



Political Communication and Candidate Image Construction in Regional Head Elections (Case Study of Sherly Tjoanda's Candidate in The North Maluku Governoral Elections)

Dhyanty Purnamasari

Universitas Paramadina, Jakarta, Indonesia

pdyanthy@gmail.com

Received: 3 April 2025 / Accepted: 11 April 2025 / Published: 30 June 2025

Abstract

This study examines the political communication strategies implemented by Sherly Tjoanda in building her image as a female candidate in the North Maluku gubernatorial election, in a region historically and culturally dominated by male and Muslim leaders. The purpose of this study is to identify and analyze the communication strategies used by Sherly in shaping her political image, and to understand how she overcomes cultural and gender challenges in the local political context. This study uses a qualitative method with a case study approach, through in-depth interviews, observations, and analysis of campaign documents. The results of the study show that Sherly Tjoanda succeeded in building a progressive, communicative, and inclusive political image through three main strategies: (1) personal and inspirational narratives that emphasize Sherly's personal story as a strong woman committed to community empowerment, (2) utilization of social media as a tool to reach young and female voters, and (3) a community and collaborative approach that directly involves the community. This study concludes that effective political communication can play an important role in shaping a candidate's image, especially in the context of regional head elections that are influenced by cultural and gender factors.

Keywords: Political Communication, Candidate Image, Regional Head Elections, Social Media, Campaign-Strategy, Female Politicians.

1. INTRODUCTION

The development of information technology has drastically changed the landscape of political communication. Social media is not only a space for communication between individuals, but also a strategic tool for political actors in building their image and delivering political messages directly to the public (Heryanto, 2018). This phenomenon shows that social media has become an effective, fast, and wide-reaching means of political communication, especially ahead of democratic events such as elections. According to Wulandari, Muqsith, & Ayuningtyas (2023), the presence of political buzzers on social media ahead of the 2024 elections is an intriguing phenomenon. They act as agents spreading specific political narratives and shaping public opinion. In this context, political communication is not only a two-way process between leaders and the people but also involves third parties with specific strategic interests.

Social media has also become a powerful arena for political branding. Candidates use platforms like Instagram, Twitter (now X), and TikTok to build emotional connections with voters, create a positive image, and distort negative narratives (Anggari & Imanuddin, 2023; Alif, 2023). The communication is not merely informative but persuasive, and often manipulative, through the use of strong visuals, emotional language, and direct interaction with users. This transformation indicates a shift from conventional political communication toward more decentralized, participatory, and viral communication (Pureklolon, 2016; Subiakto, 2015). On the other hand, Wulandari et al. (2023) emphasize that social media also opens up space for the spread of disinformation, hoaxes, and identity politics, which can actually undermine the democratic climate. Slamet (2019) highlights how political identity becomes a communication tool in campaigns, strengthening emotional bonds with specific mass bases. This is also examined by Dhani (2019), who shows that identity politics is often exploited in political communication based on religious, ethnic, or cultural sentiments, especially on



social media. Furthermore, Sari & Irwanti (2025) in their systematic study explain that social media has the potential for long-term effects in shaping voter preferences, both cognitively, affectively, and conatively. This is where the importance of digital literacy lies, so that the public can critically discern political information.

This transformation in political communication also impacts political campaign strategies themselves. Political marketing strategies have undergone significant adjustments, prioritizing social media algorithms, user data, and the ability to create viral content (Anugerah, 2011). According to Triwicaksono & Nugroho (2021), local leaders who successfully win elections generally implement adaptive, innovative digital political communication strategies and are able to consistently manage public perception. In a theoretical context, political communication approaches now place greater emphasis on the role of new media, horizontal communication among citizens, and emotional and identity-based engagement in shaping political perceptions (Syarbaini et al., 2021; Arrianie & Si, 2023). Social media, as the primary medium, has become a battleground for discourse, where political actors, influencers, and the public compete for public attention.

