

DAFTAR PUSTAKA

- Abidin, Z. (2018). Blusukan di Pasar Tanah Merah, Khofifah Siap Perbaiki Pasar Tradisional. Suarasurabaya; Suara Surabaya.
<https://www.suarasurabaya.net/road-to-grahadi/2018/Blusukan-di-Pasar-Tanah-Merah-Khofifah-Siap-Perbaiki-Pasar-Tradisional/>
- Achir, A. B. (2024). STRATEGI KAMPANYE IKLAN POLITIK PASANGAN PRABOWO SUBIANTO – GIBRAN RAKABUMING RAKA PADA PEMILIHAN UMUM 2024 SUATU KAJIAN MEDIA IKLAN TELEVISI. Jurnal Review Pendidikan Dan Pengajaran, 7(4), 13271–13279.
<https://doi.org/10.31004/jrpp.v7i4.34342>
- Agárdi, I., & Alt, M. A. (2022). Do digital natives use mobile payment differently than digital immigrants? A comparative study between generation X and Z. Electronic Commerce Research, 24, 1463–1490.
<https://doi.org/10.1007/s10660-022-09537-9>
- Ahearn, C. E., Brand, J. E., & Zhou, X. (2022). How, and for Whom, Does Higher Education Increase Voting? Research in Higher Education, 64(4), 574–597.
<https://doi.org/10.1007/s11162-022-09717-4>
- Ahmed, M. A., Lodhi, S. A., & Ahmad, Z. (2017). Political Brand Equity Model: The Integration of Political Brands in Voter Choice. Journal of Political Marketing, 16(2), 147–179. <https://doi.org/10.1080/15377857.2015.1022629>
- Alvin, S. (2019). Manajemen Citra Politik Prabowo Subianto Dan Sandiaga Uno Melalui Akun @Prabowo Dan @Sandiuno. KOMUNIKA: Jurnal Dakwah Dan Komunikasi, 13(2), 229–247. <https://doi.org/10.24090/komunika.v13i2.2538>
- Antara Foto. (2024). Aksi senam gemoy pendukung Prabowo-Gibran. Antarafoto.com; ANTARA Foto. <https://www.antarafoto.com/id/view/2141652/aksi-senam-gemoy-pendukung-prabowo-gibran>

- Ardiani, D., Kartini, D. S., & Herdiansyah, A. G. (2019). Strategi Sosialisasi Politik oleh KPU Kabupaten Ngawi untuk Membentuk Pemilih Pemula yang Cerdas dalam Pemilihan Gubernur dan Wakil Gubernur Jawa Timur Tahun 2018 di Kabupaten Ngawi. *Jurnal Socius: Journal of Sociology Research and Education*, 6(1), 18. <https://doi.org/10.24036/scs.v6i1.129>
- Ardiansyah, M. R. N., Ariesta, D. R., Hariroh, S. Q., Antika, S. A., Maharani, S. D., & Nafi'ah, B. A. (2024). Analisis Voting Behavior Gen-Z pada Pemilu 2024 dan Pengaruh Terwujudnya Visi Indonesia Emas 2045: Stud. Arus Jurnal Sosial Dan Humaniora, 4(2), 390–408. <https://doi.org/10.57250/ajsh.v4i2.401>
- Aspinall, E., & Mietzner, M. (2014). Indonesian Politics in 2014: Democracy's Close Call. *Bulletin of Indonesian Economic Studies*, 50(3), 347–369. <https://doi.org/10.1080/00074918.2014.980375>
- Aspinall, E., & Sukmajati, M. (2015). Politik Uang di Indonesia: Patronase dan Klientelisme pada Pemilu Legislatif 2014 (Pertama, pp. 1–562). Penerbit PolGov. <https://polgov.fisipol.ugm.ac.id/wp-content/uploads/sites/1667/2022/02/politik-uang-di-indonesia.pdf>
- Aulia, D. D. (2023). Gen Z Komentari Penampilan Prabowo di UGM, Warganet: Gemas Suaramu Pak. Detiknews. <https://news.detik.com/pemilu/d-6941432/gen-z-komentari-penampilan-prabowo-di-ugm-warganet-gemas-suaramu-pak>
- Azmi, K., Astuti, P., & Fitriyah. (2016). Perilaku Memilih Pemilih Pennula Masyarakat Kendal pada Pemilihan Umum Presiden dan Wakil Presiden Tahun 2014. *Journal of Politic and Government Studies*, 5(3), 362–370. <https://ejournal3.undip.ac.id/index.php/jpgs/article/view/12441>

Azwar, S. (2017). Metode Penelitian Psikologis (2nd ed., pp. 1–250). Pustaka Pelajar.

(Original work published 2017)

Badan Pusat Statistik. (2013a). Muslim population in Indonesia in 2010, by age group (in millions) [Graph]. Dalam Statista. Diakses pada 5 Maret 2025, dari <https://www.statista.com/statistics/1560275/indonesia-muslim-population-by-age-group/>

Badan Pusat Statistik. (2013b). Catholic population in Indonesia in 2010, by age group (in 1,000s) [Graph]. Dalam Statista. Diakses pada 5 Maret 2025, dari <https://www.statista.com/statistics/1560279/indonesia-catholic-population-by-age-group/>

Badan Pusat Statistik. (2013c). Protestant population in Indonesia in 2010, by age group (in 1,000s) [Graph]. Dalam Statista. Diakses pada 5 Maret 2025, dari <https://www.statista.com/statistics/1560278/indonesia-protestant-population-by-age-group/>

Badan Pusat Statistik. (2013d). Hindu population in Indonesia in 2010, by age group (in 1,000s) [Graph]. Dalam Statista. Diakses pada 5 Maret 2025, dari <https://www-statista-com.ezproxy.ugm.ac.id/statistics/1560280/indonesia-hindu-population-by-age-group/>

Badan Pusat Statistik. (2013e). Buddhist population in Indonesia in 2010, by age group (in 1,000s) [Graph]. Dalam Statista. Diakses pada 5 Maret 2025, dari <https://www.statista.com/statistics/1560282/indonesia-buddhist-population-by-age-group/>

