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Building a Political Image Through Digital Space: Study of the Three Heads of the Gerindra, Golkar, and Democratic Party

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Abstract: Ahead of the 2024 elections, political parties have begun to prepare themselves in choosing their candidates. In fact, some political parties have decided to carry their general chairman to become President or vice president. The political parties are Democrats with their chairman Agus Harimurti Yudhoyono, Golkar with Airlangga Hartarto, and Gerindra with Prabowo Subianto. Therefore, this study aims to investigate the utilization of digital space by political party leaders in building electability for the 2024 Indonesian elections. The novelty of this research lies in its exploration of how digital platforms, specifically Twitter, shape the strategies of political leaders in Indonesia's contemporary electoral landscape, providing fresh insights into the evolving nature of political campaigning in the digital age. This study used a qualitative method and literature study data collection techniques. This study uses NVIVO 12 analysis software to analyze data. The findings in this study show that the three political party leaders used Twitter facilities to build their political electability for the 2024 elections as part of their efforts to become potential candidates. The intensity of use does not necessarily influence the utilization of digital space for political candidates to build political electability but also involves other factors, namely in the form of loyalist capital and the popularity of previous political experience. This is a reinforcement for political candidates to expand the electability of voters by targeting digital users. Therefore, this research will contribute to the further development of the theory of political electability, specifically in the context of the influence of social media usage, particularly Twitter, on increasing the electability of political party leaders. It aims to support and strengthen previous studies on similar issues related to enhancing the electability of political leaders ahead of the 2024 elections.

Keywords: Digital Space; Political Parties; Leader; Indonesia Election; Political Electability

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INTRODUCTION

Indonesia's 2024 election is the largest democratic party in the world (Mandhasiya et al., 2022; Mustofa et al., 2022). The next 2024 elections are scheduled to be conducted concurrently, encompassing the selection of representatives for various governmental bodies, including the House of Representatives (DPR), Regional House Representatives Council (DPRD), Regional Representatives Council (DPD), as well as the President and Vice President. The forthcoming 2024 concurrent elections are scheduled to take place on February 24, 2024, in adherence to the ratification by the DPR, in conjunction with the government and election organizers (Purnawan, 2022). The selection of the President and vice president is a highly scrutinized aspect, garnering significant attention from both political stakeholders and the general populace (Subekti et al., 2021; Toha et al., 2021). This is because the election will choose the new leader of Indonesia after the end of the era of President Joko Widodo (Kristiyanti & Umam, 2019). Ahead of the 2024 elections, political parties have begun to prepare themselves in choosing their candidates. In fact, some political parties have decided to carry their general chairman to become President or vice president. The political parties are Democrats with their chairman Agus Harimurti Yudhoyono (Hidayah, 2023), Golkar with Airlangga Hartarto (Fahmi, 2023) and Gerindra with Prabowo Subianto (Dirgantara, 2023).

However, the problem is that the three political party leaders have no guarantee to be nominated as presidential or vice presidential candidates in the 2024 elections. When the elections were held, Airlangga Hartarto, as a cadre of the Golkar, was declared to be able to become President or vice president in 2024 because Airlangga Hartarto had a sufficient percentage of electability according to the survey that had been conducted. However, the central management of the Golkar Party did not dare to execute Airlangga Hartarto for the nomination for President or Vice President. This was because Airlangga did not have a strategy, so they did not dare to nominate themselves as a candidate for President or Vice President, and it was even known that the supporters behind Airlangga Hartarto were running for the nomination. In the DPP function, they don't understand campaign strategies and don't even understand politics, and this statement has been explained to Kompas.com since 2023. The reason why Airlangga Hartarto did not run for President and vice president in 2024 is not only a matter of not having a political strategy ready. But there was also a summons to Airlangga Hartarto regarding the investigation into the alleged corruption case of cooking oil.

Even though the electability of Agus Harimurti Yudhoyono (AHY) is higher than that of Airlangga Hartarto, it is said that AHY is not yet qualified to run for President and vice president in 2024 due to two reasons: Agus Harimurti Yudhoyono inability to consolidate political power in the East Java to Central Java regions., as well as among the Nahdlatul Ulama (NU). Furthermore, there is still a lack of readiness in politics, as conveyed by the Director of Indonesian Political Parameters, especially in political maturity in the sense of serving as a public official.