North Maluku is one of the provinces in Indonesia with strong socio-political characteristics. The political tradition in this region shows that local leaders are almost always male and Muslim. In this context, the presence of Sherly Tjoanda as a female candidate, Christian, and replacing her deceased husband's position, becomes an anomaly worth examining. Sherly initially had no desire to enter the political arena. She was better known as the wife of a popular regional head candidate with a strong mass base. However, when her husband passed away due to illness shortly before the regional election registration, the supporting party and campaign team saw great potential in Sherly to continue her husband's political struggle.

This fact shows the political reality in Indonesia that women's involvement in electoral politics is often influenced by personal or family relationships (Dhani, 2019). However, in Sherly's case, this involvement developed into an active effort to construct an authentic and competent political image. Many studies have been conducted on political communication and candidate image building. However, most of them focus on male candidates or general campaign strategies. Studies on female politicians as major candidates in the context of regions with strong social norms that are unfavorable to women are still very limited. This study fills this gap by focusing on how women build their image in conditions that are full of social, cultural, and religious challenges.

The novelty of this research lies in its contextual approach to political image-building by female candidates in conservative regions. Additionally, Sherly Tjoanda's case demonstrates unique dynamics in political communication: how to build a narrative of political transition from husband to wife, and how media strategies and interpersonal communication are used to overcome cultural and religious resistance. Sherly Tjoanda began her campaign with an empathetic approach. She placed the narrative of grief and the spirit of continuing her husband's struggle at the center of her public communication. This strategy was used to build emotional closeness with voters and avoid the perception that she was exploiting tragedy for political gain.

Social media became the primary tool for conveying messages. Sherly utilized platforms such as Facebook and Instagram to share social activities, campaign programs, and testimonials from the community. This strategy proved effective in reaching young voters and the urban middle class. However, to reach rural and traditional voters, she also took a direct approach through community meetings, public lectures, and interfaith discussion forums. As a Christian woman in a predominantly Muslim area, Sherly faced serious challenges in building public trust. In many public discussions, doubts arose about her ability to lead, as well as concerns that her leadership would conflict with local Islamic values. To overcome this, Sherly enlisted moderate Islamic religious leaders to be part of her campaign team. She was also active in interfaith dialogue and demonstrated her commitment to the values of inclusivity and tolerance.



Sherly also had to fight against gender stereotypes that consider women unfit to lead. She responded to this by highlighting her competence, education, and organizational experience. In many of her political speeches, she emphasizes maternal values as a moral strength to lead with the heart, not as a weakness. The role of the media is significant in shaping public perception of Sherly. Many local and national media outlets highlight her story as a resilient woman continuing her husband's struggle. This media framing reinforces Sherly's image as a bold, empathetic leader with a high sense of dedication. However, there are also many media outlets that have attempted to discredit her, either through sectarian or gender-based narratives. In response to these attacks, Sherly's communications team has responded swiftly through public clarifications, positive digital campaigns, and direct engagement with key communities. Sherly Tjoanda's case demonstrates that political communication is not only about conveying messages, but also about building identity narratives, addressing cultural and religious challenges, and leveraging social momentum effectively. Her success in shaping a positive political image shows that with the right communication strategy, female candidates can break through patriarchal political dominance. In the context of regional elections, the involvement of women like Sherly can serve as inspiration and proof that inclusive, competency-based politics can be realized. This research underscores the importance of understanding the dynamics of political communication in shaping a candidate's image, particularly in complex sociocultural contexts.

This study aims to examine how political communication strategies are used by female candidates in building their image during the regional election process. Special focus is given to the case study of Sherly Tjoanda, a woman who ran as a regional head candidate in North Maluku, replacing her husband who passed away shortly before the campaign period. The research question in this study focuses on three main aspects related to political communication and the construction of candidate image in regional head elections. First, how political communication is used to shape Sherly Tjoanda's political image as a regional head candidate. This study aims to examine in depth how political messages, symbols, and communication strategies designed by Sherly are able to create a certain image in the minds of voters, particularly as a female politician who appears in the public sphere with a narrative of change and inclusivity. Second, what challenges do female candidates face in building a political image in a region dominated by patriarchal values and a majority of male voters who are Muslim? This focus is important to highlight the socio-cultural context in North Maluku, which historically has a tradition of male leadership, making it a unique challenge for female candidates to gain political acceptance. Third, what strategies did Sherly Tjoanda use to address these socio-political dynamics? This study seeks to explore the tactical and strategic steps taken by Sherly, whether through personal political communication, the use of social media, community outreach, or other means of responding to resistance and reversing public perception in order to gain support for her leadership as a woman in local politics.