Badan Pusat Statistik. (2013f). Confucian population in Indonesia in 2010, by age group (in 1,000s) [Graph]. Dalam Statista. Diakses pada 5 Maret 2025, dari

<https://www.statista.com/statistics/1560286/indonesia-confucian-population-by-age-group/>

Badan Pusat Statistik. (2023). Share of Indonesian population over 15 years old in 2023, by highest education level [Graph]. Dalam Statista. Diakses pada 6 Februari 2025, dari <https://www-statista-com.ezproxy.ugm.ac.id/statistics/1298842/indonesia-share-of-population-by-highest-education-level/>

Badan Pusat Statistik. (2024a) Average net monthly income of rural casual workers in Indonesia as of February 2024, by age group (in 1,000 Indonesian rupiah). Dalam Statista. Diakses pada 6 Februari 2025, dari <https://www-statista-com.ezproxy.ugm.ac.id/study/102516/demographics-of-indonesia/>

Badan Pusat Statistik. (2024b) Average net monthly income of urban casual workers in Indonesia as of February 2024, by age group (in 1,000 Indonesian rupiah). Dalam Statista. Diakses pada 6 Februari 2025, dari <https://www-statista-com.ezproxy.ugm.ac.id/study/102516/demographics-of-indonesia/>

Badan Pusat Statistik. (2024c). Jumlah Penduduk Menurut Kelompok Umur dan Jenis Kelamin, 2023 [Graph]. Dalam BPS. Diakses pada 5 Maret 2025, dari <https://www.bps.go.id/id/statistics-table/3/WVc0MGEyMXBkVFUxY25KeE9HdDZkbTQzWkVkb1p6MDkjMw==/jumlah-penduduk-menurut-kelompok-umur-dan-jenis-kelamin--2023.html>

Badan Pusat Statistik. (2024d). Jumlah Penduduk menurut Kelompok Umur, Daerah Perkotaan/Perdesaan, Kewarganegaraan, dan Jenis Kelamin, INDONESIA, 2022 [Graph]. Dalam BPS. Diakses pada 5 Maret 2025, dari <https://sensus.bps.go.id/topik/tabular/sp2022/143/0/0>

Badan Pusat Statistik. (2024e). Jumlah Perguruan Tinggi, Dosen, dan Mahasiswa

(Negeri dan Swasta) di Bawah Kementerian Pendidikan, Kebudayaan, Riset, dan Teknologi Menurut Provinsi, 2022 [Graph]. Dalam BPS. Diakses pada 5 Maret 2025, dari <https://www.bps.go.id/id/statistics-table/3/Y21kVGRHNXZVME13S3pCR1IyMHJRbnB1WkVZemR6MDkjMw==/jumlah-perguruan-tinggi1--dosen--dan-mahasiswa2--negeri-dan-swasta--di-bawah-kementerian-pendidikan--kebudayaan--riset--dan-teknologi-menurut-provinsi--2022.html>

Bartels, L. M. (2010). The Study of Electoral Behavior. In J. E. Leighley (Ed.), *The Oxford Handbook of American Elections and Political Behavior* The Oxford Handbook of American Elections and Political Behavior (pp. 239–261). Oxford University Press.

<https://doi.org/10.1093/oxfordhb/9780199235476.003.0014>

Basu, S. (2004). E-government and developing countries: an overview. *International Review of Law, Computers & Technology*, 18(1), 109–132.

<https://doi.org/10.1080/13600860410001674779>

BBC Indonesia. (2019). Prabowo: Bayang-bayang isu pelanggaran HAM dan mengapa kembali ikut pilpres - BBC News Indonesia. BBC.

<https://www.bbc.com/indonesia/indonesia-47436153>

Bennett, S. E. (1973). Consistency Among the Public's Social Welfare Policy Attitudes in the 1960s. *American Journal of Political Science*, 17(3), 544.

<https://doi.org/10.2307/2110744>

Berelson, B. R., Lazarsfeld, P. F., & Mcphee, W. N. (1954). *Voting: a study of opinion formation in a presidential campaign*. University of Chicago Press.

Bhatti, Y., & Hansen, K. M. (2012). Leaving the Nest and the Social Act of Voting:

Turnout among First-Time Voters. *Journal of Elections, Public Opinion &*

Parties, 22(4), 380–406. <https://doi.org/10.1080/17457289.2012.721375>

Buchholz, K. (2024). Infographic: The World’s Biggest Democracies. Statista.

<https://www.statista.com/chart/31744/biggest-democracies/>

Burmann, C., Schaefer, K., & Maloney, P. (2008). Industry image: Its impact on the

brand image of potential employees. *Journal of Brand Management*, 15(3),

157–176. <https://doi.org/10.1057/palgrave.bm.2550112>

Campbell, A., Converse, P. E., Miller, W. E., & Stokes, D. E. (1960). *The American*

voter. John Wiley & Sons.

CAVR. (2013). *Chega! The Final of the Timor-Leste Commission for Reception, Truth*

and Reconciliation (CAVR) (1st ed., Vol. 1, pp. 1–3128). Jakarta.

CNN Indonesia. (2023). Aksi Senam “Gemoy” Bentuk Dukungan untuk Prabowo.

YouTube. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=D-4YkNWThXY>

Costa, F. M. L. (2024). Dugaan Kampanye dan Politik Uang Marak Terjadi Jelang

Pencoblosan. Kompas.id; Kompas.

[https://www.kompas.id/baca/polhuk/2024/02/14/dugaan-kampanye-dan-](https://www.kompas.id/baca/polhuk/2024/02/14/dugaan-kampanye-dan-politik-uang-marak-terjadi-jelang-pencoblosan)

[politik-uang-marak-terjadi-jelang-pencoblosan](https://www.kompas.id/baca/polhuk/2024/02/14/dugaan-kampanye-dan-politik-uang-marak-terjadi-jelang-pencoblosan)

Creswell, J. W. (2014). *Research design: Qualitative, quantitative, and mixed methods*

approaches (4th ed.). Sage Publications Ltd.

