

Defensive and Offensive Political Communication Strategy of Presidential and Vice Presidential Candidates on TikTok Live Broadcast in the 2024 Election

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Abstract

This study analyzes the defense and offensive strategies of the Presidential and Vice Presidential Candidates on the 2024 General Election TikTok Live Streaming. The theory used is Schroder's theory of political communication which distinguishes between offensive and defensive strategies. Through a qualitative approach and content analysis to Live streaming impressions, this study shows that candidates use offensive strategies to attract new voters through engaging and relevant content, as well as defensive strategies to respond to criticism and maintain their positive image. The results of the study revealed that direct communication through Live streaming can create a more intimate relationship with audiences, especially young audiences, and play an important role in modern political campaigns. Based on these findings, it is suggested that political leaders should maximize social media with creative and interactive content, as well as be responsive to criticism to maintain a positive reputation and image in the digital world.

Keywords: Offensive and Defensive Strategy; Political Communication Strategy; Schroder Theory; TikTok Live Streaming; 2024 Election

Abstrak

Penelitian ini menganalisis strategi defense dan ofensif pasangan Calon Presiden dan Wakil Presiden pada Live Streaming TikTok Pemilihan Umum 2024. Teori yang digunakan adalah teori komunikasi politik Schroder yang membedakan antara strategi ofensif dan defensif. Melalui pendekatan kualitatif dan analisis konten terhadap tayangan Live streaming, penelitian ini menunjukkan bahwa paslon menggunakan strategi ofensif untuk menarik pemilih baru melalui konten menarik dan relevan, serta strategi defensif untuk merespons kritik dan menjaga citra positif mereka. Hasil penelitian mengungkapkan bahwa komunikasi langsung melalui Live streaming dapat menciptakan hubungan yang lebih akrab dengan audiens, terutama audiens muda, dan memainkan peran penting dalam kampanye politik modern. Berdasarkan temuan ini, disarankan agar calon pemimpin politik lebih memaksimalkan media sosial dengan konten yang kreatif dan interaktif, serta responsif terhadap kritik untuk mempertahankan reputasi dan citra positif di dunia digital.

Kata Kunci: Live Streaming TikTok; Pemilihan 2024; Strategi Komunikasi Politik; Strategi Ofensif dan Defensif; Teori Schroder

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INTRODUCTION

Elections, or General Elections, are democratic processes that allow citizens to elect their representatives in public institutions such as governments. In Indonesia, elections are held to elect members of the House of Representatives (DPR), president, vice president, and members of the Regional House of Representatives (DPRD). Indonesian elections are regulated based on Pancasila and the 1945 Constitution, which prioritizes basic democratic principles such as direct, free, secret, honest, and fair elections. In the 2024 election, there will be many changes in the way elections are held, one of which is the use of social media as a tool to convey political messages, which is much more interactive and affordable for the public, especially the younger generation. Social media platforms such as TikTok have emerged as highly effective communication channels in spreading political messages. Influencers are very intense in uploading content because the more often and attracts a content, the more the number of views from followers increases. Therefore, there is a view that it is necessary to present content that contains interesting, clear information and meets the needs of social media users (Hadi et.al, 2024; Suci, 2024). TikTok provides an opportunity for candidates to reach young voters who are difficult to reach by conventional media such as television and radio. In this case, the General Election Commission (KPU) and the Election

Supervisory Agency (Bawaslu) have an important role in regulating and supervising the running of the campaign to ensure that the process remains in accordance with applicable rules and runs transparently (Fahrudi & Fahrudin, 2024).

Political communication is a very crucial element in the political process, because it can help convey political messages and goals to the audience. Political communication aims to influence people's way of thinking, attitudes, and behaviors regarding a candidate or policy. In today's digital era, social media has become a highly influential communication channel, allowing political candidates to interact directly with voters, especially the younger generation who are more active on digital platforms. TikTok, as one of the most developed social media platforms, has the advantage of providing users with the opportunity to find content that is relevant to their preferences through sophisticated algorithms. TikTok is not only used for entertainment, but also to convey political messages directly and effectively. This platform allows for more interactive two-way communication than traditional media that tend to be one-way. This allows candidates to communicate with their audience directly, answer questions, and build closer relationships with voters, especially in elections like 2024 (Anom et al., 2024).

