

POLITICAL RELATIONS: POLITICAL IDENTITY AND SOCIAL MEDIA IN ELECTIONS IN INDONESIA

Ade Candra^{1*}, Anwar Fauzi², Marissa Laila Rahmadhani³

¹²³Pusat Penelitian, Pengembangan, Pendidikan dan Pelatihan Bawaslu, Indonesia
*E-mail: ade.candra@bawaslu.go.id

ABSTRACT

This research examines the role of social media in shaping political identity and political participation in contemporary Indonesia. Utilizing document analysis, the study explores how individuals and societal groups use social media as a tool to influence and participate in political discourse. The method employed in this research is qualitative descriptive. The findings reveal that social media facilitates a framework for personal action, enabling widespread participation in various political and social issues, and integrating personal lifestyle values into political dialogue. The study also pays attention to the challenges faced by political parties in Indonesia in attracting voters, especially the younger generation who are highly engaged with social media, in the lead-up to the 2024 simultaneous elections. Lastly, it is found that social media has deepened social interaction and information for the millennial generation, particularly during the Covid-19 pandemic, affecting their views on politics and religion. The conclusion of this research emphasizes the importance of social media in shaping the political landscape in Indonesia, providing significant insights into how digital technology affects political participation and social identity.

Keywords: *social media; political identity; political participation; 2024 elections*

INTRODUCTION

The populist perspective places significant emphasis on the existence of a singular "true people" or "genuine people," disregarding the presence of other societal groupings and identities (Müller, 2016). Within this particular framework, populists not only assert their representation of the "authentic populace," but also perceive themselves as duly elected representatives who possess an understanding of and embody the desires of the populace. Moreover, they exhibit a fundamentally anti-pluralistic stance, which fails to acknowledge the presence of valid political opposition or the legitimacy of divergent perspectives. (Jasiewicz, 2009; McQueen, 2017).

Due to their own perception as the sole representatives of the "true people", populist parties usually avoid identifying themselves as a "party" in the traditional sense. Instead, they prefer to portray themselves as a movement that

represents more than just a particular demographic or political group. This is reflected in the names they choose such as *Alternative für Deutschland* (Alternative for Germany), *Podemos* (We Can), *Forza Italia* (Forward Italy), *MoVimento 5 Stelle* (Five Star Movement), or *Thai Rak Thai* (Thai people love Thai people). These names clearly demonstrate their reluctance to be identified with traditional or established political parties, while emphasizing their basic opposition to existing political structures and institutions (Aspinall, 2019; Sanusi, 2017).

The concept of essential antagonism and the view of the ruling elite as an "evil" entity is closely related to the idea that the country is in a state of deep crisis that requires direct intervention from populist groups (Laclau, 2005; Mudde, 2007; Thompson, 2007). In this frame of mind, if the party in power is deemed to have no morals or ethics, then it is very rational to assume the existence of a conspiracy involving the mainstream media, government officials, economic elites, and so on (Erdağ, 2013; Wilson-Daily & Kimmelmeier, 2021).

Under this assumption, media that are perceived to be controlled by elites are thought to spread false information or fake news. Furthermore, research institutions or organizations that conduct surveys are suspected of manipulating their data and findings to support the elite's agenda (Davidson, 2021; Ede, 2016). If populist groups suffer defeat in general elections, they will usually doubt the legitimacy of the process. They tend to interpret election results as evidence of manipulation or fraud, rather than as a reflection of the diverse desires or preferences of voters (Bornschieer et al., 2021; Duile, 2021).

In this context, the election process is not seen as a democratic mechanism that provides choices to the people or as a tool to find out what the majority wants. In contrast, elections are seen by populist groups as a means of confirming their view that only they are right, while other parties are part of a larger conspiracy or corruption. Ray & Korteweg (1999) stated that populism is a phenomenon that undermines democratic principles, especially at the level of the majority of the people. He suggests that populism tends to exalt a group of people through their leaders, who rely on mass support to affirm their choices, which in

many cases, are procedural and formalistic choices. In this case, elections are an arena full of ambiguity for populist groups (Jasiewicz, 2009).

For example, in Indonesia, in the 2019 election one of the candidate pairs claimed victory several weeks after the presidential election held in April 2019. This action was taken despite the results of rapid calculations by credible survey institutions, which showed that he lost by a narrow margin. significant. This is different from the "real calculation" claimed by Prabowo's own team. In Turkey, around the same time, Recep Tayyip Erdogan also refused to accept his defeat in the elections in Istanbul (Berenschot & Aspinall, 2020; Oğuzlu, 2007).