Daherman, Y., Shasrini, T., & Setiawan, H. (2020). PENGARUH PARTISIPASI

CYBER ARMY DAN PERUBAHAN BUDAYA MEDIA SOSIAL

TERHADAP KEBERADAAN BUDAYA MELAYU RIAU. *Komunida:*

Media Komunikasi Dan Dakwah, 10(2), 197–216.

- DasGupta, K., & Sarkar, S. (2021). Linking political brand image and voter perception in India : A political market orientation approach. *Journal of Public Affairs*, 22(S1), 1–13. <https://doi.org/10.1002/pa.2751>
- Delgado-Ballester, E., & Munuera-Alemán, J. L. (2005). Does Brand Trust Matter to Brand equity? *Journal of Product & Brand Management*, 14(3), 187–196. <https://doi.org/10.1108/10610420510601058>
- Dewi, C. N. K. (2024). ANALISIS PENGARUH TINGKAT PENDIDIKAN TERHADAP KESADARAN PARTISIPASI POLITIK PEMILIH MUDA DALAM PEMILIHAN KEPALA DAERAH TAHUN 2020 DI KOTA SURAKARTA [Skripsi].
- Dimock, M. (2019). Defining generations: Where Millennials end and Generation Z begins. Pew Research Center. <https://www.pewresearch.org/short-reads/2019/01/17/where-millennials-end-and-generation-z-begins/>
- Douglas, A. C., Mills, J. E., & Phelan, K. V. (2010). Smooth Sailing?: Passengers’ Assessment of Cruise Brand Equity. *Journal of Travel & Tourism Marketing*, 27(7), 649–675. <https://doi.org/10.1080/10548408.2010.519300>
- Downs, A. (1957). *An economic theory of democracy*. Harper & Row.
- Dwidienawati, D., & Gandasari, D. (2018). Understanding Indonesia’s Generation Z. *International Journal of Engineering & Technology*, 7(3.25), 245–252.
- Dwipayana, A. A. (2009). Demokrasi Biaya Tinggi: Dimensi Ekonomi dalam Proses Demokrasi Elektoral di Indonesia Pasca Orde Baru. *Jurnal Ilmu Sosial Dan Ilmu Politik*, 12(3), 257–390. <https://media.neliti.com/media/publications/37752-EN-demokrasi-biaya-tinggi-dimensi-ekonomi-dalam-proses-demokrasi-elektoral-di-indon.pdf>

- Ermaya, B. S. (2020). PERILAKU POLITIK TRANSAKSIONAL DAN BIAYA TINGGI DALAM PEMILIHAN KEPALA DAERAH DI INDONESIA. *Jurnal Keadilan Pemilu*, 1(2), 51–60. <https://doi.org/10.55108/jkp.v1i2.171>
- Fernandes, A., Suryahudaya, E. G., & Okthariza, N. (2023). Pemilih Muda Dalam Pemilihan Umum 2024: Dinamis, Adaptif dan Responsif (pp. 1–12). Centre for Strategic and International Studies.
<https://www.csis.or.id/publication/pemilih-muda-dalam-pemilihan-umum-2024-dinamis-adaptif-dan-responsif/>
- Fiorina, M. P. (1981). *Retrospective voting in American national elections*. Yale University Press.
- Fokus Indosiar. (2024). Gibran Hadiri Senam Gemoy di Sragen dan Lakukan Dialog dengan Karang Taruna hingga Petani | Fokus. YouTube.
<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Uh5jBjee2lo>
- French, A., & Smith, G. (2010). Measuring political brand equity: a consumer oriented approach. *European Journal of Marketing*, 44(3/4), 460–477.
<https://doi.org/10.1108/03090561011020534>
- Gewiese & Rau. (2023). *Consumer Insights: Gen Z/Generation Z in Indonesia*. [Report]. Dalam Statista. Diakses pada 6 Februari 2025 dari <https://www-statista-com.ezproxy.ugm.ac.id/study/125116/gen-z-generation-z-in-indonesia/>
- Ghozali, I. (2018). *Aplikasi analisis multivariate dengan program IBM SPSS 25 edisi ke-9 (9th ed.)*. Universitas Diponegoro.
- Gidengil, E., Wass, H., & Valaste, M. (2016). Political Socialization and Voting. *Political Research Quarterly*, 69(2), 373–383.
<https://doi.org/10.1177/1065912916640900>

Ginasari, W., Firmansyah, Pamungkas, Y. R. P., & Sukandar, N. H. T. (2024). Strategi

Komunikasi Paslon Prabowo Gibran dalam Meningkatkan Kesadaran dan Partisipasi Gen Z dan Milenial dalam Pemilu 2024. *Determinasi: Jurnal Ekonomi Manajemen Dan Akuntansi*, 2(1), 48–56.

Hafidh, Jannah, S. R., & Jauhari, M. (2024). Strategi Komunikasi Politik “Nyantri”

Prabowo Subianto dalam Memenangkan Pilpres 2024. *Jurnal Riset Komunikasi*, 7(2), 262–277. <https://doi.org/10.38194/jurkom.v7i2.1041>

Hakim, L., & Hakim, I. (2024). Preferences and Behaviour of Gen Z Voters in the 2024

Indonesian Presidential Election. *Jurnal Aristo (Social, Politic, Humaniora)*, 12(3), 796–807.

<https://journal.umpo.ac.id/index.php/aristo/article/download/LHAH/3476>

Harari, T. T., Sela, Y., & Bareket-Bojmel, L. (2022). Gen Z during the COVID-19

crisis: a comparative analysis of the differences between Gen Z and Gen X in resilience, values and attitudes. *Current Psychology*, 42, 24223–24232.

<https://doi.org/10.1007/s12144-022-03501-4>

Havivah, N. (2017). PENGARUH TINGKAT PENDIDIKAN TERHADAP

PERILAKU PEMILIH PADA PEMILIHAN BUPATI MADINA 2015 DI

DESA SINGKUANG KECAMATAN MUARA BATANG GADIS

KABUPATEN MANDAILING NATAL [Skripsi].

