

Transformation PAN's Communication Strategy in Attracting Millennial Voter Support for the 2024 Election

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Article Info

Received: 2024 -10-11

Revised: 2024 -11-20

*Accepted:*2024-12-30

Keywords:

Communication Strategy,
Millennial Voters, PAN,
Digital Campaign,
Electability.

Abstract

This study aims to analyze the transformation of the National Mandate Party (PAN) communication strategy in attracting the support of millennial voters in the 2024 Election, with a focus on the effectiveness of the use of digital media and face-to-face interactions. Millennial voters, who dominate up to 56.45% of the total voters, are the main target of PAN's political campaign. This study uses a qualitative descriptive method with the SMCR (Source, Message, Channel, Receiver) analysis framework to explore the main elements in PAN's political communication. Primary data were obtained through in-depth interviews with party members, campaign teams, and millennial voters in North Sumatra, while secondary data were collected from document analysis and PAN's social media content. The results of the study show that PAN has succeeded in attracting the attention of millennial voters through digital campaigns on social media such as Instagram, TikTok, and WhatsApp. However, this digital strategy has not been fully effective in rural areas with limited internet infrastructure. In addition, PAN faces challenges in political regeneration, fierce competition with other parties, and a lack of strong local figures. Inconsistency in delivering messages between the center and regions is also an obstacle in building solid relationships with voters. The study recommends that PAN adopt a hybrid strategy that integrates digital and traditional approaches, strengthens the presence of local figures, and adapts messages to the specific needs of millennial voters. This strategy is expected to increase PAN's political relevance and strengthen its electability in the upcoming election.

I. Introduction

Political parties (parpol) play a central role in the democratic process in Indonesia, serving as a liaison between the people and government institutions (D. Ananda et al., 2023; DiResta et al., 2020). As an instrument of democracy, parpol not only aims to gain political power, but also to build community involvement in the political process through the delivery of credible and relevant messages (Syaifuddin & Isnaini, 2020). In this context, the National Mandate Party (PAN) has attempted to transform its communication strategy to attract support from voters, especially the millennial generation, which is the majority demographic of voters in the 2024 Election (Lamabelawa et al., 2024; Nursidqi & Sofyan, 2023).

Millennial and Generation Z voters are estimated to dominate up to 56.45% of the total voters, making this group a strategic target for PAN *Communication* (Hafiz, 2020; Latif & Sos, 2022; Septiyani et al., 2024).. With the characteristics of young voters who are more connected to digital technology, PAN faces the challenge of conveying political messages that are in accordance with the preferences and communication styles of this generation (Azhar, 2009). Changes in political communication patterns that are increasingly moving towards digitalization require political parties to adopt a new approach in reaching voters. In this case, PAN uses social media and digital campaigns to expand its reach and increase the effectiveness of its political communication (Azhar, 2017)..

As a party born from the spirit of reform, PAN is committed to openness, pluralism, and strengthening religious morality (R. Ananda & Valentina, 2021; Hermanto, 2020). These values are the basis of PAN's political communication strategy designed to embrace young voters. This approach not only emphasizes messages relevant to millennial issues, such as employment, education, and technology, but also utilizes social media platforms such as Instagram, TikTok, and YouTube as the main campaign channels.

The effectiveness of PAN's political communication in gaining the support of millennial voters does not only depend on the choice of communication channels, but also on the credibility of the message and the party's ability to build meaningful interactions with voters (Bangunan & Kholil, 2024; Stier et al., 2020).. Millennial voters tend to be more critical and selective of political information, so PAN must ensure that its political messages are not only visually appealing, but also have relevant and authentic content (Puspitasari et al., 2020).

Previous studies have shown that PAN's political marketing strategy has progressed, such as the use of campaign jingles and other creative approaches. However, studies that explore PAN's political communication in the context of direct interaction with millennial voters, especially in North Sumatra, are still limited (Kustiawan et al., 2019). Thus, this study offers significant novelty by focusing on the local context, namely North Sumatra Province, which has unique political dynamics and the strategic role of millennial voters in determining the results of the 2024 Election.

