New Political Campaigning in the Digital Era: Khofifah Indar Parawansa's Strategy during the 2024 East Java Regional Elections

Candra Ayu Hanggaratri[1], Dian Eka Rahmawati[2], Misran[3],Fajar Aswad Asruddin[4]

[1,2,4]Department of Government Affairs and Administration Universitas Muhammadiyah Yogyakarta, Indonesia
[3]Department of Public Administration, Gadjah Mada University, Indonesia
*corresponding author E-mail: candraayu2002@gmail.com

ABSTRACT

This research examines new political marketing strategies in the digital era through Instagram, focusing on Khofifah Indar Parawansa's political campaign in the 2024 East Java Regional Head Election. This research uses a qualitative method with a virtual ethnographic approach, this study analyzes the content of Khofifah's official Instagram account. The results of the study show that Khofifah successfully uses social media to convey personal narratives that are packed with local and religious cultural values, build emotional bonds with the community, and create effective two-way interactions through attractive visual uploads such as photos, videos, and stories. The study also underscores the importance of balancing social media to expand campaign reach efficiently and cost-effectively, while addressing challenges such as polarization, disinformation, and the digital divide. This research contributes to the political marketing literature by highlighting Instagram's role in building candidate brands at the local level, especially among young voters. These findings provide practical guidance for political practitioners in optimizing social media to create more effective and inclusive campaigns.

Keywords: Political Marketing, Digital Campaigns, Instagram, Regional Elections, East Java.

INTRODUCTION

The digital age has significantly transformed the landscape of political campaigning, offering candidates opportunities to engage with voters through both traditional forums and digital media, particularly social media (Taras & Davis, 2022). As political marketing evolves alongside technological advancements, platforms such as Facebook, Twitter, and Instagram have become central to strategic campaign efforts. Facebook, for instance, enables two-way communication between candidates and their supporters, fostering relational engagement through likes, comments, and shares (Lin, 2017; Taras

& Davis, 2022). This interaction is not merely superficial; it has tangible implications for mobilizing voter support and enhancing political participation. Xenos et al (2017) emphasize that the degree of audience interaction is contingent on the nature and presentation of content, with more engaging posts generating higher levels of response. This suggests a deliberate and strategic use of Facebook that aligns with broader campaign goals, such as building a sense of community among constituents. Supporting this, (Fatmayani, 2019) notes that both political elites and candidates use Facebook and in-person socialization similarly—to influence public sentiment and garner support.

Social media has become an important pillar in modern political marketing strategies. Twitter, for example, enables real-time direct communication between candidates and voters (Abid & Roy, 2024), shapes public discourse (Rodrigues, 2020), and supports the development of broader campaign strategies (Vergeer, 2015). Meanwhile, Instagram is developing as an effective visual platform in reaching young voters that dominate Indonesia's digital landscape (Gordillo-Rodriguez & Bellido-Perez, 2021). Through visual content such as photos, short videos, and stories, Instagram helps strengthen a candidate's image and emotional appeal (Ferré-Pavia & Codina, 2022).

In this context, the effectiveness of political campaigns is highly dependent on the ability to increase political awareness, shape the image of candidates, and build public trust (Manek & Fadah, 2024). Tailoring political messages to different audience segments is crucial (Vinet & Zhedanov, 2011), including the use of humor as a persuasive tool (Ramdhan, 2024) and social media ads that have been shown to have an effect on voter perception and preferences (Alayya et al., 2022).

However, although Instagram has more than 63 million users in Indonesia (Singh et al., 2022) and shows strong potential in the political realm (Rianto, 2023), academic research related to its use in regional head elections

is still limited (Rakhmawati et al., 2021; Utomo et al., 2022). Therefore, this study aims to analyze Khofifah Indar Parawansa's political marketing strategy through his personal Instagram account in the face of the 2024 East Java Governor Election. As a political figure who is active on social media, Khofifah blends religious narratives, economic programs, and populist approaches to build connections with voters. This research is important to understand how social media—especially Instagram—is used strategically in shaping public opinion and political engagement amid increasingly dynamic electoral competitions.

In this research, the author adopts a theoretical framework that focuses on the intersection between social media and political campaigns. This framework emphasizes how digital platforms are reshaping campaign strategies, altering communication patterns between candidates and constituents, and influencing voter behavior in significant ways.

Figure 1. Multidimensionality of social media and political campaigns
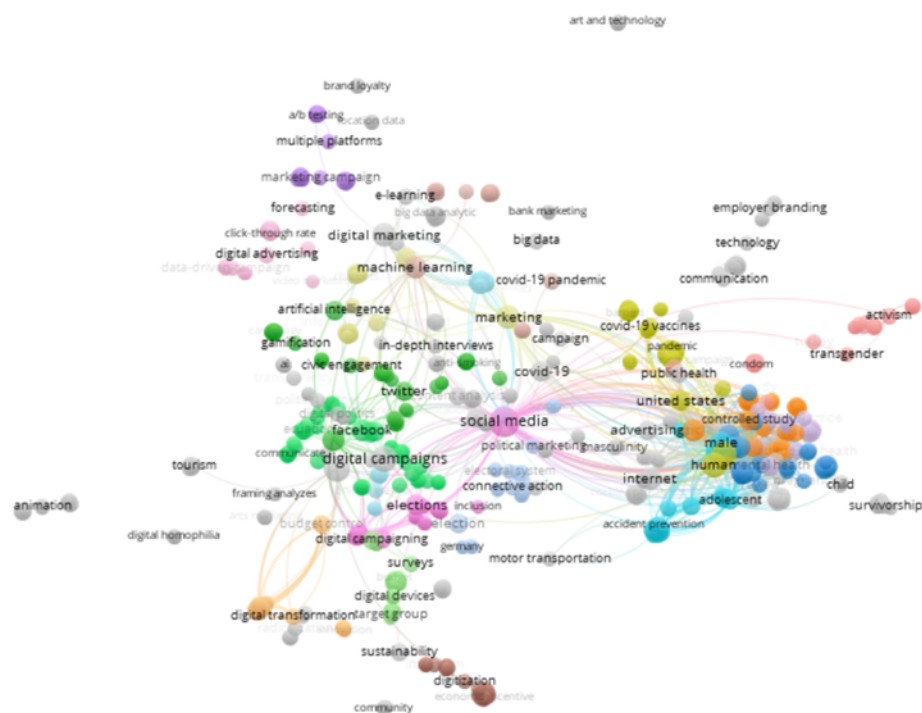
Source: Processed by the author using Vossviewer

