

Political and Intercultural Communication in Determining Presidential Candidates in the Indonesian Elections 2024

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ABSTRACT

This study explores the dynamics of political communication in Indonesia, focusing on the 2024 presidential elections. As the country prepares for the presidential election in February 2024, since the general election is a form of post-reformation democratic process implementation that began in 1998, the process of forming political coalitions has become a significant aspect of the political landscape. Utilizing a phenomenological approach, the research examines the interplay between three distinct political cultures—parochial, subject, and participant—and their influence on voter engagement and candidate selection. Through in-depth interviews and participatory observation, the study reveals how political parties can tailor their communication strategies to resonate with diverse voter segments, thereby enhancing electoral participation and fostering a more inclusive democratic process. The findings highlight significant implications for political actors and scholars alike. By recognizing the unique characteristics and needs of each political culture, parties can develop effective coalition-building strategies that bridge cultural divides and mobilize support across Indonesia's heterogeneous electorate. This research not only fills existing gaps in the literature regarding the role of intercultural communication in Indonesian politics but also provides practical recommendations for political parties aiming to improve their engagement with voters. Ultimately, the study underscores the critical importance of adaptive communication strategies in promoting a more informed, engaged, and representative democratic system in Indonesia.

Keywords: *Elections, intercultural communication, political communication, political parties, presidential candidate.*

INTRODUCTION

Indonesia is a diverse and populous Muslim-majority country and the world's third-largest democracy (Hefner, 2019). As the country prepares for the presidential election in February 2024, since the general election is a form of post-reformation democratic process implementation that began in 1998 (Satriadi & Yusuf, 2020), the process of forming political coalitions has become a

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significant aspect of the political landscape. The simultaneous implementation of the presidential election and legislative elections also influences the complexity of forming a stable alliance. Simultaneous implementation of the presidential and legislative elections requires parties to estimate the effect of presidential election support on party votes in the legislative elections (Fernandes, 2023). This situation means the parties will have to judge which candidate has the potential to win and influence the party's vote in the general election. In addition, understanding the communication process and the strategies for analysing and discussing information in the media is paramount (Hassan, Mahbob, & Allam, 2022).

The study focuses on three significant political party coalitions consisting of First, the Coalition of Change for Unity (KPP), which consists of the National Democrat Party (NasDem), Democratic party, and Prosperous Justice Party (PKS) that endorsed Anies Baswedan to run for President candidacy; Second, the united Indonesia coalitions (KIB) consists of Indonesian Democratic Party of Struggle (PDI-P) as the only political party that has crossed the presidential threshold, followed by Golkar, PAN and the PPP had also officially announced Ganjar Pranowo as its presidential candidate. The last, Greater Indonesia Awakening Coalition (KKIR) consisting of Gerindra and PKB party will likely nominate Prabowo Subianto (Fernandes, 2023). These coalitions are crucial in determining their respective presidential candidates and shaping the political landscape leading up to the 2024 presidential election.

Regarding party identity, the three parties from Change Alliances (KPP) differ in terms of their platforms, such as NasDem, a nationalist party with its restoration tagline. Meanwhile, PKS is more identical to an Islamic party and a Democratic party with its democratic nationalist tagline. However, they built a coalition through intercultural political communication by agreeing to support Anies Baswedan and carrying the subject of transformation. On the other side, The PDI-P's endorsement of Ganjar, from the perspective of political communication, Megawati's nomination of Ganjar draws attention and deserves appreciation. It is a very significant announcement. Not many could have thought Megawati would announce her nomination of a presidential candidate would coincide with the Idul Fitri 1444 Hijri holiday. One of the PDI-P's political identities is the "group think" phenomenon that places Megawati as the determinant, central figure (Heryanto, 2023). With the field narrowing down to three frontrunners, Prabowo Subianto then shaping up as the candidate to beat in the presidential and is no longer the dark horse of earlier surveys. electability surveys put him either in the lead or in second place behind Central Java Governor Ganjar Pranowo (Tenggara Strategics, 2023). He acknowledged the critics who said he would embarrass himself if he went down in history as a four-time loser. To this, he said that he would never give up, as he was a soldier himself. "Never Retreat is the spirit and attitude of the Indonesian Military [TNI]. I come from TNI. I was guided to build this spirit by [my] seniors in the TNI," said the former general (Tenggara Strategics, 2023).