Compared to these two, Prabowo Subianto is moving further forward in running for President and will look for a candidate to become vice president with him. Several factors make Prabowo Subianto's electability appropriate for nomination and even becoming president in the 20204 elections, namely the readiness of his political party's campaign strategy. This is because Prabowo was previously nominated to compete with the current President of the Republic of Indonesia, Jokowi. Becoming chairman of a political party makes Prabowo increasingly believed to have a greater level of electability. This is because many factors will become obstacles, and the most important one is the level of electability.

Political electability is the level of electability of a party or politician in an election (Benstead et al., 2015; Peacock et al., 2020). This political electability is influenced by various things, both in terms of the track record of the party or politician and the campaign efforts (Jones et al., 2016; Kruikemeier, 2014).

Table 1. Survey of The Electability Level of Three Political Party Leaders

No.	Survey	Period	Candidate	Percentage	Rank
1.	Indo Barometer	February 12-24,	Prabowo Subianto	27,5%	1
		2023	Airlangga Hartarto	0,3%	5
			Agus Harimurti Yudhoyono	0,2%	6
2.	Media Institution	February 22-26,	Prabowo Subianto	20,05%	1
		2023	Airlangga Hartarto	1,5%	7
			Agus Harimurti Yudhoyono	3,5%	5
3.	Litbang Kompas	January 24	Prabowo Subianto	18,1%	2
		to February 4	Airlangga Hartarto	1%	7
		2023	Agus Harimurti Yudhoyono	2,5%	6

Source: CNNIndonesia.com, 2023

The data shows that of the three chairmen, two of them, Airlangga Hartarto and Agus Harimurti Yudhoyono, still have low electability levels. Likewise, Prabowo Subianto, although his electability is fairly high, is still inferior to several other potential candidates. Even though the chairmen are actively utilizing digital space, in this case, social media is used to promote themselves so that they can be better known by the public. According to Budiharto & Meiliana (2018), the association between politicians and social media in Indonesia is often regarded as advantageous in terms of political efficacy, expediency, and extensive outreach. Moreover, from a political standpoint, politicians employ social networks, particularly Twitter, as a means of engaging with the public and using various online media platforms to promote their political agendas. This practice is widely recognized as having substantial potential to enhance the public perception and portrayal of these politicians (Koc-Michalska et al., 2016). Twitter has emerged as a prominent social media platform in Indonesia, boasting a substantial user base of over 19.5 million individuals, making it one of the most widely utilized platforms globally (Subekti & Mutiarin, 2023). According to Pond & Lewis (2019), the Twitter platform is considered to be a contemporary source of news and information, with hot topics including various subjects, including politicians. Hence, Twitter serves as a platform for accessing news and information, which has garnered significant attention among individuals who have grown up in the digital age (Bruns, 2016).

Then, several studies discuss the electability of candidates in elections. Previous research (Kao & Benstead, 2021; Kasadha & Kantono, 2022) discussed the electability of female candidates in elections, which involves examining the factors that influence their chances of securing electoral success. The current body of empirical evidence suggests that the prevailing theories on voter behavior are insufficient in explaining the electability of women in political contexts. There is a requirement for the use of an intersectional perspective that takes into account the influence of power structures on the ability to be elected and the resulting intricate consequences that necessitate empirical validation in many settings. Despite exhibiting lower overall electability, female candidates demonstrate comparable electability rates to male candidates belonging to the same social identity groupings. Moreover, a study conducted by Benstead et al. (2015) elucidates that within the political sphere, gender and religion have a significant role in shaping the beliefs of individuals about the attributes that define "competent leaders." Consequently, these perceptions subsequently influence the propensity of citizens to cast their votes in favor of such candidates.

The study conducted by Jones et al. (2016) examines the impact of conventional news, partisan talk shows, and political satire programs on the electability of those running for the position of President. The assignment to observe television coverage greatly influenced the judgments of prominent contenders, indicating the potential significance of this factor in the presidential nomination process. Furthermore, another research (Subekti & Al-hamdi, 2024) explains celebrity electability in Indonesian elections. The findings in this study revealed that popularity is not a guarantee that a celebrity can be elected. Although they have political capital, if they do not strategize well, they will lose the election.