Digital transformation has brought about major changes in contemporary political communication practices. Social media now serves not only as a tool for disseminating information, but also as an interactive space that allows for personalization of messages, emotional engagement, and more inclusive political participation (Johnson-Cartee & Copeland, 1997; Alshahran, 2023; Yu et al., 2023). In this context, political campaign strategies have shifted from conventional approaches to more dialogical and decentralized models (Bennett & Segerberg, 2012).

Young voter participation is a major concern in this landscape. A number of studies highlight how social media encourages the political involvement of young people more actively, especially in the context of electoral campaigns (Onyechi, 2018). On the other hand, ethical issues also arise such as the use of negative advertising that can damage trust in democratic institutions (Rapeli, 2014). Therefore, the effectiveness of a campaign is measured not only by the reach of the message, but also by how democratic values such as inclusion and deliberation are maintained.

In addition to expanding political reach and engagement, digitalization also offers efficiency and sustainability in the implementation of campaigns, including reduced environmental footprint and operational costs (Benkler, 2006). However, in the midst of a hybrid media system that combines traditional journalism with user-generated content, new challenges such as disinformation and polarization have emerged (Bennett & Segerberg, 2012). This research aims to understand how social media, especially in the context of Khofifah Indar Parawansa's campaign in the 2024 East Java Governor Election, is used strategically to shape political narratives, reach voters, and build ethical and effective digital engagement.

Although many studies have discussed the influence of social media on political campaigns in general, studies that specifically highlight this new dynamic in a local or regional context—such as regional head elections—are

still limited. This research is important to fill this gap by examining how digital political campaign strategies are implemented in the Indonesian context, amidst changing voter behavior and the development of digital literacy. Therefore, this article aims to examine how digitalization, especially through social media, shapes contemporary political campaign strategies and its impact on voter participation. This research will also discuss the challenges and opportunities that arise from these changes, with a focus on the social and political context in the current digital era.

RESEARCH METHOD

This research adopts a qualitative method with a virtual ethnography approach to analyse the use of Instagram as a political marketing tool by Khofifah Indar Parawansa in the context of the 2024 East Java regional election. Virtual ethnography is particularly suitable for studying social behaviours and interactions in digital environments, especially within social media platforms where political engagement increasingly occurs(Uzun & Aydin, 2012). The approach requires methodological flexibility and ethical sensitivity to the unique dynamics of online spaces (Hancock et al., 2011), including issues of representation, privacy, and interpretive bias.

The research data were collected from Khofifah Indar Parawansa's official Instagram account during the period of October to November 2024, coinciding with the intensification of campaign activities ahead of the regional election. The posts were selected based on purposeful sampling, using the following criteria:

1. Posts explicitly related to political messaging or campaigning activities,
2. Posts that include visual and textual elements (e.g., photos/videos with captions or hashtags),
3. Posts that reflect engagement strategies, such as direct interaction with citizens, collaboration with public figures, or expressions of political vision.

To ensure analytical rigor, this study employs thematic analysis, focusing on recurring motifs such as emotional appeal, religious symbolism, civic engagement, and digital performance. This technique allows the researcher to identify patterns in content and assess how these narratives align with campaign strategies. The application of virtual ethnography supports the aim of capturing not only the content but also the context and reception of Khofifah's online political messaging. It allows for the observation of how digital narratives are constructed and circulated, and how they potentially influence public perception and voter behaviour. Reflexivity is maintained throughout the interpretation process to reduce researcher bias, while triangulation is achieved by cross-referencing data with engagement metrics (likes, comments) and relevant campaign events.

The following table summarises key categories of data analysed from Khofifah's Instagram activity:

Table 1. Research Data Sources

Instagram Account	Analysed Data/Caption/Hashtag	Description
@khofifah.ip	*Engagement with Communities*	Posts showing direct interaction with local communities, such as a visit to Pasar Besar in Malang (November 2024), where she greeted traders and opened a free health check.
	Collaboration with National Figures and Artists	Example: Campaign video "Life Is a Struggle" launched with Dewa 19 in October 2024, aimed at attracting younger voters.
	Support for the Candidate-Candidate Pair	Post from 24 November 2024 featuring the tagline *BersamaMenujuPerubahan!* and a message positioning herself as a caring and visionary leader.

This methodological framework provides a structured lens to investigate how Instagram operates not merely as a communication tool, but as a stage for personalised political branding and voter engagement in the digital era.