Live streaming on TikTok has emerged as a highly dynamic and interactive campaign

strategy for the 2024 Election. Many politicians have adopted this platform as a key element in their efforts to connect directly with voters, share their political visions and missions, and engage in real-time conversations through live broadcasts (Laorensa et al., 2024). The rise of TikTok has proven to be a game changer in the political landscape, especially when it comes to reaching younger audiences. Historically, this demographic has been difficult to engage through more traditional media channels such as television and radio, which tend to have less interactive engagement and more passive consumption. As a digital platform, TikTok's ability to offer an interactive and visually captivating format makes it an ideal tool for political communication, especially in the context of campaigns that aim to mobilize young voters. TikTok, in this sense, has become more than just a platform for entertainment; it is now a powerful political communication tool that plays a critical role in shaping public opinion. It allows politicians to engage with a diverse audience and reach young voters who are often overlooked in traditional campaigns. TikTok's unique algorithm enables content to reach users based on their preferences and past interactions, which means that political messages can be targeted more effectively and efficiently. TikTok's algorithm doesn't just focus on the number of followers a user has, but also considers user interaction with the content, meaning that even candidates with smaller follower counts can still have their

messages widely circulated if they engage the right audience (Literat et al., 2023). Moreover, TikTok provides a real-time, unfiltered space for politicians to interact with the public, offering them a unique opportunity to present their views, respond to questions, and manage their image in a more direct way than traditional media allows. Indonesian presidential and vice-presidential candidates, for example, have embraced TikTok live streaming as a key component of their outreach to young voters. By leveraging TikTok's interactive features, such as live Q&A sessions, filters, and music, these candidates can present themselves in a more relatable and authentic way, helping to build a positive public image. The live streaming format also allows candidates to respond quickly to the questions or concerns of the audience, enhancing the transparency and accessibility of the political process (Grantham, 2024). National campaign teams in Indonesia have adopted live streaming on TikTok not only to engage directly with voters but also to disseminate important snippets of candidates' answers to public questions and reactions to content shared by their supporters.

This format makes it possible to build a more authentic and lasting connection between candidates and their potential voters. The immediate nature of TikTok live streaming facilitates spontaneous conversations that can give voters a more personal and immediate sense of the candidate's personality, policies,

and priorities. In a rapidly evolving political environment, this ability to interact in real-time is seen as a powerful tool for building trust and transparency in the eyes of the public (Rizki et al., 2024). These examples underscore the broad applicability of social media, particularly platforms like TikTok, for driving social activism and political engagement. In addition to providing a space for political discourse, TikTok has become an arena for entertainment, humor, social interaction, and even the organization of grassroots movements. Politicians have been able to utilize humor, personal anecdotes, and engaging storytelling to make political issues more relatable to a wider audience. The interactive nature of TikTok allows politicians to take part in a more informal dialogue with their constituents, while also being able to address critical issues and controversial topics in a way that traditional media doesn't always allow. According to data from Databoks-Katadata, according to the Hootsuite and We Are Social reports, as of January 2023, here are the 10 countries with the highest number of TikTok users in the world below in Figure 1.

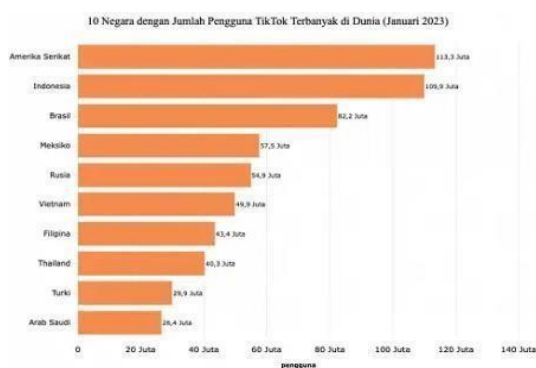


Figure 1. 10 Countries with The Most TikTok Users 2023

Source: Databoks – Katadata (2023)

The novelty of this research examines the offensive strategies used to attack and take initiative. Defensive strategies are used to prevent criticism or controversy and protect the market, the main purpose of this strategy is to maintain position and reputation. The relationship between Schroder's theory and TikTok's Live streaming communication strategy is that Offensive Strategies can be used to improve project performance or participation, offensive tactics can be used during election campaigns to attract new voters and expand the market with new or better innovations. This can be achieved through TikTok Live streaming by showing interesting and clear differences between candidates. Defensive Strategies are used to protect the market/candidate and face criticism or controversy. In situations where candidates face criticism, they can use defensive strategies to provide an explanation of the reasons behind the policy and show the progress that has been made.

