


Islamic Political Communication System Mapping Millennial Muslim Geopolitics on social media in Facing the 2024 Presidential Election

Hasan Sazali¹, Mardhiah Rubani², Ismandianto³, Misrah⁴, Charles Julian Santos Navarro⁵

¹Communication Science Study Program, Faculty of Social Sciences, Universitas Islam Negeri Sumatera Utara, Indonesia

²Postgraduate Student of Islamic Communication and Broadcasting Doctoral Program, Universitas Islam Negeri Sumatera Utara, Indonesia

³Department of Communication Science, Faculty of Social and Political Sciences, Universitas Riau, Indonesia

⁴Da'wah Management Study Program, Faculty of Da'wah and Communication, Universitas Islam Sumatera Utara, Indonesia

⁵Doctor of Philosophy, Universidad de Buenos Aires, Argentina

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Corresponding Author

E-mail:

hasansazali@uinsu.ac.id

ABSTRACT

In political preferences, religion plays a vital role as a consideration for the millennial generation. This is because Indonesia still considers religion in setting policies as it does in political parties and general elections. This study analyzes the political communication system of millennial Muslim Islam on social media in the face of the 2024 presidential election (netnographic analysis). This study applies the netnographic research method through a qualitative approach to understand how the Islamic political communication system works in millennial Muslim society on social media and the geopolitics of millennial Muslims in Indonesia in the face of the 2024 presidential election. Data collection uses analytics related to election data – President in 2024. The study results show that the application of political communication among millennial Muslims on social media is in the form of support and criticism on the hashtag #pemilu2024. Social media proves that distance and time limits are not obstacles to voicing opinions, criticizing and supporting each other. Several things that can be done to map Islamic political communication systems and millennial Muslim geopolitics on social media include: (1) Analyze Islamic political trends that occur on social media, such as Twitter, Facebook, and Instagram, by searching for keywords related to Islamic politics and monitor how communication patterns are between Muslim millennials; (2) Understanding millennial Muslim sentiments on social media by reading and monitoring conversations on social media; and (3) understand the patterns used in communicating, taking into account the type of content they share, the frequency of social media use, as well as the most used platforms. Too much social media reach without knowing boundaries makes social media challenging to control. The strength of political competition becoming increasingly evident must be accompanied by carefulness in filtering information not to complicate the situation. As millennials amid vulnerable hostilities, they should be able to become pioneers or fortresses in avoiding the opposing currents of the impact of social media in political times.

INTRODUCTION

In the dynamics of life, social media is crucial and cannot be separated, which uses various functions. Social media has the power to influence social circles and orders. Among the most common, social media can be a channel as an intermediary for spreading or receiving information. The power of social media is like a weapon in achieving a goal, even though it uses various types of social media. Among the mixed social media are Instagram, Twitter, Whatsapp, Facebook, Tiktok, Youtube,

Telegram and so on (YPH et al., 2015). Social media has changed how we communicate and broaden our association with people from all over the world (Cahyono, 2016), to display the complexity of a system on social media (Sazali et al., 2015). In 2020 based on survey results (Jatmiko 2020), internet users in Indonesia amounted to 73.7% or 196.7 million people of the population (Figure 1). The dominant age of users is young people of the millennial generation (Harahap & Adeni, 2020).



Figure 1. Number of Active Social Media Users in Indonesia

(Source: <https://dataindonesia.id/digital/detail/pengguna-media-sosial-di-indonesia-capai-191-juta-pada-2022>)

From We Are Social's statement, data was obtained in January 2022 that there were 191 million social media users in Indonesia. There was an increase of 12.35% from the previous year, which only reached 170 million people. Judging from the data obtained regarding the number of social media users, every year in Indonesia, there has been an increase in fluctuations from 2014-2022. The most widely used social media by Indonesians is WhatsApp, which reaches 88.7% of users, followed by 84.8% of Instagram users and 81.3% of Facebook users. While the percentage of TikTok users is 63.1%, and Telegram is still next at 62.8%.

The millennial generation was born in the 1980-the and 2000s, marked by the development and use of social media as a means of communication and entertainment

in their daily lives. The term millennial was first recognized in a United States newspaper editorial in August 1993 (Putra, 2006). Millennials are also synonymous with liking freedom of expression, especially on social media. The ease of using social media seems to have become an essential part that should be used for positive things (Utami, 2020). Most internet users in Indonesia are millennials (APJII, 2019).

