

The political motives of party elites and public responses in Twitter: The idea of postponing Indonesia's 2024 election

Motif politik elite partai dan tanggapan publik di Twitter: Ide penundaan pemilu Indonesia 2024

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Abstract

The 2024 election has become Indonesia's political agenda to carry out elite circulation in a timely manner, but the political party elite threw out the idea of postponing these activities. Therefore, this study aims to explain the political motive of party elites and responses on Twitter about the idea of postponing the 2024 Indonesian elections. This study uses a qualitative method with a descriptive approach. This study also uses NVivo 12 Plus software as a data analysis tool. The findings in this study are that the political motives of Muhaimin Iskandar, Zulkifli Hasan and Airlangga Hartarto in raising the idea of postponing the 2024 election tend to be material-intensive motives. Meanwhile, the content and narrative of Twitter netizen responses tend to lead to rejection of the idea of postponing the 2024 election. Twitter netizens prefer the 2024 elections to be held according to a predetermined schedule. The conclusion in this study is that the idea of postponing elections, which is dominated by the private interests of the elite, is not responded positively by the public. This has implications for the emergence of public distrust of private elites and their political parties.

Keywords: party elites; political motive; election postponement idea; public responses; Twitter

Abstrak

Pemilu 2024 menjadi agenda politik Indonesia untuk menjalankan sirkulasi elite secara tepat waktu, namun elite politik partai melemparkan ide untuk menunda kegiatan tersebut. Oleh karena itu, studi ini bertujuan untuk menjelaskan motif politik para elit partai dan tanggapan di Twitter tentang gagasan penundaan Pemilu Indonesia 2024. Studi ini menggunakan metode kualitatif dengan pendekatan deskriptif. Studi ini juga menggunakan software NVIVO 12 plus sebagai alat analisis data. Temuan dalam studi ini adalah motif politik Muhaimin Iskandar, Zulkifli Hasan dan Airlangga Hartarto dalam memunculkan ide penundaan pemilu 2024 cenderung kepada motif material-intensif. Sementara itu, konten dan narasi tanggapan netizen Twitter cenderung mengarah pada penolakan terhadap ide penundaan pemilu 2024. Netizen lebih menginginkan Pemilu 2024 dilaksanakan sesuai jadwal yang telah ditentukan. Kesimpulan dalam studi ini adalah ide penundaan pemilu yang didominasi oleh kepentingan pribadi elite partai, tidak di respon positif oleh masyarakat. Hal ini berimplikasi pada munculnya ketidakpercayaan masyarakat terhadap pribadi elite dan partai politiknya.

Kata kunci: elite partai; motif politik; ide penundaan pemilu; respon publik; Twitter

Introduction

The general election is a system of selecting public officials that is widely used by countries in the world that implement a democratic system of government. Elections are considered as symbols as well as benchmarks of democracy. With elections, democracy is considered a system that guarantees the

freedom of citizens to be realized through the absorption of votes as a form of broad public participation (Blais et al. 2017, Hammar 2017, Rosanvallon 2018, Sozen 2019). In Indonesia, which adheres to a democratic system, elections are a means to establish power based on people's sovereignty. So that it has become an obligation, democratic governments carry out general elections within a predetermined time (Diprose et al. 2019, Aspinall et al. 2020, Mietzner 2020).

The problem in this study is that 2024 is the time for holding elections in Indonesia. However, political polemics have occurred since an early age. The issue that is being actively discussed is the idea of postponing the 2024 elections. This issue was first raised by the General Chair of the National Awakening Party (PKB) Muhaimin Iskandar. He proposed that the 2024 election be postponed after admitting to hearing input from entrepreneurs, owners of micro, small and medium enterprises (MSMEs), to economic analysts (CNN Indonesia 2022b). Likewise with the General Chair of The Party of Functional Groups (GOLKAR), Airlangga Hartarto, who admitted to accepting the aspirations of farmers in Siak Regency, Riau, regarding the addition of the presidential term. The chairman of the National Mandate Party (PAN) Zulkifli Hasan said the same thing. Some of the reasons that support postponing elections are ranging from the pandemic situation, unstable economic conditions, to the swollen election budget (Febriyan 2022).

