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## Journal of Communication

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# Democratic Party's Political Marketing Communication Strategy in the 2024 Election

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## ABSTRACT

*The 2024 Indonesian General Election presented a distinct situation in political marketing for the Democratic Party, especially with a switch from the Coalition for Change to the Indonesia Maju Coalition and a rebranding with Prabowo-Gibran. This transition was accompanied by a strategy of using Agus Harimurti Yudhoyono (AHY) as the current political figure of the party and the political legacy of Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono (SBY). This resulted in a complex interaction between the party identity, political personalization, coalition positioning, and changing voter behavior. Against this background, this study investigated how the Democratic Party applied push, pull and pass marketing in its electoral communication for 2024. The study was designed as a descriptive qualitative study and utilized Newman's Push-Pull-Pass political marketing framework. Data were gathered through semi-structured interviews with Democratic Party insiders and political observers, along with direct observation, official party social-media documentation, national media coverage and relevant political documents. The data were analyzed thematically with the aid of NVivo 12 Plus, such as mother-node and child-node coding, Crosstab Query and Items Clustered by Coding Similarity. Source and data triangulation were employed to strengthen the analytical validity. The results show an integrated but uneven political marketing strategy. Push marketing was dominant, especially through face-to-face and door-to-door activities; pull marketing was through digital branding and social-media communication; pass marketing relied on volunteers, youth and religious leaders, and political networks. Moreover, the study identifies an integration-conversion paradox: despite the Democratic Party's hybrid communication strategy, encompassing interpersonal, digital, and socio-political networks, the integration was not sufficiently converted into distinctive voter engagement and electoral support. The suggestion is that the problem for the party was not the lack of political marketing channels but the strategic congruence of communication, political positioning, personalization and voter conversion in a fast-changing electoral environment.*

**Keywords:** Political communication, political marketing, push marketing, digital communication, 2024 Election.

## ABSTRAK

Pemilihan Umum Indonesia 2024 menghadirkan situasi unik dalam pemasaran politik bagi Partai Demokrat, terutama dengan beralihnya partai dari Koalisi Perubahan ke Koalisi Indonesia Maju serta langkah *rebranding* yang mengusung pasangan Prabowo-Gibran. Transisi ini disertai dengan strategi yang memanfaatkan sosok Agus Harimurti Yudhoyono (AHY) sebagai tokoh politik partai saat ini serta warisan politik Susilo Bambang

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Yudhoyono (SBY). Hal ini menghasilkan interaksi yang kompleks antara identitas partai, personalisasi politik, posisi koalisi, dan perubahan perilaku pemilih. Berlatar belakang kondisi tersebut, penelitian ini mengkaji bagaimana Partai Demokrat menerapkan strategi pemasaran *push*, *pull*, dan *pass* dalam komunikasi elektoralnya untuk Pemilu 2024. Penelitian ini dirancang sebagai studi kualitatif deskriptif dengan menggunakan kerangka kerja pemasaran politik *Push-Pull-Pass* dari Newman. Data dikumpulkan melalui wawancara semi-terstruktur dengan pihak internal Partai Demokrat dan pengamat politik, serta melalui observasi langsung, dokumentasi media sosial resmi partai, liputan media nasional, dan dokumen politik terkait. Data dianalisis secara tematis dengan bantuan perangkat lunak NVivo 12 Plus, mencakup pengodean *mother-node* dan *child-node*, *Crosstab Query*, serta *Items Clustered by Coding Similarity*. Triangulasi sumber dan data digunakan untuk memperkuat validitas analisis. Hasil penelitian menunjukkan adanya strategi pemasaran politik yang terintegrasi namun tidak merata. Strategi *push marketing* mendominasi, terutama melalui kegiatan tatap muka dan kunjungan dari pintu ke pintu (*door-to-door*); *pull marketing* dilakukan melalui *branding* digital dan komunikasi media sosial; sedangkan *pass marketing* mengandalkan sukarelawan, tokoh pemuda dan agama, serta jaringan politik. Selain itu, penelitian ini mengidentifikasi adanya paradoks integrasi-konversi: meskipun Partai Demokrat menerapkan strategi komunikasi hibrida—yang mencakup jaringan interpersonal, digital, dan sosial-politik—integrasi tersebut tidak cukup berhasil dikonversi menjadi keterlibatan pemilih yang khas maupun dukungan elektoral yang signifikan. Temuan ini menyiratkan bahwa masalah utama partai bukanlah kurangnya saluran pemasaran politik, melainkan keselarasan strategis antara komunikasi, posisi politik, personalisasi, dan konversi pemilih dalam lingkungan elektoral yang berubah dengan cepat.

**Kata Kunci:** Komunikasi politik, pemasaran politik, *push marketing*, komunikasi digital, Pemilu 2024.

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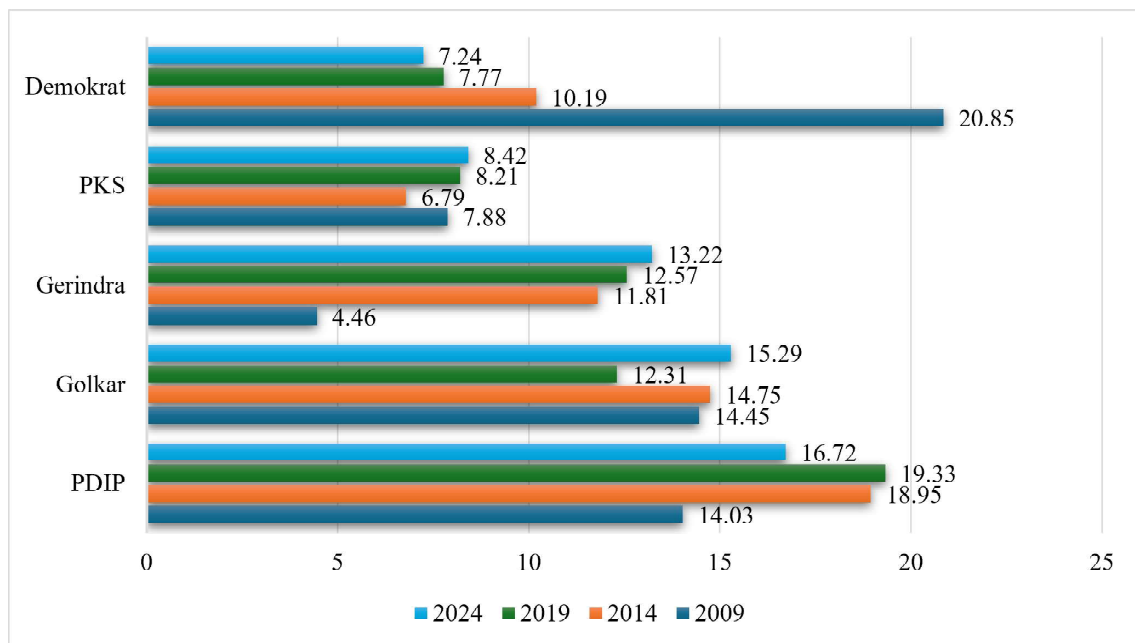
## INTRODUCTION

Digital technology development has brought a significant change in the pattern of political communication in one of the countries, Indonesia. The shift is also reflected in the increasing use of digital media by political parties to distribute political information, influence public opinion and run marketing campaigns (Indrawan et al., 2021, 2023; Rahman et al., 2022). Today social media is not a political messaging platform. It's a site of image-making. A site of public participation. A site of political legitimacy. Social media platforms like Instagram, TikTok, YouTube and X/Twitter changed the political communication landscape from a one-way communication model to a more interactive, participatory and community-oriented communication model. This is consistent with the need for political parties to adapt their political communication strategies with the progress of technology and the increasing digital orientation of voter behavior (Azka & Syahputra, 2024; Suryawijaya et al., 2025).

These changes in political communication patterns are increasingly evident in the 2024 Indonesian General Election. According to data from the General Elections Commission (KPU), voters in the 2024 Election are dominated by millennials and Generation Z, who

are characterized by actively using digital media to obtain political information. This situation has caused political competition to not only take place in conventional spaces but also expand into the digital space through political branding activities, social media campaigns, political content production, and interactive communication with the public (Databoks.katadata.co.id, 2023) . Political campaigns in the 2024 Election will no longer rely solely on billboards, rallies, or traditional mass media, but will also utilize social media as an instrument to build emotional closeness and political engagement with voters (Larassetya et al., 2024) . In this situation, the Democratic Party became one of the political parties that actively utilized a combination of digital and direct communication during the 2024 Election stages. The Democratic Party's political communication activities were seen through the publication of party programs, social media campaigns, documentation of cadre activities, political safaris, and interpersonal approaches to the community through face-to-face and door-to-door activities (Sani, 2024) . In addition, changes in the Democratic Party's political configuration ahead of the 2024 Election, especially after joining the Advanced Indonesia Coalition, also influenced the party's political communication strategy in building its political positioning and image in the public sphere. This condition shows that the party's political communication is not only oriented towards conveying political messages, but also on managing public perception of the party's identity, image, and political direction amidst increasingly competitive political competition (Kompas.com, 2023b; news.detik.com, 2023).

