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# Political Efficacy of Jokowi-Amin Political Marketing in Social Media in the Indonesia Presidential Election 2019 in Jabodetabek

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#### **ABSTRACT**

Marketing has become an important tool in building political relations. The use of internet technology in political marketing activities will function as a better way to improve the relationships that exist between political candidates and their supporters. During the 2019 presidential election campaign, pairs of presidential and vice-presidential candidates used social media as their campaign instrument. Jokowi-Amin incumbent team, which is now successfully elected as president and vice president, is no exception. This study aims to explore the influence of customers relationship building and visibility through political efficacy on political participation of young voters in Jabodetabek in the 2019 presidential election. The theory used is social capital theory (SCT). This research uses a quantitative approach, research data were analyzed using path analysis. The results showed that political parties or candidates were able to achieve political participation from young voters in Jabodetabek depending on how effectively they built relationships with young voters on social media but not by gaining visibility. In addition, research shows that the role of political efficacy as a mediating variable in increasing political participation applies only to visibility, but not to customer relationship building.

Keywords: political efficacy; political participation; social media; political marketing; young voters

#### INTRODUCTION

Over the last few years, marketing has become an important tool in building political relations (Iyer, 2017: 647). This is like the definition of political marketing according to Henneberg and O'Shaugnessy (in Anim, 2019: 806) that political marketing seeks to build, maintain and improve long-term voter relations for society with political parties, so that the goals of political actors, both individuals and the organizations involved can be met.

Hong and Dadler (in Anim 2019: 806) said that several times politicians and political parties around the world used social media to reach the masses. Without information and communication technology political parties have difficulty mobilizing their supporters and persuading voters to support them. Hence, it is not surprising today that social media is increasingly being used in political marketing.

The development of communication technology and the internet is very promising, the number of social media users is increasing, especially among the younger generation, which is getting bigger, on the other hand, it has made this sector a very lucrative market for those who know how to use it. One of them is the politicians when will jump into the elections to win the 2019 presidential and vice-presidential elections.

Like a research conducted by Anim (2019) in Ghana entitled "Mind the gap": to succeed in marketing politics, think of social media innovation, regarding the way political parties

change from time to time in reaching out to social media users, especially young voters. 18-21 years old during the 2012 presidential election. Social media plays an important role for supporters of the two leading political parties, the New Patriotic Party (NPP) and the National Democratic Congress (NDC). The results suggest that political parties or candidates are able to achieve the political participation of young voters in Ghana depending on how effective they are in building relationships with audiences or gaining visibility through social media. Social media is used in the political process primarily as a political marketing tool.

Gainous stated that social media has brought a revolution in creating a new paradigm in political communication and shifting the foundation of the political process itself. Dang-Xuan said that modern political democracies around the world have vigorously adopted social media platforms as powerful new media that can be used for their interests, especially during the election campaign process (Babac, 2017: 328).

Douglas Hagar in his research entitled Campaigning Online: Social Media in the 2010 Niagara Municipal Elections states that social media can contribute to political success. Candidates in an election can interact with potential voters with a scale and intensity that cannot be achieved through traditional campaign patterns such as door-to-door campaigns, brochures, even coverage by print and television media because of deep social media (Ardha, 2014: 109).

Harris said that a number of studies show the fallacy of the previous view that the younger generation is not interested in politics. On the other hand, the younger generation is the group that is considered the most concerned about various political issues (Morissan, 2016: 99).

By conducting searches on social media, young people can share political messages that have been disseminated on various platforms (Bachmann and de Zuniga, 2013). Current studies show that using the media for surveillance and information gathering has a positive impact on political participation (McLeod in Zuniga 2012: 321).

According to many researchers and scholars, with the advent of this new, interactive technology, the patterns of political engagement have undergone tremendous changes in the past decade. The use of the Internet, particularly social media by citizens, political parties and organizations can facilitate the widespread dissemination of political information, build new ways of online political participation and also change users' political attitudes and engagement (Kanagvel, 2014: 71).

Based on the phenomenon that has been described, researchers are interested in researching the success of political marketing on social media carried out by the Jokowi-Ma'ruf team in the 2019 Presidential Election.

Based on the background described above, the researcher formulates the main problems to be discussed, namely:

- 1) How is the effect of customer relationship building (CRB) on social media on the political participation of young voters in Jabodetabek?
- 2) How does visibility (V) on social media affect the political participation of young voters in Jabodetabek?
- 3) How is the influence of political efficacy (PE) which mediates customer relationship building (CRB) on social media on the political participation of young voters in Jabodetabek?
- 4) How is the influence of political efficacy (PE) which mediates visibility (V) on social media on the political participation of young voters in Jabodetabek?