LITERATURE REVIEW

TikTok has, therefore, become a new space for political campaigning, which blurs the lines between activism, entertainment, and political discourse. It is not only a place for sharing messages but also a space where opinions are debated, discussions are held, and social movements can find an audience (Compte & Klug, 2021). Live streaming on TikTok also opens new opportunities for creating educational content that is accessible to a large

and diverse audience. By using visual tools, storytelling, and real-time interaction, political candidates can educate the public on complex political issues in ways that are more engaging and understandable than traditional formats like speeches or debates. This ability to simplify complex topics into more digestible content is especially valuable when trying to reach younger voters who may not have extensive political knowledge but are interested in learning more through a format they already enjoy and engage with regularly. TikTok's role in political communication has also brought new challenges to the traditional political campaign model. While it democratizes access to political discourse by making it easier for candidates to reach voters, it also means that candidates must adapt to a new set of expectations. Voters expect not only the delivery of political messages but also a level of interaction, engagement, and authenticity that wasn't demanded from previous generations of political candidates. Politicians are expected to be more personal and relatable, while also remaining informed, responsive, and transparent in the way they interact with their audience. The real-time nature of TikTok live streaming means that politicians must be prepared to engage with questions and criticisms in ways that may not have been anticipated, demanding a level of preparation, agility, and emotional intelligence that may be new to some political figures.

At the same time, the viral nature of

TikTok content means that a single well-executed live stream can potentially reach millions of viewers within a short period, further amplifying the reach and impact of a candidate's message. This viral potential is a key advantage for politicians, as it allows them to quickly mobilize support, spread their vision, and respond to controversies in ways that traditional media simply cannot match. With the right content and engagement strategies, TikTok can propel a political campaign forward by engaging voters in ways that were once thought impossible, especially for younger and more digitally-savvy demographics (Grantham, 2024). Furthermore, the ability to use TikTok's interactive features—such as live polling, question and answer sessions, and real-time feedback—also makes the platform a valuable tool for gathering public opinion. Politicians can gauge the pulse of the electorate, understand public sentiment, and adjust their strategies in real-time. This instantaneous feedback loop helps candidates make more informed decisions about their campaign messaging and outreach tactics. As a result, TikTok has become a powerful tool for data-driven political campaigns that are able to tap into the digital behaviors and preferences of voters, allowing them to refine their approach based on real-time audience reactions. Presidential candidates have a great opportunity to develop creative content strategies such as live streaming, as an integral part of their efforts to reach potential voters in

a friendly and innovative way.

This research uses Schroder's Theory consisting of Offensive Strategy and Defensive Strategy. According to Schroder in Offensive Strategy it is used to attack and take initiative. Defensive strategies are used to prevent criticism or controversy and protect the market, the main purpose of this strategy is to maintain position and reputation. The relationship between Schroder's theory and TikTok's (Bella Putriwani, 2021). Live streaming communication strategy is that Offensive Strategies are used to improve project performance or participation, offensive tactics can be used during election campaigns to attract new voters and expand the market with new or better innovations. This can be achieved through TikTok Live streaming by showing interesting and clear differences between candidates. Defensive Strategies are used to protect the market candidates and face criticism or controversy In situations where candidates face criticism, they can use defensive strategies to provide an explanation of the reasoning behind the policy and show the progress that has been made.

METHOD

The type of research used is descriptive qualitative research that aims to explore and explain events that occur in the research subject. The political communication tactics used by presidential candidates in Indonesia's 2024 elections via TikTok Live streaming are the main subject of this study, which uses a

qualitative descriptive design (Sasmoko, 2024). This research will be conducted in 2024, especially during the implementation of elections in Indonesia. The study, which is based on Schroder's idea of offensive and defensive strategies, looks at how candidates interact with voters in real time, especially younger groups. Two political scholars with experience in campaign tactics, a member of the NasDem Party's campaign staff who backed Anies Baswedan, and four active TikTok users young voters and content producers were among the strong sample chosen to offer a comprehensive perspective. The reason for choosing this informant is because this informant is able to explain the reasons and impact of Anies' presence on TikTok on their perspectives on politics and elections and to further study the phenomenon of support on social media and how it can impact Anies' electability in the 2024 election. In addition, observations were made on the content of the TikTok Live streaming of Presidential Candidates Anies Bawedan and Muhaimin Iskandar.

This diversity guarantees that the sample size is sufficient to record generational viewpoints and offer broadly applicable insights regarding trends in voter engagement and the effectiveness of campaign tactics. To guarantee depth and dependability, data were gathered utilizing a variety of methods. TikTok Live sessions were the subject of observations in order to examine audience dynamics and

advertising tactics. Stakeholders' specific viewpoints were obtained through in-depth interviews, and contextual information from campaign materials and media stories was obtained through document analysis. To find important trends and guarantee dependability, the data were methodically reduced, presented using matrices and graphics, and verified. Participants' informed consent was acquired, confidentiality was preserved, and ethical guidelines were closely followed. The methodology's framework is supported by recent research. TikTok's algorithmic benefits for content distribution, emphasize the platform's function in attracting younger audiences. Furthermore, the theoretical foundation for examining digital campaign methods is provided by interpretation of Schroder's ideas.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

