

- Acharya, A. (2004). How ideas spread: Whose norms matter? Norm localization and institutional change in Asian regionalism. *International Organization*, 58(02), 239–275. <https://doi.org/10.1017/s0020818304582024>
- Agung, B. (2018, July 19). *Survei LIPI: Demokrasi Kian Dipercaya, Parpol Makin Dijauhi*. Nasional; [cnnindonesia.com](http://www.cnnindonesia.com).
<https://www.cnnindonesia.com/nasional/20180720025810-32-315566/survei-lipi-demokrasi-kian-dipercaya-parpol-makin-dijauhi>
- Allen, S. (2024, February 21). *Indonesian presidential winner charms youth vote with dances, TikTok, and cats*. Global Voices.
<https://globalvoices.org/2024/02/21/indonesian-presidential-winner-charms-youth-vote-with-dances-tiktok-and-cats/>
- Aminudin, M. (2023, November 3). *Ratusan Kiai dan Bu Nyai di Jatim Dukung Prabowo-Gibran*. Detikjatim; [detikcom](http://www.detik.com).
<https://www.detik.com/jatim/berita/d-7017816/ratusan-kiai-dan-bu-nyai-di-jatim-dukung-prabowo-gibran>
- Aspinall, E. (2015). Oligarchic Populism: Prabowo Subianto’s Challenge to Indonesian Democracy. *Indonesia*, 99(1), 1–28. <https://doi.org/10.1353/ind.2015.0002>
- Aspinall, E., & Mietzner, M. (2010). *Problems of democratisation in Indonesia : elections, institutions and society*. Institute Of Southeast Asian Studies.
- Bachtiar, H. (2023). Ganjar Pranowo’s Quest: Resisting Islamist Civilizational Populism in Indonesia. *European Center for Populism Studies (ECPS)*.
<https://doi.org/10.55271/pp0028>

BBC. (2023, December 12). *Rangkuman debat capres 2024: Apa janji capres 2024 soal*

hukum, HAM, korupsi dan pelayanan publik? BBC News Indonesia.

<https://www.bbc.com/indonesia/articles/c1w2e29259zo>

BBC. (2024, January 4). *Pemilu 2024: “Aniesbubble” ramaikan kampanye - Sebesar apa*

kekuatan fandom K-pop dalam membuat gerakan politik? BBC News Indonesia.

<https://www.bbc.com/indonesia/articles/clme51pe842o>

Bennett, A., & Elman, C. (2007). Case Study Methods in the International Relations Subfield.

Comparative Political Studies, 40(2), 170–195.

<https://doi.org/10.1177/0010414006296346>

Bourchier, D. (2014). *Illiberal Democracy in Indonesia*. Routledge.

<https://doi.org/10.4324/9780203379721>

Canovan, M. (1981). *Populism*. Junction Books.

Chryssogelos, A. (2018). State transformation and populism: From the internationalized to

the neo-sovereign state? *Politics*, 40(1), 026339571880383.

<https://doi.org/10.1177/0263395718803830>

Crouch, C. (2004). *Post-democracy*. Polity Press.

Dressel, B., & Bonoan, C. (2024). Courts and authoritarian populism in Asia: Reflections

from Indonesia and the Philippines. *Law & Policy*, 46(3).

<https://doi.org/10.1111/lapo.12240>

Dwi, A. (2023, December 18). *Janji Kampanye Terbaru Gibran: Lanjutkan IKN, Anak Muda*

di Kabinet, hingga Bangun RS Unggulan di Tiap Kota. Tempo; PT Tempo Inti Media.

<https://www.tempo.co/ekonomi/janji-kampanye-terbaru-gibran-lanjutkan-ikn-anak-m>

[uda-di-kabinet-hingga-bangun-rs-unggulan-di-tiap-kota-107270](https://www.tempo.co/ekonomi/janji-kampanye-terbaru-gibran-lanjutkan-ikn-anak-m-uda-di-kabinet-hingga-bangun-rs-unggulan-di-tiap-kota-107270)

Dwi, A., & Silaban, M. (2024, February 16). *Ingat, Ini 8 Janji Prabowo-Gibran yang Unggul*

Versi Quick Count Pilpres 2024. Tempo.