This research is interesting to be studied in more depth because the idea of postponing the 2024 election is part of the political movement. But it is also closely related to the issue of the state constitution. The 1945 Constitution mandates that elections be held every five years. So that the idea raised by the three general chairmen of the political party became a polemic in the community, because if the idea is delayed, the way to be taken is to amend the constitution. More than that, it would also betray the 1998 reforms whose main objective was to limit the term of office of the President. Constitutional changes in Indonesia are caused by external and internal factors and are influenced by the existing legal political conditions. Then it also has an impact on changing the state administration system in Indonesia (Najicha & Hermawan 2019).

Furthermore, this research is also important in looking at the public response, especially Twitter because the idea of postponing the election has become public consumption and the Indonesian people have the right to vote in elections. Twitter as a platform that provides facilities for exchanging information has become very busy commenting on this. Twitter is a platform that allows more interactions that can be efficiently enabled (Stieglitz & Dang-Xuan 2013). Twitter is a chat room that allows users to connect with each other by using an AT-sign and whose goal is to create a worldwide social network where people can send and receive instant messages in real time (Bertot et al. 2012).

Several previous studies related to this research topic. Research from Turovsky & Gaivoronsky (2017) describes the political motives and results in the distribution of Russian federal government transfers. While research from Müller-Doohm & Bird-Pollan (2010) focuses on explaining the political motives of Jürgen Habermas's thoughts on the nation state, capitalism and democracy. Then, research from Bruvoll et al. (2012) is directed more toward political motives in climate and energy policies. Furthermore, Saputra & Al-Hamdi (2020) explain the political motives in the birth and formation of the New Indonesian Direction Movement (Garbi). Research from Al-Hamdi et al. (2020) explained about the political motives for the emergence of a circular letter from the mayor of Malang regarding the call for the implementation of congregational prayers for state civil servants in the city of Malang.

Several previous studies have focused more on discussing the political motives of the federal government, a person's thoughts, the emergence of community organizations and public policies. However, no one has comprehensively discussed the political motives of ideas by political actors and followed up with conversations on digital platforms. The position of this research is to strengthen existing studies related to political motives, but with different perspectives and cases. Therefore, this study aims to explain the political motive of party elites and responses on Twitter about the idea of postponing the 2024 Indonesian elections. This research contributes to the realm of the political elite party movement, which is then responded to in social networks such as Twitter which has a large number of users.

The motivation is a desire combined with the power to work toward a desired goal. In addition, motivation brings us to the reasons for participating. Involvement in participating can be interpreted as the involvement of a person's perception in a group situation that motivates to provide assistance to the group in an effort to achieve that goal (Klandermans 2015). Political motives are related to the political interests of a person, group, organization or political party. There is an interest in producing a just and prosperous country, an interest in getting support from the community, and an interest in gaining political power (Earnheardt 2013). In the concept of political motives, there are two, namely, "because of motive" and "in order to motive" which can be classified into several categories related to the factors that influence the emergence of political motives (Picazo-Tadeo et al. 2012). Several factors that can influence political motives that can be related to the background, namely, among others: factors of education, work, relationships or associations, organization, and individual political orientation (Jost et al. 2018).

According to Bert Klandermans (2015), political motives consist of several indicators, namely: ideology refers to the participation movement as an expression of one's views. Ideological motives are related to individual education and political orientation, these are categorized in the "because of motive", or those behind the action and "in order to motive" or the personal goals of the political actor. Instrumental motives refer to the participation movement as an attempt to influence the social and political environment. This concept stems from the existence of collective complaints from the community that are ignored so that it triggers collective action from the community (Klandermans 2015).

While the political motives, according to Sorauf & Beck (1992), divide it into three parts, namely: *First* material incentives motive, which are political activities of a person or group with the aim of obtaining personal or organizational benefits in accordance with what has been done. This can be in the form of becoming an official, gaining political power, getting material benefits, to getting recognition and awards to increase his status in the eyes of the community. *Second*, solidarity Incentive Motive This motive has an interest in getting new networks in social life, to make it a strength to achieve common goals by generating sympathy, emotional and moral feelings formed from the relationship between individuals and groups. *Third*, idealism incentives motive, having a desire to produce something more ideal. Prioritizing the interests of the people over personal interests is something that must be fought for. As party activists are required to have the ability to translate ideology and vision and mission into work programs, so that they can attract voters because they are considered to represent the same interests as them (Saputra & Al-Hamdi 2020).