Political communication strategies have undergone significant transformations in the digital era, particularly with the rise of social media platforms like TikTok, which have become central to modern political campaigns. These platforms, which include not only TikTok but also Instagram and Twitter, have fundamentally altered how political messages are conveyed and how candidates interact with the public. Traditionally, political campaigns relied heavily on more conventional media such as billboards, television ads, and print media to reach voters. However, in the digital age, social media has

revolutionized the way candidates communicate with potential voters, offering more direct and personal interactions that bypass traditional media channels. In the context of the 2024 elections, social media has not only become a primary means of communication but also a crucial tool for engaging voters, especially younger ones who make up a significant proportion of the electorate. With over 50% of the Permanent Voter List (DPT) being young voters, it has become increasingly clear that social media platforms are essential for reaching and influencing this demographic (Moier, 2023).

TikTok, in particular, has emerged as a key platform in political campaigns, offering candidates the ability to reach millions of viewers quickly and directly. Unlike traditional media, TikTok allows for the creative and interactive delivery of political messages, which has made it highly effective in engaging younger voters. On TikTok, political candidates can broadcast live, share short, engaging videos, and interact with viewers in real-time. This level of interactivity and creativity was simply not possible with older methods of communication like billboards or television advertisements, which were more static and less engaging. TikTok's unique algorithm helps surface content that resonates with users, allowing political candidates to connect with potential supporters based on shared interests, concerns, and preferences, making the platform a powerful tool for targeted

political messaging (Cervi Laura, 2023). In this context, political communication is defined by its strategic and persuasive nature, focusing on the interactions among citizens, political actors, and the media. Political communication theory stresses the importance of how political messages are crafted and distributed to influence the behavior and opinions of the public. As the media landscape has evolved, especially with the rise of digital platforms like TikTok, the methods and strategies employed by political actors have had to adapt. Rather than simply broadcasting a message to a passive audience, political campaigns now rely on a more interactive and dynamic approach, utilizing social media tools that allow for direct engagement with the public. This shift has led to the development of new strategies that are designed to engage, persuade, and mobilize voters in ways that were previously unimaginable (Arriane et al., 2024). One of the primary strategies used in political communication today is the offensive approach, which focuses on building a positive image for the candidate. TikTok's live streaming feature has become a key element in this strategy, as it allows candidates to convey their vision and mission directly to the public. For example, after public debates or speeches, candidates can use TikTok Live to provide a more personal follow-up, explaining their policies in detail, engaging with the audience, and answering questions in real

time. This strategy helps candidates not only explain their stance on key issues but also build a rapport with viewers, creating an image of transparency, accessibility, and direct engagement. By leveraging TikTok's platform, candidates can extend the reach of their message beyond traditional media's limitations, engaging directly with voters who are active on social media (Faradis et al., 2023). Simultaneously, a defensive strategy is employed to manage criticism and to maintain a positive public perception in the face of opposition. This involves using platforms like TikTok to address concerns, answer criticisms, and engage in public dialogues that can reinforce the candidate's image as an open, approachable, and inclusive leader. One example of this approach in action is the "Desak Anies" program, which encourages direct communication between the candidate and the public, opening up spaces for dialogue and addressing any controversies head-on. This approach highlights the candidate's commitment to democracy, inclusivity, and engagement with the public, signaling to voters that the candidate is not only responsive to criticism but also values open, democratic debate. In this sense, the defensive strategy is not just about defending against attacks but also about framing the candidate's leadership as inclusive and responsive to the needs of the people (Guerrero, K. J., 2023). In the context of digital campaigns, these strategies are further

enhanced by utilizing the interactive features of social media platforms like TikTok. Live streaming, for instance, has become an indispensable tool for candidates to connect with voters in a way that is personal and direct. During live sessions, candidates are able to discuss their visions and missions in a setting that is more informal, allowing them to appear more approachable and relatable to voters.

The interactive nature of TikTok also allows for immediate feedback, where viewers can ask questions, comment on the content, and even participate in polls or live chats, making the political communication process far more engaging than traditional methods. This real-time interaction helps candidates tailor their messages to the needs and concerns of the public, giving them an immediate sense of the electorate's reactions and allowing for a more dynamic and responsive campaign (Abid, A., 2023). Moreover, the ability to directly address questions and concerns during TikTok Live sessions allows candidates to control the narrative and engage in a more personal and authentic manner. By responding to voter queries in real time, candidates can demonstrate their knowledge, confidence, and willingness to engage with their supporters in a way that feels transparent and unfiltered. This creates a sense of closeness and trust, which is particularly important in an era where many voters are skeptical of traditional political messaging and seek more

genuine, direct interactions with the politicians they support.