After populist groups win elections, they will usually take steps to strengthen their influence. The result of these actions is often the loosening or even unraveling of the system of checks and balances, namely the mechanisms for monitoring and balancing power that are characteristic of democratic systems. Stavrakakis and his colleagues (2016) emphasized that it is necessary to understand more deeply that populism is a dynamic of interaction between leaders and their followers, not just top-down manipulation by a charismatic leader. Often, the general perception is that society tends to be passive and easily manipulated by populists. However, the rise of populism in the modern era is actually driven by the smart and strategic use of social media, such as YouTube, Twitter, Instagram and WhatsApp (Mahpudin, 2019).

So far, analyzes generally tend to regard society as mere spectators in the dynamics of populism. However, what is often overlooked is that the demand for populism also comes from the mass base itself. Social movements often emerge by themselves and are sometimes very organized, or even form spontaneously and uncoordinated in cyberspace. This mass base itself often elects or even creates its own populist leaders. Therefore, populism is actually a more complex and layered phenomenon, in which interactions between leaders and followers are woven in a more complex and dynamic form than many people often assume.

RESEARCH METHODS

This research uses a qualitative approach that focuses on document analysis. This research method is designed to understand in depth the interaction between identity politics and social media in elections in Indonesia. This approach is based on the principles outlined by Bowen regarding the importance of document analysis in qualitative research, which emphasizes contextual and interpretive understanding. The object of this research is the interaction between identity politics and social media during the general election period in Indonesia, as reflected in various secondary documents.

The data used is secondary, including various sources such as academic journal articles, government reports, news articles, social media posts, and other relevant publications. The document selection process is carried out by considering the relevance, accuracy and credibility of the source, following the criteria explained by Scott in determining the reliability of document sources. Data collection techniques involve systematic searching and collecting documents related to the research topic. This step includes the use of online databases, digital libraries, as well as news and social media platforms. Each document obtained will be reviewed to determine its relevance to the research topic.

Data analysis was carried out using the Miles and Huberman model, which includes data reduction, data presentation, and drawing conclusions. In the data reduction stage, documents are filtered and synthesized to highlight the most important information related to identity politics and social media. Presentation of data is done through the organization of information in a format that can be interpreted, such as summaries, tables, or diagrams. The final stage, drawing conclusions, involves interpreting the findings and comparing them with theory and previous research to validate and enrich understanding of the topic (Miles et al., 2018).

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

Social Media as a Platform

Time Magazine offered two intriguing selections for the individuals with the highest number of publications in the initial decade of the twenty-first century. In the year 2006, the individual who demonstrated the highest level of excellence and achievement was identified as yourself (Congratulations!). The cover of the publication features a mirror that replaces the traditionally shown photos of heads of state or international figures, which have been a prominent feature since the inception of the awards in 1927, with the reflection of the viewer's own face. The primary rationale behind this unexpected decision stemmed from the recognition that individuals are progressively asserting their own identities within a dynamic society. This is facilitated by the widespread use of social media platforms and personalised communication technologies, which empower ordinary individuals to establish connections and gain recognition from a vast number of others. In 2011, an intriguing selection was made by Time magazine, wherein the cover featured protesters who were depicted as masked and indistinct individuals. These demonstrators could be of any gender and were associated with various movements such as the Arab Spring in Tahrir Square, the Indignados in Madrid or Barcelona, or the numerous Occupy camps established in the United States and globally. It is worth noting that the actual subject of the photograph was revealed to be a young woman affiliated with Occupy LA.

The focus of much of social, political, and economic life in the current era is deeply personal, as demonstrated by the increasing number of self-help books, the increase in therapeutic talk show programs, the ever-surprising reality TV genre with the variety of ordinary people drawn from obscurity to become celebrity, and, everywhere, an emphasis on personal lifestyle as the foundation for a meaningful life. (When I asked Siri—the personal butler Apple built into my iPhone—about the meaning of life, she told me that all the evidence pointed to chocolate).

