

Local Wisdom and Political Communication in Indonesia: A Systematic Literature Review on Cultural Transformation in the 2024 Electoral Campaigns

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ABSTRACT

This study examines the use of local wisdom in Indonesian political communication as a form of cultural transformation in the 2024 electoral campaigns. The study aims to analyze the integration of local values into contemporary political communication strategies and the factors contributing to their effectiveness. This research employs a systematic literature review (SLR) method by analyzing various studies related to political communication, local culture, and digital campaigns in Indonesia. The findings indicate that the use of local cultural symbols such as wayang performances, traditional clothing, cultural rituals, and religious leadership strengthens campaign resonance, builds emotional connections with communities, and enhances candidates' political legitimacy. The effectiveness of these strategies is further amplified through the integration of digital media, particularly in engaging young voters. The study also reveals that cultural relevance, the social legitimacy of local leaders, institutional support, and the digital adaptation of cultural symbols are key factors in the success of local wisdom-based political communication. This study concludes that the integration of local traditions and digital media can strengthen inclusive democratic practices while preserving Indonesian cultural identity within contemporary political communication.



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INTRODUCTION

The development of global political communication over the past decade has been marked by the dominance of digital technology, personalized messaging, and the use of social media algorithms that tend to standardize campaign narratives. This phenomenon has led to the emergence of communication strategies oriented towards virality, identity polarization, and the exploitation of racial and religious issues (Papathanassopoulos & Giannouli, 2025). In many contexts, this approach actually weakens the local dimension and obscures the cultural roots that have long served as the foundation of political legitimacy at the community level. For example, political campaigns in several regions during the 2024 Indonesian elections increasingly prioritized digital branding strategies, viral social media content, and image-based political marketing, often reducing direct engagement with local cultural traditions and community values (Prayudi et al., 2025). In some areas, traditional forums such as cultural gatherings, wayang performances, religious recitations, and adat-based community discussions were replaced or marginalized by short-form digital campaigns designed primarily for online visibility (Hidayat et al., 2025). As a multicultural nation, Indonesia therefore faces the challenge of maintaining the relevance of local wisdom values in political communication practices, particularly in the lead-up to the 2024 elections (Mailin et al., 2023).

Indonesia has a wealth of symbolic and cultural traditions such as wayang (wayang), traditional rituals, regional languages, and religious symbols that not only function as cultural expressions but also as a medium of social communication that builds collective solidarity (Nuraini et al., 2025). Studies by Ifeanyi (Chukwudebelu, 2024), Devappa (Dr.M.K.Devappa, 2014), and Ali (Ali Siddique & Saleem, 2025) show that cultural and religious symbols have the potential to strengthen emotional bonds between political actors and society through authentic representations of identity. In the context of political communication, these symbols can be a legitimizing tool as well as an effective persuasion strategy because they are rooted in values that have long existed in the social structure of society (Hasan, 2025).

However, the integration of local wisdom into political campaign strategies has not been systematically studied. Most research on local wisdom is focused on character education, community development, or cultural anthropology (Adnan et al., 2022). Research by Syahrila, for example, emphasizes the importance of local wisdom in moral value formation and early childhood education, but fails to elaborate on how these values are transformed into structured political communication strategies (Anggita et al., 2024). This gap indicates an underexplored conceptual space in contemporary political communication literature.

Furthermore, the cultural approach to political communication emphasizes that political messages are never neutral, but are always produced and interpreted through specific systems of symbols and power relations (Gonçalves, 2018). The cultural politics perspective, influenced by Stuart Hall's thinking, emphasizes that symbolic representation plays a central role in shaping collective identity and political meaning (Stuart Hall, 1992). In the Indonesian context, cultural transformation in political campaigns can be understood as a negotiation process between local traditions and the logic of modern, digital-based communication (Rayhan et al., 2025). Campaigns are no longer simply about conveying programs, but also constructing images through the adaptation of cultural symbols to align with contemporary electoral dynamics.

The 2024 election phenomenon demonstrates a tendency for candidates and political parties to utilize local narratives, traditional symbols, and religious approaches to reach specific voter bases (Prakoso et al., 2023). However, there is no comprehensive mapping of how this cultural transformation occurs, what patterns of integration there are, and the factors that determine its effectiveness. Is the use of wayang (traditional puppetry) or symbols merely cosmetic and symbolic, or does it truly foster dialogic communication that strengthens democratic participation? This question is crucial given that Indonesian democracy rests on a plurality of diverse local identities and values.

