

# WHY DIGITAL VIRALITY FAILED TO PRODUCE ELECTORAL VICTORY: A GRAMSCIAN ANALYSIS OF AMIN'S 2024 PRESIDENTIAL CAMPAIGN

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## ABSTRACT (CAMBRIA 12, BOLD)

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During the 2024 Indonesian Presidential Election, a distinct form of support emerged for Presidential Candidate Pair Number 01-Anies Baswedan and Muhaimin Iskandar (AMIN). This viral support originated on the X platform (formerly Twitter) through accounts such as @aniesbubble, @olppaemiproject, and @humaniesproject. These accounts described themselves as a grassroots volunteer movement driven by concerns regarding the prevailing domestic political dynamics. Consequently, they sought to conduct civic education and digital campaigning by packaging political information with a K-pop style to make it more engaging. This approach was chosen due to their affinity for K-pop and the belief that conveying ideological messages in this manner would yield significant impact, despite their lack of the vast resources available to other candidate pairs. Their digital efforts successfully generated considerable attention and popularity on social media, particularly on X. However, this momentum did not translate into a victory for AMIN, as they ultimately secured approximately 24% of the vote. This electoral defeat is viewed as a failure of the counter-hegemony attempt in the sense of Antonio Gramsci's organic intellectuals undertaken by these groups. Based on previous research this phenomenon only viewed by K-pop perspective despite of the lacking of counter hegemony. It brings new perspective from theoretical side because it shows that hegemony by Gramsci is changing by time. This study employs an explanatory qualitative method utilizing both primary and secondary data. The findings indicate that the counter-hegemonic efforts by @aniesbubble, @olppaemiproject, and @humaniesproject on X failed to challenge the consensus established by the bourgeois-aligned forces backing Candidate Pair 02. The latter possessed superior resources, including political party coalitions, incumbent support, substantial campaign funding, and the use of influencers, celebrities, and public figures.

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## 1. Introduction

In 2024, Indonesia held its presidential and vice presidential elections. There were three candidate pairs at the time: (1) Anies Rasyid Baswedan and Muhaimin Iskandar, (2) Prabowo Subianto and Gibran Rakabuming Raka, and (3) Ganjar Pranowo and Mahfud MD (KPU, 2024). These three candidate pairs received support in various ways from their respective supporters. One form of support that attracted significant attention was the digital campaign style developed by supporters of the number 1 presidential candidate pair, Anies Rasyid Baswedan–Muhaimin Iskandar (AMIN), which adopted a K-pop fan-style approach (V.D., 2024).

Support in the “Korean Wave” style was first received by Candidate Pair No. 1 through the @anniesbubble account, which provided digital support for the pair via the social media platform Twitter—now known as X—in a style reminiscent of supporting Korean stars (BBC News Indonesia, 2024). Anies Baswedan was positioned as an “idol” or Korean star. According to @aniesbubble (2024), the administrator of the @anniesbubble account, there were no expectations whatsoever for this account, and it was never imagined that it would attract so much attention. Initially, this account was used as a communication channel because the user did not want to use their real account as the primary platform for discussing political issues. The communication style was chosen because Abel is a user of fan accounts and is accustomed to helping promote favorite idols on the X app. This is another reason behind Abel’s communication style on X, which positions Anies Baswedan as an idol.

Other accounts that have helped fuel digital support for AMIN on similar platforms include @olppaemiproject and @humaniesproject. Like Abel, these two accounts also originated from a desire to share information and offer support in a style close to their hearts: K-pop (olppaemiproject, 2024). Furthermore, Humaniesproject is the most recent account to emerge compared to @aniesbubble and @olppaemiproject, serving as a form of support and proof that these accounts have organically emerged on the X platform to support Candidate Pair 1 without any payment (humaniesproject, 2024).

The emergence of @aniesbubble, @olppaemiproject, and @humaniesproject brings a fresh perspective to Indonesia’s democratic process. This is because they emerged from grassroots movements rather than being created by the AMIN Campaign Team; thus, this phenomenon is analyzed through Antonio Gramsci’s concept of counter-hegemony. This concept refers to organized efforts by marginalized or oppressed groups to challenge, undermine, and replace dominant cultural, political, and economic norms or hegemony (Patria & Arief, 2015). In this context, the groups @aniesbubble, @olppaemiproject, and @humaniesproject sought to foster critical awareness and drive structural social change. Therefore, this study positions them as organic intellectuals capable of cultivating political reasoning through their messages on X and K-pop-style support in the real world. In the digital realm, they have successfully amassed a very significant following on X; on average, these three accounts have garnered more than 50,000 followers, with some even reaching over 100,000. Their supporters come of their own accord, without coercion or threats; rather, a sense of curiosity grows, which then transforms into recognition of the messages conveyed. This recognition is evident in the massive number of likes, comments, and reposts from their followers.