Theoretically, political communication centres around the interactions among political actors, the media, and citizens, and it is characterized by its persuasive and strategic nature. Successful political communication plays a vital role in securing the support of voters and achieving victory for a prominent candidate in the upcoming election. On the other hand, mistakes or failures in political communication can have detrimental effects on a candidate's reputation and put their political career at risk (Tajuddin, Joni, & Bahari, 2023). However, political parties in Indonesia often form alliances and coalitions to consolidate their support base and

increase their chances of winning elections. Effective communication within these coalitions requires understanding and navigating the diverse cultural backgrounds and interests of each participating party. One aspect that emerges from intercultural political communication analysis is the recognition of diverse cultural backgrounds within a political context. These perspectives provide valuable insights into the dynamics of political communication among major political parties in Indonesia. By analysing the coalition-building process, this research aims to shed light on the dynamics of intercultural political communication among the major political parties in Indonesia.

RESEARCH PROBLEM

While previous research has examined political coalitions in Indonesia, there is limited understanding of how cultural values and communication strategies influence coalition building and presidential candidate selection. This research seeks to address this gap by investigating the following question: How do political parties in Indonesia navigate different cultural values and communication styles when forming coalitions and selecting presidential candidates for the upcoming 2024 election?

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

To look into the intercultural political communication process, this research employs Gudykunst and Kim's intercultural communication framework, along with Almond and Verba's theories of political culture. These theoretical frameworks provide a solid foundation for understanding the complexities of intercultural interactions in the political arena.

a) Gudykunst and Kim's Intercultural Communication

Gudykunst and Kim's intercultural communication theory, also known as the Anxiety/Uncertainty Management Theory (AUM), focuses on how individuals from different cultures manage communication in intercultural interactions. The theory proposes that people experience anxiety and uncertainty when they encounter unfamiliar cultural norms, values, and communication patterns (Nadeem, 2023). These feelings arise due to the fear of making mistakes, being judged, or experiencing discomfort in intercultural encounters.

According to the theory, individuals employ various strategies to reduce anxiety and uncertainty and promote effective intercultural communication. These strategies include seeking information about the other culture, engaging in mindfulness and self-reflection, adapting communication styles to fit the cultural context, and fostering empathy and understanding toward the other culture (Rajan, 2021). The theory emphasizes the importance of reducing anxiety and uncertainty to facilitate successful intercultural interactions.

When it comes to intercultural political communication in the context of the upcoming Indonesia election in 2024, Gudykunst and Kim's intercultural communication theory can be deployed to form alliances and determine presidential candidates (Arriane, *Komunikasi Politik Dramatisme dan Pencitraan Politisi di Panggung Politik*, 2021). Here's how it can be applied:

1. **Building Alliances:** The theory emphasizes the importance of seeking information about other cultures. In the context of political communication, political parties or candidates can engage in intercultural communication by actively reaching out to different cultural communities within Indonesia. This involves conducting research, attending community events, and understanding the cultural norms, values, and concerns of various ethnic or religious groups. By demonstrating an understanding of diverse cultural perspectives and adapting their communication strategies accordingly, political parties can build alliances with different communities and gain their support.
2. **Candidate Selection:** The theory also highlights the significance of adapting communication styles to fit the cultural context. In the context of selecting presidential candidates, political parties can utilize intercultural communication principles to identify candidates who have a demonstrated ability to connect with and understand different cultural groups. Candidates who exhibit cultural sensitivity, empathy, and an inclusive communication style may be preferred as they can effectively engage with diverse communities and bridge cultural gaps.

By incorporating Gudykunst and Kim's intercultural communication theory into intercultural political communication, political parties can better navigate cultural differences, form alliances with diverse communities, and select candidates who can effectively engage with and represent the interests of a multicultural society like Indonesia.

b) Almond and Verba's Theories of Political Culture

Almond and Verba identified three political cultures: parochial, subject, and participant. These cultures represent different levels of political awareness, engagement, and participation within a society (Arrianie, *Teori, Model, Perspektif, dan Komunikasi Politik*, 2022).