Several international studies have also highlighted the relationship between local culture and political communication. An article in a national journal by Naswalia (Mumtaz et al., 2024) emphasized the need to integrate cultural approaches into public communication strategies in developing countries. Furthermore, a publication by Burhan Bungin examined the transformation of cultural symbols in the context of local politics, although it did not specifically address the momentum of the 2024 elections (Bungin et al., 2025). Meanwhile, an article in *jurnalrisetkomunikasi.org* by Basista and Faizal emphasized that religious symbols can function as mediators in political communication that build moral legitimacy (Lubis, 2024). These three studies demonstrate the relevance of this topic, while also demonstrating the lack of a systematic synthesis that integrates these findings into a comprehensive conceptual framework.

This literature gap underpins the importance of this research. Without a systematic review, understanding of local wisdom-based political communication will remain fragmented, making it difficult to produce an applicable conceptual model. Yet, in the context of increasingly digitalized democracy, strengthening local identity can be a strategy to prevent the homogenization of political culture and reduce excessive polarization (Sumarlina et al., 2023). Integrating local values into campaigns has the potential to create more inclusive, dialogical, and contextual communication. This research uses a Systematic Literature Review (SLR) approach to identify, evaluate, and synthesize relevant scholarly articles from reputable national (Sinta 1 and 2) and international journals indexed by Scopus over the past five to seven years. The analysis was conducted through thematic meta-synthesis and content analysis to map patterns of local wisdom integration in political communication strategies. This approach allows researchers not only to identify research trends but also to formulate a new conceptual framework that explains cultural transformation in Indonesian electoral campaigns.

Academically, this research contributes to strengthening the study of culture-based political communication by providing a structured and critical synthesis of the literature. Practically, the results of this study can serve as a reference for political actors, campaign consultants, and policymakers in designing communication strategies that are more sensitive to local contexts. Thus, this study not only addresses theoretical gaps but also offers normative implications for the development of democratic practices rooted in local wisdom. Through a systematic literature review on cultural transformation in the 2024 election campaign, this article confirms that political communication in Indonesia cannot be separated from the symbolic dynamics and local values that shape the collective identity of the community. This study is expected to enrich the international discourse on the relationship between culture, democracy, and political communication strategies in multicultural countries.

THEORETICAL STUDY

The main idea underlying this research is a cultural approach to political communication (Dutta, 2011). This perspective emphasizes that political communication is not solely determined by instrumental rationality, programmatic argumentation, or political marketing strategies, but also by the ability of political actors to produce and represent the symbols, values, and cultural practices that exist in everyday society. Within the framework of cultural politics, communication is understood as an arena for the production of meaning, which is always linked to power relations and social identity.

Stuart Hall's thinking emphasizes that representation is not merely a reflection of reality, but rather an active process in shaping how the public understands the social and political world (Stuart Hall, 1992). In the context of electoral campaigns, cultural symbols such as regional languages, traditional rituals, and wayang figures can function as representational tools that build emotional closeness and political legitimacy (Subiakto, 2019). Thus, the effectiveness of political communication is greatly influenced by the ability of candidates or parties to articulate local values into relevant campaign narratives (Subiakto & Pandjaitan, 2020). This approach also aligns with the theory of symbolic interactionism, which views social meaning as being formed through symbolic interaction (Hermawan, 2013). When political actors use local cultural symbols, they not only convey political messages but also build a sense of shared identity with constituents. In a multicultural society like Indonesia, this symbolic dimension holds high significance because collective identity is often rooted in local traditions and religiosity (Sahid & Budianto, 2024).

The concept of local wisdom refers to a system of values, norms, practices, and traditional knowledge that develops within a particular community and is passed down from generation to generation (Pesurnay, 2018). From a political communication perspective, local wisdom can be understood as symbolic capital that can increase the legitimacy and credibility of political actors in the eyes of the public (Phillips, 2024). Research by Hidayat shows that wayang (puppetry) functions not only as a medium for entertainment or character education, but also as an effective medium for communicating values (Hidayat et al., 2025). Characters in wayang, such as Yudhistira, represent ethical leadership, honesty, and wisdom. When these symbols are adopted in political communication, they have the potential to build a candidate's moral image as a leader with integrity.

These findings are reinforced by Mario's research, which explains that wayang symbols can bridge abstract political ideas and the cultural experiences of the community (Willyarto & Yunus, 2018). The use of symbols in campaigns creates emotional resonance that increases public participation and political understanding. In the context of citizen participation, Mahyudin and colleagues' study highlights the importance of supporting local culture so that communities can participate actively and informedly in democracy. Local wisdom here functions as a space for social dialogue that strengthens the relationship between citizens and political actors.

The 2024 Indonesian elections are marked by the intensified use of social media and digital platforms as primary campaign platforms (Bachtiar, 2014). This transformation presents both challenges and opportunities for the integration of local wisdom. Research by Basista, Moekahar, and Rafida shows that digital campaign narratives can reach a wide audience quickly, but often lack the depth of cultural context (Huang et al., 2023). From the perspective of the mediatization of politics, digital media not only serves as a communication channel but also shapes the logic of political communication itself. Political actors are required to adapt messages to algorithms, concise visualizations, and a culture of virality (Hasfi, 2019). This is where cultural transformation occurs: traditional symbols such as wayang (wayang) or traditional rituals are adapted into visual content, memes, or short videos that fit the logic of social media.

