of independent variables on the dependent variable and how much of the model cannot be explained by existing variables. Hosmer & Lemeshow Test is conducted to see if the research model is acceptable and hypothesis testing can be done. The results of the three tests can be seen in table 1 below:

Table 1. Hypothesis test results

Test	Chi- square	df	Sig.	Nagelkerke R Square
Omnibus Tests of Model Coefficients	170.253	df(5) = 11.07	0.0000	-
Model Summary	-	-	-	0.578
Hosmer & Lemeshow Test	7.896	df(8) = 15.51	0.444	-

The omnibus test results provide a chi-square value of 170.253 greater than the df(5) value of 11.07 (chi-square > df(5)), these results can be interpreted that the addition of variables can have a real influence on the model or in other words the model is declared FIT. In addition, the sig. value on the omnibus test is $0.0000 < 0.05$ which can be interpreted that the addition of variables has a significant effect on the model. The summary model results provide a Nagelkerke R Square value of 0.578 which can be interpreted that the research model with the five variables entered into the calculation is able to explain the influence of the five independent variables on the dependent variable by 57.8%. While the remaining 42.2% are other factors that are not explained in the research model this time. The decision to choose has very complex influencing factors. However, it turns out that more than half of them can be explained by the political identity theories of primordialism, constructivism, and instrumentalism. The three theories are able to provide an overview of

the factors that can explain the chances of victory so that it can be taken into consideration to be used as a political marketing strategy in political activities that require support from other communities.

The next test is the Hosmer and Lemeshow Test to determine whether the model formed is correct or not. The model is said to be correct if there is no significant difference between the model and its observation value. Significant differences are characterized by a sig. value on the Hosmer and Lemeshow Test less than 0.005. However, the test results shown that states that the sig. value is 0.444, which means that the sig. value in the Hosmer and Lemeshow Test is greater than 0.005. This can be interpreted that there is no significant difference between the model and its observation value. In addition, the chi square value of 7.896 is smaller than the df (8) value of 15.51, which can be interpreted that the model is acceptable and hypothesis testing can be done because there is no significant difference between the model and the observation value.

From the results of the previous analysis, it can be interpreted that the greatest probability of victory will be obtained if the strategy used is a political identity strategy of constructivism and instrumentalism without including elements of political identity primordialism. Because, primordialism political identity explained by the variables of personal characteristics and political background has a negative sign on the B coefficient value, which means that these two variables have a negative effect if used as a winning strategy. In addition, the personal characteristics variable also has a significance value greater than 0.05, which means that this variable does not have a significant effect on the chances of victory.

Table 2. List of scenarios and probability values

Scenario	Variables used	Probability Value
Scenario 1	Political Background	0.58
	Self-Image	
	Credibility * Satisfaction	
	Campaign management * satisfaction	
Scenario 2	Background Politics	0.11
Scenario 3	Self-Image	0.62
Scenario 4	Credibility * Satisfaction	0.80
Scenario 5	Campaign Management	0.69
	* Satisfaction	
Scenario 6	Self-Image	0.85
	Credibility * Satisfaction	
Scenario 7	Self-Image	0.92
	Credibility * Satisfaction	
	Campaign Management * Satisfaction	

3.2 Effect of personal characteristics on chances of victory

Schoenbach et al. (2001) a German politician in the European Journal of Political Research Politicians on the News entitled "Getting Attention in Dutch and German Election Campaigns" said that personal characteristics can be in the form of physical attraction, candidate charisma and also the candidate's geographical background. From Schoenbach's journal, the indicators used in this study are ethnicity, language, place of residence as indicators of the candidate's geographical background, and also appearance as indicators of physical attraction and candidate charisma. In addition, these indicators are also reinforced by Hoegg's research at the University of British Columbia in 2011 with the title The Effect of Candidate Appearance and Advertising Strategy on General Election Results states that candidates as products chosen by the people benefit if they have a physical appearance that reflects the characteristics of the candidate.