1. **Parochial Political Culture:** Parochial political culture refers to a low level of political awareness and participation among citizens. The individuals have limited knowledge of the political system and exhibit minimal engagement with political institutions. They tend to prioritize local, or community matters over national politics. Parochial political culture is commonly observed in rural or remote areas where access to information and political resources is limited. Citizens with a parochial political culture may not feel connected to the larger political process and may have little interest in national political affairs.
2. **Subject Political Culture:** Subject political culture is characterized by citizens with moderate political awareness who feel relatively powerless or detached from political decision-making. Individuals with a subject political culture may have a basic understanding of politics but perceive themselves as passive recipients of political decisions rather than active participants. They may view politics as a realm dominated by elites or perceive their voice as inconsequential. Subject political culture can be prevalent among marginalized or disenfranchised groups within a society, such as minority communities or economically disadvantaged individuals.
3. **Participant Political Culture:** Participant political culture represents citizens who exhibit high levels of political engagement, knowledge, and active participation in the political system. Individuals with a participant political culture are well-informed about political matters,

actively participate in political activities, and have a sense of efficacy in influencing political outcomes. They are likely to vote, engage in political discussions, join political organizations, and take part in social movements. Participant political culture is often associated with politically active groups and individuals who have a strong belief in the value of their participation and the potential for their voices to bring about political change.

In addition to the foundational theories of Gudykunst and Kim's Anxiety/Uncertainty Management Theory and Almond and Verba's political culture framework, further empirical research is essential to deepen our understanding of intercultural political communication, particularly in the context of Indonesia's diverse electorate. Studies have shown that effective political communication strategies must consider the unique cultural identities and values of various voter groups (Boulianne, 2015; Vaccari, 2017). This can involve conducting intercultural training programs for candidates and campaign staff to enhance their intercultural competence, providing educational materials on different cultures and customs, and promoting open dialogue and understanding between diverse groups.

Moreover, comparative case studies from multicultural societies, such as Malaysia and South Africa, can provide valuable insights into coalition-building strategies among diverse ethnic groups, highlighting the importance of inclusivity and representation in political messaging (Mattes, 2015). Recent research has also indicated that understanding the dynamics of voter behaviour in relation to intercultural communication can significantly impact candidate selection and electoral outcomes (Karp & Banducci, 2008)

To further enrich the literature, it is crucial to explore how political parties can implement intercultural training programs for candidates and campaign staff, enhancing their intercultural competence and fostering empathy towards different cultural perspectives (Nadeem, 2023). By integrating these empirical findings and theoretical insights, future research can provide a more comprehensive framework for understanding the complexities of intercultural political communication in Indonesia, ultimately guiding political parties in their strategies for the upcoming elections.

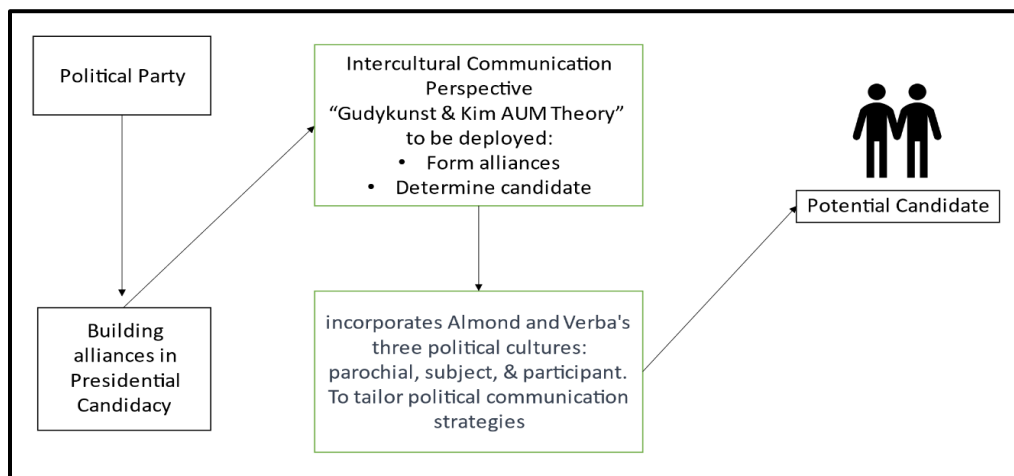


Figure 1: Theoretical framework for the study

METHODOLOGY

This study employs qualitative methods with a phenomenological approach to explore, reveal, describe, and understand the research problem from the perspectives of the involved groups and individuals (Ataro, 2020). Based on the research questions, the phenomena that will be interpreted, understood, and produced will be the object of research by the researchers in this study, especially the experiences, and challenges that are felt well by the informants. The goal of phenomenological research is to understand the essence of social phenomena from the perspective of those who experience them (Creswell, 1998). The sampling of respondents consisted of key informants, including representatives from six political parties and two political observers, selected based on their expertise and involvement in the political landscape of Indonesia. In-depth interviews were conducted, focusing on key questions such as: "What strategies do political parties employ to promote their presidential candidates?" and "How do cultural factors influence voter engagement and candidate selection?" These questions aimed to elicit insights into the dynamics of political communication and the role of intercultural factors in the electoral process.