RESULT AND DISCUSSION

This section will provide analysis and discussion results on the new political marketing in the digital era by khofifah indar parawansa in the 2024 East Java regional head election. This study uses a virtual ethnographic approach to understand the digital political marketing practices carried out by Khofifah Indar Parawansa in the 2024 East Java regional head election. This approach was chosen because the focus of the research is closely related to the dynamics of political communication that takes place online, especially through the social media platform Instagram. Virtual ethnography allows researchers to observe cultural practices, symbolic interactions, and political narratives that are shaped and disseminated in digital spaces in depth. The selection of the virtual ethnographic method is based on the assumption that social media is not only a means of communication, but also a social space where political identities are constructed, disseminated, and negotiated. In this context, virtual ethnography becomes relevant because it is able to capture digital practices as part of a complex, dynamic, and connected social life to the local cultural context. The data in this study was also collected through digital field recording, which is a systematic documentation process of various activities, content, and interactions that take place in the social media space—in this case, Khofifah Indar Parawansa's Instagram account and its support network. This technique is done by recording and archiving uploads in the form of photos, videos, captions, instastories, reels, and comments from other users who interact with the content.

Recording was carried out daily during the observation period (January-March 2024), covering the time before, during, and after the active campaign period. The researcher creates an activity log that contains the date, the type of content uploaded, the main message conveyed, the public response (number of likes, comments, shares), and the narrative or political symbols that appear. Some screenshots and upload links are collected for further documentation

and analysis. This digital field recording also includes observations on digital engagement and interaction patterns, such as upload rhythm, active time, the use of certain hashtags, and the involvement of influencers or other public figures involved in digital campaigns. All data is recorded and compiled in a matrix format to facilitate thematic analysis.

This digital field recording technique aims to observe the dynamics of political communication in real time, as well as capture meanings built through visual and symbolic mediums typical of the Instagram platform. By taking detailed and systematic notes, researchers can compile a complete picture of the digital campaign strategy carried out by Khofifah Indar Parawansa in electoral political contestation in the digital era.

The ethical aspect is maintained by not revealing the identity of the informant explicitly, and only using data that is publicly available or has obtained consent. The validity of the research was strengthened through time triangulation applied by conducting periodic observations in various phases of the campaign (pre-campaign, active campaign period, and post-campaign) to capture the dynamics of communication that occurred over time. Through this triangulation approach, the data collected becomes richer and more reliable, as well as provides a deeper understanding of the digital political marketing phenomenon being studied.

Narration as Political Campaign

Political campaigns through social media have undergone a significant transformation, from previously dominated by platforms such as Facebook and Twitter, now shifting to Instagram. The platform provides a more personal and emotional visual and narrative space, which is effectively utilized oleh Khofifah Indar Parawansa during the 2024 East Java Regional Head Election. The following data is some of the uploaded content from the Instagram account @khofifah.ip used to build his political campaign narrative:

Table 2. data some of the uploaded content from the Instagram

Instagram Account	Analysed data/Caption/Hastag	Total Post Comments
@khofifah.ip	Thank you for the commitment and support of the East Java White Jasmine Alliance to strengthen the winning of Khofifah-Emil in the gubernatorial election on 27 November 2024. Bismillah we strengthen the ranks to build East Java in the coming year with the synergy and collaboration of all elements.	196 Comment
	My brother to ojol drivers in Surabaya and surrounding areas, keep your spirits up, good health and happiness full of blessings. Thank you for the togetherness that has been built so far. Hopefully we will together organise a more advanced East Java to realise the New Gate of the Archipelago.	300 Comment
	Thank you...thank you...thank you...the spirit of supporting Khofifah-Emil from Mustikama Group Lumajang employees.	247 Comment
	Greetings healthy spirit for all panjenengan.Hopefully healthy long life and a lot of fortune.Amin	
	Lumajang residents, thank you, mator sakalangkong for all the warmth, welcome, support and prayers when we visited the new market, Wednesday (13/11).	229 Comment
	May all of you be happy, prosperous, healthy, and have much fortune.Amen.	
	Every verse of sholawat that we chant is proof of longing, proof of love, and hope for the intercession of the glorious Messenger of Allah. May this sholawat be a shield from all calamities, be a cooler for the soul, and bring safety and prosperity to the people of East Java. Let us make love for the Messenger a Light in life, and may Allah be pleased with every step we take.Aamiin YRA.	227 Comment
	Thank you to the people of Jember and throughout East Java who attended and enlivened Khofifah-Emil's grand campaign at Jember Sport Garden, Sunday (10/11/2024). The support and enthusiasm of all panjenengan makes us even more confident to bring East Java to a more advanced and accomplished direction.	386 Comment
	Apologies for any traffic inconvenience that may occur during the event and thanks also to the TNI-POLRI who have escorted this event. Together we realise the New Gate of the Archipelago.	
	To the pahing market rungkut surabaya got a gift parik'an : Mbak sarifah wants to snack, Tonggoe nukokno onde-	301 Comment

onde, Bu Khofifah and Pak Emil, Moga-Moga 2 period.Matur suwun parik'an, support and all prayers. May you be healthy, happy, and have much fortune. aamiin	
Nganjuk residents, especially sukomoro market, Matur nuwun very all prayers and support. Hopefully the merchandise will be more in demand, the fortune will be abundant. Healthy and happy all.Aamiin.Nganjuk, Tuesday (5/11)	229 Comment
A sweet surprise from Wadung Asri market, Sidoarjo.The traders spontaneously became impromptu campaigners for us, me and mas emil. The support that continues to flow from the people of East Java is proof that we all have the same vision to develop this region. I believe, with the power of togetherness, we can win this election and bring real change.Matur nuwun for the love and enthusiasm.	327 Comment
Alhamdulillah, we had the opportunity to visit the Surabaya customs fish market on Saturday (16/11/2024) afternoon. Thank you for the enthusiasm of the community to welcome us. sentences of hope and prayers for Khofifah-Emil also flowed. They compactly support Khofifah to return to lead East Java. Thank you for all your kindness, I hope you are healthy, happy, and have a lot of fortune. Aamiin	198 Comment

Source: Ncapture Instagram.