This research approach refers to the SMCR (Source, Message, Channel, Receiver) model, an analytical framework rarely used in previous studies of PAN's political communication (Berlo's, 2024). This model allows for a more detailed study of key elements of political communication, from how PAN as a source delivers a message, to how the message is received by millennial voters through the right channel (Berlo, 1977). This study also offers a new perspective by examining more relational and interactive political communication, going beyond conventional political marketing approaches.

Another uniqueness lies in the focus of this study, which explores direct interactions between PAN and millennial voters, as well as an analysis of the effectiveness of PAN's political communication at the local level. This approach provides new insights into how PAN adapts to the increasingly dynamic digitalization trend and preferences of young voters. By examining two-way communication between PAN and millennial voters, this study offers an important contribution to the literature on political communication and digital-based campaign strategies.

This research is not only relevant in the context of the 2024 Election, but also provides practical guidance for PAN and other political parties in designing effective political communication strategies to attract support from the younger generation. This study is expected to be able to explain how the transformation of PAN's political communication strategy can be a model for building stronger relationships between political parties and millennial voters in the era of digital democracy.

2. Research Method

This study uses a qualitative descriptive approach to examine the transformation of the National Mandate Party (PAN)'s political communication strategy in attracting the support of millennial voters in the 2024 Election. This approach was chosen because it allows for an in-depth exploration of the phenomenon of PAN's political communication, especially in the digital context and the preferences of the millennial generation (Kyngäs, 2020). The qualitative approach helps to explore the understanding of the elements of political communication such as messages, channels, and recipients in the SMCR (Source, Message, Channel, Receiver) model used as the main analytical framework of this study.

Primary data in this study were obtained through in-depth interviews with key informants, including PAN members and administrators, campaign teams, and representatives of millennial voters in North Sumatra. Purposive sampling techniques were used to select informants relevant to the research topic, ensuring a diversity of views and experiences that could enrich the research findings. In addition, secondary data were collected through document analysis, such as campaign reports, PAN social media content, and official publications related to the party's political communication strategy.

The data collection process was carried out in three main stages, namely: (1) in-depth interviews to understand PAN's communication strategy, (2) digital content analysis including PAN's social media uploads and online campaigns, and (3) data triangulation through direct observation of party campaign activities in the research area. The use of triangulation aims to increase data validity and ensure consistency between primary and secondary data sources (Gerend et al., 2022).

Data analysis was conducted using thematic analysis techniques. The analysis steps included initial coding of interview transcripts, grouping of main themes, and interpretation of results based on the SMCR framework. Elements in the SMCR model, such as source, message, channel, and receiver, were used as a guide to understand the dynamics of PAN's political communication in attracting millennial voters. In addition, the analysis also includes identifying factors that support or hinder the effectiveness of the party's communication strategy.

In order to maintain the validity and reliability of the research, the analysis process was carried out iteratively by involving critical reflection on the data obtained. The results of the analysis were then compared with findings from previous studies to identify the novelties

offered by this study. This approach is expected to produce comprehensive findings on how PAN adapts its political communication strategy to reach and attract support from millennial voters in the 2024 Election.

3. Results and Discussion

Dynamics of PAN's Electability in the 2024 Election in North Sumatra

The electability of political parties is an important indicator in measuring the attractiveness of a party to the public. This is reflected in the number of seats successfully obtained in legislative elections. In North Sumatra, PAN showed fluctuations in seat acquisition from year to year. Although it was able to survive in every election period, competition with other parties and changes in voter preferences are the main challenges for this party.

The change in the number of seats obtained by PAN from period to period shows the complex dynamics of local politics. The party faces competition from large parties such as Golkar, PDI Perjuangan, and Gerindra, which have a strong mass base. Meanwhile, new parties such as NasDem are able to attract voters' sympathy through an approach that is more relevant to the needs of the community.