In light of the phenomenon of K-pop-style political support, many previous studies have highlighted this issue from different perspectives but have also contributed to the present study. The first study examined support for Anies Baswedan during the presidential

election, focusing on political strategy and communication (Anom, Vina, & Samani, 2024). This study explains that the political strategies and communication developed by the Campaign Team as well as organic movements such as @aniesbubble, @olppaemiproject, and @humaniesproject served to leverage the digital world to reach young voters. Meanwhile, the second study examines the development of Anies Baswedan's personal brand on the X platform (formerly Twitter) (Mustikasari et al., 2025). The goal was to cultivate a personal brand that is authoritative, intelligent, and humanistic, given that during the Jakarta gubernatorial election, Anies had a negative image due to being perceived as someone who used religion as a political tool to secure his position as governor of Jakarta. Finally, a study examining the performance of @aniesbubble in digital campaigns (Yurcel, Pramudita, & Haro, 2024). Based on the three previous studies, it is evident that each of these papers focused on branding, communication strategies, and a single specific account. These studies did not place much emphasis on the potential impact of organic movements through accounts such as @aniesbubble, @olppaemiproject, and @humaniesproject. The significant contribution offered by this study is not a focus on the success of the political and communication strategies or the personal branding built by these three accounts for AMIN, but rather an examination of the gaps in the failure of this campaign model. This is particularly intriguing because it turns out that the popularity achieved in digital spaces could not be translated into the voting booth. Therefore, this study will offer a unique perspective by drawing on Antonio Gramsci's theory of hegemony specifically, how hegemony in the digital realm fails to fully permeate the real world to secure victory.

The failure of Anies Baswedan's supporters to secure his victory is analyzed in this paper through the concept of counter-hegemony. This concept is employed because the movement of organic supporters originated from the concerns of the younger generation regarding an unfavorable political situation. They sought to resist the dominance of the political elite and strive to shift political control toward the broader public. This aligns with Gramsci's view regarding the two forms of political control that emerge within hegemony (Gramsci, 1992: xiii). These two types of political control are hegemony through coercion and hegemony through consent or recognition (Gramsci, 1992: xiii). Gramsci also argues that the most effective form of political control is that based on recognition or consent (Gramsci, 1992: xiv).

The presence of @aniesbubble, @olppaemiproject, and @humaniesproject is seen as an effort by the proletariat to exercise political control by gaining recognition or approval. The parameters of recognition and approval can be seen in the number of followers and the diverse support in the real world through donations made by AMIN supporters. These three accounts can be viewed as organic intellectual groups. In applying Gramsci's concept of hegemony (1992, 13), he argues that intellectual groups exert influence in the process of hegemony. Intellectual groups serve as "deputies" of the dominant class, performing specific functions related to social hegemony and social governance (Gramsci, 1992: 10). According to Antonio Gramsci, intellectual groups are divided into two categories: organic intellectual groups and traditional intellectual groups (Gramsci, 1992: 13). Organic intellectual groups apply the ideas and concepts they champion to transform them into common sense accepted by society (Gramsci, 1992: 13). In contrast, traditional intellectuals are individuals who generally assume this role due to the given social structure or by virtue of their lineage (Gramsci, 1992: 13). Organic intellectuals are a group of people whose abilities are recognized by the public. This phenomenon indicates the existence of an organic movement

born from these individuals' integrity. This is what makes @aniesbubble, @olppaemiproject, and @humaniesproject organic intellectual groups, as they operate and grow based on public recognition—at least in the digital world. This is evident from the popularity they've generated as organic supporters driving the success of the AMIN candidate pair.

Meanwhile, groups of supporters such as influencers and well-known celebrities cannot be classified as an “organic intellectual” group if they are based solely on an organic movement that arises and operates on the basis of recognition. This is because the influencers and celebrities supporting candidate pair number 2 are present only because they were invited to become supporters. This means they are paid supporters. They do not necessarily have a thorough understanding of all the goals and programs put forward by the prospective leader; rather, they support the candidate because there are benefits involved, though not all members of the public are able to grasp this. The public, who from Gramsci's perspective possess a “mass mentality,” will act in accordance with what they believe and are sometimes not sufficiently discerning in choosing which causes or figures to trust. Within this framework, this study will focus on analyzing AMIN's defeat despite having garnered significant support through strategies developed by the organic intellectuals in X. This study will analyze the reasons behind the failure of the counter-hegemony efforts by Amin's supporters, which will then be compared with the campaign style of Prabowo-Gibran's supporters that led to their victory. This comparison will be viewed as a form of decadent hegemony. The contrast between the activities of the organic intellectual groups supporting AMIN and the presence of rival organic intellectual groups backed by other candidate pairs is an interesting phenomenon that warrants comparison. This is because a new phenomenon has emerged that is being exploited by resource-rich groups or bourgeois groups to rally votes and secure victory.

This study will also demonstrate that the “mentality” of the masses is not truly aligned with the dominant ideology (Patria & Arief, 2015). In other words, the mentality of the masses observed in X and all forms of their support do not align with the ideology championed by Abel and his colleagues in the real world. Some of the challenges that arise are that the emerging proletarian movement will not necessarily succeed, even if it appears promising, because it must compete with bourgeois groups that possess greater capital and more support. Therefore, the research question that forms the core of this study is: Why did the organic intellectual group acting as supporters of AMIN succeed in gaining virality and popularity on social media but fail to secure an electoral victory?