The Indonesian elections also demonstrate a rather dynamic change of the election over time in the political competition. The vote share of the national political parties changes in each election period. For instance, the Democratic Party had the highest number of votes in the 2009 election, but has seen a decline in votes in the following elections. This phenomenon shows that political parties need to constantly adapt their political communication and marketing strategies to maintain their visibility and to keep the public engaged, in view of shifting voter behavior and the emergence of digital political competition.



**Figure 1. National Political Party Vote Acquisition in the 2009–2024 Elections**

**Source: (Central Statistics Agency (BPS), 2025; Goodstats.id, 2025)**

Figure 1 shows a persistent and substantial decline in voting support for the Democratic Party in successive elections. The party's vote share declined from 20.85% in the 2009 Election to 10.19% in 2014, 7.77% in 2019 and 7.24% in 2024. This is not just a short-term electoral setback but rather a consistent downward trend over three successive electoral cycles. This decline is important, especially since the Democratic Party had a strong electoral position in 2009, but then had difficulty maintaining its voter base due to the increasing competition between parties, the fragmentation of political support, and changes in the patterns of political communication (Ekawati, 2020; Mendrofa & Efriza, 2022). At the same time, the party's electoral landscape has been further altered by the increasing competition for young voters, who are increasingly turning to social media as a source of political information (Argiana et al., 2025; Barokah & Hertanto, 2024).

However, the gradual erosion of electoral support raises a fundamental question. The Democratic Party is not sitting still, either, for these changes. In the 2024 Election, the party used a combination of push marketing through face-to-face and door-to-door activities, pull marketing through digital branding and social media, and pass marketing through political figures, volunteers and social networks. The empirical problem is not the absence of political marketing activity, but the disconnect between the implementation of political marketing strategies and the electoral outcome of the party. Despite the

Democratic Party continuing to hold and diversify their political communication efforts, their vote share continued to fall to 7.24% in 2024.

This contradiction poses an important analytical problem within the political marketing of the party. If political marketing is about contacting voters, creating a political image, increasing involvement and securing electoral support, the continued decline in the share of votes suggests that the problem may not only be whether the party communicated with voters, but how effectively its marketing activities were transformed into support from voters. The issue is thus where the disconnect happened in the push-pull-pass marketing mix: whether in the reach and interpersonal mobilization of push marketing, the ability of pull marketing to attract and engage voters in the digital environment, or the capacity of pass marketing to transfer the influence of political figures and social networks into support for the party. This diagnostic lens is relevant as the party's political communication in the 2024 Election blended traditional and modern approaches. Thus, the diminishing electoral path presented in Figure 1 should be viewed as evidence for investigation in terms of the party's political marketing mix effectiveness and strategic fit. The central research problem is therefore to identify and diagnose the potential disconnect between the Democratic Party's push, pull, and pass marketing activities and its ability to convert political communication and engagement into sustained electoral support (Cwalina & Falkowski, 2022; Fernández Gómez et al., 2024).

Many studies have been conducted on political communication and political marketing. Research conducted by Newman & Newman (2022) explains that political marketing is a political communication strategy oriented towards voter behavior and needs through the integration of political communication, media, and political branding. Farkas & Bene (2021) show that modern political parties are required to be able to adapt their communication strategies to changes in digital voter behavior. In addition, Aminulloh & Fianto (2024); Ayu & Latuperode (2022) found that social media has a significant influence on the formation of political party images in elections in Indonesia. Susetyawidianta & Geraldly (2024) also showed that digital political communication could increase public political engagement in the 2024 General Election. Meanwhile, Amalia et al. (2025) and Fitri et al. (2024) explained that the political communication of parties via social media plays a role in building political branding and public interaction in the digital space. Aydil & Zuhri (2024) and Firmansyah et al., (2023) found that in the 2024 Election, the competition for political image between parties was influenced by digital communication activities and the formation of public perception in social media.

Although previous studies have contributed significantly to understanding the Democratic Party's political communication and image-building, they have not been able to sufficiently explain the transformation of the party's political marketing in the 2024 Election. Previous studies of the Democratic party's electoral communication have focused on party image, issue management, public relations, and traditional communication practices. Recent studies focus on the use of digital media and political branding in the electoral context of 2024. These studies are useful for understanding specific aspects of the party's communication but tend to treat them in isolation. The 2024 Election is a unique empirical case in that the Democratic Party was facing the election with a significant change in its political position and coalition alignment. The party's transition from the Coalition for Change to the Indonesia Maju Coalition required it to define its political identity in a new coalition configuration, with AHY increasingly representing the party's modern leadership and SBY's political legacy remaining part of its symbolic identity. Hence, the challenge of communication in 2024 was not only how to make better use of digital media, but also how to reconcile the institutional identity of the party, the personalization of leadership, the inherited political capital and a new position of coalition in an increasingly competitive electoral market.

This leaves a specific gap in the literature. Earlier research has not sufficiently explained whether the Democratic Party's 2024 communication represented a substantive change in its political marketing orientation or primarily a tactical adaptation of its communication channels. In particular, it remains to be seen whether the growing involvement with digital communication, the expansion of AHY, the symbolic role of SBY, and the transition of coalition signaled a move toward a voter-centered political marketing approach, or whether such changes occurred despite the relative stability of the party's core political product and institutional positioning. Furthermore, existing studies have not adequately linked these changes to the integration of push, pull, and pass marketing as mechanisms through which the party communicated its political identity and sought to retain voter support. So the gap is not only the absence of a study of the Democratic Party's 2024 campaign. Rather, it concerns the lack of an integrated account of how a party in a long-term decline of electoral support adapted its political marketing orientation, party branding and communication practices in response to a changing electoral and coalition environment. This gap is particularly important to address, as the Democratic Party, despite its more diversified communication strategy in the 2024 Election, still faced declining electoral support. This study, therefore, examines the 2024 Democratic Party as a case of political marketing adaptation. It focuses on the relationship between the evolving political context, party identity and the incorporation of push, pull and pass communication strategies.

This study uses a political communication and political marketing perspective to understand the Democratic Party's communication strategy in the 2024 Election. In political communication studies, political parties are understood as actors who carry out the process of conveying political messages to build public opinion, legitimacy, and community support through various political communication channels, both directly and through digital media (Bormann et al., 2022; Freelon & Wells, 2020; Perloff, 2021; Schlipphak et al., 2022) . Meanwhile, the concept of political marketing emphasizes that political activities are not only oriented towards delivering messages, but also on efforts to build an image, political positioning, and emotional closeness with voters through a planned communication strategy. (Baumgartner, 2022; Irshaidat, 2022) . According to Newman, political marketing is a political communication strategy that integrates push marketing, pull marketing, and pass marketing to influence voter behavior and build political relationships with the public (Abid et al., 2025; Owoicho & State, 2021) . In the context of the 2024 Election, the political communication and political marketing approaches are relevant for analyzing how the Democratic Party builds political communication through a combination of interpersonal communication, digital media, and strengthening political social networks. Against this background, the study seeks to answer three research questions: (RQ1) How did the Democratic Party implement push, pull, and pass marketing strategies in the 2024 Election, and what forms of political communication characterized each strategy? (RQ2) How were push, pull, and pass marketing strategies integrated across interpersonal, digital, and socio-political communication channels to communicate the Democratic Party's political identity and engage voters? and (RQ3) What strategic gaps or misalignments occurred in the Democratic Party's political marketing communication in relation to its changing political positioning, coalition transition, and continued electoral decline?

## **RESEARCH METHOD**

This study uses a descriptive qualitative approach with the help of thematic analysis techniques assisted by NVivo 12 Plus applications. The qualitative approach was used to understand deeply the political marketing communication strategy of the Democratic Party in the 2024 Election through interpretation of interview data, documentation and the political communication activities of the party. The use of NVivo is to ease the data coding, theme grouping, identification of mother node and child node, and visualization of the relations between themes of political communication through crosstab query and clustered coding similarity features. Primary and secondary data sources of the research are. The primary data was obtained through in-depth interviews with internal informants

of the Democratic Party, namely Julham Firdaus, Heri Sumardi and Suharto/Hasto, and political observers, namely Ahmad Chumaedi, Prof. Burhanuddin Muhtadi and Erwin Sandi, who understand the dynamic of political communication in the 2024 Election. The informants were selected purposely based on their involvement, knowledge and experience in the Democratic Party's political communication strategy in the 2024 Election. Meanwhile, secondary data were collected from official documents of social media of the Democratic Party, national media coverage, political documents and scientific literature concerning political marketing and digital political communication.