Heriyanto, D., Utomo, W. P., Pasaman, K. A., Rizka, M. T., Hutauruk, Y. G., &

Yulianti, F. (2024). Indonesia Gen Z Report 2024: Understanding and

Uncovering the Behavior, Challenges, and Opportunities. In *IDN Times* (pp.

1–97). IDN Research Institute. <https://cdn.idntimes.com/content->

[documents/indonesia-gen-z-report-2024.pdf](https://cdn.idntimes.com/content-documents/indonesia-gen-z-report-2024.pdf)

Heywood, A. (2002). *Politics* (Kedua). Palgrave Macmillan. (Original work published 1997)

Hill, D. T., & Sen, K. (2000). The Internet in Indonesia's new democracy. *Democratization*, 7(1), 119–136. <https://doi.org/10.1080/13510340008403648>

Hinduan, Z. R., Anggraeni, A., & Agia, M. I. (2020a). Generation Z in Indonesia: The Self-Driven Digital. In E. Gentina & E. Parry (Eds.), *he New Generation Z in Asia: Dynamics, Differences, Digitalisation (The Changing Context of Managing People)*,. Emerald Publishing Limited.

Hinduan, Z. R., Anggraeni, A., & Agia, M. I. (2020b). Generation Z in Indonesia: The Self-Driven Digital. In E. Gentina & E. Parry (Eds.), *he New Generation Z in Asia: Dynamics, Differences, Digitalisation (The Changing Context of Managing People)*,. Emerald Publishing Limited.

Hu, S. (2024). The Psychological Impact of Social Media on Gen Z. *Interdisciplinary Humanities and Communication Studies*, 1(5), 1–5.
<https://doi.org/10.61173/4aqek196>

Hutajulu, M. A. (2023). Prabowo Makan Siang dengan Raffi-Nagita hingga Fuji, Foto Bareng Cipung. *Detiknews*. <https://news.detik.com/pemilu/d-7063973/prabowo-makan-siang-dengan-raffi-nagita-hingga-fuji-foto-bareng-cipung>

Ibrahim, G. M. (2024). Jejak Ridwan Kamil Blusukan ke 500 Titik Selama Kampanye Pilkada Jakarta. *Detiknews; detikcom*. <https://news.detik.com/pilkada/d-7652799/jejak-ridwan-kamil-blusukan-ke-500-titik-selama-kampanye-pilkada-jakarta>

Imansyah, N. (2024). Prabowo-Gibran gencarkan jalan sehat “gemoy” di Lombok Timur. *Antara News Mataram*.

<https://mataram.antaranews.com/berita/324093/prabowo-gibran-gencarkan-jalan-sehat-gemoy-di-lombok-timur>

International Monetary Fund (2023). Indonesia: Total population from 2019 to 2029 (in million inhabitants) Dalam Statista. Diakses pada 6 Februari 2025, dari <https://www-statista-com.ezproxy.ugm.ac.id/study/102516/demographics-of-indonesia/>

Ipang Wahid Stratejik. (2024). The Art of Perception Engineering.

<https://drive.google.com/file/d/1SYHvYLZxjHXNpHMmAyUJB6aPjSyfH-fA/view>

Irawan, W., & Pradana, A. (2024). Bawaslu Surabaya terima dua laporan dugaan politik uang. Antara News; ANTARA.

<https://doi.org/1000263835.jpg.webp%20360w>

Islamy, M. L. (2020). JOKOWI: PRESIDEN MILENIAL (?) Studi Deskriptif: Korelasi Rebranding Persona Politik Milenial Jolow melalui #JKWVLOG dengan Preferensi Politik Mahasiswa Pemilih Pemula Universitas Gadjah Mada di Pipres 2019 (pp. 1–199) [Thesis].

JakPat. (2023). Living arrangements of Generation Z in Indonesia as of November 2023 [Graph]. Dalam Statista. Diakses pada 6 Februari 2025, dari <https://www-statista-com.ezproxy.ugm.ac.id/statistics/1471072/indonesia-living-arrangements-of-gen-z/>

Jurnal Sukabumi. (2023). Gelar Senam “Gemoy”, Hergun: Berpolitik Riang Gembira, Prabowo Menang 75 Persen di Sukabumi. Jurnal Sukabumi.
<https://jurnalsukabumi.com/2023/12/02/gelar-senam-gemoy-hergun-berpolitik-riang-gembira-prabowo-menang-75-persen-di-sukabumi/>

Keller, K. L. (1993). Conceptualizing, Measuring, and Managing Customer-Based Brand Equity. *Journal of Marketing*, 57(1), 1–22.

<https://doi.org/10.1177/002224299305700101>

Key, V. O. (1966). *The Responsible Electorate: Rationality in Presidential Voting 1939-1960*. Vintage.

Khalwani, A. R. D. (2024). Ribuan Warga Ikuti Jalan Sehat dan Senam Gemoy Prabowo-Gibran di Lumajang. *Berita Satu*.

<https://www.beritasatu.com/bersatu-kawal-pemilu/2797828/ribuan-warga-ikuti-jalan-sehat-dan-senam-gemoy-prabowo-gibran-di-lumajang>

Khaq, I. S., & Wulandari, L. (2024). FRAMING AND SENTIMENT ANALYSIS OF GERINDRA PARTY POLITICAL COMMUNICATION ON TWITTER (X) TOWARDS THE 2024 ELECTIONS. *Jurnal Wacana Politik*, 8(1), 1–10.

<https://doi.org/10.24198/jwp.v8i1.51967>

Khatib, F. S. (2012). Factors affecting success of political marketing: a Jordanian electorate point of view. *Journal of Economic and Administrative Sciences*, 28(1), 4–27. <https://doi.org/10.1108/10264111211218496>

Kompas. (2024a). Results of the presidential election in Indonesia in March 2024 [Graph]. Statista. <https://www.statista.com/statistics/1450946/indonesia-2024-presidential-election-result/>

Kompas. (2024b). Share of registered voters for the 2024 national elections in Indonesia, by generation [Graph]. Statista. <https://www.statista.com/statistics/1451084/indonesia-registered-2024-election-voters-by-generation/>

Kramer, G. H. (1971). Short-Term Fluctuations in U.S. Voting Behavior, 1896–1964.