Political marketing is a concept introduced from the dissemination of social ideas in the field of development by imitating commercial marketing methods, but the orientation is more at the level of awareness, attitude and behavior change to accept new things. This method of dissemination, seen from the context and orientation, is called "social marketing", which is substantially not much different from the terms of outreach, outreach and campaigning (Cangara, 2014: 224).

From the context of political activity, political marketing is the dissemination of information about candidates, parties and programs carried out by political actors (communicators) through certain communication channels aimed at certain segments (targets) with the aim of changing insights, knowledge, attitudes and the behavior of the prospective voters in accordance with the wishes of the information provider. It consists of a combination of the best elements of traditional approaches and the use of communication technology and marketing skills. The objectives of political marketing are not much different from the principles of commercial marketing, namely the planning and pricing process, promotion and dissemination of ideas, goods and services to create exchanges to meet individual satisfaction and organizational goals (David J. Rahman in Cangara, 2014: 225).

In its development, social media has become important as an effective means of the political communication process, especially in the context of the election campaign which can mediate between politicians and their constituents, namely between communicators and communicants remotely and are massive. Therefore, through social media, communicators can communicate politically with their supporters or constituents, namely to build or form public opinion and simultaneously mobilize massive political support.

The concept of political efficacy has played an important role in the study of political behavior and political socialization. Political efficacy is part of the concept of self-efficacy which is the context for the discussion of behavior specifically in the political field. The belief that a person can influence national political life requires him to be able to participate in the existing political system (internal efficacy) and the political system responds to the input / input he provides / does (external efficacy). The more specific political situational issues that individuals feel are in their competence, the greater the predictors of political behavior that are raised (Fitriah, 2014: 247).

Political efficacy variables in several studies found a significant relationship in political participation, including research by Cattelani (1996), Sharoni (2012) Matutulesy (2013), Muntean (2015) and Anim (2019). Furthermore, one of the studies that used the political efficacy variable as an intervening / mediating variable was a research conducted by Anim (2019) entitled "Mind the gap: to succeed in marketing politics, think of social media innovation". The results of his research show that political parties or candidates being able to achieve the political participation of young Ghanaian voters depending on how effective they are in establishing customer relationships or gaining visibility via social media. In addition, research shows that political efficacy mediates the relationship between customer relationship building and visibility through social media on the political participation of young voters in Ghana.

Some of the studies that the authors put forward earlier, this is a strong reason for the authors to use the political efficacy variable as an intervening / mediating variable in this study, none other than to see whether political efficacy is able to be a variable between mediating customer relationship building relationships and visibility through social media on participation. young voter politics in Greater Jakarta, Indonesia.

Theorell (in Morissan, 2016: 101) suggests a broader typology of political participation from Verba and Nie which includes the following five dimensions:

- 1) Electoral Participation (electoral participation), namely voting, including voting at the time of general elections.
- 2) Consumer participation, which includes activities to make donations for charity, boycotting or signing petitions and making political consumption, or in other words, consumer participation is the action of citizens as critical political consumers.
- Party activity, namely being an active member or supporter of a political party, doing voluntary work or donating money to a political party.
- Protest activity, which includes actions such as participating in demonstrations, strikes and other demonstration activities.
- 5) Contact activity, namely the act of contacting government organizations, politicians or government officials.

The essence of social capital theory is how to facilitate and involve the resources available to people through connections within and between social networks (Lin in Anim 2019: 807). However, one part of the literature emphasizes how people use accessible resources in their

personal network of contacts to achieve desired individual goals (Erickson in Anim, 2019: 807), while another emphasizes the use of networks for collective action including participation in groups. civil and political groups (Gil de Zuniga in Anim 2019: 807).

The application of social capital theory in this research is by looking at the networks that candidates build through the use of social media resources such as Facebook and Twitter.

Social media is an innovation that is considered a virtual resource that can help in political marketing because of its ability to build relationships. Thus, the social capital theory in this study highlights the dimensions of technology related to social network development in marketing political activities such as customer relationship building and visibility through political efficacy on social media, Facebook and Twitter to achieve political participation.

#### **METHOD**

This study uses a positivist paradigm, where social science is positioned the same as natural science as an organized method that combines deductive logic with empirical observations in order to probabilistically find confirmation of the law of cause and effect which can be used to predict general patterns of certain social symptoms (Sugiyono, 2011:42).

