

DAFTAR PUSTAKA

- Aelst, P. Van, Sheaffer, T., & Stanyer, J. (2012). The personalization of mediated political communication: A review of concepts, operationalizations and key findings. In *Journalism* (Vol. 13, Issue 2, pp. 203–220). <https://doi.org/10.1177/1464884911427802>
- Ahooei, E. M. (2020). *The Power and Politics of Media and Information Literacy*. <https://doi.org/10.22059/JCSS.2022.86983>
- Airoidi, M. (2022). *Machine Habitus Toward a Sociology of Algorithms* (pp. 122-156). Polity Press.
- Akhmedova, J. D., & Bykov, I. A. (2022). Personification as a Communication Strategy in Digital Society. *Proceedings of the 2022 Communication Strategies in Digital Society Seminar 2022, ComSDS 2022*, 142–145. <https://doi.org/10.1109/ComSDS55328.2022.9769159>
- Aljazeera. (2024). *Who is Prabowo Subianto, the man likely to be Indonesia's next president?*. <https://www.aljazeera.com/news/2024/2/16/who-is-prabowo-subianto-the-man-likely-to-be-indonesias-next>
- Al-Khasawneh, M., Sharabati, A.-A. A., Al-Haddad, S., Tbakhi, R., & Abusaimeh, H. (2022). The adoption of TikTok application using TAM model. *International Journal of Data and Network Science*, 6(4), 1389–1402. <https://doi.org/10.5267/j.ijdns.2022.5.012>
- ANTARA. (2023). *Tim Fanta TKN Prabowo-Gibran maksimalkan kampanye lewat media sosial*. <https://www.antaranews.com/berita/3874521/tim-fanta-tnk-prabowo-gibran-maksimalkan-kampanye-lewat-media-sosial>
- Badan Pusat Statistik. (2024). *Statistik Indonesia 2024*.
- Bandy, J., & Diakopoulos, N. (2021). Curating Quality? How Twitter's Timeline Algorithm Treats Different Types of News. *Social Media + Society*, 7(3). <https://doi.org/10.1177/20563051211041648>
- BBC. (2023). Gemoy, selepetan sarung, dan salam tiga jari - Upaya para capres 'menutup mata' Gen Z?. <https://www.bbc.com/indonesia/articles/cd1ppdxvw9no>
- Bennett, W. L. (2012). The Personalization of Politics: Political Identity, Social Media, and Changing Patterns of Participation. *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, 644(1), 20–39. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0002716212451428>
- Brandt, S. (2004). Gunther Kress & Theo Van Leeuwen, Multimodal discourse: The modes and media of contemporary communication. London: Arnold, 2001. Pp. vii, 142. Hb \$72.00, Pb \$24.95. *Language in Society*, 33(01). <https://doi.org/10.1017/s0047404504221054>
- Bujang. (2020). *Influencer Y Ramon Setiawan, Pelapor Mulyadi Simpatisan Gerindra*. Kompasiana.Com. <https://www.kompasiana.com/udinkarambia5540/5fcb8c1a8ede486466231382/User-Y-ramon-setiawan-pelapor-mulyadi-simpatisan-gerindra>
- Castells, M. (2009). Power In The Network Society. In *Communication Power*. Oxford University Press.
- Cervi, L., & Marín-Lladó, C. (2021). What are political parties doing on TikTok? The Spanish case. *El Profesional de La Información*. <https://doi.org/10.3145/epi.2021.jul.03>
- Cervi, L., Tejedor, S., & Blesa, F. G. (2023). TikTok and Political Communication: The Latest Frontier of Politainment? A Case Study. *Media and Communication*, 11(2). <https://doi.org/10.17645/mac.v11i2.6390>