Siswanto's research on village discussion forums in Central Java shows that traditional political communication practices based on moral dialogue can resolve social conflict and strengthen community cohesion (Siswanto et al., 2025). These forums reflect a deliberative communication model rooted in local values. Within the framework of deliberative democracy theory, dialogue spaces based on local wisdom can be a means of building consensus and inclusive political participation. However, most of this research still positions local practices as social phenomena, rather than as planned campaign communication strategies.

Sumitro's study of the Noken system in Papua emphasized procedural legitimacy and local legality, without elaborating on its implications for contemporary political communication strategies

(Sumitro & Yorman, 2024). This demonstrates a gap between the study of local political culture and strategic analysis of campaign communication. Internationally, literature on local wisdom focuses more on conflict resolution and peacebuilding. Zulkifli's research, published by Taylor & Francis, emphasizes the role of local wisdom in creating sustainable peace. However, this approach has not specifically linked it to electoral communication strategies (Zulkifli, 2026).

Meanwhile, Pomykalo and Omelchenko's study shows that global political communication tends to focus on political identity and religious communication, but has not yet integrated local cultural perspectives as strategic variables (Kahpi, 2024). This gap emphasizes the importance of systematic research that synthesizes various findings regarding local wisdom and political communication in the Indonesian context. Without such synthesis, the literature will remain fragmented and it will be difficult to produce a comprehensive conceptual model.

RESEARCH METHODS

This study uses the Systematic Literature Review (SLR) method, referring to Creswell's guidelines within the PRISMA framework to ensure transparency and replicability of the literature selection process (Creswell John and Creswell David, 2023). This approach allows for the identification of patterns, themes, and success factors for the integration of local wisdom into political communication strategies. Unlike previous descriptive studies, such as Makmur Jaya's research in Central Aceh, which highlighted contextual religious legitimacy, this article seeks to integrate various findings into a single conceptual framework on cultural transformation in the 2024 election campaign. Theoretically, this literature review demonstrates that local wisdom-based political communication can be understood through a combination of theories of cultural representation, symbolic capital, the mediatization of politics, and deliberative democracy. The integration of these theories broadens the scope of political communication studies from mere message analysis to an analysis of meaning, identity, and cultural legitimacy.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

Based on the results of a Systematic Literature Review (SLR) of articles indexed by Sinta 1–2 and Scopus over the past five to seven years, it was found that local wisdom-based political communication strategies in the 2024 Indonesian Elections exhibit a complex pattern of cultural transformation. The analysis was conducted through the stages of article identification, screening, eligibility, and inclusion according to the PRISMA guidelines as developed by Matthew Page and colleagues. Of the total articles identified, several relevant publications highlighted the integration of cultural symbols, customary practices, and religious values into political campaign strategies, both through face-to-face and digital platforms.

1. Local Wisdom as a Campaign Narrative Framework

The results of the Systematic Literature Review (SLR) show that local wisdom in the 2024 Election is not merely present as a symbolic element, but functions as a narrative framework that shapes the overall structure of campaign messages. From the perspective of cultural representation influenced by Stuart Hall's thinking, political narrative is understood as a process of meaning production that connects symbols, identities, and power relations (Stuart Hall, 1992). Thus, the use of local wisdom in campaigns is not merely an aesthetic strategy, but rather a practice of collective identity construction aimed at building legitimacy and public affection.

Based on thematic analysis of the selected articles, it was found that local wisdom was utilized in three main narrative patterns, namely: (1) narratives of leadership morality, (2) narratives of cultural closeness, and (3) narratives of the continuity of tradition in political modernity.

First, the narrative of moral leadership is constructed through the representation of cultural figures or symbols associated with specific ethical values. In several studies analyzed, wayang characters such as Yudhistira are used as metaphors for just, patient, and virtuous leadership. This finding aligns with Dwi Rahayyu's research, which asserts that wayang has a pedagogical function in transmitting character values (Noritasari et al., 2024). In the campaign context, this pedagogical function is transformed into a persuasive one. Candidates who associate themselves with these values seek to build a moral image that resonates with the collective memory of society.

This morality narrative is effective because the public judges candidates not only based on rational work programs but also on perceived integrity and value alignment. The SLR shows that in areas with a strong cultural base, the use of traditional moral symbols increases voters' emotional engagement. However, this effectiveness depends heavily on the candidate's perceived authenticity. If the public perceives cultural symbols as being used instrumentally without any real personal connection, the narrative tends to lose its persuasive power.