American Political Science Review, 65(1), 131–143.

<https://doi.org/10.2307/1955049>

Kudrnáč, A., & Lyons, P. (2017). Parental Example as a Motivation for Turnout among Youths. *Political Studies*, 65(1), 43–63.

<https://doi.org/10.1177/0032321716644614>

Kulau, F. (2024). Tiktok, Instagram and Presidential Election: A Study to Understand How Politainment in Indonesian Political Campaigns 2024. *Informasi*, 54(2), 164–176. <https://doi.org/10.21831/%20informasi.v54i2.77889>

Kurniawan, I. (2024). Strategi Marketing Politik dan Personal Branding Prabowo Subianto dalam Pemilu Presiden 2024. *Ikon Jurnal Ilmiah Ilmu Komunikasi*, 29(1), 68–80. <https://doi.org/10.37817/ikon.v29i1.3739>

Lamb, K., Potkin, F., & Teresia, A. (2024). Generative AI may change elections this year. Indonesia shows how. Reuters.

<https://www.reuters.com/technology/generative-ai-faces-major-test-indonesia-holds-largest-election-since-boom-2024-02-08/>

Larsson, A. O., Tønnesen, H., Magin, M., & Skogerbø, E. (2024). Calls to (what kind of?) action: A framework for comparing political actors' campaign strategies across social media platforms. *New Media & Society*, 1–22.

<https://doi.org/10.1177/14614448241229156>

Lazarsfeld, P. F., Berelson, B., & Gaudet, H. (1944). *PEOPLE'S CHOICE : how the voter makes up his mind in a presidential campaign*. Columbia University Press.

Lembaga Survei Indonesia. (2024a). Survei Nasional Elektabilitas, Pengaruh Debat, dan Migrasi Suara. In LSI (pp. 1–61). <https://www.lsi.or.id/post/rilis-lsi-20-januari-2024>

Lembaga Survei Indonesia. (2024b). Voting intention for the 2024 presidential election in Indonesia as of January 2024, by age group [Graph]. Statista.

<https://www.statista.com/statistics/1450918/indonesia-voting-intention-for-2024-presidential-election-by-age/>

Mahsud, N. H. K., & Amin, H. (2020). Theoretical Approaches to the Study of Voting Behaviour: A Comparative Analysis. *SJESR*, 3(3), 65–73.

[https://doi.org/10.36902/sjesr-vol3-iss3-2020\(65-73\)](https://doi.org/10.36902/sjesr-vol3-iss3-2020(65-73))

Mantalean, V., & Prabowo, D. (2024). TKN Sebut Peserta Kampanye Prabowo-Gibran di GBK Lebih Banyak dari Perkiraan Halaman all - Kompas.com. Kompas.

<https://nasional.kompas.com/read/2024/02/10/12310921/tnk-sebut-peserta-kampanye-prabowo-gibran-di-gbk-lebih-banyak-dari-perkiraan?page=all>

Mao, F. (2024). Prabowo Subianto: The tainted ex-military chief who will be Indonesia's new leader. *Www.bbc.com*. <https://www.bbc.com/news/world-asia-68237141>

Maulina, P., & Muttaqin, M. (2020). CITRA POLITIK PRABOWO-SANDI DALAM PEMILIHAN PRESIDEN (PILPRES) 2019 DI AKUN MEDIA SOSIAL

INSTAGRAM. *Interaksi: Jurnal Ilmu Komunikasi*, 9(1), 40–50.

<https://doi.org/10.14710/interaksi.9.1.40-50>

Medcom ID. (2018). Viktor Laiskodat Blusukan ke Manggarai Barat. Medcom ID.

<https://video.medcom.id/election-update/VNnRaWvN-viktor-laiskodat-blusukan-ke-manggarai-barat>

Metro TV. (2024a). Emak-Emak Hadiri Senam Gemoy Prabowo-Gibran di Lebak.

YouTube. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=IX34WOY45Ko>

Metro TV. (2024b). Relawan Prabowo Gibran Gelar Senam Gemoy di Jepara.

YouTube. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=9g4rgf66O-0>

Mietzner, M. (2015). Reinventing Asian Populism: Jokowi's Rise, Democracy, and Political Contestation in Indonesia. Institute of Southeast Asian Studies.

Mubarrod, R., & Syarwi, P. (2024). Marketing politik jelang Pemilu 2024 "Desak Anies", "Prabowo Gemoy", dan "Ganjar Nginap di Rumah Warga".. *Jurnal Communitarian*, 5(2), 893–904. <http://dx.doi.org/10.56985/jc.v5i2.492>

Mujani, S., Liddle, R. W., & Ambardi, K. (2012). Kuasa Rakyat: Analisis tentang Perilaku Memilih dalam Pemilihan Legislatif dan Presiden Indonesia Pasca-Orde Baru (Pertama). Mizan Publika.

Mujani, S., Liddle, R. W., & Ambardi, K. (2018). Voting behavior in Indonesia since democratization : critical democrats. Cambridge University Press.

Muzayyin, A. H. (2018). Kedubes AS: Prabowo dan Soeharto Terlibat Penculikan Aktivis. CNN Indonesia.

<https://www.cnnindonesia.com/nasional/20180725203102-32->

[317018/kedubes-as-prabowo-dan-soeharto-terlibat-penculikan-aktivis](https://www.cnnindonesia.com/nasional/20180725203102-32-317018/kedubes-as-prabowo-dan-soeharto-terlibat-penculikan-aktivis)

Nadeak, F. S. H., & Nabila. (2024). ANALYSIS OF THE PRABOWO-GIBRAN CAMPAIGN MODEL IN THE 2024 PRESIDENTIAL AND VICE PRESIDENTIAL ELECTIONS. *Sociae Polites*, 25(1), 33–49.