One of the most exciting aspects of this era of personalization is the emergence of rapidly forming, large-scale political participation, aimed at a

variety of targets, from traditional parties or candidates to direct interactions with companies, brands and transnational policy forums. These mobilizations often encompass a wide range of issues raised in the same protest through the late modern ethos of diversity and inclusivity. The identity politics of the "new social movements" that emerged after the 1960s, which focused on group identities (women, minorities, immigrants, and indigenous peoples) or specific issues (antinuclear, environmental conservation, and special rights) still exist, of course, but they have been joined by more heterogeneous mobilizations in which causes such as economic justice (fair trade, inequality, and development), environmental protection, and war and peace are directed at targets moving from the local to the national and transnational and from government to business. The more diverse the mobilization, the more personal its expressions often become, usually involving communication technologies that enable individuals to activate their loosely bound social networks. Much conventional politics remains based on identification with parties, ideologies, and common causes. However, the rise of more personalized politics has become a prominent trend.

The discussion here expands on Bennett and Segerberg (2011) and defines personal politics as involving varied combinations of the following conditions:

- 1) An ethos of diversity and inclusivity defined by tolerance for different viewpoints and even different issues linked through loosely knit political networks.
- 2) The emergence of inclusive, mass-sourced personal action frames (e.g., "We are the 99%") that lower barriers to identification. These action frames are easily personalized compared to more conventional collective action frames (e.g., "Eat the rich") that may require more socialization and intermediary to spread in large numbers.
- 3) Participation is primarily channeled through often dense social networks where people can share their own stories and concerns—the rampant use of social technologies allows individuals to become important catalysts of collective action processes as they activate their own social networks.

Personalized politics has long existed, of course, in the form of populist rebellions or emotional ties to charismatic leaders. An interesting difference in the current participation landscape is that widespread social fragmentation has produced individuation as a modal social condition in post-industrial democracies, particularly among younger generations (Beck 2006; Bennett 1998; Giddens 1991). Although individuals may become the center of their own attention universe, that universe could become enormous thanks to the social networking potential of ubiquitous communications technology. These often-dense communications networks enable political organization and expression that often lacks, or actively avoids, a clear central leader and organization. Sometimes these networks are loosely coordinated by specialized Web platforms that provide information, media hosting, and direct interaction between activists. Developing or adapting interactive media capabilities also allows NGOs and social movement organizations to personalize pathways to public engagement on their issues (Bennett and Segerberg 2012). Even mainstream institutions like political parties often find that personalized appeals to the growing number of independent voters can help engage them.

As ideology and formal group identification (e.g., parties, unions, churches, or classes) fade as organizing mechanisms of civic life (Putnam 2000), individuals increasingly encode their personal politics through personal lifestyle values (Bennett 1998; Giddens 1991). Many of these lifestyle values commonly resonate across porous borders in political products and advertising. Is my car environmentally friendly? Is my fashion, food or electronic device worker-friendly? Does my favorite organization or candidate express my personal values, and do they understand my pain or anger? The fight for individual emotions revolves around sustainable lifestyle initiatives in progressive circles, with most attention on easy-to-use consumer identification in corporate campaigns against McDonalds, Monsanto, Exxon, and even Apple. Personalized politics also extends to more conventional issues and policy arenas, from the popular idea of a Robin Hood Tax in Europe to the “occupation” of institutions, societies, and ideas in the United States and other countries.⁴ The breakthrough of personalized politics is

the same. by no means does it happen only among the Left and Center. In many ways, the far right has been the primary site for the emergence of highly individualized discourses about personal freedom and market deregulation, resulting in a wholesale disregard for public goods and the common good.

Distribution of Voters by Age

The year 2024, being an upcoming election year, remains at a distance of over two years. Political parties attach significant importance to every election year as it is a crucial period characterised by strategic calculations and endeavours to secure victories in both legislative and presidential elections. The party's pursuit of this objective will include navigating a prepared path that is fraught with political obstacles. The party's capacity to deploy its organisational apparatus in preparation for the election is anticipated to have a positive correlation with the projected outcomes. What obstacles are likely to be encountered by the party in the context of the upcoming election?

In the legislative elections, each party will try to obtain the support of the people's vote or gain parliamentary seats as targeted. At least the vote tally will be greater or match the achievements achieved in the previous election. To lead to this achievement, parties can obtain initial reading material about their electability prospects. The results of the Kompas R&D survey released in October 2021, for example, showed that several parties experienced a decrease in electability compared to a similar survey conducted in April 2021.