Based on factor analysis, that personal characteristics are able to explain the effect of personal characteristics on the chances of winning by 7.54%. However, during the logistic regression test, that the personal characteristics variable has a sig. value of 0.470 which means the value is greater than 0.05. This means that personal characteristics partially have an insignificant effect on the chances of winning the presidential candidate with code (1), namely Joko Widodo-Ma'ruf Amin. Judging from the B value in the logistic regression test, the personal characteristics variable also has results with a negative sign, which means that it is a weakening factor in the chances of winning the presidential candidate with code (1) Joko Widodo-Ma'ruf Amin.

This means that Joko Widodo-Ma'ruf Amin voters among millennials who have a fairly good final educational background do not pay much attention to personal characteristics as part of primordialism identity politics. They are not easily influenced by ethnicity, language style, appearance, and also the place of residence of presidential candidates. If these personal characteristics are used as a political marketing strategy in the 2019 presidential election by Joko Widodo-Ma'ruf Amin, there is a possibility that the candidate pair will lose their votes because the personal characteristics factor is a weakening factor in the chances of winning the 2019 presidential election. So it can be concluded that the independent variable of personal characteristics has an insignificant negative effect on the chances of victory.

In addition, the personal characteristics variable has an exp (B) value of 0.892 or less than 1, which means that the chances of victory will decrease if using the personal characteristics variable as a winning strategy. This variable may be suitable for potential voters who are not in the age range of millennials and also do not have a good enough educational background. If the respondents in other studies are extended the age range to 60 years or more, it may produce different recommendations.

Because in this study the personal characteristics variable does not have a significant effect, this study rejects previous research conducted by Schoenbach et al. (2001) and Hoegg (2011). This may occur because the research was conducted in very different geographical environments. Schoenbach et al. (2001) conducted their research in Germany, Hoegg (2011) in British Colombia, while this research was conducted in Indonesia. This indicates that Indonesian voters, who in this study focused on millennials in big cities who are also active on social media, are a plural society. The mindset of people with the characteristics in this study is already open and no longer compartmentalized based on ethnicity and place of residence. If respondents are focused on one area with a uniform residential or ethnic background, it may produce different influences and recommendations. Therefore, the research conducted by Schoenbach et al. (2001) and Hoegg (2011) may not be rejected.

In this study, respondents belonged to rational, emotional, and situational voters. However, it does not include social voters as revealed by Newman (1999) that the social voter segment is voters who socialize contestants with certain social groups in determining their choices. Because voters in this study have characteristics that are not too concerned with social groups, it is evidenced by the variable personal characteristics that have no significant effect. In this variable there are indicators in the form of ethnicity, and place of residence which may have a more significant effect if the research respondents are specialized in the social voter segment. Meanwhile, respondents in this study were divided into three other segments in accordance with Newman (1999) that voters focus on issue factors in policy (rational voters), voters who are influenced by certain feelings (emotional voters) and voters who are influenced by situational factors or certain conditions (situational voters).

3.3 The effect of political background on chances of victory

Alsamydai & Khasawneh (2013) conducted research on the Jordanian people saying that there are five dimensions that have been tested on the Jordanian people that have the most influence on voting decisions. One aspect is the personal aspects owned by the

candidate including the candidate's identity such as religion, gender and political background. Malin in Kushartono (2010) said that factors that influence voter behavior include party identity. The more solid and established a political party is, the more support it will get from its supporters and vice versa. From the research conducted by Alsamydai and Kushartono, the indicators used in this study emerged, namely religion, gender, academic qualifications and party groups. Based on factor analysis which can be seen in Table 3 that political background is able to explain the effect of political background on the chances of victory by 8.79%.

Table 3. Extraction methods: Indicator component analysis

Code	Initial Eigenvalues			Extraction Sums of Squared Loadings			Rotation Sums of Squared Loadings		
	Total	% of Variance	Cumulative %	Total	% of Variance	Cumulative %	Total	% of Variance	Cumulative %
P1	9.77	33.71	33.71	9.77	33.71	33.71	7.45	25.69	25.69
P2	2.53	8.73	42.44	2.53	8.73	42.44	2.54	8.78	34.48
P3	1.73	5.98	48.42	1.73	5.98	48.42	2.52	8.70	43.18
P4	1.37	4.73	53.15	1.37	4.73	53.15	2.18	7.53	50.71
P5	1.28	4.44	57.60	1.28	4.44	57.60	1.99	6.88	57.60
P6	0.983	3.39	60.99						
P7	0.932	3.21	64.20						
P8	0.843	2.90	67.11						
P9	0.785	2.70	69.81						
P10	0.755	2.60	72.42						
P11	0.694	2.39	74.81						
P12	0.659	2.27	77.09						
P13	0.630	2.17	79.26						
P14	0.556	1.91	81.18						
P15	0.520	1.79	82.97						
P16	0.494	1.70	84.67						
P17	0.470	1.62	86.30						
P18	0.466	1.60	87.90						