From various perspectives, it is explained that the positive impacts of social media include facilitating communication, breaking distance and time, increasing profits, increasing credibility, forming images and establishing cooperation. However, like a double-edged sword, social media does not always have a positive impact; sometimes, social media can have a

negative impact. Among the adverse effects are rampant fraud, hoax news or information, and hate speech, giving rise to unfair competition. Anyone who uses social media does not rule out the possibility of being affected by this. However, based on the user population, those who are more vulnerable to impact are the millennial generation (Effendi & Dewi, 2021).

Millennials are among those who have great power over aspects of the nation, such as social, cultural and economic life. In addition, it also influences politics and religion, which go hand in hand as a complex aspect of the order of life (Hasan et al., 2018). Concerning religion, millennial Muslims are considered a significant generation with their views on Indonesia's governance structure.

For millennials, religion is often the reason for essential judgments in political preferences. This is because Indonesia still places and prioritizes religion in directing a policy. Religion is also a political attraction for voter acquisition, including millennials who are active voters (Manese & Nurhamidin, 2021).

Due to their large number, the millennial generation has great potential for political power in Indonesia. This data refers to millennial generation data from the Central Statistics Agency (BPS), reaching 25.87 per cent (BPS 2021). Gilman and Stokes, 2014 in (Effendi & Dewi, 2021). As is well known, the millennial generation is not very interested in involvement, playing a role in politics as usual, caused by various things. For this reason, it is found that many millennials prefer to play a role in terms of being volunteers or active activists on social media (Effendi & Dewi, 2021).

The campaign period is an exciting matter for the public in the succession of the election process. Political campaigns in the context of elections are used to give a good image and attract potential voters to choose their candidates by using political communication strategies. The goals of political campaigns are persuasion, forming and establishing political relations (Siagian, 2015). In line with the rapid development of

technology, drives are no longer only carried out in old ways that bring the masses to one place but using social media to attract millennial voices. The campaign period has triggered various public reactions, especially from the millennial generation (Sazali et al., 2022). Political communication plays an essential role in the formation of a political image that can influence people to be actively involved and able to limit open political participation (Nimmo, 2011).

The ease of campaign methods in today's digital era allows uncontrolled information filtering. The millennial generation voices their opinion on social media, the most common of which is on social media Twitter. For the millennial generation, social media is a forum for expressing responses to the government as part of political participation (Utami, 2020). The abundance and ease of obtaining various literature from various research studies related to Islamic political parties prove that the study of Islamic politics is not new (Lestari, 2019).

Although the terms "Islamic politics" and "political Islam" contain two words in common, namely politics and Islam or Islam and politics, they have different meanings. The word Islam in the term "Islamic politics" implies "politics following Islamic teachings" or "Islamic politics." While the word Islam in the phrase "Political Islam" means "owner" or "who owns", that is political understanding. Thus, "political Islam" means understanding Islam related to politics (Malik, 2016). Centres for economic and political development migrated gradually (Akaev & Pantin, 2018) on mobility, citizenship, and the nation-state (Allen, 2017).

In facing the 2024 presidential election, Islamic political groups will utilize social media to build political support from society, especially from the Muslim millennial generation. Therefore, it is essential to do a geopolitical mapping of millennial Muslims on social media to understand their political preferences and the best way to communicate with them.

Politics brings prosperity if it is done in the right way (Duarte et al., 2016).

The plan for the 2024 elections is still a matter of a dozen months away, but the scent of the campaign has started to smell. A phenomenon in social media society will form groups that strongly support each other's choices. Based on the phenomenon

RESEARCH METHODS

This study uses a qualitative approach with the Netnographic research method to determine the application of political communication among millennial Muslims on Twitter social media in the face of the 2024 Presidential election.

Netnography is a qualitative research methodology for understanding community (society) and cultural interactions formed through networks, which produce culture, beliefs, views and judgments that bind and become the community's character (Semetko et al., 2012). approaches prioritizing geography and political economy (Johnson, 2018) are then adapted to examine social interaction habits through computer/internet intermediaries (Kozinets, 2015). Geopolitical interventions from the continuum into pressing issues related to globalization (Saunders, 2019) as an emerging geopolitical culture, reworking geopolitical and policy narratives (Lin et al., 2019)

This study analyses the communication system of millennial Muslim groups in facing the 2024 Presidential Election through social media. Data collection using netlytic related to data about the 2024 presidential election. All data produces a social network visualization which is analyzed by social network analysis qualitatively. Cloud-based social media data collection and analysis are used to study many online communities and communications using Netlytic. In addition to netlytic, researchers also use reference data about the 2024 presidential election (Sazali et al., 2022).

above, this research will examine the application of political communication among millennial Muslims on social media. The presence of new media in political communication places the study of communication science and the use of social media to be interesting to understand, master and implement.