- Cervi, L., Tejedor, S., & Lladó, C. M. (2021). TikTok and the new language of political communication. *Cultura, Lenguaje y Representación*, 26, 267–287. <https://doi.org/10.6035/clr.5817>
- Chagas, V., & de Mello Stefano, L. (2023). Estratégias de uso do TikTok por políticos brasileiros. *Revista de Sociologia e Política*, 31. <https://doi.org/10.1590/1678-98732331e022>
- Chen, X., Kaye, D. B. V., & Zeng, J. (2021). #PositiveEnergy Douyin: constructing “playful patriotism” in a Chinese short-video application. *Chinese Journal of Communication*, 14(1), 97–117. <https://doi.org/10.1080/17544750.2020.1761848>
- Countik.com. (2025). *TikTok Analytics Tool & Profile Viewer*. <https://countik.com/tiktok-analytics>
- De Veirman, M., Cauberghe, V., & Hudders, L. (2017). Marketing through instagram influencers: The impact of number of followers and product divergence on brand attitude. *International Journal of Advertising*, 36(5), 798–828. <https://doi.org/10.1080/02650487.2017.1348035>
- Dimitrova, D. V., & Matthes, J. (2018). Social Media in Political Campaigning Around the World: Theoretical and Methodological Challenges. *Journalism & Mass Communication Quarterly*, 95(2), 333–342. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1077699018770437>
- East media. (2024). *Douyin and TikTok: all you need to know about their differences*. <https://www.east-media.net/en/douyin-and-tiktok-all-you-need-to-know-about-differences/>
- Ekman, Paul. (2007). *Emotions revealed: recognizing faces and feelings to improve communication and emotional life*.
- Enke, N., & Borchers, N. S. (2019). Social Media Influencers in Strategic Communication: A Conceptual Framework for Strategic Social Media Influencer Communication. *International Journal of Strategic Communication*, 13(4), 261–277. <https://doi.org/10.1080/1553118X.2019.1620234>
- Faridh, A. (2024). Peran Tiktok Sebagai Media Komunikasi Politik Bagi Generasi Milenial (Studi Kasus Pada Karyawan Duta Lampung Tahun 2024). In *Jurnal Professional* (Vol. 11, Issue 2).
- Fisher, M. R., Dhiaulhaq, A., & Sahide, M. A. K. (2019). The politics, economies, and ecologies of indonesia’s third generation of social forestry: An introduction to the special section. *Forest and Society*, 3(1), 152–170. <https://doi.org/10.24259/fs.v3i1.6348>
- Ginee. (2021). *Pengguna TikTok Indonesia Gempar, Potensi Cuan Menggelegar!* <https://ginee.com/id/insights/pengguna-tiktok/>
- Hall, S. (1980). Encoding/decoding. In *Culture, media, language: Working papers in cultural studies*. Hutchinson.
- Hasiholan, T. P., Pratami, R., & Wahid, U. (2020). Pemanfaatan Tik Tok sebagai media Kampanye Gerakan Cuci Tangan Di Indonesia Untuk Pencegahan Penyebaran Virus Covid-19. *Jurnal Kajian Komunikasi*, 4(April), 20.
- Hindarto, I. H. (2022). *Tiktok And Political Communication Of Youth: A Systematic Review*.
- Hjarvard, S. (2013). *The Mediatization of Culture and Society*. Routledge.
- Irwansyah. (2021). *Tiktok, Instrumen Media Sosial Baru dalam Politik*. <https://mediaindonesia.com/opini/387394/tiktok-instrumen-media-sosial-baru-dalam-politik>

- Johnson, K., Jin, D., & Goldwasser, D. (2017). *Modeling of Political Discourse Framing on Twitter*.
- Kaye, D. B. V., Chen, X., & Zeng, J. (2021). The co-evolution of two Chinese mobile short video apps: Parallel platformization of Douyin and TikTok. *Mobile Media & Communication*, 9(2), 229–253. <https://doi.org/10.1177/2050157920952120>
- Kietzmann, J. H., Hermkens, K., McCarthy, I. P., & Silvestre, B. S. (2011). Social media? Get serious! Understanding the functional building blocks of social media. *Business Horizons*, 54(3), 241–251. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.bushor.2011.01.005>
- KISP. (2021). *Media Sosial Tiktok sebagai Politik Alternatif Milenial*. <https://kisp-id.org/11/2021/tulisan/media-sosial-tiktok-sebagai-politik-alternatif-milenial/>
- Komisi Pemilihan Umum. (2024). 55% Pemilih Didominasi Generasi Muda, Bantu KPU Dalam Penyelenggaraan Pemilu 2024. In *kpu.go.id*.
- Kress, G. R. ., & Van Leeuwen, Theo. (2001). *Multimodal discourse : the modes and media of contemporary communication*. Arnold ; Oxford University Press.
- Lau, N., Srinakaran, K., Aalfs, H., Zhao, X., & Palermo, T. M. (2025). TikTok and teen mental health: an analysis of user-generated content and engagement. *Journal of Pediatric Psychology*, 50(1), 63–75. <https://doi.org/10.1093/jpepsy/jsae039>
- Li, J., Adnan, H. M., & Gong, J. (2023). Exploring Cultural Meaning Construction in Social Media: An Analysis of Liziqi's YouTube Channel. *Journal of Intercultural Communication*, 23(4), 01–12. <https://doi.org/10.36923/jicc.v23i4.237>
- Li, M., Turki, N., Izaguirre, C. R., DeMahy, C., Thibodeaux, B. L., & Gage, T. (2021). Twitter as a tool for social movement: An analysis of feminist activism on social media communities. *Journal of Community Psychology*, 49(3), 854–868. <https://doi.org/10.1002/jcop.22324>
- Lim, M. (2023). “Everything Everywhere All At Once”: Social Media, Marketing/Algorithmic Culture, and Activism in Southeast Asia. *Georgetown Journal of International Affairs*, 24(2), 181–190. <https://doi.org/10.1353/gia.2023.a913644>
- Lim, M. (2025). *Social Media and Politics in Southeast Asia*. Cambridge University Press. <https://doi.org/10.1017/9781108750745>
- Löffler, D., Giron, L., & Hurtienne, J. (2017). Night Mode, Dark Thoughts: Background Color Influences the Perceived Sentiment of Chat Messages. *Lecture Notes in Computer Science (Including Subseries Lecture Notes in Artificial Intelligence and Lecture Notes in Bioinformatics)*, 10514 LNCS, 184–201. https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-319-67684-5_12
- Lupton, & Deborah. (2015). *Digital Sociology*.
- Massie, A. (2020). Kehadiran TikTok di Masa Pandemi (The Presence of TikTok in the Pandemic). *SSRN Electronic Journal*. <https://doi.org/10.2139/ssrn.3633854>
- McGregor, S. C. (2018). Personalization, social media, and voting: Effects of candidate self-personalization on vote intention. *New Media and Society*, 20(3), 1139–1160. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1461444816686103>
- Medina Serrano, J. C., Papakyriakopoulos, O., & Hegelich, S. (2020). Dancing to the Partisan Beat: A First Analysis of Political Communication on TikTok. *12th ACM Conference on Web Science*, 257–266. <https://doi.org/10.1145/3394231.3397916>
- Metz, M., Kruikemeier, S., & Lecheler, S. (2020). Personalization of politics on Facebook: examining the content and effects of professional, emotional and private self-

