



Analysis of PSI Political Branding Behaviour in Twitter during Indonesia' Legislative Election 2019

Almira Kusumowardani Habsari

Department of Public Policy and Management, Universitas Gadjah Mada, Indonesia

Corresponding Author: Almirahapsari08@gmail.com

Article Info

Keyword:

New Political Party;
Political Branding;
Twitter;
Social Media;
Branding;

Abstract: This paper contributed to the body of knowledge on how new political party endorses themselves to attract people, especially millennials, to vote for them in the election by utilizing social medias. Therefore, this research aimed to cover the gap on the effectiveness of social media that was used by the new political party to endorse them to attract people to vote for them in 2019 election in Indonesia. Millennial generation grew in the era of advanced information technology that changed various aspects of life, especially the media. Millennials used the internet for almost everything including sending messages through social media. PSI's aim to attract millennials through social media was a strategy that was not only to give information about the leaders who would occupy new political positions, but also to educate politics to young people so that they could become leaders in the future. Hereby, the research methodology used qualitative interpretative content analysis approach: collecting all the tweets of PSI in campaign period and analyzed it using manual coding. Moreover, this study aimed to dig deeper understanding regarding the political branding on the case of the new political party.

Kata Kunci:

Partai Politik Baru;
Branding Politik;
Twitter;
Media sosial;
Brandin;

Abstrak: Artikel ini berkontribusi pada pengetahuan tubuh tentang bagaimana partai politik baru mendukung diri mereka sendiri untuk menarik orang, terutama milenium, untuk memilih mereka dalam pemilihan dengan menggunakan media sosial. Oleh karena itu, penelitian ini bertujuan untuk menutupi kesenjangan pada efektivitas media sosial yang digunakan oleh partai politik baru untuk mendukung diri mereka sendiri untuk menarik orang untuk memilih mereka dalam pemilu 2019 di Indonesia. Generasi milenial tumbuh di era teknologi informasi canggih yang mengubah berbagai aspek kehidupan, terutama media. Milenium menggunakan internet untuk hampir semua hal termasuk mengirim pesan melalui media sosial. Tujuan PSI untuk menarik generasi muda melalui media sosial adalah strategi yang tidak hanya memberikan informasi tentang para pemimpin yang akan menduduki posisi politik baru, tetapi juga untuk mendidik politik kepada kaum muda sehingga mereka bisa menjadi pemimpin di masa depan. Dengan ini, metodologi penelitian menggunakan pendekatan analisis konten interpretatif kualitatif: mengumpulkan semua tweet dari PSI dalam periode kampanye dan menganalisisnya dengan menggunakan pengkodean manual. Selain itu, penelitian ini bertujuan untuk menggali pemahaman yang lebih dalam mengenai branding politik pada kasus partai politik baru.

Article History: Received; 2019-10-11 Revised; 2019-10-26 Accepted; 2020-01-03

INTRODUCTION

Technologies provided access to information through telecommunication. This term referred to Information and Communication Technologies or ICTs. Although quite similar to information technology, it primarily centered on correspondence advancements. This included the internet, wireless networks, cell phones, and other communication media (Christensson, 2010). The political events, outcomes, and behaviors precipitated by the political opportunities created by these ICTs were neither uniform nor automatic. This dramatic reshaping of the contemporary information landscape had clear consequences for the quantity and range of information available to citizens across the globe.

Over the years, the goal of many governments had been to increase accountability and transparency in their actions for citizens. ICTs were seen and adopted in most developed and developing country as cost-effective and convenient (Dijk, 2009). Though a number of nations had only begun to focus on openness issues in recent decades, transparency and the right to access government information were now internationally regarded as essential to some of the functions in democracy such as participation, trust in government, prevent corruption, informed decision making, accuracy of government information, and etc. (John Carlo Bertot, 2012). The culture of participation itself, being characterized by the teamwork, shared power and decision making, and also the openness to gather idea from outsider.

Digital innovation could bring an alternative to the political actions in the country to fulfill the character of participation. With the development of social media technologies like forums, blogs, and social networks, citizens could connect and communicate dynamically with each other as well as with a variety of positions such as political representatives, interest groups, events, or public institutions (Daniel Veit, 2014). As the rise of internet had generated huge interest about the work of digital platform including social media, it could give impact towards the politics. Chadwick and Howard (2009) debated on their book on how the effectiveness of the internet impacted politics, which had risen significantly since the arrival of the internet.

The internet and its impact to politic had changed along with the development of digital technology, due to a lot of variety of digital platforms. As indicated by Chadwick, it was generally accepted that social media was the core in transmitting data and claims of political groups (Chadwick, 2013). Among the internet applications that appeared globally, social media was one among them that was the most popular and frequently used. The internet access could attract millions of cyber users, especially millennia’s. Day by day, the development of world increased as well as the developments of technology. According to We Are Social community research, there were 7,676 population groups in the world with the rate of urbanization of 56%. The annual growth in active mobile social users reached 42% penetration with up to 3% incline from 2018. Per January 2019, the share of web traffic by device (mostly are mobile) reached 52% which could be said was stable enough from year-on-year.

The rapid development of technology had led to the development of online social networks which had made major changes in the process of communication between individuals in this era, which one of them was through social media. Social media changed how people could endorse their products, study about the environment, make personal conversation, and distribute knowledge (A, 2014). As mentioned by Andreas Kaplan and Michael Heinlein on their books, social media has been defined as an internet-based group of application, that was built upon the Web 2.0 ideology and technology, which allows the creation and exchange user-generated content (Haenlein, 2012).

The Web 2.0 itself is a base platform of social media. Social media, in a broad sense, is an online media where the users can easily participate, share, and create some innovation. During the advancement of technology, social media also grew rapidly. Now, social media had certain functions which one of them referred to the usage of social media as a medium of democratization knowledge and information support. Addressing social media was consequently helpful to see how political networks utilized the internet to make their very own channels of communication and also contributed to the improvement of political information

(Calderaro, 2018). Thus, the usage of social media as the new style of election campaigning which had affected the political participation rose as the background of this article.

For the past few years, social media penetration and usage had risen dramatically. Moreover, it had been identified by a range of researchers about relation between social media and politics (Johansson, 2016; Krishna Sen, 2007; Calderaro, 2014), and about how social media could be used as a tool to enhance political participation and awareness (Osorio, 2015; Manpreet Kaur, 2016; Opeyemi, 2018; Mikecz, 2015). However, there was still little research on the effectiveness of social media usage in enhancing the political participation on election. The relation between social media and politics, also the participation and awareness were quite close, basically social media could be used as a forum for politics, which one was to raise political participation and political awareness.