Second, the cultural proximity narrative emphasizes the shared identity between candidates and communities. The use of regional languages in speeches, participation in traditional rituals, and visualization of traditional clothing in campaign materials are concrete forms of this strategy. Within the framework of symbolic interactionism, this practice builds shared meaning that strengthens the sense of "we" between political actors and voters. SLR identified that this cultural proximity strategy is often used in both face-to-face and digital campaigns. On social media, regional languages or local expressions are packaged in the form of short videos and easily shareable slogans. Wahyu Dede's research shows that local identity-based content has higher engagement rates because it is perceived as more authentic and relatable (Gustiawan & Sudarmiatin, 2025).

However, the SLR results also note the risk of simplifying cultural meanings when local symbols are condensed into concise digital formats. In some cases, the narrative of cultural proximity turns into a mere symbolic populist strategy that emphasizes image over policy substance. The success of this strategy is largely determined by the candidate's ability to integrate cultural values with a clear programmatic vision. Third, the narrative of the continuity of tradition in political modernity is a pattern that demonstrates a more complex cultural transformation. In this narrative, local wisdom is positioned not as nostalgia for the past, but as an ethical foundation for addressing contemporary challenges. For example, the value of mutual cooperation is reinterpreted as a principle of collaboration in modern governance.

The SLR found that candidates who were able to articulate the relationship between traditional values and contemporary public policies such as sustainable development or local economic empowerment had broader appeal, including among young voters (Kadir et al., 2025). This strategy reflects a process of cultural recontextualization, in which traditional symbols are integrated into narratives of social change and political innovation. In the highly digitalized context of the 2024 elections, local wisdom as a narrative framework is also undergoing media hybridization (Rahman et al., 2024). Cultural symbols are present not only in traditional forums or community meetings but also in creative content on digital platforms. This transformation demonstrates that local culture is not marginalized by modernity but is adapting to new communication logics.

Overall, the SLR results confirm that local wisdom serves as a narrative framework for campaigns, influencing message structure, communication style, and candidate representation strategies. Culturally based narratives enable candidates to simultaneously build moral legitimacy, emotional connection, and contextual relevance. However, their effectiveness depends on three key factors: the authenticity of political actors, the substantive integration of cultural values and policy programs, and the adaptability of cultural symbols to contemporary communication media.

Thus, local wisdom in the 2024 Election is not merely a complement to campaign rhetoric, but becomes a narrative foundation that shapes how the public understands the meaning of leadership and democracy in Indonesia's multicultural context.

2. Transformation of Cultural Symbols in Digital Media

The results of a Systematic Literature Review (SLR) indicate that the transformation of cultural symbols in digital media is one of the most prominent dynamics in the political communication strategies of the 2024 Indonesian Election. While in the previous period, cultural symbols were primarily articulated through face-to-face forums, traditional rituals, or traditional arts performances, in the 2024 Election, these symbols underwent a process of digitalization, re-visualization, and commodification within the social media ecosystem. This transformation not only altered the medium of message delivery but also influenced the structure of meaning, the intensity of affect, and patterns of public engagement.

From the perspective of the mediatization of politics, media is no longer understood simply as a communication channel, but rather as an institution with its own logic that shapes how political actors produce messages. The logic of social media, which emphasizes speed, visualization, personalization,

and virality, encourages cultural symbols to be simplified, condensed, and adapted to concise and visually appealing content formats. In this context, traditional values such as mutual cooperation, politeness, or moral-based leadership are translated into short videos, memes, infographics, and slogans based on regional languages.

Research by Basista, Moekahar, and Rafida shows that campaign narratives that highlight local cultural identity tend to achieve higher engagement rates on social media than technocratic political messages. This is because cultural symbols have a strong emotional dimension and trigger a sense of belonging. Content featuring traditional clothing, traditional music, or local expressions in creative forms is often more easily shared and commented on by users.

However, the SLR results also identified two models of cultural symbol transformation in digital media. First, the substantive integration model, where cultural symbols are not only displayed visually but also linked to concrete policy agendas. In this model, cultural values serve as an argumentative framework to explain a candidate's work program. For example, the concept of deliberation (*musyawarah*) is translated as a commitment to participatory and transparent governance. This transformation maintains the depth of the symbol's meaning and strengthens the coherence of the political narrative.

Second, the symbolic surface adaptation model, which uses cultural symbols that emphasize aesthetics over substance. In this model, traditional elements are reduced to visual attributes—such as the use of traditional clothing in campaign photos or traditional background music in short videos—without a clear connection to the political vision and mission. This transformation often produces visually appealing content, but is vulnerable to criticism as a form of cultural instrumentalization.