- personalization. *Information, Communication & Society*, 23(10), 1481–1498. <https://doi.org/10.1080/1369118X.2019.1581244>
- Mirchandani, M. (2020). Populisme, propagande et politique : les réseaux sociaux au cœur de la stratégie électorale de Narendra Modi. *Hérodote*, N° 177-178(2), 59–76. <https://doi.org/10.3917/her.177.0059>
- Olausson, U. (2020). Making Sense of the Human-Nature Relationship: A Reception Study of the “Nature Is Speaking” Campaign on YouTube. *Nature and Culture*, 15(3), 272–295. <https://doi.org/10.3167/nc.2020.150303>
- Omar, B., & Dequan, W. (2020). Watch, Share or Create: The Influence of Personality Traits and User Motivation on TikTok Mobile Video Usage. *International Journal of Interactive Mobile Technologies (IJIM)*, 14(04), 121. <https://doi.org/10.3991/ijim.v14i04.12429>
- Osei Fordjour, N. K. (2024). Personalization as a Strategic Political Tool on Social Media: The Curious Case of VP Kamala Harris on Twitter. *Howard Journal of Communications*, 35(4), 375–396. <https://doi.org/10.1080/10646175.2023.2289980>
- Priyowidodo, G., Abd Rahman, N. A., Luik, J. E., Indrayani, I. I., & Hadi, I. P. (2024). Political Influencers on Social Media: Language Used and Content of Communication Strategy of Indonesian Politicians’ Twitter Accounts. *Jurnal Komunikasi: Malaysian Journal of Communication*, 40(1), 99–199. <https://doi.org/10.17576/JKMJC-2024-4001-06>
- Rahardjo, E. Z., Alifa, J. M., Setiawan, S. Z., Gunawan, A. A. S., & Setiawan, K. E. (2024). Viral Melodies: Exploring the Factors Influencing Music Virality in TikTok Engagement. *2024 4th International Conference of Science and Information Technology in Smart Administration (ICSINTESA)*, 159–164. <https://doi.org/10.1109/ICSINTESA62455.2024.10748012>
- Rastrilla, L. P., & Rubio-Moraga, Á. L. (2024). Political communication on TikTok. An analysis of Marcelo Ebrard’s account during the presidential nomination race in Mexico. *Politica y Sociedad*, 61(3). <https://doi.org/10.5209/poso.93799>
- Riedl, M. J., Lukito, J., & Woolley, S. C. (2023). Political Influencers on Social Media: An Introduction. *Social Media + Society*, 9(2). <https://doi.org/10.1177/20563051231177938>
- Ritzer, G., & Jurgenson, N. (2010). Production, Consumption, Prosumption: The nature of capitalism in the age of the digital “prosumer.” *Journal of Consumer Culture*, 10(1), 13–36. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1469540509354673>
- Rose, K., & Rohlinger, D. A. (2024). Political Influencers and Their Social Media Audiences during the 2021 Arizona Audit. *Socius: Sociological Research for a Dynamic World*, 10. <https://doi.org/10.1177/23780231241259680>
- Rožukalne, A. (2020). MAX share this! Vote for us! Analysis of pre-election facebook communication and audience reactions of Latvia’s populist party KPV LV leader Aldis Gobzems. *Informacijos Mokslai*, 87, 52–71. <https://doi.org/10.15388/Im.2020.87.26>
- Saigot, M. (2022). *Leveraging Affective Friction to Improve Online Creative Collaboration: An Experimental Design* (pp. 237–250). https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-031-13064-9_25
- Santen, R. Van, & Zoonen, L. Van. (2010). *The Personal In Political Television Biographies* (Vol. 33, Issue 1).
- Schellewald, A. (2021). Communicative Forms on TikTok: Perspectives From Digital Ethnography. In *International Journal of Communication* (Vol. 15).