Referring to the information given above, the Indonesian Solidarity Party (PSI) was one of the political parties in Indonesia that effectively used a variety of social media platforms. As a new political party with a target segment of millennial generation, PSI mostly used social media as an outreach medium. The socialization was enough to boost PSI’s electability. The campaign method conducted door-to-door canvassing that was considered effective in influencing voters. Likewise, the direct subordinates of PSI legislative candidates greeted voters at the electoral base areas. Millennial (Y Generation) are a group of people born in between 1980s to 1997. In 2019 they were aged 21-34 years or 16-29 in previous post-conflict local election, and are called millennial’s because their generations have gone past the second millennium.

Millennial generation was the one that Indonesian Solidarity Party focused on because of their different character from other generation. Millennial generation grew up in the era of advances in information technology that changed various aspects of life, especially the media. Millennial used the internet for almost everything including sending messages through social media. PSI’s aims to attract millennial through social media was a strategy that not only to give information about leaders who would occupy the political positions, but also to educate young people so that they would not be politically blind when they became leaders in the future. PSI wanted to teach them about rights and obligation, and to respect democracy and democratic process.

Millennial were consumers with a wide segmentation, they were spread in every social and cultural class. Millennial also liked authentic contents; they attracted more attention and motivated them to continue to spread them back online. Millennial was the highest mobile phone and social media users. In the post-conflict local election, this time was far different than before. The millennial in Indonesia was estimated reaching 55% of voters and had unique characteristics and had to be approached in a different way than before, so that they were far from apathetic (2018). The people’s vote number in the election was one of the indicators of political participation, especially in Indonesia. Looking at the current political participations and issues, only few of them focused on the effectiveness of social media as a tool to enhance political participation towards existing electoral system in Indonesia, which was known to have digital gap in certain circles and areas.

Thus, this research aimed to cover the gap on the social media effectiveness to endorse new political parties to attract public to vote in 2019 general election in Indonesia. The purpose of this research was to answer the research question: “*How did PSI behave on Twitter for political branding during the Indonesia Legislative Election of 2019?*” Specifically, it aimed to see the behavior of the new politicians that joined PSI. In addition, this study also aimed to dig deeper understanding regarding the political branding in the case of a new political party. Hence, this paper would be divided into four parts. First, it would be discussing about the previous relevant academic literatures on political branding that had been done. Second was the research methodology and data collection analysis. Third part was the result of the data that was collected and analyzed. And last was the conclusion.

RESEARCH METHOD

This study was aimed to obtain a better understanding of personal characteristics of politicians, how they related to the use of Twitter to communicate with people during the

campaign, and what their main focus in Twitter. To do this exploration depended on two approaches. Manual procedure for data collection had been successfully used to assemble contents from Facebook (2013), which could also be applied on Twitter. This research used an automated approach that should be deliberately considered to keep away from different analytical difficulties owing to the sheer size of information, despite the fact that it allowed for extensive simplicity at the initial explorative phases of the research procedure (Lewis, 2013; S. Stieglitz, 2013; Enrique Bonsón, 2015). Due to the qualitative method of this research, combinatory approach was applicable where automated data collection was combined with manual coding.

This paper used a qualitative interpretative content analysis approach (Krippendorff, 2013). This research collected all the tweets of PSI in campaign period from 23 September 2018 to the end of campaign period which was 13 April 2019. The period was chosen in order to measure clearly, starting from campaign period until the end of it. PSI used Twitter as a medium for political branding. After the author gathered the data, she analyzed the content in each tweet and divided the Twitter data sample into several categories such as information about the candidates, references to mass media or political media, transparency, mobilization, participation (active users in real world), interaction like answering or asking questions), information about the party program or propaganda or political position, user generated information, evasion references to mass media, and the other.

One of models used in the study emphasized the particular value of permanent preferences in explaining the electoral behavior. Based on this assumption, voters were guided by loyalty to specific political parties and not by their membership of a particular social group. This model was often described as psychological identification model. This model brought out an assumption about the supporters of a given politician who had a fixed image of this personage, so the process of altering the interpretation of the situation would be initiated faster. Further studies confirmed that trust was the most important characteristic of a given political personage in the context of gaining support in the elections, exceeding the significance of leadership skills, experience, and other personal characteristics (Turska-Kawa, 2013). Thus, after the author classified the tweet into several categories, she could analyses how PSI behaved while doing political branding based on each category’s explanations.

Furthermore, there was also secondary data, which consisted of data that was collected by other people for their primary purposes (2014). This secondary data, used as a supporting document, contributed in providing deeper understanding and explanation related to the topic of this research. Therefore, more complete explanation was provided in the analysis part of this article along with additional set of data. The data was later elaborated in a descriptively explanation in order to adjust with the information gathered from the secondary data. In the end, a conclusion of the data analysis would be presented in a bubble of conceptions which would show the cycle of branding behavior on Twitter by political actor which in this case was PSI.

RESULT AND DICUSSION

A. Political Branding and Marketing

To deepen the understanding and build stronger concept of how social media could be utilized in branding new political party, basic frameworks of political branding were needed to define the theoretical background used in this article. The concept of branding had always been related to the human commercial interactions (Gangloff, 2018). Yet, nowadays the concept of branding could appear as something that had intellectual appeal, since it was not always talking about the terms of convenience and fashion, but rather offered analytical value by seeing branding as a layer of emotional connection that worked over a functional use-value of a product (Scammell, Political Brands and Consumer Citizens: The Rebranding of Tony Blair, 2007). In the scope of politics, marketing was important due to having this political discipline that was both broad and inclusive, yet there were still some debates regarding the approaches that should be executed (Temple, 2010). Certainly, many of political marketing literature finding were based on traditional marketing and economically motivated approaches (Temple, 2010).

Currently, some certain literatures showed that a few researchers were interested in how the concept of brand could be applicable towards politics terms. Following the statement, Needham (2015) in her article stated that political branding had increased the attention among

the marketing and political science journals, underlining the general understanding that parties and politicians could be referred as brands. Furthermore, the article also emphasized that in the scope of political campaign, instead of pointing the branding process as election-winning activity it was better to build it as current process of relationship building (Smith, 2015). Thus, if party managers could develop marketization strategy that a member of a party seemed benign, that member could be the public communicators of the party’s character attribute to voters (Smith, 2015). Political branding also gave intuition to the parties; it also could be a useful tool to search for more related minor parties and new political movements.