## 2. Method

This study employed a qualitative method involving the analysis of primary and secondary data. This research focuses on a case study that took place in Indonesia during the 2024 presidential election. During the campaign period, a phenomenon emerged that gained significant popularity online, particularly on X. Several accounts emerged that became a sensation among the younger generation because they were able to convey political messages in a K-pop style. This is what garnered them a great deal of attention. This research focuses on a case study that took place in Indonesia during the 2024 presidential election. During the campaign period, a phenomenon emerged that gained significant popularity online,

particularly on X. Several accounts emerged that became a sensation among the younger generation because they were able to convey political messages in a K-pop style. This is what garnered them a great deal of attention. The data was collected through in-depth, unstructured interviews. This approach helped the researcher uncover many aspects of this phenomenon. It was extremely helpful to the researcher in developing the study based on the data that had been collected.

The informants who subsequently assisted us in collecting primary data were @aniesbubble, @olppaemiproject, and @humaniesproject. The data was collected through in-depth, unstructured interviews. This approach helped the researcher uncover many aspects of this phenomenon. It was extremely helpful to the researcher in developing the study based on the data that had been collected. The interviews were conducted online via the Zoom Meeting platform. The interviews were conducted separately to maintain confidentiality and protect personal data that was still confidential at the time. The interview schedule was as follows: @aniesbubble on Tuesday, March 26, 2024; @Olppaemiproject on Tuesday, April 16, 2024; and @Humaniesproject on Monday, May 27, 2024. Meanwhile, the researchers obtained a variety of secondary data from various media sources, documents, and even observations from their respective accounts, as well as various literature sources supporting this study.

Meanwhile, qualitative research is a type of research that does not rely primarily on numbers and statistical data but instead focuses on the objects of study and their analysis or interpretation (Neuman, 2019). It involves the use of theories or concepts in studying the objects and reflects the depth of engagement between the researcher and the objects under study (Creswell & Creswell, 2018). This study examines the phenomenon of digital campaign styles employed by @aniesbubble, @olppaemiproject, and @humaniesproject in support of the AMIN presidential ticket during the 2024 Presidential Election, characterized by a style reflective of Indonesian youth closely associated with K-pop. Nevertheless, this study is an ongoing research effort because it does not focus solely on campaign styles but also examines the reasons behind the virality and popularity achieved by these three accounts, despite their failure to contribute to an electoral victory. This failure will be examined through Antonio Gramsci's concept of counter-hegemony to assess the extent to which organic intellectual groups function as agents in disseminating common sense, as well as the reasons behind the emergence of decadent hegemony resulting from a mass mentality that has not yet fully embraced the common sense promoted by these accounts.

### 3. Results and Discussion

#### Profile and Form of Political Support for AMIN

##### 1. @aniesbubble

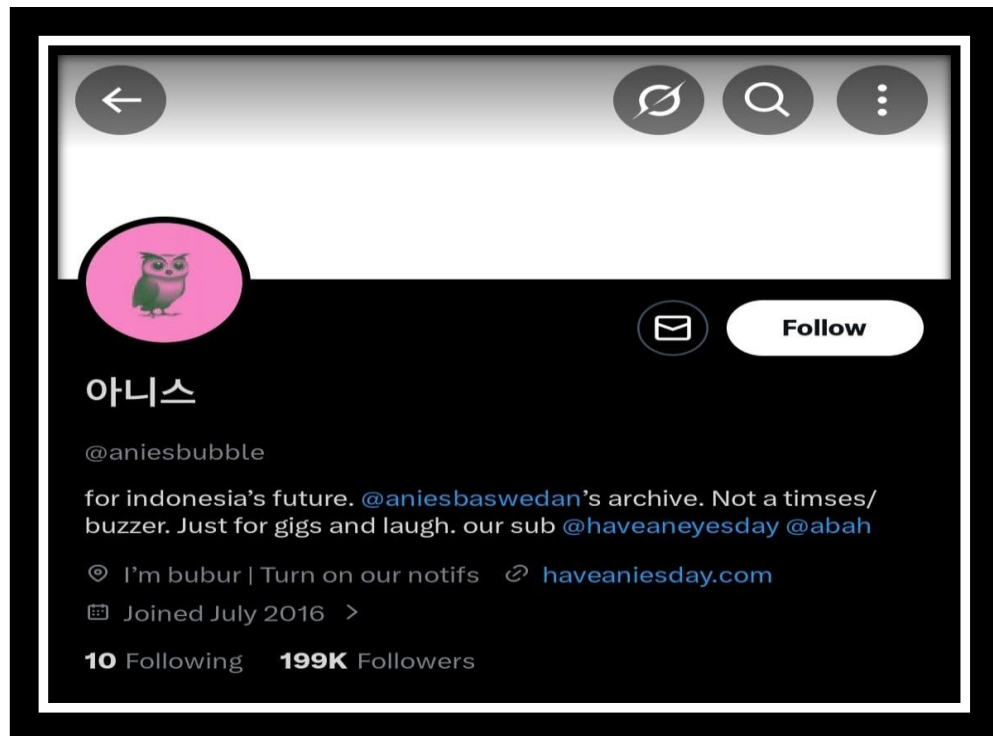


Figure 1 : Fig.1 Account profile on X by @aniesbubble 2026

@aniesbubble is an account on the social media platform Twitter, now known as X. The account was created on December 29, 2023, as a show of support for the number 1 presidential and vice presidential ticket, Anies Baswedan and Muhaimin Iskandar (AMIN). The account positions Anies Baswedan as an “idol.” The support shown for Anies Baswedan also features elements of K-pop culture.