Within Stuart Hall's theory of representation, the transformation of cultural symbols in digital media is a process of re-articulation. Symbolic meanings are not fixed, but rather renegotiated according to social and technological contexts. On the one hand, digitalization opens up opportunities for the preservation and dissemination of local culture to a wider audience, including younger generations active on digital platforms. On the other hand, this process also risks shifting the meaning of symbols from their historical context to mere visual commodities in political competition. The SLR also found that the success of transforming cultural symbols in digital media depends heavily on message consistency across platforms. Candidates who are able to maintain a consistent cultural narrative across online and offline campaigns demonstrate higher levels of public trust. Conversely, inconsistencies between digital representations and actual practices on the ground tend to undermine perceptions of authenticity.

Furthermore, social media algorithms influence the spread of cultural symbols. Content containing local elements is often promoted within specific community networks, creating echo chambers based on cultural identity. This strengthens group solidarity, but also has the potential to limit cross-identity dialogue if not balanced with an inclusive narrative. Overall, the transformation of cultural symbols in digital media in the 2024 election reflects a hybridization process between tradition and modernity. Local symbols do not disappear in the digital era, but are instead recontextualized according to platform logic and audience preferences. The main challenge lies in how political actors maintain a balance between visual appeal and depth of meaning, so that culture is not reduced to a mere rhetorical tool but continues to function as an ethical foundation in contemporary Indonesian political communication.

3. Deliberative Strategies and Traditional Communication

The results of the Systematic Literature Review (SLR) show that amid the dominance of digital campaigns in the 2024 Election, deliberative strategies and traditional communication based on local wisdom continue to play a significant role in building legitimacy and political participation. This finding indicates that the transformation of political communication in Indonesia has not completely replaced traditional practices, but rather created a hybrid pattern between customary-based deliberative spaces and digital public spaces. From the perspective of deliberative democracy theory, effective political communication relies not only on one-way persuasion but also on reciprocal dialogue that enables rational and moral citizen participation. Traditional forums such as village deliberations (*musyawarah desa*), *rembug kampung* (village councils), and customary meetings represent forms of deliberative communication that have long been rooted in Indonesian political culture. Sulasman and Gumilar's

research shows that rembug desa (village councils) in Central Java function as spaces for conflict resolution and consensus building based on community moral values.

SLR found that in the context of the 2024 elections, several candidates utilized these forums as part of their interpersonal communication strategy to build social closeness and strengthen public trust. Unlike digital communication, which tends to be fast and fragmented, customary-based deliberative communication allows for more in-depth, reflective, and dialogical face-to-face interactions. Through these forums, candidates not only convey their programs but also listen to and respond to community aspirations directly. Literature analysis shows that the effectiveness of deliberative strategies is influenced by the level of community participation and the social legitimacy of the forum. In areas with strong customary structures, deliberation-based political communication has a high social bond. Discussion processes involving customary leaders, religious leaders, and community representatives reinforce the perception that political decisions arise from collective consensus, not solely from elite agendas.

Furthermore, SLR identified that traditional communication practices often serve as verification mechanisms for digital campaign messages. Information circulating on social media is often re-discussed in face-to-face forums to ensure its veracity and relevance. Thus, deliberative communication based on local wisdom serves as a counterbalance to the risks of disinformation and polarization prevalent in the digital space. Within the framework of cultural representation, influenced by Stuart Hall's thinking, traditional deliberative forums can be understood as arenas for the production of collective meaning. In these spaces, cultural symbols and local values are not only displayed but also negotiated through social dialogue. This process allows for a deeper internalization of political values than solely image-based communication.

The SLR also found a hybrid communication strategy, combining deliberative communication with digital content distribution. Several candidates documented customary deliberation activities and shared them through social media as evidence of their commitment to local values. This strategy expanded the reach of traditional forums to a wider audience while maintaining community-based legitimacy.

However, the research findings suggest that the success of deliberative strategies depends on the consistency between rhetoric and practice. If customary forums are used only as symbolic platforms without concrete policy follow-up, the legitimacy they generate tends to be temporary. Conversely, when the outcomes of the dialogue are truly integrated into the policy agenda, public trust significantly increases. Another finding from the SLR is that traditional communication based on local wisdom plays a role in mitigating identity conflicts. In several case studies, customary deliberations were used to build cross-group understanding before the intensive campaign period began. This demonstrates that deliberative strategies function not only as a tool of persuasion but also as a mechanism for social stabilization in the democratic process.

Overall, the analysis of the research findings confirms that deliberative and traditional communication strategies remain relevant in Indonesia's digitalized political communication landscape. Local wisdom provides an ethical and procedural framework for inclusive and participatory political dialogue. The integration of traditional face-to-face forums and digital campaigns reflects a political communication model that adapts to modernity, without losing its cultural roots. This strategy demonstrates the evolutionary transformation of political communication in Indonesia, combining tradition and innovation to build legitimacy and strengthen the quality of democracy in the 2024 elections.