This research approach is quantitative in which this study tests a theory by specifying specific hypotheses, then collects data to support or refute these hypotheses (Cresswell 2013: 26-27).

The subjects in this study were young voters in the 2019 presidential election. Based on the estimates made by the Alvara Research Center from BPS data, they were aged 17-36 years (lokadata.id).

The population in this study were all young voters in Jabodetabek aged 17-36 years. The determination of the sample in this study was purposive sampling, namely sampling by including people who were selected on the basis of certain criteria made by the researcher based on the research objectives (Sugiyono, 2014: 81). The determination of the sample can be categorized into two types, namely the number of known population and the unknown population. In this study, the number of populations is not known with certainty, so the determination of the sample size of the population uses the theory developed from Isac Michael (Siregar Syofian, 2011), for the level with the following formula:

$$n = \frac{Z\alpha^2.\,p.\,q}{d^2}$$

$$n = \frac{(1.96)^2 x (0.5)(0.5)}{(0.05)^2}$$

n = 384.16 dibulatkan menjadi 384 sampel.

Information:

n = sample size

p= estimator of population proportion (if unknown is assumed to be 50%)

q = 1 - p (100% - p)

 $Z\alpha$  = Normal curve price which depends on alpha value ( $Z\alpha$  0.05 = 1.96)

d = Selected error tolerance (d = 0.05). So that a sample of 384 was obtained.

The operational definitions of the variables in this study are:

#### Independent Variable

(a) Customer Relationship Building (CRB) as a variable X1. Customers Relationship Building (CRB) is the process of building and managing relationships with existing and potential customers on social media. Greenberg (2010) states that CRM is an operational activity, a customer management approach that focuses on sales, marketing and customer service activities. CRB indicators are: collaborative conversation, increased interaction, communication and feedback (Anim, 2019: 809).

# (b) Visibilty (V) as variable X2

Quoted from Anim et al (2019), research with the concept of visibility has been done previously by Treem and Leonardi (2012). Visibility or visibility is the ability to create a brand with the aim of getting a public voice, creating awareness and presence in the audience. Through the use of social media, voters can access information more easily, and can build credible and trusting relationships about political parties and their candidates, thereby increasing political participation and collective action. As previously conducted by Anim, (2019: 809), the visibility indicators used in this study are the level of posts, statements, announcements, ratings and advertisements on social media.

# **Mediating Variable**

(a) Political Efficacy (PE) as an intervening variable (Z). According to Kushin and Yamanto political efficacy refers to an individual's belief that their actions can have an impact on the political process. Political efficacy is assessed by two dimensions, namely internal political efficacy and external political efficacy.

# Dependent Variable

(a) Political Participation (PP) as variable Y.

Political participation is defined as the personal activities of citizens that are carried out to influence government decisions, for example in this study, participation during elections. Here the researchers used 4 indicators adopted from the journal Anim (2019: 809) in political participants, namely: participating in political campaigns, becoming supporting members, seeking support for candidates, conducting political discussions.

The analysis technique used in this study, for all data calculations, the researcher used the IMB SPSS Statistic 21. The researcher conducted a validity test, a reliability test, a classical assumption test, namely the normality test, the multicollinearity test and the heteros-drasticity test. After that, multiple linear analysis is carried out, and the final hypothesis is tested, the path analysis.

# RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

The researcher first tested the validity and reliability of the respondent's questionnaire. The criteria used by researchers to test the validity are:

- 1. If rcount> r table, then the statement is declared valid
- 2. If r count <r table, then the statement is declared invalid.

Then compared with the value of r table is 0.361 which is based on a two-way significance level of 0.05 or 5%. Then the criteria for a research instrument are said to be reliable if the reliability coefficient is greater or equal to 0.6. After calculating using IMB spss 21 the test results of all the variables are declared valid and reliable.

# Classic assumption test

In the multiple regression analysis technique, the classical assumption test is used to ensure that the regression model does not occur with various deviations both for normality, multicollinearity and heteros-drasticity. After calculating using the IMB Statistic SPSS 21 the result is no deviation.