PAN's electability trend is influenced by various factors, including the party's relationship with Islamic organizations such as Muhammadiyah, social dynamics, and the party's ability to respond to local issues. However, the party has struggled to attract young voters, especially millennials who are more interested in progressive issues and digital-based campaigns.

In addition to fluctuating electability, PAN also faces challenges in political regeneration. The party is still dominated by senior figures, who are less relevant to millennial voters. In addition, traditional issues such as MSMEs and agriculture raised by PAN are less attractive to the younger generation who are more focused on the digital economy and technology.

PAN's conventional campaign is also one of the causes of its electability stagnation among young voters. The millennial generation, who are active on social media and the digital world, want a more interactive and progressive approach. However, PAN has not been able to utilize the potential of technology to its full potential to reach this segment of voters.

The North Sumatra DPRD seat distribution table shows the trend of fluctuations in PAN's seat acquisition in the five legislative election periods from 2004 to 2029. Initially, PAN won 9 seats in 2004, but decreased to 7 seats in 2009 and again to 6 seats in 2014. After increasing slightly to 7 seats in 2019, PAN dropped again to 6 seats in 2024. This trend reflects PAN's challenges in maintaining its political relevance amidst fierce competition with other more progressive parties, such as Gerindra and NasDem, as well as the need to adjust strategies to attract increasingly dominant millennial and generation Z voters.

PAN still has the opportunity to increase its electability if it is able to innovate in political strategies. Utilizing the Muhammadiyah network to support campaigns based on modernist religious values and strengthening progressive issues such as the environment, digital-based education, and the creative economy can be an effective strategy to attract the sympathy of young voters.

YEAR	POLITICAL PARTIES	2004- 2009	2009- 2014	2014- 2019	2019- 2024	2024- 2029
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1	Golkar	18	13	17	15	22
2	PDI Perjuangan	13	19	16	19	21
3	Gerindra	-	7	10	15	13
4	Nasdem	-	-	6	12	12
5	PKS	7	9	9	11	10
6	PAN	9	7	6	7	6
7	Demokrat	14	17	14	11	5
8	Hanura	-	10	10	4	5
9	PKB	6	3	2	3	4
10	PPP	7	7	4	4	1
11	Perindo	-	-	-	-	1
12	PBB	3	0	0	0	-
13	Berkarya	-	-	-	0	-
14	PSI	-	-	-	0	-
TOTAL SEATS		85	85	100	100	100

Sources : KPU

As a modernist Islamic party, PAN has the potential to bridge the needs of the young Muslim generation who want a balance between religious values and social progress. However, without innovation in its political strategy, PAN risks losing relevance, especially amidst increasingly tight competition with other, more progressive and interactive parties.

Table 2: Factors Influencing PAN's Electability in North Sumatra

Factor	Description	Impact on Electability
Modernist Islamic Support Base	Close ties with Muhammadiyah, a large Islamic organization in North Sumatra	Positive
Competition between Islamic Parties	Tight competition with PKS and PPP	Negative
Local Political Dynamics	The influence of local figures and elite groups	Challenge
Political Regeneration	The dominance of senior figures is less attractive to millennials	Negative
Digital Campaign	Lack of presence on social media to reach young voters	Negative
Creative Economy Issues	Focus on traditional sectors reduces appeal to younger generations	Negative
Performance of Cadres in the DPRD	Active cadres can increase public trust in PAN	Positive

Source : Analysis Author

The table of factors influencing PAN's electability in North Sumatra shows various elements that contribute to the political appeal of this party. PAN's close relationship with Muhammadiyah, as a modernist Islamic organization with broad influence, has a positive

impact on the party's electability. This support base allows PAN to reach segments of society that are in line with the religious and modern values promoted by the party. However, competition with other Islamic parties, such as PKS and PPP, presents significant challenges, because the same voter segments are the main targets of the three parties.