However, during the logistic regression test, the results of which can be seen in Table 4 that the personal characteristics variable has a sig. value of 0.000, which means that the value is smaller than 0.05. This means that political background partially has a significant influence on the chances of winning the presidential candidate with code (1), namely Joko Widodo-Ma'ruf Amin. Judging from the B value in the logistic regression test, the political background variable also has results with a negative sign, which means that it is a weakening factor in the chances of winning the presidential candidate with code (1) Joko Widodo-Ma'ruf Amin. This means that political background, which has 4 indicators (Tomsa, 2020), namely religion, gender, academic qualifications, and political organizations, has a significant negative effect on the chances of winning presidential candidates with code (1) Joko Widodo-Ma'ruf Amin. The four indicators are significant weakening factors to hinder the victory of the presidential candidate with code (1).

Table 4. Questions for the third dimension variable: self-image (constructivism)

Code	Indicator	Question	Factor Loading
P17	Preference like	I prefer the candidate I chose overall compared to the other candidates	0.603
P18	Preference dislike	I don't like the other candidates, so I chose the presidential candidate I chose.	0.537
P25	Information and Marketing Channel	I get more information about the presidential candidate I am voting for through social media than through television, billboards, or posters.	0.564

This means that Joko Widodo-Ma'ruf Amin voters among millennials who have a fairly good last education background, do not really pay attention to political background as part of primordialism identity politics. They are not easily influenced by religion, gender, academic qualifications, and political organizations. Although 87% of respondents in this study are Muslim, they tend not to be easily influenced by the conformity of a group even though they come from that group. Their good education background forms a more rational mindset so that they are not easily exposed to news that has the intent and purpose of primordialism identity politics in it. So it can be concluded that the independent variable of political background has a significant negative effect on the chances of victory.

In addition, when viewed in table 5. The probability value of partial victory for the political background strategy is 0.11. This can be interpreted that the chances of victory are very small if only using political background as a winning strategy. In addition, the sign on the coefficient value (B) has a negative sign, which means that the chances of victory will decrease significantly if the political background variable is included in the winning strategy. This variable may be suitable for potential voters who are not in the millennials age range and also do not have a good enough educational background. If the respondents in other studies are extended to 60 years of age or more, they may produce different recommendations.

Table 5. Logistic equation variables research model with satisfaction interaction variables

Variables in the Equation	B	S.E.	Wald	df	Sig.	Exp(B)
X1 – Personal character	0.112	0.156	0.522	1	0.470	0.894
X2 – Introduction of politic	-2.20	0.253	76.29	1	0.000	0.110
X3 – Self-image	0.348	0.175	3.97	1	0.046	1.41
X4 – Credibility*Satisfication	1.25	0.384	10.73	1	0.001	3.52
X5 - Management	0.641	0.319	4.04	1	0.044	1.89
Campaign*Satisfication						
Constant	0.140	0.168	0.699	1	0.403	1.15

Because in this study the political background variable has a significant effect but has a negative direction, this study rejects previous research conducted by Alsamydai (2013) and Kushartono (2010). This happened because the previous research was conducted quite a long time ago 7-10 years ago so that the mindset of the community may not be open and developed when compared to the respondents in this study which was conducted in 2020 and also has different characteristics (Rheingold, 1994). If the respondents and the research time are carried out at the same time, it may produce different conclusions and recommendations. So that research conducted by Alsamydai (2013) and Kushartono (2010) may not be rejected. In this study, respondents belonged to rational, emotional, and situational voters. However, it does not include social voters as revealed by Newman (1999) and Gagnier (2008) that the social voter segment is voters who socialize contestants with certain social groups in determining their choices.