This K-pop-style campaign has garnered significant attention. This attention peaked shortly after @aniesbubble’s launch with a post featuring a screenshot of Anies Baswedan’s TikTok account during a live stream, accompanied by a caption written in Hangeul (Korean characters). It is known that the post received 300,000 views and 4,000 likes from other users. The account has continued to grow and currently has 199,000 followers.

Through an interview we conducted with the account handler for @aniesbubble, we discovered the reason behind the account’s creation. The interview took place via Zoom Meeting on Tuesday, March 26, 2024. Throughout the interview, we took care to protect the privacy and confidentiality of the account holder’s personal data and information.

Some of the information we’ve gathered about the user of this account is that she is a young woman in her early 20s and a college student at one of Indonesia’s universities. She goes by the name “Abel.” Abel admits that she enjoys a variety of K-pop music and idolizes

Aespa and Rise. According to her, the @aniesbubble account is a fan account she uses to promote or share information about her favorite idols.

She does this to keep her personal information secure for safety reasons. He decided to use this account because he didn't want to create awkwardness on his personal social media with his friends by discussing politics—especially the presidential election. Unexpectedly, his choice to share his support on X in the style of a K-pop fan garnered significant attention and became a platform for many people to exchange information and ideas regarding the 2024 presidential election.

Although he didn't expect to receive that much attention, it turns out Abel had a strategy for managing this account. His first strategy was to use his other accounts to help boost engagement on posts from this account. Abel mentioned that he used more than 10 of his other accounts to retweet and follow the @aniesbubble account. After that, Abel also deliberately used Hangeul in every caption, even with the help of a language translation app like Papago.

Abel explained that this use of Hangeul was inspired by the “bubble” accounts of K-pop idols. In South Korea, there's a chat app called Bubble. On this app, K-pop fans and idols can send each other “bubbles” or messages. Abel then applied this strategy to this account, where he and other supporters—and even Mr. Anies himself during his travels—participated in replying to posts on the @aniesbubble account. This also served as the basis for Abel to include the term “bubble” in the account's name. Thus, the connection between the account name and the captions draws inspiration from the style of interaction between idols and fans in South Korea.

When Abel found out that @aniesbubble was trending, he was very happy but also panicked. Abel said he was happy because he had succeeded in presenting politics in a more engaging way. He noted that, at the very least, the movement he had built provided some insight into current political dynamics, particularly regarding the presidential election. Meanwhile, Abel panicked because he was afraid of being jailed or bribed.

Behind Abel's prowess on social media—and his ability to create engaging content about the presidential election—it turns out he had no prior practical political experience; he even added that the 2024 presidential election would be the first time he'd ever cast a vote. However, his support for Mr. Anies stemmed from his own conviction, without any coercion. Abel saw Mr. Anies's vision and mission and agreed with them. Additionally, Abel recognized Mr. Anies's strong track record.

As he managed this account, Abel gradually found himself overwhelmed by the significant attention it received. Eventually, he recruited people to help him manage and develop the account. At first, Abel provided rewards, appreciation, or compensation using his own money, but after developing a website, opening a donation page, and starting a small business, he began paying his team from those sources.

The next step after setting up an account is to launch an eye-catching website, namely <https://haveaniesday.com/>

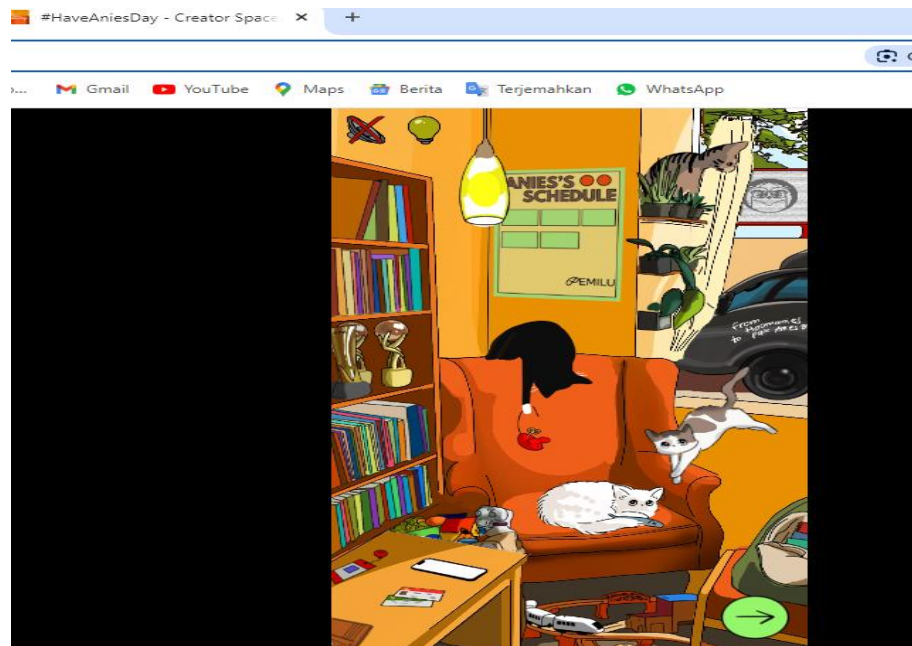


Figure 2 : Home of the website  
Source: <https://haveaniesday.com/>

The website contains comprehensive information about Presidential and Vice Presidential Candidate Pair No. 1, or AMIN. Some of the information featured there covers a wide range of topics, including their vision and mission, as well as a donation section dedicated to organizing K-pop-style campaigns to fund projects such as LED trucks, videotrons, food trucks, and more. Here are some screenshots.