The current portrait of electability gives parties an idea that their chances of being elected still have the possibility of experiencing fluctuations. This opportunity can be seized as a consideration for improving their work, cultivating sympathy ahead of the election. The Kompas R&D survey also noted that public preferences for party choices tend to be towards old election participating parties compared to new parties (Kompas.id, 21/10/2021). This situation is a challenge for new parties to pursue electability opportunities to compete.

Competition to obtain as many votes as possible will also provide challenges for parties in recruiting and selecting legislative candidate members.

This effort is related to the party's function as an organization, one of which is searching for and screening candidates to compete in elections under the party banner (Dalton and Wattenberg, 2000). The selected candidates will reflect the party in attracting voter sympathy. What positions, issues, or policies the party offers to voters will also be influenced by the candidate's abilities or role.

For this purpose, the time that is still stretching until election day arrives could be an opportunity for parties to select legislative member candidates from the start. This step is to prevent parties from conducting selections during the candidate registration deadline. With a long selection duration, the party will benefit because the selection process can be carried out through strict internal stages and also has the opportunity to obtain candidates who are expected to be in line with the party's vision. In the view of Hazan and Rahat (2006) this candidate selection can reflect and define the character of the party.

Apart from preparing candidates for legislative members, the appearance of the party at the grassroots cannot be ruled out. Katz and Mair (1993) describe party work at the grassroots as closely related to party members or activists. Apart from preparing candidates for legislative members, the appearance of the party at the grassroots cannot be ruled out. The party's work on this side is to strengthen relations between the party and those who are willing to volunteer as party members or sympathizers who work for the party. With the intensity of relations and communication, these party activists can become party spokespeople in socializing various programs that can attract the attention of voters.

Through work in the field, parties can collect votes or aspirations from the public. Issues involving a decrease or increase in electability may be related to how parties' approach potential voters. The emergence of various public aspirations and the party's ability to answer public problems can help parties increase their recognition and chances of being elected. The Covid-19 pandemic situation, which is still not completely over, could also be a test for parties on how they can work in pandemic conditions and help overcome various societal problems.

Preparing the Machine for the Presidential Election

Apart from preparing work for the legislative elections, at the same time the party will also prepare its machinery for the presidential election. One of the issues that is in the spotlight is which presidential candidate the party will nominate or support. Considering that in the upcoming presidential election there will be no incumbent candidate, the opportunity for competition for other figures is becoming increasingly open. The party will be faced with issues such as whether the presidential candidate will come from internal or external to the party. This consideration will also be accompanied by calculations of the candidate's competency and integrity, as well as the figure's level of popularity and electability.

To determine the best figure, parties have a selection mechanism which can be different in each party. Mechanisms that could be encouraged to be considered are how parties provide broad access to participation, especially for party members or other internal party groups. This access gives party members the opportunity to vote from the start, so that the presidential candidate who emerges later can become a candidate who represents the party. Apart from that, the participation faucet also shows that the mechanism for determining presidential candidates in parties is not just within the realm of party elite power.

The participation faucet also shows that the mechanism for determining presidential candidates in the party is not just within the realm of party elite power. In the process of determining presidential candidates, it is not impossible that parties will face diverse internal voices. Especially when the party has many cadres or figures who are considered worthy of being nominated. On the one hand, the presence of many superior cadres opens up opportunities for parties to nominate internal candidates. This is also part of the aim of leadership cadre formation within the party. Meanwhile, on the other hand, the presence of many cadres who have the potential to be nominated can also open up the potential for sharp friction or even division if internal competition is not managed well.

The potential for differences in support like that to arise requires anticipation by building solidity internally. Continuous consolidation involving all

party elements at various levels is important. Through this effort, it is hoped that the party will not be impervious to voices or aspirations from many lines. The various aspirations submitted will help finalize the party's steps in facing the presidential election contestation. Internal unsolidity could open up opportunities for party elements or party sympathizers to look to support other candidates.

Internal unsolidity could open up opportunities for party elements or party sympathizers to look to support other candidates. Not ending the selection route for presidential candidates, calculating the direction of the coalition is also a test for the party. When the submission of presidential candidates is limited by the presidential nomination threshold rules, parties that cannot meet these requirements can choose to form a coalition.