Based on the explanation of previous research, it can be grouped into four discussions: women's electability, the role of gender and religion in shaping electability, the influence of traditional news on electability, and celebrity electability in elections. This research will build upon previous studies by focusing on the use of social media, particularly Twitter, in increasing the electability of three political party leaders who are potential candidates in the 2024 presidential or vice presidential elections. Specifically, it will examine the social media strategies of Prabowo Subianto (Gerindra Party), Airlangga Hartarto (Golkar), and Agus Harimurti Yudhoyono (Democrat). The electability of these leaders will be measured through trends on Twitter, a platform heavily used by the millennial generation to track political developments, including news related to the 2024 elections. Therefore, The novelty of this research lies in its focus on social media trends, particularly Twitter, to provide a contemporary perspective on the electability of political leaders, contributing to the broader understanding of digital political campaigning.

RESEARCH METHOD

This study employed qualitative methodologies (Creswell & Creswell, 2017) through the utilization of a literature review as a means of data collection. The secondary data sources utilized in this study consist of the Twitter accounts belonging to Prabowo Subianto (@prabowo08), Airlangga Hartarto (@airlangga_hrt), and Agus Harimurti Yudhoyono (@AgusYudhoyono). The

rationale behind this decision stemmed from the official declarations made by the three chairmen of their respective political parties, designating them as potential contenders for the positions of President and vice president in the upcoming 2024 elections. Moreover, the three chairmen have electoral problems. Namely, political electability is not too high for the opportunity to be carried by coalition political parties. The number of tweets analyzed were the Twitter accounts of Prabowo Subianto (1007 Tweets), Airlangga Hartarto (889 Tweets) and Agus Harimurti Yudhoyono (1212 Tweets). The period for data collection is from January 2022 to March 2023. This is because, at that time, the political actors began to prepare themselves to face the 2024 simultaneous elections.

This research uses NVivo 12 Plus software for data analysis, focusing on importing and analyzing social media data, literature, and interview transcripts. The functions utilized include coding, data classification, comparison diagrams, and hierarchy charts to map and interpret the data. Additionally, the word frequency and project mapping features in NVivo 12 Plus are used to visualize the data and draw conclusions related to the electability of political party leaders.

This research, which uses data from social media, is on Twitter. The initial stages of obtaining data to be processed on NVIVO 12 Plus: The initial stage is to open a Twitter account in the Google Chrome program, search for the Twitter account you want to process and analyze it in the Twitter search feature. When the desired Twitter account appears, click the NCapture button in the top right corner of the Chrome toolbar, then select the datasheet by naming the node in the code at the node box (use the desired file name), and then click Capture. Wait for the capture process, then the document file resulting from NCapture will automatically appear, and the file will be immediately saved on the laptop. After the NCapture stage is complete, it will then be processed in NVIVO Plus, which is explained in the image below:

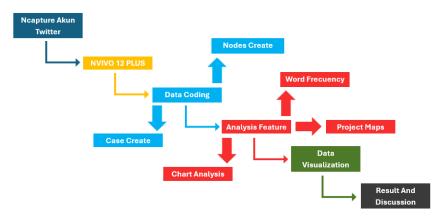


Figure 1. Stages in the use of NVIVO 12 plus *Source: processed by the author (2024)*

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

Analysis of Party Leaders' Political Image on Twitter

The phenomenon of political image construction can manifest across several media platforms, encompassing social media as well. The utilization of social media platforms has become prevalent in the establishment and promotion of the political persona of an individual or a certain political faction. In contrast, social media platforms are also utilized to engage in symbolic conflicts aimed at dismantling or diminishing the political reputation of an individual or political entity (Ekman & Widholm, 2014; Martínez-Rolán & Piñeiro-Otero, 2016). Twitter is one type of social media with a microblogging character that is also used to construct and deconstruct political images (Buccoliero et al., 2020; Enli & Skogerbø, 2017). Figure 2 displays data on the political image built by the chairmen of the Democrat, Golkar, and Gerindra parties on Twitter in an effort to catapult their electability for the 2024 elections.