Local political dynamics in North Sumatra also play an important role in influencing PAN's electability. The influence of local figures and elite groups in various regions often determines voter preferences, which makes PAN have to compete in a very competitive arena. In addition, slow political regeneration, where the party is still dominated by senior figures, is an obstacle for PAN to attract the attention of the younger generation. The lack of dynamic young figures reduces the party's appeal in the eyes of millennial voters, who now dominate the voter population.

Other factors that affect PAN's electability are the campaign strategy and the party's issue focus. PAN's lack of presence on social media and focus on traditional economic issues, such as MSMEs and agriculture, are not attractive enough for the younger generation who are more interested in the creative economy and digital technology. On the other hand, the performance of PAN cadres in the DPRD is one element that can increase public trust. Cadres who actively fight for local issues make a positive contribution to the party's electability, although the challenge of adapting to changes in voter preferences is still homework for PAN.

National Mandate Party (PAN) Strategy in Attracting Millennial Voter Support

a. Source

PAN utilizes young and progressive figures as the main source of communication to attract the attention of millennial voters. These figures include figures who have good reputations in the fields of technology, entrepreneurship, and education, such as successful young entrepreneurs, technology activists, or widely known educators. The selection of figures is based on their active involvement in issues relevant to the lives of millennials, so as to be able to bridge the gap between political parties and the younger generation.

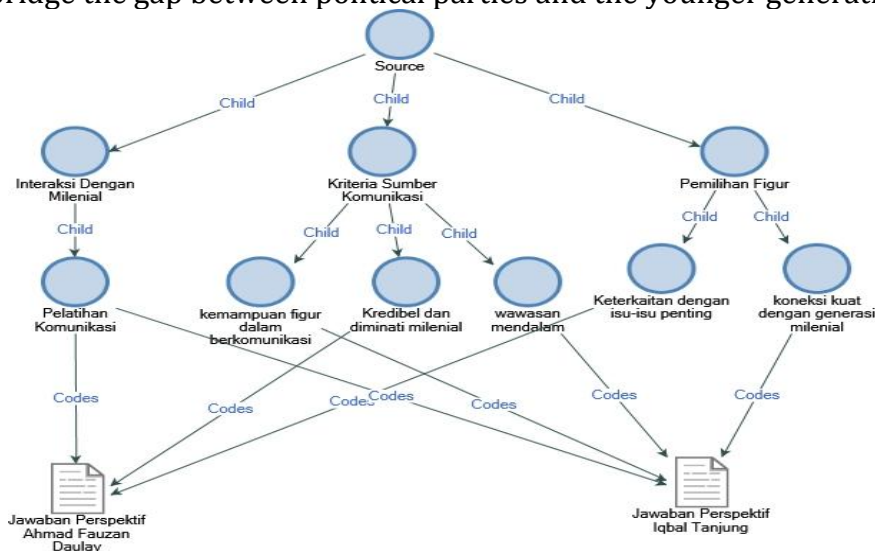


Figure 1. Source

Source : analysis Author Wit Nvivo

In addition, PAN also involves party cadres who have strong communication skills and a deep understanding of local issues. These figures are positioned as representatives who are able to convey the party's vision authentically and convincingly. In many cases, these figures are chosen from among the younger generation who have relevant academic or professional backgrounds, thus increasing the credibility of the messages they convey.

This strategy is also strengthened by the presence of PAN figures on social media, a platform that is dominant among millennials. These figures are not only active in promoting PAN programs, but also interact directly with their audiences through comments, live broadcasts, or online discussions. This approach is designed to create personal relationships and build trust between the party and young voters.

PAN also ensures that the figures chosen reflect the party's values, such as openness, pluralism, and innovation. The existence of the right sources is very important to convey relevant and credible messages, so as to attract the attention of the young generation who are critical and selective in choosing political parties.

b. Message

PAN has developed campaign messages that focus on issues relevant to the needs and aspirations of millennial voters, such as technology-based education, access to employment, entrepreneurship, and environmental protection. These messages are packaged in a practical and easy-to-understand manner, using relatable narratives that are in line with the communication style of the younger generation.