Several research talked about the potential influence of social media in the political processes in the West part of the world which only focused on some broad issues (Brown, 2010), positive relation in social media usage, and political participation both politically and socially (Boulianne, 2015). Yet, some of them also focused on how digital media usage changed political knowledge and participation in election campaigns. Dimitrova et al (2014) found that news in online sites had been considerably impactful towards political knowledge and political participation as political party websites that appeared. Supporting some arguments, Calderaro stated that there was a concession to the fact that social media had enabled people in general to be not exclusively a beneficiary of information, helping them to frame a voting preferences or to move them to join some campaign or participate in demonstration, in addition to utilizing the internet to spread information, making new spaces to debate on politics, forming affinity community, and running grassroots campaign (Calderaro, 2018).

B. Political Campaign and Social Media

Among some internet applications that appeared globally, social media was one among them that was most popular and frequently used. This internet accesses could attract millions of cyber users, especially millennial. Day by day, the development of world was increasing as well as the developments of technology. As what we had already discussed above, according to We Are Social community research, there were 7,676 population groups in the world with the rate of urbanization of 56%. The annual growth in active mobile social users reached 42% penetration with up to 3% incline from 2018. Per January 2019, the share of web traffic by device (mostly are mobile) reached 52% which could be said was stable enough from year-on-year (Kemp, Global Digital Report 2019, 2019). The rapid development of technology had led to the development of online social networks which had made major changes in the process of communication between individuals in this era, which one of them was through social media. Social media changed how people could endorse their products, study about the environment, make personal conversation, and distribute knowledge (A, 2014).

Mentioned by Kaplan and Heinlein, social media could be defined as an internet-based group of application that was built upon the Web 2.0 ideology and technology, which allowed the creation and exchange of user-generated content (Haenlein, 2012). The Web 2.0 itself was a base platform of social media. Furthermore, social media had come with various forms, including the social networks, internet forum, weblogs, social blogs, etc. Social media, in a broad sense, was an online media where the users could easily participate, share, and create some innovations. During the advancement of technology, social media also grew rapidly. Now, social media had certain functions which one of them referred to the usage of social media as a medium of democratization knowledge and information support.

We Are Social (2019) reported that out of 268 million of population in Indonesia, around 150 million were active internet users in the beginning of 2019, the same number as the active users of social media in Indonesia. As many as 130 million people were active as social media users in 2019 via mobile phone. In addition, the average time spent on social media a day was 3 hour and 26 minutes. Social media users in Indonesia used lots of platforms to communicate with their peers. Massively, there were 6.43 million users of Twitter, which summed around 53% of total internet users. Due to the ability to share information and engage in discussions related to politics, social platforms, for example twitter, and became popular. Twitter users in Indonesia spread topics such as public policy debates, social causes, as well as campaign and election both nationally or locally. Because of the increase in activity of social media, political

actors themselves had been more active online with some of them even used social platforms as campaigning tools in both national and local elections. Since the cost of campaigning constantly increased, a limit on political subsidy, problems with money politics, and the limits of traditional media made election candidates, especially the one that just joined chose to use other alternatives (Johansson, 2016).

The usage of social media by the public had been noted by the politicians to use social media as one of their ways to campaign, which gave reasons for the researchers to analyse about how politicians involved with public through this platform. Parallel with the increasing popularity of social media, there had been an increasing interest from governmental agencies and organizations to use social media as a communication service. Because it was less expensive and simple way to communicate, social media was popular and used by large groups in society (Klang, 2011). Social media was argued to possess the abilities to create a public opinion (Trygg, 2011). Those who were the most active on political parts of social media are the ones who were already engaged in politics (Mercea, 2012).

The ordinary citizen users could take part in political campaign on social media while watching television at home (Mercea, 2012). Politicians and political parties had always possessed a desire to be heard by the public; and to be heard they needed to be where the people were; therefore they joined the online society (2011). Social media practitioners had emphasized the importance of being open, authentic, and honest about their brands when communicating with consumers (Puglisi, 2011). With the same view, the concept of transparency had become more prominent and received growing attention in recent years.

Social media especially had raised transparency to a new level by providing an opportunity for brands to present themselves as real people, building relationships with consumers, and providing the means for consumers to share their knowledge and opinions with others. Thus, most practitioners believed that social media offered low cost ways to impact brand transparency and their presence also could help brands increase transparency perceptions (Bortree, 2012). Accordingly, Balkin (1999) suggested that transparency was not just a matter of availability of knowledge, but also a various kind of participation and accountability. Through that, Cotterell (1999) defined transparency as a process involving active participation in acquiring, distributing and creating knowledge as well as responsibility to provide personal accounts.

C. Political Participation through Twitter

Herbert McClosky defined political participation as a voluntary activity of citizens which referred on how they took a part in the process of leader selection, either direct or indirectly, in the process of forming public policies. It could be concluded that political participation referred to things that were related to individuals or group activities in deciding and taking decision either in the terms of leaders selection or determination of public policy which was made by the government to be implemented.

Candidates had to engage with the electorate. Electorate engagement involved communicating with the electorate and receiving information and views from the electorate. There were several ways to structure engagement: first by generating awareness of the people, then provide opportunity for people to engage; and second by creating a desire to engage (Coleman, 2002). Having said that statement, it could be assumed that if the people were already eager to participate, they could be classified as active political participators. Microblogs were described as something between blogs and chat rooms: Twitter gave the users only 140 characters space to write on. After publishing a post, it appeared immediately on the timeline of those who followed that specific account.

The post could also become visible through people who shared the post, retweeted, commented, tagged, had been tagged, etc. In 2010, there were 22.8 million Indonesian accounts on Twitter with a rapid increase. As a new party, PSI campaigned actively on Twitter which was a text-based social media during Indonesia’s Legislative Election 2019 campaign period. Having initiated out of disappointment with senior parties’ politics, PSI offered a new style of politics. The party targeted young people and women who had been considered underrepresented. PSI

itself had the highest number of female representations among the other parties, around 66.6% (MOVANITA, 2018).

Isyana Bagoes Oka, head of DPP PSI, said that her party encouraged more women’s participation in politics because the number of female representatives in parliament had been shrinking from time to time. Thus, she felt that the rights of women were not fully promoted in the parliament. In the 2019 election, based on the quick count result of several survey institutions, the Indonesian Solidarity Party (PSI) had to be satisfied with only 2% of total votes in Indonesia. However, on the other hand PSI got more sympathy and won the votes in many countries abroad, especially in European countries. Based on the data published by several Overseas Election Committees (PPLN) in Europe through their respective websites, PSI was the party with the highest vote, even more than the major parties such as PDIP which won the highest vote nationally. Therefore, the case that occurred in the Indonesian Solidarity Party appeared as an interesting case to discuss.