Building Political Narrative: Strategy and Content

Khofifah builds her political narrative by weaving together emotional appeal, religious references, and local cultural idioms. This narrative strategy constructs not only a persuasive message but also a sense of intimacy and cultural resonance with the people of East Java. Phrases like *"Matur suwun"*, *"Panjenengan"*, *"Aamiin"*, and *"Parik'an"* serve as more than just linguistic choices—they are symbols of shared identity and familiarity. These culturally rooted expressions act as connectors, reinforcing Khofifah's image as a leader who is both accessible and in tune with local values.

Her campaign content also emphasizes emotional closeness through visual and textual storytelling. Posts that portray her interactions with local communities—such as greeting *ojol* drivers, visiting traditional markets, or engaging with micro-entrepreneurs—convey a down-to-earth, motherly-populist image. Captions like *"my brother to ojol drivers…"* illustrate a narrative of warmth and humility, positioning her as a figure who understands and

represents grassroots realities. This aligns with broader trends in political communication where emotional resonance is key to building trust and loyalty among voters.

In addition to cultural and emotional cues, Khofifah's narrative is infused with spiritual elements. Religious references, including uploads of prayers and scriptural reflections, serve to embed the campaign within a spiritual framework. These practices reaffirm her commitment to Islamic values, which continue to hold significant weight in the sociopolitical landscape of East Java. By integrating religious content into her digital communication, Khofifah not only appeals to the moral sensibilities of Muslim voters but also legitimizes her leadership through a culturally accepted spiritual lens. Overall, Khofifah's narrative strategy reflects a hybrid form of political communication—combining populist emotionality, local cultural codes, and religious symbolism. This approach not only enhances her relatability but also helps consolidate her political identity in a competitive electoral environment.

Evaluative Analysis of Khofifah Indar Parawansa's Digital Campaign: A New Political Marketing Perspective

Khofifah Indar Parawansa's digital campaign for the 2024 General Election in East Java exemplifies a New Political Marketing (NPM)-based political marketing strategy that prioritises audiences as the focal point of all political activities. This approach aligns with key features of NPM, such as market-oriented segmentation, emotional branding, and responsive two-way communication (Dan & Mutlusu, 2006).

In Khofifah's case, Instagram is utilised not merely as a broadcasting tool, but as a dynamic space for *voter-centred engagement*. Her campaign constructs targeted narratives that directly address specific communities— such as traditional market vendors, online motorcycle drivers (ojol), and local artists—thereby reflecting the NPM principle of audience segmentation. For example, personalised posts directed at ojol drivers in Surabaya not only

acknowledge their profession but also use intimate and appreciative language, reinforcing emotional proximity. Another defining element of her strategy is the emotional and cultural appeal embedded in her captions, which frequently include religious expressions, local idioms, and poetic forms such as *parik'an*. This builds cultural resonance and strengthens her image as a leader who is both spiritually grounded and locally connected. Phrases like "Matur suwun parik'an, support and all prayers" not only reflect cultural familiarity but also function as emotional triggers that generate a sense of trust and closeness among constituents.

The NPM model also emphasises brand management through emotional narratives, and Khofifah's recurring themes of gratitude, humility, and collective progress contribute to a coherent personal brand that resonates across diverse voter groups. Her use of religious references, such as in the post about *sholawat*, illustrates how emotional narratives are fused with moral legitimacy an important element in gaining trust within a culturally devout constituency. Evaluatively, her campaign's effectiveness is evidenced by strong engagement metrics. Many of her Instagram posts consistently receive 200–300 comments, reflecting active voter interaction.

This high level of response, particularly in supportive language (e.g., *Aamiin*, *2 periode*, *lanjutkan*), indicates a positive audience reception and successful mobilisation. Furthermore, spontaneous actions from followers such as impromptu support from traders in Wadung Asri Market highlight the participatory and viral nature of her messaging. Thus, Khofifah's campaign illustrates the practical application of New Political Marketing through highly targeted, emotive, and culturally adapted strategies that foster genuine voter connection. Her ability to harmonise digital tools with regional values represents a compelling model for political communication in contemporary electoral contests.

New Political Marketing (NPM) is a shift from a message focused on political parties to a strategy centered on voter preferences, emotional

resonance, and adaptive segmentation (Lees-Marshment, 2001). In this context, Khofifah Indar Parawansa's digital campaign in 2024 shows the sophisticated implementation of NPM, characterized by tailored narratives, interactive engagement, and cultural contextualization.

Khofifah's use of culturally embedded language such as "Matur nuwun for the support of the Sukomoro market traders…"—exemplifies a voter-centred approach that reflects audience familiarity and emotional resonance. This aligns with NPM's emphasis on co-creating political meaning with constituents (Effing et al., 2016), while also supporting Lilleker and Koc-Michalska's (2017) assertion that locally relevant storytelling can significantly mobilise communities. Engagement metrics reinforce the impact of this strategy: posts containing local language or market-specific references consistently garnered over 200 comments, indicating high relatability among rural and semi-urban constituents. However, as Kreiss (2016) notes, such hyper-localisation may encounter diminishing returns in culturally diverse or urban areas. A broader narrative framing could enhance inclusivity without eroding local authenticity.