In delivering the message, PAN uses a solution-based approach by highlighting concrete programs that can answer the needs of millennials. For example, PAN carries out support programs for technology startups, increasing access to digital education, and environmentally friendly policies that attract the attention of the younger generation who care about sustainability issues.

PAN's messages are not only delivered in text form, but also through creative visual content, such as infographics, short videos, and memes. These media were chosen to attract attention on busy digital platforms, while increasing the engagement of young voters. This visual narrative is also designed to build emotional resonance, showing that PAN is a party that understands and cares about the daily lives of millennials.

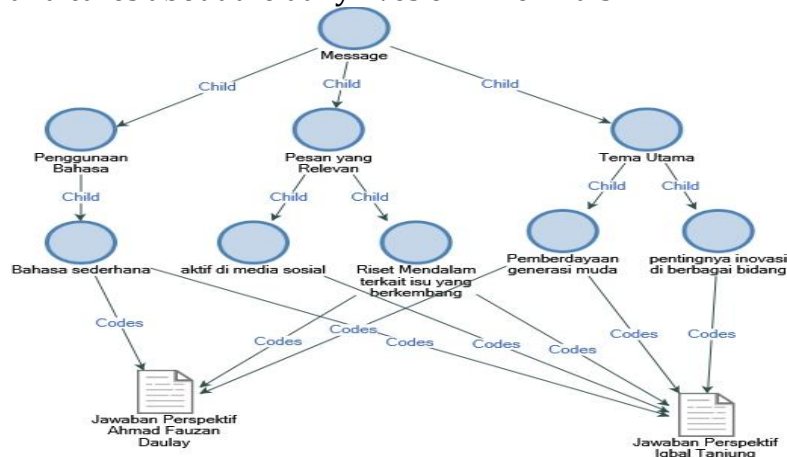


Figure 2. Message

Source : analysis Author Wit Nvivo

PAN also ensures consistency in delivering messages across various communication channels. The same narrative is used both in digital media and in face-to-face meetings, creating a cohesive and convincing image. By delivering relevant, practical and engaging messages, PAN seeks to create a strong emotional connection with young voters.

c. Channel

PAN utilizes various communication channels to reach millennial voters, especially social media platforms such as Instagram, TikTok, YouTube, and Twitter. Social media was chosen because it is the main place for interaction between the younger generation, allowing PAN to convey their message directly and effectively. Activities on social media include uploading informative content, live broadcasts, and online discussions involving party figures.

In addition to social media, PAN also uses communication platforms such as WhatsApp to interact directly with local communities. WhatsApp groups are used to disseminate information about party programs, invite participants to events, and answer questions from the public. This approach creates a more personal relationship between PAN and millennial voters.