Table 1: Informants for in-depth interviews

No	Name	Gender (M=Male; F=Female)
1	PP (1)	M
2	PP (2)	M
3	PP (3)	M
4	PP (4)	M
5	PP (5)	M
6	PP (6)	M
7	PO (1)	M
8	PO (2)	M

MODEL OF DATA ANALYSIS

This study adopts Miles and Huberman's data analysis. It has a five-step process that involves collecting and organizing data, coding, and categorizing data, analysing data, drawing conclusions, and verifying conclusions (Matthew B. Miles, 1994).

1. Step 1: The process is to collect and organize the data. This involves gathering the relevant data from the sources, such as in-depth interviews with research subjects, documents about the Presidential candidacy based on survey results and political party statements in the election of 2024, or any observations that occurred. The data has been organized into a format that is easy to analyse.
2. Step 2: The second step is to code and categorize the data. This involves assigning labels to the data and organizing it into categories. There is a collection of data compiled and allows the drawing of conclusions. Presentation of data generated in the form of text, matrices, graphs, and charts. This helps to make the data easier to analyse and interpret.
3. Step 3: Analyse Data The third step is to analyse the data. This involves looking for patterns and relationships between the data. This can be done by looking for similarities and differences between the data, and by looking for relationships between different pieces of data to identify the key themes and insights from the data.

4. Step 4: Draw Conclusions The fourth step is to draw conclusions. This can be done by looking for patterns and relationships between the data, and by making inferences about the data. The results obtained are actions of the representative of the political party to consider the potential candidate based on parties engaged in intercultural political communication.
5. Step 5: Verification: The fifth and final step is to verify the conclusions that have been drawn from the data. This can be done by comparing the conclusions to other sources of data, or by conducting further research.

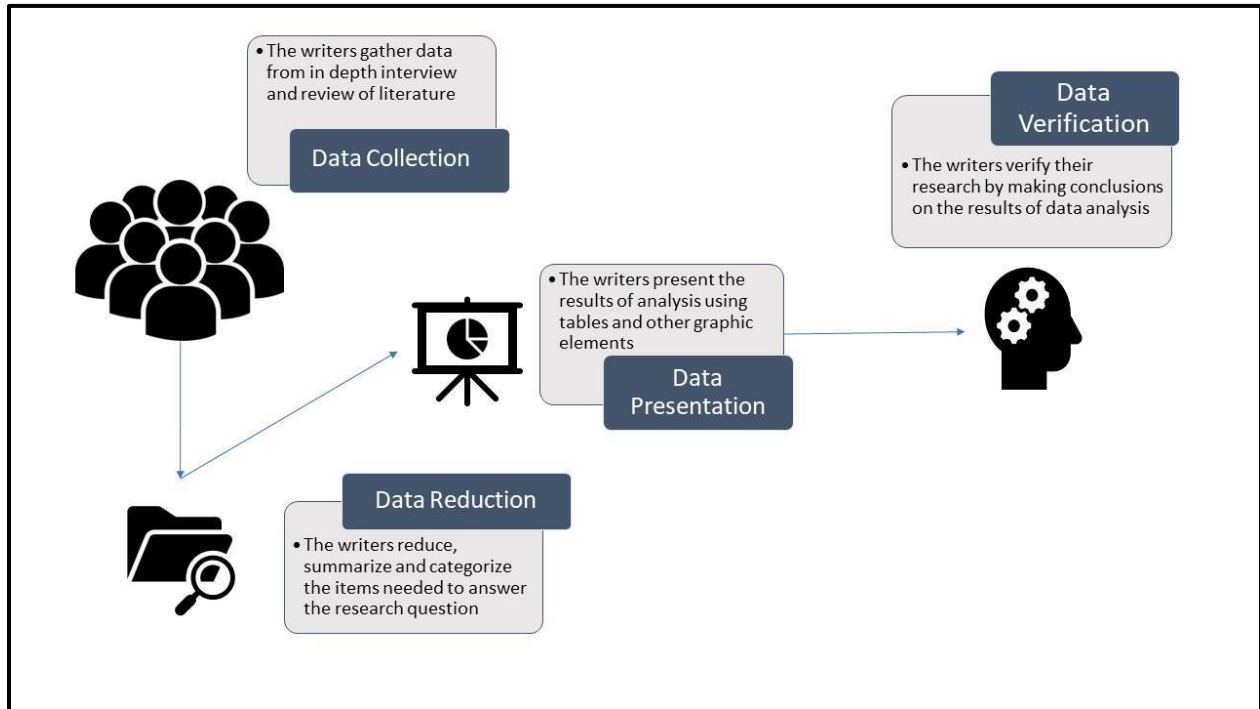


Figure 2: Data analysis from Miles and Huberman 1994
Data processed by researchers in year 2022-2023