<https://doi.org/10.33541/sp.v25i1.5862>

NapoleonCat. (2025). Share of Instagram users in Indonesia as of December 2024, by age group [Graph]. Dalam Statista. Diakses pada 6 Februari 2025, dari

<https://www-statista-com.ezproxy.ugm.ac.id/statistics/1078350/share-of-instagram-users-by-age-indonesia/>

- Needham, C., & Smith, G. (2015). Introduction: Political Branding. *Journal of Political Marketing*, 14(1-2), 1–6. <https://doi.org/10.1080/15377857.2014.990828>
- Niantiara, A. (2022). Analisis Pemanfaatan Key Opinion Leader (KOL) oleh Batagor Acan sebagai Strategi Marketing Public Relations (MPR) di Instagram. *Jurnal Representamen*, 8(2), 1–13. <https://doi.org/10.30996/representamen.v8i2.7203>
- Nie, N. H., Petrocik, J. R., & Verba, S. (1979). *The changing American voter*. Harvard University Press.
- Nielsen, S. W. (2015). On Political Brands: A Systematic Review of the Literature. *Journal of Political Marketing*, 16(2), 118–146. <https://doi.org/10.1080/15377857.2014.959694>
- Nielsen, S. W. (2016). Measuring Political Brands: An Art and a Science of Mapping the Mind. *Journal of Political Marketing*, 15(1), 70–95. <https://doi.org/10.1080/15377857.2014.959682>
- Norris, P. (2011). *Democratic Deficit*. Cambridge University Press.
- Olivia, S., Gibson, J., & Nasrudin, R. (2020). Indonesia in the Time of Covid-19. *Bulletin of Indonesian Economic Studies*, 56(2), 143–174. <https://doi.org/10.1080/00074918.2020.1798581>
- Pelleng, E. S. (2022). PENGARUH TINGKAT PENDIDIKAN TERHADAP PERILAKU PEMILIH PADA PEMILIHAN ANGGOTA DPRD DI DESA DODAP KABUPATEN BOLAANG MONGONDOW TIMUR TAHUN 2019. *Journal Lyceum*, 9(1), 15–24. <http://unpi.ac.id/ejournal/index.php/lyceum/article/view/74/66>

Pich, C., & Newman, B. I. (2019). Evolution of Political Branding: Typologies, Diverse Settings and Future Research. *Journal of Political Marketing*, 19(1), 3–14.

<https://doi.org/10.1080/15377857.2019.1680932>

Politik, N. (2018). Herman Deru Blusukan di Kabupaten Muara Enim. *Kumparan*.

<https://kumparan.com/ulumi-salam/herman-deru-blusukan-di-kabupaten-muara-enim>

Pomper, G. M. (1972). From Confusion to Clarity: Issues and American Voters, 1956–1968. *American Political Science Review*, 66(2), 415–428.

<https://doi.org/10.2307/1957786>

Pribady, M. L. (2024). Airlangga & Gibran Dapat Sambutan Meriah di Lomba Senam Gemoy. *Detiknews*. <https://news.detik.com/pemilu/d-7128745/airlangga-gibran-dapat-sambutan-meriah-di-lomba-senam-gemoy>

Priskila, O., Ningtyas, D. A., & Haikal. (2024). Pengaruh Personal Branding Gemoy Terhadap Keputusan Pemilihan Gen Z. *Jurnal Media Penyiaran*, 4(1), 25–31.

<https://doi.org/10.31294/jmp.v4i1.4653>

Purba, J. P. (2024). Deretan Artis Hadiri Kampanye Akbar Prabowo-Gibran di GBK. *Liputan6*. Deretan Artis Hadiri Kampanye Akbar Prabowo-Gibran di GBK

Putri, A. F., Putri, B. M., Suparman, E. P., Astriani, W., & Nargis. (2025). The Influence of Social Media Language on Generation Z Identity in Indonesia.

Jurnal Multidisiplin Ilmu Akademik, 2(1), 608–613.

<https://doi.org/10.61722/jmia.v2i1.3740>

Putri, Z. Z. A. D. S., & Fridiyanti, Y. N. (2024). PENGARUH PERSONAL BRANDING PRABOWO SUBIANTO TERHADAP INTENSI MEMILIH GEN Z PADA PEMILU TAHUN 2024. *SPEKTRUM*, 21(2), 123–144.

<https://jurnal.unwahas.ac.id/SPEKTRUM/article/view/11709>

Qorib, F., & Saleh, M. (2020). Anti Islam hingga Dekat Emak-Emak: Perang Citra

Jokowi dan Prabowo pada Pemilihan Presiden 2019. *Jurnal Komunikasi*

Global, 9(2), 187–208. <https://doi.org/10.24815/jkg.v9i2.17246>

Quintelier, E. (2007). Differences in political participation between young and old people. *Contemporary Politics*, 13(2), 165–180.

<https://doi.org/10.1080/13569770701562658>

Rahman. (2023). Penampakan Prabowo Gemoy “Nangkring” di Pinggir Jalan. *CNBC Indonesia*; cnbcindonesia.com.

[https://www.cnbcindonesia.com/news/20231122160320-7-](https://www.cnbcindonesia.com/news/20231122160320-7-491169/penampakan-prabowo-gemoy-nangkring-di-pinggir-jalan/2)

[491169/penampakan-prabowo-gemoy-nangkring-di-pinggir-jalan/2](https://www.cnbcindonesia.com/news/20231122160320-7-491169/penampakan-prabowo-gemoy-nangkring-di-pinggir-jalan/2)

Ramadhan, D. (2022). Rasional-Demokratis Proyeksi Partisipasi Memilih Kaum Muda. *Jurnal Bawaslu Provinsi Kepulauan Riau*, 4(2), 144–158.

<https://journal.bawaslu.go.id/index.php/GBK/article/download/213/195/1566>

RevoU. (n.d.). Apa itu TikTok Amplify? Arti, Fungsi, Contoh, FAQs. RevoU;

RevoUpedia. Retrieved February 18, 2025, from

<https://www.revou.co/kosakata/tiktok-amplify>

Rikang, R. (2024). Joget Gemoy Prabowo demi Pemilih Muda. *Tempo*.