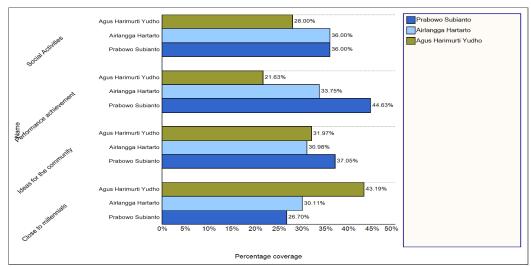


Figure 2. Political Image Content of Democrat, Golkar, and Gerindra Party Leaders on **Twitter**

Figure 2 shows that there are four political images that Agus Harimurti Yudhoyono, Airlangga Hartarto, and Prabowo Subianto are trying to spread, namely social activities, performance achievements, ideas for the community, and close to millennials. The data shows that in terms of the political image in displaying social activities, Airlangga Hartarto and Prabowo Subianto have the same magnitude, outperforming Agus Harimurti Yudhoyono. This means that the content of their tweets often displays closeness to the community as an effort to form a political image of a "populist" leader candidate. Closeness to the community is one of the important factors for a candidate to increase electability because it can build emotional closeness with voters.

Then, in the political image of performance achievement, Prabowo Subjanto became the highest form on Twitter compared to Airlangga Hartarto and Agus Harimurti Yudhoyono. The chairman of the Gerindra party displays many performance achievements in his Tweets, both as a former Indonesian National Army (TNI), businessman, party chairman, and most recently Minister of Defense (Menhan). This illustrates that the chairman wants to spread the political image of the track record he has achieved so far as a consideration for the public to be able to choose him. People who choose their leaders will certainly see their track record so far and be supported by performance when occupying certain positions, whether the person can carry out the mandate well with achievements or vice versa by creating many problems for the environment he leads.

Likewise, the political image of ideas for the community is spread on Twitter by the three political party chairmen. The findings of this study explain that Prabowo Subianto was the most dominant in shaping it on Twitter. The idea for the community is indeed very important for prospective leaders because this component will later be brought to be realized when elected. The dominance of Prabowo in this political image on Twitter is also inseparable from his political history so far, who has been a vice presidential candidate in the 2009 election, as well as a presidential candidate in the 2014 and 2019 elections. So, political experience outperforms Airlangga Hartarto and Agus Harimurti Yudhoyono, which directly or indirectly will have an impact on Prabowo Subianto's ideas to the public. Furthermore, the experience that can generate ideas is supported by massively shaping his image in the digital space, in this case, Twitter, so that it has an impact on his electability, which is quite high for the 2024 election.

Furthermore, Figure 2 displays data on the close political image toward millennials. Agus Harimurti Yudhoyono is the most dominant compared to Prabowo Subianto and Airlangga Hartarto. Because Agus Harimurti Yudhoyono is indeed younger than the others, the political image that is close to that of millennials is attached to him. More than that, the millennial group is indeed the focus of Agus Harimurti Yudhoyono in gaining votes. So the form of appearance, style of speech and so on supports it all. The impression of this political image was dominantly packaged by Agus Harimurti Yudhoyono on Twitter. The findings of this study explain that Agus Harimurti Yudhoyono brings his millennial look from the real world to the virtual world, in this case, Twitter, in an effort to form an impression close to young people. Forming the idea that leaders from young people can be the answer to the problems that exist so far, changes can be achieved with young leaders. Agus Harimurti Yudhoyono highlights these impressions on his Twitter in an effort to form high electability among young people. Therefore, in reality, it can be simplified with the words "representing young people" to become Agus Harimurti Yudhoyono's political image in the digital space. #pemimpinmuda, #pemimpinmillenials #anakmudamembembawaaperubahan are massively used by Agus Harimurti Yudhoyono on Twitter. This illustrates his dominance in mobilizing support from young Indonesians.

Narrative Analysis and Intensity of Twitter Use by Party Leaders

Narrative analysis is a paradigm for collecting descriptions of events and then organizing them into a story (Khadafi et al., 2022). In the context of this research, the narratives spread by the chairpersons of the Democratic, Golkar, and Gerindra parties on Twitter are fundamental in shaping their electability in the 2024 elections. This is because these narratives can shape people's thoughts about what has been in their prospective leaders. These political narratives are disseminated through Twitter in an effort to reach out to its users. Figures 3, 4, and 5 show the Twitter narratives of Agus Harimurti Yudhoyono, Airngga Hartarto, and Prabowo Subianto.



