Digital democracy: transforming political communication in Indonesia

Suko Widodo[1*], Jokhanan Kristiyanto[2]

[1]*Department of Communication, Universitas Airlangga*
Dharmawangsa Dalam, Surabaya, Indonesia
[2]*Sekolah Tinggi Ilmu Komunikasi Aws*
Nginden Intan Timur Alley I/18 Surabaya, Indonesia
Email: suko.widodo@fisip.unair.ac.id, Phone: +62 31 50554545

Abstract This article explored the political communication environment in Indonesia from 2004 to 2024, which is solely within the reform era. Focusing on how technology shapes democratic engagement, the study examined how the digital media revolution has affected political communication over the last 20 years. A comprehensive literature evaluation was carried out, combining knowledge from 122 scholarly works. Further sources were included to fully substantiate the study's assertions because the initial bibliography only had 28 references. The study examines how digital and traditional media interact in Indonesia, emphasising how social media sites like Facebook, Twitter, and WhatsApp are becoming increasingly important in public debate, political campaigns, and grassroots organising. Bypassing conventional gatekeepers, these platforms have allowed voters to communicate directly with political leaders; nevertheless, they have also brought up problems like disinformation and digital inequality. The results show that although digital platforms and big data have chances to improve democratic processes, their use has frequently been flimsy and unduly formalistic, with little effect on systemic political participation. This study also emphasised the necessity for a customised approach to deal with enduring problems such as disinformation, divisive content, and the digital divide. In Indonesia's reform era, these issues remain significant obstacles to widespread political involvement. The conclusion suggests that governments, media outlets, and civil society actors work together to use digital technologies inclusively and morally, ensuring that these instruments support democratic governance rather than exacerbate the already-existing disparities. More studies are needed to close the gap between theoretical frameworks and real-world implementations in Indonesia's dynamic political communication environment.

Keywords: democratic governance challenges; digital media revolution; Indonesian political communication; social media disinformation

INTRODUCTION

Significant initiatives at decentralisation were made concurrently with the democratic process, giving local governments more authority and creating a complex political communication environment shaped by regional dynamics and diverse cultural backgrounds. Furthermore, social media sites like Instagram and TikTok have become powerful instruments in political campaigns, allowing candidates to reach younger and broader audiences with original and captivating content. The emergence of digital media has significantly altered political communication in Indonesia. Platforms such as Facebook, Twitter (now known as X), and WhatsApp have become essential to political campaigns, public conversation, and grassroots mobilisation. These tools have enabled voters to interact directly with political leaders, circumventing conventional gatekeepers and promoting a more participative democratic atmosphere. Nonetheless, they have also presented concerns, such as the dissemination of misinformation and the polarisation of public sentiment.

*) Corresponding Author

The revolutionary effect of digital media on Indonesia's political communication processes is what makes this research so urgent. Despite the quick uptake of digital platforms, little is known about how these tools affect democratic participation and the larger socio-political environment. The report intends to close this gap by offering practical advice on how governments, media professionals, and civil society can deal with the problems of disinformation, digital inequality, and responsible technology use. In Indonesia's reform age, it is essential to comprehend these processes to promote a more resilient and inclusive democracy.

This research produces a complete literature on national and subnational political communication studies to stimulate future study. The term 'national political communication' describes tactics and exchanges at the federal or central level, frequently involving high-ranking political figures like presidents, lawmakers, or national media. Conversely, subnational political communication refers to political activity and speech in local, provincial, or regional contexts. This includes interactions between community-based groups, grassroots movements, and local administrations, reflecting the various socio-cultural dynamics particular to different Indonesian areas.

Surveys and statistical analysis are quantitative approaches that offer quantifiable insights into media consumption trends and voting behaviour. At the national and subnational levels, qualitative methods such as content analysis and case studies provide a deeper understanding of political communication's contextual and cultural subtleties. These combined approaches provide a comprehensive understanding of how political communication influences democratic participation across Indonesian society's different strata. More citations and reference materials are required to support these findings and offer a strong theoretical framework for further study.

Most Indonesian political analyses are brief and personal. Therefore, it is also important to compare Indonesian political communication research across national and subnational levels as research projects fill gaps and build knowledge. This project should illuminate Indonesian political communication during the past two decades. Multidisciplinary nuances link political issues to communication settings from their political environment, institutions and participants, government (military and police), civil societies, industry, and mass public. Connecting political conflict behaviour to norms, rules, values, and meanings require comprehensive representations.

Connecting ordinary political conflict behaviour to norms, rules, values, and meanings requires comprehensive representations that account for the complex interplay between various factors (Feeney, 2023; Canetti et al., 2013; Galston, 2010). Only political structures related to visual communication of declarations, instructions, and requests can alleviate such conflict behaviour (Aminah et al., 2021). Political structures related to visual communication of declarations, instructions, and requests can help alleviate such conflict behaviour by addressing the underlying psychological and political consequences of exposure to political violence (Canetti et al., 2013).

A distinctive interaction of socio-political elements and the swift advancement of digital technologies has influenced political communication in Indonesia. This part analyses the fundamental theoretical frameworks, emphasising their relevance to the Indonesian environment.

Political communication is the conduit between political leadership, policy determinations, and public dialogue. Researchers such as Kim (2020), underscored the function of communication as a mediator for political leadership and policy outcomes, whereas Von et al. (2021) accentuated its development into a multidisciplinary domain. In Indonesia, political communication is intricately linked to democratic changes and the growing dependence on digital channels to engage many stakeholders.

Indonesian political figures utilise communication to assert authority and shape public perception. The nation's decentralised administration and active civil society have rendered political communication a crucial instrument for connecting local and national political forces. This complex situation necessitates comprehensive frameworks considering the interplay among traditional media, social media, and grassroots involvement.

The main political players and their communication strategies from 2004 to 2024 are covered in this article, including the Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono (SBY) and Joko Widodo

(Jokowi) governments. Different methods of political communication and governance are reflected in these two different eras. Political communication during the SBY era (2004–2014) was distinguished by an emphasis on conventional media, including newspapers and television. In order to communicate policy agendas, SBY's leadership style placed a strong emphasis on diplomacy and reaching consensus. Formal speeches and organised public relations efforts were frequently used. Toward the end of his term, social media sites like Facebook and Twitter started to gain popularity, although social media use was still in its infancy. State-run and private media channels were crucial in helping political actors maintain support and influence public opinion.

On the other hand, political communication has drastically shifted toward digital and social media platforms during the Jokowi administration (2014–present). Jokowi's casual and friendly leadership style made use of social media sites like YouTube, Instagram, and TikTok to interact directly with the public, significantly younger audiences. With a focus on visual storytelling, real-time updates, and grassroots mobilisation, his administration's smart use of social media has completely reshaped political messaging. Furthermore, the emergence of influencers and internet campaigns has been crucial in influencing political narratives and public opinion.

The participation of other political players, including media outlets, civil society organisations, and opposition leaders, further demonstrates how political communication is changing. These actors use a variety of communication techniques to interact with their constituents, push for legislative reforms, and refute official narratives. Gaining an understanding of these behaviours helps one better understand the wider ramifications of political communication in Indonesia's reform era.