Because voters in this study have characteristics that are not too concerned with social groups, it is evidenced from the political background variable that has a significant effect but has a negative direction of influence (Lievrout & Ivingstone, 2006). In this variable there are indicators in the form of religion, and political groups that might have a more significant effect if the research respondents are specialized in the social voter segment. Meanwhile, respondents in this study were divided into three other segments in accordance with Newman (1999) that voters focus on issue factors in policy (rational voters), voters who are influenced by certain feelings (emotional voters) and voters who are influenced by situational factors or certain conditions (situational voters). In addition, issues of religion, gender and political groups are quite sensitive issues if raised as a winning strategy. Especially if targeted at millennials who have the characteristics in this study. These sensitive issues have a significant influence on people's voting decisions. However, in communities with the characteristics of millennials, plural communities in big cities, having a good educational background, it actually weakens the chances of victory.

3.4 The effect of self-image on chances of victory

A candidate's or a person's self-image of politics according to Nimmo (2006) is woven through thoughts, feelings, and subjective sanctity will give him satisfaction and has at least three uses. First, giving voice to understanding of certain political events. Second, general liking or dislike for one's image of political objects. Third, one's self-image in the way one relates to others. Firmanzah (2010) says that images can strengthen or weaken, fade, and disappear in the cognitive system of society. In addition, image is also related to identity so that image and identity cannot be separated. Cwalina et al. (2014) conducted research on the 2005 Polish presidential election. The study says that strengthening the positive image of the candidate and neutralizing the negative image of the candidate affects the vote results. From previous research and theories said by Nimmo (2006), Firmanzah (2010), and Cwalina et al. (2014), the indicators used in this study appear, namely perceptions of liking, perceptions of disliking, information and marketing channels as a medium to strengthen positive images and neutralize negative images, and also social media publications as one of the information and marketing channels used.

Self-image can be a significant influence on the chances of winning presidential candidates with code (1) Joko Widodo-Ma'ruf Amin because the respondents tested in this study were millennials respondents with productive ages 21 to 39 years. In addition, the respondent profile also has a fairly good educational background so that they are more likely to consider the self-image of the presidential candidate rather than the personal characteristics or political background of the presidential candidate. This self-image variable is part of political identity constructivism, which means that people's perceptions of the presidential candidate can be constructed so that a good self-image perception is formed in the eyes of the community (Luebke & Engelmann, 2023). Indicators of preference and dislike, social media publications, and branding and marketing channels are some of the things that are considered enough by millennials in this study to make the independent variable of self-image a variable that has a significant positive effect on the chances of victory (Braca & Dondio, 2023).

In addition, the probability value of partial victory for the self-image strategy is 0.62. This can be interpreted that the chances of victory are quite large above 0.5 if only using self-image as a winning strategy. In addition, the sign on the coefficient value (B) has a positive sign, which means that the chances of victory will increase linearly and significantly if the self-image variable is included in the winning strategy when compared to not using the self-image variable in the winning strategy. This variable is very suitable for winning strategies for millennial voters who are active on social media and also have a fairly good educational background. However, this variable may be less suitable for winning strategies for prospective voters who have other characteristics outside the characteristics in this research model.

The results of the analysis of the effect of self-image on the chances of victory support and accept previous research conducted by Nimmo (2006), Firmanzah (2010), and Cwalina et al. (2014). In this variable, respondents are included in emotional voters as revealed by Newman (1999) that the emotional voter segment is a voter who is influenced by certain feelings determined by the candidate's personality factor in determining his choice. Because voters in this study have characteristics that consider the candidate's personality and are influenced by feelings such as perceptions of liking and perceptions of disliking. These perceptions are formed by information and marketing channels with social media as one of the channels used. This is evidenced by the self-image variable which has a significant effect and has a positive direction of influence.

In this variable, there are indicators in the form of perceptions of liking, perceptions of disliking, information and marketing channels, and also social media publications. This variable may not have a significant effect if the research respondents are devoted to other segments such as people who are not active on social (Jacobson et al., 2020). So maybe it will not be too important to the image or perception of perception on the self-image indicator. However, in people with the characteristics of millennials, plural communities in

big cities, have a good educational background, and are active on social media, self-image becomes a strategy to strengthen the chances of victory (Butler, 2024).