TikTok's Live streaming strategy compared to other platforms makes more use of the power of virality and greater organic interaction, increasing public awareness of their programs (Wang, H, 2024). This study examines the number one presidential candidate, Anies Baswedan because he has been active in live broadcasting on TikTok. On Thursday night, December 28, 2023, he started his live broadcast through the platform with the theme "Accompany Me on the Road", which attracted the public's attention by watching 36 thousand people in 27 minutes. Figure 2 shows TikTok live streaming of Presidential Candidate Anies Bawedan.



Figure 2. TikTok Live Streaming of Presidential Candidate Anies Bawedan
Source: medcom.id (2024)

Anies can interact directly with netizens, especially teenagers, through TikTok's live feature to increase millennial votes. Some of the advantages of TikTok's Live streaming strategy are allowing political candidates to interact directly with voters, be able to answer questions and build relationships with audiences in real-time (Ngov, M, 2024). Live

streaming content on TikTok can be made engaging by using unique features such as video effects, music, and filters, which make political content more engaging and accessible. This strategy gives political candidates an excellent opportunity to reach a wider audience. Political candidates can build a positive image in the eyes of the public by interacting directly with questions and answering them in real-time, this is essential to increase public awareness and support (De Munter, S. (2023). Despite TikTok's ever-increasing popularity, it has been the topic academic analysis (Bhandari Et. Al, 2020). The rebroadcast of Anies Baswedan's live streaming on TikTok has attracted a lot of public attention. The live broadcast received 35.4K views and 3.4M likes on January 1, 2024, showing great enthusiasm from its supporters. As of January 8, 2024, the broadcast received 30.4K views and 527.6 likes, although this number dropped, it still showed great interest. On January 18, 2024, it had 45.1K views and 9.1M likes.



Figure 3. Rebroadcast January 1, 8 and 18, 2024
Source: Anies Baswedan Youtube Account (2024)

On January 1, Anies Baswedan used a combination of offensive and defensive

strategies in his Live streaming. He builds closeness with audiences through personal stories and humor, and provides motivation with a message of optimism to face economic challenges. Defensively, he acknowledged the difficulties and provided moral support, reinforcing his positive image. On January 8, Anies displayed a firm attitude in conveying ideas and actively interacting with followers on social media (offensive strategy). Meanwhile, in the face of criticism, he remains calm and relaxed, prioritizing a positive spirit (defensive strategy). On January 18, Anies introduced himself closer to the audience through warm greetings and personal stories, while conveying his vision related to social equity and education (offensive strategy). In answering questions or criticism, he uses humor and a thoughtful approach to maintain a positive atmosphere and manage public perception (defensive strategies).

On February 2, 2024 it reached its peak 118.8K views and 30.2M likes, and on February 18, it reached 35.6K views and 2.9 likes, showing a huge increase in audience engagement. Anies Baswedan's live streaming on February 2 and 4, the offensive and defensive strategies he uses are clearly visible. In his offensive strategy, Anies focuses on building emotions with a narrative of love for the country and highlighting social inequality, while encouraging active volunteer participation through social media such as TikTok. He also invited the audience to commit

to change. Meanwhile, in a defensive strategy, Anies faced slander by introducing a site to counter fake news, as well as avoiding conflicts with rival supporters. He also affirmed his commitment to improving people's welfare, responding to criticism with optimism, and strengthening his positive image as a leader who cares about the people's welfare. Anies combines these two strategies to strengthen relationships with audiences, overcome challenges, and maintain a positive image in the campaign. During these live sessions, Anies not only had a platform to convey their goals and vision, but also created a more relaxed and familiar atmosphere, allowing voters to feel more connected to their presidential candidates. This phenomenon shows how the use of social media, especially TikTok, can be a useful tool for contemporary political campaigns, especially to reach the younger generation, who will be potential voters in the 2024 elections. Some limitations of this study must be considered. First, the research will be limited to political communication conducted on TikTok. It won't consider other social media platforms like Instagram, Facebook, or Twitter.

Post-election analysis or changes in communication strategies that may occur after the election will not be discussed in this study, which will be carried out in a certain period of time leading up to the 2024 elections. In addition, this study will not examine older age groups, but will place more emphasis on

younger audiences, especially Gen Z. Without using surveys or broader quantitative data, the data sources used will be limited to interviews with supporters of Anies Baswedan from TikTok and analysis of Live streaming content. s. Campaigns as part of political communication are carried out by voters and constituents to communicate political messages within the frame of programs and missions to include knowledge and influence the views and behaviours of voters as political targets, as well as parties who, of course, take an interest in the usage of the campaign (Pratiwi Et Al., (2024, p. 381). Finally, this study will not thoroughly address the social and psychological factors that influence how voters behave; Instead, it will concentrate on the communication techniques used in the campaign. It is hoped that this research will provide a clear and in- depth explanation of Anies Baswedan's political communication strategy through TikTok Live streaming in the context of the 2024 Election due to these limitations. According to this explanation, Figure 4 Shows about rebroadcast friday, February 2 and 4, 2024.