Figure 3 : Fundraising side  
Source: <https://haveaniesday.com/>

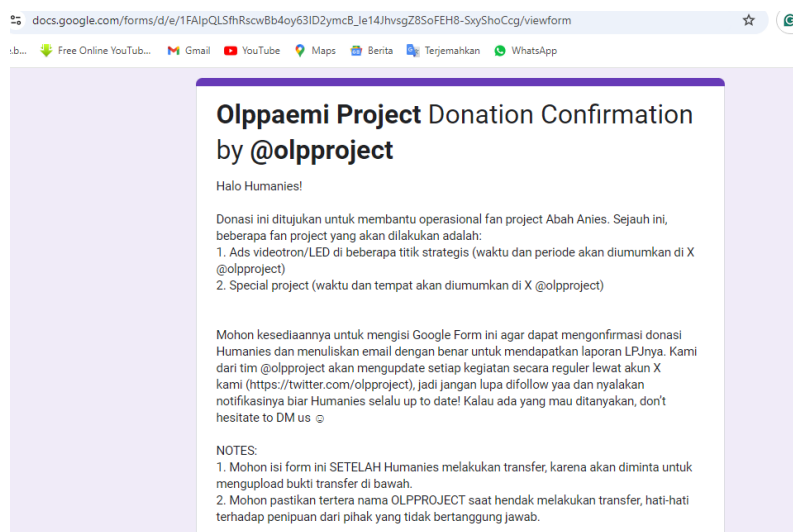


Figure 4 : Fundraising side  
Source: <https://haveaniesday.com/>

In addition to using the website, Abel also devised another strategy to get closer to their audience: naming their group a “fandom.” The term “fandom” comes from the phrase “fans kingdom.” Fandoms are typically closely associated with K-pop fans. Anies’ supporters were eventually named the “Humanies”.

## 2. @olppaemiproject

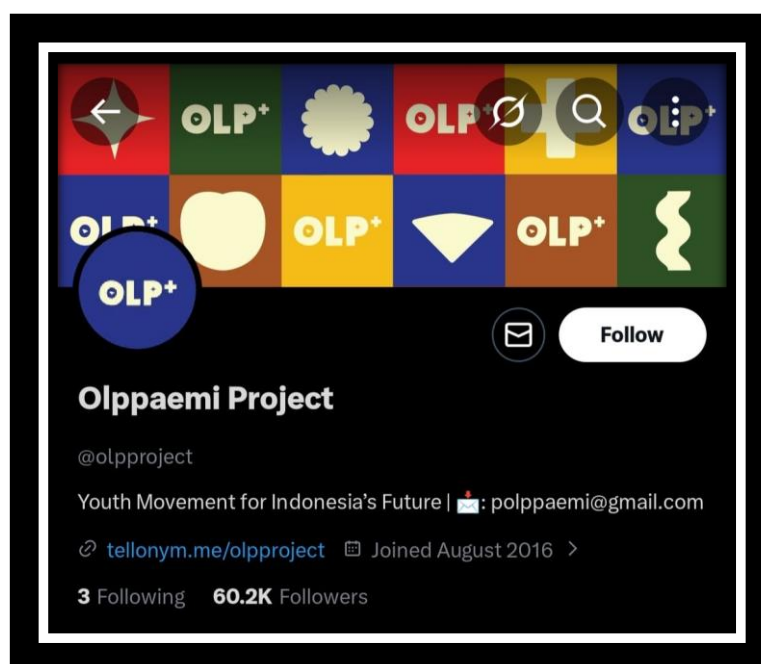


Figure 5 : Account profile on X by @olppaemiproject

@Olppaemiproject is one of the accounts supporting Candidate Pair No. 1 in the 2024 Indonesian Presidential Election, namely AMIN. Currently, the @olppaemiproject account on X has 60,200 followers. This X-based account has been active since January 2024. The account’s style is also influenced by K-pop culture. This is evident in the forms of support they provide, such as food trucks, videotrons, LED trucks, and “cup sleep” events. These are the kinds of support typically given by K-pop fans to their idols.

This stems from the background of the account managers behind @olppaemiproject. @Daedoso and Sophie are the founder and co-founder of the @olppaemiproject account, and they are both K-pop fans. Both began actively using this X account as a digital campaign platform after Abel went viral. According to Dae, the actions taken by @aniesbubble inspired him to start this movement.