D. PSI Branding Through Twitter

As time goes by, implementation of social media usage in politics had increasingly developed. By then there had been many debates about the relationship between social media and politics. In individual point of view, Narendra Modi, the 15th president of India which was officiated per 2014, made an official Facebook page during his campaign, and it surprisingly got the second highest likes after Obama’s. He was also part of the politicians that was frequently searched in social media and the first political leader that used Google+ in India (Manpreet Kaur, 2016).

In 2012, the Jakarta gubernatorial election depicted a turning point of social media in Indonesian politics (Vaswani, 2012). Social media such as Twitter and Facebook were used by candidates, parties, supporters, and the electorate to market themselves. Continuing in 2014 legislative election, Johansson in his previous studies regarding the legislative election pointed to politicians’ use of social media to get connected with the electorate. He gathered all Twitter data on all the winning candidates. The study described that the use of Twitter within the candidates was spread relatively evenly across the country and from that, candidates’ specification such as age and education proved the social media’s power during the campaign. Moreover, the findings in the paper suggested that even though Twitter appeared as one of the popular platforms in Indonesia, only a few political candidates seemed to have developed a media strategy for the platform (Johansson, 2016). Thus, Twitter was used as the research social media platform for this article.

Millennials were consumers with a wide segmentation; they were spread in every social and cultural class. Millennial also liked authentic content: it attracted more attention and motivated them to continue to spread back online. Millennials were also the highest mobile phone and social media users. Survey done by Hubspot (2018) stated that 65% of millennials interacted with online brands or products on social media, specifically through Facebook and Twitter. Millennials loved collaborating because they grew up with sharing culture.

Millennials had high curiosity. Outbound marketing such as billboards, direct mail, and radio advertising did not catch their attention (Taher, 2017). According to the Internet Service Provider Association Survey quoted by PSI website, internet penetration by the millennial age category was more than 75%. In the post-conflict local election this time was far different than before. The millennium generation in Indonesia which was estimated reaching 55% of voters had unique characteristics and had to be approached in a different way than before, so that they were far from apathetic (2018).

After doing several steps mentioned in research methodology part, this section would present the result of the study. In doing so, the author described and discussed the identified categories for PSI posts. After collected, the data was categorized into dataset manually based on several category same as what Kempe (2015) had used to classify the posts’ orientation of the new political parties in Sweden, as categorized on the table below.

A total of 2069 posts of PSI were downloaded, of which resulted in 1747 coded posts. This was explained by the fact that the text in one post could be coded to belong to one or more

categories, resulting in difference between the number of downloaded posts and coded posts. In some rare cases, one sentence or a collection of sentences was coded to belong to two categories. Thus, it was decided to keep the coded materials as ‘other’ category because these cases were uncommonly happened and therefore did not directly influence the frequency of other category, while deleting them would mean losing information. Hereby the data set that had already been sorted by category determined the type of tweet classification. Hence, in this part of the article the data and each category would descriptively elaborate.

Table 1
Identified categories for PSI Posts

No.	Category	Description
1.	Information about candidates	Posts that dealt with information about the candidates
2.	References to mass media/political media	Posts that included links to specific media
3.	Transparency	Aimed to provide information regarding internal processes in the party, and tell about how they worked, etc.
4.	Mobilization	Urged the people to join their cause with symbolic resources on online platforms, (e.g. ‘watch the debate’, ‘join us on Twitter’)
5.	Participation (active users in real world)	Encouraged viewers in the real world, urged people to join their causes, events, etc. in the real world and not online.
6.	Interaction (answering/asking questions)	Posts which mainly answered questions/vice versa that had a direct interaction with single individuals of the public
7.	Information about the party program/propaganda/political position	Posts that included information about the party regarding of its ideals, hopes, goals, and how it reached them (vision and mission). Posts also included information or ideas spread to help themselves or to harm other political parties. Posts which spread particular doctrines and/or principles of importance for the contributing party. Was the party talking about their election promises, the content of their election manifesto, or issues of importance for them?
8.	User generated information	Viewers were the ones who were contributing the materials
9.	Evasion references to mass media	Posts which included references to mass media, but did not include links to them
10.	Other	Posts which were not possible to identify as one of the categories above

The study thus analyzed how PSI made use of social media as a medium of political campaign, by assessing their behavior through their Twitter page. From the period of Indonesia’s election campaign starting 23 September 2018 to the end of campaign period which was 13 April 2019, an assessment was conducted to survey on how they behaved through their official Twitter account during the period of campaign. After qualitative content analysing all their posts, four biggest number of the category were classified into four thematic clusters: information, mobilization, participation, and other (A.A Haynes, 2009).

The first cluster, information, entailed with three sub-clusters: (1) Information pieces about the party’s programs, propaganda, political positions, and candidates. (2) Mass media references which contained all postings that linked to and/or commented on articles in newspapers or broadcasted features such as shared links to mass media online portals, etc. and References to Mass Media / Political Media which posts that includes links to specific media (3) Transparency which contained all posts that aimed to facilitate information about internal

processes and conventions, discussions about internal party matters, party documents, or advanced training for members/laymen campaigners.

Table 2
Manual Coding Result

No.	Types of Category	Tweets
1.	Information about candidates	61
2.	References to mass media/political media	232
3.	Transparency	35
4.	Mobilization	189
5.	Participation	49
6.	Interaction	964
7.	Information about the party program/propaganda/ political position	176
8.	User generated information	21
9.	References to mass media/political media	232
10.	Blank	17
11.	Others	322
Total		2069

a. Information pieces about the party programs, propaganda, and political positions, and candidates

During the election campaign, every electoral subject had the right to make electoral propaganda in every lawful manner. This category included information about the party regarding of its ideals, hopes, goals, and how they were going to reach them (vision and mission). The posts included information or ideas in the posts to help themselves or harm other political parties. The posts could spread particular doctrines and/or principles of importance for the contributing party. Was the party also talking about their election promises, the content of their election manifesto, or issues of importance for them?. Out of all their tweets, PSI also frequently posted about their party programs, propaganda about some campaigns that they were doing, and their political position. From all of the tweets altogether, there were 176 tweet posts related to the information of party programs, propaganda, and political position.