4. Legitimacy and Symbolic Capital

In the context of local wisdom-based political communication in the 2024 Indonesian elections, SLR findings demonstrate that political legitimacy is not only built through programmatic performance and the image of rational leadership, but also through the mobilization of symbolic capital rooted in local culture. The concept of symbolic capital, introduced by Pierre Bourdieu, serves as an important analytical framework for understanding how cultural symbols, values, and practices function as socially recognized sources of power. In political campaigns, symbolic capital operates when candidates or parties are able to associate themselves with cultural values deemed legitimate, moral, and representative by a particular community.

A systematic review shows that candidates who consistently integrate local wisdom, whether through regional languages, traditional attire, participation in customary rituals, or support from traditional leaders, tend to gain stronger cultural legitimacy at the grassroots level. This legitimacy is not merely administrative or legal-formal, but also social and symbolic. In other words, public recognition of a candidate is built through the perception that the candidate is "one of us" (an insider) and authentically understands community values.

In Indonesia's multicultural context, this strategy is evident in the use of traditional symbols in local and national campaigns. For example, the use of traditional attire during declaration events or campaign visits serves not only as a visual aesthetic but also as a sign of cultural closeness. In some regions, involvement in traditional deliberation forums or support from traditional leaders serves as a significant source of legitimacy. This demonstrates that traditional social structures still exert influence in shaping public political opinion.

SLR also identified that culturally based legitimacy is often produced through a combination of traditional and digital communication. Candidates are not only physically present in traditional spaces but also document and distribute these moments through social media. Thus, symbolic capital, initially local in scope, expands into national public consumption. This transformation demonstrates how cultural symbols function as "political currency" in the digital attention economy.

Furthermore, legitimacy built through local wisdom operates in two main dimensions: moral legitimacy and representational legitimacy. Moral legitimacy emerges when candidates are associated with local ethical values such as mutual cooperation, honesty, and social concern. These values are often packaged in campaign narratives that emphasize integrity and closeness to the common people. Meanwhile, representational legitimacy is formed when candidates are perceived as representing the collective identity of a particular ethnic, religious, or cultural community.

SLR findings indicate that in the 2024 elections, narratives of authenticity have become a central issue in the production of legitimacy. The public is increasingly critical of cultural symbolism perceived as artificial or merely image-building. Therefore, candidates with a track record of social and cultural engagement prior to the campaign period tend to be more trusted than those who adopt cultural symbols only in the lead-up to the election. Therefore, symbolic capital cannot be built instantly; it is the accumulation of consistent social practices.

Literature analysis also highlights that culturally based legitimacy often interacts with local power structures. Support from traditional elites or community leaders can strengthen a candidate's position, but also has the potential to reproduce exclusive social hierarchies. From a critical perspective, the use of symbolic capital can become a tool of hegemony if it is solely used to maintain the dominance of certain groups without creating spaces for inclusive participation. Therefore, legitimacy built through local wisdom needs to be analyzed contextually: whether it broadens or narrows democratic participation.

Furthermore, the SLR revealed that symbolic legitimacy is also closely related to public trust in political institutions. In situations where distrust of political parties is relatively high, cultural symbols serve as an emotional bridge between candidates and voters. Cultural identification can reduce the psychological distance between political elites and the public. This strategy is relevant amidst social fragmentation and political polarization, as local wisdom offers a narrative of unity based on shared values.

Another dimension emerging from the study is the role of symbolic capital in building candidate differentiation. In the competitive arena, cultural symbols become effective political branding tools. Candidates can differentiate themselves through unique cultural narratives, for example by highlighting local philosophy as inspiration for public policy. This strategy not only builds emotional closeness but also provides a normative framework for the political programs they offer.

However, the literature also warns of the risk of cultural simplification in campaign practices. When cultural symbols are reduced to visual commodities without a deep understanding of their meaning, the resulting legitimacy tends to be shallow and vulnerable to questioning. Therefore, the success of a strategy based on local wisdom depends heavily on the depth of integration of cultural values into the candidate's political vision and policies.

Overall, the SLR results indicate that legitimacy and symbolic capital are key components of local wisdom-based political communication in the 2024 election. Symbolic capital operates through social recognition of cultural values strategically articulated in campaigns. The resulting legitimacy not

only increases electability but also strengthens the emotional connection between candidates and communities. Furthermore, this practice requires consistency, authenticity, and sensitivity to social dynamics to avoid becoming trapped in mere symbolism. Thus, local wisdom is not only a source of narrative but also a significant source of political legitimacy in contemporary Indonesian democracy. The cultural transformation of campaign strategies demonstrates that modern politics is not entirely separate from traditional symbolic structures; rather, the two are intertwined in shaping adaptive and contextual political communication practices.