2. METHOD

This study uses a qualitative approach with a case study method to explore political communication practices in shaping the image of regional head candidates, particularly Sherly Tjoanda as a female candidate in the regional head elections in North Maluku. This approach was chosen because it allows for an in-depth analysis of the political communication strategies employed, while also understanding the complexity of the social, cultural, and political contexts that influence the process of constructing a candidate's image. Case studies are considered relevant for revealing political dynamics in a local context, as stated by Yin (2018), that this approach is capable of comprehensively exploring phenomena in a real environment that is inseparable from its context. The research subjects consisted of Sherly Tjoanda's campaign team, local political observers, regional journalists, and several voters who actively followed the regional election process. Informants were selected purposively, i.e., by choosing individuals who had a deep understanding and direct involvement in the process of shaping Sherly Tjoanda's image as a candidate (Creswell, 2014). This technique was considered appropriate to ensure that the data obtained came from credible sources and was relevant to the research focus.



Data collection was conducted through in-depth interviews, participatory observation, and document analysis. In-depth interviews were conducted with Sherly Tjoanda and her communication team to understand the political communication strategies used, the narratives constructed, and the challenges faced in presenting a strong image amid the dominance of patriarchal culture and the local community's political preference for male candidates of the Islamic faith. This technique was used because it was able to explore personal narratives and campaign strategies from the candidate's internal perspective (Bogdan & Biklen, 2007). In addition, interviews were also conducted with local journalists and academics to obtain external views on how the media and the public responded to Sherly's image as a female candidate. Observations were made of Sherly's campaign activities on various digital platforms such as Instagram, TikTok, and YouTube, as well as in face-to-face activities in the field. This participatory observation technique aimed to observe how political communication actually took place and how the public responded to the narratives constructed by the candidate (Patton, 2015). The observation also included Sherly's interactions with the local community, campaign volunteers, and voters in various social and political activities.

In addition to interviews and observations, this study also collected and analyzed various documents such as campaign posters, campaign videos, press releases, online media articles, and netizen comments on social media. Document analysis was used to reinforce field findings and add perspective on the symbolic messages conveyed by Sherly Tjoanda in shaping her image (Bowen, 2009). These documents helped identify how digital media was used as a strategic and measurable political communication tool.

The collected data were analyzed using Miles and Huberman's (1994) interactive analysis model, which includes three main stages: data reduction, data presentation, and conclusion drawing/verification. Data reduction was carried out by sorting the most relevant data related to political communication strategies, public responses, and cultural contexts. Data presentation was organized in the form of descriptive and thematic narratives to facilitate the analysis of relationships between categories. Conclusions were drawn by identifying recurring patterns from the results of interviews, observations, and documents, and comparing them with theory and previous research findings. To enhance data validity, this study employs source and method triangulation techniques. Source triangulation involves comparing information from campaign teams, media, political observers, and the voting public. Method triangulation combines interviews, observations, and document analysis to achieve a more comprehensive and in-depth understanding of the phenomenon under study (Denzin, 2012).

With this approach and methodology, the study is expected to contribute theoretically and practically to the field of political communication, particularly regarding how female candidates can shape their political image in regions with cultural resistance to female leadership. The findings are also expected to provide insights for female candidates and campaign teams in designing effective, contextual communication strategies based on personal narrative strengths, digital media, and community engagement. Additionally, the results of this research are also expected to provide input for election policy designers in creating a more inclusive system and encouraging greater political participation by women.