The data collection techniques were carried out through interviews, observation and documentation. The interviews were conducted in a semi-structured manner to get data about the implementation of the political communication strategy of the party. The study aimed to analyze the political communication activities of Democratic Party in digital media and direct communication with public in the stages of 2024 Election. The documentation was done through the collection of social media content, photos of political activities, media news and other supporting documents. NVivo 12 Plus was used for data reduction, transcription of interviews, coding, theme categorization, visualization of data, and interpretation of research findings in multiple phases of data analysis techniques. In the coding phase, data were classified into mother nodes (push marketing, pull marketing, and pass marketing) and child nodes (visual attributes, door to door, face-to-face activities, volunteer networks, religious leaders, youth leaders, party image, digital branding, and populist communication). In this study, the features of the Crosstab Query and Items Clustered by Coding Similarity were also used to analyze the intensity of themes, relationships between categories, and integration patterns of the Democratic Party's political communication strategies in the 2024 Election. The validity of the data is done by triangulation of sources and triangulation of data by comparing the results of interviews, observations, documentation and media coverage data. The techniques were used to test the consistency and validity of the research results on the political marketing communication strategy of the Democratic Party in the 2024 Election.

**Table 1. Research Operations**

| Research Focus                                                                      | Dimensions     | Indicator               | Indicator Description                                                                                | Data source                |
|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|----------------|-------------------------|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|----------------------------|
| Democratic Party's Political Marketing Communication Strategy for the 2024 Election | Push Marketing | Visual Attributes       | The use of symbols, colors, campaign designs, and party visual identities in political communication | Documentation, observation |
|                                                                                     |                | Door-to-door            | Direct political communication from cadres to the community in person                                | Interviews, observations   |
|                                                                                     |                | Face-to-Face Activities | Community dialogue, direct campaign, and interpersonal interaction between parties and the community | Interviews, documentation  |
|                                                                                     | Pass Marketing | Volunteer Network       | Volunteer involvement in the dissemination of party political messages and communications            | Interview                  |
|                                                                                     |                | Religious leaders       | The role of religious figures in building legitimacy and political support in society                | Interview                  |
|                                                                                     |                | Youth Figures           | The involvement of youth figures as opinion leaders in political communication                       | Interview                  |
|                                                                                     | Pull Marketing | Party Image             | Efforts to build public perception of the party's identity and character                             | Interviews, documentation  |
|                                                                                     |                | Digital Branding        | Utilization of social media and digital platforms for political party branding                       | Social media documentation |
|                                                                                     |                | Populist Communication  | Delivering political messages that are persuasive and close to the people                            | Interviews, documentation  |

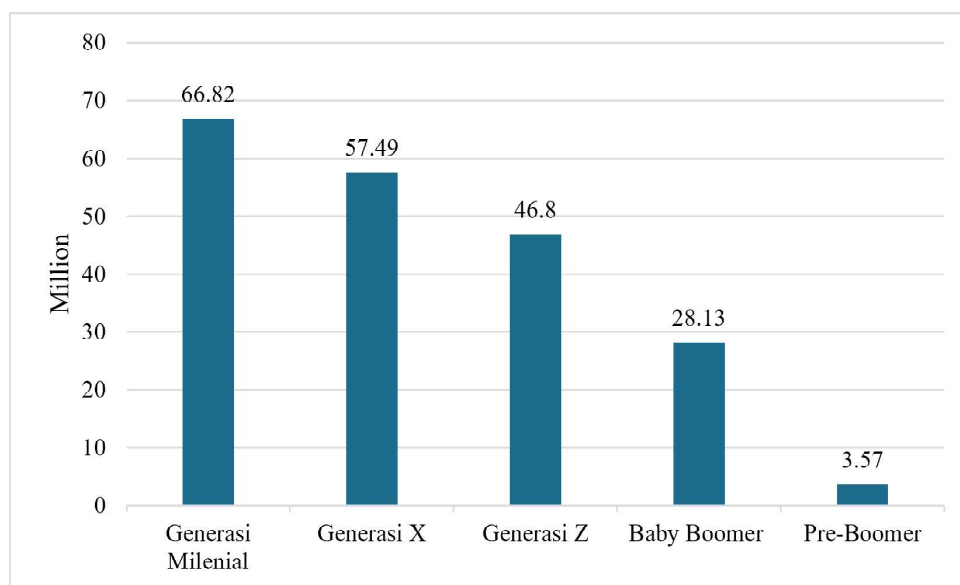
## RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

### The Democratic Party's Political Communication in the 2024 Election

In the 2024 election, we saw the changing pattern of political communication in Indonesia, which is increasingly influenced by the development of digital media and the changing behavior of voters. The final voter list (DPT) for the 2024 election reached

204,807,222 voters, according to data from the General Elections Commission (KPU). Of these, 66,822,389 or 33.60% are millennials, while Generation Z voters made up 46,800,161 or 22.85% of the total DPT for the 2024 election (Databoks.katadata.co.id, 2023). This situation has led to the use of digital platforms like Instagram, TikTok, YouTube and X by political parties for political communication as a way to reach out to a wider and interactive audience.

These changes in political communication patterns indicate that political campaigns in the 2024 Election are no longer only run through traditional approaches, but have become political marketing activities oriented toward image building, engagement and emotional closeness with voters (Alim et al., 2024). Social media is not only a medium of dissemination of political information, but also as a forum for the formation of public opinion and branding of political parties (Daffauddin & Sahab, 2025). In terms of political marketing, these changes are an indication of a transition in political communication strategies from a one-way communication to a more participatory and adaptive communication toward the characteristics of young voters who actively use digital media to obtain political information (Kocaman & Coşgun, 2026).



**Figure 2. Composition of 2024 Election Voters Based on Generation**

**Source:** (Databoks.katadata.co.id, 2023)

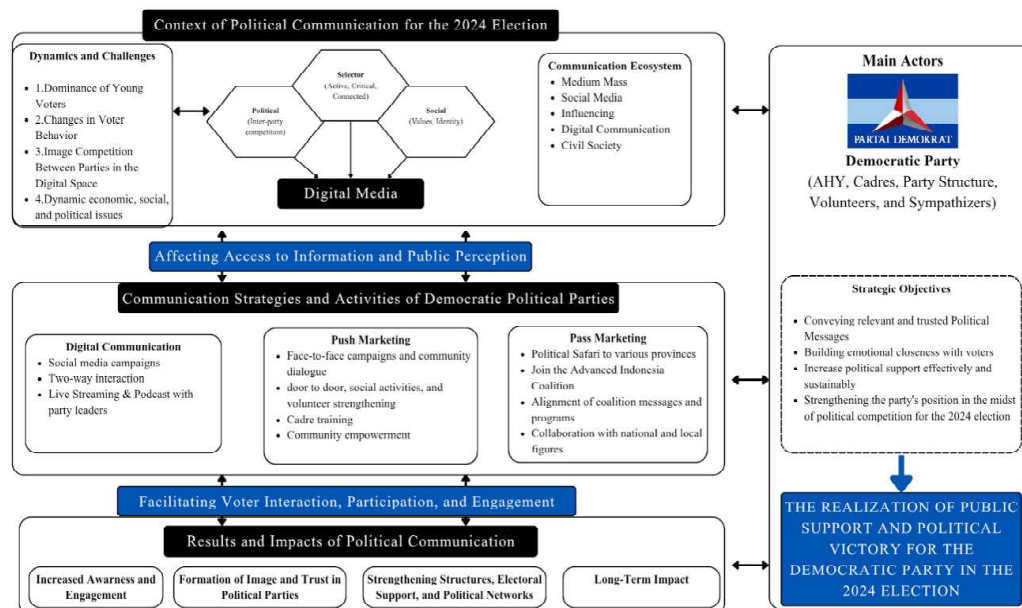
The phenomenon of digital political communication was also evident in the Democratic Party's campaign activities during the 2024 General Election. The Democratic Party actively

utilized the party's official social media platforms and the accounts of party figures to publicize political activities, party programs, and cadre activities in various regions. The General Elections Commission (KPU) noted that social media became one of the official campaign tools for political parties in the 2024 General Election, including through Instagram, Facebook, X/Twitter, and YouTube (Kompas.com, 2023a) . These digital communication activities were carried out as an effort to build the party's presence in the public sphere while strengthening the party's political positioning amidst increasingly competitive competition between political parties. In addition to disseminating political information, social media was also used to build interaction with the public through the publication of campaign content, responses to public issues, and the political activities of party figures (Fahruji & Fahrudin, 2024) . The use of social media in political communication shows that the Democratic Party is trying to adapt its campaign strategy to the characteristics of voters who are increasingly actively accessing political information through digital media. This condition indicates a shift in political campaign patterns from conventional models to digital-based political communication that is more interactive and participatory (Budiono et al., 2025; Situmorang et al., 2024) .