Social network analysis tools applied to provide data mining based on types of interactions and topics in the form of conversations on social media and visualization of communication networks are called Netlytic (Sazali et al., 2022).

Kozinets's assertion regarding netnographic research includes research that uses observation in data collection and data types to build a comprehensive understanding of the observed phenomena. The data provides interview results, statistical results, text, images, audio and video (Semetko et al., 2012).

A research framework on Islamic political communication that focuses on the 2024 presidential election can be built by referring to the following concepts and theories: First, Millennial Muslim Geopolitics: This concept refers to the perspective adopted by the Muslim millennial generation in understanding politics, including views on issues of political communication. Second, political communication: This theory explains that political communication is a mutual interaction between political actors and society to influence or gain support for specific political goals. Political communication can be in the form of messages conveyed through the mass media, campaign advertisements, public debates, etc. The geopolitical theory appears to reflect optimizing geography in national life (Ladwig, 2014; Anggoro, 2016), and other functions are crucial in future political developments (Aldino et al., 2014).

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

Social Media in Political Communication

Before discussing how the process of political communication with a touch of technology, it's better to start with a light review related to the theory of political communication. (Damsar, 2013; Larasati, 2018), Explain that political communication is a process of meaning related to authority, glory, government, public information, the state, conflict and conflict resolution, policy, decision-making, and description or allocation. All elements unite in the political system to convert aspirations and interests into policies in political communication.

Political communication carried out through the mass media before the reform era is now becoming freer. This is due to technological developments that offer the use of a public space called social media. The rapid growth of this technology, primarily through the internet with the birth of new media, allows people to communicate politics without space and time limits just by surfing in a public space called cyberspace (Efriza & Indrawan, 2018). The public increasingly accesses information with the development of technology. Even the public can monitor the latest events worldwide with just a smartphone and an internet network. Social media is the most effective and fastest network for finding information and expressing opinions (Cahyono, A. S. 2016).

General elections, such as presidential and vice-presidential elections, are always an exciting topic of discussion because they also determine the condition of a country/nation for the next five years. As written in Law no. 16 of 2014 concerning the President's and Vice President's General Election, campaigns are understood as activities to convince candidates. This triggers the community to participate in revitalizing and being involved in politics, including discussing issues and political threats. This attracts the attention of the old group, and the millennial group is no

exception (Juditha & Darmawan 2018). This condition indicates that the better the democratic order of a country with the community's involvement in holding presidential elections.

The existence of political communication for the community is an essential part of the occurrence of a political dynamic (Muhtadi, 2008). geopolitical discourse has become more important than political ideology (Suslov, 2018). Elections are an arena for political candidates to occupy seats in government through a voting mechanism by utilizing the mass media space, especially social media. Political candidates must carry out a series of political communication strategies to gain as many votes as possible. Several political communication activities colour the mass media, such as news, advertisements, propaganda, campaigns, etc.

This phenomenon explains the uniqueness of the millennial generation, who are always in contact with information and communication technology, especially the internet. The millennial generation is a generation that enjoys technology and is starting to leave conventionality (Andriyani et al., 2017). However, on the other hand, the millennial generation is also considered a generation that ignores political problems and does not even participate in determining their voting rights in general elections. Their political participation is needed. When viewed from the numbers, the millennial generation has excellent potential to choose the nation's leaders.

The data from the Central Statistics Agency (BPS) shows that the Indonesian population is dominated by generation Z. Around 27.94% of the people in the country were born between 1997-2012. Meanwhile, information from the Ministry of Home Affairs (Kemendagri) until December 31, 2021, the population of generation Z aged 10-24 years totalled 68,662,815 people.