To enhance the validity of the findings, data triangulation was used via source triangulation to augment the validity of the results. Subsequent to the transcription of the data, the researchers reached out to the informants to verify the assertions made during the interviews. Upon confirmation, the researchers performed coding on the data to derive conclusions. This procedure adhered to the four steps described by Miles and Huberman. Furthermore, participant observation was used, allowing researchers to monitor campaign activities and interactions between political party officials and voters. The integration of in-depth interviews, source triangulation, and participatory observation allowed a thorough comprehension of the studied phenomena, guaranteeing that the obtained data was substantial, contextual, and indicative of the intricacies of political campaigning in Indonesia.

RESULT AND DISCUSSION

According to the in-depth interviews with key informants from political parties and political experts in Indonesia revealed interesting insights into the promotion of a presidential candidate. By employing participatory observation and conducting interviews with representatives from six political parties and two political observers, this study aimed to gain valuable insights into the strategies and tactics employed in the promotion of a presidential candidate. The interviews revealed significant information regarding the role of political parties, the impact of media coverage and social media, and the challenges faced in the context of a highly competitive political environment. These findings provide a comprehensive understanding of the strategies used to promote a presidential candidate, contributing to our knowledge of the complex nature of political campaigning in Indonesia. The interviews conducted with key informants provided intriguing insights into the factors that shape the selection of a candidate for the upcoming Presidential Election in 2023. The informants emphasized the pivotal role played by political parties in the promotion of their respective candidates. They highlighted the importance of party loyalty and unity, emphasizing that a candidate's alignment with the party's ideologies, policies, and values is crucial in garnering internal support. The informants emphasized the need for effective communication skills, as candidates must effectively convey the party's message and connect with the party's support base.

Here is some information gathered by the writers from the informant's statements, which talked about their factors in determining the candidate in Presidential Election 2023:

Table 2: In-depth interview based on informants stated

No	Background/ Coalition representative	Response/ Informant's statements
1	Coalition of Change and Unity (KPP)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● "It is considered by His <u>Figure</u>, His <u>Popularity</u> and <u>Electability</u>" – PKS ● "Character must have an ability to increase the <u>electability</u> of party votes: someone who can <u>lead and work</u>, and bring improvements in the future" – Demokrat ● Referring to <u>electability</u>, there are a variety of factors both objective and subjective, that can be inferred from the names of the presidential candidate versions of survey institutes - Nasdem ● SP (Surya Paloh) did not take anti-intolerant facets of intelligence and <u>public voice</u> into account when choosing Anies as a presidential candidate. - Nasdem
2	Coalition of Greater Indonesia Awakening Coalition (KKIR)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Specifically, for Gerindra, since the beginning this party was established to support Mr. Prabowo's struggle as the candidate of President of the Republic of Indonesia. Politics carried out by Gerindra is the embodiment of the values of Pak Prabowo's struggle. In depth, this can be seen in the book <i>The Indonesian Paradox and its Solution, Indonesia Wins, Military Leadership</i> etc. Therefore, fighting for Pak Prabowo as President is an obligation and a must for Gerindra". Parties will rationally support candidates who will increase their voter base (coat tail effect). Technically, that is the reason why the composition in the president and vice president election pays attention to many things such as Javanese-non-Javanese issues, santri-non-santri and even religious or political sects. - Gerindra