Figure 4. Rebroadcast Friday, February 2 and 4, 2024
Source: Anies Baswedan Youtube Account (2024)

The results of the interviews were conducted to determine effective methods of Political Communication Strategies for Presidential and Vice Presidential Candidates to increase voter electability. In communication strategy theory, Schroder's theory is offensive and defensive. Interview with I Kadek Eggy Segel, Vice Chairman of the Beginner and Millennial Voters Division of the Nasdem Party as the designer of this strategy, regarding the 2024 Presidential and Vice Presidential Digital Campaign Strategy and Analysis of Offensive and Defensive Elements, Response to Criticism, Emotional Connection, Electability Impact, and Efforts to Maintain the Voter Base through TikTok Live streaming. I Kadek Eggy Segel stated that TikTok Live streams for candidate pairs began after the debate, increasing public attention. The winning team focused on the campaign on TikTok because more than 50% of voters were millennials who were active on social media:

"So Paslon's Live TikTok is carried out after the debate in the first debate if he says fairly, he masters the debate, followed by also when viewed from political observers. When the candidate also performs live TikTok is so that the public's attention during live is increasing considering that during debates it always attracts attention, so it is automatically interested in live. Yesterday almost more than 50% of our DPT was millennials and as This field or millennial base is certainly on social media, so from me as the central winning team, it certainly leads to campaigning through TikTok. Young people mostly watch on TikTok is definitely the target of the team." (Interview with Kadek Eggy Segel, October 22, 2024).

In addition, I Kadek Eggy Segel as the Deputy Chairman of the Beginner and Millennial

Voters Division of the Nasdem Party when asked about how the candidate pair responded to criticism from political opponents on TikTok:

"This candidate as an Academician has the principle that he can be wrong but he must not lie, so this candidate is used to criticism and suggestions. He also has an agenda in his name "Urging Anies" he opened a space for the community for those who supported and did not. The average person who comes to Desak Anies is a young person who gives his aspirations related to what that they are facing in the present time. So the way he faces criticism is faced directly through Anies' insistence and we need to be in this democratic atmosphere, leaders must dare to criticize and not can be afraid of criticism." (Interview with Kadek Eggy Segel, October 22, 2024).

I Kadek Eggy Segel added that presidential candidates use Live streaming to build an emotional connection with voters, increase loyalty through direct interaction and more personalized content on platforms such as TikTok:

"Regarding building relationships, I happen to be the only representative from Bali who has a "Bring Ideas" program, so there are 100 ideas brought by all Indonesian children gathered to providing ideas and ideas from young people, namely being a program that yesterday, urged Anies, a program to volunteers such as the Indonesia Teaching program. Likewise from TikTok Live streaming from Anies' insistence that he could not attend, it was also connected to TikTok Live streaming with a larger audience reach." (Interview with Kadek Eggy Segel, October 22, 2024).

I Kadek Eggy Segel revealed that Live streaming has a considerable influence on electability, although the impact is uneven across all circles and generations. He noted that TikTok is more focused on the younger generation, and for novice voters, this strategy has proven effective, as seen from the trend on Twitter and the emergence of the term "anak abah.":

"It is quite influential, but it is not significant in attracting all groups of all generations, but indeed for TikTok Live streaming is devoted to the younger generation. If you look at the beginner selector of course, it worked because it was also trending on Twitter and until now it has the name Anak Abah." (Interview with Kadek Eggy Segel, October 22, 2024).

I Kadek Eggy Segel emphasized how important funny and interesting content is to maintain the voter base through TikTok Live streaming content related to defensive strategies:

"Our society is happy with funny and exciting content that portrays not being scary close to young people because of the social media market with jargon such as "slepet anis" because indeed young people cannot be invited to discuss too seriously, the chat that is brought is light. of course, Live streaming is more effective than a young person just looking at a billboard. In seeing significant changes accompanied by taking to the streets to greet the community." (Interview with Kadek Eggy Segel, October 22, 2024).