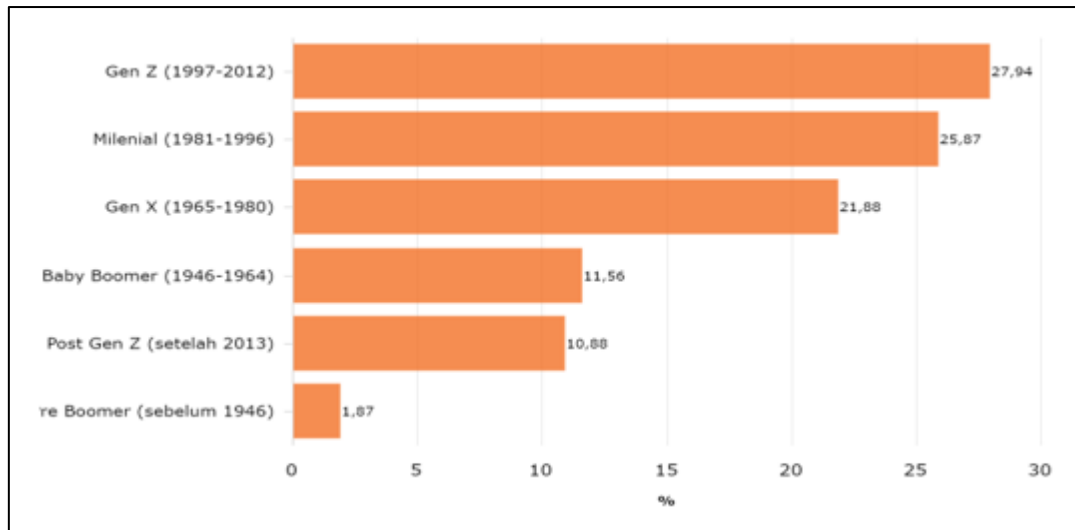


Figure 2. Millennial Data on Indonesian Population by Generation 2020 (Source: Jayani, 2021)

Based on Figure 1, it is known that the order of the highest and most populous Indonesian population is generation Z. The 2021 Central Bureau of Statistics carried out the 2020 Population Census with the results that 69.38 million, or 25.87% are millennials.

This means that the millennial generation has great power over the Indonesian state. The geographical scale where young people find their political problems and where responsibility for them is considered (Pearce, 2019). realize the ideals of Indonesia

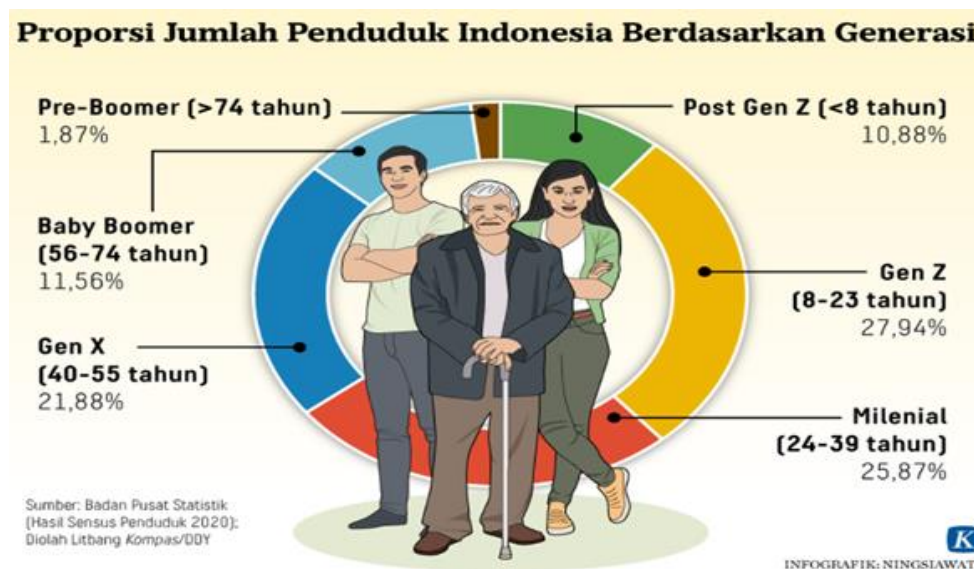


Figure 3. The proportion of Indonesia's Population by Generation (Source: BPS, 2020)

Planning for the Election of the President and Vice President of Indonesia will be held on February 21, 2024 (Bardan, 2021). Meanwhile, there are several names of presidential candidates in 2024 that have been published in the media, including

Anies Baswedan (Governor of DKI Jakarta), Ganjar Pranowo (Governor of Central Java), Prabowo Subianto (Minister of Defense), Sandiaga Uno (Minister of Tourism and Creative Economy), Ridwan Kamil (Governor of Central Java), and Agus

Harimurti Yudhoyono or AHY (General Chair of the Democratic Party), Erick Thohir (Minister of BUMN), Tri Rismaharini (Minister of Social Affairs), Airlangga Hartarto (Chairman of Golkar), and Puan Maharani (Chairman of the DPR) (Akbar & Nasrullah, 2021).

