

Differences in Campaign Strategy Between “Indonesian Work” and “Indonesia Adil Makmur” Via Twitter in The 2019 Election

Rossi Maunofa Widayat¹ Achmad Nurmandi² Yeni Rosilawati³ Haedar Nashir⁴ Hasse Jubba⁵
Tawakkal Baharuddin⁶

¹⁶ Program of Political Islam of Universitas Muhammadiyah Yogyakarta,³ Department of Government Science of Universitas Muhammadiyah Mataram, and Bale Democracy institution of NTB, Indonesia
²³⁴⁵ Program of Political Science of Universitas Muhammadiyah Yogyakarta, Indonesia
Corresponding author's Email: widayatrossi@gmail.com

ABSTRACT

Social media as a popular media is currently being used by political parties in maximizing political campaign strategies. Since the 2014 and 2019 elections, the use of social media Twitter has become one of the most influential platforms in building or manipulating public opinion. The opinion that is built aims to mobilize public support during the campaign period. This study analyzes the strategy of political party news campaigns in the 2019 election. The data source comes from Twitter social media and is analyzed with a qualitative content approach. The unit of analysis is Tweets posted from January to April 2019 by political party accounts. The analysis tool used utilizes Nvivo 12Plus Software. The results of this study indicate that the news strategy of the "Indonesia Work" coalition is closely related to the success of the Joko Widodo government's program, while the news strategy of the "Indonesia Adil Makmur" coalition tends to highlight the failure of the Jokowi government. This study also found a typology based on political campaign strategies and packaging for the issues used.

Keywords: Twitter; political parties; campaign strategy; news (Tweet); election

1. INTRODUCTION

The development of technology and the current information has been exploited by political parties in formulating the strategy of political campaigns, as well as using social media in elections 2019 [32]. The implementation of the general election which was held simultaneously for the first time had an influence on the strategy to be carried out by each political party (Rifky et al., 2019). The experience of the 2014 elections that have been carried out by political parties in formulating political campaign strategies will certainly be more different than those that will be carried out in the 2019 elections [6].

In its development, the presence of social media is an effective tool for political campaigns [1] as if it is a tool that can influence, mobilize and determine political choices [14]. In some countries the use of social media that is widely used is especially Facebook and Twitter, where these two social media play an important role in

shaping public opinion [31]. As in Sweden and Norway, use of social media the popular, namely Facebook and Twitter, in addition to the relatively low costs associated with operating social media accounts, especially when compared to using website operations. In addition, Facebook and Twitter users can also directly introduce their profiles on social media and this is widely used by politicians [19]. Meanwhile, in Poland, the use of the Internet has only begun to be widely used in 2011, parties and candidates have adapted to the use of social media as a media campaign [18]. While in the United States, the 2016 Presidential election campaign used social media, one of which was *Twitter* as the leading political campaign media used by Hillary Clinton and Trump during the presidential election [11].

In Indonesia, the use of social media, including Facebook and Twitter began to be actively used in the 2014 General Election [5] and now it has become a new tool for political parties to be used as a political campaign strategy [11]. This makes the function of social media very helpful for political parties than through other

electronic media such as television and radio advertisements which have limitations in being able to interact directly with supporters or the public. If used effectively, social media as a whole has the potential to create strong support for political parties and candidates for political figures at the *grassroots* or voters [36]

This study aims to determine the campaign strategies used by two political parties in using Twitter, which are members of the party coalition, namely "Indonesia Work" and "Indonesia Adil Makmur". In this study there are two questions; First, how is the campaign strategy on Twitter social media used by the coalition of political parties "Indonesia Work" and the coalition "Indonesia Adil Makmur". Second, how is the typology of political parties based on the campaign strategy used.

2. LITERATURE REVIEW

1.1. Social Media

Interest in the study of social media has greatly influenced the development of literature [20]. Several relevant topics have been linked between the study of social media with aspects of social, economic, cultural, and political life [20] [28]. This trend has also influenced the emergence of various notions of social media. At least, there are some general understandings of social media where social media is seen as a medium that is able to accommodate individual interests in communicating [10] [39]. In addition, social media also makes it easier for individuals to obtain information more quickly in their social lives, and this tends to influence the attitudes of social media users in determining attitudes [16].