- Eatwell, R., & Goodwin, M. (2018). *National Populism: the Revolt against Liberal Democracy*. Pelican.
- Fealy, G. (2016). The Politics of Religious Intolerance in Indonesia: Mainstream-ism Trumps Extremism. *The Australian National University*, 1(1), 115–131. <https://researchportalplus.anu.edu.au/en/publications/the-politics-of-religious-intolerance-in-indonesia-mainstream-ism>
- Feith, H. (2006). *The Decline of Constitutional Democracy in Indonesia*. Equinox Publishing.
- Finnemore, M., & Sikkink, K. (1998). International Norm Dynamics and Political Change. *International Organization*, 52(4), 887–917. JSTOR. <https://www.jstor.org/stable/2601361>
- Freedom House. (2024). *The Mounting Damage of Flawed Elections and Armed Conflict*. *FREEDOM IN THE WORLD 2024 Highlights from Freedom House's annual report on political rights and civil liberties*. https://freedomhouse.org/sites/default/files/2024-02/FIW_2024_DigitalBooklet.pdf
- Fukuyama, F. (1992). *The End of History and the Last Man*. The Free Press.
- Gerindra. (2022, September 17). *Visi-Misi - Gerindra*. Gerindra. <https://gerindra.id/visi-misi/>
- Gerring, J. (2004). What Is a Case Study and What Is It Good for? *American Political Science Review*, 98(2), 341–354. <https://doi.org/10.1017/S0003055404001182>
- Goodwin, M., & Heath, O. (2016). The 2016 Referendum, Brexit and the Left Behind: an Aggregate-level Analysis of the Result. *The Political Quarterly*, 87(3), 323–332. <https://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/doi/abs/10.1111/1467-923X.12285>
- Hadiz, V. R. (2016). *Islamic Populism in Indonesia and the Middle East*. <https://doi.org/10.1017/cbo9781316402382>



- Hadiz, V. R. (2018). Imagine All the People? Mobilising Islamic Populism for Right-Wing Politics in Indonesia. *Journal of Contemporary Asia*, 48(4), 566–583.
<https://doi.org/10.1080/00472336.2018.1433225>
- Hadiz, V. R., & Robison, R. (2013). The Political Economy of Oligarchy and the Reorganization of Power in Indonesia. *Indonesia*, 96(96), 35.
<https://doi.org/10.5728/indonesia.96.0033>
- Hadiz, V., & Robison, R. (2017). Competing populisms in post-authoritarian Indonesia. *International Political Science Review*, 38(4), 488–502.
<https://doi.org/10.1177/0192512117697475>
- Heryanto, A. (1998). Ethnic Identities and Erasure: Chinese Indonesians in Public Culture. *in Southeast Asian Identities; Culture and the Politics of Representation in Indonesia, Malaysia, Singapore, and Thailand*, 95–114.
- Heydarian, R. (2024, March 15). *Prabowo followed Marcos' election playbook, for better or worse*. Nikkei Asia.
<https://asia.nikkei.com/Opinion/Prabowo-followed-Marcos-election-playbook-for-better-or-worse>
- Humas MKRI. (2023). *MKMK Gelar Sidang Dugaan Pelanggaran Etik Hakim Konstitusi*. Mahkamah Konstitusi RI.
<https://www.mkri.id/berita/mkmk-gelar-sidang-dugaan-pelanggaran-etik-hakim-konstitusi-19733>
- Huntington, S. (1991). *The Third Wave : Democratization in the Late Twentieth Century*. University of Oklahoma Press.
- Ibrahim, M. (2023). Justifying a Political Dynasty: The Indonesian Constitutional Court on Who May Run for Presidency in the 2024 Elections. *Verfassungsblog*.
<https://doi.org/10.17176/20231102-223922-0>

high approval rating. The Jakarta Post.

<https://www.thejakartapost.com/indonesia/2025/01/20/free-meals-other-populist-policies-contribute-to-prabowos-high-approval-rating.html>

Inglehart, R., & Norris, P. (2016). Trump, Brexit, and the rise of populism: Economic have-nots and cultural backlash. *HKS Faculty Research Working Paper Series*, 16(026), 1–52. <https://dx.doi.org/10.2139/ssrn.2818659>

Inglehart, R., & Norris, P. (2017). Trump and the Populist Authoritarian Parties: The Silent Revolution in Reverse. *Perspectives on Politics*, 15(2), 443–454. <https://doi.org/10.1017/s1537592717000111>

Jaffrey, S., & Warburton, E. (2024). *Prabowo's Indonesia: Inheriting Democracy at Dusk*. Carnegie Endowment for International Peace. <https://carnegieendowment.org/research/2024/10/prabowos-indonesia-inheriting-democracy-at-dusk?lang=en>

Jalli, N., Unggraini, I. N., & Setianto, Y. P. (2025). 2025/52 “How TikTok’s Visual Politics Shaped Indonesia’s 2024 Election” by Nuurrianti Jalli, Ika Ningtyas Unggraini, Yearry Panji Setianto. *Iseas.edu.sg*, 2025(No. 52). <https://www.iseas.edu.sg/articles-commentaries/iseas-perspective/2025-52-how-tiktoks-visual-politics-shaped-indonesias-2024-election-by-nuurrianti-jalli-ika-ningtyas-unggraini-yearry-panji-setianto/>