This interactive dimension of communication is also evident in Khofifah's Instagram post celebrating the campaign at Jember Sport Garden, which drew 386 comments and exemplifies robust public engagement. This reflects the two-way communication model integral to NPM (Dan & Mutlusu, 2006), wherein voters actively participate in the discourse rather than passively consume information. As Stier et al. (2018) argue, such interaction can improve perceptions of approachability and responsiveness. Yet, a qualitative scan of comment sentiment suggests most engagement originates from committed supporters. This aligns with Bossetta (2018), who cautions that the interactive nature of digital campaigning often preaches to the converted. To broaden influence, future strategy could incorporate mechanisms to target undecided voters through tailored interactive formats such as Q&As or live polling.

Religious imagery is another strategic element of Khofifah's campaign. Posts invoking sholawat and religious supplications serve as differentiation tools, positioning her as morally grounded and culturally aligned with East Java's Muslim-majority population (Rauchfleisch & Kovic, 2016). This approach is consistent with NPM's principle of emotional branding and identity-based appeals (Scammell, 2015). However, reliance on religiosity may risk alienating more secular or pluralist demographics. Henneberg (2008) stresses the importance of narrative adaptability in political marketing. A balanced messaging strategy—combining spiritual motifs with inclusive, civic-oriented language—would optimise reach across voter segments while retaining core identity.

In terms of media strategy, Instagram's prominence as a campaign platform illustrates Khofifah's responsiveness to media trends and voter habits. As Baldwin-Philippi (2015) argues, social media offers cost-effective outreach and grassroots amplification. However, the limitations of organic reach shaped by algorithmic curation suggest a need for complementary paid promotion to ensure message saturation (Matz & Netzer, 2017). Although the campaign achieved consistent engagement per post (200–300 comments), there is limited evidence of exponential audience expansion. Strategic use of Instagram's targeting features such as Stories with location tags, hashtag campaigns, and sponsored posts could broaden demographic penetration and strengthen digital visibility.

Finally, the "Gerbang Baru Nusantara" narrative encapsulates a co-creative vision that invites communities to become agents of transformation, a principle congruent with the collaborative ethos of NPM (Effing & Spil, 2016). Supportive responses, such as spontaneous parikan from traders and comments of encouragement, reveal affective alignment with this collective vision. Nevertheless, the campaign's abstract framing occasionally obscures policy specificity. As Enli (2017) cautions, visionary rhetoric must be anchored

in relatable, concrete agendas to sustain public interest and convert symbolic engagement into electoral action.

Figure 2. Wordcloud
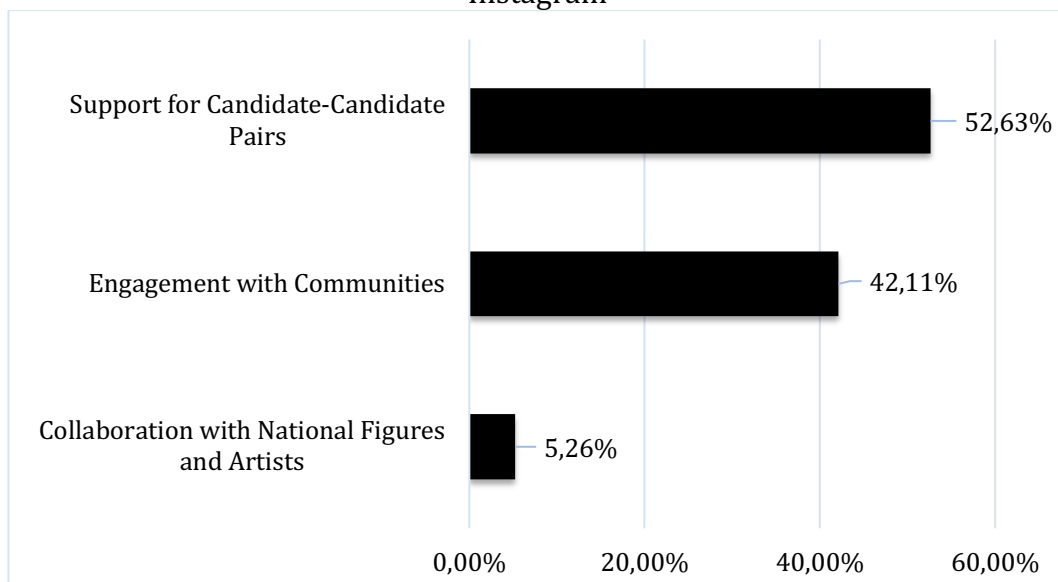

Source: Nvivo 14 analysis

The Wordcloud image above shows the dominant narrative that was frequently shared on Khofifah Indar Parawansa's Instagram account (@Khofifah.ip) during the campaign period. The main principle of the campaign was to promote collaboration, community and togetherness. The ultimate goal was to prioritise collaboration between leaders and communities to achieve common goals. The narrative exemplifies an inclusive leadership approach, underlining the importance of engaging all stakeholders to drive more effective and sustainable development. The aim of this message is to build an image of a leader who is accessible to the community and prioritises their aspirations. In addition, the pervasive theme of 'change' serves to reinforce the candidates' vision to drive reform within the government apparatus. This narrative presents a call to the people to unite, lend their support, and cast their votes to facilitate positive transformation. Terminology such as 'support' and 'strength' reflect the collective spirit and optimism that progress can be achieved through the collaboration of leaders and

communities. This message instils the belief that challenges can be overcome collectively, and shared ideals can be realised.