# **Results of Multiple Linear Regression Analysis Coefficientsa**

Model	Unstandardized Coefficients		S. Coefficients	Т	Sig.	Collinearity Statistics	
	В	Std. Error	Beta			Tolerance	VIF
	-2.912	1.279		-2.278	.023		
CRB	.540	.066	.440	8.144	.000	.491	2.036
V	450	.081	337	-5.573	.000	.391	2.559
PE	.872	.094	.551	9.226	.000	.401	2.495

(a) Dependent Variable: Political Participation (Y) Source: Primary data processing results, 2020

From the regression results obtained, the multiple regression equation is made as follows:

Y1 = b1X1 + b2X2 + b3Z1

Y1 = 0.440 X1 + (-) 0.337 X2 + 0.551Z1

The regression equation has the following meanings:

- 1) The regression coefficient of customers relationship building (X1) is positive at 0.440. This shows that customers relationship building has a positive and significant effect on political participation. This means that if customers relationship building on social media every 1 unit increase in the X1 variable (customers relationship building) will increase / affect political participation by 0.440.
- 2) The visibility regression coefficient (X2) is negative at 0.337. This shows that Visibility has a relationship that is in the opposite direction to Systematic Risk. This implies that every 1-unit increase / increase in visibility, the Political Participation variable (Y) will decrease by 0.337 with the assumption that the other independent variables of the regression model are fixed.
- 3) The regression coefficient for political efficacy (Z) is positive at 0.551. This shows political efficacy has a positive and significant effect on political participation. This implies that if political efficacy on social media, every 1 unit increase in the X1 variable (political efficacy) will increase / affect political participation by 0.551.

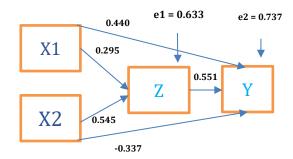
#### T test

The result of the T test states:

- 1) Customers Relationship Building (variable X1) on Political Participation (variable Y). It is known that t count is 8,144 and the Sig. amounting to 0,000. Because the value of t is greater than the value of t table and sig is less than 0.05, it can be concluded that customers relationship building has a positive and significant effect on political participation. (Ha = accepted; Ho = rejected).
- 2) Visibility (variable X2) on Political Participation (variable Y). It is known that it has a t count value of 5,573 which is negative, and a sig value of 0,000. Because the t value is smaller than the table value and the sig is less than 0.05, it can be concluded that the visibility value has a negative and significant effect on political participation. (Ha = rejected; Ho = accepted).

3) Political Efficacy (variable Z) on Political Participation (variable Y). It is known that the t count is 9.226 and the Sig. amounting to 0,000. Because the t value is greater than the t table value and the sig is less than 0.05, it can be concluded that political efficacy has a positive and significant effect on political participation. (Ha = accepted; Ho = rejected).

# Pathanalysis results



Based on the path diagram, the results of the path analysis can be explained that the value of XI to Y is 0.440, this value is obtained from the SPSS calculation, namely the Standardized Coefficients column for the customer relationship building variable. The value of X2 to Y of 0.337 is negative, as previously explained, this value is also obtained from the SPSS calculation, namely the Standardized Coefficients column for the Visibility variable. Then the Z value against Y is 0.551, this value is also obtained from the SPSS calculation, namely the Standardized Coefficients column for the political efficacy variable.

The Influence of Customer Relationship Building (CRB) on Political Participation (PP).

Based on the results of the analysis, it shows that customers relationship building has a positive and significant effect on the political participation of young voters in Jabodetabek in the 2019 presidential election. These results show that the presidential-cawapres candidates when building and managing a relationship with existing and potential voters on social media, especially Facebook and Twitter through its campaign team, the relationship that is built will increase the political participation of young voters in Jabodetabek. In accordance with social capital theory, Putnam said that working networks, social trust facilitates coordination and cooperation to get benefits (Syamni, 2010: 176). The intended benefit is political participation. This is in line with research conducted by Anim (2019) which explains that customers relationship building has a positive and significant effect on the political participation of young elections in Ghana.

This shows that in Ghana, especially for political parties, PLTN and NDC continue to build relationships and involve young voters through social media to increase participation in their political activities. This result is consistent with a similar study from Vitak et al. (2011) who found that social media activities related to the form of efforts to build relationships with customers in the sense that potential voters here have an effect on participation in certain activities.

The Effect of Visibility (V) on Political Participation (PP).