Table 1 below outlines the key theories relevant to this research: Agenda-Setting Theory, Spiral of Silence Theory, and Mass Communication and Normative Media Theories.

Table 1. Key theories in political communication

Theory	Description	Position in Research
Agenda-Setting Theory (Maxwell McCombs and Donald Shaw, 1972)	Emphasises the media's role in shaping public priorities by highlighting specific issues. Relevant in election cycles and social media dynamics in Indonesia.	**Main Theory**: This theory underpins the research theme by explaining how digital media and traditional outlets influence voter perceptions.
Spiral of Silence Theory (Elisabeth Noelle-Neumann, 1970)	Posits that individuals may withhold opinions if they feel in the minority. Anonymous online forums have alleviated this to an extent.	**Supporting Theory**: Used to analyse how social media provides safe spaces for marginalized voices while also contributing to echo chambers.
Mass Communication and Normative Media Theories (Harold Lasswell and Wilbur Schramm, 1947)	Examines the media's obligation to facilitate democratic discourse and the challenges of commercialised news.	**Supporting Theory**: Helps contextualise the balance between media independence and sensationalism in Indonesia's political landscape.

Source: Author Data Processed (2025)

The main framework for this study is the Agenda-Setting Theory, which covers explicitly how traditional and digital media shape political discourse and public opinion. Complementary viewpoints offered by the Spiral of Silence and other Mass Communication Theories enable a sophisticated understanding of the ways in which media dynamics interact with political and cultural settings. Because they make it possible to interpret the changes in political communication brought about by decentralisation and digitisation, these theories are especially relevant to the research issue.

Agenda-setting and the Spiral of Silence are crucial to understanding Indonesian political communication. The country's diversified media ecosystem, including national broadcasters and hyperlocal outlets, shows how agenda-setting shapes political discourse across areas. The spiral of silence shows that self-censorship about sensitive themes persists despite modern channels that allow new expression. Anchored in communication studies, these theories take on new meanings in Indonesia's democracy. The challenges of a decentralised political system, various cultural norms, and fast digital technology adoption in political discourse are emphasised.

Most of these studies delve in political communication dynamics owing to technology use to mobilise and communicate with constituents. Since Indonesia is a large archipelago and East Java, its second most populous province, political communication study is common. Political communication change owing to rapid technological improvements is another recurrent theme. No study examined Indonesia's political communication over 20 years. Limits and scope. Since the reform, political parties and candidates have used technology to inform voters about their agendas during legislative, presidential, and regional elections. This study records research history. Many voters choose a party or candidate based on how they communicate through communication technology or how they communicate using different communication technologies. 20 years of research would be helpful. The time and money spent should help understand Indonesian political communication, especially with modern technology (Jafar et al., 2021; Baudier et al., 2021; Zhang et al., 2021).

This study delved into thorough analysis of Indonesia's political communication environment during the past 20 years, with an emphasis on the interaction between traditional and digital media, this is the feature of this study which makes it novel. Further, this research takes a comprehensive method to examine the systemic changes in political messaging, voter involvement, and media dynamics from 2004 to 2024, in contrast to previous research that frequently isolates particular platforms or events. This research offers a comprehensive view of the changing role of communication technology in promoting democratic participation and addressing enduring inequities by integrating theoretical frameworks with empirical data.

The revolutionary effect of digital media on Indonesia's political communication processes is what makes this research so urgent. In order to overcome obstacles and seize chances to promote a more robust and inclusive democracy in Indonesia's reform era, politicians, media professionals, and civil society must have a thorough understanding of these processes. This paper also examined the convergence of Indonesia's democratic transition and the digital media revolution, emphasising their collective influence on political communication. This research analysed national and subnational dynamics, emphasising the potential and difficulties present in this shifting landscape, and provides insights into how communication methods might enhance democratic government.

METHODOLOGY

This study examines the dynamics of political communication in Indonesia during the reform era using a methodical literature review. This approach was chosen because it can compile and integrate current knowledge, guaranteeing a thorough understanding of the research issue.

Peer-reviewed journal papers, conference proceedings, and other credible academic sources published between 2004 and 2024 were extensively searched for this study. To find relevant publications, keywords such as 'political communication', 'Indonesia', 'social media', and 'digital media' were employed. To guarantee rigor and inclusion, databases such as Google Scholar, ProQuest, and Scopus were thoroughly searched. The review prioritised peer-reviewed journal articles, incorporating high-quality research that enhances theoretical and practical knowledge in this domain. In order to achieve inclusivity, we adopted the most extensive strategy feasible, taking into account all relevant sources and combining them into our research (Gusenbauer et al., 2020; Pascarella et al.2020).

Table 2. Inclusion and exclusion criteria

Specific	Criteria
Inclusion	• Peer-reviewed articles published between 2004 and 2024. • Studies focusing on political communication in Indonesia. • Research employing qualitative, quantitative, or mixed-method approaches.
Exclusion	• Articles lacking empirical data or theoretical grounding. • Studies focused solely on non-political communication topics. • Publications in predatory or non-academic journals.

Source: Researcher, 2025

The review examined national and subnational political communication studies, emphasising digital media, public engagement, and policy impact. The primary themes encompassed the influence of social media on elections, the agenda-setting functions of both traditional and digital media, and the transformation of political discourse within decentralised

governance frameworks. The broad scope of the study enabled it to encompass the diverse and dynamic characteristics of Indonesia's political communication landscape. To ensure relevance and rigour, the review applied specific inclusion and exclusion criteria as stated in the table 2.

To find recurrent themes and patterns in the gathered material, a thematic analysis was carried out. The significance of particular themes was evaluated using quantitative criteria, such as publication trends and citation frequency. To glean subtle insights from the literature, qualitative techniques such as content analysis were used, with an emphasis on the relationship between digital media and political participation. During the second phase of the search, we carefully examined the primary titles of the credible publications found and created a comprehensive collection of political communication articles from Indonesia, which is the subject of interest. This thorough process ensured that no critical papers published before 2004 were missed. This rigorous process found 122 insightful articles. It was a major discovery to find out that a group of seven remarkable researchers had led the analytical study of political communication in Indonesia from 2004 to the prospective year of 2024. Each of these prominent experts has published more than two publications, demonstrating their experience and insightful insights. The researchers used modern software to analyse these insightful texts, which deepened and expanded our research.

The ability of the systematic literature review to offer a thorough summary of previous research, pinpoint knowledge gaps, and establish the framework for further investigation led to its selection because it incorporates findings from several studies to provide a comprehensive view of Indonesia's political communication environment, this technique is especially well-suited to the research issue. By outlining the justification, data collection methods, and analytical strategies, this methodology guarantees that the research findings are reliable and comprehensible, offering significant contributions to the field of political communication.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION
The study's findings demonstrate important changes in Indonesia's political communication environment between 2004 and 2024. The way political actors interact with their viewers has been completely redesigned by the rise of digital media platforms like Facebook, Instagram, TikTok, WhatsApp, and Twitter. Through digital media, political players can now interact directly with the public by avoiding conventional gatekeepers like television and newspapers. This change has resulted in being more engaged and participatory in political discourse, especially during election cycles and policy campaigns. Previously, under strict state control, traditional media have diversified in ownership and content, facilitating a more pluralistic discourse. Commercialisation has resulted in a prioritisation of sensationalism, as major outlets frequently align with political or business interests. This trend highlights the necessity for enhanced regulatory frameworks to promote balanced reporting and media independence (Mietzner, 2020).