3	Coalition of United Indonesia (KIB)	<ul style="list-style-type: none">● Electability is more likely a quantity factor that may be gathered through pooling. Yet, for parties with a <u>strong ideological character</u>, like the PDI-Perjuangan, the qualification criterion for the <u>candidate's personal character</u> is a crucial element that must be in line with the <u>ideological character of the party</u>. PDI Perjuangan● Personality and <u>the party's branding strategy</u> are related. <u>Nationalism, democracy, Pancasila identity, and a unitary state</u> will be the symbols communicated through the branding, according to the PDI-P.
3	Non-party Expert	<ul style="list-style-type: none">● The topic of <u>candidate quality, performance, and capacity</u> <u>has not received much attention</u> from research institutes or survey organizations, which makes this discussion intriguing. In general, parties are more concerned with the element of fulfilling the minimal nomination standards (20%), the chances of the party chairperson getting nominated, and the likelihood that the Presidential candidate will prevail – Arya Fernandes, Director of CSIS● In terms of political candidacy, many parties have a strong Brand Equity with their own spectrum (<u>very famous/known/liked/until hated</u>) but <u>it is not reflected in their electability</u>. However, on the other hand, I believe that the <u>BE elements must have been considered from the electability of the candidate before other supporting forces are deployed</u>. The carrying capacity is the electability of the partner, the readiness of the machine for the bearer/supporter party, & logistical strength. I believe BE is something that has been seriously considered, but it is placed together with the electability factor of the candidate - Arif Suditomo, a Journalist and CMO of Media Group

Based on the response of each coalition's representative, and also the experts from non-coalitions above, it can be analysed with an intercultural communication perspective. Political parties in Indonesia employ various intercultural political communication strategies to determine each presidential candidate's figure in the upcoming 2024 presidential election. These strategies involve considering factors such as electability, character, ideological alignment, branding, and the potential to increase the voter base. Through coalitions, parties aim to form alliances that maximize their chances of winning the election while maintaining their respective cultural and ideological identities.

The Coalition of Change and Unity (KPP) acknowledges the importance of a candidate's figure, popularity, and electability, as emphasized by the Prosperous Justice Party (PKS). Parties recognize that a candidate's appeal and ability to attract voters from diverse cultural backgrounds are crucial in a diverse country like Indonesia. Intercultural political communication presents the candidate's strengths and qualifications to voters across various cultural communities.

The Demokrat party highlights the significance of a candidate's character in increasing electability and bringing improvements to the party. They seek a candidate who can lead effectively, work diligently, and contribute to the betterment of the nation. Intercultural political communication becomes essential in conveying these qualities to voters from different cultural backgrounds, as the candidate's character needs to resonate with diverse segments of society.

Nasdem acknowledges that electability is influenced by various objective and subjective factors, as reflected in the names of presidential candidate versions from survey institutes. Intercultural political communication plays a role in understanding the concerns and aspirations

of different cultural communities, allowing parties to tailor their messages accordingly and appeal to a broader voter base.

However, Nasdem also criticizes Surya Paloh's decision to choose Anies as a presidential candidate, stating that the anti-intolerant facets were not considered during the decision-making process. This highlights the importance of intercultural political communication that promotes inclusivity, tolerance, and understanding among different cultural groups to ensure that the chosen candidate appeals to a wide range of voters.

The Greater Indonesia Awakening Coalition (KKIR), represented by Gerindra, emphasizes their support for Prabowo as embodying their party's values. This coalition recognizes the significance of cultural factors such as Javanese-non-Javanese issues, religious affiliations, and political sects. Intercultural political communication becomes crucial in addressing these factors and building bridges between different cultural communities, fostering understanding, and garnering support for the candidate.

The Coalition of United Indonesia (KIB), represented by the PDI-Perjuangan, places importance on electability as a quantity factor that can be gathered through pooling. However, for parties with a solid ideological character, the candidate's character must align with the party's ideological identity. Intercultural political communication conveys the party's ideology, including values like nationalism, democracy, Pancasila identity, and a unitary state, ensuring the candidate's image resonates with voters from diverse cultural backgrounds.

Non-party expert Arya Fernandes highlights that research institutes and survey organizations must pay more attention to candidates' quality, performance, and capacity. This presents an opportunity for intercultural political communication to play a more prominent role in evaluating candidates and conveying their abilities, track records, and potential to voters.

Journalist and Media Group CMO Arif Suditomo highlights the significance of Brand Equity (BE) and its alignment with a candidate's electability. Intercultural political communication becomes essential in creating a solid brand image for the candidate that resonates with voters from different cultural backgrounds. This includes conveying messages related to the candidate's fame, likability, and alignment with cultural values.

In other words, intercultural political communication plays a crucial role in determining the figure of each presidential candidate in the 2024 presidential election in Indonesia. Political parties consider factors such as electability, character, ideological alignment, and branding while ensuring that the candidates appeal to voters from diverse cultural backgrounds. Through intercultural political communication, parties can build coalitions and effectively convey their candidate's strengths, qualifications, and alignment with the values and aspirations of different cultural communities. This enables them to form alliances that maximize their chances of success in the election while maintaining their cultural and ideological identities.