Kompas. (2023, December 20). *Ganjar Pranowo, Demokrasi Inklusif dan Hukum Berlandaskan Pancasila*. Kompas.id. <https://www.kompas.id/artikel/ganjar-pranowo-demokrasi-inklusif-dan-supresmasi-hukum-berlandaskan-pancasila>

- Kovalcik, M. (2022). The instrumental abuse of constitutional courts: how populists can use constitutional courts against the opposition. *The International Journal of Human Rights*, 26(7), 1160–1180. <https://doi.org/10.1080/13642987.2022.2108017>
- Lev, D. (2009). *The transition to guided democracy : Indonesian politics, 1957-1959*. Equinox Publishing.
- Liddle, R. W. (1996). The Islamic Turn in Indonesia: A Political Explanation. *The Journal of Asian Studies*, 55(3), 613–634. <https://doi.org/10.2307/2646448>
- Marino, A. (2018). *Populism and Performance in the Bolivarian Revolution of Venezuela*. Northwestern University Press. <https://doi.org/10.2307/j.ctv43vt0v>
- Mietzner, M. (2015). *Reinventing Asian populism Jokowi's rise, democracy, and political contestation in Indonesia*. Singapore Iseas.
- Mietzner, M. (2020). Rival populisms and the democratic crisis in Indonesia: chauvinists, Islamists and technocrats. *Australian Journal of International Affairs*, 74(4), 420–438. <https://doi.org/10.1080/10357718.2020.1725426>
- Mizuno, K., & Phongpaichit, P. (2009). *Populism in asia*. NUS Press. <https://books.google.co.id/books?id=bF0qAQAIAAJ>
- Moffitt, B. (2016). *The Global Rise of Populism: Performance, Political style, and Representation*. Stanford University Press.
- Mortimer, R. (2006). *Indonesian communism under Sukarno ideology and politics, 1959-1965*. Jakarta; Singapore Pt Equinox Publishing Indonesia.
- Mouffe, C. (2018). *For A Left Populism*. Verso Books.
- Mudde, C. (2004). The Populist Zeitgeist. *Government and Opposition*, 39(4), 541–563.
- Mudde, C. (2010). The Populist Radical Right: A Pathological Normalcy. *West European Politics*, 33(6), 1167–1186.

Press. <https://doi.org/10.1093/actrade/9780190234874.001.0001>

Müller, J.-W. (2017). *What Is populism?* Penguin Books.

Nadzir, I. (2022). Performative Politics and Digital Populism in Indonesia. *Journal of Political Research*, 19(2), 73–92.

Nurdifa, A., & Meilanova, D. (2024, January 12). *Prabowo Keukeuh Food Estate Jadi Kunci Ketahanan Pangan Nasional*. *Bisnis.com*.
<https://ekonomi.bisnis.com/read/20240112/99/1731700/prabowo-keukeuh-food-estate-jadi-kunci-ketahanan-pangan-nasional>

Pappas, T. (2019). *Populism and Liberal Democracy*. Oxford University Press.
<https://doi.org/10.1093/oso/9780198837886.001.0001>

Pew Research Center. (2017). *Globally, Broad Support for Representative and Direct Democracy*. Pew Research Center.
https://www.pewresearch.org/global/wp-content/uploads/sites/2/2017/10/Pew-Research-Center_Democracy-Report_2017.10.16.pdf

Plattner, M. (2019). *Illiberal Democracy and the Struggle on the Right* | *Journal of Democracy*. *Journal of Democracy*; *Journal of Democracy*.
<https://www.journalofdemocracy.org/articles/illiberal-democracy-and-the-struggle-on-the-right/>

Prasetyo, W. (2024, June 19). *Bakal Maju Lagi, Anies Janji Terapkan Pancasila dalam Keseharian Warga Jakarta*. *Kumparan*.
https://kumparan.com/kumparannews/bakal-maju-lagi-anies-janji-terapkan-pancasila-dalam-keseharian-warga-jakarta-22y6c2gQq0X?utm_source=chatgpt.com

Rahmawati, D., & Muliawati, A. (2023, December 12). *Debat Soal Demokrasi, Prabowo: Mas Anies, Mas Anies...* *Detikjatim*; *detikcom*.