In contrast, digital media, however, has two functions regarding political communication. On the one hand, it facilitates grassroots mobilisation, gives voice to underrepresented communities, and democratises knowledge. However, technology has also exacerbated issues like disinformation, echo chambers, and the division of public opinion. For example, platforms like Instagram and TikTok have been used for innovative political messaging during election campaigns, but they have also served as venues for disseminating misleading information.

There are both advantages and disadvantages to the connection between digital media and political communication. Possibilities include the capacity to communicate with citizens in real time, personalise political messages, and reach larger audiences. However, there are difficulties in managing false information, using these platforms ethically, and closing the digital gap that prevents access for impoverished and rural communities.

Political communication within subnational contexts underscores the intricacies of Indonesia's decentralised governance structure. In regions such as East Java, local media and grassroots networks significantly influence political discourse. The dynamics frequently illustrate regional priorities and cultural contexts that may differ from national narratives. Comprehending these subnational variations is crucial for developing communication strategies that effectively engage diverse constituencies (Strassler, 2020; Tambunan, 2021; Olivia et al., 2020; Hill, 2021).

<p style="text-align:center">Table 3. Indonesia's political communication history</p>

Era	Period	Description
Early Internet Era	Early 2000s to 2010	In the early 2000s, broadcasting deregulation increased TV channels from 2 to 12. More diverse and global electronic news was predicted to alter Indonesian political communication. Media reform democratising elections. Despite manipulation, the media industry flourished swiftly and became more diverse and inclusive after the year 2000. It transformed national media and provided politicians options and challenges. Indonesian electronic media grew as media shifted unexpectedly. Politicians had to change their communication style to reach people easily. The media boom brought downsides. Rapid growth prompted content quality and information manipulation concerns. Due to media competition, some favoured sensationalism over journalism. Ratings and audience overcame objective reporting, fragmenting media. Indonesia's media expansion affects politics despite these challenges. It promoted democracy and civic involvement with diverse views. Media expansion boosted Indonesian democracy and civic engagement. (Ariansyah & Yuniarti, 2021; Yoedtadi et al., 2021).
Social Media Era	2010 to 2024	Social media and digital networks improved political communication, says Tapsell (2020). Indonesia had 30 TV stations in the early 2010s, up from 12. More media boosted political communication. Political openness improved due to media and public exposure. The rise of digital media (social media) may help politicians reach voters. Due to information overload, citizens needed media literacy and critical thinking to tell fact from falsehood. Finally, media development and broadcasting liberalisation altered Indonesian political communication. More TV channels and digital platforms transformed politician-voter outreach. This expansion varied the media but made credible information harder to find.

<p style="text-align:center">Source: Researcher, 2025</p>

These results highlight how media change, the emergence of digital platforms, and the complex interactions between national and subnational factors have transformed Indonesia's political communication landscape. The observations provide a starting point for further study and real-world implementations targeted at improving democratic participation and governance (Kenawas, 2023). Nowadays, visuals, fame, and monetisation dominate political information in this new media ecosystem.

This study highlights the revolutionary impact of digital media in Indonesia's political scene while advocating for strategic ways to lessen its negative impacts. The findings suggest that if digital media is handled responsibly and inclusively, it may increase democratic engagement and create a more knowledgeable and engaged electorate.

Advances in ICT allowed media to be a state subsidiary no longer. Instead of questioning how elites affect the media, researchers now study which elites they cover and how they relate to other relevant elements of the public sphere. The reformation democratised information access, helping elite and public groups promote a new Indonesian perspective. New media, however, autopoietic, flourished rapidly throughout the reform era, along with broadcasting liberalisation. While the government converted to e-governance, websites and social media platforms made publishing and content exchange easier, enabling citizen-led political communication.

Influential figures in political messaging and their impact on society

A thorough systematic literature review identified and categorised three (3) primary analyst groups that have earned significant attention on the crucial and multifaceted issue of actors in political communication in Indonesia (Rusfiana & Kurniasih, 2024). Media, lawmakers, and interest groups each play a unique role in political communication. The actors piquing our curiosity have been fragmentedly examined in Indonesian and English research works. The researchers' detailed assessments show that most studies have examined media boards, assemblies of legislators, or cohorts of advocates and stakeholder organisations in isolation. Despite these efforts, the holistic study of how these three key actors work together to reveal crucial political information to the public properly has received little attention. The rich literature

on the issue describes alternative political behaviours and democratic results, but they have yet to be fully examined.

This surprising discovery aids Indonesian communication literature academics' interpretations. Additionally, it enlightens them to the untapped possibilities of a more comprehensive and holistic approach to tackling the diverse variables that underpin political behaviours over time (Vervliet & Boddez, 2020). This systematic literature review is based on the researchers' consensus that each identified group must be adequately studied. This visually appealing table was meticulously designed to match several political communication research on democratic mass media. This main point is that this research on the relationship between mass media and politics dates back to the early 1920s, demonstrating its historical significance and lasting impact (Assous & Carret, 2022; Ochieng, 2023; Moss, 2020).

Discussions on democratic consolidation must include political parties' concepts, roles, functioning, and dynamic development over time (Ziblatt, 2017). Thus, political parties often become unique aspects that can measure and assess democracy in a country. Political parties are the foundation of any political system. They successfully represent multiple interests and bring the government and competing factions together. Notably, political parties have increasingly lost power and influence in many countries. They are no longer the main political representation aggregators or as flexible in transmitting popular political demands and ideals. Individual candidates who circumvent political parties have gained popularity in recent elections. These gains for non-party candidates signal a major political shift. It shows the shift from political parties as power brokers representing mass interests.

Thus, the global political system has shifted towards popular parties. This change in power and influence has affected political parties' behaviour and democratic consolidation (Coleman & Rosberg, 2023; Allern, 2024; Diamond, 2022; Abbass et al.2022). Political parties assist elites in resolving disagreements, as discussed in political communication. In a democracy, party elites compete in elections to represent society. During political dynamics, political parties, especially major parties, better represent society's needs. Political parties integrate the political system and allocate power. When political parties are strong, they mediate between societal interests and culture.

Indonesia's complicated politics and political communication have been extensively studied. This invaluable collection of studies has deepened and broadened our understanding, revealing a growing and profound apprehension about the mainstream media's reliability, trustworthiness, and ethical standards in a political arena that is rapidly being swayed and influenced by a distressing prevalence of media bias that favours and supports specific political agenda. Due to their shifting setting, the studies will vary in geography, subject, and method. This ambitious study covers a wide range of themes closely linked to political communication in Indonesia and East Java to provide a more full and robust examination, analysis, and exploration of this fascinating subject matter. This vital study skilfully pulls upon and synthesises uncountable and very relevant research studies to highlight the multifaceted intricacies and intriguing nuances that have substantially impacted politics and political communication in these engaging regions over the past two decades (Aspinall et al., 2021; Soedarsono et al., 2020; Rakhmani et al., 2021).