Even though internally the parties may already have their respective candidates, when forming a coalition, it requires a recount of who will be proposed by the party coalition. In other words, forming a coalition means being prepared to bring together the various interests of several parties so that each other's interests can be accommodated. At that point, what considerations go into building a coalition? Are coalition considerations based on similarities in ideas or ideas, or are they just short-term considerations: achieving power? The foundations for forming this coalition need to be formulated by the party machine in the next election because from here the direction of the power it holds will guide the direction in which the nation is moved.

Challenges of Simultaneous Elections

Elections and simultaneous elections will almost certainly be held in the same year, 2024. In terms of the legal umbrella regarding their implementation, referring to Law No. 10/2016 concerning the Election of Governors, Regents and Mayors, it is clearly stated in November 2024. Meanwhile for the General Elections itself remains in 2024 but there are still differences in dates between the legislature, government and organizers. This is certainly interesting because it involves thorough preparations and the need to be careful, so that simultaneous elections and regional elections can be carried out, by prioritizing the principles of

organizing elections that are independent, honest, fair, with legal certainty, orderly, open, proportional, professional, accountable, effective and efficient.

In terms of organizer preparation, both the KPU, Bawaslu and DKPP have of course carefully prepared strategic steps to face the holding of simultaneous elections and elections in 2024. From the institutional side, Bawaslu, for example, has duties, authority and obligations which have three broad functions which are mandated by law, namely preventing, monitoring and handling violations as well as resolving disputes, we must carry out initial mapping of potential obstacles and challenges to the 2024 Simultaneous Elections.

If we look at it from an opportunity perspective, holding the 2024 General Election and Election is a process of efforts to improve the quality of electoral democracy and also to improve election governance, the election system as well as enforcement of election law and the political education process for the community. The elections for Governor, Regent and Mayor in 2020 became a steppingstone for holding simultaneous elections in 2024. Although in terms of process, there will be much difference between the General Election and the General Election. At least some note that firstly, regional head elections in 270 regions were generally democratic despite the Covid-19 pandemic which almost hit the regions holding regional elections. Second, the high level of voter participation is around 76.09 percent of the national average (KPU-2020). Third, the organizers and candidate pairs were indeed affected by Covid-19 but it did not significantly disrupt the ongoing stages.

The implementation of the 2024 Simultaneous Elections and National Simultaneous Elections will be very dynamic and complex. This is a challenge for election organizers both in terms of the heavy responsibility (over time performance) of election organizers at both the KPU and Bawaslu ranks. Moreover, Article 375 paragraph 2, Law 7 of 2017 states that the counting of ballot papers at polling stations must be carried out and completed on the same day as voting day.

Then regarding Bawaslu's institutional readiness, regulatory framework and authority, mapping of supervision and law enforcement issues as well as dispute

resolution processes. According to Abhan (2021), the mapping of the first crucial issue is about the formation of an ad hoc supervisory body, where there is a minimum age limit (25 years) for level, sub-district supervisors and also TPS supervisors.

Second, updating voter data related to the validity and openness of access to voter data. Third, in the process of registration and verification of political parties, namely in the use of the Political Party Information System (Sipol) and the need for the KPU to open examination rooms manually. Fourth, regarding the nomination of candidates for former corruption convicts, it is necessary to confirm regulations and anticipate public perception. Fifth, the logistics side, where the party considers it necessary to provide access to Bawaslu in planning the procurement and distribution of logistics. In the experience of previous elections, this access has become a polemic in technical terms.

Sixth, another issue is the design of the election and regional election law enforcement system, where the current system is very complicated, layered and interlocked, so it often results in bottlenecks. Seventh is a crucial issue of authority, such as the time limit for handling election violations, which is 7 plus 7 working days. Meanwhile, the regional elections are only 3 plus 2 calendar days. So the disparity is far. Likewise regarding procedural law and trials. In elections, there are regulations regarding the object of alleged TSM administrative violations, while in regional elections the regulations only relate to behavior such as money politics.

Of course, in terms of challenges for the organizers, especially Bawaslu as the institution tasked with supervising the implementation of the 2024 simultaneous elections and elections. For this reason, early mapping and legal breakthroughs are needed in facing the upcoming 2024 elections. So that the objectives of the elections are achieved in strengthening a democratic constitutional system, realizing elections that are fair and with integrity and ensuring the consistency of the electoral system which is equally built towards democratic, free and fair elections.