Based on the results of the analysis, it shows that visibility on social media has no significant effect on the political participation of young voters in Jabodetabek in the 2019 presidential election. This shows that efforts to make the cawapres presidential candidate (Jokowi-Ma'ruf) better known for the purpose of obtaining public votes and raising awareness are also effects audience attendance does little to create political participation. In normal conditions, visibility is able to affect political participation, but it turns out that when examined, young voters in Jabodetabek do not affect political participation. It can be said that the information about Jokowi-Ma'ruf in the 2019 presidential campaign which can be seen from the level of posts, comments, announcements, ratings and advertisements on social media does not cause awareness and attendance effects on young voters. This is contrary to research conducted by Anim et al. (2019) that visibility on social media has a significant and significant influence on the political participation of young voters in Ghana. The results of this study can be interpreted that political parties and candidate candidates in Ghana use social media platforms to gain visibility, this allows them to increasingly influence young voters in Ghana to participate in political activities. This finding is corroborated by the results of research stated by Jarvenpaa and Tuunainen (2013) which confirms that gaining visibility on social media platforms can influence voters.

The Influence of Customers Relationship Building through Political Efficacy on Political Participation.

Based on the results of the analysis, it shows that indirectly customers relationship building through political efficacy does not have a significant effect on political participation. In other words, in this study political efficacy cannot be a variable that mediates between customers relationship building and political participation. Without the role of political efficacy as a mediating variable, customers relationship building has a significant direct effect on political participation. This is like the concept of political efficacy which has played an important role in the study of political behavior and political socialization. Political efficacy is part of the concept of self-efficacy which is the context for discussion of behavior specifically in the political field. The belief that a person can influence national political life requires him to be able to participate in the existing political system (internal efficacy) and the political system responds to the input / input he provides / does (external efficacy). The more specific political situational issues that individuals feel are in their competence, the greater the predictors of political behavior that are raised (Fitriah, 2014: 247). In this case, young voters in Jabodetabek lack a sense of trust in politics, so no matter how strong the candidate campaign team builds relationships with young voters, if young voters do not have confidence in politics, the relationships built on social media have no effect on the political participation of young voters in Jabodetabek. This is different from the results of research conducted by Anim et al (2019), where customers relationship building mediated by political efficacy has an effect on the political participation of young voters in Ghana.

The Influence of Visibility through Political Efficacy on Political Participation

Based on the results of the analysis, it shows that without the role of political efficacy as a mediating variable, visibility does not have a significant effect on political participation, while indirectly visibility through political efficacy has a significant effect on political participation. In other words, in this study political efficacy can be a variable that mediates the visibility of political participation. Based on Kushin and Yamamoto (2010) political efficacy refers to the belief or belief that voters have that their actions can have an impact on the political process. Likewise, Velasquez and LaRose (2015) political efficacy is their own belief or belief in understanding politics, listening to and making political changes. The success of a democratic government depends on the political power they (politicians) have in convincing their citizens and also the competence of government in managing their citizens (Clarke in Yang and Jean, 2016: 4). So, although in this study the visibility that was created so that behavior change, the creation of voters' memories of the candidates, did not affect the political participation of young voters, but based on the trust and confidence the young voters had, it was able to create political participation. This is the same as the results of research conducted by Anim et al (2019), where visibility mediated by political efficacy has a significant and significant effect on the political participation of young voters in Ghana.

#### CONCLUSION

The conclusion of this study is that customers relationship building on social media has a positive and significant effect on the political participation of young voters in Jabodetabek, so that an increase in customers relationship building will increase the political participation of young voters. The implication is that when political candidates build good relationships on social media, Facebook and Twitter, with young voters in Jabodetabek, this will create political participation.

Visibility on social media does not have a significant effect on the political participation of young voters, so that any increase in visibility will reduce the political participation of young voters. The implication is that the younger generation in Jabodetabek when receiving political information is not very interested so as not to create political participation. This can be a consideration for politicians to consider more interesting and quality content so that the younger generation can be more interested in receiving messages or information about politics, especially during the campaign period.

Indirectly, customers relationship building on social media through political efficacy does not have a significant effect on the political participation of young voters in Jabodetabek in the 2019 Presidential Election. So it can be concluded that political efficacy cannot be used as a variable that mediates between customers relationship building on the political participation of young voters. The implication is that no matter how strong the relationships built by political parties or political candidates are to young voters in Jabodetabek through social media, Facebook and Twitter, if they do not have confidence in politics it will not create political participation.

Indirectly, visibility on social media through political efficacy has a significant effect on the political participation of young voters in Jabodetabek in the 2019 Presidential Election. So, it can be concluded that political efficacy is a variable that mediates between visibility on the political participation of young voters. The implication is that the political belief held by young voters is able to influence an

create political participation from them. The role of political trust that young voters have largely determines their participation. For this reason, it is important for politicians to convince prospective voters, especially young voters, because the success of a democratic government depends on the political power they (politicians) have in convincing their citizens, and also the government's competence in managing its citizens.

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