Social media platforms continue to develop and quite popular platforms include Facebook, Instagram, and Twitter. Facebook is a platform that is quite popular today and allows each user to connect with friends, family members, acquaintances, and at the same time gives users the opportunity to share content such as photos and status updates. Instagram also allows users to share photos and videos [4]. Although Facebook and Instagram have basic similarities, there are advantages that distinguish the two, namely Instagram allows its users to take pictures, apply filters, and edit or in another sense that Instagram visualization is more dominant [37] [4]. Meanwhile, Twitter is a microblogging platform that facilitates increased interaction through the distribution of information [13].

1.2. Social media: Political campaign

Popularity of social media has gained ground in recent years, particularly since the events of the 2011 Arab Spring of political turmoil and the 2008 and 2012 Obama campaign models at the time of the election. These two events are considered to have sparked the

interest of other researchers in the study of social media [8]. These two events also initiated other research to be involved in understanding the relationship between the use of social media and existing socio-political issues. The trend of research results in general has produced several important findings where social media is considered to be sufficient to contribute in initiating the emergence of participatory attitudes and encouraging public awareness to engage in developing socio-political discourse [15] [22]

The opportunity to influence the level of participation then influences the emergence of new campaign models by maximizing the use of social media. This tendency brings opportunities for activists or socio-political actors to spread ideas and ideas with the aim of influencing the interests and attitudes of other social media users [27]. Utilization of social media as a media campaign can be maximized by disseminating information through creative content such as narratives, photos, memes, videos, hashtags or others with the aim of influencing public awareness to engage in collective action [15] [3]. Based on this, in addition to influencing the diffusion of information and the intensity of communication, social media is also seen as a medium that also influences new forms of campaigns in initiating the emergence of public participation

13. Social media and electoral competition

Since the idea of using social media has emerged which is considered to have potential capacity to initiate a more open campaign model, it also has an impact on electoral competitions such as democratic elections [31]. There are various discussions that assess that the use of social media during the general election will affect the political situation and outcome, and this is highly dependent on the users [9]. In an electoral competition that involves several participants or political actors in it, it also ultimately influences the emergence of political competition. This finally triggered the strategy of each participant or political actor in the competition, especially in maximizing the use of social media during the election period [7] [34].

The use of social media by political actors in general elections as an effort to legitimize their political dominance is characterized by the level of popularity gained by maximizing content and information diffusion in online social networks [38]. This has an impact on competition between political actors involved during democratization. Political actors are required to disseminate information that is able to influence public awareness, and this aims to obtain maximum vote results [24]. Based on the above trends, it is known that social media has the potential to legitimize opportunities in a political arena and this is very dependent on how political actors maximize the use of social media.

3. METHODOLOGY

Based on the approach used, this study uses a qualitative content analysis approach which is a content analysis that the analysis method is in the form of data and text interpretation methods [2] [17]. In this research, collect data by using document study technique (*document research*) that is using social media Twitter. The data collected is in the form of all news from each Twitter account the second political parties including the National Mandate Party (PAN) and National Awakening Party (PKB) for four months starting from January 1 to April 17 2019. The Twitter accounts of the two political parties that will be analyzed @official PAN and @DPP PKB.

This study uses two different analyzes: Chart analysis, and Cluster analysis. Nvivo 12Plus is used as a tool to analyze data and collect data from twitter. There are 3 steps of research analysis, for example: Data collection, in this case through N- capture from the Twitter social media network. Once the data is coded, it is analyzed in Nvivo 12Plus using two different types of analysis: chart analysis, cluster analysis. When presenting the data in this section, descriptive language is used to convey the data and its values.

4. RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

1. The campaign strategy on Twitter social media used by the coalition of political parties "Indonesia Work" and the coalition "Indonesia Adil Makmur".