Social Media Intimacy

The millennial generation has a high level of closeness to social media, especially during the Covid-19 pandemic. There are several factors that make this generation so familiar with social media. The first factor is to build relationships with relatives. The millennial generation's closeness to social media in this aspect can be seen from the We Are Social research report, which states that the goal of the majority of social media users is to build friendships with family and friends (58% of research respondents) (Andi. Link, 2022).

The second factor is the desire to always have the latest information. This factor is proven by data from APJII, which shows that the second biggest purpose of most people using the internet is to get the latest information or news. As many as 92.21% of respondents in this study stated this. Many Indonesians get the latest information through social media. A survey from the Reuters Institute in collaboration with Oxford University in February 2022 proved this statement. The survey results report that the most common news source obtained by Indonesian people is online media (including social media), namely 88%. Indonesians get 68% of the latest information through social media and 57% from television and print media (magazines, newspapers, etc.) at 17% (Saptoyo, 2022).

The third factor is to meet routine demands such as education and work. This statement is proven by a shift in the form of public communication towards a digitalized communication model. This shift has created entirely new education and work systems, such as WFH (working from home) and PJJ (distance learning). These new employment and education systems demonstrate the need to use social media as a tool to meet these demands.

The fourth factor is the religious factor, namely carrying out the worship process and meeting the spiritual needs of the millennial generation amidst the threat of Covid-19. As stated by Donald B. Calne, religion is something that humans really need when facing chaotic and frightening times (Calne, 2018). So, it is clear that spiritual protection is needed during the Covid-19 pandemic which is full of threats. Furthermore, there is a trend of increasing religious activities during the Covid-19 pandemic, and the millennial generation uses social media to

fulfill spiritual needs in the midst of the Covid-19 pandemic. In the midst of the chaos of information related to Covid-19 which seems "scary," even in some cases, Covid-19 causes psychological health problems in the form of stress (Itasanmi et. al., 2020), religious content spread on social media can be a calming guide. and healing for the millennial generation.

In line with the aim of this study, namely, to prove whether social media influences the formation of the millennial generation's understanding of religion and politics, the following discussion will emphasize the fourth factor of the millennial generation's closeness to social media, namely the religious factor (Bobkowski, 2011). This pandemic has not only forced people to interact online, but also to seek protection from the threat of Covid-19. One form of protection that people seek is through religion. People are 'forced' to draw closer to their God to survive the threat of Covid-19. Those who initially didn't care about religion became closer to God. This phenomenon does not only occur in Indonesia, but also in other countries with secularistic patterns (Boguszewski, Rafal, 2020).

CONCLUSION

This study reveals that the contemporary emphasis on personalization and individualism has significantly influenced individuals' engagement in political activities. The growth of various and inclusive forms of political engagement is evident, mostly driven by the utilisation of communication technologies that empower individuals to mobilise their social networks. The utilisation of social media platforms has played a significant role in the dissemination of diverse personal action frameworks, which engage individuals in collective processes of action. This has facilitated the identification and involvement of individuals in a wide range of political and social matters..

Research also indicates that personal politics is not solely associated with individual identification, but also with personal lifestyle ideals. The significance of topics such as the environment, work ethics, and economic justice in political discourse is evident through their frequent promotion and discussion on social media platforms. This study reveals that political parties in Indonesia encounter

difficulties in adjusting their methods to appeal to voters, particularly the younger demographic who exhibit higher levels of engagement with social media platforms. This necessitates a more profound comprehension of the impact of social media on voter preferences and behaviour. Within the framework of the presidential election, this study demonstrates the necessity for political parties to develop proficient tactics aimed at garnering voter endorsement, which encompasses the utilisation of social media platforms. Furthermore, the conduction of concurrent elections in 2024 presents inherent difficulties in the synchronisation of multiple tiers of electoral processes and the dissemination of impactful communication strategies to the electorate.

This study underscores the impact of social media on the inclination of the millennial cohort towards information consumption and social engagement, particularly in the context of the Covid-19 crisis. Social media serves as a multifaceted instrument that facilitates the establishment of social connections, acquisition of knowledge, and the articulation and development of political and religious ideologies. This underscores the significance of these platforms in shaping the perspectives and beliefs of the younger cohort.