The following are the results of an interview with Ni Wayan Widhiastini as a Political Academic who understands the dynamics of political communication in the internet era, to find out how effectively presidential and vice presidential candidates use TikTok Live streaming:

"It has been effective, especially now 60% of gen z they need information in their hands, then the candidate also takes advantage of where there is a crowd there, that's the keyword. Now there are a lot of people crowding on social media. Just like the demo people where there is a crowd is the same on social media, which social media is the most popular if it's TikTok, TikTok." (Interview Ni Wayan Widhiastini, 7 November 2024).

I Nyoman Subanda, stated that social media has become the main political campaign tool in Indonesia, beating conventional media. Platforms like TikTok and Instagram allow for

more personalized and efficient communication. However, a multi-channel approach remains important to reach less active voters online:

"In recent years, social media has become the most effective political campaign tool in Indonesia, shifting the dominance of conventional mass media such as television and radio. Indonesia is one of the countries with the highest social media penetration in the world, allowing candidates to deliver personalized and interactive messages at a cost more efficient. Platforms like TikTok, Instagram, and Facebook allow for more precise segmentation of voters, where content can be tailored to different demographics, such as Gen Z and moms. In addition, the potential for viral marketing on social media allows political messages to reach a wider audience organically. Nonetheless, a multi-channel approach remains important, as mass media and face-to-face campaigns still play a role in reaching less active voters online." (Interview I Nyoman Subanda, November 4, 2024).

In addition to the successful team and political academics, the campaign process that took place on TikTok Live streaming certainly contributed from the younger generation who will explain their contributions and how effective this campaign is for voters:

As for K.R.K when asked how often to watch TikTok Live streams featuring presidential and vice presidential pairs in the 2024 Election:

"I quite often watch TikTok live streaming of presidential and vice presidential candidates, about 2-3 times a week during the 2024 election campaign." (K.R.K. Interview, November 1, 2024).

The same goes for K.R.K when Y.A.Q was asked about the intensity of watching Live streaming:

"I watch about 1-2 times a week." (Y.A.Q. Interview, November 1, 2024).

A different opinion was conveyed by E.J.T regarding how often to watch Live streaming:

"I rarely watch, maybe only 2-3 times during

this campaign." (E.J.T. Interview, November 3, 2024).

Just like the others, S.M.G revealed how often to watch this Live stream:

"I watch quite often, almost every time there is a live streaming of presidential and vice presidential candidates that I watch on TikTok." (S.M.G. Interview, November 4, 2024).

K.R.K gave an opinion on what encourages watching live political campaign live streams on TikTok:

"What drives me to watch is the desire to get direct information from the candidates about their vision, mission, and program. Live streaming allows for more personalized real-time interactions." (K.R.K. Interview, November 1, 2024).

As for Y.A.Q, he thinks that what encourages watching live political campaign live streaming on TikTok:

"I like the short and entertaining format. Sometimes I am also curious about the way candidates communicate on TikTok." (Y.A.Q. Interview, November 1, 2024).

A different opinion was conveyed by E.J.T regarding how often to watch Live streaming:

"I rarely watch, maybe only 2-3 times during this campaign." (E.J.T. Interview, November 3, 2024).

Just like the others, S.M.G revealed how often to watch this Live stream:

"I watch quite often, almost every time there is a live streaming of presidential and vice presidential candidates that I watch on TikTok." (S.M.G. Interview, November 4, 2024).

K.R.K gave an opinion on what encourages watching live political campaign live streams on TikTok:

"What drives me to watch is the desire to get direct information from the candidates about their vision, mission, and program. Live streaming allows for more personalized real-time interactions." (K.R.K. Interview, November 1, 2024).

As for Y.A.Q, he thinks that what encourages watching live political campaign live streaming on TikTok:

"I like the short and entertaining format. Sometimes I am also curious about the way candidates communicate on TikTok." (Y.A.Q. Interview, November 1, 2024).

E.J.T's differing opinions about political campaign Live streaming content on TikTok are more likely to use offensive strategies (e.g., attacking political opponents) or defensive strategies (e.g., strengthening existing support, responding to criticism, or explaining existing positions) and which are more effective:

"From what I've seen, the content is more defensive. They tend to explain their positions on certain issues. This makes me more interested because it is informative. In my opinion, this defensive strategy is more effective on TikTok because it provides clear information to young voters." (Interview with E.J.T, November 3, 2024).

S.M.G argues that campaign strategies are balanced between offensive and defensive and prefers offensive content, but admits that the combination of the two is effective on TikTok:

"In my opinion, the strategy used tends to be balanced between offensive and defensive. Some content highlights the weaknesses of the opposing program, while others focus on explaining the program itself. I prefer offensive content because it feels more dynamic, but the combination of these two strategies is also effective on TikTok to attract attention and inform." (S.M.G. Interview, November 4, 2024).