Twitter has become one of the most influential social media platforms for elections at the national level, while the most popular political communication is discussed on Twitter as happened in the 2014 election regarding the presidential election. In the 2019 Election, political communication through Twitter did not only explore the presidential election, but among others first, for the first time simultaneous elections will be held in the 2019 Election. Second, building coalitions is something that cannot be avoided so that political parties and elites who are members of the coalition is trying to win the competition to gain power in the government (executive) through the presidential election (Pilpres). In the 2019 presidential election, there was a re-competition or rematch of the 2014 presidential election between Joko Widodo and Prabowo Subianto. Third, political parties also focus on legislative elections, because the parliamentary threshold requirement is 4% to qualify for Parliament. Several things that can be explored in the 2019 election will have an influence on the news strategy that leads to political propaganda through campaigns using

Twitter that will be carried out by each political party.

1.1 National Mandate Party (PAN)

In the 2019 elections, Twitter social media has become one of the most effective and efficient media for promoting political parties to take part in political campaigns, in this case PAN through the Twitter account @official_PAN was used as a campaign media for four months (January until April 2019) with various campaign reports. During the campaign using Twitter, the most frequently reported news regarding the target strategy was through supporting figures or figures who were inside and outside the party who helped during the four-month campaign. The phenomenon of the presence of figures or figures at the time of the election aims to increase the electability of the PAN and the candidates, namely Prabowo Subianto and Sandiaga Uno. Through reporting on the activities of figures during the campaign, it is also hoped that they can form the image or image of the party through Twitter social media related to the direction of policies or work programs offered to the public or followers, such as reporting on the PAN campaign in Figure 1.

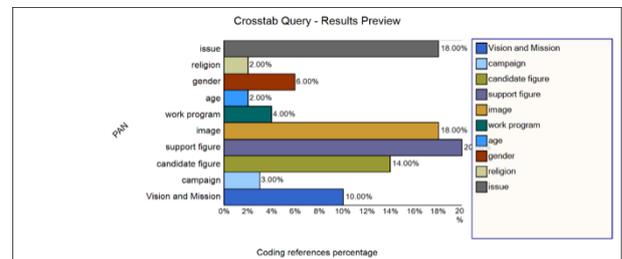


Figure 1 National Mandate Party (PAN) News Strategy January-February

reported on, namely Rhoma Rhythm. The strategy used by PAN involving phenomenal figures such as Rhoma Irama is currently PAN's way to attract public attention, as well as the most potential way to convey messages or information. The joining of Rhoma Irama provided several advantages for PAN, firstly, with his participation in campaigning to various regions, it further expanded the segmentation or targeting of the news to be conveyed, because Rhoma Irama's figure was so strong in various regions that it affected the party's attachment. Second, the joining of Rhoma Irama indirectly added to the number of votes for PAN, this was because all Idaman Party cadres led directly by Rhoma Irama who did not pass the 2019 General Election decided to join PAN. Third, the figure of Rhoma Irama is known as a dangdut music legend, and is titled as "King of Dangdut" and has a mass base known as "FORSA" (Fans of Rhoma

implementation the party identity cannot be separated from Islamic symbols, especially those related to traditional Islamic groups (Fata, 2019; Nurhasim, 2016). PKB whose cadres are mostly made up of Nahdlatul Ulama (NU), a socio-religious organization in which NU members are a traditional group of people in Indonesia and most of them are located on the island of Java, which has very strong characteristics and is thick with rural and familial characteristics. So this is what makes PKB the only party that has the largest claimable mass base power in Indonesia.

The 2019 election was a momentum for PKB's revival, this is because the vice presidential or vice presidential candidate who accompanied Jokowi in the 2019 presidential election was one of the Rais 'Aam of the Nahdlatul Ulama Executive Board (PBNU) and the General Chair of the Indonesian Ulema Council (MUI) (Sonny, 2019b). Through the news during the campaign using Twitter social media, PKB used the figure of KH. Ma'ruf Amin as an electoral power. This can be seen from the reports in January-February, PKB made a lot of news about the party's image by using the figure of the vice presidential candidate KH Ma'ruf Amin asin Figure 4.