REFERENSI

- Aspinall, E. (2019). *Conclusion : Social Movements, Patronage Democracy, and Populist Backlash in Indonesia* (T. Dibley & M. Ford (eds.); pp. 187–202). Cornell University Press. <https://doi.org/doi:10.1515/9781501742491-013>
- Berenschot, W., & Aspinall, E. (2020). How Clientelism Varies: Comparing Patronage Democracies. *Democratization*, 27(1), 1–19. <https://doi.org/10.1080/13510347.2019.1645129>
- Bornschiefer, S., Häusermann, S., Zollinger, D., & Colombo, C. (2021). How “Us” and “Them” Relates to Voting Behavior—Social Structure, Social Identities, and Electoral Choice. In *Comparative Political Studies* (Vol. 54, Issue 12). <https://doi.org/10.1177/0010414021997504>
- Davidson, J. W. (2021). The Costs of War to United States Allies Since 9/11. In *Watson Institute of International and Public Affairs*. https://www.transcend.org/tms/wp-content/uploads/2021/05/Davidson_AlliesCostsofWar_Final.pdf
- Duile, T. (2021). Challenging Hegemony: Nurhadi-Aldo and the 2019 Election in Indonesia. *Journal of Contemporary Asia*, 51(4), 537–563.

<https://doi.org/10.1080/00472336.2020.1748896>

- Ede, A. (2016). The politics of Afropolitanism. *Journal of African Cultural Studies*, 28(1), 88–100. <https://doi.org/10.1080/13696815.2015.1132622>
- Erdağ, R. (2013). International Politics and Ir Theory: a Comparative Analysis in the Context of Three Mainstream Ir Theories. *Asian Journal Social Sciences & Humanities*, 2(2), 305–313. <https://citeseerx.ist.psu.edu/document?repid=rep1&type=pdf&doi=4bbf95ec86fe335569e4ca879728850160a2df5b>
- Jasiewicz, K. (2009). “The past is never dead”: Identity, class, and voting behavior in contemporary poland. *East European Politics and Societies*, 23(4), 491–508. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0888325409342114>
- Laclau, E. (2005). *On Populist Reason*. Verso. <http://voidnetwork.gr/wp-content/uploads/2016/09/On-Populist-Reason-by-Ernesto-Laclau.pdf>
- Mahpudin. (2019). Teknologi Pemilu, Trust, dan Post Truth Politics: Polemik Pemanfaatan SITUNG (Sistem Informasi Penghitungan Suara) Pada Pilpres 2019. *Jurnal PolGov*, 1(2), 157. <https://doi.org/10.22146/polgov.v1i2.55886>
- McQueen, A. (2017). Political realism in apocalyptic times. In *Political Realism in Apocalyptic Times* (pp. 1–235). Cambridge University Press. <https://doi.org/10.1017/9781316588307>
- Miles, M. B., Huberman, A. ., & Saldana, J. (2018). Qualitative Data Analysis: A Methods Sourcebook. In *Sage Publishing*.
- Mudde, C. (2007). *Populist Radical Right Parties in Europe*. Cambridge University Press. <https://doi.org/10.1017/CBO9780511492037>
- Müller, J.-W. (2016). *What Is Populism?* University of Pennsylvania Press.
- Oğuzlu, T. (2007). Soft power in Turkish foreign policy. In *Australian Journal of International Affairs* (Vol. 61, Issue 1, pp. 81–97). acikbilim.yok.gov.tr. <https://doi.org/10.1080/10357710601142518>
- Ray, R., & Korteweg, A. C. (1999). Women’s Movements in the Third World: Identity, Mobilization, and Autonomy. *Annual Review of Sociology*, 25(May), 47–71. <https://doi.org/10.1146/annurev.soc.25.1.47>
- Sanusi, I. (2017). Globalisasi Melayu: Peluang dan Tantangan Membangun Identitas Melayu dalam Konteks Modernitas. *Tarbawiyah Jurnal Ilmiah Pendidikan*, 1(02), 39–57. <https://doi.org/10.32332/tarbawiyah.v1i02.956>
- Thompson, M. R. (2007). The Dialectic of “Good Governance” and Democracy in Southeast Asia: Globalized Discourses and Local Responses. *Globality Studies Journal*, 10(May 1998), 1–19.

Wilson-Daily, A. E., & Kemmelmeier, M. (2021). Youth Perceptions of Voting Participation in the Midst of Catalonia's Active Struggle for Independence. *Youth and Society*, 53(1), 76–103.
<https://doi.org/10.1177/0044118X19840965>