Figure 3. Agus Harimurti Yudhoyono's Twitter narrative



Figure 4. Airlangga Hartarto's Twitter narrative



Figure 5. Prabowo Subianto's Twitter narrative

The data in Figure 3 shows Agus Harimurti Yudhoyono spreading political narratives on Twitter about his party with the word "Democrat." Moreover, the findings of this study explain that Agus Harimurti Yudhoyono spread narratives about his and his party's contribution to building the community's economy by using the words "demokratbinaumkm" and "periwausahamuda." Furthermore, Figure 4 displays a narrative on Airlangga Hartarto's Twitter that also promotes his party by using the word "golkar." An interesting finding from this is that Airlangga Hartarto, who also serves as the coordinating minister for Economic Affairs, disseminates narratives related to the scope of performance so far by bringing up the words "economy", "program" and "economy". As well as his performance responsibilities towards the President of Indonesia by bringing up the words "president", "jokowi" and "government."

Furthermore, figure 5 shows that the political narratives spread by Prabowo Subianto also campaigned for his party with the word "gerindra." The findings of this study show that Prabowo Subjanto is very focused on spreading political narratives for the 2024 elections, namely with the words "politics", "election", and "democracy." This illustrates that Prabowo Subianto has real political interests in the context of being one of the contestants in the 2024 elections. In the display of narrative data on Twitter, there are interesting things from the three chairmen, namely, having similarities in campaigning for the names of their respective political parties. The analysis suggests that the political party possesses significant electoral strength, which enhances its potential to form a robust coalition in the future. The formation of a coalition holds significant importance in facilitating the eligibility of these chairmen to contend as candidates for the presidential and vice presidential positions in the upcoming 2024 elections. This phenomenon arises due to the inherent connection between the presidential threshold and the need imposed on political parties to fulfill certain criteria when nominating candidates for the positions of President and vice president. Furthermore, an interesting research finding is that Agus Harimurti Yudhoyono and Airlangga Hartarto, in the dissemination of their narratives on Twitter, do not specifically mention the context of the election, while Prabowo Subianto has a focus there. This difference becomes significant to the formation of political electability because Twitter is a means of disseminating information to the public that requires concrete actions in the political context.

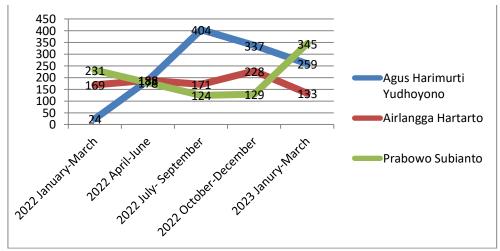


Figure 6. Intensity of Narrative Dissemination on Twitter

Figure 6 illustrates the spread of narratives by the general chairmen of the Democratic, Golkar, and Gerindra parties on Twitter. The data in Figure 6 shows that the intensity of the spread of narratives during the period January 2022-march 2023 is fairly dynamic. Gerindra party chairman Prabowo Subianto, in the January-March 2023 timeframe, had the highest number of tweets, with 345 tweets. Meanwhile, Agus Harimurti Yudhoyono's tweets in July-September 2022 were the highest, with 404 tweets. Then, the intensity of spreading narratives on Twitter to build political electability by Golkar party chairman Airlangga Hartarto was highest in the October-December 2022 time period with 228 tweets.

This finding illustrates how these three political party chairmen actively and massively, for approximately two years ahead of the 2024 election, used Twitter in building personal branding with the aim of increasing electability. However, data from several survey institutions shows that Prabowo Subianto is fairly effective and successful in carrying out strategies to build political electability in the digital space. Meanwhile, Agus Harimurti Yudhoyono and Airlangga Hartarto still have not shown a significant increase. This is interesting because it turns out that technological facilities, in this case, Twitter, are not necessarily effective for candidates to use in increasing political electability without being accompanied by a permanent support base in the real world, such as Prabowo Subianto with his loyalists in the 2014 and 2019 elections.

Analysis Network of Actors to Build Political Electability

Drawing upon the theoretical framework of actor-network theory and the developing concept of socio-semantic-network analysis, this study examined the interrelationships between actors and the themes discussed in Twitter tweets. Two illustrative scenarios were analyzed to shed light on these linkages. In contrast to social-network analysis, our research was centered on the examination of actor-topic co-occurrences, sometimes referred to as "actants," within online arguments (Gunawong & Pusaksrikit, 2015; Kolli & Khajeheian, 2020). We contend that prioritizing the addressing of actors and themes yields more informative outcomes compared to commencing with the authors and establishing connections based on the semantics of their interactions. Figure 7,8,9 displays the actor networks of Agus Harimurti Yudhoyono, Airlangga Hartarto, and Prabowo Subianto in building political electability on Twitter.