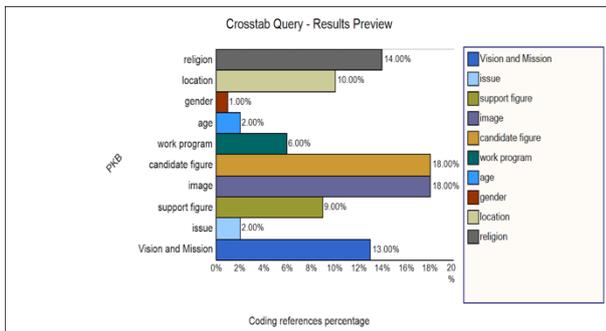


Figure 4 National Awakening Party (PKB) News Strategy January-February

Twitter @DPP_PKB was the most widely reported about the party's image. associated with NU, in this case with the NU Ulama, namely KH Ma'ruf Amin. The news of KH Ma'ruf Amin could become a political campaign engine for PKB, because personality is a popular figure among NU so that it can represent the representation of the cultural politics of Nahdlatul Ulama (Nahdliyin) citizens who have a mass base or are part of traditional Islamic groups. News strategy by linking KH. Ma'ruf Amin as an NU cleric is expected to be able to provide benefits for PKB to gain votes and further provide confidence that NU residents will unite to unite forces to support the Jokowi-Ma'ruf Amin pair in the 2019 Election.

Political campaigns with news of KH. Ma'ruf Amin also aims to socialize to net citizens

or followers that the Jokowi-Ma'ruf Amin pair who was carried along with the coalition parties was the right partner for the strengthening of identity politics sentiment (religious nuance), KH.) (Sonny, 2019a). This is a political consensus that must be taken to reduce various negative issues regarding Jokowi such as "Jokowi PKI and Jokowi anti-Islam". With the *tagline* "solid NU citizens support 01" amid the strengthening of identity politics, it can boost the electability of parties and also 01 pairs in the 2019 election.

In addition to reporting with religious segmentation targets through KH figures. Ma'ruf Amin, in March-April the PKB campaign strategy also built the party's image by reporting on the Jokowi government's programs or successes, as shown in Figure 5. As the incumbent stronghold, using the success of government programs as news during the campaign is part of the campaign strategy to Winning the 2019 Presidential Election becomes Jokowi's second term in office. As the incumbent stronghold, PKB conducts socialization by showing the advantages of government programs or policies using social media Twitter, one of which is about the village fund program. Not without reason, the PKB strategy to socialize government programs regarding village funds is because the Minister who leads the Ministry of Villages, Development of Disadvantaged Villages and Transmigration (Kemendes PDTT) comes from PKB.

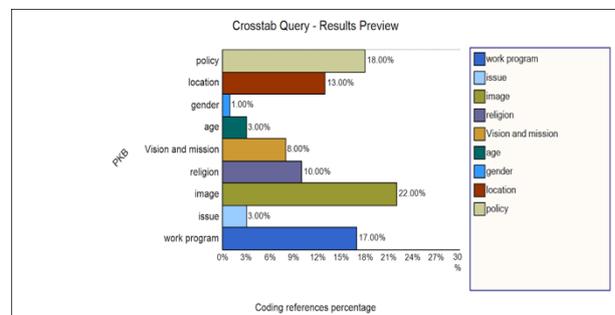


Figure 5 National Awakening Party (PKB) News Strategy March-April

Reporting on the success of the Jokowi government's program regarding the village fund program, aims to finance development and community empowerment that is useful for improving the economy, infrastructure and village welfare. This program is in accordance with Jokowi's vision and mission, which is to build Indonesia from the periphery through the village. The village fund program of 1.1 billion per village/year can be successfully implemented as evidenced by the absorption of village funds which continues to increase every year. The success of the

groups, and PAN is committed to defending the people and ulama and being a solution. on public issues.

5. CONCLUSION

The campaign strategy approach used by PAN and PKB, where PKB is a member of the "Indonesia Work" coalition and then PAN is a member of the "Indonesia Adil Makmur" coalition, the campaign strategy approach used begins by adjusting the direction of the issues of each coalition in the General Election. 2019. The PKB Party uses Twitter social media to socialize Jokowi's successes during his leadership period, while the PAN Party tends to the opposite, highlighting the failures of the Jokowi government during one period, especially in the economic aspect. The two political parties also approached the campaign strategy by utilizing the figures of each candidate. This is done as an effort to form a political image and image in influencing the results of vote support.