Among the names of the published presidential candidates, most millennials are more familiar with the presidential

candidate from social media and other digital media. The information obtained is that Ganjar Pranowo is the preferred presidential candidate for 2024 as the choice of the millennial group with the highest percentage. Then followed by Prabowo Subianto, while Anies Baswedan and Ridwan Kamil received the same rate, as shown in the following Figure 4.

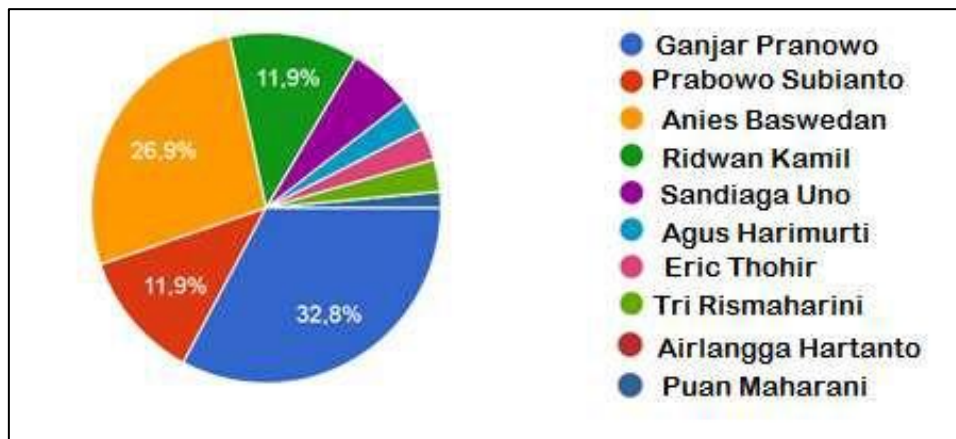


Figure 3. 2024 Presidential Candidates Based on Millennial Choices
(Source: Data Processing, 2022)

From the information obtained about millennial views on the figure of an ideal presidential candidate, a person who is humble, friendly, polite, considerate, consistent, wise, modest, disciplined, democratic, assertive, charismatic, intelligent, social, religious, honest, populist, and good leadership spirit. Millennial beliefs regarding the choice of presidential candidates in 2024 are seen from leadership professionalism, extensive knowledge, transparent and responsible achievements, obedience and discipline with regulations made, wise decisions, firmness and courage, and protecting the people.

Millennial Muslims are currently not a minority but are classified as significant in the population and Indonesia. Now Indonesia is presented with a digitally native generation born in the digital technology era, which is often present in the millennial Muslim generation, to the point where they switch to political communication based on digital transformation. as is the current

reality where the millennial generation is often close to social media applications with followers ranging from thousands to millions, this is also one of the potentials for millennial Muslims to be active in the political communication arena through mass media so that their followers see and desire to follow the same thing.

Digital netnography provides an understanding of culture and customs based on their patterns. This pattern can be observed from the socio-cultural network infrastructure obtained from the results of data analysis (Kozinets, 2018). Data acquisition with Netlytic tools provides measurement data on the structure of the communication network on Twitter. Besides that, users can also interact with other users regarding specific topics by giving likes, replies, retweets, quotes, and mentions. Of course, this interaction can only be done with users with a public account type (Gotter, 2019). After that, namely interpreting theoretical views about the

findings based on the data obtained. The researchers used the social media text and network analyzer application netlytic.org, with 2,500 datasets recorded. The data summarized includes tweets, retweets and

mentions using the hashtag #pemilu2024. The #election2024 tweet distribution communication network is shown in Figure 4.