Local context is also an important part of the narrative, as seen in the words 'Jember', 'pilkada', and 'Gerbang Nusantara'. This shows that the campaign is designed to meet the needs of people in different regions, especially on locally relevant issues. By lifting the name of the region, this message demonstrates the candidate pair's commitment to providing solutions that meet the challenges and needs of the local community. This approach aims to make people feel involved and heard in the political process. Overall, the word cloud reflects the campaign narrative that focuses on collaboration, togetherness and positive change. The Instagram platform was used effectively to deliver these messages in an engaging visual form, reaching various groups of people, especially the younger generation. This strategy built the Khofifah-Emil pair's image as caring leaders, while strengthening the relationship with the community as key partners in realising their vision.

Figure 3. Khofifah's Campaign Issues in the 2024 East Java election on Instagram

Source: Nvivo 14 analysis

The picture above is the result of Nvivo analysis in Khofifah's campaign issues in the 2024 East Java election on Instagram. From the results of the

analysis, there are three issues, the first is 'Support for the Candidate-Candidate pair' with a Score of 52.63%, the second issue is 'involvement with the community' with a Score of 42.11%, and the third issue is 'collaboration with National Figures and Artists' with a Score of 5.26%. It can be concluded that Khofifa's campaign issues on Instagram can accommodate public support for her candidacy in the 2024 East Java Regional Election. The same thing was revealed by Gordillo-Rodriguez & Bellido-Perez, (2021), that the use of Instagram by politicians in general elections revealed that candidates tend to show themselves as professional politicians, with some candidates increasing their humanisation during the election period. This shows the potential impact of personal branding on public perception during political campaigns.

Khofifah Indar Parawansa's campaign via Instagram provides valuable insight into the evolving dynamics of digital political communication. From the lens of New Political Marketing (NPM), her strategy underscores several key implications related to political branding, audience segmentation, and narrative co-construction.

In terms of **visual branding and political personalisation**, Khofifah's use of engaging visual content—such as photos, short videos, and Instagram Stories—serves to personalise political messages and build an emotionally resonant identity. This aligns with Mohamed (2019), who argues that Instagram facilitates personal storytelling, which enhances the candidate's relatability. The consistent use of colour schemes, stylistic coherence, and thematic messaging contributes to a strong visual brand. As revealed by Syam, Maella et al. (2019), this visual strategy allows politicians to craft a controlled and appealing public image, particularly useful in differentiating candidates in competitive electoral landscapes. From an NPM perspective, this reflects a shift from product-oriented to market-oriented campaigns, where the candidate brand is tailored to audience expectations and social media aesthetics, especially among image-driven millennial and Gen Z voters.

When it comes to audience segmentation and platform reach, Instagram's appeal to younger, urban audiences makes it a powerful segmentation tool. By targeting digital-native demographics, Khofifah successfully amplifies her message in a space where political awareness is shaped by interactivity and immediacy. This confirms the effectiveness of NPM's emphasis on micro-targeting and personalised outreach strategies. However, as Santos (2023) highlights, the same platforms also enable populist oversimplifications and one-sided messaging, which risks deepening political polarisation. Moreover, Instagram's demographic and algorithmic limitations may exclude less digitally connected populations, creating an uneven information landscape. Thus, segmentation must be carefully balanced with strategies for inclusivity.

Risk management and narrative coherence are critical factors in the digital campaign landscape. Although Instagram is efficient in disseminating political messages, it is vulnerable to communication crises, misinformation, and misinterpretation. A single misstep in content, whether stylistic or ideological, can provoke backlash that rapidly escalates. This reinforces the NPM principle that campaign control must be dynamic, anticipating and managing online discourses in real-time. The risk of fragmented messaging also emerges when audiences interpret narratives in isolated or oppositional ways. To address this, Khofifah's campaign should reinforce co-creation by inviting followers to contribute to the message through testimonials, tagged posts, or participatory hashtags that reflect collective aspirations, thus converting followers from passive recipients to active collaborators.

Finally, despite Instagram's digital efficacy, over-reliance on online engagement can marginalise communities with limited technological access. This is particularly relevant in rural East Java, where physical presence remains central to political legitimacy. To overcome this, Khofifah's campaign must develop a hybrid engagement model that bridges online symbolic messaging with offline mobilisation, such as market visits, religious

gatherings, or cultural events that echo her digital themes. Such hybrid strategies not only maintain authenticity but also extend campaign inclusiveness and responsiveness, crucial for reinforcing trust and reciprocity—both central tenets of voter-centred political marketing (Lees-Marshment, 2001).

CONCLUSION

This research shows that Khofifah Indar Parawansa successfully used a new political marketing strategy in the digital era through the use of Instagram. The campaign emphasised local narratives, religious values and visual approaches to build emotional connections with audiences. The use of locally relevant narratives, such as greetings in local languages and religious themes, strengthened the emotional connection with the people of East Java. The high level of public interaction on Khofifah's Instagram posts indicates success in building two-way communication, which increases the loyalty of her supporters. This strategy also reflects the efficient use of social media to expand the campaign's reach at a low cost.

However, it should be noted that this research is not without its limitations. Firstly, the analysis of Khofifah's Instagram account may yield results that are not fully representative of the overall campaign strategy. Secondly, the data analysed is limited to a specific period, so it cannot provide a comprehensive representation of campaign dynamics across the entire election cycle. In addition, the use of local and faith-based narratives can be challenging in appealing to a more heterogeneous audience, especially in more secular urban environments. Furthermore, limited access to technology in some areas may result in information gaps among voters.