The phenomenon of direct political communication was evident through the political safari activities of Democratic Party Chairman Agus Harimurti Yudhoyono during the 2024 Election stages. AHY conducted a political safari to several regions, including Central Java, to consolidate the party while building political communication with the community and party cadres. In these activities, AHY conveyed programs related to improving the community's economy, farmer welfare, job creation, and an invitation to win the Democratic Party in the 2024 Election (Antaranews.com, 2024; Detik.com, 2022) . In addition, changes in the Democratic Party's political configuration ahead of the 2024 Election also influenced the party's political communication strategy. After leaving the Change Coalition, the Democratic Party joined the Advanced Indonesia Coalition which supported the Prabowo Subianto and Gibran Rakabuming Raka ticket. This change in political position requires the Democratic Party to build more adaptive political communication to maintain the party's image and positioning amidst the dynamics of national politics (Bbc.com, 2023; Kompas.com, 2023c) . This condition shows that the political communication strategy of the party is not only oriented towards conveying political messages, but also towards managing public perception of the party's identity and political direction.

The Democratic Party is implementing its political communication strategy for the 2024 Election in stages using a combination of digital communication, interpersonal communication and internal political consolidation. These political communication

activities can be seen in the forms of campaign activities and political approaches conducted by the party in the 2024 Election, ranging from cadre consolidation to direct public campaigns. This communication pattern shows that the political communication strategy of the Democratic Party is not only to transmit political messages, but also to establish closer political relationships with the public.



**Figure 3. Democratic Party's Political Communication Activities in the 2024 Election**

**Source: Research Results Based on National Media Coverage and Observations, 2026.**

Another phenomenon in 2024 Election is the increasing competition of political parties for image in the digital space. Political parties strive to determine their political position by creating communication narratives based on voter characteristics (Dewi et al., 2024). In this case the Democratic Party is trying to craft the image of a party close to the people through a mixture of digital and direct communication. The Democratic Party actively publicizes activities of its cadres, party activities and responses to social and political issues via social media. At the same time, the party also adopts a direct interpersonal approach through face-to-face campaigns, social activities and door-to-door activities in several regions. This strategy shows that political communication in the 2024 Election is not just aimed at short-term electoral interests, but also at building public perception of the identity and image of political parties (Hidayat, 2024; Ndarinu et al., 2024).

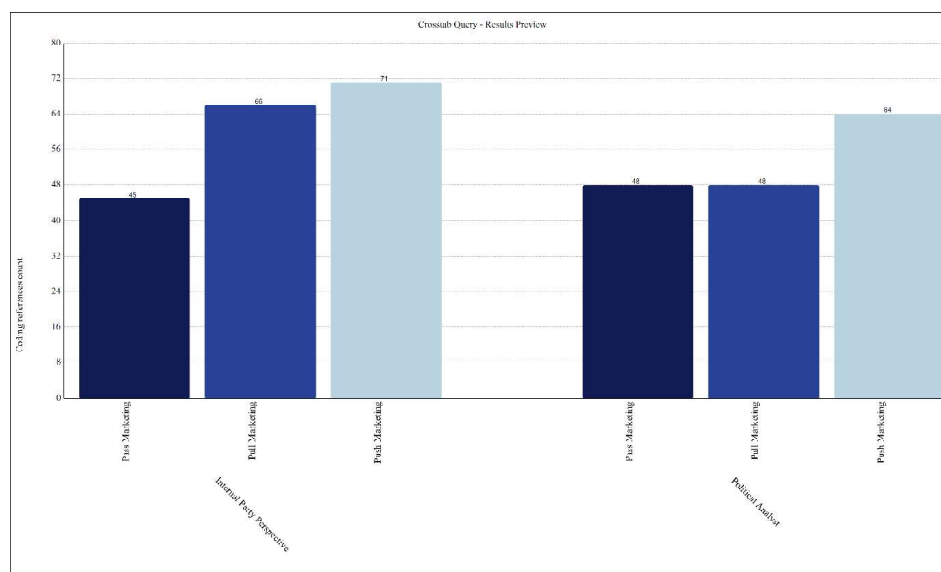
This change in the political communication strategy is in line with the notion of political marketing by Newman et al. (2022) that states that political communication is an activity

that pays attention to the needs and behavior of voters through communication strategies to obtain political support. Political marketing communication strategies are increasingly important given the circumstances surrounding the 2024 Election because political parties are required to understand the change in the behavior of the voters who are increasingly actively accessing political information through digital media. Moreover, the increased competitiveness of political competition requires political parties to be able to develop adaptive and effective communication to maintain the attention of the public.

This makes it interesting to analyze further the political marketing communications strategy of the Democratic Party for the 2024 Election. The various political communication activities undertaken show that the Democratic Party is utilizing digital media as a political campaign tool, but also maintaining interpersonal communication through a direct outreach to the public. This combination of strategies suggests the party's attempts to adjust its political communication styles to the changing voter profiles in the 2024 Election.

### Democratic Party's Political Marketing Communication Strategy

In this study, NVivo is used to group interview data, identify the dominant themes, and see the trends in the political communication strategies most often used by the Democratic Party. The results of the analysis are then visualized using a *crosstab query feature* to compare coding intensity between the perspectives of internal party and political observers regarding the three political marketing communication strategies.



**Figure 4. Crosstab Query Mothernode**  
**Source: Processed by Researchers using Nvivo 15**

Based on the results of NVivo analysis, the Democratic Party's political marketing communication strategy in the 2024 Election shows that push marketing is the most dominant communication strategy compared to pull marketing and pass marketing. This dominance is evident from the highest number of *coding references* in the push marketing category from both the party's internal perspective and political observers' perspectives. The internal party perspective shows that push marketing received 71 coding references, pull marketing 66 references, and pass marketing 45 references. Meanwhile, the political observer perspective shows that push marketing has 64 references, while pull marketing and pass marketing have 48 references each. These results imply that the political communication strategy of the Democratic Party in the 2024 Election is inclined to direct communication approaches to the public. The extreme intensity of push marketing indicates that interpersonal communication is recognized as an effective strategy in building emotional connections, increasing the public trust, and strengthening voter loyalty to political parties. In political marketing, push marketing is understood as a party's effort to build social closeness and create direct public political involvement.

The dominance of push marketing in this study indicates that the Democratic Party is upholding a conventional political communication approach despite the development of digital campaigns in the 2024 Election. Face-to-face interaction still holds a strong sway in forming public political perceptions, particularly at the grassroots level. This strategy is carried out through several regions through face-to-face campaigns, community dialogs, cadre consolidation, social activities and door-to-door outreach. These direct communication activities are media to convey political messages and to build psychological closeness between the party and community. This finding is reinforced with an interview with Julham Firdaus who explained that the Democratic Party's main strategy in the 2024 Election is direct outreach to the community.

"We find that people are more receptive to political messages when there's direct interaction. Therefore, party cadres and officials are going out into the field more, engaging in dialogue with the community, attending social events, and hearing firsthand about the issues residents face. This approach is more effective than relying solely on digital campaigns."

This statement shows that push marketing is a form of participatory communication that places the public as a key part of the process of political communication. Here, the Democratic Party tries to create the image of the party as close to the people through direct and personal social contacts. Heri Sumardi also shares the same view that

interpersonal communication is still the most effective strategy in maintaining the political relationship between the party and the public.

*"Social media does help disseminate political information, but emotional connections with the public can't be built through digital content alone. The presence of cadres within the community remains a crucial factor in building public trust in a party."*

The analysis results indicate that the political communication strategy of the Democratic Party is not only to deliver political messages but also to build social relations with the community. From the angle of political communication, interpersonal relationships of direct approach can create more emotional proximity than digital communication, which is often one-way.

In addition to the push marketing, the results of NVivo coding also show that the pull marketing has a high intensity, especially from the perspective of the internal party with a total of 66 coding references. The high intensity of pull marketing shows that the Democratic Party is also adjusting its political communication strategy to the development of digital media and changes in voter behavior in the 2024 Election. Pull marketing strategy is implemented through social media to build political branding, increase public engagement, and extend the reach of the party's political communication. The Democratic Party's pull marketing activities can be seen through the publication of party programs, cadre activities, documentation of political activities and distribution of campaign content via digital platforms like Instagram, TikTok, YouTube and X. In contemporary political communication, social media is used not only as a tool of information dissemination but also as a space for shaping public opinion and the political image of the party. This condition demands that political parties are ready to build digital communication that adapts to the characteristics of young voters who are dominant in the 2024 Election. The results of an interview with Suharto, who said social media is an important part of the party's political communication strategy during the campaign period, reinforce this.

*"We utilize social media to strengthen the party's political branding and reach young voters. The published content includes not only party programs but also cadre activities and social initiatives, so that the public sees the party's presence within the community."*

Furthermore, Ahmad Chumeidi concluded that the Democratic Party's digital activities reflect the party's attempt to adapt its political communication patterns to the developments in new media in the 2024 elections.