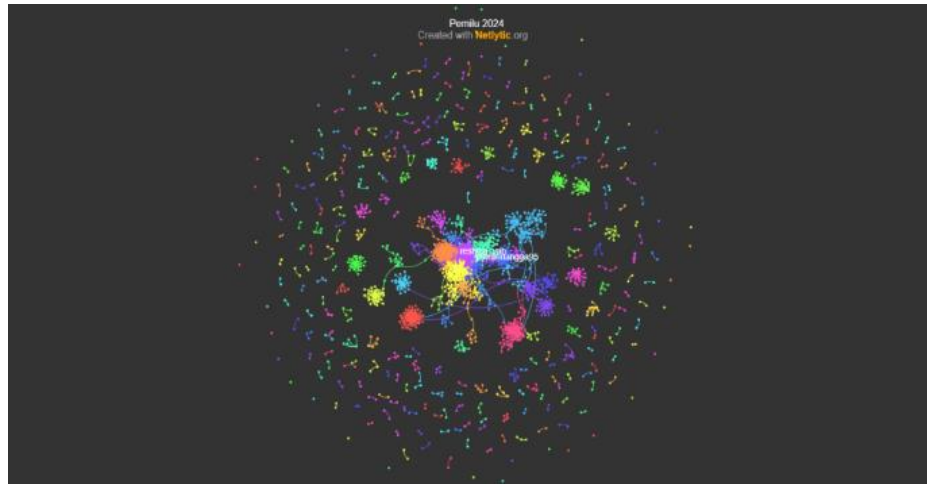


Figure 4. Visualization of Communication Network Distribution of tweets #pemilu2024 (Source: Netlytic.org Data Processing, 2022)

Social media marks the distribution of political tweets about the 2022 election. If interpreted, social media can reach a vast audience. The absence of space and time boundaries makes social media a space for contemporary political communication. However, the breadth and freedom of social

media are undeniable to include all content without pre-screening. Millions of political communications on Twitter social media could have hoarded a lot of misinformation, hoaxes, and fights without adhering to political morals and ethics.

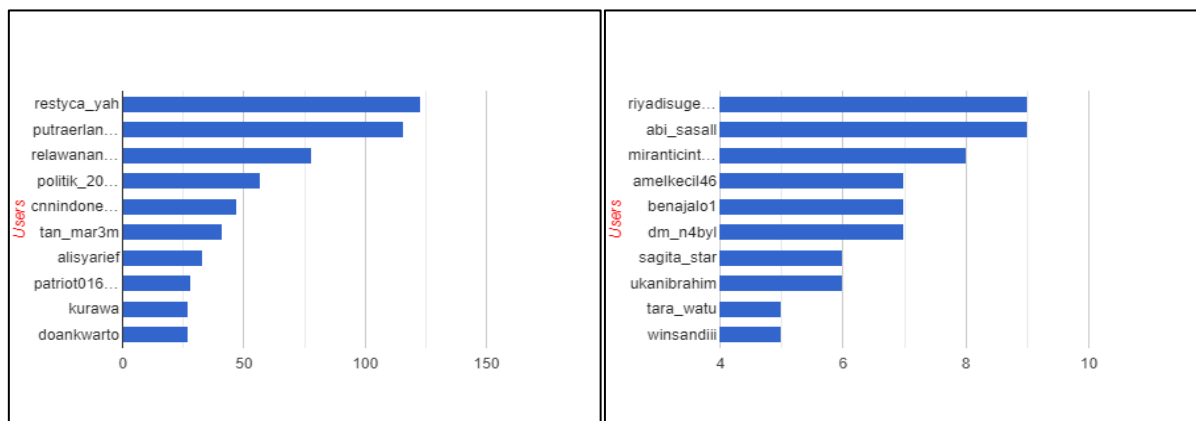


Figure 5. Twitter Usernames Using the 2024 Election Hashtag (Source: Data Processing, 2022)

Figure 5 is the username of the millennial Twitter account owner who tweets, retweets, and mentions using the hashtag #pemilu2024. This pattern was also found in 5 clusters in distributing

information about the 2024 election on the Twitter account @restyca_yah via Netlytic. Most of these accounts are millennials. The survey results provide information that five national figures, according to Gen Z and

millennials, deserve to be presidential candidates in the 2024 presidential election. The five national figures are Prabowo Subianto, Ganjar Pranowo, Anies Baswedan, Agus Harimurti Yudhoyono (AHY) and Sandiaga Uno.