3.5 Effect of credibility on chances of victory

Teven in 2008 conducted research on testing the credibility perceptions of the 2008 American presidential candidates. The presidential candidates were assessed based on perceived competence, trustworthiness and goodwill. The results showed that voters' trust in candidates has a significant relationship to voters' decisions. The type of voter on the credibility variable is the type of voter who falls into the rational voter segment. According to Newman (1999), rational voters are voters who focus their attention on issue factors in contestant policies in making choices. Nimmo (2006) suggests four types of voters in general elections, namely the rational type, reactive type, responsive type, and active type. Voters who consider credibility in voting decisions are rational voters. Rational voters are voters who can always make decisions when faced with alternatives, choose alternatives consciously, arrange several options in a transitive way, always choose the option with the highest preference rating, and always make the same decision when faced with the same options. Rational voters take an active interest in politics by diligently discussing and seeking political information, and act on principles that are not only in their own interest, but also in the public interest.

Rational voters are also able to act consistently in the face of political pressure and power (Kulachai et al., 2023). For this reason, this credibility variable can be explained by indicators such as, experience and political groups, programs offered, how to respond to negative sentiment, perceived competence, trustworthiness, campaign promises, good intentions, traits, positive images, campaign methods, campaign goals and targets, and candidate debates. These indicators are able to provide information to the relevant rational type voters clearly and firmly (Vitak et al., 2011). For example, indicators of trustworthiness, campaign promises, good intentions, campaign methods, campaign goals and targets are indicators that are able to provide confidence to rational voters so that they will be able to consistently face pressure and political power on social media or in other media. Credibility partially has an insignificant effect on the chances of winning the presidential candidate with code (1), namely Joko Widodo-Ma'ruf Amin. Judging from the B value in the logistic regression test, the credibility variable also has results with a positive sign, which means that it is a reinforcing factor for the chances of winning the presidential candidate with code (1) Joko Widodo-Ma'ruf Amin. The author conducts further analysis using another interaction variable, namely the satisfaction variable. The satisfaction variable is obtained by entering the respondent's satisfaction with the implementation of the 2019 election. Respondents who were satisfied with the implementation of the 2019 election were given code 1 and respondents who were not satisfied were given code 0. After further logistic regression processing, it was found that the credibility variable with the satisfaction interaction variable had a significance value of 0.001. This means that the variable is significant because the significance value is smaller than 0.05. In addition, the coefficient value B has a positive sign, which means that the credibility variable with the satisfaction interaction variable has a significant positive effect.

Credibility is a positive influence on the chances of winning presidential candidates with code (1) Joko Widodo-Ma'ruf Amin because the respondents tested in this study were millennials respondents with productive ages 21 to 39 years. In addition, the respondent profile also has a fairly good educational background so that they are more likely to consider the credibility of presidential candidates than the personal characteristics or political background of presidential candidates. Similar to the self-image variable, the credibility variable uses voters' preferences and perceptions of presidential candidates based on certain assessments. In this study, there are 13 indicators that represent the credibility variable, namely experience and political groups, programs offered, how to respond to negative sentiment, perceived competence, trustworthiness, campaign promises, good intentions, traits, positive images, campaign methods, campaign goals and targets, and

candidate debates. These indicators form a credibility variable that is part of constructivism identity politics. This means that these perceptions can be constructed by the campaign success team to form a presidential candidate figure who is being proposed to be perceived by the public as having good credibility. These indicators are considered enough by millennials who also have a good educational background to make the independent variable of credibility a variable that has a positive effect on the chances of victory.