*"Social media is now the primary arena for political image battles. Parties that can effectively manage digital communications will find it easier to build rapport with young voters who are active on social media."*

However, the NVivo coding results indicate that the coding frequency of pass marketing is less than push marketing and pull marketing. This means that the impact of political figures is still used in the communication strategy of the Democratic Party but not as the dominant strategy in the stages of the 2024 Election. This study is investigating the marketing of passes through political safari activities of the Chairman of the Democratic Party, Agus Harimurti Yudhoyono, communication of political elites and the influence of opinion leaders in building the party's political legitimacy. The intensity of pass marketing is weaker than push marketing, which proves that the Democratic Party is oriented toward direct communication with the people and does not restrict itself to political figures. However, the presence of political figures still plays a strategic role in strengthening the image of the party and increasing the public's trust in political organizations. This opinion was echoed by Prof. Burhanuddin Muhtadi who explained that political figures still have a major influence on the voting behavior of the Indonesian people.

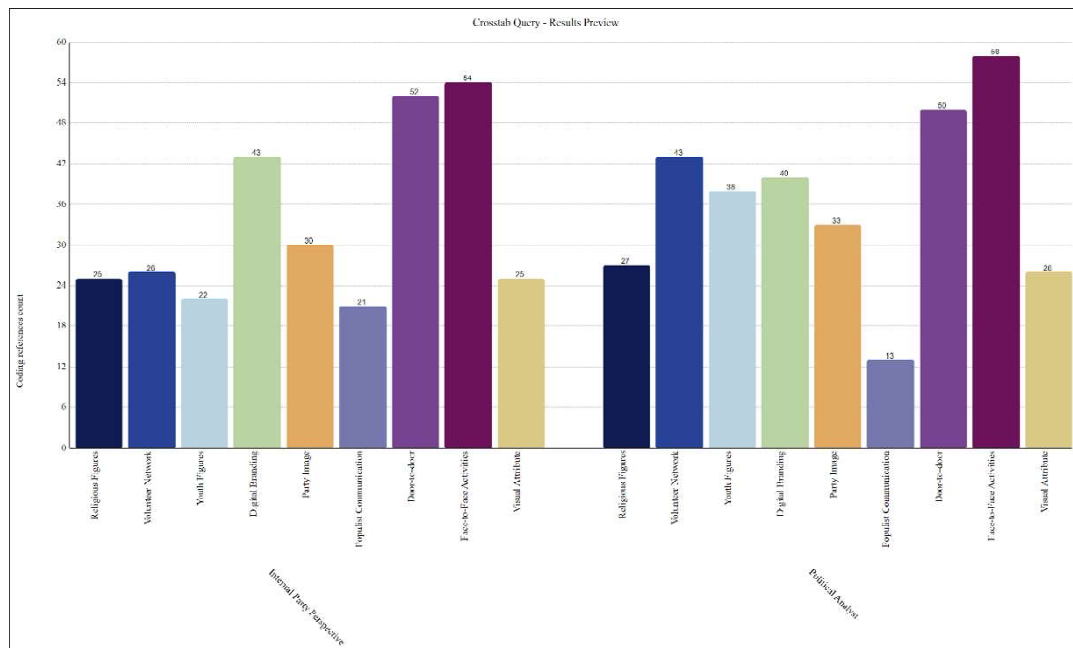
*"In the context of Indonesian politics, political figures continue to influence public choice. Party figures are often the primary representatives who shape public perception of political parties."*

Meanwhile, Erwin Sandi assessed that the combination of political communication strategies implemented by the Democratic Party demonstrates the party's efforts to adapt to changes in voter behavior in the 2024 Election.

*"The Democrats are trying to combine direct communication with digital communication. This strategy is quite relevant because today's voters don't just watch campaigns on social media but also want to see the party's real presence in the community."*

After analyzing the main categories of push marketing, pull marketing, and pass marketing, this study identified child nodes that shape the Democratic Party's political marketing communication strategy in the 2024 Election. Child node analysis was conducted to determine the most dominant forms of political communication used by the party in

implementing its political marketing strategy. Based on the results of the NVivo *crosstab query*, some dominant themes were found from the perspectives of both internal parties and political observers, namely volunteer networks, religious figures, youth figures, party image, digital branding, populist communication, visual attributes, door-to-door, and face-to-face activities.



**Figure 5. Crosstab Query Childnode**  
**Source: Processed by Researchers using Nvivo 15**

The NVivo visualization results show that face-to-face activities are the child node with the highest number of coding references from both internal party and political observer perspectives. The internal party perspective shows face-to-face activities received 54 coding references, while the political observer perspective received 58 coding references. Furthermore, the door-to-door strategy also showed very high coding intensity with 52 references from internal parties and 50 references from political observers. Meanwhile, digital branding received 43 references from internal parties and 40 references from political observers, while populist communication was the child node with the lowest coding intensity, namely 21 references from internal parties and 13 references from political observers.

The preponderance of face-to-face activities and door-to-door activities demonstrates that the political communication strategy of the Democratic Party in the 2024 Election is still oriented to an interpersonal approach. In both child nodes the high intensity of coding suggests that direct communication is perceived as more effective for building political relationships with the public than political communication that is based entirely on digital media. According to political marketing, interpersonal communication has the potential to generate emotional intimacy, to enhance public confidence and to establish more personal social relations between the parties and the public. These findings show that although the 2024 Election will be held in the era of digital media domination, Indonesian voters' behavior is still strongly influenced by social closeness and direct interaction with political actors. The situation shows that the face-to-face interaction is still a strategy to build the political legitimacy of the party, especially at the grassroots level. Through the door-to-door strategy and face-to-face activities, the Democratic Party can establish two-way communication, enabling the public to be not only the recipients of political messages but also to have the space to convey their aspirations directly to the party.

In political communication, this strategy shows that the Democratic Party is not only trying to gain a political presence through media but also to create sustainable social relationships with the community. The closeness between people that comes from face-to-face communication can build a greater feeling of emotional ties than that which comes from digital communication, which is more mass-produced and impersonal. This is reinforced by an interview with Julham Firdaus who said face-to-face communication is the main strategy of the party in the 2024 election.

*"We've seen that people trust us more when communication is direct. Therefore, party cadres are encouraged to actively engage in fieldwork, engage in dialogue with the community, attend social events, and listen directly to their concerns. This approach makes people feel that the party cares about them."*

This statement demonstrates that interpersonal communication in the Democratic Party's strategy serves not only as a political campaign medium but also as a means of building social legitimacy through emotional closeness with the public. In the context of political marketing, this approach demonstrates the party's efforts to build political loyalty through direct and participatory social relationships. A similar view was expressed by Heri Sumardi, who explained that the door-to-door strategy was implemented to strengthen political communication at the grassroots level.

*"Door-to-door communication is conducted to minimize the distance between political communications. When cadres come directly to the community, communication becomes more personal, and people feel closer to the party. This strategy also helps us understand the issues the community truly feels."*

Apart from interpersonal communication, the result of NVivo coding also shows that digital branding is a child node with a relatively high coding intensity. The results show that the Democratic Party is also attempting to adapt its political communication strategy to the development of digital media and changes in voter behavior in the 2024 Election. When considering contemporary political communication, social media is used not only as a channel of political information dissemination but also as a field for political image building and party branding. The digital branding strategy involves the dissemination of party programs, documentation of cadre activities, distribution of campaign content and the fortification of the party's visual identity on platforms like Instagram, TikTok, YouTube and X. The intensity of digital branding shows that the Democratic Party is trying to expand the field of political communication as it builds engagement with the youth vote that will carry the 2024 Election.

These results indicate that the political communication of the Democratic Party is likely to adopt a hybrid approach, which combines old interpersonal communication with modern digital communication. The strategy shows that the party has not abandoned the traditional patterns of communication, but has adjusted them to the new media developments to stay relevant to the changing behavior of the voters. The finding is supported by an interview with Suharto who explained that social media is a vital instrument in building the political image of the party.

*"We use social media to strengthen the party's political branding. The content we create encompasses not only political campaigns but also social activities and cadre engagements, so that the public sees the Democrats as an active party close to the people."*

Besides digital branding, the party image child node also had a relatively high coding intensity, with 30 references from within the party and 33 references from political observers. The findings suggest that the Democratic Party's political communication strategy is oriented not only at short-term electoral interests but also at the construction of the public perception of the party's identity. Party image is an important aspect of political marketing as the public's perception of the party can affect how much trust people have in the party and their voting behavior. Political communication, which creates

the image of the party, portrays the Democratic Party as a party close to the people, moderate and active in social activities. These efforts can be seen in the activities of cadres on the field, the publications of social activities and the delivery of political messages which tend to be persuasive and non-confrontational. The results indicate that the Democratic Party favors an emotional branding strategy of political communication, rather than an aggressive or conflictual one.

At the same time, the networks of volunteers and youth leaders were also child nodes with high coding intensity, especially from the perspective of political observers. The volunteer network was assigned 43 coding references from political observers and the youth leader network was assigned 38 coding references. The high intensity of coding in both child nodes indicates that the Democratic Party utilizes social groups as a part of its political communication strategy to expand the party's influence on society. The involvement of volunteers and youth leaders shows that the political communication of the Democratic Party is not only done through the formal structure of the party but also through the social networks close to the community. Modern political communication in the role of volunteers and youth leaders has opinion leaders who can affect public perception, especially among the young voters. "The participation of volunteers and social leaders is a pertinent strategy in modern political communication," Ahmad Chumeidi said.