To analyse how each coalition might deploy intercultural communication strategies from Gudykunst and Kim's AUM perspective in determining a presidential candidate, here is how it might be explored as an intercultural political approach:

Coalition of Change and Unity (KPP):

a) The statements from PKS and Demokrat emphasize the importance of the candidate's figure, popularity, character, and ability to increase electability. These considerations align with the

affective and evaluative components of the AUM theory, focusing on emotions, judgments, and values.

b) Nasdem's statement acknowledges the importance of electability and suggests that survey institutes can provide insights into objective and subjective factors influencing it. This aligns with the cognitive component of the AUM theory, which emphasizes information and cognitive processes.

Coalition of Greater Indonesia Awakening Coalition (KKIR)

a) Gerindra's statement highlights their strong support for Mr. Prabowo as a presidential candidate, based on his struggle and the embodiment of their party's values. This reflects the affective component of the AUM theory, as it focuses on emotional attachments and loyalty to a specific candidate.

b) The mention of Javanese-non-Javanese issues, santri-non-santri, and religious or political sects suggests considering cultural and identity factors in candidate selection, aligning with the intercultural communication perspective.

Coalition of United Indonesia (KIB)

a) PDI-Perjuangan's statement emphasizes the candidate's character is in line with the party's ideological character. This reflects the evaluative component of the AUM theory, focusing on values and judgments.

b) The mention of nationalism, democracy, Pancasila identity, and the unitary state as symbols communicated through branding suggests a focus on cultural and ideological elements, aligning with intercultural communication perspectives.

Non-Party Expert

The statements from Arya Fernandes and Arif Suditomo highlight various factors considered by parties, such as minimal nomination standards, the party chairperson's chances of being nominated, and electability. They mention the importance of electability, brand equity, candidate quality, and logistical strength. These considerations align with the cognitive and evaluative components of the AUM theory.

While some statements explicitly address intercultural communication strategies and cultural factors, others focus more on affective, cognitive, and evaluative elements. The deployment of intercultural communication strategies may vary among coalitions, with some considering cultural identity, ideology, and values, while others prioritize popularity, electability, and loyalty. Integrating intercultural communication approaches could enhance understanding and engagement with diverse cultural groups, ensuring inclusive and effective political communication during the candidate selection process.

In the context of the Indonesia Election 2024 with the three existing political party alliances, the Almond and Verba Political Culture framework (parochial, subject, and participant) can tailor political communication strategies to win voters with their respective candidates. Here's how each political culture can inform communication strategies for each coalition:

Coalition of Change and Unity (KPP)

- a) Parochial Political Culture: Tailor the communication strategy to address the immediate concerns and tangible benefits for parochial voters. Use simple language and concrete examples to demonstrate how the coalition's candidate will directly improve their daily lives.
- b) Subject Political Culture: Emphasize the strength, decisiveness, and leadership qualities of the candidate. Highlight the candidate's ability to address specific concerns and present clear solutions to the subjects' perceived powerlessness.
- c) Participant Political Culture: Engage participants by emphasizing the coalition's commitment to democratic values, inclusivity, and grassroots participation. Highlight the candidate's track record of collaborative decision-making and engaging with the public to address their concerns.

The Coalition of Greater Indonesia Awakening Coalition (KKIR)

- a) Parochial Political Culture: Focus on specific issues that directly impact parochial voters' lives and use relatable language to convey the coalition's candidate as a strong leader who can address their concerns effectively.
- b) Subject Political Culture: Highlight the coalition's candidate as a strong and decisive leader who can guide the subjects and address their perceived powerlessness. Emphasize the candidate's vision and commitment to representing their interests.
- c) Participant Political Culture: Engage participants by demonstrating the coalition's commitment to democratic values and grassroots participation. Highlight the candidate's ability to mobilize and empower supporters and showcase their track record of engaging with the public.

Coalition of United Indonesia (KIB)

- a) Parochial Political Culture: Focus on tangible benefits and immediate concerns that resonate with parochial voters. Use straightforward language and clear examples to demonstrate how the coalition's candidate will improve their lives.
- b) Subject Political Culture: Emphasize the coalition's candidate as a strong leader who can address subjects' concerns and guide them effectively. Highlight the candidate's track record of decisive action and their ability to represent the subjects' interests.
- c) Participant Political Culture: Engage participants by emphasizing the coalition's commitment to democratic values, inclusivity, and grassroots participation. Showcase the candidate's dedication to collaborating with the public to address their concerns and highlight their history of grassroots activism.