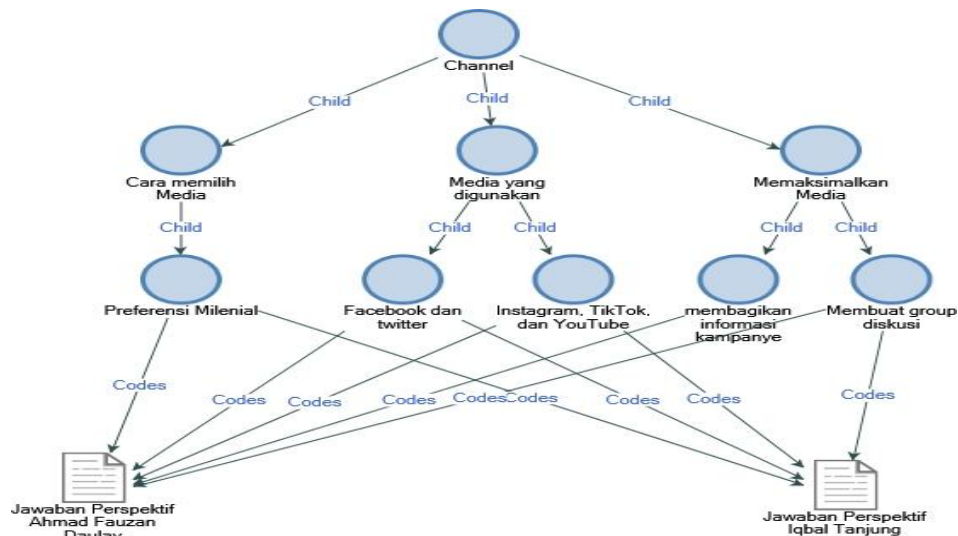


Figure 3. Channel

Source : analysis Author Wit Nvivo

PAN is also active in holding offline activities involving the younger generation, such as workshops, seminars, and public discussions. These activities are designed to build authentic face-to-face interactions, provide space for millennials to voice their aspirations, and show that PAN listens and cares about their needs.

PAN's communication channels are selected based on the characteristics of the target audience. By integrating digital and face-to-face approaches, PAN ensures that their messages can reach millennial voters widely and effectively. This strategy also allows PAN to gauge audience response and adjust their approach as needed.

d. Receiver

Millennial voters in North Sumatra have unique characteristics that influence how they receive political messages. They are a dynamic, critical, and digitally connected

generation. Therefore, PAN conducted in-depth research to understand the needs, preferences, and aspirations of this group. The focus of the research includes issues that are important to millennials, such as quality education, job opportunities, and environmental sustainability.

As message recipients, millennials tend to prefer interactive two-way communication. PAN responded to this need by creating online and face-to-face discussion forums, where young voters could provide direct feedback. In this way, PAN not only delivered a message, but also demonstrated their commitment to listening to the aspirations of the younger generation.

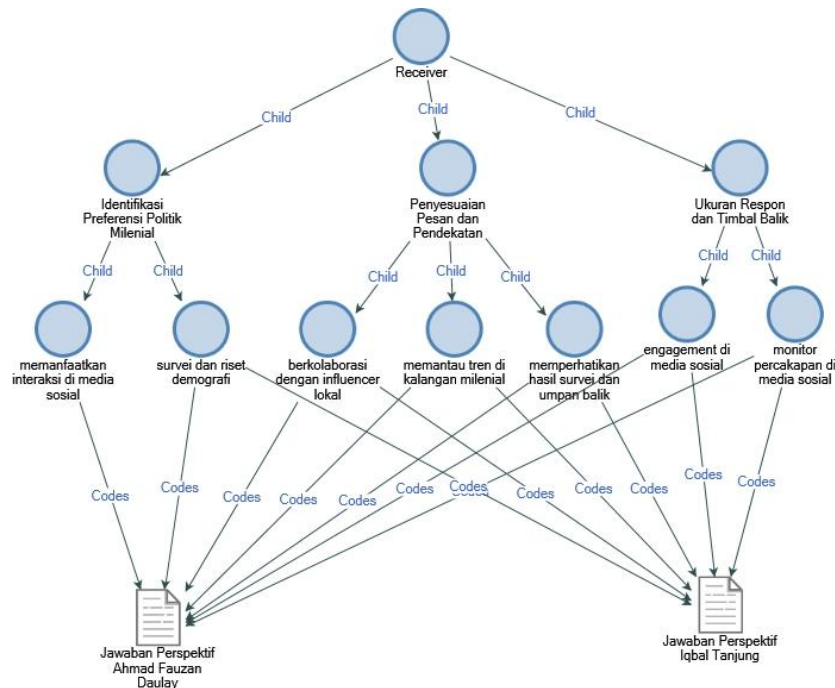


Figure 4. Receiver

Source : analysis Author Wit Nvivo

PAN also adjusted their communication style to be more relevant to millennials. The language used in the campaign was designed to be relaxed but still informative, reflecting the everyday communication style of the younger generation. In addition, PAN ensured that the messages conveyed had practical value and could be applied in the daily lives of millennials, thus creating a deeper resonance.