*"Volunteers and youth leaders now have significant influence in shaping public opinion because they are considered closer to the people than the political elite. These groups are more easily accepted by young voters."*

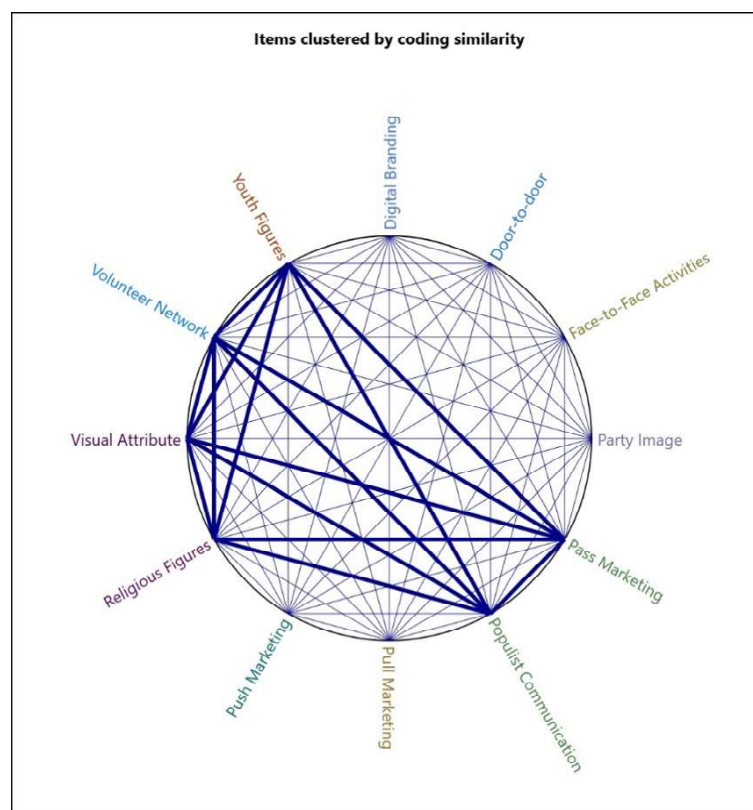
In contrast, populist communication is the lowest child node in terms of coding count compared to other themes. The low intensity of populist communication shows that the Democratic Party tends to use a more moderate and persuasive communication approach compared to the confrontational narrative of political populism. This approach demonstrates that the Democratic Party is more oriented toward building a stable and inclusive political image than toward conflict-based or polarizing political mobilization. These results suggest that the Democratic Party's political communication is less likely to use aggressive political narratives. Rather, the party wants to build political communication that emphasizes social proximity, a moderate image and emotional bonds with the community. This shows that the strategy of political communication of the Democratic Party is more directed to the stability of the image of the party in the midst of the quite dynamic political competition of the 2024 General Election. This is supported

by the opinion of Prof. Burhanuddin Muhtadi that the communication pattern of the Democratic Party tends to use a moderate communication approach.

*"The Democrats appear to prefer a moderate communication approach and are less aggressive in embracing populism. This strategy is being implemented to maintain the party's image and maintain acceptance among various segments of society."*

The results of this study agree with Newman's political marketing concept that political communication strategies should change their communication approach according to the characteristics of voter behavior. This study investigated the use of interpersonal, digital communication and the strengthening of social networks by the Democratic Party to build political relationships with the public. This strategy shows that political communication is not only a tool for political messaging, but also for image building, social legitimacy and emotional attachment to voters.

The phrases "*the mother node*" and "*child node*" can be understood that the Democratic Party's political marketing communication strategy in the 2024 Election was carried out adaptively and integrated through a combination of interpersonal communication, digital communication, and strengthening political social networks. At the "*mother node*" level, push marketing became the most dominant communication strategy because direct communication was considered more effective in building emotional closeness and public trust in the party. Meanwhile, at "*the child node*" level, the dominance of face-to-face and door-to-door activities indicated that the implementation of the Democratic Party's political communication strategy was more directed at a direct and participatory interpersonal approach. On the other hand, digital branding, party image, and the involvement of volunteers and social figures indicated that the Democratic Party was also trying to adapt its political communication strategy to the development of digital media and changes in voter behavior in the 2024 Election. This combination of strategies shows that the Democratic Party's political communication is not only oriented towards conveying political messages, but also on building social relationships, political image, and emotional closeness with the community in a sustainable manner. To see the level of closeness and relationship between these political communication themes in more depth, this study further analyzed Items Clustered by Coding Similarity using NVivo. This analysis aims to identify patterns of interconnectedness between nodes based on the level of coding similarity so that political communication themes that have the strongest relationship in the Democratic Party's political marketing communication strategy in the 2024 Election can be identified.



**Figure 6. Clustered Coding Similarity**  
**Source: Processed by Researchers using Nvivo 15**

Based on the NVivo visualization results, it appears that several political communication themes have very strong coding relationships, particularly between populist communication, visual attributes, youth figures, volunteer networks, face-to-face activities, and pass marketing. This connection indicates that the Democratic Party's political marketing communication strategy in the 2024 Election is not implemented in isolation, but rather supports each other and forms an integrated political communication pattern. The analysis results show that the volunteer network has a strong connection with face-to-face activities, youth figures, populist communication, and pass marketing. These findings demonstrate that volunteers are one of the important actors in expanding the Democratic Party's political communication in the community. In the context of political marketing, volunteers function not only as party supporters but also as an extension of political communication that helps build social closeness with the community directly.

The engagement of volunteer networks with face-to-face activities demonstrates that the communication strategy of the Democratic Party is mainly executed through interpersonal activities in the field. Volunteers help direct communication with the public

through social campaigns, door-to-door outreach and community activities that directly involve the public. This situation shows that the political communication of the Democratic Party is not only formal through the party structure but it is also strengthened by informal social networks that are close to the community. This is supported by an interview with Heri Sumardi, who said that volunteers play an important role in the expansion of the party's political communication at the community level.

*"Volunteers help parties reach the public more closely because they interact directly with people on the ground. The presence of volunteers makes political communication more accessible to the public."*

Moreover, the strong link between youth figures and populist communication and volunteer networks shows that youth groups have a strategic position in the political communication of the Democratic Party in the 2024 Election. It is believed that youth figures have the ability to generate social closeness and influence public opinion, especially for young voters who will be the majority in the 2024 Election. Within the framework of modern political communication, youth figures are opinion leaders who promote the process of forming political involvement in the community for parties. This connection suggests that the Democratic Party's political communication attempts to employ social actors that are perceived to be nearer to the community than the formal political elite. This strategy is a change in political communication from elite-based communication styles to community-based communication and social networks. This was reinforced by the results of an interview with Ahmad Chumeidi who explained that youth figures have a significant influence in shaping public opinion in the 2024 Election.

*"Youth leaders now wield considerable influence because they are perceived as closer to the people, especially the younger generation. Political communication through youth leaders is more readily accepted than formal party communication."*

The visualization results also exhibit a strong correlation between populist communication and pass marketing and visual attributes. The results show that political communication of the Democratic Party is not only done through verbal messages but also through symbols, colors, visual design and the representation of political figures used in the campaign. Within political marketing, visual attributes are an important element of the construction of political identity and the consolidation of the party's image in the public sphere. The link between visual features and pass marketing suggests that political personalities are important in strengthening the party's symbolic communication. Political

figures are not only the carriers of political messages, but also visual symbols to shape the public's perception of the party. The condition is that the political communication of the Democratic Party uses visual symbols as part of political branding strategies to increase the party's appeal to the public. The results of an interview with Suharto, who stated that the visual identity of the party is a key element of the political communication strategy of the Democratic Party, support these findings.

"We pay attention to the party's visual appearance in every campaign activity, from colors, attributes, social media design, to event documentation. Visuals are crucial for strengthening the party's identity in the community."

Meanwhile, the relationship between populist communication and mass marketing shows that the Democratic Party's political communication strategy also uses political figures and social networks to convey messages close to the public. The intensity of populist communication is however relatively lower than interpersonal communication and digital branding strategies, as the previous coding results show. This condition means that the Democratic Party tends to use populist communication in a moderate and less aggressive way. Regarding political communication, this approach shows that the Democrats prefer to build an image as a moderate, persuasive and inclusive party, rather than using a confrontational populist narrative. The strategy demonstrates the party's attempts to preserve a stable political image so that it can continue to be accepted by various groups in society. This is strengthened by the opinion of Prof. Burhanuddin Muhtadi which explains that the political communication of the Democratic Party is more moderate compared to other parties which use aggressive populist communication.

"The Democrats don't seem to be embracing extreme populist communication. They're more focused on building social cohesion and a moderate party image to remain acceptable to various voter segments."