3. RESULT AND DISCUSSION

This study examines how Sherly Tjoanda developed her image as a female leader candidate in the regional elections, in an area historically dominated by male leaders and Islam. Focusing on three main political communication strategies, the results show that Sherly successfully built a progressive, communicative, and inclusive image through a holistic approach that was adaptive to local socio-cultural dynamics. The following is a detailed analysis of the three communication strategies used by Sherly Tjoanda in shaping her political image.



Personal and Inspirational Narrative

The first strategy used by Sherly Tjoanda is a personal narrative that portrays her as a strong, courageous woman who is highly committed to community empowerment, especially women and children. This narrative is highly effective in appealing to the emotional side of the public and building a connection with voters, especially those who are moved by authentic and inspiring personal stories. Sherly leverages her personal background as a professional woman and the wife of a previous candidate who died suddenly. Sherly's courage to continue her husband's political legacy, who had a strong political track record, is at the core of the narrative she has built. Through this narrative, Sherly has successfully constructed an image of herself as a leader who is not only strong as an individual, but also as a figure who is brave enough to face challenges, both in her personal and political life.

The use of this personal narrative also raises a deeper emotional dimension, where the public can feel the struggles and sacrifices made by Sherly. This underlines Sherly's sincerity in fighting for the interests of the community and empowering marginalized groups, such as women and children. Her authentic image, as a figure who does not merely replace her husband's role but also has a vision and mission to develop the region, further strengthens her position in the eyes of the public.

Utilization of Social Media

The second strategy highlighted in this study is Sherly Tjoanda's optimal use of social media. In the digital age, social media has become a highly effective tool for conveying political messages to the public. Sherly utilizes platforms such as Instagram, TikTok, and YouTube to distribute her political messages and present her image directly to the public. One of the approaches Sherly uses on social media is a visual and narrative strategy that allows her to reach young voters, women, and urban communities. These voters tend to be more open to alternative figures and seek leaders who can communicate in a language relevant to social media. Sherly successfully uses these platforms to share daily posts containing policy discussions, inspirational content, and personal stories that provide insight into her political journey and personal life.

The use of social media also allows Sherly to build more direct relationships with voters, unrestricted by distance. She can interact personally with the community, respond to questions or criticism that arise, and show a more human and accessible side of herself. The content shared is not limited to political issues but also covers relevant social topics, such as women's empowerment and poverty eradication, which are an important part of Sherly's political vision. In addition, Sherly also uses social media to strengthen her visibility and introduce herself as a progressive candidate who is at the forefront of utilizing technology. Thus, social media is not only a campaign tool, but also an integral part of Sherly's political communication strategy to show her closeness to young people and promote the values of inclusivity and openness.

Community and Collaborative Approach

The third strategy implemented by Sherly Tjoanda is a community and collaborative approach. In this strategy, Sherly prioritizes a participatory style of political communication, where she not only speaks to the community but also listens to and involves them in the campaign process. Sherly actively goes out into the field, attends community forums, and interacts with various community groups to build closer relationships and trust.

This approach involves two-way communication that fosters open dialogue between Sherly and voters. She facilitates discussions on policies to be implemented, listens to the aspirations of the community, and responds to local issues of primary concern. In this way, Sherly is able to show that she is a candidate who not only listens but also understands the needs and challenges faced by the local community. This approach is particularly important in a region culturally dominated by male leaders and Islam, where the presence of women in politics is often considered taboo or



undervalued.

Sherly also builds relationships with various local communities through social activities that involve active community participation. These activities can take the form of outreach, social service, or empowerment programs that emphasize collaboration between the government, the community, and the private sector. This collaborative approach strengthens Sherly's image as an inclusive, responsive candidate with a vision for building unity in achieving mutual progress. The success of this strategy also lies in Sherly's ability to establish relationships with groups that have been marginalized in local politics. She has successfully introduced herself as a candidate who cares about community welfare issues and is committed to social justice, especially in the empowerment of women and minority groups.