By understanding the characteristics of the message recipients and adjusting their communication strategies, PAN seeks to create a strong relationship with millennial voters. This not only increases the effectiveness of the campaign, but also strengthens PAN's image as a party that is relevant and responsive to the needs of the times.

PAN's Electability Strategy and Challenges in the 2024 Election

PAN's success in attracting millennial voters in the 2024 Election is an important step in their political strategy, especially through digital campaigns on social media such as Instagram, TikTok, and WhatsApp. However, although this approach attracts the attention of the younger generation, the results are not in line with the target of increasing the number of seats in the North Sumatra parliament, which is stagnant at 6 seats. One of the causes is the

limited reach of digital strategies in rural areas with minimal internet infrastructure, where traditional campaign methods are more relevant.

Tight competition with other parties such as PKS and Gerindra also affected the election results. These parties are superior in offering local figures who are widely known and trusted by the public. In addition, the fluctuating level of political participation of millennials is a challenge, because although they are interested in modern issues, their loyalty to a particular party tends to be low. This factor complicates PAN's efforts to consolidate support from this segment of voters.



Figure 5. PAN's Electability Strategy and Challenges in the 2024 Election

Source : analysis Author With Whimsical

The lack of strong local figures in North Sumatra is a significant obstacle for PAN. PAN's national figures may have appeal, but they are less relevant in the local context. In addition, the misalignment of messages between the center and the regions also reduces the effectiveness of the campaign. PAN's attractive digital campaign is not always aligned with the approach on the ground, causing confusion among voters.

PAN relies too much on digital campaigns and underutilizes traditional approaches such as door-to-door campaigns or local media. This limits the party's appeal in rural areas, where personal approaches are more valued. To increase electability, PAN needs to adopt a hybrid strategy that integrates digital and traditional strengths, while strengthening internal coordination and the presence of local figures to create more personal relationships with voters. This holistic approach can help PAN achieve its electoral targets in the upcoming elections.

4. Conclusion

The transformation of the National Mandate Party (PAN) communication strategy in the 2024 Election reflects the party's efforts to adapt to changing political dynamics, especially in reaching the millennial generation that dominates the voter population. By utilizing social media such as Instagram, TikTok, and WhatsApp, PAN has succeeded in increasing their digital interactions, strengthening the party's image as an organization that is responsive to the needs of the younger generation. However, this digital success has not

been fully translated into a significant increase in the acquisition of parliamentary seats, which remains stagnant at six.

One of PAN's main challenges is the lack of a hybrid approach that can combine digital strategies with traditional campaigning. While social media is effective in urban areas, methods such as face-to-face campaigning and the use of local media remain relevant in rural areas with limited digital infrastructure. In addition, PAN faces competition from other parties such as PKS and Gerindra which are more effective in presenting local figures who are relevant and trusted by the community.

PAN's strategy is also hampered by the lack of political regeneration, where the dominance of senior figures is less attractive to more dynamic millennial voters. In addition, although PAN has succeeded in creating a relevant narrative through issues such as education, technology, and entrepreneurship, the inconsistency between central and regional messages reduces the effectiveness of the party's campaign. This indicates the need for a more integrated and adaptive approach to address the preferences and needs of diverse voter demographics.

Moving forward, PAN needs to adopt a more inclusive and holistic strategy to expand its support base. A hybrid approach that integrates digital and traditional strengths, strengthens the presence of local figures, and adapts messages to the specific needs of voters will be key to the party's success. With a coordinated and adaptive strategy, PAN can strengthen its position as a relevant and progressive political party, especially in embracing millennial voters who will determine the future of Indonesian politics.

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