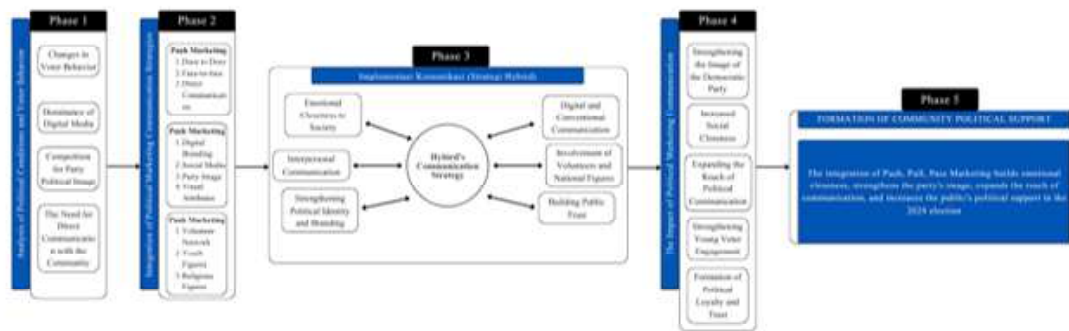
Moreover, the visualization results also indicate that push marketing, pull marketing and pass marketing are related to almost all the child nodes of political communication. These findings imply that these three political marketing strategies do not function independently but are interconnected in the development of the overall political marketing communication strategy of the Democratic Party. Push marketing appears to be prevalent in face-to-face and door-to-door activities, pull marketing is connected to digital branding and the party's image, and pass marketing is strongly related to youth leaders, volunteer networks and symbolic communication. These research findings align with Newman's

political marketing concept, which explains that political communication strategies must be implemented in an integrated manner through a combination of interpersonal communication, communication media, and the influence of political figures to build political relationships with the public. In the context of this research, the Democratic Party demonstrates an adaptive political communication pattern by combining direct communication, digital communication, and strengthening political social networks as a strategy to win public attention in the 2024 Election.

The phrase *the Items Clustered by Coding Similarity* can be understood that the Democratic Party's political marketing communication strategy in the 2024 Election has a strong connection between political communication themes. This relationship indicates that the Democratic Party's political communication is carried out in an integrated manner through a combination of interpersonal communication, digital branding, strengthening volunteer networks, involving social figures, and creating a visual image of the party. This finding shows that the Democratic Party's political communication strategy is not only oriented towards conveying political messages, but also towards building social relationships, forming political identity, and strengthening emotional closeness with the community in a sustainable manner.

### **Integrating the Democratic Party's Push, Pull, and Pass Marketing Strategies in the 2024 Election**

The Democratic Party did not use one mode of political communication in the 2024 Election. Rather, push marketing, pull marketing and pass marketing all worked together through direct voter contact, digital communication, political branding, and the role of political and social actors. The NVivo analysis showed the links between these three dimensions. Moreover, interviews, observations, social media documentation, national media coverage and political documents provided further evidence that the three strategies were implemented as complementary, rather than isolated, activities. This triangulated evidence is important because the presence of multiple communication channels does not, by itself, demonstrate strategic integration. Integration is more appropriately understood in terms of how interpersonal mobilization, digital visibility, and social influence were connected to communicate the party's political identity and mobilize electoral support.



**Figure 7. Integration of Push, Pull, and Pass Marketing in the Democratic Party's Political Communication Strategy for the 2024 Election**

**Source: Processed by Researchers from Various Sources**

Figure 7 shows the integration of the three dimensions. Push marketing was mainly the direct mobilization mechanism of the party, through face-to-face communication, door-to-door activities, community engagement and cadre consolidation. Pull marketing brought this communication into the digital space with party branding, political content, social-media communication and presentation of party programs and activities. Pass marketing then operated through political leaders, volunteers, youth leaders, religious leaders, and coalition networks that transmitted and legitimized political messages outside the formal party structure. This setup is consistent with Newman's political marketing idea, which highlights the blend of direct communication, mediated communication, and intermediary influence in the creation of relationships between political organizations and voters (Abid et al., 2025; Owoicho & State, 2021). The original NVivo analysis also finds push marketing as the most dominant dimension, while pull and pass marketing are complementary communication functions.

The empirical evidence indicates this incorporation in both campaign activity and political positioning. On the push side, the Democratic Party also conducted direct campaign and consolidation activities, with AHY and other party figures participating. The party had prepared a regional campaign strategy based on its own mapping of electoral strengths and weaknesses, and planned to coordinate campaign activities with Prabowo-Gibran, the national media reported. AHY said the party hoped the campaign coordination with Prabowo-Gibran would produce a "double victory" in the presidential and legislative elections. This shows that direct mobilization was not done in isolation from the larger strategy of the coalition but that the party's grassroots activities were linked to the party's positioning in the presidential elections.

This direct mobilization was complemented by the pull dimension, which provided a mediated environment where the party could continuously communicate its identity, programs and political position. Research documentation shows digital branding as a major child node. The party's communication structure has incorporated social-media content into its political outreach. The digital element was particularly important in the 2024 election climate with more and more young voters turning to online platforms. The party therefore mixed face-to-face communication with mediated communication, not replaced face-to-face communication with mediated communication. This trend is consistent with the wider literature in the manuscript, which considers social media as a space for political branding, public interaction, and shaping political perceptions (Aminulloh & Fianto, 2024; Ayu & Latuperode, 2022; Susetyawidianta & Gerald, 2024).

The pass dimension also added a further layer of integration, linking the party's institutionalized communication with influential actors and broader political networks. The results obtained with NVivo show that the party's political communication strategy was linked to the networks of volunteers, youth and religious figures, which means that political messages were transferred by actors socially close to certain communities. That has assumed an even more prominent role in the reshuffling of the Democratic Party's presidential coalition. On September 21, 2023, AHY officially announced Prabowo Subianto as the Democratic Party's presidential candidate for the 2024 general election. The coalition relation was a fresh way for the Democratic Party to spread its political positioning and to become part of the bigger Prabowo-Gibran campaign.

The shift in coalition also means that pass marketing is more than simply using volunteers or opinion leaders. It also implied the transmission of political legitimacy through elite and coalition linkages. In November 2023, AHY said the Democratic Party was ready to campaign with Prabowo-Gibran and had prepared a campaign strategy in the regions based on electoral mapping. In March 2024, AHY also said the Democratic Party would help Prabowo realize his campaign promises and would train its best cadres to become part of the incoming government. These statements suggest that the pass dimension functioned at both the grassroots and the elite levels. Social actors helped to distribute political messages to communities and the coalition leaders and political actors provided additional political legitimacy and access.

However, the integration was not purely symmetrical. The NVivo evidence indicates push marketing as the dominant dimension, particularly through face-to-face and door-to-door activities, pull marketing displayed considerable but relatively lower intensity, and pass marketing operated mainly through intermediary networks. This means that the

political marketing mix of the Democratic Party can be characterized as integrated but uneven. The three components were linked but not strategically weighted equally. Push marketing was the primary mobilization mechanism, pull marketing amplified communication reach and visibility, and pass marketing reinforced transmission and legitimacy of political messages across social and political networks.

This unevenness matters in terms of interpreting the Democratic Party's electoral performance. The integration of three communication dimensions should not be considered as a proof of marketing effectiveness. The party's electoral trajectory is an important counterpoint. While it maintained an integrated communication strategy, its share of the national vote declined from 20.85% in 2009 to 10.19% in 2014, 7.77% in 2019 and 7.24% in 2024. The question to be analytically posed is no longer whether the Democratic Party had a hybrid communication strategy, but whether the integration of the components of its communication produced a sufficiently coherent and distinctive political proposition to convert the exposure to communication into electoral support.

The evidence suggests three points of strategic tension. First, the dominance of push marketing suggests a strong organizational ability to contact voters directly, but intensive interpersonal contact does not necessarily lead to a broader electoral conversion. Second, pull marketing expanded the party's digital footprint, but digital visibility does not by itself indicate that voters developed stronger party preference or loyalty. Third, the pass marketing offered access to political and social networks, but the inclusion of the Democratic Party in the broader Prabowo-Gibran coalition possibly created a tension between coalition-level visibility and the party's own distinct identity. This is especially salient considering that the political communication in the 2024 election was increasingly characterized by personalized and emotionally charged digital political branding. The research presented in the manuscript demonstrates that political actors can produce more emotional and symbolic involvement in a digital environment than mere institutional party communication (Atala & Aji, 2024).

The coalition experience also shows the complexity of political positioning. AHY, after joining the Prabowo-Gibran coalition, stressed the importance of trust, mutual reinforcement and contribution among coalition parties. He then said in April 2024 that Prabowo, as the elected president and coalition leader, would decide the future of the coalition. These statements demonstrate that pass marketing extended beyond social actors' mobilization of voters toward managing inter-party relationships and coalition legitimacy. At the same time, this broader coalition positioning may have made the Democratic Party's institutional identity less distinct from the coalition's presidential brand.