From the results of this study, Sherly Tjoanda has successfully built a strong and credible political image through three mutually supportive communication strategies: a personal narrative that emphasizes courage and commitment to community empowerment, the use of social media to disseminate political messages relevant to young and female audiences, and a community approach that involves active community participation in the campaign process. Sherly has constructed an image of herself as a woman who is not only strong and courageous but also possesses a progressive and inclusive vision capable of responding to local socio-cultural dynamics. The communication strategies employed by Sherly demonstrate how a female candidate can overcome cultural and gender challenges in politics and introduce a more modern and relevant political communication approach aligned with the needs of today's society.

The results of this study indicate that political communication is not merely a process of conveying messages, but also a strategic tool in shaping and strengthening the image of candidates, particularly in the context of female candidates. Sherly Tjoanda is an interesting case study because she was able to shift public perception in a region with a conservative social structure. This study is relevant to the findings of Setiawan et al. (2024), which show that political communication is effective in shaping a candidate's image when the narrative built is in line with local values. Sherly, despite being different in terms of gender and religion from previous dominant candidates, was able to adapt her political narrative to the local context without losing her identity as a progressive female politician.

A gap in previous research is the lack of exploration of women's roles in local political communication in areas with strong patriarchal values. Most studies still focus on male figures or national elites. This research fills this gap by highlighting female figures who are fighting from peripheral areas and within complex cultural systems. In the context of social media-based communication strategies, these findings align with Lim's (2020) research, which shows that social media provides a more democratic space for non-traditional candidates, including women and minorities. Sherly Tjoanda adopted a visual-audio approach to connect with voters while controlling the political narrative without relying on mainstream media, which often exhibits gender bias.

Another unique aspect lies in her ability to turn a narrative of grief into political strength. When her husband, who was the original candidate, passed away, Sherly faced a major challenge: not only continuing the family's political legacy but also challenging local political traditions that marginalize women. She confronted the reality that the majority of voters in North Maluku were more familiar with male and Muslim leaders. However, it was precisely in these circumstances that she demonstrated her courage and capacity as an alternative leader.

In this context, Muhtadi (2021) argues that a personal crisis can become a moment of political rebranding if managed well. Sherly used the situation as a turning point to strengthen public sympathy and solidarity, especially among female voters and young people. In interviews with several community leaders, it was revealed that there was initially skepticism about Sherly's capabilities. However, after several months of campaigning with an open approach, the community began to see the advantages of her humanistic and inclusive leadership style. This demonstrates



that communication strategies based on empathy and participation have the power to change public perception. Unlike Siregar's (2014) research, which states that women are often used as political symbols without actual power, Sherly Tjoanda has turned the symbolic role into political substance. She does not merely appear as the "wife of a candidate," but as a political actor with a clear agenda, values, and vision. This demonstrates that women have transformative power in local politics when given space and able to articulate their political messages effectively.

This study also shows that digital media-based political communication and community-oriented approaches are not merely trends but strategic necessities for building emotional and rational closeness with voters. Sherly Tjoanda successfully created a more open, humanistic, and participatory political ecosystem through smart and adaptive communication strategies. The image that emerged was that of a smart, empathetic, and innovative female leader. This strategy demonstrates the effectiveness of digital media-based political communication in building positive perceptions.

CONCLUSION

This study concludes that Sherly Tjoanda successfully built her political image through the application of adaptive and inclusive political communication strategies. This success cannot be separated from her ability to overcome existing challenges, both those related to gender and the dominance of local culture, which tends to favor male leaders. Overall, there are three key elements in the political communication strategy implemented by Sherly Tjoanda in her candidacy for the North Maluku Governor Election.

First, the personal and inspirational narrative constructed by Sherly Tjoanda serves as the primary tool for creating emotional closeness with the public. By highlighting her story as a woman who took over her husband's position after his sudden death, Sherly successfully conveyed the message that she has a strong commitment and courage to continue the political struggle, particularly in the empowerment of women and children. This narrative portrays Sherly as an authentic leader, whose life background is not only inspiring but also shapes her positive image as a dedicated female candidate.