In addition, the increasing issue of identity politics which tends to contain ethnicity, religion, and political ideology in the 2019 election has become one of the campaign strategies used by the two political parties in the Twitter social media space to fight for support with a large number of masses. As well as claims of support from the Alumni Brotherhood (PA) 212, the National Movement to Guard Fatwa Ulama (GNPF-Ulama), and mass bases or parts of traditional Islamic groups. As if to be an entry ticket (support for such a large mass of Muslims in Indonesia) in the 2019 Election. Each political party also uses Ulama or Kyai figures who have a great influence on the masses who will be contested by candidates and political parties. This is then used by political parties as an information channel that is constructed into a news strategy so that it can be identified related to the target of the news.

The contribution of this research emphasizes that social media can be used as a media for political campaigns. As for this study, it has limitations in the research method which only takes a sample of 2 political parties from the lineage of political parties involved in the 2019 election. So the authors suggest that further research be conducted that is able to analyze all the political parties involved, so that it can be known in detail how the use of social media can support political campaign strategies.

AUTHORS' CONTRIBUTIONS

Rossi Maunofa Widayat, S.IP., MA is a postgraduate student of the Doctoral Study Program (S3) Political Islam-Political Science, University of Muhammadiyah Yogyakarta, as well as a lecturer in the Department of Government Science, University of Muhammadiyah Mataram. And active in the Bale Democracy institution of NTB. Has research interest in social media, politics and public policy.

REFERENCES

- [1] Abdillah, L. A. (2014). Social Media As Political Party Campaign In Indonesia. *Jurnal Ilmiah Martik*, 16(1), 1–10.
- [2] Ahmad, J. (2018). Desain penelitian analisis isi (Content analysis). *Research Gate*, 5(9), 2-20
- [3] Ahmad, T., Alvi, A., & Ittefaq, M. (2019). The Use Of Social Media On Political Participation Among University Students: An Analysis Of Survey Results From Rural Pakistan. *Sage Open*, 9(3), 1-9
<https://doi.org/10.1177/2158244019864484>
- [4] Alhabash, S., & Ma, M. (2017). A Tale Of Four Platforms: Motivations And Uses Of Facebook, Twitter, Instagram, And Snapchat Among College Students? *Social Media + Society*, 3(1), 1-13.
<https://doi.org/10.1177/2056305117691544>
- [5] Ardha, B. (2014). Social Media Sebagai Media Kampanye Partai Politik 2014 Di Indonesia. *Jurnal Visi Komunikasi*, 13(1), 105–120. Retrieved From
<https://www.neliti.com/publications/142298/social-media-sebagai-media-kampanye-partai-politik-2014-di-indonesia>
- [6] Aspinall, E., & Mietzner, M. (2014). Indonesian Politics In 2014 : Democracy ' S Close Call. *Bulletin Of Indonesian Economic Studies*, 50(December), 37–41.
<https://doi.org/10.1080/00074918.2014.980375>
- [7] Bimber, B. (2014). Digital Media In The Obama Campaigns Of 2008 And 2012: Adaptation To The Personalized Political Communication Environment. *Journal Of Information Technology And Politics*, 11(2), 130–150.
<https://doi.org/10.1080/19331681.2014.895691>
- [8] Boulianne, S. (2015). Social Media Use And Participation: A Meta-Analysis Of Current Research. *Information Communication And Society*, 18(5), 524–538.
<https://doi.org/10.1080/1369118x.2015.1008542>
- [9] Cardo, V. (2021). Gender Politics Online? Political Women And Social Media At Election Time In The United Kingdom, The United States And New Zealand. *European Journal Of Communication*, 36(1), 38–52.
<https://doi.org/10.1177/0267323120968962>
- [10] Enke, N., & Borchers, N. S. (2019). Social Media Influencers In Strategic Communication: A Conceptual Framework For Strategic Social Media Influencer Communication. *International Journal Of Strategic Communication*, 13(4), 261–277.
<https://doi.org/10.1080/1553118x.2019.1620234>