5. Success Factors for Local Wisdom-Based Strategies

Based on the SLR findings in the study *Local Wisdom and Political Communication in Indonesia: A Systematic Literature Review on Cultural Transformation in the 2024 Electoral Campaigns*, there are several key factors that determine the success of a political communication strategy based on local wisdom. This strategy is not automatically effective simply because it uses cultural symbols or narratives, but rather depends on the social context, the consistency of political actors, and the ability to integrate tradition and modern media.

First, the authenticity factor. Literature shows that the success of local wisdom-based strategies is largely determined by public perception of the candidate's authenticity in representing cultural values. Authenticity is measured not only by the use of cultural attributes (such as traditional clothing or regional languages), but also by the candidate's social track record and involvement in community life. Candidates who have long interacted with indigenous communities or are active in culture-based social activities tend to gain stronger legitimacy than candidates who only temporarily adopt cultural symbols in the lead-up to elections. In this context, local wisdom functions as an internalized social identity, not simply a campaign tool.

Second, narrative consistency and programmatic integration. SLR identified that culture-based strategies are more successful when local values are not only featured in campaign rhetoric but also translated into concrete policy programs. For example, when the philosophy of mutual cooperation is used as the basis for economic empowerment policies or participatory governance. Consistency between symbolic narratives and political agendas creates message cohesion that strengthens a candidate's credibility. Without programmatic integration, cultural symbols risk becoming mere political cosmetics easily discredited by public criticism.

Third, elite support and local social networks. Numerous studies in the SLR (Student Leadership Forum) show that the involvement of traditional figures, religious leaders, or community figures significantly influences a candidate's legitimacy. Within the framework of Pierre Bourdieu's symbolic capital theory, local elite support can be understood as a form of symbolic capital transfer that strengthens a candidate's position in the political arena. Recognition from a socially respected figure increases public trust and broadens the reach of campaign messages. However, the effectiveness of this support depends heavily on the figure's credibility in the public eye.

Fourth, adaptation to the digital ecosystem. The transformation of the 2024 election campaign demonstrates that strategies based on local wisdom are increasingly integrated with digital media. Documentation of traditional activities, the use of regional languages in video content, and traditional symbols packaged in creative visual formats broaden the message's resonance to a wider audience, including the younger generation. The success of this strategy hinges on the campaign team's ability to package local values in a relevant and shareable format. Thus, the synergy between traditional and digital communication is crucial in expanding symbolic impact.

Fifth, sensitivity to diversity and inclusivity. Indonesia is a multicultural society with diverse ethnic and religious identities. A strategy based on local wisdom will be successful if it is not exclusive to one particular group but rather articulates local values as part of an inclusive national identity. The SLR demonstrates that an overly narrow approach—for example, highlighting only certain ethnic symbols without bridging other identities—has the potential to create fragmentation or political resistance. Therefore, the success of this strategy lies in its ability to build a collective narrative that connects locality to the nation.

Sixth, the socio-political context and current issues. The effectiveness of local wisdom as a communication strategy is greatly influenced by emerging issues within society. In situations of distrust toward political elites, local values such as honesty, simplicity, and deliberation become alternative sources of legitimacy. Conversely, in a more rational-programmatic urban context, cultural symbols

need to be combined with data-driven policy arguments to remain relevant. This means that the success of this strategy is not universal, but contextual and adaptive to social dynamics.

Seventh, community participation in message production. Several studies in the SLR emphasize the importance of a participatory approach in designing culture-based campaigns. When local communities are involved in formulating messages or managing campaign activities, a sense of ownership toward the candidate increases. This strategy strengthens horizontal relations between candidates and the community and reduces the perceived top-down nature of political communication.

Overall, the success of a local wisdom-based political communication strategy in the 2024 election will be determined not only by the symbolic power of culture, but also by the complex interaction between authenticity, program consistency, social network support, digital adaptation, inclusivity, contextual sensitivity, and community participation. The SLR findings confirm that local wisdom can be an effective communication resource if managed reflectively and contextually, rather than simply as a political ornament. A successful strategy is one that transforms cultural values into relevant, credible, and participatory political practices within Indonesia's contemporary democratic landscape.

6. Cultural Transformation Patterns in the 2024 Election

Based on the results *Systematic Literature Review* (SLR) on campaign dynamics in the 2024 election, it was found that cultural transformation in political communication does not occur linearly, but rather through adaptive patterns that connect tradition, modernity, and digital technology. This transformation indicates that local culture is not being eroded in modern political contestation but is instead experiencing a reconfiguration of its meaning and function in the electoral arena.

First, the pattern of reinterpretation of traditional values. Literature shows that local wisdom values such as mutual cooperation, deliberation, simplicity, and respect for elders are reinterpreted in campaign narratives. These values are no longer simply interpreted as social norms within indigenous communities but are repositioned as principles of ideal governance. For example, the concept of deliberation is reconstructed as a commitment to deliberative democracy, while mutual cooperation is presented as a collaborative development strategy. This pattern demonstrates the translation of cultural values into a more universal, modern political language.