<https://www.tempo.co/politik/gemoy-prabowo-pemilih-muda-804685>

Romadonna, R., Amalia, R., Jauhari, J., & Zuhro, D. F. (2024). *DINAMIKA*

KAMPANYE POLITIK DI ERA DIGITAL: ANALISIS STRATEGI GIMIK

MEDIA SOSIAL PRABOWO GIBRAN PEMILU 2024. *Jurnal Pemasaran*

Bisnis, 6(3), 541–555.

Rose, R. (2000). Downsian Model of Election. In *International Encyclopedia of Elections*. Macmillan.

Rosema, M. (2004). *The Sincere Voter: A Psychological Study of Voting* (pp. 1–328)

[Thesis]. <https://research.utwente.nl/en/publications/the-sincere-vote-a-psychological-study-of-voting>

Ross, S. D. (2006). A Conceptual Framework for Understanding Spectator-Based Brand Equity. *Journal of Sport Management*, 20(1), 22–38.

<https://doi.org/10.1123/jsm.20.1.22>

Sadewo, J. (2023). Nikmati Politik Riang Gembira, Warga Ikuti Lomba Joget Gemoy. *Republika*. <https://news.republika.co.id/berita/s4pkno318/nikmati-politik-riang-gembira-warga-ikuti-lomba-joget-gemoy>

Saiful Mujani Research & Consulting. (2024). Trend Elektabilitas Capres dan Partai Politik Menjelang Pemilu 2024. In Saiful Mujani (pp. 1–32).

<https://saifulmujani.com/trend-elektabilitas-capres-dan-partai-politik-menjelang-pemilu-2024/>

Saiful Mujani Research and Consulting. (2023a). KUALITAS POPULARITAS DAN ELEKTABILITAS BACAPRES DI PEMILIH KRITIS. In Saiful Mujani (pp. 1–25). <https://saifulmujani.com/wp-content/uploads/2023/06/SMRC-bahan-rilis-surtel-30-31-Mei-2023-kualitas-popularitas-rev.pdf>

Saiful Mujani Research and Consulting. (2023b). Tingkat Kepuasan Publik pada Kinerja Presiden Jokowi 81,7 Persen - SaifulMujani. SaifulMujani.

<https://saifulmujani.com/tingkat-kepuasan-publik-pada-kinerja-presiden-jokowi-817-persen/>

Santoso, A. (2013). What ever happened in Kraras, Timor Leste, “Pak” Prabowo? The Jakarta Post. <https://www.thejakartapost.com/news/2013/12/20/what-ever-happened-kraras-timor-leste-pak-prabowo.html>

Sari, B. B. P. (2024). TKN Sebut Setengah Juta Orang Lebih Daftar Kampanye Akbar

02 di GBK. Detiknews. <https://news.detik.com/pemilu/d-7183795/tkn-sebut-setengah-juta-orang-lebih-daftar-kampanye-akbar-02-di-gbk>

Schneider, H. (2004). Branding in Politics—Manifestations, Relevance and Identity-Oriented Management. *Journal of Political Marketing*, 3(3), 41–67.

https://doi.org/10.1300/J199v03n03_03

Sentosa, A., & Karya, B. (2022). Perilaku Pemilih Pemula dalam Pilkada. Penerbit NEM.

Serambi News. (2024). Ribuan Warga Meriahkan Senam Gemoy dan Jalan Sehat Prabowo-Gibran di Banda Aceh. *Tribun News Aceh*.

<https://aceh.tribunnews.com/2024/02/04/ribuan-warga-meriahkan-senam-gemoy-dan-jalan-sehat-prabowo-gibran-di-banda-aceh>

Setiawanty, I. (2024). Mengintip Blusukan Ala Ganjar: Menginap di Rumah Warga, Teringat Kenangan Ibunda. *Tempo*. <https://www.tempo.co/hiburan/mengintip-blusukan-ala-ganjar-menginap-di-rumah-warga-teringat-kenangan-ibunda-91926>

Sholikin, A. (2019). Mahalnya Ongkos Politik dalam Pemilu Serentak Tahun 2019. *Jurnal Transformative*, 5(1), 87–108.

<https://transformative.ub.ac.id/index.php/jtr/article/view/40/48>

Sihabudin, M. M. R., Laila, H. N. A., Kharis, K., Rismayanti, & Fatimah, R. S. (2023a). STRATEGI POSITIONING “GEMOY” PRABOWO SUBIANTO MELALUI MEDIA DIGITAL. *Humanus*, 1(1), 146–154.

Sihabudin, M. M. R., Laila, H. N. A., Kharis, K., Rismayanti, & Fatimah, R. S. (2023b). STRATEGI POSITIONING “GEMOY” PRABOWO SUBIANTO

MELALUI MEDIA DIGITAL. HUMANUS: Jurnal Sosiohumaniora

Nusantara, 1(1), 146–154.

- Smith, G., & French, A. (2009). The political brand: A consumer perspective. *Marketing Theory*, 9(2), 209–226. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1470593109103068>
- Socialinsider. (2023). Number of TikTok accounts in Indonesia in 2022, by age group (in millions) [Graph]. Dalam Statista. Diakses pada 6 Februari 2025, dari <https://www-statista-com.ezproxy.ugm.ac.id/statistics/1377378/indonesia-number-of-tiktok-accounts-by-age-group/>
- Statista. (2019). Share of internet users in Indonesia in 2019, by age group [Graph]. Dalam Statista. Diakses pada 6 Februari 2025, dari <https://www-statista-com.ezproxy.ugm.ac.id/statistics/997264/share-of-internet-users-by-age-group-indonesia/>
- Statista. (2021). Internet penetration rate in Indonesia from 2017 to 2020 with forecasts until 2026 [Graph]. Dalam Statista. Diakses pada 6 Februari 2025, dari <https://www-statista-com.ezproxy.ugm.ac.id/statistics/254460/internet-penetration-rate-in-indonesia/>
- Stokes, D. E. (1963). Spatial Models of Party Competition. *American Political Science Review*, 57(2), 368–377. <https://doi.org/10.2307/1952828>
- Subianto, P. (2013). Letter to the editor: Prabowo clarifies. *The Jakarta Post*. <https://www.thejakartapost.com/news/2013/12/27/letter-editor-prabowo-clarifies.html>
- Sugiyono. (2019). *Metode Penelitian Kuantitatif, Kualitatif, dan R&D* (Sutopo, Ed.; Pertama, pp. 1–444). Alfabeta.