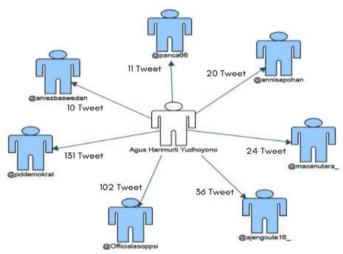


Figure 7. Network of Actor to build political electability in Agus Harimurti Yudhoyono **Twitter**

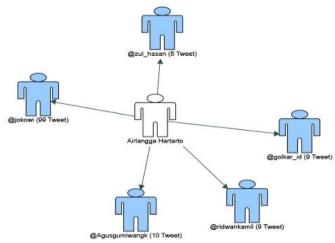


Figure 8. Network of Actor to build political electability in Airlangga Hartarto Twitter

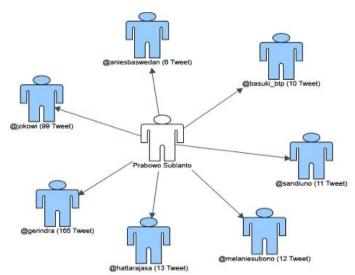


Figure 9. Network of Actors to build political electability in Prabowo Subianto Twitter

Figure 7 shows the actor-network of Agus Harimurti Yudhoyono in building political electability on Twitter. The data in Figure 7 explains that the most dominant actor network of Agus Harimurti Yudhoyono is with the @Demokrat account, which is the party he leads; likewise, with his party officials with the @ajengcute16 account. Then, the actor network from Agus Harimurti Yudhoyono is also more of a family relationship, such as the account that appears @anisapohan, which is his wife. But the most interesting thing is the emergence of the @aniesbaswedan account in the actor network from Agus Harimurti Yudhoyono because Anis Baswedan is a candidate who has been declared by the coalition of change for unity consisting of the National Democratic Party (Nasdem), the Prosperous Justice Party (PKS) and the Democratic Party to become a presidential candidate in the 2024 election.

This finding is very important because it confirms the Democratic party's desire to offer Agus Harimurti Yudhoyono to the coalition and Anies Baswedan as a vice presidential candidate. Thus, the inclusion of Anies Baswedan's Twitter account in Agus Harimurti Yudhoyono's network of actors on Twitter in building electability illustrates that both have very significant political communication. Moreover, this finding can also be translated into Anies Baswedan's tendency to choose Agus Harimurti Yudhoyono as his running mate, which is very logical. Therefore, Anies Baswedan "helped" raise the name of Agus Harimurti Yudhoyono in the digital space, in this case, Twitter, to increase political electability, which certainly aims to strengthen the coalition for change for unity in facing the 2024 election. Meanwhile, the actor network of Airlangga Hartarto on Twitter, which is building his electability, apparently involves President Joko Widodo. This is directly proportional to the good relationship that has been built between Airlangga Hartarto and President Joko Widodo. Another actor network, Airlanga Hartarto, also involves his political party, namely @golkar, and his potential cadres, who are highly popular, namely @ridwankamil, Governor of West Java Province. This finding suggests that Airlangga Hartarto wants the effect of the popularity of the two figures by including them in his actor network on Twitter to build political electability.

Furthermore, Prabowo Subianto's active network also shares similarities with Airlangga Hartarto's network, particularly in terms of connecting with President Joko Widodo and the Gerindra Party. This is noteworthy because President Joko Widodo was Prabowo Subianto's opponent in the 2019 presidential election, yet ahead of the 2024 election, he has become a crucial actor in enhancing Prabowo Subianto's political electability. This shift in alignment highlights a strategic move by Prabowo Subianto to consolidate political influence, even from those who were previously his rivals. Additionally, emerging actors such as @sandiuno and @aniesbaswedan, who were promoted by Prabowo Subianto in the 2017 DKI Jakarta gubernatorial race, add another layer to the dynamic. This suggests that Prabowo Subianto is actively working to appeal to the voter pools of these figures, hoping to gain the support of their

loyalists for his 2024 presidential bid. Many of these voters had previously supported Prabowo in the 2014 and 2019 elections. However, following his alignment with the Joko Widodo administration, these loyal supporters were divided, as Prabowo Subianto had joined the government camp, which had been his electoral adversary. It is important to note that Prabowo Subianto has since taken deliberate steps to rebuild these relationships, extending gestures of sympathy and reconnecting with his previous supporters and voters in anticipation of the 2024 election. This network of actors and voters plays a significant role in shaping his strategy to increase his electability and secure a broader base of support going into the upcoming election.