The combination of offensive and defensive strategies, amplified through TikTok's live streaming capabilities, is proving to be a powerful tool in modern political campaigns. Candidates are now able to not only promote their agendas and engage with voters but also

defend their positions and respond to challenges in a way that is immediate and impactful. This shift in political communication reflects a broader trend towards more interactive, personalized, and direct forms of campaigning, where the lines between traditional media and social media are increasingly blurred. TikTok, in particular, has become an indispensable tool for political candidates seeking to engage with younger, digitally-savvy voters, and its impact on the 2024 election cycle is a testament to the growing importance of social media in shaping the political landscape. As the 2024 election cycle progresses, it is clear that platforms like TikTok will continue to play a pivotal role in how political communication is carried out. Candidates who are able to effectively harness the power of live streaming and other interactive features on TikTok will have a significant advantage in terms of voter engagement and mobilization. At the same time, political communication strategies must continue to evolve as social media platforms introduce new features and as the digital landscape continues to shift. Political actors who are able to adapt to these changes and use these platforms to their advantage will be well-positioned to succeed in an increasingly complex and fast-paced media environment (Cervi Laura, 2023).

TikTok has advantages over traditional media like television because it is interactive and algorithm-based, allowing engaging

content to reach a wide audience without requiring a large investment in advertising. (Sitanggang, 2024). The use of TikTok is not only as an entertainment medium, namely as a propaganda tool to attract the voices of the younger generation (Ichwanusafa, R., & Aji, M. P, 2024). TikTok aims to collect and convey creativity and important moments from all over the world through mobile phones (Pratiwi., N. I., & Husen, A., 2021). Through this approach, candidates can build a stronger emotional connection with the audience, such as using relatable narratives, humor, or inspiring stories to create emotional bonds, even leading to the emergence of terms like "anak abah" as a symbol of closeness between young voters and the candidate (Sari, 2024). One significant innovation is the use of TikTok live streaming for real-time interaction, which not only expands the campaign's reach but also creates an impression of transparency and openness (Makaruwung Et Al, 2024). This strategy has proven effective in increasing electability, especially with the combination of offensive and defensive approaches applied during the live streaming sessions (Kamindang, 2023). For example, on January 1, 2024, Anies Baswedan used personal narratives and humor to build an emotional connection, while a wise response to criticism highlighted calmness and empathy (Fazrulzaman, 2020). Similarly, on January 8, 2024, a defensive strategy that prioritized emotional control during the pressure of the debate and openness in

answering audience questions reflected self-control and mature leadership. (Suryanto, 2023). The use of TikTok also provides a deeper understanding of the candidate's vision, with many voters feeling more confident in candidates who can respond to criticism directly and convey their agenda spontaneously (Rismayanti, 2024).



Figure 5. Live Streaming of the 01 Presidential Candidate Pair

Source: [youtube.com/anies baswedan](https://youtube.com/aniesbaswedan) (2024)

The frequency of watching live streaming has also become an important indicator of campaign effectiveness, with the majority of voters stating that their main motivation is to obtain direct information, see the candidate's response to criticism, and feel personal engagement that is not found in other media. (Purnomo, 2023). Overall, the digital communication strategy through TikTok, both offensive and defensive, has successfully created deeper engagement with young voters, built an inclusive image, and increased the electability of the candidate pair in the social media era (Alifya Moza, 2023). This research has theoretical implications in analyzing the political communication

strategies of political candidates contesting in the Indonesian elections.

CONCLUSION

The results of the analysis of the political communication strategies of presidential and vice-presidential candidates in the digital era show that the use of social media, especially TikTok live streaming, has changed the way politicians interact with voters. The shift from conventional media to social media allows information to spread more quickly and effectively, with candidates able to interact directly with the audience, answer questions, and respond to criticism in real-time. This strengthens the relationship between candidates and increasingly critical voters. In political communication, an offensive approach is used to attract attention through engaging and interactive content, while a defensive strategy is employed to respond to criticism and maintain public trust. In addition, building an emotional connection with voters becomes key. Through live streaming, candidates can show their human side, which helps foster voter loyalty. The relevance of content that touches on important issues for society also affects the success of the campaign. However, voters who are selective about certain topics demand that candidates understand audience preferences and adjust their content accordingly. Social media offers many opportunities, but it also poses challenges, such as the spread of misinformation and negative comments

during live streaming. Therefore, candidates need to have a well-thought-out communication strategy and be prepared to face potential difficulties. Overall, to communicate effectively in the digital era, prospective leaders must be flexible, responsive, and able to handle criticism. By creating engaging and relevant content, and bravely facing challenges, they can build stronger relationships with voters and gain public support in the ever-changing landscape of political communication.

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