Local radio and newspaper stations offer commercial services and support a variety of programs with their people and hardware resources. Davidson (2015) states rapid technological progress, urbanisation, and new national media policy have changed Indonesia's media environment in recent years. According to many political commentators, this procedure may increase the Indonesian media's ability to challenge the political status quo. Media outlets that increase editorial diversity have grown significantly nationwide. With wider circulation, larger audience shares, and higher advertising revenue, these emerging mass media sources are seen as contributing to the primacy and prominence of media in social and political life, significantly since media influence public opinion about political events and personalities. Over the period under study, media roles, rules, and justifications have received more attention, as has their performance in fulfilling their various obligations.

Elaborating the role of civil society organisations in society

This detailed study examined how civil society organisations affect Indonesia's complex political scene. Scholars focused on political communication dynamics to explore how these

organisations shape national public policy. The scholarly community praised civil society groups' proactive efforts to fix public policy flaws. This is significant given the global social movement and the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs). Researchers highlight these alliances' contributions to improving Indonesian public policies. In addition to the overall analysis, the study highlighted specific examples that merit further investigation. The Indonesian Ombudsman's role in monitoring and assessing the progress of the Sustainable Development Goal was highlighted (Sa'adah et al., 2024). Scholars were able to grasp better how civil society organisations drive change and progress in Indonesia by studying this instance. The intersection of political communication, Islam, and informal civic societies in Indonesia was also studied. This research highlighted Islam's importance in civic culture, particularly through *pesantren* (Islamic Boarding School) (Nubowo, 2023). The researchers understood civil society organisations' various contributions and importance in Indonesian society by recognising and researching this crucial interplay. These studies significantly improved our understanding of Indonesian civil society dynamics, but a few academics took a broader perspective. The symbolic power of social capital and its effects on democracy were studied in Indonesian students.

These researchers discovered surprising insights on civil society's influence by analysing its overall span. Building on prior studies more was done to understand Indonesian civil society organisations and their complex interaction with political communication. These subsequent investigations sought to uncover more complexities of this intricate interaction. Scholars seek to better understand civil society organizations' roles, effect, and possibilities in Indonesian politics through extensive research and analysis. This study sought to illuminate civil society organisations' vital role in Indonesia's political communication dynamics. This research advances the discipline and lays the groundwork for future research in this vital topic by increasing our understanding of these processes (Mudhoffir, 2023; Diprose, 2023; Sahputra et al.2020).

Indonesia is large, ethnically and culturally diverse. Also, Indonesian political communication is complex and evolving. Indonesian politicians communicate differently depending on the situation. Complex and changing environments necessitate quick and clear political communication (Mazya et al., 2024). Most Indonesian politicians reach out to voters via the media. Daily visits to average constituents' homes are needed for Jakarta print media coverage. Indonesian politicians seeking power must assess their mass media communication skills. Mass media, which only transfers and cements power when controlled by political interests, is politicians' weakest interface. Media output often shifts from general to specific interests due to perceived and actual special interest power. Political leaders can theoretically dominate the media, boosting their image. Politically, model controls prioritise interests and desires over needs. Strangely, Indonesian political leadership rarely examines media-nurtured images of free press and leadership.

Voting has changed Indonesian political communication. Recent electoral laws have changed the importance of district rural, which political party structuring, parliamentary recruiting, and careers have addressed (Aminah et al., 2020). This chapter discussed political communication issues. The most popular and cost-effective electoral campaign activity is mass media. Elections have increased campaign spending, especially media. In the New Order, incumbent politicians spent the least per vote to maintain support because there was no competition. When a visit included a cash handout and officials' public and private duties, retail politics led to 'patronage' windfall rewards for political winners (Aspinall, 2015). They consolidated their position with routine. Recently, dynamics have shifted drastically.

The Internet and social media have changed politics. Smartphones and online campaigning allow politicians to engage voters. Transition and campaign modifications modernised political messaging. Political campaigns now use non-traditional media, a changing strategy. The parties and candidates reach voters through social media, internet marketing, and interactive websites. Outreach techniques enhance awareness and assist candidates' target populations, improving campaign efficacy. Rural political communication grows as Indonesian urbanisation boosts rural voters. Building up on this, political candidates must target rural voters owing to population shifts. Door-to-door canvassing, town hall meetings, and community activities have increased rural voter engagement. Finally, elections, media, and technology have transformed Indonesian political communication. Political candidates use mass media, online networks, and personal messages. Due to rural areas' growing relevance, campaigns must target certain people, as changing circumstances require political leaders to engage voters and

communicate differently (Bossetta & Schmøkel, 2023; Yıldırım et al., 2021; Ruess et al., 2023; Egbulefu and Nwaoboli, 2023).

Second, an online political act utilised to illustrate Indonesia's increasingly sophisticated digital political communication dynamic is a form of social media engagement. Interactivity on social media promotes conversation, not knowledge. Technology changes the roles of non-institutional and non-elite players in political communication, even though interaction has always been meaningful (Tapsell, 2017). Empowering non-institutional actors frees lay people from elites' symbolic universe. Online community debates by peripheral individuals may impact moral consensus and social change.

The issue is more challenging for laypeople. Social media platforms are so accessible that lay actors can play various roles with varying degrees of engagement. Advocates, claimants, and seekers affect engagement intensity. Akbar (2021) describes online involvement in Indonesia as dynamic due to several factors– laypeople's social media alternatives expand as technology improves connectivity and accessibility. These people can perform multiple roles, showing how online participation evolves. Their job is complicated by their varied personalities and traits as advocates, claimants, or searchers. Laypeople's contributions shape online engagement in Indonesia's fast-paced digital world. These individuals' varying participation levels bring new perspectives, thoughts, and ideas to the digital world.

Lay people play an ever-expanding range of roles– from fervent advocates who tirelessly promote causes they believe in to claimants who assert their rights and interests to seekers who actively browse and explore the vast online world. Online activity highlights Indonesia's dynamic digital ecosystem. The rise of social media and internet users creates a complex personality tapestry. Internet roles range from public opinion influencers to anonymous observers. Finally, Indonesian laypeople have complex social media roles. They join online activity, offering their own perspectives and intensities. The rise of digital roles and personalities reveals how dynamic internet interactions are. Technology advances lay people's participation and impact shape Indonesian and global digital engagement (Hui, 2020; Purnama and Asdlori, 2023).

Many public relations ideas need not be discussed here. Numerous contributors to public relations literature have defined a public relations act with methodical inventiveness. Both social issues and successful communication are captivated by a variety of important ideas. Communicating about complicated social issues like the Indonesian political conflict and other socio-political reform issues also fosters deep public relations linking activities. Public relations issues in these eruptive and dynamic environments have little scholarly study. With true dedication, we seek to raise awareness and appreciation of that neglected public relations issue. We want to significantly increase the opportunity for earlier public relations theories, insightful diagnoses, and critical analyses to be carefully considered with profound discernment and astute scrutiny to drive genuine progress and substantial positive change (Latief and Nashir, 2020).