Furthermore, according to Belch & Belch (2003:158), the cognitive response approach is oriented toward thoughts received by audiences when reading, viewing, or hearing communication messages. The true Cognitive Response Approach postulates that when someone receives a persuasive communication, the recipient of the message will try to consider whether to accept or reject the communication messages he receives (Diwanggoro & Setyabudi 2018). Arguments on communication prioritize the type of response namely arguments for and arguments against. Supporting arguments are the thoughts of the message recipient who agrees with an idea contained in the message. Meanwhile, the argument that rejects is the thought of the recipient of the message that is contrary to the ideas contained in the message. Therefore, persuasion can occur when the sender of the message is able to manifest cognitive responses that can affect attitudes, behavior, and cause certain effects on the recipient of the message or communication message (Stephanie et al. 2021).

In the Twitter system, as information producers, people post tweets for a variety of purposes, including daily chatter, conversations, sharing information/URLs and reporting news, defining a continuous real-time status stream about every argument (Cataldi et al. 2010). Twitter itself recently emphasized their news and information network strategy from "What are you doing?" to "What's happening?". Considering all these aspects, Twitter defines a low-level information news flashes portal. Obviously, even if this system cannot represent a serious alternative to the authoritative information media, considering the number of its authors and the impressive response time of their contributions, Twitter can provide a real-time system that can also predate the best newspapers in informing the web community about the emerging topics. In fact, the most important information media always need a certain amount of time to react to a news event; i.e. a professional journalist requires time, external collaborators and/or technology support to provide a professional report (Aragón et al. 2013, Lorentzen 2014, Hong & Kim 2016, Gintova 2017).

More than that, democracy can simply be interpreted as ‘government of the people, by the people, and for the people’. However, to realize this meaning is not easy because democracy requires a long process and important stages that must be passed (Esaiasson & Narud 2013). Democracy has become the mainstream of modern countries. The prerequisite for a modern democracy is the holding of elections. Elections are the main mechanism and prerequisite for representative democracy. Elections are held to realize the goals of democracy, namely government from, by and for the people. To achieve this goal, the holding of elections must reflect democratic values. The representative democratic system aims to ensure that the interests and desires of citizens can still be the material for decision-making through the people who represent them. In the idea of representative democracy, the highest power (sovereignty) remains in the hands of the people, but is exercised by representatives of the people who are elected by the people themselves (Wayne 2018, Aspinall & Berenschot 2019).

The holding of elections in a democratic country is one of the references for the implementation of a democratic system. In order to create the realization of the implementation of elections, it is required to comply with the principles of comprehensive democracy showing that holding elections has constitutional and public legitimacy. Constitutional legitimacy means that the position, duties and authorities of the EMB are spelled out in detail in the Constitution and the Law. Meanwhile, public legitimacy relates to decisions made by election administrators, candidates, political parties and the public to the election management body. Constitutional legitimacy in the election administration is still not enough if the public does not believe in the process and results of the elections that have been held (Huang 2017, Bob-Milliar & Paller 2018, Morgenbesser & Pepinsky 2019).

In the Indonesian context, the ongoing democratic process is influenced by several factors, such as political culture, actor behavior and political forces. The democratic process (democratization) has been relatively dynamic, especially since the 1999 General Election. The dynamics have even become more rapid and lively after the direct presidential elections since 2004 and the direct regional head elections since 2005. The implementation of the presidential election is basically also an act of further embodiment of democratic principles which include guarantees of the principles of individual freedom and equality, particularly in political rights. In this context, direct presidential elections can be categorized as a formal democratic process which is a follow-up to the guarantee of these political rights (Zuhro 2019).

Research Method

This study uses a qualitative method with a descriptive approach. The research subjects were Muhaimin Iskandar, Zulkifli Hasan and Airlangga Hartarto. The reason for choosing the three political figures was because they were the first to put forward the idea of postponing the 2024 election. Then, the three of them were party leaders who entered into the governing coalition. The period of data collection for this research is from January 2022 to March 2022, because at that time the idea to postpone the 2024 elections began to emerge and was widely discussed by the public. The data collection technique in this study uses documentation, because this study wants to utilize complex data on the internet to serve as the main data source. Therefore, the data sources for this research are from relevant journal articles, reputable and credible online news such as CNN Indonesia, Kompas.com, Tempo.co, Liputan6.com and hashtags that are trending on Twitter.