- [11] Enli, G. (2017). Twitter As Arena For The Authentic Outsider: Exploring The Social Media Campaigns Of Trump And Clinton In The 2016 Us Presidential Election. *European Journal Of Communication*, 32(1), 50–61. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0267323116682802>
- [12] Fata, M. K. (2019). Membaca Polarisasi Santri Dalam Kontentasi Pilpres 2019. *Jurnal Dinamika Penelitian ; Media Komunikasi Sosial Keagamaan*, 18(2), 325–344.
- [13] Fischer, E., & Reuber, A. R. (2011). Social Interaction Via New Social Media: (How) Can Interactions On Twitter Affect Effectual Thinking And Behavior? *Journal Of Business Venturing*, 26(1), 1–18. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jbusvent.2010.09.002>
- [14] Hastomo & Aras. (2017). Analisis Strategi Komunikasi Pemasaran Politik Hary Tanoesoedibjo (Studi Kasus Program Umkm Sebagai Political Branding Partai Persatuan Indonesia (Perindo)) Arnoldus. *Prosiding Konferensi Nasional Komunikasi*, Ikatan Sarjana Komunikasi Indonesia, Jakarta
- [15] Jennings, F. J., Suzuki, V. P., & Hubbard, A. (2021). Social Media And Democracy: Fostering Political Deliberation And Participation. *Western Journal Of Communication*, 85(2), 147–167. <https://doi.org/10.1080/10570314.2020.1728369>
- [16] Jost, J. T., Barberá, P., Bonneau, R., Langer, M., Metzger, M., Nagler, J., ... Tucker, J. A. (2018). How Social Media Facilitates Political Protest: Information, Motivation, And Social Networks. *Political Psychology*, 39(3), 85–118. <https://doi.org/10.1111/Pops.12478>
- [17] Juditha, C. (2015). Political Marketing Dan Media Sosial. *Jurnal Studi Komunikasi Dan Media*, 19(2), 225–242.
- [18] Koc-Michalska, K., & Lilleker, D. (2017). Digital Politics : Mobilization , Engagement , And Participation Participation. *Political Communication*, 34(1), 1–5. <https://doi.org/10.1080/10584609.2016.1243178>
- [19] Larsson, A. O., & Kalsnes, B. (2014). “ Of Course We Are On Facebook ”: Use And Non-Use Of Social Media Among Swedish And Norwegian Politicians. *European Journal Of Communication*, 29(6), 653–667. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0267323114531383>
- [20] Leung, X. Y., Sun, J., & Bai, B. (2017). Bibliometrics Of Social Media Research: A Co-Citation And Co-Word Analysis. *International Journal Of Hospitality Management*, 66, 35–45. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.ijhm.2017.06.012>
- [21] Liputan6.Com. (2019). 5 Pemimpin Dunia Dengan Pengikut Instagram Terbanyak, Ada Jokowi - Global Liputan6.
- [22] Literat, I., & Kligler-Vilenchik, N. (2021). How Popular Culture Prompts Youth Collective Political Expression And Cross-Cutting Political Talk On Social Media: A Cross-Platform Analysis. *Social Media And Society*, 7(2), 1–14. <https://doi.org/10.1177/20563051211008821>
- [23] Mujab, A. I. (2020). Komunikasi Politik Identitas K.H. Ma’ruf Amin Sebagai Strategi Depolarisasi Agama Pada Kontestasi Demokrasi Pilpres 2019. *Ikatan Sarjana Komunikasi Indonesia*, 3(1), 54–66.
- [24] Nelimarkka, M., Laaksonen, S. M., Tuokko, M., & Valkonen, T. (2020). Platformed Interactions: How Social Media Platforms Relate To Candidate–Constituent Interaction During Finnish 2015 Election Campaigning. *Social Media + Society*, 6(2), 1–17. <https://doi.org/10.1177/2056305120903856>
- [25] Nurhasim, M. (2016). Partai Islam Dan Volatilitas Pemilihan. *Penelitian Politik*, 13(2), 227–244.
- [26] Rifky, A., Ma, S., Kurnia, D., Putra, S., Komunikasi, F., & Telkom, U. (2019). Efektivitas Penggunaan Media Sosial Instagram Terhadap Personal Branding Joko Widodo Pada Pemilih Pemula Pemilu 2019. *Acta Diurna*, 15(2), 1–18.
- [27] Sahly, A., Shao, C., & Kwon, K. H. (2019). Social Media For Political Campaigns: An Examination Of Trump’s And Clinton’s Frame Building And Its Effect On Audience Engagement. *Social Media + Society*, 5(2), 1–13. <https://doi.org/10.1177/2056305119855141>
- [28] Scheffauer, R., Goyanes, M., & Gil De Zúñiga, H. (2021). Beyond Social Media News Use Algorithms: How Political Discussion And Network Heterogeneity Clarify Incidental News Exposure. *Online Information Review*, 45(3), 633–650. <https://doi.org/10.1108/Oir-04-2020-0133>
- [29] Sonny. (2019a). Nilai Strategis Kefiguran Kh Ma’ruf Amin Sebagai Pasangan Joko Widodo Pada Pemilihan Presiden 2019. *Renaissance*, 4(2), 541–550.
- [30] Sonny. (2019b). Peta Politik Identitas Di Indonesia: Sebagai Bakal Cawapres Bakal Capres Inkumben Joko Widodo Pada Pilpres 2019. *Renaissance*, 4(1), 443–455.
- [31] Stier, S., Bleier, A., Lietz, H., & Strohmaier, M. (2018). Election Campaigning On Social Media: Politicians, Audiences, And The Mediation Of Political Communication On Facebook And Twitter. *Political Communication*, 35(1), 50–74.