Social media is essential in shaping opinion and connecting people with politics. Therefore, political parties and candidates must utilize social media to introduce themselves, spread their vision and mission, and communicate with the public, including millennial Muslim voters. Millennial Muslim voters are an essential target for political parties and candidates. Most of them were born in the digital era and are used to using social media as a source of information and entertainment. Therefore, political parties and candidates must follow technological trends and pay attention to the preferences of millennial Muslim voters in designing their political campaigns.

The issue of Islamic politics can be an essential factor in winning the presidential election in Indonesia. Therefore, political parties and candidates must understand Islamic political topics relevant to millennial Muslim voters, such as education, the economy, health and security. In addition, they must be able to communicate their vision and mission in a way that strengthens the support of millennial Muslim voters. In addition to the issue of Islamic politics, millennial Muslim geopolitics can also be an essential factor in winning the presidential election in Indonesia. Political parties and candidates must pay attention to the preferences and interests of voters.

Many studies have examined the reasons for choosing the millennial Muslim generation. Cesur and Naci, for example, conducted research on adult Muslim women in Turkey by comparing electoral tendencies, in which secular education hurts religiosity and the electoral movement of Islamic parties (Cesur & Mocan 2018). There are differences in political preferences between women (without a touch of education reform) compared to educated women. Education causes a tendency for women to identify themselves as women

with a modern lifestyle. Another study conducted by Kurzman and Syed in their article examining the dominance of Islamic parties in Islamic countries detected that where there is a majority (Islam), the existence of Islamic parties does not increase the number of voters (Kurzman & Naqvi 2010).

Meanwhile, Nielsen's analysis of the background to the emergence of differences in Muslim votes in West Bengal, India, shows that one of the reasons for the participation of Muslim voters in choosing political figures is to review the background of the success of the country's development (Nielsen 2011). In his article, beg analyzed the past few years in which major political parties in Uttar Pradesh checked and regulated their policies to persuade Muslim voters (Beg 2017). But now, Muslim voters cannot be influenced solely by rhetoric and promises during elections because they also want to feel the benefits of the intended development.

Unlike the research above, Heathh, Gilles and Sanjay with their study stated that elections in India with the dominance of the Hindu community explained that Muslims tend to vote for Muslim political figures because the similarity of religion is an essential factor in determining the choice (Heath et al., 2015). Furthermore, the Muslim conception of political delegation is often emphasized as a general group as the basic unit of representation (Heath et al., 2015); therefore, it is felt that Muslim politicians represent them (Muslims) more than Hindus. Heathh, Gilles and Sanjay, Bareto, Dana and Ocampo's research on American Muslims explain that there is discrimination by Muslim groups and anti-Muslim sentiment that influences their choices (Gilles et al., 2018).

In facing the presidential election in 2024, Muslim millennials can significantly influence the direction of Indonesian politics. Therefore, mapping the Islamic political communication system and millennial Muslim geopolitics on social media can help understand how they communicate and interact and provide an

overview of their opinions and views on politics.

Several things that can be done to map the Islamic political communication system and millennial Muslim geopolitics on social media include: (1) Analyzing Islamic political trends that occur on social media, such as Twitter, Facebook, and Instagram, by searching for keywords related to Islamic politics and monitor how communication patterns are between Muslim millennials; (2) Understanding millennial Muslim sentiments on social media by reading and monitoring conversations on social media; and (3) understand the patterns used in communicating, taking into account the type of content they share, the frequency of social media use, as well as the most used platforms.

Millennial Muslim Generation's Enthusiasm Facing Elections

The Muslim millennial generation, aged between 20-40 years, is a large and increasingly influential group in Indonesian politics. As an educated and technologically connected group, they have easier access to seek political information and form their own opinions. In the previous elections, it was seen that the Muslim millennial generation had become a significant political force. They are active on social media and engage in more active political campaigns than previous generations. There have been many attempts by civil society groups, Islamic organizations, political parties and

community leaders to motivate this generation to engage in the political process.

Learning from the 2019 Election, the percentage of voter participation in the presidential election (pilpres) was 81.97 per cent; the election of members of the legislature (pileg) in the position of 81.69 per cent; and the election of DPD members at 82.15 per cent. Even so, voter outreach and education still need to be developed, most notably by creating engaging content for the millennial generation without losing its substance.