Suharto, Y., & Hariadi, E. (2021). Analisis Kualitas Website Badan Pengembangan

Sumber Daya Manusia Menggunakan Metode Webqual 4.0. *Jurnal Manajemen*

Dan Organisasi, 12(2), 109–121.

Suryanti, S., Fikry, D. S., Putri, W. E., Ramadhan, S. B., & Kusuma, F. J. (2024a).

PENGARUH REBRANDING CALON PRESIDEN PRABOWO SUBIANTO

DI MEDIA SOSIAL TIKTOK TERHADAP TINGKAT KEPERCAYAAN

DAN PARTISIPASI PEMILIH GENERASI Z PADA PEMILU 2024 KOTA

MAGELANG. *Jurnal Komunikasi Dan Kajian Media*, 8(1), 91–106.

<https://doi.org/10.31002/jkkm.v8i1.8870>

Suryanti, S., Fikry, D. S., Putri, W. E., Ramadhan, S. B., & Kusuma, F. J. (2024b).

PENGARUH REBRANDING CALON PRESIDEN PRABOWO SUBIANTO

DI MEDIA SOSIAL TIKTOK TERHADAP TINGKAT KEPERCAYAAN

DAN PARTISIPASI PEMILIH GENERASI Z PADA PEMILU 2024 KOTA

MAGELANG. *Jurnal Komunikasi Dan Kajian Media*, 8(1), 91–106.

<https://doi.org/10.31002/jkkm.v8i1.8870>

Syafia, A. D., Purnomo, J. O., Syahbani, D. G., Saniah, L. N., Hanum, A. S., &

Nugraha, J. T. (2024). Membangun Citra, Meraih Suara: Persepsi Pemilih

Pemula Pada Pilpres 2024. *Indonesian Journal of Public Administration*

Review, 1(3), 15. <https://doi.org/10.47134/par.v1i3.2684>

Syam, F., Sahrudin, & Rahmanillah, A. R. (2020). Analyzing Celebrity Endorse and

Politician in Indonesia Political Phenomenon. *Journal of Social Political*

Sciences, 1(1), 41–60.

Tesoro, J. M. (2000). The Scapegoat? Among questions that should have been asked:

Was Prabowo Subianto truly the single “mastermind”? *Asiaweek*.

<https://web.archive.org/web/20140313050521/http://www->

cgi.cnn.com/ASIANOW/asiaweek/magazine/2000/0303/cover1.html

Triatmojo, D. (2024). Ipang Wahid, Sosok Dibalik Branding “Gemoy” Prabowo Sita

Perhatian Ribuan Pelaku Digital Marketing. *Tribunnews*.

<https://www.tribunnews.com/nasional/2024/05/20/ipang-wahid-sosok-dibalik->

branding-gemoy-prabowo-sita-perhatian-ribuan-pelaku-digital-marketing

tvOneNews. (2024). Senam Sehat “Gemoy” ala Pendukung Prabowo-Gibran | Kabar

Hari Ini tvOne. YouTube. https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=OrXT3_8IwnM

Tyas, F. S., & Harmanto. (2014). PERAN ORANG TUA DALAM MENANAMKAN

KESADARAN POLITIK PADA ANAKNYA SEBAGAI PEMILIH

PEMULA DI KELURAHAN TAMBAKREJO KECAMATAN SIMOKERTO

SURABAYA. *Kajian Moral Dan Kewarganegaraan*, 2(1), 273–289.

<https://doi.org/10.26740/kmkn.v1n2.p273-289>

Uzma, H. N. (2023). Indonesia Tergemoy-gemoy! Ratusan Anak Muda Joget Gemoy di

CFD Jakarta. *Detiknews*. <https://news.detik.com/berita/d-7057550/indonesia->

tergemoy-gemoy-ratusan-anak-muda-joget-gemoy-di-cfd-jakarta

van Klinken, G. (2014). Prabowo and human rights - Inside Indonesia: The peoples and

cultures of Indonesia. *Inside Indonesia*.

<https://www.insideindonesia.org/editions/elections-2014/prabowo-and-human->

rights

Velandika, E. (2016). TERPAAN BERITA MEDIA PARTISAN, PERSEPSI, DAN

PREFERENSI PEMILIH PEMULA (Studi Persepsi dan Preferensi Politik

Pemilih Pemula terhadap Joko Widodo di Kota Yogyakarta) (pp. 1–136)

[Thesis].



We Are Social, DataReportal, & Meltwater. (2024). Penetration of leading social

networks in Indonesia as of Q3 2023 [Graph]. Dalam Statista. Diakses pada 6

Februari 2025, dari [https://www-statista-](https://www-statista-com.ezproxy.ugm.ac.id/statistics/284437/indonesia-social-network-penetration/)

[com.ezproxy.ugm.ac.id/statistics/284437/indonesia-social-network-](https://www-statista-com.ezproxy.ugm.ac.id/statistics/284437/indonesia-social-network-penetration/)

[penetration/](https://www-statista-com.ezproxy.ugm.ac.id/statistics/284437/indonesia-social-network-penetration/)

Yandwiputra, A. R. (2024). Tebar Uang Menjelang Pencoblosan. Tempo.co; Tempo.

<https://www.tempo.co/hukum/kasus-politik-uang-pemilu-2024-408159>

Yuniarto, T. (2024). Pemilihan Umum 2024 dalam Angka. Kompaspedia.

[https://kompaspedia.kompas.id/baca/paparan-topik/pemilihan-umum-2024-](https://kompaspedia.kompas.id/baca/paparan-topik/pemilihan-umum-2024-dalam-angka)

[dalam-angka](https://kompaspedia.kompas.id/baca/paparan-topik/pemilihan-umum-2024-dalam-angka)