Public relations is used for a number of political communication audiences, proposing a wide range of operations to alter and shape communication dependency on those concerns to effectively traverse and confront the political landscape (Earl, 2019). To democratically deal with unfavourable political players and achieve constructive change, politics needs diverse communication strategies including strategic communication. If they cannot divert from political paradoxes and hurdles, academic standards do not cover public relations tactics for navigating them, which require a fresh perspective and creative solutions. Knowing how strategic and tactical public relations work in problem-solving situations is different from in regular society is crucial.

Public relations researchers have paid little attention to these issues. Still, the difficulty in securing organisational involvement and methodological access to key organisations may have prevented robust and thorough studies on these pressing topics (Kelly, 2020). However, scholars and practitioners must study these underexplored areas to build effective public relations strategies that improve political discourse and society. The many audiences involved in political communication public relations efforts enable various communication interdependence adjustments to address the problems. To carefully investigate and settle political concerns. Due to the multiplicity of political communication means and the need for strategic and effective communication, hostile political actors must be tackled democratically while promoting constructive change.

However, public relations strategies to overcome these challenges lack intellectual debate and require a fresh perspective and innovative ways. Strategic and tactical public relations in problem-solving situations may differ substantially from society. Understanding the dynamics is key. Public relations professionals have traditionally downplayed these concerns due to organisational engagement and methodological access to key organisations. These limits have hampered essential issue research. To develop effective public relations approaches promoting political discourse and society, scientists and practitioners must continue investigating these underexplored domains (Wolfsfeld, 2022; Farkas & Bene, 2021; Lee et al., 2021).

The influence of political communication on electoral processes
This section deliberately innovates academic discourse. This discussion distinguishes temporal eras. Internet political communication products, especially election-related ones, have developed substantially in the past two decades. Broadcast media-inspired multi-channel technology. Internet and online communication were second-era technology. In Indonesia, temporal distinction was similar (Yang et al. 2022; Xiao et al. 2022). Scholarly examinations of political communication patterns during the two periods focus on policy and voter manipulation. The first part examined how election policies influence voter preferences and electoral decisions. The second half examined how media owners' information ownership influences voter manipulation, especially when important persons remain prominent on election day. Phase two requires businessman-society. Election day difficulties were noted in the first phase but not in the second. Political communication altered data collection and analysis.

Campaigning reveals how politicians and parties acquire voters. This notion of campaigning goes beyond politicians' media appearances and public activities to win votes. Political entities engage constituents and influence their attitudes using more methods, programmes, and procedures for election success. The 2008 General Election Law carefully regulates pre-campaign and campaign phases in Indonesia. Political parties and candidates develop and execute their strategies six to five months before election day and for three to 21 days during the campaign (Syafei & Darajati, 2020; Virananda et al., 2021). Indonesian political parties regulate election campaigns differently. Political parties prioritise parliamentary measures above executive candidates to boost national and regional legislative election results. Indonesian political parties care about candidates because candidate-centred campaigns perform better. Increased dominance after 2004 limits regional minor parties' political space.

Voter mobilisation discoveries include institutionalised civil society in social and political transformation, community engagement and public service delivery, political demand to the government, and social engineering and manipulation. Categorisations reveal organisational hierarchies. The large civil society story in political science misses grassroots realities. Post-political transformation, specifically Indonesia's shift toward civil society involvement, has been understood variously. Civil society in Indonesia is also discussed. Others say Indonesia's civil society developed as governmental institutions, notably Islamic ones, deteriorated (Mietzner, 2022; Andersson et al., 2021; Barton2021).

Political campaigns' influence on voter turnout are discussed and studied. Scholars have studied this complex issue from numerous angles, but the mobilisation and reinvention theories are contradictory. The mobilisation theory says electoral campaigns increase voter turnout. This approach holds that the campaign's message, strategies, and activities can engage apathetic voters. Campaigns can persuade voters. Reinvention seeks to entrench habits and predispositions. This implies electoral campaigns may not increase voter turnout. They bolster voters' political views and actions. Campaigns can engage or disengage demographics. Conditions might energise voters during the election and voter turnout discussion. Think message size.

Targeting voters' goals and issues boosts engagement. Campaign content and framing influence voters. This county-level study investigates the complicated links between electoral campaigns, public opinion, and voter turnout. Statistics suggest that government unhappiness affects Indonesian voting. The study shows how electoral campaigns mobilise voters by analysing voter turnout variability. This research involves the government, the opposition, and the public. Understanding how public emotion affects elections helps politicians win. Knowledge may boost democracy, voting, and political engagement. It promotes election-voter

turnout. Public opinion, campaign mobilisation, and voter behaviour predict elections. Understanding these qualities can assist policymakers and democratic governance advocates develop a more inclusive and active electorate, improving democracy worldwide (Marquart et al., 2020; Braun & Schäfer, 2022; Hill et al., 2021).

Challenges and opportunities in political communication
The internet altered politics. Not just media, but also political communication that increasingly encompasses government-public discussion. One-way media can generate feedback, and in that way, electric media aids political communication. National political system and culture also impact political communication. Setting and culture affect political rhetoric. Political communication choices vary in polls; however, in TV/newspaper, the frequency is similar. Think about party members, civic groups, leaders, friends, and family. Mass media candidate advertising has boosted political competition, especially among MPs and leaders, in the month before election day. Commercial, political communication, media, and political groups' minimal political obligation exceed the public's desire for accurate, pluralised, and irrelevant political communication due to economic and organisational segmentations (Kelly, 2020).

Recently, misinformation has emerged. Thoughtfully created fake news has always existed. The extended depiction of news events and the demand for concise information has always made hoaxes easier to disseminate. Confused situations, contemporary technology, biased readers, and purposeful or inattentive publishers may contribute to these topics. Misleading information has plagued modern society, including citizen journalism. Newspapers and other media should have checked the material before uploading it, but they had to publish inaccurate facts, destroying their productivity and credibility (Chambers, 2021; Ben Messaoud, 2021; McBrayer, 2020; Brindha et al., 2020; Howell and Brossard, 2021).

Due to rapid advances in communication and internet technology, especially social media and messaging apps, news consumers sometimes overlook source verification. Unfortunately, online persuasiveness can confuse readers and news-sharers, leading to widespread acceptance of fake news. This disturbing pattern spread online, according to media researchers. Thus, news items must be scrutinised for subtle patterns distinguishing authentic facts from fast-moving lies. Artificial intelligence and technology mistakenly spread fake news. Legislation against fake news has been introduced. Local governments limit multimedia and online content through the Directorate for Combating Fake News and Bypassing Opinion. The Anti-Hoax organisation has also promoted awareness and vigilance. A multimodal effort encourages fact-checking news before believing or sharing it. Public enterprises should avoid unreliable news sources for legal reasons (Carson & Fallon, 2021; Vese, 2022).