Meanwhile, Information about candidates were posts that dealt with information about the candidates both their behaviors and work ethics. In an article, Baxter and Marcella researched on how social media were used by political parties and candidates in Scotland during the UK general election campaign. Their goal was to identify the ways politicians provided information and interacted with potential voters. However, they found that although the politicians used social media in a high frequency, the type of communication was mainly one-way and they observed a reluctance to answer questions of difficulty. They also found that the followers mainly consisted of family, friends, and those that had similar way of thinking. The politicians mostly preached to the converted rather than taking the opportunity to gain more followers and a participatory debate (Marcella, 2012). And in this case PSI had lots of young and new candidates; therefore they often did an introduction of each candidate. There were 61 tweets out of the total tweets that mentioned or introduced candidates that might be potentially chosen as a representative. On their tweets, the communication related to the candidate’s information also appeared as a two-ways of communication.

b. Evasion to mass media references and References to Mass Media / Political Media

People’s use of the web and social media had created a changed paradigm of information than what had had dominated historically. The press and media companies were no longer held as strong gate-keeping positions. Contradiction with mass media, network media had the ability to change the communication relationship. By using social networking, the users could challenge the control monopoly of the gate-keepers of the traditional media. Traditional media communicated through mass communication; social media communicated through individualized communication. Since the occurrence of social media, it was abundantly easier to

express an opinion or take a stand for something. Here, criticism which had been brought forward regarding social media could be viewed as a type of mass-self-communication. Social media could be dominated by companies or else that were not working towards participation. In this case there were only three tweets that showed the evasion of mass media references. Thus, this meant PSI had therefore become less dependent on journalists as they could communicate directly with the public, without the influences of journalists and mass media.

Meanwhile, research in 2009 and 2011 conducted by Nord (2013) showed that traditional mass media were still the main source of information about politicians and society. Those articles also highlighted that it was important to take the fast change of the political communication online into consideration, especially on social media. The difference between this category and the first category which was evasion of mass media reference was that this category had to have links to the mass media. On an article by Timothy Besley and others, their analytical frameworks identified a number of channels of which mass media could influence a policy making through. The information provided via the media could be used in voting decisions. This could both increase the salience of particular issues and selected politicians which acted in the public interest (Timothy Besley, 2002). In line with the analysis of the role media in influencing government policy had recently been deepened by Besley and Burgess (2002). They examined how various political factors influenced the governments' responsiveness. Mass media thus affected responsiveness, both by increasing salience of the social protection issue and by affecting the selection of politicians via voting. Besides, Larcinese (2001) found that mass media could determine the political knowledge of citizens. Therefore, PSI had 232 posts which referred to this category, thus could be assumed that even though they were less dependent to other media, they still were recognized from them, and that they did believe that mass media could help to endorse them towards millennia's.

c. Transparency

Social media practitioners had emphasized the importance of being open, authentic, and honest about their brands when communicating with consumers (Puglisi, 2011). With the same view, the concept of transparency had become more prominent and received growing attention in recent years. Social media especially had raised transparency to a new level by providing an opportunity for brands to present themselves as real people, building relationships with consumers, and providing the means for consumers to share their knowledge and opinions with others. Thus, most practitioners believed that social media offered low cost ways to impact brand transparency and their presence also could help brands increase transparency perceptions (Bortree, 2012). Accordingly, Balkin (1999) suggested that transparency was not just a matter of availability of knowledge, but also a various kind of participation and accountability. Through that, Cotterell (1999) defined transparency as a process involving active participation in acquiring, distributing and creating knowledge as well as responsibility to provide personal accounts.

This category was aimed to facilitate information regarding internal processes and decisions and also how they worked as brand transparency perception could possibly affect the activation of persuasion knowledge. There were 35 of PSI's posts on Twitter that showed the transparency of their internal business. However, since every process on the campaign during the period were often posted on Twitter, it showed that PSI in their attempt to persuade the potential voters, wanted public to see and assessed by themselves how they did their job, even in post-election period after some of the candidates were elected.

The second cluster, mobilization, and User-generated content encompassed all postings that enabled a one-way support of the party through symbolic or material resources. This meant that the users were unilaterally active, but did not yet engage in interactive participation. They were asked to donate, to share video links, invited to events or games, or offered campaign material/souvenirs.

a. Mobilization

Mobilization could be assessed through a symbolic or material resources, donation, share, invitation to events, offered campaign materials, souvenirs, etc. The way users took part of information depended on how it was packed, designed, and framed through the media channels. The impact of mobilization on social media during the election was proved from its success on the US Presidential election in 2008 and 2012 (Manpreet Kaur, 2016). During those US presidential election days, Obama’s campaign teams, managers, consultants, and volunteers successfully used the internet and social media as one of the ways to not only to raise funds and campaign, but also to facilitate swing electorates which played an important role as main users of social media (Petros Iosifidis, 2016). Mobilization got the viewers to take part in media material which they had published in other channels as well as to take part in discussions. It also showed the urges to make people joined their cause with symbolic resources on online platforms. Hence, PSI showed that out of 2069 posts on their Twitter, 189 of them were talking about mobilization. Mobilization could be also in the form of invitation for the potential voters i.e. to watch the debates, oration, etc.

b. User-Generated Content

Social media platforms such as Twitter, You Tube, WhatsApp, etc enabled users to interact with each other through the generation and sharing of content. The common thread across these platforms was that they contained user-generated content or information. User-Generated Content was a material that a platform got from its own end users. In short, all social media platforms contained User-Generated Content. Since User-generated Information created a positive externality, under provision of content was a standard prediction of models of User-generated Content (C. Avery, 1999; N. Miller, 2005). However, every type of media and information source had unique challenges and biases to the quality of content.

As already mentioned above, internet offered possibilities as a communicative space which was generated by the users themselves. Which meant user-generated content was the condition where the viewers were the ones who were contributing the materials. Also it had already been discussed that on Twitter tagging or mentioning other users also could open up to a two-way interaction, and gave new links on who to follow and interact with (Ström, 2010). Which in here involved users (public) and also PSI where both could interact one to another by themselves without any mediator? Here, there were 21 tweets posted by PSI that could be classified as a user-generated content. Participation and interaction which was more demanding. It included posts that aimed to make users to participate and interact in the real world and join campaign, thus facilitated a two-way, interactive exchange between the party and citizens.

a. Participation

Internet offered possibilities as a communicative space, which was a space generated by the users themselves. On the internet, the platforms mostly used for participation was social media (Åblad, 2011). Specific types of participation on social media such as political participation had a tendency to gather an audience that was interested in key topics (Dahlgren, 2013). Online interactivity was central for political participation and intended to create a relationship between the sender and the receiver as well as between users themselves (Small, 2012). The participation or interaction could take place in both virtual and actual world. With the existence of communication technologies there was an increase in the number of public participations in democracy. In democracy, new technologies managed to improve; one of which could be referred to the political party management (e.g. funding, dissemination of ideas, and electoral programs), campaigning and voting, collective action as well as the process of decision making which could benefit from opinions that were expressed in virtual public spheres (Romero, 2014). To note, as mentioned by Popa (2012), internet and social media had an important role in the daily life. One of them was as a tool of marketization and professionalization of campaigning, although the concept of branding had always been integral to human commercial interactions. The concept of branding had intellectual appeal, that it

offered analytical value by considering the layer of emotional connection that operated over and above the functional use-value of a product (Scammell, 2007)