In addition, the probability value of partial victory for the credibility strategy with the satisfaction interaction variable is 0.80. This can be interpreted that the chances of victory are quite large above 0.5 if only using credibility with satisfaction interaction variables as a winning strategy. In addition, the sign on the coefficient value (B) has a positive sign, which means that the chances of victory will increase linearly and significantly if the credibility variable with the satisfaction interaction variable is included in the winning strategy when compared to not using the credibility variable with the satisfaction interaction variable in the winning strategy. The satisfaction interaction variable is closely related to the credibility variable because respondents can find out clearly and in detail about the campaign method, campaign objectives and targets, and candidate debates as indicators of the credibility variable through the implementation of satisfactory elections based on transparency, honesty and fairness. This variable is very suitable for winning strategies for millennials voters who are active on social media and also have a fairly good educational background. However, this variable may be less suitable for winning strategies for prospective voters who have other characteristics outside the characteristics in this research model. The results of the effect of credibility on the chances of victory are in accordance with previous research proposed by Teven (2008), however, in this study the credibility variable, if assisted by the interaction variable of satisfaction with the implementation of the election, will be even stronger in increasing the chances of winning the presidential candidate.

3.6 The effect of campaign management on chances of victory

Alsamydai (2000) says that campaign management has an important role in the success of candidates in general elections. One of the tasks of campaign management is to create a strategic election plan that matches the goals of the organization or political candidate. The strategic plan must have 2 aspects, namely the marketing aspect (resource allocation. Media and campaign publications), and the political aspect (cost analysis, and financial support). Based on Alsamydai's (2000) research, the campaign management variable is explained by several indicators, such as buzzers, social media candidates, human resource allocation, and social media as a platform. The financial support indicator was not valid during the validity and reliability test process so it was not continued in further data processing.

Based on factor analysis, campaign management is able to explain the effect of credibility on the chances of victory by 8.70%. However, during the logistic regression test, that the personal characteristics variable has a sig. value of 0.260 which means the value is greater than 0.05. This means that campaign management partially has an insignificant influence on the chances of winning the presidential candidate with code (1), namely Joko Widodo-Ma'ruf Amin. Judging from the B value in the logistic regression test, the credibility variable also has results with a positive sign, which means that it is a strengthening factor for the chances of winning the presidential candidate with code (1) Joko Widodo-Ma'ruf Amin in the 2019 presidential election.

The author conducts further analysis using another interaction variable, namely the satisfaction variable. The satisfaction variable is obtained by entering the respondent's satisfaction with the implementation of the 2019 election. Respondents who were satisfied with the implementation of the 2019 election were given code 1 and respondents who were not satisfied were given code 0. After further logistic regression processing, it was found that the credibility variable with the satisfaction interaction variable had a significance value of 0.044. This means that the variable is significant because the significance value is smaller than 0.05. In addition, the coefficient value B has a positive sign, which means that

the campaign management variable with the satisfaction interaction variable has a significant positive effect (Rahayu et al., 2004).

Campaign management is an independent variable that has a positive effect on the chances of winning presidential candidates with code (1) Joko Widodo-Ma'ruf Amin because campaign management is part of instrumentalist identity politics. That is, campaign management as an instrument or tool for presidential candidates and also their success teams to provide good information and perceptions in the community about the presidential candidate being proposed. Campaign management as instrumentalist identity politics is also a tool for other variables such as self-image and credibility to form a perception of self-image and a perception of good credibility about the presidential candidate in the eyes of the public. A good campaign is a campaign that has a good management system. Respondents of this study who are millennials consider enough campaign management indicators to make campaign management have a positive effect on the chances of victory (Chatzopoulou & de Kiewiet, 2020).

The campaign management indicators are the use of buzzers, candidate social media management, allocation of human resources on the candidate winning team, and the use of social media as a forum for providing information to voters (Maharam et al., 2021). The variable interaction satisfaction is closely related to the variable Indicators-these indicators are strongly supported by the implementation of elections by the implementer. So that this campaign management strategy is closely related to the election implementation process.

In addition, the probability value of partial victory of the campaign management strategy with the satisfaction interaction variable is 0.69. This can be interpreted that the chances of victory are quite large above 0.5 if only using campaign management with satisfaction interaction variables as a winning strategy. In addition, the sign on the coefficient value (B) has a positive sign, which means that the chances of victory will increase linearly and significantly if the campaign management variable with the satisfaction interaction variable is included in the winning strategy when compared to not using the self-image variable in the winning strategy. Campaign management variables are closely related to voter satisfaction in the implementation of elections. This satisfaction is obtained through external support from the winning strategy development team, namely the election organizers to be able to run elections in a transparent, honest and fair manner. This variable is very suitable for winning strategies for millennials who are active in social media and also have a fairly good educational background. However, this variable may be less suitable for winning strategies for prospective voters who have other characteristics outside the characteristics in this research model. Based on the results of data interpretation and research analysis, it is concluded that the results of this study are in accordance with research conducted by Alsamydai (2000). However, in this study, the campaign management variable, if assisted by the interaction variable of election implementation satisfaction, will be stronger in increasing the chances of winning the presidential candidate.