Misinformation continues to pose a substantial difficulty in Indonesia's political discourse. The swift dissemination of misinformation, frequently exacerbated by social media, erodes public confidence and polarises societies (Verstraete et al., 2022). The research underscores the influence of internet platforms in propagating deceptive information, especially during electoral cycles. Resolving this issue necessitates enhanced media literacy programs and regulatory structures to guarantee accountability for online platforms.

The digital divide inhibits societal progress by limiting access to and use of information and communication technology. Communications are increasingly moving online to address this gap and strengthen democracy. Everyone deserves equal reach and engagement, regardless of socioeconomic position. The digital divide, especially in politics, can undermine social cohesion, collective action, democracy, citizenship, and government. Failure to understand its ramifications may lead to communication biases that favour one group, perpetuating inequality and hindering inclusive nation-building.

Consider infrastructure, consumption, and society when measuring the digital divide. Digital technology benefits political communication, societal involvement, and governance transparency (Berch et al., 2024). Many factors complicate political communication. Digitisation can alter political discourse and actions. It can change politics and democracy. It can improve democracy, public policy, information availability, and other political power and social issues.

Expanding and improving digital platforms can empower citizens to make life-changing decisions by democratising access to vital information. To reduce the digital divide and establish an inclusive society, stakeholders must work together. Government policy must provide extensive digital infrastructure, affordable, universal access, and digital literacy programmes.

Business and society must collaborate to teach poor people digital skills and maximise technology's benefits. Social justice, democracy, and no one left behind demand digital gap reduction. Information and communication technology equality can benefit society and include everyone (Okano-Heijmans & Vosse, 2021).

The digital gap hinders inclusive political involvement in Indonesia. Urban areas enjoy superior internet connection, whereas numerous rural and distant locations suffer from inadequate connectivity, hindering their participation in digital political discourse (Aditya et al., 2023). Addressing this disparity necessitates enhancing infrastructure, promoting affordable internet access, and executing digital literacy initiatives to empower underprivileged groups.

Emerging trends: use of big data in political communication
In Indonesia, voter outreach and campaign tactics have been completely transformed by incorporating big data into political communication. Political parties and politicians currently utilise data analytics to categorise people, tailor messages, and forecast electoral results. Big data solutions provide comprehensive profiling utilising demographic, behavioural, and geographic data, hence enabling campaigns to successfully target specific voter segments (McNair, 2017). This method has improved productivity but also creates issues with data privacy and the ethical utilisation of personal information (See Figure 1).
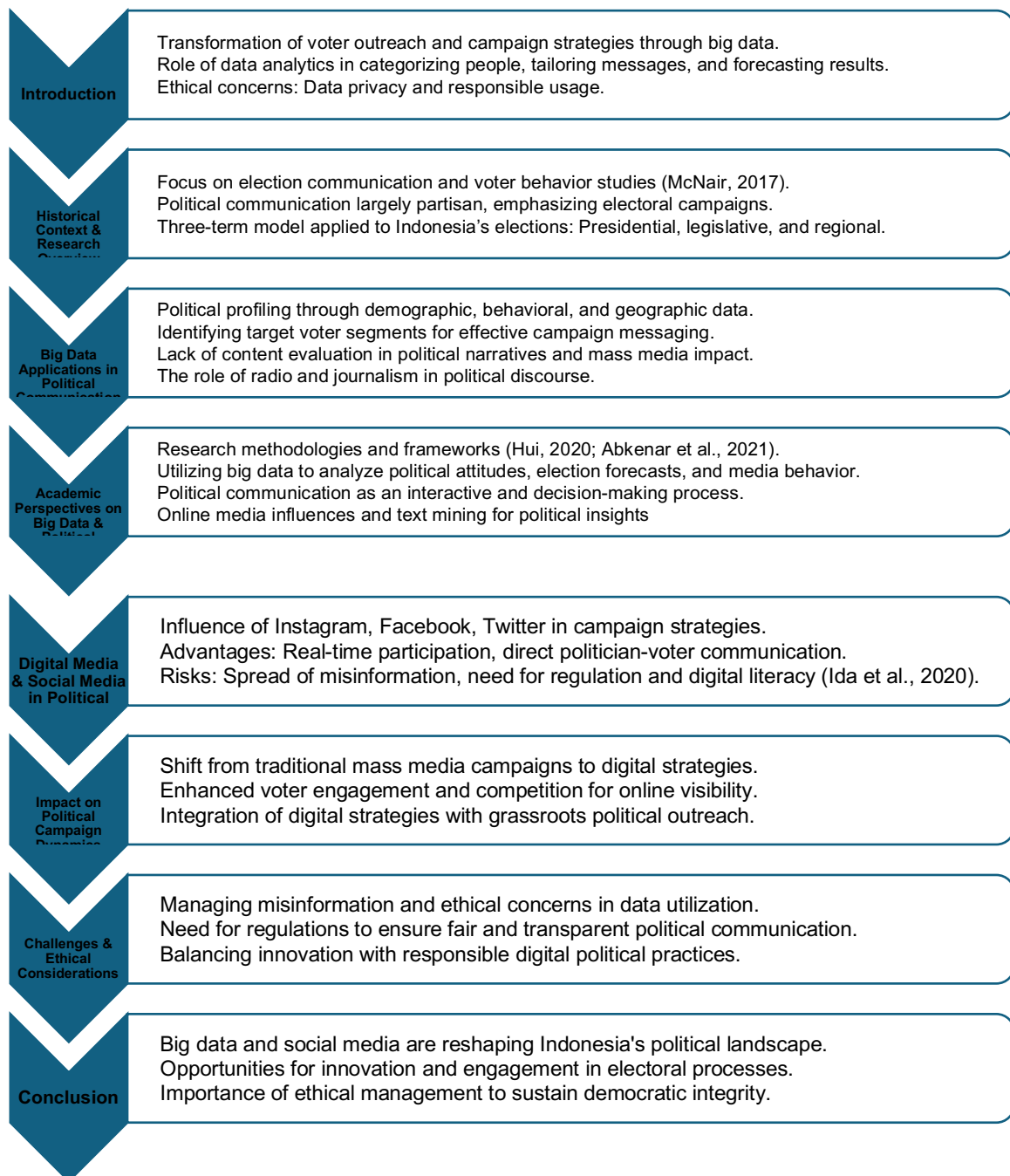
According to McNair (2017), the majority of political communication studies conducted in Indonesia concentrate on election communication and voting. The study of political communication has primarily been partisan, concentrating on political producers and consumers and their impact on election campaigns, based on the premise that informed and rational discourse fosters effective governance. This earlier study presents a model addressing the knowledge gap in political behaviour. The literature examines political communication in these elections through various frameworks, placing moderate emphasis on a three-term model. Data from Indonesia's presidential, legislative, and regional elections indicate three distinct political communication processes.