This should be read as a strategic tension rather than as evidence of direct causality, as the qualitative data do not show that coalition positioning alone led to the party's electoral decline.

Thus, the triangulated evidence offers a more complex interpretation of Figure 7. The Democratic Party has created a hybrid political communication system, where direct communication, digital communication and social-political networks are interconnected. This finding supports the relevance of Newman's political marketing framework that conceptualizes political marketing as an integrated process of interpersonal communication, media, and social actors (Abid et al., 2025; Owoicho & State, 2021). The empirical evidence, however, also suggests that integration and effectiveness are not one and the same. The Democratic Party was integrated in terms of channels and actors, but uneven in terms of strategic emphasis and possibly fractured in terms of voter conversion.

The main contribution of this finding is not simply that the Democratic Party employed a hybrid political marketing strategy. Instead, the study highlights an integration-conversion paradox: the party relied on direct mobilization, digital branding and intermediary networks, but such an increasingly diversified communication structure coincided with a long-term decline in electoral support. This means that the effectiveness of political marketing depends not only on the number of channels used or the intensity of communication, but also on the consistency of party positioning, the distinctiveness of political messages, emotional resonance and the ability to translate communication exposure into lasting electoral preference. In this sense, Figure 7 should be read as a model of strategic integration, but also as an analytical framework to identify where the political marketing process may lose effectiveness between communication, engagement and voter conversion.

## **DISCUSSION**

### **The Democratic Party's Communication Strategy Paradox: Push Marketing Dominance Amidst the Digital Political Transformation of the 2024 Elections**

The findings show the basic paradox of the Democratic Party's political marketing communication in the 2024 Election. There was no shortage of communication activities in the party; instead, it used an integrated combination of push, pull and pass marketing through direct voter contact, digital communication, political branding and social networks. This diversification, however, did not translate into an improved electoral position for the party. The Democratic Party also lost ground nationally, falling from 7.77% of the

vote in 2019 to 7.43% in 2024 and losing seats in the House of Representatives from 54 to 44. What this means is that the problem was not the absence of political marketing, but the failure of the marketing mix that existed to translate communication activities into sustained electoral support.

The evidence to this problem is indeed the dominance of push marketing. Face-to-face and door-to-door communication were the most visible forms of political marketing, according to the NVivo analysis. The party believed that the direct contact was also important to create emotional closeness and public trust. This is in line with the study of Milana & Muksin (2021) which promotes interpersonal communication in the construction of political relationships. However, the dominance of push marketing may also indicate a possible strategic imbalance. Direct communication has limited ability to scale communication across fragmented and increasingly digital electorates. The problem was not that push marketing did not work, but that its dominance may have limited the party's ability to break free of existing modes of grassroots mobilization.

This is salient when we examine the 2024 electoral landscape where younger voters made up a large part of the electorate and increasingly turned to digital sources for political information. The findings of the manuscript show that the Democratic Party reacted to this transformation by pull marketing, which was mainly expressed through digital branding and social media communication. But the digital strategy was more of an informational and documentary type, showing party activities, cadre activities and campaign documentation rather than a continuous engagement with audiences. That creates a potential lack of visibility and engagement. The party was there in the digital space. But this digital presence does not automatically convert into political engagement or identification or electoral preference. This is consistent with Abid et al. (2025), Hadziahmetovic et al. (2021), and Hamid et al. (2022) who view social media as a common tool for political participation and voter loyalty.

Therefore, the pull marketing weakness is the narrow way in which social media shifts from a documentation channel to a voter engagement mechanism since today's political communication is increasingly focused on visual, personalized, interactive and emotional content (Farkas & Bene, 2020). In the existing studies, we can see the importance of emotional and visual communication in the elections 2024. But the Democrats, with a more formal and moderate way of communicating, may have preserved the institutional image and limited the capacity to compete for attention in a very crowded digital space.

The same tension appears in pass marketing. The party relied on volunteers, youth figures, religious leaders and other social networks to be channels of political communication. This fostered social proximity and was useful for the dissemination of political messages outside formal party structures. But the comparatively low intensity of pass marketing compared to push marketing indicates that the party did not fully exploit the potential of political personalization and intermediary influence. This is important because political communication in the 2024 Election was increasingly driven by prominent political figures whose personal brands could generate emotional identification and digital visibility. The Democratic Party's greater focus on collective institutional identity therefore created a potential gap between personalization and institutional branding.

The problem was more complicated because the political identity of the Democratic Party was transmitted in the wider coalition of Prabowo-Gibran. The coalition provided the party with a larger political network and presidential campaign infrastructure, but also posed a possible challenge to preserving a distinct legislative party brand. Thus, the visibility created through coalition politics did not necessarily result in a greater identification with the Democratic Party per se. This distinction matters especially in a legislative election, where voters simultaneously encounter presidential and party-level political brands. Thus, the coalition's visibility could be a boon for the Democratic Party, but it may still struggle to translate that visibility into support for the party independent of the coalition.

Taken together, the findings suggest that the central weakness of the Democratic Party was not a lack of integration but an imbalance in the integration. Push, pull and pass marketing were all there and all contributed to the stages of voter conversion, but not equally. Push marketing was relatively effective in establishing contact and interpersonal proximity. Pull marketing increased digital visibility but was less effective in generating sustained engagement. Pass marketing increased social influence but did not sufficiently strengthen the distinctiveness of the party brand. Thus, the three strategies were integrated at the level of communication channels and actors, but not so clearly at the level of voter conversion.

This finding provides an important qualification to the political marketing viewpoint. Newman and subsequent political marketing scholarship emphasize the necessity of combining different communication mechanisms to build relationships with voters. The Democratic Party shows that such integration is necessary, but not sufficient. Yet, empirical evidence suggests that a political marketing mix can be operationally integrated but strategically misaligned with the mechanisms through which voters develop their

contemporary political preferences. The party used a variety of channels to communicate, but the messages, actors and communication styles were not always differentiated enough, or emotionally compelling enough, to turn exposure into electoral commitment.

The continued decline from 54 to 44 parliamentary seats and from 7.77% to 7.43% of the national vote therefore provides an important empirical counterpoint to the apparent sophistication of the party's communication strategy. These findings should not be interpreted as evidence that anyone marketing tactic was the direct cause of the electoral decline, for the qualitative design does not establish such causal links. Rather, the evidence points to a few strategic weaknesses that may have constrained electoral conversion: reliance on localized interpersonal mobilization, lack of adequately interactive digital communication, weak personalization, limited emotional differentiation, and the difficulty of sustaining a distinctive party identity within a broader coalition.

The Democratic Party experience can thus be read as an integration-conversion paradox. Its political marketing strategy was an ever more hybrid combination of interpersonal communication, digital communication and socio-political networks. However, the integration did not result in a reversal of its long-term electoral decline. This means that it is impossible to assess the effectiveness of political marketing only by the number of communication channels used or by the intensity of campaign activity. Most importantly, effectiveness hinges on the extent to which push, pull and pass strategies align around a coherent and distinctive political value proposition that can translate voters from contact to attention to engagement and ultimately to electoral choice. In this respect, the study provides a diagnostic explanation for the Democratic Party's 2024 experience: The party's challenge was less a communication deficit than a strategic alignment and voter-conversion deficit.

## CONCLUSION

Based on the research results, the political marketing communication strategy of the Democratic Party for the 2024 Election was carried out through the integration of push marketing, pull marketing, and pass marketing, which mutually support each other in building the party's political communication with the public. The push marketing strategy became the most dominant approach through face-to-face activities, door-to-door, community dialogue, and cadre consolidation because it was considered more effective in building emotional closeness, increasing public trust, and strengthening social relations between the party and the community. The significance of interpersonal communication

shows that direct communication still plays an important role in shaping public political perceptions in the era of digital communication development in the 2024 Election. Apart from interpersonal communication, the Democratic Party also optimized pull marketing by means of digital branding and social media as a way of political communication. This strategy was carried out by publishing cadre activities, disseminating campaign content, strengthening the party's visual identity, and building a political image in the digital space to reach young voters who dominate the 2024 Election. In contrast, the marketing of passes was done by the involvement of volunteers, youth leaders, religious leaders and political figures as intermediaries for political communication in the expansion of the party's influence in society. The intersection of these three strategies proves that the political communication of the Democratic Party aims not only to convey political messages but also to build a political image, emotional proximity, and sustainable social relations with the community.

The research also shows that the political marketing communications strategy of the Democratic Party for the 2024 Elections is a hybrid political communication pattern that integrates interpersonal communication, digital communication and strengthening socio-political networks in an integrated manner. This approach exemplifies a shift in political communications better suited to shifts in voter behavior in the digital era. The Democratic Party, seeking to stay close and to grow its political presence in the 2024 Elections, will use push marketing, pull marketing, and pass marketing to develop participatory, moderate, and persuasive political communications.

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