Further research could expand the scope of the study by analysing other social media platforms, such as Twitter or Facebook, to gain a more comprehensive understanding of digital strategies in political marketing. Further research is needed to investigate the efficacy of a blended approach that combines online and offline strategies in attracting a wider and more

diverse audience. Additionally, qualitative research can be conducted to ascertain the impact of political narratives on voter decisions. Given the challenges and opportunities mentioned above, future research is expected to make a greater contribution to the advancement of inclusive and sustainable digital-based political marketing strategies.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Abid, A., & Roy, S. K. (2024). Social media marketing: Adoption, strategies, approaches, audience behavior, and content for political marketing. In The Impact of Digitalization on Current Marketing Strategies (pp. 117–130). Emerald Publishing Limited. https://doi.org/10.1108/978-1-83753-686-320241007

Ahmad, N. (2018). The internet, social media, and knowledge production and development of political marketing. In Social Media Marketing: Breakthroughs in Research and Practice (pp. 1465–1496). IGI Global. https://doi.org/10.4018/978-1-5225-5637-4.ch068

Alayya, J., Putri, G. A., Sekarwangi, Y., & Irwansyah. (2022). Telaah literatur terhadap perkembangan social network sites (sns) sebagai sarana dan strategi pemasaran. Jurnal Komunikasi Profesional, 6(4), 354–373. https://doi.org/10.25139/jkp.v6i4.4543

Benkler, Y. (2006). The wealth of networks: How social production transforms markets and freedom. In The Wealth of Networks: How Social Production Transforms Markets and Freedom. Yale University Press. https://doi.org/10.2307/20455766

Bennett, W. L., & Segerberg, A. (2012). The logic of connective action: Digital media and the personalization of contentious politics. Information Communication and Society, 15(5), 739–768. https://doi.org/10.1080/1369118X.2012.670661

Candiwan, & Savindraputra, F. (2019). Is information privacy awareness important for Indonesian social media instagram users? International Journal of Advanced Trends in Computer Science and Engineering, 8(1.5 Special Issue), 281–287. https://doi.org/10.30534/ijatcse/2019/4981.52019

Cibois, P. (2013). An order on cross-tabulations and degrees of association. BMS Bulletin of Sociological Methodology/ Bulletin de Methodologie

Sociologique, 119(1), 24–43. https://doi.org/10.1177/0759106313486403

Denter, P. (2013). A Theory of Communication in Political Campaigns. SSRN Electronic Journal, 1–38. https://doi.org/10.2139/ssrn.2228268

Fatihah, H., & Waluyati, S. A. (2023). Podcast Sebagai Media Pembelajaran Era Digital Di Perguruan Tinggi. Bhineka Tunggal Ika: Kajian Teori Dan Praktik Pendidikan PKn, 10(1), 87–95. https://doi.org/10.36706/jbti.v10i1.20441

Fatmayani, M. (2019). Media Sosial dan Pemasaran Politik: Studi Tentang Facebook oleh Elite Politik PDIP Perjuangan di Kota Surakarta Periode 2019-2024.

Ferré-Pavia, C., & Codina, M. (2022). Campaign Narrative on Instagram: Spectacle and Candidate Self-Representation. the Case of the Spanish 2019 General Election. Index.Comunicacion, 12(1), 77–98. https://doi.org/10.33732/IXC/12/01NARRAT

Fransiska, K. A. W., Suarni, N. K., & Margunayasa, I. G. (2024). Perkembangan Kognitif Siswa pada Penggunaan Media Pembelajaran Digital Ditinjau dari Teori Jean Piaget: Kajian Literatur Sistematis. Ideguru: Jurnal Karya Ilmiah Guru, 9(2), 466–471. https://doi.org/10.51169/ideguru.v9i2.839

Gordillo-Rodriguez, M. T., & Bellido-Perez, E. (2021). Politicians self-representation on instagram: The professional and the humanized candidate during 2019 spanish elections. Observatorio, 15(1), 109–136. https://doi.org/10.15847/obsOBS15120211692

Gunawan, T. (2024). Adaptasi Logika Media Sosial Sebagai Strategi Komunikasi Politik Gerindra Menjelang Pemilu 2024. Jurnal Ilmu Komunikasi, 22(1), 44. https://doi.org/10.31315/jik.v22i1.7914

Hancock, R., Crain-Dorough, M., Parton, B., & Oescher, J. (2011). Understanding and using virtual ethnography in virtual environments. Handbook of Research on Methods and Techniques for Studying Virtual Communities: Paradigms and Phenomena, 1, 457–468. https://doi.org/10.4018/978-1-60960-040-2.ch027

Hultman, M., Ulusoy, S., & Oghazi, P. (2019). Drivers and outcomes of political candidate image creation: The role of social media marketing. Psychology and Marketing, 36(12), 1226–1236. https://doi.org/10.1002/mar.21271

Jin, Y. (2017). Development of Word Cloud Generator Software Based on Python. Procedia Engineering, 174, 788–792. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.proeng.2017.01.223

Johnson-Cartee, K. S., & Copeland, G. A. (1997). Inside political campaigns: theory and practice. Choice Reviews Online, 35(01), 35-0571-35–0571. https://doi.org/10.5860/choice.35-0571

Khatimah, K., & Laksmi. (2019). Prevent Stunting Campaign: Dissemination of Health Information through Instagram. Record and Library Journal, 5(1), 80–89. https://doi.org/10.20473/rlj.V5-I1.2019.80-89

Kusyanti, A., Ayu Catherina, H. P., & Lia Sari, Y. A. (2019). Empirical study of #instastory. Procedia Computer Science, 161, 756–764. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.procs.2019.11.180