ies-mas-anies

- Rakhmani, I., & Saraswati, M. (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>
- Ramadhan, A., & Krisiandi. (2024, January 15). *Ganjar, Kampanye, dan Bermalam di Rumah Warga Halaman all - Kompas.com*. KOMPAS.com; Kompas.com. <https://nasional.kompas.com/read/2024/01/16/05395561/ganjar-kampanye-dan-bermalam-di-rumah-warga?page=all>
- Ratcliffe, R., & Mulyanto, R. (2024, January 9). From military leader to “harmless grandpa”: the rebranding of Indonesia’s Prabowo. *The Guardian*. <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2024/jan/09/indonesia-election-prabowo-subianto-rebranding-kidnapping-accusations>
- Rodrik, D. (2018). Populism and the economics of globalization. *Journal of International Business Policy*, 1(1-2), 12–33. <https://doi.org/10.1057/s42214-018-0001-4>
- Roosa, J. (2006). *Pretext to mass murder: the September 30th movement and Suharto’s coup d’état in Indonesia*. University Of Wisconsin Press.
- Rucker, P., & Farenthold, D. A. (2016, July 22). Donald Trump positions himself as the voice of “the forgotten men and women.” *Washington Post*. https://www.washingtonpost.com/politics/in-speech-at-republican-national-convention-trump-to-paint-dire-picture-of-america/2016/07/21/418f9ae6-4fad-11e6-aa14-e0c1087f7583_story.html
- Saptohutomo, A. (2023, November 7). *Deretan Ulama dan Pemilik Ponpes dalam TKN Prabowo-Gibran*. KOMPAS.com; Kompas.com.

Schedler, A. (2024, February). *Again, What Is Populism?* | *Review of Democracy*. Review of

Democracy: Again, What Is Populism?

<https://revdem.ceu.edu/2024/02/01/again-what-is-populism/>

Setiawati, S. (2024, January 21). *Visi-Misi Anies, Prabowo, dan Ganjar Soal SDA, Energi*

hingga Pangan. CNBC Indonesia; [cnbcindonesia.com](https://www.cnbcindonesia.com).

<https://www.cnbcindonesia.com/research/20240121105623-128-507546/visi-misi-anies-prabowo-dan-ganjar-soal-sda-energi-hingga-pangan>

[es-prabowo-dan-ganjar-soal-sda-energi-hingga-pangan](https://www.cnbcindonesia.com/research/20240121105623-128-507546/visi-misi-anies-prabowo-dan-ganjar-soal-sda-energi-hingga-pangan)

Sunstein, C. (2017). *#Republic: divided democracy in the age of social media*. Princeton

University Press.

Taggart, P. (2000). *Populism*. Open University Press.

ThirkellWhite, B. (2009). Dealing with the Banks: Populism and the Public Interest in the

Global Financial Crisis. *International Affairs (Royal Institute of International Affairs*

1944), 85(4), 689–711. JSTOR. <https://doi.org/10.2307/27695086>

Winters, J. (2024). *Who will tame the oligarchs? - Inside Indonesia: The peoples and cultures*

of Indonesia. Insideindonesia.org.

[https://www.insideindonesia.org/editions/edition-104-jul-sep-20113/who-will-tame-th](https://www.insideindonesia.org/editions/edition-104-jul-sep-20113/who-will-tame-the-e-oligarchs)

[e-oligarchs](https://www.insideindonesia.org/editions/edition-104-jul-sep-20113/who-will-tame-the-e-oligarchs)

Yilmaz, I., Bachtiar, H., Smith, C., & Shakil, K. (2024). Fluctuating Populism: Prabowo's

Everchanging Populism Across the Indonesian Elections. *European Center for*

Populism Studies (ECPS). <https://doi.org/10.55271/pp0030>

Yilmaz, I., & Bashirov, G. (2018). The AKP after 15 years: emergence of Erdoganism in

Turkey. *Third World Quarterly*, 39(9), 1812–1830.

<https://doi.org/10.1080/01436597.2018.1447371>



UNIVERSITAS
GADJAH MADA

**Memahami Kebangkitan Populisme di Indonesia melalui Kerangka Lokalisasi Norma Internasional:
Studi**

Kasus Pemilihan Presiden Indonesia 2024

Raditya Putra Satria, Dr. Randy Wirasta Nandyatama, S.I.P., M.Sc.

Universitas Gadjah Mada, 2025 | Diunduh dari <http://etd.repository.ugm.ac.id/>

Yilmaz, I., & Morieson, N. (2023). Religions and the Global Rise of Civilizational Populism.

In *Palgrave studies in populisms*. Springer Nature.

<https://doi.org/10.1007/978-981-19-9052-6>

Yin, R. (2014). *Case Study Research and Applications: Design and Methods* (6th ed.). SAGE Publications.