- Schlott, R. (2024). *Trump's savvy memes and flashy edits trounce Harris in war for precious views from young voters*. New York Post. <https://nypost.com/2024/10/29/us-news/trump-is-beating-harris-in-the-tiktok-war-heres-why/>
- Schouten, A. P., Janssen, L., & Verspaget, M. (2020). Celebrity vs. Influencer endorsements in advertising: the role of identification, credibility, and Product-Endorser fit. *International Journal of Advertising*, 39(2), 258–281. <https://doi.org/10.1080/02650487.2019.1634898>
- Serrano, J. C. M., Papakyriakopoulos, O., & Hegelich, S. (2020). *Dancing to the Partisan Beat: A First Analysis of Political Communication on TikTok*. 10. <https://doi.org/10.48550/arXiv.2004.05478>
- Stolly, M., Wilt, E., Gembreska, N., Nawras, M., Moore, E., Walker, K., Hercher, R., & Moussa, M. (2024). #emergencymedicine: A TikTok Content Analysis of Emergency Medicine-related Content. *Western Journal of Emergency Medicine*, 26(1). <https://doi.org/10.5811/WESTJEM.19466>
- Tasente, T. (2014). Transformations of the Political Communication in Social Media Era-from Mediatization to Decentralization. In *Acta Universitatis Danubius* (Vol. 8, Issue 1).
- Tempo. (2024). *Baru Gabung TikTok, Donald Trump Langsung Dapat 3 Juta Pengikut*. <https://www.tempo.co/internasional/baru-gabung-tiktok-donald-trump-langsung-dapat-3-juta-pengikut>
- The Economist. (2024). *TikTok is a key battleground in Indonesia's election*. <https://www.economist.com/asia/2024/02/01/tiktok-is-a-key-battleground-in-indonesias-election>
- The Guardian. (2024). *From military leader to 'harmless grandpa': the rebranding of Indonesia's Prabowo*. Theguardian.Com. <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2024/jan/09/indonesia-election-prabowo-subianto-rebranding-kidnapping-accusations>
- Thimsen, A. F. (2022). What Is Performative Activism? *Philosophy & Rhetoric*, 55(1), 83–89. <https://doi.org/10.5325/philrhet.55.1.0083>
- Van Santen, R., & Van Zoonen, L. (2010). *The Personal In Political Television Biographies* (Vol. 33, Issue 1).
- Vine, B. (2023). *Understanding Discourse Analysis*. Routledge. <https://doi.org/10.4324/9781003184058>
- Wang, Yiting. (2021). *Multimodal Analysis: Researching Short-form Videos and the Theatrical Practices I*. (n.d.). <http://hdl.handle.net/10125/76003>
- Waddell, T. F. (2018). What does the crowd think? How online comments and popularity metrics affect news credibility and issue importance. *New Media & Society*, 20(8), 3068–3083. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1461444817742905>
- We are social. (2024). *Digital 2024 Indonesia The Essential Guide to The Latest Connected Behaviour*.
- Widholm, A., Ekman, M., & Larsson, A. O. (2024). A Right-Wing Wave on TikTok? Ideological Orientations, Platform Features, and User Engagement During the Early 2022 Election Campaign in Sweden. *Social Media and Society*, 10(3). <https://doi.org/10.1177/20563051241269266>

- Wilches-Tinjacá, J. A., Guerrero-Sierra, H. F., & Niño, C. (2024). Political emotions and prototypical narratives: TikTok in political campaigns: a case study. *Revista Latina de Comunicacion Social* , 2024(82). <https://doi.org/10.4185/rlds-2024-2234>
- Worb, J. (2025). *Top 10 TikTok Algorithm Hacks to Try in 2025*.