Lin, H. C. (2017). How political candidates' use of facebook relates to the election outcomes. International Journal of Market Research, 59(1), 77–96. https://doi.org/10.2501/IJMR-2017-004

Mohamed, S. (2019). Instagram and political storytelling among Malaysian politicians during the 14th general election. Jurnal Komunikasi: Malaysian Journal of Communication, 35(3), 353–371. https://doi.org/10.17576/JKMJC-2019-3503-21

Onyechi, N. J. (2018). Taking Their Destiny in Their Hands: Social Media, Youth Participation and the 2015 Political Campaigns in Nigeria. African Journalism Studies, 39(1), 69–89. https://doi.org/10.1080/23743670.2018.1434998

Putranto, H. A., Rizaldi, T., Riskiawan, H. Y., Setyohadi, D. P. S., Atmadji, E. S. J., & Nuryanto, I. H. (2022). Measurement of Engagement Rate on Instagram for Business Marketing (Case Study: MSME of Dowry in Jember). Proceedings - IEIT 2022: 2022 International Conference on Electrical and Information Technology, 317–321. https://doi.org/10.1109/IEIT56384.2022.9967851

Rakhmawati, N. A., Valianta, T., Hafidz, I., Pratama, A., Ridwandono, D., & Annisa, L. (2021). What is inside the mind of teenagers on Instagram? International Journal of Business Information Systems, 37(2), 224–235. https://doi.org/10.1504/IJBIS.2021.115364

Ramdhan, R. A. (2024). ANALISIS STRATEGI KOMUNIKASI POLITIK HUMOR DI MEDIA SOSIAL DALAM KEMENANGAN PROBOWO SUBIANTO PADAPEMILIHAN PRESIDEN 2024. 9(9).

Rapeli, L. (2014). Democratic Theory and Political Knowledge. Theories, Concepts and Practices of Democracy, 12, 18–38. https://doi.org/10.1057/9781137322869_2

Rianto, P. (2023). Kajian Media Digital dan Media Sosial Akankah Terus Berlanjut? Jurnal Komunikasi, 18(1). https://doi.org/10.20885/komunikasi.vol18.iss1.editorial

Rodrigues, U. (2020). Political Communication on Social Media Platforms. Global Transformations in Media and Communication Research, 221–238. https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-030-44563-8_11

Santos, D. L. (2023). Populist communication and thematic strategy in the official Instagram accounts of Spanish candidates during the electoral campaigns of 28 August and 10 November 2019. Papers, 18(1), 5565. https://doi.org/10.5565/rev/papers.3082

Sarvia, E., . A., Halim, W., & Rafi, M. (2020). Kajian Ulang Penggunaan Media Digital Dalam Aktivitas Belajar Mengajar di Program Studi Teknik Industri. Journal of Integrated System, 3(2), 136–147. https://doi.org/10.28932/jis.v3i2.2982

Singh, S., Priscilia, V., Fivaldo, A., & Limantara, N. (2022). Factors Influencing of Social Media Ads Usage in Indonesia. Proceedings - 2022 2nd International Conference on Information Technology and Education, ICIT and E 2022, 186–190. https://doi.org/10.1109/ICITE54466.2022.9759845

Syafa'ati, S. N., & Khusyairi, J. A. (2023). Citayam Fashion Week: Ekspresi Remaja Di Ruang Publik Pada Media Sosial Tiktok Di Era Digital. Metacommunication; Journal of Communication Studies, 8(1), 71. https://doi.org/10.20527/mc.v8i1.15523

Syam Maella, N. F., Elita, R. F. M., Rijal, E., & Mulyana, S. (2019). Instagramable politics: Indonesian celebrities politicians campaign. Library Philosophy and Practice, 2019, 4335.

Taras, D., & Davis, R. (2022). Electoral Campaigns, Media, and the New World of Digital Politics. In Electoral Campaigns, Media, and the New World of Digital Politics. University of Michigan Press. https://doi.org/10.3998/mpub.12013603

Tuhana, V. E., Daga, L. L., Aslam, M., Lada, H. L. ., & Edo, J. (2023). Strategi Digital Public Relations Pemerintah Kota Kupang Melalui Media Sosial. Jurnal Communio : Jurnal Jurusan Ilmu Komunikasi, 12(2), 297–315. https://doi.org/10.35508/jikom.v12i2.9173

Utomo, D. S., Paoprasert, N., & Yousuk, R. (2022). The effect of interactivity and trust on donation and eWOM on Facebook and Instagram. International Journal of Advanced and Applied Sciences, 9(10), 126–134. https://doi.org/10.21833/ijaas.2022.10.016

Uzun, K., & Aydin, C. H. (2012). The use of virtual ethnography in distance education research. Turkish Online Journal of Distance Education, 13(2), 212–225.

Vergeer, M. (2015). Twitter and Political Campaigning. Sociology Compass, 9(9), 745–760. https://doi.org/10.1111/soc4.12294

Vinet, L., & Zhedanov, A. (2011). A "missing" family of classical orthogonal polynomials. Journal of Physics A: Mathematical and Theoretical, 44(8), 2. https://doi.org/10.1088/1751-8113/44/8/085201

Xenos, M. A., Macafee, T., & Pole, A. (2017). Understanding variations in user response to social media campaigns: A study of Facebook posts in the 2010 US elections. New Media and Society, 19(6), 826–842. https://doi.org/10.1177/1461444815616617

Yu, T., Chen, Y., & Luo, X. (Robert). (2023). How do live-streaming platforms facilitate persuasion in political campaigns? Theory and empirical evidence from the perspective of affordance actualization. Information and Management, 60(3), 103775. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.im.2023.103775