- <https://doi.org/10.1080/10584609.2017.1334728>
- [32] Stier, Et Al. (2018). Election Campaigning On Social Media : Politicians , Audiences , And The Mediation Of Political Communication On Facebook And Twitter. *Political Communication*, 35(1), 50–74. <https://doi.org/10.1080/10584609.2017.1334728>
- [33] Stier, L. Et Al. (2018). Election Campaigning On Social Media : Politicians , Audiences , And The Mediation Of Political Communication On Facebook And Twitter Election Campaigning On Social Media : Politicians , Audiences , And The Mediation Of Political. *Political Communication*, 35(1), 50–74. <https://doi.org/10.1080/10584609.2017.1334728>
- [34] Tapsell, R. (2021). Social Media And Elections In Southeast Asia: The Emergence Of Subversive, Underground Campaigning. *Asian Studies Review*, 45(1), 117–134. <https://doi.org/10.1080/10357823.2020.1841093>
- [35] Trianggorowati, E., & A.-H. (2020). Strategi Kampanye Partai Islam: Kasus Partai Keadilan Sejahtera Pada Pemilu 2019. *Jurnal Tapis: Jurnal Teropong Aspirasi Politik Islam*, 16(1), 65–82.
- [36] Turnbull-Dugarte, S. J. (2019). Selfies, Policies , Or Votes ? Political Party Use Of Instagram In The 2015 And 2016 Spanish General Elections. *Social Media+Society*, 5(2), 1–15. <https://doi.org/10.1177/2056305119826129>
- [37] Tyer, S. (2016). Instagram: What Makes You Post? *Pepperdine Journal Of Communication Research*, 4(1), 30–39.
- [38] Veneti, A., & Ioannidis, P. (2020). Visual Self-Representation Strategies Of Greek Political Leaders Visual Self- Presentation Strategies Of Greek Political Leaders Through Their Youtube Political Advertisements For T ... Visual Self-Presentation Strategies Of Greek Political Leaders Throug. In *The Emerald Handbook Of Digital Media In Greece*. Emerald Publishing Limited, 331-349
- [39] Welbers, K., & Opgenhaffen, M. (2019). Presenting News On Social Media: Media Logic In The Communication Style Of Newspapers On Facebook. *Digital Journalism*, 7(1), 45–62. <https://doi.org/10.1080/21670811.2018.1493939>