In this article, the participation referred to an active user in real world that urged people to join their causes, events, etc in the real world and not online. According to this, PSI's Twitter posts related to participation were 49 posts; which could be assumed that PSI often used Twitter for campaign. Although in the middle of the campaign period they also campaigned and/or held events in actual world such as door to door campaign.

b. Interaction

The rise of the internet had generated huge interest about the work of digital platform. For example social media, it could give impact towards the politics. Chadwick and Howards (2009) debated on their books about how effective the internet impacted politics which had risen up significantly since the first usage of internet by the public. The internet and its impact to politics had changed along with the development of digital technology. There were a lot of variety of digital platforms, which one of the examples that we all knew was social media platform that could be easily accessed via mobile phones. Today, internet offered many tools that could be an influence to politics. The appearance of social media created greater capability of digital platforms to connect with one another.

Chadwick stated that it was generally accepted that social media was a core of role in transmitting data and claims of political groups (Chadwick, 2013). Social media was a fast-moving world where ideas could be expressed and exchanged in a rapid way of interaction (Kempe, 2015). In a participatory culture the users actively took part in participation, interaction creation, and sharing content. Virtual cultures or virtual communities were based mostly on text-based interaction between internet users and these cultures were dependent on members' willingness to take part in the communication. In her article, Tamara concluded that Twitter offered a conversation between the sender and the receiver through interactions (Small, 2012). The traditional media and individuals were active in the debate, and they shared information to other platforms online.

Thus, as the highest number among other categories, it could be analyzed that PSI often used Twitter as a platform to interact with their potential voters. Tagging or mentioning other users could also open up to a two-way interaction, and gave new links on who to follow and interact with (Ström, 2010). PSI could pack their interactions with the public so well and interesting. Therefore, it was highly possible that curiosity of users would rise, especially millennial towards both the candidate, the party, and or just about politics.

All posts that did not fit within these clusters were coded as 'other'. This was the case of only a few percent of the posts. All other posts were attributed to one of the three thematic clusters above. Other posts were including nonpolitical information, such as holiday greetings and the other.

a. Blank and Others

Blank tweets were undefined tweets. This meant that 17 of PSI tweets that were posted could not be defined with the coding systems so the software would automatically direct them into blank tweet category. Meanwhile, the category of other included those posts which did not fit in other categories or the same sentence or collection of sentences that were coded as belonged to two categories. There were 322 posts that were possibly put on same sentence or collection of sentences that were coded as two categories or it did not even fit in all categories.

As several studies had pointed out before, it made sense for political parties to adapt to the new media logic, as online participatory platform offered great possibilities: the constant need to reinforce their ties with increasingly volatile voters by keeping them mobilized could be met without relying exclusively on traditional mass media. Effective social media sites were not without cost, but indirect mobilization through party members and supporter's social network was cheaper and could be more effective than impersonal direct mobilization.

As an emerging field, social media and political communication clearly benefitted from a combination of social science and humanities approach, alongside approaches from informatics

and computer science. Indeed, this research lacked attention to local contexts and cultural factors such as social divides, standards of living, educational level, and language and linguistics that should provide a more fruitful and rich understanding of phenomena at hand. Because social media, as demonstrated in several of the studies presented here, were part of the total campaign mix, discussions of media systems, and theoretical insights that from the field of media studies had come across as a valuable strength in this issue. Hence, the summary of this figure could illustrate the role of Twitter in social media based political communication between political actors and citizens as well as among citizens themselves.

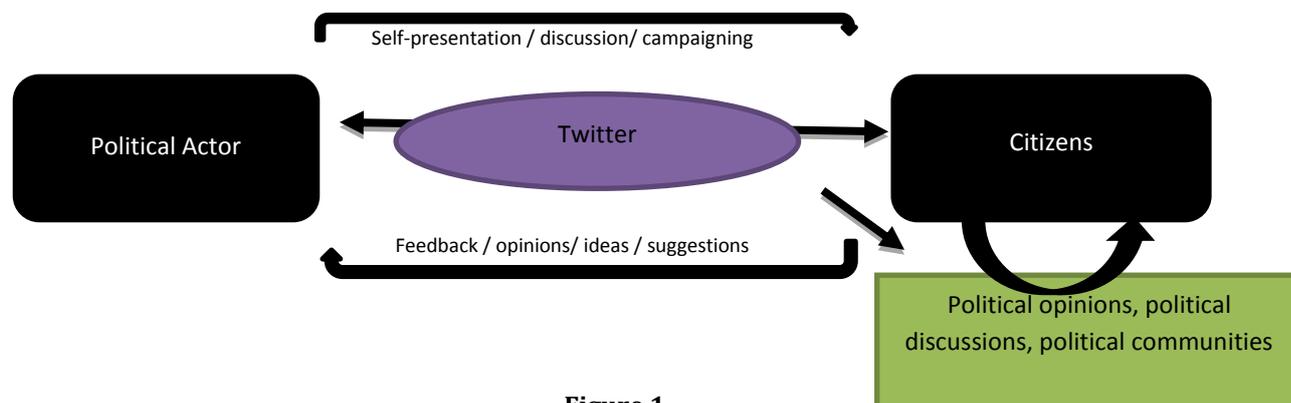


Figure 1
Political actor and citizen’s engagement

Thus, it is clear that social media like Twitter have become established intermediation channels through which political parties communicate with their members, sympathizers, the electorate, and citizens at large. The large majority of PSI specifically uses Twitter. On the other hand, the data also reflect on a consolidation of the social media of the vast array of platforms available on the market, only a small part has been selected and applied. Political parties and other organizations only add new intermediation channels to their communication repertoire if these are perceived as established channels if sufficient resources are available to manage social media’s demands (regular updates and the production of content).