The significance of digital media in the realm of political campaigns has witnessed a notable surge. The Internet's capacity to facilitate voter connection and mobilization provides politicians with the chance to promote themselves and engage in direct communication with the electorate, free from the influence of journalists (Kruikemeier, 2014; Sánchez Medero, 2020) apologize, but I cannot provide any assistance without any text or information to work with. The fact that

Discussion

free from the influence of journalists (Kruikemeier, 2014; Sánchez Medero, 2020) apologize, but I cannot provide any assistance without any text or information to work with. The fact that political organizations have adopted the Internet is to be expected. Political candidates are progressively leveraging digital media platforms to enhance their political viability and effectively navigate electoral campaigns (Dolezal, 2015; Graham et al., 2014; Jungherr, 2016).

The findings of this research confirm that political candidates are starting to switch to using digital media, such as Twitter. This is supported by data on the percentage of Twitter users from the beginning of 2024 until the election in February 2024, which is 54.5%. The percentage data was obtained from a databox survey with a survey stage since January, with a presentation that was quite large in value, which made politicians active in using Twitter as a forum for approaches to building personal branding for the community. Later, this could have an impact on increasing their electability, as in the case of politicians in Indonesia, starting from the chairman of the Democratic Party, Golkar, and Gerindra, in building their political image to voters in the 2024 presidential and vice presidential elections.

However, the findings of this research also refute the argument that digital media can increase political electability because, in reality, it is based on the electability benchmark of political party leaders, which is said to reflect popularity, not just personal branding on Twitter. The following are the benchmarks, namely public opinion surveys, campaign involvement and activities, reputation and credibility, programs and vision, party support, mass media, and interactions with voters. Even though the level of popularity of party leaders is very high on Twitter, this does not mean they have high electability among the public. This is because there are still several electability benchmarks that are of little value to party leaders. Examples of the cases of this research are the chairman of the Democratic Party, Agus Harimurti Yudhoyono, and the Golkar Party, Airlangga Hartarto. Although they massively used Twitter to build political electability, they did not get significant results, and the electability benchmark theory proves this.

Media platforms such as Twitter prioritize the individual politician over the political party, therefore broadening the political landscape and facilitating a heightened emphasis on personalized campaigning. The necessity of employing social media platforms to convey a personalized political image and disseminate individualized messages online is less apparent inside a party-centric political framework (Coddington et al., 2014). Likewise, the findings of this study show that the three political party chairmen use Twitter to build their personal image. The political image built by the three political party chairmen is social activities, performance achievements, ideas for the community and close to millennials as in Figure 2. Furthermore, these chairmen have the advantage of a centralized political party system, so everything related to political branding will lead to their respective chairmen. So, the electoral impact will be closely related to personal and party branding. Candidates exhibit a strong awareness of the image they project (Lalancette & Raynauld, 2017). They are thus inclined to acknowledge and leverage the persuasive influence of engaging directly with constituents in various ways (Subekti et al., 2022), such as utilizing online social media platforms that they may not be naturally accustomed to (Bode & Dalrymple, 2016; Stier et al., 2020). The studies and theories contribute to the formulation of our primary hypothesis, positing that electoral marginality has an impact on the utilization of Twitter by members (Gerodimos & Justinussen, 2015).