Political communication often targets passive, indifferent, spiritual, and cynical audiences. The message matched the audience's politics. Political communication narratives via mass media focus on political elites and individuals in terms of ownership, content, targeting, and regional or thematic components (McNair, 2017). Political communication often lacked content evaluations, criticisms, and solutions, resulting in flawed narratives. Radio discussion shows influence responsibility and society, unlike most journalism, which is shallow and pretentious. Political communication scholars use function, agenda setting, framing, spiral of silence, reception, and polyvalent model. In that case, intentional communication is not present. Political communication research is extensively studied in this massive data case study. Analysts are using big data to study political communication (Hui, 2020). Big data and digital analytics let us analyse political communication in unprecedented detail and predict outcomes and changes in existing and new democracies. Researchers address large-data political communication research in this paper. Big data and social science can help scholars study political communication subsets for practical applications. Political attitudes, election forecasts, social mobilisation, movement studies, legislative efficacy, media and audience behaviour, and more are discussed. This study seeks to advance political communication methodology.

This project synthesises political phenomena, datasets, and analysis methodologies from several empirical research pieces. Political communication involves collective and individual political decision-making and the interactive political process. Although this study's framework led this research, the keywords and articles that the researchers examined were not limited to certain events or actors. This comprehensive study covered a wide range and in-depth political communication, offering a complete understanding of this vital aspect of democratic society. (Abkenar et al., 2021; Perloff, 2021; Yarchi et al., 2021; Farkas & Bene, 2021; Medina et al., 2020; Sheng et al.2021).
Online media changed politics. Web text data has growing steadily. Blogs, forums, and social media share and consume knowledge. Large-scale text data collecting facilitates text mining analysis and evaluation. We assessed political communication data utilisation using these tools. A fascinating Indonesian political communication case study was used. The landscape is shown by subjects, subtopics, and domain-specific keywords. Amazingly, this study reveals that some concerns are still relevant and essential after 20 years. Keywords for these issues have changed.

Their evolution implies a dynamic political environment with aggressive new party tendencies influencing national politics. Online media impacts Indonesian politics. The internet has changed political communication. Text mining has illuminated data consumption and efficiency. Indonesia shows political communication and domain-specific phrase changes. The study examines Indonesian political parties and digital media's involvement in politics (Anggraheni et al., 2021; Maharani and Nurafifah, 2020).

Introduction
Transformation of voter outreach and campaign strategies through big data.
Role of data analytics in categorizing people, tailoring messages, and forecasting results.
Ethical concerns: Data privacy and responsible usage.

Historical Context & Research Overview
Focus on election communication and voter behavior studies (McNair, 2017).
Political communication largely partisan, emphasizing electoral campaigns.
Three-term model applied to Indonesia's elections: Presidential, legislative, and regional.

Big Data Applications in Political Communication
Political profiling through demographic, behavioral, and geographic data.
Identifying target voter segments for effective campaign messaging.
Lack of content evaluation in political narratives and mass media impact.
The role of radio and journalism in political discourse.

Academic Perspectives on Big Data & Political
Research methodologies and frameworks (Hui, 2020; Abkenar et al., 2021).
Utilizing big data to analyze political attitudes, election forecasts, and media behavior.
Political communication as an interactive and decision-making process.
Online media influences and text mining for political insights

Digital Media & Social Media in Political
Influence of Instagram, Facebook, Twitter in campaign strategies.
Advantages: Real-time participation, direct politician-voter communication.
Risks: Spread of misinformation, need for regulation and digital literacy (Ida et al., 2020).

Impact on Political Campaign Dynamics
Shift from traditional mass media campaigns to digital strategies.
Enhanced voter engagement and competition for online visibility.
Integration of digital strategies with grassroots political outreach.

Challenges & Ethical Considerations
Managing misinformation and ethical concerns in data utilization.
Need for regulations to ensure fair and transparent political communication.
Balancing innovation with responsible digital political practices.

Conclusion
Big data and social media are reshaping Indonesia's political landscape.
Opportunities for innovation and engagement in electoral processes.
Importance of ethical management to sustain democratic integrity.

Figure 1. Flowchart: emerging trends - use of big data in political communication
Source: Processed by Author (2025)

Social media platforms have become essential for moulding political debate and mobilising voters. In Indonesia, platforms such as Instagram, Facebook, and Twitter are commonly utilised for campaign marketing, real-time participation, and issue advocacy.

Politicians use these methods to communicate directly with their constituents, circumventing traditional media filters. However, social media's influence is a double-edged sword, since it promotes both grassroots engagement and the spread of misinformation. Effective regulation and increased digital literacy are required to maximise its benefits while limiting its threats (Ida et al., 2020).

Integrating big data and social media has altered the dynamics of political campaigns in Indonesia. Traditional mass media campaigns are increasingly being supplemented or replaced by digital strategies, facilitating real-time feedback and voters' interaction. This transition has broadened access to campaign outreach while simultaneously heightening competition as candidates compete for online visibility and engagement. Success in this dynamic environment requires campaigns integrating innovative digital strategies with traditional grassroots methods. Emerging trends in Indonesia's political communication indicate an increasing influence of big data and social media on electoral processes and public discourse. These tools provide substantial opportunities for innovation and engagement; however, they also pose challenges that necessitate careful management to uphold ethical and inclusive political practices.

CONCLUSION

This study thoroughly explains political communication in Indonesia's reform era by synthesising information from 122 scholarly sources. The systematic literature review highlights key changes brought about by digital media platforms, focusing on how these platforms might improve political debate and democratic engagement.

By eliminating the need for conventional gatekeepers and facilitating direct communication between citizens and political actors, digital media has completely changed political communication. Real-time engagement, grassroots mobilisation, and political campaigns now depend heavily on platforms like Facebook, Instagram, and TikTok. The report does, however, also highlight important issues, such as the digital divide, echo chambers, and the dissemination of false information.

Future research should concentrate on closing the gap between theoretical frameworks and real-world applications to ensure that digital media is used ethically and inclusively. Policymakers, media professionals, and civil society must work together to solve these issues and use the potential that digital platforms offer. The study concludes that in Indonesia's changing political environment, the ethical and strategic use of digital media can foster a more informed and engaged democracy.

ACKNOWLEDGMENT

REFERENCES

Ahmad, N. (2024). What drive marketization and professionalization of campaigning of political parties in the emerging democracy? Evidence from Indonesia in the post-Soeharto new order. Journal of Political Marketing, 23(1), 26-50. https://doi.org/10.1080/15377857.2021.1910610

Ahmad, N. (2022). What drives journalists' perceptions of media powers as political image-makers in the emerging democracy of Indonesia?. Global Media and Communication, 18(3), 323-343. https://doi.org/10.1177/17427665221132183

Akbar, A. (2021). Collaborative spatial learning for improving public participation practice in Indonesia.

Aminah, S., & Saksono, H. (2021). Digital transformation of the government: A case study in Indonesia. Jurnal Komunikasi: Malaysian Journal of Communication, 37(2), 272-288. https://doi.org/10.17576/JKMJC-2021-3702-17

Aminah, S., Apriani, T., Pranasari, M. A., Indarti, D. M., & Herlina, M. (2020). The high political costs in local head election (Case study in Indonesia). European Journal of Molecular & Clinical Medicine, 7(11), 653–682.

Aspinall, E., White, S., & Savirani, A. (2021). Women's Political Representation in Indonesia: Who Wins and How?. Journal of Current Southeast Asian Affairs, 40(1), 3-27. https://doi.org/10.1177/1868103421989720

Aspinall, E. (2015). Money politics: patronage and clientelism in Southeast Asia. In Routledge handbook of southeast Asian democratization (pp. 299–313). Routledge.