CONCLUSION

In general, the purpose of this article was to study and analyses the political branding behaviour of PSI as the new political party in Indonesia during the Indonesia’s Legislative Elections Campaign 2019 that used Twitter as a communication tool to interact with the public as one of their campaign media. The goal was to reach a deeper understanding on how they communicated with the public as a potential representative, what topics were being communicated, which eliminated into several categories. On Twitter, PSI became a contributor of information and gatekeepers of their own on what to publish, how to publish, and what to exclude from the audience. From Figure 3 it could be concluded that PSI as political actor engaged with the audience which was the millennial citizens through Twitter as a two-way in-tractions medium to do self-presentation, open discussions, and campaign where the citizens that used Twitter could give them feedbacks, opinions, ideas, and suggestion and it worked like a cycle. Twitter was a medium for both parties to facilitate them in giving political opinions, opening political discussions, and joining political community from the citizens, for the citizens, and by the citizens.

REFERENCE

- A, L. A. (2014). Indonesian's Presidential Social Media Campaigns. *Seminar Nasional Sistem Informasi Indonesia*, 500.
- A.A Haynes, a. B. (2009). Making an impression: New media in the 2008 presidential nomination campaigns. *PS: Political Science and Politics*, Vol. 42(1), 53-58.
- A.A Haynes, a. B. (n.d.). Making an impression.
- Åblad, L. (2011). Social networking in a digital world. *Social? Media?*, 11-22.

- Andrew Chadwick, P. N. (2009). European political organizations and the internet. In R. G. Stephen Ward, *Routledge Handbook of Internet Politics*. London: Routledge.
- Balkin, J. M. (1999). How Mass Media Stimulate Political Transparency. *Cultural Values, Vol. 3*(4), 393-413.
- Bortree, M. W. (2012). Multi-Method Analysis of Transparency in Social Media Practices: Survey, Interviews and Content Analysis. *Public Relation Review, Vol.38*(3), 511-514.
- Boulianne, S. (2015). Social Media Use and Participation: A Meta-Analysis of Current Research. *Information Communication and Society, 524-538*.
- Brian E. Weeks, A. A.-A. (2015). Online Influence? Social Media Use, opinion Leadership, and Political Persuasion. *INternation Journal of Public Opinion Research, 1*.
- Brown, D. S. (2010). *Twitter: The Electoral Connection?* Chicago, Illinois: Midwest Political Science Association.
- Burgess, T. B. (2002). Political Agency, Government Responsiveness: Theory and Evidence from India. *Quarterly Journal of Economics*.
- Calderaro, A. (2014). Internet Politics Beyond the Digital Divide: A Comparative Perspective on Political Parties Online Across Political Systems. In *Social Media in Politics, Public Administration, and Information Technology* (p. 3). London: Springer.
- Calderaro, A. (2014). Internet Politics Beyond the Digital Divide: a Comparative Perspective on Political Parties Online Across Political Systems. *Social Media in Politics, Public Administration and Information Technology, 13*, 12-14.
- Calderaro, A. (2018). Social Media and Politics. In W. O. Turner, *The Sage Handbook of Political Sociology*. Sage.
- Chadwick, A. (2013). *The Hybrid Media System: Politics and Power*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Chaffey, D. (2019, February 12). *Global Social Media Research Summary 2019*. Retrieved from Smart Insight: <https://www.smartinsights.com/social-media-marketing/social-media-strategy/new-global-social-media-research/>
- Christensson, P. (2010, January 4). *ICT Definition*. Retrieved from Techterms: <https://techterms.com/definition/ict>
- Christine B. Williams, G. J. (2013). Social networks in political campaigns: Facebook and the congressional elections of 2006 and 2008. *New Media & Society, Vol.15 No.1*, pp.52-71.
- Coleman, B. (2002). *Election and Electorate Engagement*. London: The London Assembly.
- Cotterrell, R. (1999). Transparency, Mass Media, Ideology and Community. *Cultural Values, 414-426*.
- Dahlgren, P. (2013). *The Political Web*. London: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Daniel Veit, J. H. (2014). *Foundation of Digital Government: Leading and Managin in the Digital Era*. Springer.
- Daniela V. Dimitrova, A. S. (2014). The Effect of Digital Media on Political Knowledge and Participation in Election Campaign: Evidence from Panel Data. *Communication Research, 95-118*.
- Dijk, P. D. (2009). *Participation in Public Policy Making*. Twente, Netherland: University of Twente.
- Druckman, N. J. (2001). The Implications of Framing Effects for Citizens Competence. *Political Behavior, Vol.23*(3), 225-256.
- Enrique Bonsón, S. R. (2015). Citizens' engagement on local governments' Facebook sites. An empirical analysis: The impact of different media and content types in Western Europe. *Government Information Quarterly, Vol.32*(1), 52-62.
- Fitzgerald, K. E. (2012). Issues and Challenges in Gatekeeping : A framework for implementation. *Social World Education : The International Journal, 286-300*.
- Flew, T. (2002). *New Media: an introduction*. Oxford: University press.
- Gangloff, A. A. (2018). Effect of Political Branding on Electoral Success. Melbourne, Florida: Florida Institute of Technology .
- Girsang, J. (2018, 01 05). *Mengajak Generasi Milenial ke Pesta Demokrasi*. Retrieved from Psi.id: <https://psi.id/berita/2018/01/05/mengajak-generasi-milenial-ke-pesta-demokrasi/>