We conducted an interview via Zoom Meeting with Dae and Sophie on Tuesday, April 16, 2024. We conducted this interview while ensuring the privacy of both interviewees' personal data. Both are peers in their late 20s and reside on the island of Sumatra. Previously, they were classmates at the same university while pursuing their undergraduate degrees. After losing touch for a long time, they were reunited through X while discussing the AMIN digital campaign. There have been several events organized by the two in support of Anies Baswedan in a K-pop style, namely:

Table 1 : The form of supporting AMIN by @Olppaemi on Pilpres 2024

| Form of Support  | Time   | Place                         | Event                |
|------------------|--------|-------------------------------|----------------------|
| Food truck       | 18 Jan | Jakarta                       | Desak Anies          |
| Food truck       | 1 Feb  | Medan                         | The biggest Campaign |
| Food truck       | 10 Feb | Jakarta International Stadium | The biggest Campaign |
| Videotron        | 17 Jan | Medan                         |                      |
| Videotron        | 16 Jan | Jakarta                       |                      |
| Videotron        | 16 Jan | Jakarta (Fatmawati)           |                      |
| Videotron        | 15 Jan | Bekasi                        |                      |
| Videotron        | 17 Jan | Surabaya                      |                      |
| Videotron        | 17 Jan | Makassar                      |                      |
| Cup sleeve event | 04 Feb | Medan                         | Debate Section       |

Source: compiled by writer

According to Dae and Sophie, although the support they've shown is closely tied to "K-popification," this is one approach they've taken in response to the current political climate in Indonesia. Their support for Anies stems from their shared alignment with the vision and mission proposed by the AMIN ticket. Additionally, they admire Mr. Anies' track record as a leader in Jakarta.

From interviews with Dae and Sophie, it's clear that their communication strategy centers on creating engaging campaign materials heavily influenced by K-pop. Furthermore, crowdfunding serves as the primary funding source for @olppaemiproject to carry out these initiatives. Although they lack practical political experience—such as having been involved with or been members of a political party in the past—Dae and Sophie have been highly influential in campaigning on X to support Mr. Anies. The projects initiated by @olppaemi

also could not have been realized without volunteers. These volunteers are spread throughout Indonesia. The entire movement is the result of the efforts of the Anies Baswedan support group.

### 3. @Humaniesproject



Figure 6 : Account profile on X by @humaniesproject 2026

@Humaniesproject is an account based on the social media platform Twitter, now known as X. The account was created on January 14, 2024, to show support for the number 1 presidential and vice presidential ticket, Anies Baswedan and Muhaimin Iskandar (AMIN). Currently, the account has 136,000 followers. According to Himawan, the account manager of @humaniesproject, this account was created to refute allegations that accounts such as @aniesbubble and @olppaemiproject are paid accounts. This account is managed by Himawan and two of his colleagues and serves as both a turning point and proof that Mr. Anies' supporters are an organic group that operates fully and independently.

The statements above are the result of an online interview we conducted via the Zoom Meeting app with the administrator of the X account, @humaniesproject, namely Himawan. This interview took place on Monday, May 27, 2024. Through this interview, we learned that Himawan is a man who has completed his undergraduate degree at a university in Jakarta. Himawan was the only interviewee who chose to provide personal information and enable the video conference feature during our interview. Himawan explained that in addition to being the admin or manager of the account, he is also part of the campaign team.

His role on the campaign team keeps Himawan actively involved in managing various issues. Although he describes this community as a network of Pak Anies' volunteers—

composed of K-pop fans influenced by “K-popfication”—the account stands out for its unique focus on helping others. Himawan explained that the movement’s goal is to remain beneficial even after the presidential election. One example of Humanies’ involvement was organizing an open donation drive for flood victims in Demak during the campaign period. At that time, they successfully raised up to 80 million. Therefore, even though they emerged during the presidential election, they aim to continue evolving into a social movement. This is because Humanies’ focus is on programs in the social sector, community welfare, and other related fields.

Just like @aniesbubble and @olppaemiproject, @humaniesproject is also a K-pop fan—in fact, they identify as an NCTizen, a fan of the South Korean boy group NCT. @Humanies is also active in producing LED trucks with eye-catching designs. Additionally, the communication strategy used in the digital campaign involves running ads on social media platforms such as YouTube, Facebook, TikTok, and Instagram. They boosted the ads for the campaign. @humaniesproject did this because, compared to the other two candidate pairs, AMIN had a digital campaign budget of only 10 million, while Candidate Pair 02 had 1M and Candidate Pair 3 had over 100 million. Some of the activities included organizing a hot-air balloon project during the grand campaign rally and hosting group viewings of the presidential and vice-presidential debates.

According to Himawan, the LED Truck project initially used personal funds from the four-person @humaniesproject team, with half of the funding coming from donations. After that, regular donations began to come in. There were 8 LED Truck locations. During the fundraising drive, 125 million was collected, and subsequent fundraising efforts—such as the ad campaign—generated an additional 88 million. Meanwhile, the hot-air balloon project used leftover funds from the LED Truck initiative. The total funds raised during the campaign amounted to approximately 200 to 250 million.

The success in raising donations is evident from the substantial amount collected, thanks to Himawan and his colleagues’ expertise in managing the @humaniesproject X account. According to Himawan, this was possible because he was already experienced in managing social media accounts. He has experience managing a fanbase account with hundreds of thousands of followers. The NCT fanbase, which Himawan also manages, is active on social media. This also influenced the Humanies campaign style, making it appealing to a more diverse audience.

Himawan and his two colleagues—the founder and co-founders of @humaniesproject—were in agreement about supporting Anies. This was due to his track record and vision and mission. Furthermore, although they have never been active in practical politics—such as joining a political party—they were all involved and active in student organizations, specifically the Student Executive Board, during their college years.