Basri, C., & Hill, H. (2020). Making economic policy in a democratic Indonesia: The first two decades. Asian Economic Policy Review, 15(2), 214-234. https://doi.org/10.1111/aepr.12299

Baudier, P., Kondrateva, G., Ammi, C., & Seulliet, E. (2021). Peace engineering: The contribution of blockchain systems to the e-voting process. Technological Forecasting and Social Change, 162, 120397. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.techfore.2020.120397

Berch, V., Lankevych, A., Naturkach, R., Bysaha, Y., & Prodan, V. (2024). The role of digital technologies in building an inclusive and transparent society: an analysis of the legal mechanisms of democratic governance. *Amazonia Investiga*, *13*(79), 177–188.

Canetti, D., Hall, B. J., Rapaport, C., & Wayne, C. (2013). Exposure to political violence and political extremism. European Psychologist, 18(4), 263-272. https://doi.org/10.1027/1016-9040/a000158

Davidson, J. S. (2015). *Indonesia's Changing Political Economy*. Cambridge University Press.

Earl, J. (2019). Symposium on political communication and social movements: audience, persuasion, and influence. *Information, Communication & Society*, *22*(5), 754–766.

Evitha, Y., Sari, S. N., Suprayitno, D., & Irrianda, J. (2023). Digital Communication Management Government of the Republic of Indonesia for Inclusive and Sustainable Economic Recovery in Indonesia. KnE Social Sciences, 621-631. https://doi.org/10.18502/kss.v8i12.13710

Farkas, X., & Bene, M. (2021). Images, politicians, and social media: Patterns and effects of politicians' image-based political communication strategies on social media. The international journal of press/politics, 26(1), 119-142. https://doi.org/10.1177/1940161220959553

Feeney, J. K. (2023). A dam, a park, and offsets: analyzing socio-ecological conflict in santander, colombia, through political ecology and galtung's conflict triangle. Journal of Political Ecology, 30(1). https://doi.org/10.2458/jpe.4685

Fernando, H., Galuh Larasati, Y., Abdullah, I., Jubba, H., Mugni, A., & Persadha, P. D. (2023). The de-existence of Islamic political parties in general elections: A case study of Indonesia as a Muslim-majority country. Cogent Social Sciences, 9(1), 2225838. https://doi.org/10.1080/23311886.2023.2225838

Galston, W. A. (2010). Realism in political theory. European Journal of Political Theory, 9(4), 385-411. https://doi.org/10.1177/1474885110374001

Guerrero, A. (2021). The epistemic case for non-electoral forms of democracy. In The routledge handbook of political epistemology (pp. 419-429). Routledge.

Guerrero, A. (2024). Lottocracy: Democracy Without Elections. Oxford University Press.

Ida, R., Saud, M., & Mashud, M. I. (2020). An empirical analysis of social media usage, political learning and participation among youth: a comparative study of Indonesia and Pakistan. Quality & Quantity, 54(4), 1285-1297. https://doi.org/10.1007/s11135-020-00985-9

Jafar, U., Aziz, M. J. A., & Shukur, Z. (2021). Blockchain for electronic voting system–review and open research challenges. Sensors, 21(17), 5874. https://doi.org/10.3390/s21175874

Kelly, K. S. (2020). *Fund raising and public relations: A critical analysis*. Routledge.

Kim, D. K. D., & Kreps, G. L. (2020). An analysis of government communication in the United States during the COVID-19 pandemic: recommendations for effective government health risk communication. World medical & health policy, 12(4), 398-412. https://doi.org/10.1002/wmh3.363

Mazya, T. M., Ridho, K., & Irfani, A. (2024). Religious and cultural diversity in Indonesia: Dynamics of acceptance and conflict in a multidimensional perspective. *International Journal of Current Science Research and Review*, *7*(7), 4932–4945.

McNair, B. (2017). *An introduction to political communication*. Routledge.

Mietzner, M. (2020). Authoritarian innovations in Indonesia: electoral narrowing, identity politics and executive illiberalism. Democratization, 27(6), 1021-1036. https://doi.org/10.1080/13510347.2019.1704266

Nubowo, A. (2023). Promoting Indonesian Moderate Islam on the Global Stage: Non-State Actors' Soft Power Diplomacy in the Post-New Order Era. *Muslim Politics Review*, *2*(2), 238–283.

Purwanto, A., Zuiderwijk, A., & Janssen, M. (2020). Citizen engagement with open government data: Lessons learned from Indonesia's presidential election. Transforming Government: People, Process and Policy, 14(1), 1-30. https://doi.org/10.1108/TG-06-2019-0051

Rakhmani, I., & Saraswati, M. S. (2021). Authoritarian populism in Indonesia: The role of the political campaign industry in engineering consent and coercion. Journal of Current Southeast Asian Affairs, 40(3), 436-460. https://doi.org/10.1177/18681034211027885

Rusfiana, Y., & Kurniasih, D. (2024). The Role of Civil Society Organizations in Promoting Social and Political Change in Indonesia. *Journal of Ethnic and Cultural Studies*, *11*(3), 187–207.

Sa'adah, M., Haruni, C. W., & Esfandiari, F. (2024). Implementation of Public Service Supervision Function in Government Agencies by the Ombudsman of The Republic of Indonesia. *Indonesia Law Reform Journal*, *4*(2), 130–145.

Strassler, K. (2020). Demanding images: Democracy, mediation, and the image-event in Indonesia. Duke University Press.

Sumarto, M. (2020). Insecurity and historical legacies in welfare regime change in Southeast Asia–Insights from Indonesia, Malaysia, and Thailand. Social Policy and Society, 19(4), 629-643. https://doi.org/10.1017/S1474746420000299

Tapsell, R. (2017). *Media power in Indonesia: oligarchs, citizens and the digital revolution*. Rowman & Littlefield.

Tapsell, R. (2020). 11 the media and democratic decline. Democracy in Indonesia: From Stagnation to Regression?, 210. https://doi.org/10.1355/9789814881524-016

Von Homeyer, I., Oberthür, S., & Jordan, A. J. (2021). EU climate and energy governance in times of crisis: Towards a new agenda. Journal of European Public Policy, 28(7), 959-979. https://doi.org/10.1080/13501763.2021.1918221

Yilmaz, I., & Barton, G. (2021). Political mobilisation of religious, chauvinist, and technocratic populists in Indonesia and their activities in cyberspace. Religions, 12(10), 822. https://doi.org/10.3390/rel12100822

Digital democracy: transforming political communication in Indonesia- doi: 10.25139/jsk.v9i1.9524
Widodo, S.

Ziblatt, D. (2017). *Conservative political parties and the birth of modern democracy in Europe*. Cambridge University Press.

Zhang, L., Zhang, Z., Wang, W., Jin, Z., Su, Y., & Chen, H. (2021). Research on a covert communication model realized by using smart contracts in blockchain environment. IEEE Systems Journal, 16(2), 2822-2833. https://doi.org/10.1109/JSYST.2021.3057333