3.7 Analysis of swing voters

After conducting logistic regression analysis on 300 respondent data that has been collected. There are predictions of the number of swing voters in the data set. Swing voters or voters whose answer trends on the questionnaire actually tend to choose other candidate pairs, but in the end still choose the presidential candidate he chooses. This information can be obtained by looking at the data in Table 6.

Through Table 6. it can be obtained that, out of 144 votes obtained by Prabowo Subianto-Sandiaga Uno from a total of 300 respondents in this study, there were 26 respondents whose answer trends should have voted for Jokowi-Ma'ruf. These 26 respondents were considered as swing voters because based on the indicators, they were classified as people who voted for Joko Widodo-Ma'ruf Amin. However, in reality they voted for Prabowo Subianto-Sandiaga Uno for other reasons. Meanwhile, there were 27 respondents out of 156 votes obtained by Joko Widodo-Ma'ruf Amin from a total of 300

respondents in this study, the answer trend should have chosen Prabowo Subianto-Sandiaga Uno. These 27 respondents were considered swing voters because based on the existing indicators, they were classified as people who voted for Prabowo Subianto-Sandiaga Uno. However, in reality, they voted for Joko Widodo-Ma'ruf Amin for other reasons. Therefore, it can be concluded that there are 17.7% who can actually still be obtained using other strategies to further strengthen their views so that there are no more doubts about choosing their candidates.

Table 6. Swing voters data

Observed			Predicted		Total Votes	Percentage Correct
			Y			
			Prabowo-Sandi	Jokowi-Ma'ruf		
Step 1	Y	Prabowo-Sandi	118	26	144	81.9
		Jokowi-Ma'ruf	27	129	156	82.7
	Overall Percentage					82.3

4. Conclusions

From the results of the analysis using factor analysis and logistic regression analysis, three types of strategies were found to be suitable for obtaining a significant chance of winning among millennials who have a good educational background and are active on social media. The constructivist identity politics strategy involves shaping the perception of a good image of the presidential candidate in the eyes of these millennials. The constructivist identity politics strategy involves shaping a positive perception of the presidential candidate's credibility in the eyes of millennials. The instrumentalist identity politics strategy involves establishing and managing the campaign as a campaign manager to ensure that the first and second strategies run more effectively.

There are political strategies that are not suitable for use in order to increase the chances of victory because they actually weaken the chances of victory, which needs to be considered. The primordialism identity politics strategy involves highlighting the personal characteristics of the presidential candidate, such as ethnicity, language, appearance, and place of residence. The primordialism identity politics strategy involves highlighting the political background of the presidential candidate, such as religion, academic qualifications, gender, and political organizations.

There is no significant influence of the personal characteristics of the presidential candidate as primordialist identity politics on the victory of the presidential candidate, thus not providing a significant opportunity for the presidential candidate's victory. There is a significant negative influence of the political background of the presidential candidate as primordialist identity politics on the victory of the presidential candidate, thus providing an increasingly smaller opportunity for the presidential candidate's victory. There is a positive influence of the presidential candidate's self-image as constructivist identity politics that is significant for the presidential candidate's victory, thus providing an increasingly greater chance for the presidential candidate's victory. There is a positive influence of credibility with the interaction variable of satisfaction in the implementation of elections as constructivist identity politics that is significant for the presidential candidate's victory, thus providing an increasingly greater chance for the presidential candidate's victory. There is a positive influence of campaign management with the interaction variable of satisfaction in the implementation of elections as instrumental identity politics that is significant for the victory of the presidential candidate, thereby providing an increasingly greater chance of victory for the presidential candidate. The better the constructive and instrumental identity politics are together, the greater the chance of victory for the presidential candidate. However, the better the primordial identity politics used, the weaker the chance of victory for the presidential candidate.

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