- Haenlein, A. M. (2012). Social media: back to the roots Social media: back to the roots. *Journal of Systems and Information Technology*, Vol. 14 no. 2, 101.
- Hubspot. (2018). *List of Marketing Statistscs*. Retrieved from Hubspot.com: <https://www.hubspot.com/marketing-statistics>
- Huntington, S. P., & Nelson, J. M. (1997). Political Participation in Developing Countries. *American Journal of Sociology*, 751-760.
- Johansson, A. C. (2016). Social Media and Politics in Indonesia. *Stockholm School of Economics Asia Working Paper*, no.42, 25-27.
- Johansson, A. C. (2016). Social Media and Politics in Indonesia. *Stockholm School of Economics Asia Working Paper*, No.42, 24-25.
- Johansson, A. C. (2016). Tweeting for Power: Social Media and Political Campaigning in Indonesia. *Stockholm School of Economics Asia Working Paper No. 43*, 27.
- John Carlo Bertot, P. T. (2012). Promoting Transparency and Accountability Through ICTs, Social Media, and Collaborative E-Government. *Transforming Government: People, Process and Policy*, 6, 79.
- Kemp, S. (2019). *Digital Around the World 2019: Indonesia*. Hootsuite.
- Kemp, S. (2019). *Global Digital Report 2019*. Hootsuite; We Are Social.
- Kempe, E. (2015). How social is the politics? a case study of how political parties used social media in the Swedish governmental election 2014. *Magister thesis in journalism of Linnaeus University*, 116.
- Klang, M. (2011). Social of the State. *Social? Media?*, 49-56.
- Krippendorff, K. (2013). content analysis: an introduction to its methodology. *sage journal*.
- Krishna Sen, D. T. (2007). Politics on the Internet. In *Media, Culture, and Politics in Indonesia* (pp. 200-202). Jakarta: PT Equinox Publishing Indonesia.
- Larcinese, V. (2001). *Information acquisition, ideology and turnout: theory and evidence from britain*. London: Typescript, LSE.
- Levinson, K. (2005). *ICT and Local Political Participation*. Granada, Spain: ECPR Joint Session of Workshop.
- Lewis, S. Z. (2013). Content Analysis in an Era of Big Data: a Hybrid Approach to computational an dmanual methods. *journal of broadcasting and electronic media*, Vol. 57 No.1, pp. 34-52.
- Manpreet Kaur, R. V. (2016). Social Media: an Emerging Tool for Political Participation. *International Journal of Social and Organizational Dynamics in IT*, vol. 5(2), 33.
- Marcella, G. B. (2012). Does Soctland 'like' This? Social Media Use by Political Parties and Caidates during the 2010 UK General Election Campaign. *INternational Journal of Libraries and Information Services* , 109-124.
- Matthews, D. A. (2013). Social Media and Sports Journalism: How is the rise of Twitter affecting football journalism. *Journalism: New Challenges*, 303-322.
- Melissa P. Johnston, P. (2014). Secondary Data Analysis: A Method of which the Time Has Come. *Qualitative and Quantitative Methods in Libraries (QQML)*, 619-626.
- Mercea, D. B. (2012). Netwroking Democracy? Social Media innovations in participatory politics. *Social Media and Democracy*, 57-66.
- Miao Feng, a. W. (2014). alking to Broadcasters on Twitter: Networked Gatekeeping in Twitter Conversations with Journalists. *Journal of Broadcasting & Electronic Media*, 58(3), 420-437.
- Mikecz, D. (2015). Democratization, Political Participation and Social Media. *Frontiers of Democracy: Embedding Democratic Values in Moldova and Ukraine Center for European Neighborhood Studies*, 5.
- MOVANITA, A. N. (2018, February 18). *Menanti Gebrakan Empat Partai Baru Peserta Pemilu 2019*. Retrieved from Kompas.com: <https://nasional.kompas.com/read/2018/02/18/09021091/menanti-gebrakan-empat-partai-baru-peserta-pemilu-2019?page=all>
- Nord, L. (2013). The Search for The Perfect Campaign - The Professionalization of the Swedish Parties. *Swedish Election Campaigns*.

- Opeyemi, O. E. (2018). Role of Social Networking and Media in Political Awareness in Public. *IOSR Journal of Mobile Compitong & Application* , vol. 5(4), 6-9.
- Osorio, D. F. (2015). The Influence of Social media on Political Participation: the Meta-sudy of Shelleyoulianne and the Chilean case . *Antropology Department, University of Chile*, 4.
- Petros Iosifidis, M. W. (2016). Modern Political Communication and Web 2.0 in Representative Democracies: The United States and the British Experience. In *Public Spheres and Mediated Social Networks in the Western Context and Beyond* (pp. 95-121). London: Springer.
- Popa, N. A.-L. (2012). The Social Media Usage and the Transformation of Political Marketing and Campaigning of the Emerging Democracy in Indonesia; Case Study of the 2012 Gubernatorial Election of the Special Region of the Capital City Jakarta . In B. Patrut, *Social Media in Politics* (p. 98). Springer.
- Puglisi, B. (2011). Transparency and Social Media. *Digital Branding Marketin*.
- Romero, L. D. (2014). On the Web and Contemporary Social Movements: An Introduction. In *Social Media in Politics, Public Administration and Infromation Technologies* (p. 20). London: Springer.
- Roumen Vragov, N. K. (2013). The Impact of Information and Communication Technologies on the Costs of Democracy. *Electronic Commerece Research and Applications*, vol.12(6), 440-448.
- S. Stieglitz, a. L.-X. (2013). Social media and political communication: a social media analytics frameworks. *social network analysis and mining*, Vol. 3 No.4, pp. 1277-1291.
- Scammell, M. (2007). Political Brands and Consumer Citizens: The Rebranding of Tony Blair. *The Annals of the American Academy*, 176-190.
- Schweitzer, E. J. (2011). Normalization 2.0: A longitudinal analysis of German online campaigns in teh national elections 2002-2009. *European Journal of Communication*, Vol.26(4), 310-327.
- Setiadi, A. (2016). Pemanfaatan Media Sosial untuk Efektifitas Komunikasi. *AMIK BSI*, 2.
- Small, A. T. (2012). What the hashtag? A content analysis of Candaian politics. . *Social Media and Democracy*.
- Smith, C. N. (2015). Introduction: Political Branding. *Journal of Political Marketing*, 14, 1.
- Ström, P. (2010). *Social Media: Free marketing and opinion formation*. Malmö: Liber.
- Strömbäck, J. (2009). *Power, Media and Society*. Stockholm: SNS Förlag.
- Taher, E. (2017, 10 20). 4 Karakteristik Millennial yang Perlu Diketahui Bagian Pemasaran. Retrieved from id.techinasia: <https://id.techinasia.com/4-karakteristik-millennial>
- Temple, H. S. (2010). Political Marketing Models: The Curious Incident of the Dog that Doesn't Bark. *Political Studies*, 58, 1050.
- Timothy Besley, R. B. (2002). *Mass Media and Political Accountability*. London: Economic and Social Research Council.
- Trygg, S. (2011). Digital Support Group and Like Buttons. *Social? Media?*, 67-74.
- Turska-Kawa, A. (2013). Political Trust and Electoral Behaviour. *Polish Political Science*, 99-100.
- Ulf Buskqvist, C. C. (2013). *Digital media, public relations and strategic communication*. Stokholm: SNS Förlag.
- UNESCO. (2013). *E-Governance*. Retrieved from http://portal.unesco.org/ci/en/ev.php-URL_ID=3038&URL_DO=DO_TOPIC&URL_SECTION=201.html
- Vaswani, K. (2012, February 16). *Indonesia's Surprising Love Affair with Social Media*. Retrieved from BBC News: <https://www.bbc.com/news/world-asia-17054056>
- Verma, M. K. (2016). Social Media: An Emerging Tool for Political Participation. *International Journal of Social and Organizational Dynamics in IT*, 31.
- Wallace, S. (2013). Impartiality in the News. *Journalism: New Challenges*, 65-79.