Compared to @aniesbubble and @olppaemiproject, @humaniesproject already has a clear post-presidential election plan: to transform this movement into a humanitarian social foundation. This foundation has also asked Mr. Anies to serve as an advisor. Himawan and his colleagues still want to make Mr. Anies an icon. Another difference in their communication strategies is that while Abel and Olpproject recruit open volunteers, Humanies does not. Humanies continues to operate with the same core team but collaborates with other volunteer networks. A further distinction is their choice not to remain anonymous. This choice does indeed make Himawan more vulnerable to various forms of online attacks.

However, this does not dampen the enthusiasm of @humaniesproject in spreading information or conducting digital campaigns in the Humanies style.

### **Analysis of the Failure of the Counter-Hegemony Campaign by Anies Baswedan's Supporters on X to Prevent AMIN's Victory in the 2024 Presidential Election**

The presence of @aniesbubble during the 2024 Indonesian presidential and vice-presidential election campaign was seen as a surprise (BBC News Indonesia, 2024). This is because the stigma surrounding K-pop fans that they are a group prone to emotional turmoil, lacking in conviction, or emotionally unstable teenagers has been debunked. The movement initiated by Abel demonstrates that K-pop fans in Indonesia come from diverse backgrounds in terms of age, education, and occupation; they possess strong literacy skills, a solid academic background, and a high level of social awareness (BBC News Indonesia, 2024). This is evidenced by the existence of @aniesbubble, @olppaemiproject, and @humaniesproject, which demonstrate social awareness, particularly regarding Indonesia's political climate at the time. The administrators of these three accounts are undergraduate students or bachelor's degree holders. This educational background was one of the factors that influenced them to launch a digital political support movement for AMIN.

The support they provided stemmed from their own initiative, without assistance or interference from AMIN's official campaign team. This is evident from Anies Baswedan's statement that what @aniesbubble did was extraordinary, and he expressed appreciation for Abel's work, thanking him for quiet efforts yet had a significant impact on him (Prasetya, 2024). The movement initiated by Abel was followed by @olppaemiproject and @humaniesproject, which adopted similar yet distinct approaches. Their organic efforts extended beyond social media to have a tangible impact on real life. However, the high levels of virality, popularity, and engagement achieved online were insufficient to secure a favorable outcome—namely, an electoral victory for AMIN.

From Antonio Gramsci's perspective, the movements launched by @aniesbubble, @olppaemiproject, and @humaniesproject represent an initial step toward constructing a counter-narrative—or counter-hegemony—against the prevailing dominant narratives. These movements are viewed as initiatives by the proletariat, who were fed up with the status quo at the time. @aniesbubble, @olppaemiproject, and @humaniesproject perceived certain forced developments, such as the selection of Gibran Rakabuming Raka as the vice-presidential candidate for ticket number 02 or as Prabowo Subianto's running mate. They observed that the process by which Gibran became the vice-presidential candidate did not follow the proper constitutional channels (Tempo, 2024). This background subsequently became one of the reasons they sought to resist and act as an organic intellectual group, working in a deputy-like capacity to create a new common sense.

However, it turned out that the strong performance seen in the media did not have a significant impact in the end. This is evident from the final vote tallies: the Anies Baswedan–Muhaimin Iskandar ticket received 40,971,906 votes, or approximately 24.95%; the Prabowo Subianto–Gibran Rakabuming Raka ticket: 96,214,691 votes, or approximately 58.58%, and the Ganjar Pranowo–Mahfud MD ticket: 27,040,878 votes, or approximately 16.47% (Cimahi City Election Supervisory Agency, 2024). This reality indicates that efforts to build a counter-hegemony have not gone as expected, as what has emerged is not total

hegemony or integral hegemony, but rather a declining or decadent hegemony (Patria & Arief, 2015). Decadent hegemony can occur because the masses' "mentality" is not genuinely receptive to the information or messages conveyed by organic intellectual groups.

However, on the other hand, there is a gap that reveals that, in the process of establishing hegemony, there must be a consensus or active commitment present within society (Patria & Arief, 2015). The process of building this active commitment is difficult for the working class—or, in this case, the grassroots community—to accept, as they predominantly act passively due to a lack of a conceptual foundation that prevents an effective awareness of social reality from developing (Patria & Arief, 2015). The bourgeoisie, or those who predominantly hold resources, are able to control the occurrence of change for two deep-rooted reasons: education and institutional mechanisms. An educational system that fails to accommodate critical thinking, along with institutional mechanisms such as schools, churches, and political parties, serves as a manifestation of the ruling class's efforts to promote ideological dominance and limit social conflict—all tied to predetermined desires, values, and systemic mechanisms (Patria & Arief, 2015).

Based on the explanation above, we can see that the proletarian movement built by @aniesbubble, @olppaemiproject, and @humaniesproject has not yet fully and massively accommodated critical thinking due to the still-segmented process of information dissemination. In 2024, there were 167 million active social media users in Indonesia, equivalent to 64.3% of the country's total population. The most dominant social media platforms, in order of usage, were YouTube with 139 million users, Instagram with 122 million users, Facebook with 118 million users, WhatsApp with 116 million users, TikTok with 89 million users, and X with 24.69 users (RRI, 2024). Based on this data, it is evident that compared to other social media platforms, X ranks at the bottom; thus, despite its extraordinary engagement and popularity on X, it has not yet been able to achieve success. On the other hand, a K-pop-style communication approach cannot be relied upon for all segments of society because not all citizens pay close attention to K-pop, even though Indonesia has the world's largest base of K-pop fans on X (CNN Indonesia, 2022).