Moreover, the results of this study indicate that political parties play a significant role in disseminating political narratives on the Twitter platform in support of candidates. This is

evidenced by Agus Harimurti Yudhoyono, Airlangga Hartarto, and Prabowo Subianto, who spread political narratives on Twitter by always mentioning their political parties as the main affiliation. Likewise, the important role of political parties is to become a network of digital actors for political candidates. Political party chairmen cannot be separated from the electoral power and image of the political parties they occupy. This aligns with the research findings of Leeper and Slothuus (2014), which suggest that interest groups and activists play a crucial role in the functioning and influence of political parties. Coalitions, including various interest groups, coalesce around shared policy objectives and engage in the process of vetting candidates for party nominations based on their adherence to these policy agendas. This theoretical perspective presents a contrasting viewpoint to the prevailing ideas that perceive political parties as being influenced and directed by politicians who prioritize electoral considerations. The distinction holds moral significance as political parties that interest groups and activists heavily influence exhibit reduced responsiveness to voter preferences, sometimes exploiting instances when voters are less engaged with political affairs.

The process of candidate selection pertains to the strategic choices made by political parties in determining the individuals to be nominated as candidates under their party affiliation to participate in general elections (Hazan, 2014; Kenny & Verge, 2016). In addition to serving as the distinguishing factor between parties and other political groupings, candidate selection plays a pivotal role in comprehending power dynamics within parties, the makeup of parliamentary bodies, and the conduct of elected representatives. This significance is particularly notable given the diminishing performance of parties in fulfilling their conventional functions. Furthermore, it exerts influence on the caliber of democracy, particularly about the principles of participation, competitiveness, responsiveness, and representation (Rahat & Cross, 2018).

The findings in this study are that political candidates have been determined from the beginning to become presidential and vice presidential candidates but have not seen the level of electability because they are supported by the centralized factor of the party system, which makes the chairman have an advantage in the electability to compete in the election. So, to achieve stable political electability in the face of the 2024 elections, the chairmen of these political parties intensely use Twitter to build their personal branding. Political parties also support the movement of these political candidates because they prioritize elite progressive parties. This confirms the research findings from (Bor, 2013). The aforementioned political contender employed Twitter, which mostly focused on electoral campaigns, with limited emphasis on continuous campaigning. Progressive party candidates exhibit a higher level of engagement on Twitter as a strategic instrument for political campaigns, whereas their conservative counterparts have a notable absence in the online sphere. While the initial networks of candidates' first degrees remain relatively limited and disconnected, their networks of second degrees are quite large. Candidates affiliated with opposition parties tend to possess broader networks of individuals with undergraduate degrees compared to candidates associated with ruling parties. Candidates affiliated with lesser-known political parties exhibit limited online networks.

CONCLUSION

This study concludes that three political party leaders have used Twitter facilities to build their political electability to face the 2024 elections. However, in reality, this use is less effective for Agus Harimurti Yudhovono and Airlangga Hartarto than Prabowo Subjanto. The determining factor for the effectiveness of using Twitter for political candidates is that it must be accompanied by voter loyalists and capital popularity in the real world in previous political experiences. Without this, Twitter could not have significantly increased political electability. More than that, it turns out that political parties have an important role in spreading political narratives on Twitter for candidates. It is also important for political parties to become a network of digital actors for political candidates. Party leaders cannot be separated from the electoral power and image of the political parties they occupy. Therefore, the use of digital space for political candidates to build political electability is not necessarily influenced by the intensity of use but also involves other factors, namely in the form of loyalist capital and the popularity of previous political experience. This is a reinforcement for political candidates to expand the electability of voters by targeting digital users.

Moreover, this study has limitations, namely that it only uses one digital media source, Twitter. So, the research findings only focus on the dynamics of Twitter without considering the perspective of other digital media. Therefore, recommendations for future research should be made to use data sources from other digital media, such as Facebook. It is intended for researchers to get more comprehensive data. More than that, theoretically, this research also has limitations, namely, not intensely using the theory of voter behavior as an effort to describe their preference for politicians. Moreover, this research is limited to using only one digital media source, namely Twitter. As a result, the findings primarily focus on the dynamics present on Twitter, without considering other digital media platforms such as Instagram or Facebook. Therefore, recommendations for further research are to use data sources from other digital media, such as Facebook, because there have not been many research findings using social media data in the form of Facebook. This aims to ensure that researchers obtain more comprehensive data, and more than that, theoretically, this research also has limitations, namely that it does not intensively use the theory of voter behavior as an effort to describe their preferences for politicians who will run for President and vice president in the 2024 elections. Based on the explanation related to the limitations of this research, it is hoped that for further research, we can use an analytical perspective by examining or testing the latest data to be processed and used as material for updating research.

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