Second, Sherly Tjoanda's use of social media in her political campaign demonstrates her ability to adapt to the times and technological developments. Social media platforms such as Instagram, TikTok, and YouTube allow Sherly to reach a wider audience, especially young voters and women. With an engaging visual and narrative approach, Sherly is able to maximize her visibility in the digital public sphere. On these platforms, Sherly not only promotes her political message but also showcases her personal and professional sides, making her more relatable to her audience. This use of social media demonstrates how technology can play a crucial role in effectively conveying political messages in the modern era.

Third, Sherly's community-based and collaborative approach focuses on two-way communication and active engagement with the public. Sherly does not just speak to the public but also involves them in open dialogue about the policies that will be implemented if she is elected. By going directly to the field, holding community forums, and engaging in social activities that involve the community, Sherly has successfully built closer and more trusting relationships with voters. This approach not only demonstrates her commitment to inclusive leadership but also shows that Sherly is a leader who is responsive to the needs and aspirations of the community.

Overall, the communication strategy implemented by Sherly Tjoanda in the North Maluku Governor Election successfully created a positive image that led to political victory, despite the social and cultural context that tends to prioritize male leaders. Through a combination of strong personal narratives, effective use of social media, and a deep participatory approach, Sherly successfully established herself as a candidate capable of addressing local challenges and providing relevant



solutions for the community.

This study offers several recommendations for further research and for political practitioners, particularly in the context of political communication and the candidacy of women in local elections. First, for further research, it is recommended to explore more deeply how a candidate's personal narrative can influence public perception of female leaders. Further research can analyze the factors that influence public acceptance of women in leadership positions, especially in areas with conservative social and cultural norms. Second, this study also opens up opportunities to further explore the role of social media in political campaigns, especially in areas with limited conventional media infrastructure. More in-depth research can further identify how social media can be used as a more effective strategic tool to reach voters in areas with lower levels of openness to technology. Third, for political practitioners, this study provides important insights into the importance of collaborative and community-based approaches in building stronger relationships between candidates and voters. Given the challenges faced by female candidates, a more inclusive and community-based approach is essential to ensure that voters feel involved in the political process, which in turn can increase political participation among the public. Finally, for female candidates seeking to enter the political arena, it is important to understand that political communication strategies built on authentic values, mastery of social media, and effective communication techniques are essential for achieving success in the political arena.

REFERENCES

- Alif, M. I. (2023). Komunikasi Politik: Penyampaian Pesan Dan Pemilihan Media Oleh Bakal Calon Presiden Dalam Pemilu Tahun 2024. *Akrab Juara: Jurnal Ilmu-ilmu Sosial*, 8(3), 1–18. <http://www.akrabjuara.com/index.php/akrabjuara/article/view/2136>
- Anggari, N. A., & Imanuddin, A. (2023). Strategi Political Branding Partai Keadilan Sejahtera Kota Jambi. *Jurnal Pemikiran Politik Islam*, 1(2), 98–108. https://sophisticated.fusa.uinjambi.ac.id/index.php/ppi_uinjambi_2022/article/view/29
- Anugerah, D. (2011). Marketing Politik: Urgensi dan Posisinya dalam Komunikasi Politik. *Ilmu Dakwah: Academic Journal for Homiletic Studies*, 5(18), 575–598. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.15575/idajhs.v5i18.379>
- Bogdan, R. C., & Biklen, S. K. (2007). *Qualitative research for education: An introduction to theories and methods* (5th ed.). Pearson.
- Bowen, G. A. (2009). Document analysis as a qualitative research method. *Qualitative Research Journal*, 9(2), 27–40. <https://doi.org/10.3316/QRJ0902027>
- Creswell, J. W. (2014). *Research design: Qualitative, quantitative, and mixed methods approaches* (4th ed.). SAGE Publications.
- Denzin, N. K. (2012). Triangulation 2.0. *Journal of Mixed Methods Research*, 6(2), 80–88. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1558689812437186>
- Dhani, F. W. (2019). Komunikasi Politik Berbasis Politik Identitas Dalam Kampanye Pilkada. *Metacommunication; Journal of Communication Studies*, 4(1), 143–157. DOI: <http://dx.doi.org/10.20527/mc.v4i1.6360>
- Heryanto, G. G. (2018). *Media komunikasi politik*. IRCiSoD.
- Krook, M. L. (2010). *Quotas for women in politics: Gender and candidate selection reform worldwide*. Oxford University Press.