Synthesis of monitoring by the Kompas Gramedia Media Research and Analytics team and Research and Development explains the high enthusiasm of millennials (born 1981-1996) and generation Z (born 1997-2012) to participate in the 2024 elections. Around 86.7 per cent expressed a willingness to participate in the election. Meanwhile, 10.7 per cent are still considering it, and 2.6 per cent are unwilling. The enthusiasm of the millennial generation and generation Z to participate in elections is present in all constituencies. Of the 80 constituencies divided into six regions, the willingness of respondents to participate in elections is above 85 per cent. For example, in Bali Nusa, it reaches 92 per cent, Java reaches 85 per cent, Kalimantan reaches 90 per cent, Maluku Papua reaches 90 per cent, Sulawesi reaches 91 per cent, and Sumatra reaches 86 per cent. There are similarities in the enthusiasm for participating in elections in all regions.

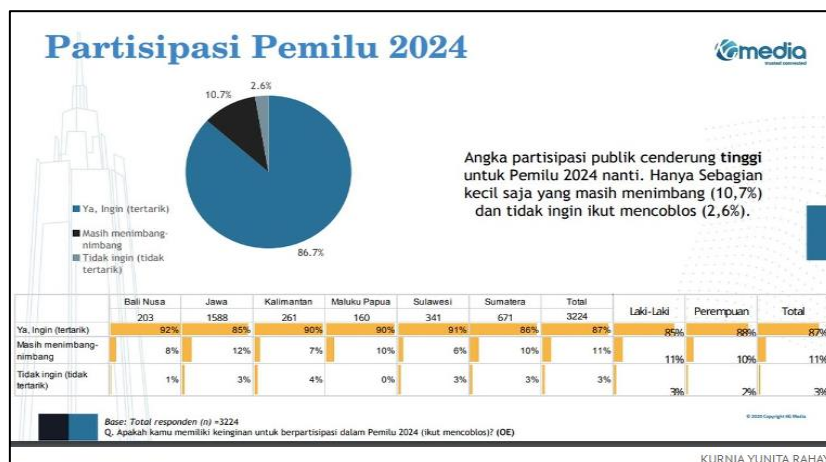


Figure 6. Millennial Election Participation in 2024

The enthusiasm of the millennial Muslim generation in facing elections can vary depending on various factors such as the current political situation, issues that are the focus of political campaigns, and the effectiveness of the political campaign itself. Day-to-day geopolitics is interrelated with each other (Culcasi, 2016).

Most of the millennial Muslim generation shows high enthusiasm in facing elections. They recognize the importance of their voting rights and want to ensure their voices are heard and counted in the electoral process. Several factors driving this enthusiasm include increased access to information and political awareness, technological advances facilitating political participation, and the desire to make positive societal changes.

However, a small number of millennial Muslim generations are less interested in the general election process due to several reasons, such as distrust of politicians and the political system or being preoccupied with other activities.

They are monitored by the Research and Analytics team conducted by Kompas Gramedia Media and Kompas Research and Development regarding the leader figures expected by the millennial and Z generations. The results show that the three main characteristics expected of a presidential figure are assertiveness (24.7 per cent), mastery of state conditions (22.3 per cent), and being close to the people (19.1 per cent). Besides that, it is also wise (7.2 per cent), real action (11.1 per cent), honest (7.2 per cent), fair (10.6 per cent), and responsible (6.8 per cent) for the national level. Regarding the exemplary character of the president, the survey showed different responses in each region. However, referring to this percentage, we cannot judge directly whether all voters from the millennial generation understand politics, especially in its implementation. It is hoped that the millennial generation will not be apathetic towards politics because the millennial generation is valuable potential to determine the success of the presidential election in 2024.

CONCLUSION

With the development of technology, social media is the primary intermediary media in political communication. As a tool in the process of political communication, the broad reach of the internet results in efficient and flexible connectivity that is useful. Political discussions with access to political information intensively and massively are no longer a consumption item for politicians but for anyone, including the millennial Muslim generation.

Based on the research results, it can be concluded that the application of political communication that occurs among millennial Muslims on social media is in the form of support and criticism on the hashtag #election2024. Social media shows that distance and time are not obstacles to voicing opinions, criticizing, and supporting each other. Too much social media reach without knowing boundaries makes social media challenging to control.

The strength of political competition, which is becoming increasingly evident, must be accompanied by carefulness in filtering information not to complicate the situation. As millennials during vulnerable hostilities, they should be able to become pioneers or fortresses in avoiding the damaging currents of the impact of social media in this political period.

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