In addition, institutional mechanisms such as schools, religious organizations, political parties, and the mass media are other factors contributing to the failure of organic intellectual groups to resist bourgeois hegemony. During the 2024 presidential election campaign, the Prabowo-Gibran ticket successfully enlisted the support of many religious figures; one of the most well-known is Miftah Maulana Habiburrahman—commonly known as Gus Miftah—who also encouraged village clerics affiliated with Nahdlatul Ulama (NU) to support the Prabowo-Gibran ticket (Kompas, 2023). There are many figures from diverse backgrounds who have joined in supporting Prabowo-Gibran as part of the Prabowo-Gibran National Campaign Team (TKN), which consists of 270 members, including members of the Presidential Advisory Council (Wantimpres), political party officials affiliated with the Indonesia Maju Coalition (KIM), businesspeople, retired TNI and Polri personnel active in political parties, young leaders, celebrities, influencers, and ranks of volunteers supporting Gibran and President Joko Widodo (Jokowi) (Kompas, 2023a).

In addition, support for Prabowo-Gibran also came from a broader coalition of political parties, namely the Gerindra Party, the Golkar Party, the National Mandate Party (PAN), the People's Wave Party (Gelora), the Indonesian Solidarity Party (PSI), the Garuda Party, and the Just and Prosperous People's Party (Prima) (Kompas Cyber Media, 2024). The National Democratic Party (Nasdem), the Crescent Star Party (PBB), the Prosperous Justice

Party (PKS), the Ummat Party, and the Masyumi Party (CNN Indonesia, 2023). The majority of major parties are backing Prabowo-Gibran. In addition, Jokowi is also contributing his influence, assisting with the campaign, and ensuring the victory of Prabowo-Gibran (CNBC Indonesia, 2024). Furthermore, additional support comes from the arts community, celebrities, and major influencers such as Raffi Ahmad -Nagita Slavina, Ahmad Dhany, Melly Goeslaw, Uya Kuya, Arumi Bashin, Celine Evangelista, Tretan Muslim, Coki Pardede, Athalia Naufal, Kirana Larasati, Verrel Bramasta, Aditya Zoni, Tarra Budiman, Nisya Ahmad, Jeje Ritchie Ismail (also known as Jeje Govinda), Baim Wong, Sigit Purnomo (Padha Ungu), Charly Vanhoutten, Yusup Hadiana Zulfikar (also known as Ikang Sulung), Rachel Venya, Salim Nauderer, Ria Ricis, Deddy Corbuzier, Azka Corbuzier, Atta Halilintar, and Bonbon Santoso (Kompas, 2024).

The individuals listed above have a very large following and wield significant influence, particularly through their social media platforms. This is a factor to consider when viewed through Antonio Gramsci's framework, where institutional mechanisms—including the mass media—play a key role. This, in turn, greatly facilitates the dissemination of political information and the bourgeoisie's efforts to maintain neutrality regarding the status quo. Thus, a comparison between the supporters of Anies-Muhaimin and Prabowo-Gibran already reveals significant differences. Prabowo-Gibran supporters possess more substantial and abundant resources, allowing for a more massive transfer of dominance, ideas, and ideology compared to the efforts made by the Anies-Muhaimin support base. This indicates that the reason behind Anies-Muhaimin's defeat was not only due to their support base being built in a segmented manner but also because they were outmatched in terms of resources—both political and material. The concept of “decadent hegemony” reveals a mass “mentality” that is fundamentally unable to fully accept the counter-hegemony championed by Anies-Muhaimin supporters. This is linked to an educational system and institutional mechanisms that remain heavily dominated by the bourgeoisie or capital owners—or, in this context, controlled by those holding dominance or power and the opportunistic capital-owning groups that support them. Therefore, the failure to secure a victory for AMIN did not stem solely from the failure of @aniesbubble, @humaniesproject, and @olppaemiproject to conduct a digital campaign, but rather from their failure to create a new “mass mentality” capable of accepting a new hegemony or dominance.

#### 4. Conclusion

Based on research conducted regarding the reasons for the defeat of Anies Baswedan and Muhaimin Iskandar the No. 1 candidate pair in the 2024 Indonesian Presidential and Vice Presidential Election it was found that this failure resulted from highly segmented campaign tactics employed by @aniesbubble, @olppaemiproject, and @humaniesproject. Additionally, factors such as the systemic mechanisms implemented by Prabowo's group -Gibran group in securing victory, utilizing various available resources such as broad coalition support, backing from Jokowi the former Indonesian president who still wields significant influence support from religious groups and figures, as well as the involvement of celebrities and influencers working in the media to aid the campaign's success. There are two interesting points raised by Gramsci in his concept of counter-hegemony: the occurrence of “decadent hegemony” or a hegemony in decline—due to education and institutional mechanisms. This

points to the conclusion that organic intellectuals are unable to carry out counter-hegemony as long as the masses continue to reject the “common sense” they promote.

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