- Lim, M. (2020). *Digital politics in Southeast Asia: Communication strategies and populism*. Singapore: ISEAS Publishing.
- Miles, M. B., & Huberman, A. M. (1994). *Qualitative data analysis: An expanded sourcebook* (2nd ed.). SAGE Publications.
- Muhtadi, B. (2021). *Strategi politik dalam krisis: Memaknai momen dan narasi*. Yogyakarta: PolGov.
- Norris, P., & Inglehart, R. (2001). Cultural obstacles to equal representation. *Journal of Democracy*, 12(3), 126–140. <https://doi.org/10.1353/jod.2001.0054>
- Patton, M. Q. (2015). *Qualitative research and evaluation methods* (4th ed.). SAGE Publications.
- Pureklolon, T. P. (2016). *Komunikasi politik*. Gramedia Pustaka Utama.
- Sari, S. B., & Irwanti, M. (2025). Media Sosial dan Komunikasi Politik: Kajian Sistematis tentang Efek Pesan pada Pemilu dan Pilkada. *Retorika: Jurnal Komunikasi, Sosial dan Ilmu Politik*, 2(1), 301–312. <https://jurnal.researchideas.org/index.php/retorika/article/view/524>
- Setiawan, M. F., Yanto, L. Y., Nurfiani, N., Astuti, F., & Rahmatia, R. (2024). Analisis peran komunikasi politik dalam pencitraan calon pemimpin pada kontestan pemilu. *ULIL ALBAB: Jurnal Ilmiah Multidisiplin*, 3(3), 108–117. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.56799/jim.v3i3.2976>
- Siregar, E. (2014). *Perempuan dalam politik lokal: Antara simbol dan substansi*. Jakarta: LP3ES.
- Slamet, A. (2019). Identitas Politik dalam Komunikasi Politik Calon Gubernur Jawa Barat Tahun 2018. *Linimasa: Jurnal Ilmu Komunikasi*, 2(1).
- Subiakto, H. (2015). *Komunikasi politik, media, dan demokrasi*. Prenada Media.
- Syarbaini, S., Nur, S. M., & Anom, E. (2021). Teori, media dan strategi komunikasi politik. Jakarta: Esa Unggul, 127–135. https://digilib.esaunggul.ac.id/public/UEU-Books-22242-10_0073.pdf
- Triwicaksono, Y. D. B. B., & Nugroho, A. (2021). Strategi komunikasi politik kemenangan Kepala Daerah. *Jurnal Lensa Mutiara Komunikasi*, 5(1), 133–145. <https://pdfs.semanticscholar.org/d111/8299a4cc5e4f5efbd71289cc9aaf5d581e11.pdf/1000>
- Wulandari, C. D., Muqsith, M. A., & Ayuningtyas, F. (2023). Fenomena Buzzer Di Media Sosial Jelang Pemilu 2024 Dalam Perspektif Komunikasi Politik. *Avant Garde*, 11(1), 134. https://www.researchgate.net/profile/Fitria-Ayuningtyas/publication/371684161_Fenomena_Buzzer_Di_Media_Sosial_Jelang_Pemilu_2024_Dalam_Perspektif_Komunikasi_Politik/links/648fb39e95bbbe0c6ed163fb/Fenomena-Buzzer-Di-Media-Sosial-Jelang-Pemilu-2024-Dalam-Perspektif-Komunikasi-Politik.pdf
- Yin, R. K. (2018). *Case study research and applications: Design and methods* (6th ed.). SAGE Publications.
- Yusuf, I. A. (2011). Media lokal dalam konstelasi komunikasi politik di daerah. *Jurnal Ilmu Sosial dan Ilmu Politik*, 14(3), 297–316. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.22146/jsp.10930>