It is crucial to remember that individuals can exhibit characteristics of multiple political cultures, and a comprehensive political communication strategy should consider a combination of these cultures. By tailoring their messaging to address the concerns and values of parochial, subject, and participant voters, each coalition can effectively engage with different segments of the electorate and increase their chances of winning their support in the Indonesia Election 2024.

This research contributes significantly to the scholarly discussion surrounding political communication in Indonesia, particularly in the context of the upcoming 2024 elections. By employing a phenomenological approach, the study provides a nuanced understanding of the interplay between different political cultures—parochial, subject, and participant—and their

influence on voter engagement and candidate selection. This focus on intercultural communication strategies is particularly relevant, as it addresses a notable gap in existing literature, which often overlooks the diverse political cultures that shape electoral behaviour in Indonesia.

Previous studies have primarily concentrated on broad electoral trends or the impact of media on political campaigns, often neglecting the intricate dynamics of how cultural factors influence voter perceptions and party strategies. By highlighting the need for tailored communication strategies that resonate with various voter segments, this research offers practical recommendations for political parties and candidates aiming to foster a more inclusive and participatory democratic process.

Furthermore, the study's use of source triangulation enhances the reliability of the findings, allowing for a more robust analysis of the political landscape. This methodological rigour strengthens the validity of the conclusions drawn and sets a precedent for future research in the field. By integrating insights from interviews and participatory observation, the study provides a comprehensive view of the electoral process, enriching the academic discourse on political campaigning in Indonesia.

In conclusion, this study not only fills existing gaps in the literature by focusing on the role of intercultural communication in political engagement but also serves as a valuable resource for scholars, political actors, and practitioners seeking to understand and navigate the complexities of Indonesia's political environment.

CONCLUSION

In summary, intercultural communication played a crucial role in the context of political culture in Indonesia during the presidential candidacy for the Indonesia Election 2024. Understanding and adapting to the diverse political cultures of parochial, subject, and participant can significantly impact the success of political parties and their respective candidates in winning voter support. Besides, it is also a crucial aspect of coalition-building and determining the figure of presidential candidates in the 2024 Indonesian presidential election. Parties must navigate cultural, regional, religious, and ideological diversities by effectively communicating their candidate's qualities, policies, and brand values. By engaging in inclusive dialogue and understanding the aspirations of different cultural groups, parties can form meaningful coalitions and build support across Indonesia's diverse electorate.

In the case of the Indonesia Election 2024, the intercultural perspective in political communication should consider the different political cultures within the country. Strategies should be tailored to address each political culture's specific needs and characteristics, including providing political education and raising awareness for those with a parochial political culture, empowering and engaging those with a subject political culture, and mobilizing and energizing those with a participant political culture. By recognizing and accommodating these different political cultures, political parties and candidates can foster a more inclusive and participatory democratic process.

Here are some key takeaways and recommendations: a) Political parties must tailor their communication strategies to resonate with different political cultures. This involves crafting messages and approaches that address the specific concerns, values, and aspirations of parochial,

subject, and participant voters. b) For parochial voters, simplicity and concrete examples are essential. Parties should focus on addressing immediate concerns and demonstrating tangible benefits that the candidate can bring to their lives. c) Subject voters rely on strong leadership. Parties should emphasize the candidate's strength, decisiveness, and ability to address specific concerns, making them feel empowered and represented. d) Participant voters value active engagement and commitment to democratic values. Parties should highlight the candidate's track record of grassroots participation, collaborative decision-making, and alignment with the party's ideological character. e) A comprehensive communication strategy should consider a combination of political cultures to engage and persuade a wide range of voters. Parties should recognize the overlapping characteristics of political cultures and develop nuanced approaches that speak to different segments of the electorate. f) Effective intercultural communication requires clear and accessible language, relatable examples, and inclusive messaging. Parties should avoid using complex political jargon and foster an environment that encourages diverse perspectives and public participation. g) Continuous research and understanding of the evolving political landscape are crucial.

Parties should stay informed about voters' changing needs and concerns, conduct surveys, and engage in dialogue with the public to adapt their communication strategies accordingly. By recognizing and accommodating different political cultures, parties can build meaningful coalitions, bridge divides, and create a more united Indonesia. Effective intercultural communication will contribute to a more informed, engaged, and representative democratic system in Indonesia.

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