Second, the pattern of cultural symbolization and visualization. The cultural transformation in the 2024 election is also marked by the intensified use of traditional symbols in public spaces and digital media. Traditional clothing, rituals, regional languages, and local icons have become part of political branding strategies. However, these symbols no longer exist solely in sacred or communal contexts, but rather as visual representations designed to build the candidate's image. In this context, culture undergoes mediation—from social practices to communication artifacts. Cultural visualizations in short videos, infographics, and memes demonstrate how local symbols are adapted to the logic of algorithms and digital popular culture.

Third, the hybridization pattern between tradition and modernity. The SLR results show that the 2024 campaign demonstrated a fusion of traditional customary forums with digital communication strategies. Meetings at traditional halls or Islamic boarding schools, for example, were not only face-to-face but also recorded and disseminated through social media. This hybridization created dual communication spaces: one local and communal, the other national and digital. This transformation emphasized that local culture does not exist separately from political modernity but is integrated into the broader communication ecosystem.

Fourth, the pattern of cultural commodification. The literature also notes that in some cases, cultural transformation tends toward symbolic commodification. Culture is treated as a communication asset to attract voters, especially in regions with strong cultural identities. From the perspective of Pierre Bourdieu's symbolic capital theory, cultural symbols become a resource that can be exchanged for political support. However, when such symbolization is not accompanied by substantive meaning, the resulting legitimacy tends to be fragile. Thus, this pattern of transformation is ambivalent: on the one hand, it expands the reach of culture, on the other, it risks reducing its meaning.

Fifth, the pattern of digitalization of local identity. The 2024 election saw a significant increase in the use of social media as a platform for articulating cultural identity. Candidates and their campaigns leveraged digital platforms to demonstrate their closeness to local culture through personal narratives, community testimonials, and creative, tradition-based content. This digitalization

accelerated the circulation of cultural symbols across regions, enabling local identities to be recognized nationally. This transformation demonstrates a shift from a culture based on physical space to a networked culture.

Sixth, the pattern of negotiation of meaning in public space. The cultural transformation in the 2024 election is also marked by the contestation of meaning in the digital space. The public is no longer a passive recipient of campaign symbols, but participates in interpreting, criticizing, and even parodying the candidates' use of cultural symbols. This demonstrates that culture in political communication is dialogic and open to interpretation. The success of strategies based on local wisdom depends heavily on the candidates' ability to manage these negotiations of meaning responsively.

Overall, the pattern of cultural transformation in the 2024 Election demonstrates that local wisdom is undergoing a dynamic adaptation process in the modern political arena. This transformation includes the reinterpretation of values, visual symbolization, media hybridization, symbolic commodification, the digitalization of identity, and the negotiation of public meaning. The SLR findings emphasize that culture is not a static element in political communication, but rather an arena for the production of meaning that is constantly changing according to social and technological dynamics. Thus, the 2024 Election is a crucial moment in understanding how local culture in Indonesia is not merely maintained but transformed into a strategic instrument for building legitimacy, identity, and emotional resonance amidst increasingly mediatized and digital political competition.

CONCLUSION

This study confirms that local wisdom plays a strategic role in the dynamics of political communication in the 2024 Indonesian elections. Based on the results, Systematic Literature Review (SLR), cultural transformation in electoral campaigns does not merely present traditional symbols as communication ornaments, but demonstrates a process of reinterpretation, hybridization, and digitalization of local values in the modern political arena. Local wisdom functions as a narrative framework, a source of legitimacy, and symbolic capital that strengthens the emotional closeness between candidates and voters. Research findings indicate that the success of a local wisdom-based communication strategy is determined by the authenticity of the candidate, consistency between cultural narratives and programmatic agendas, support from local social networks, and the ability to integrate traditional symbols with the digital media ecosystem. Cultural transformation in the 2024 Election demonstrates an adaptive pattern: traditional values are reinterpreted in the language of modern democracy, cultural symbols are visualized through social media, and local identities are negotiated in a participatory digital public space.

However, this study also identifies ambivalence in this practice. On the one hand, the use of local wisdom strengthens the moral and representational legitimacy of candidates. On the other hand, there is a risk of cultural commodification when traditional symbols are reduced to image-making instruments without relevant policy substance. Therefore, the sustainability of culture-based strategies depends heavily on the depth of integration of local values into actual political practices. Overall, this study concludes that cultural transformation in Indonesian political communication reflects the interplay between tradition and modernity. Local wisdom is not marginalized in democratic contestations but adapts as a contextual and dynamic communicative resource in the contemporary digital political landscape.

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