The hashtags used are the first #cakimin (this hashtag is intended to describe the general chairman of PKB) with 676 tweets. Second #airlangahartarto (this hashtag describes the general chairman of Golkar party) with 2751 tweets. Third #zulkiflihasan (explanation of the general chairman of PAN) with 11 tweets. The fourth #penundaanpemilu2024 (this hashtag describes the idea of postponing the 2024 election) #penundaanpemilu2024 with 737 tweets. And the fifth #pemiluditunda (explaining the polemic of the idea of postponing the 2024 election) #pemiluditunda with 55 tweets. Then, the data analysis technique in this study used the stages of data reduction, data presentation and conclusion drawing. This study also uses the NVivo 12 Plus software as a data analysis tool about responses on Twitter through hashtags. The features used are crosstab query, chart analysis to view hashtag content, and word frequency analysis to view hashtag narratives.

Results and Discussion

This study uses the concept of political motives from Sorauf & Beck (1992) namely material incentive motives, solidarity incentive motives and idealism incentive motives. The use of this concept aims to explain the political motives of the political elite in issuing the idea of postponing the 2024 elections. The political elite are Muhaimin Iskandar as chairman of the PKB, Airlangga Hartarto as chairman of the Golkar Party and Zulkifli Hasan as chairman of the PAN. Then, this research also discusses the response of the public, especially Twitter users with regard to the idea of postponing the 2024 election. In explaining this, this study uses cognitive response theory from Belch & Belch (2003) which explains that the cognitive response approach is oriented toward thoughts received by audiences when reading, viewing, or hearing communication messages.

Political motive of elite party

Material incentive motive

The material incentive motive is understood as the reward for what has been done by both the organization and the individual toward others. This reward serves to increase individual and group morale. Thus, these rewards not only benefit the individual, but also the organization (Saputra & Al-Hamdi 2020). The 2024 election is still far from being implemented, but political issues are starting to spread. The most interesting and excited issue among the public is the idea of postponing the 2024 elections that was put forward by three general chairmen of political parties, namely Muhaimin Iskandar (PKB), Airlangga Hartarto (Golkar party) and Zulkifli Hasan (PAN). This idea got a lot of reactions by many people, from ordinary people to academics. This is because the idea of a postponement could conflict with the country's constitution which mandates elections to be held in 2024.

The material incentive motive from Muhaimin Iskandar regarding the idea of postponing the 2024 elections is more toward personal rewards. A political observer from Paramadina University, Ahmad Khoirul Umam said that the ideas from party leaders regarding the postponement of the election were full of political interests. Khoirul is of the view that one of the factors that made Muhaimin Iskandar come up with the idea is his low electability in the presidential candidate market. Therefore, it takes time to increase its electability. Furthermore, the current leadership of the Nahdlatul Ulama Executive Board (PBNU) seems to be challenging Muhaimin Iskandar to prove his ability to consolidate the power of Nahdliyin. In fact, the loyal voter base for the National Awakening Party (PKB) is the Nahdliyin group itself. If Muhaimin Iskandar does not succeed in securing his position in the 2024 presidential election, it is not impossible that his position will be replaced in the next regeneration (Farisa 2022).

Meanwhile, the material incentive motive from Airlangga Hartarto regarding the idea of postponing the 2024 election is more toward organizational rewards. The Golkar party with Airlangga Hartarto in rolling out the idea of postponing the 2024 election was to buy time for the presidential election. This is because the Golkar party has long wanted its cadres to appear on the stage of the presidential election. Secretary General of the Golkar Party, Lodewijk Frederich Paulus emphasized that his party still prioritizes General Chair Airlangga Hartarto as a presidential candidate to be carried out in the 2024 elections. This is in accordance with the decisions of the 2019 National Conference or National Conference and the 2021 Golkar Party National Leadership Meeting (Hantoro 2022b). Meanwhile, as general chairman, Airlangga electability is still in the range of 1%. The Indopol Survey and Consulting Institute survey released on July 15, 2022, for example, shows that Airlangga's electability is 0.57%. Then, a survey released by the Indonesian Survey Circle (LSI) Denny JA on June 14 2022 shows Airlangga's electability of 4.5%. According to the survey, Airlangga is in 6th place after Sandiaga Uno and outperforms Puan Maharani. Another survey released by Charta Politika on 13 June 2022 showed that Airlangga's electability was 1.2%. This puts Airlangga in ninth place, one rank below Puan Maharani (Hantoro 2022a).

Likewise, the material incentive motive from Zulkifli Hasan regarding the idea of postponing the 2024 election is more toward organizational rewards. Zulkifli Hasan's involvement as chairman of the PAN in the issue of postponing regional elections is to get seats in government. This is because the PAN has long

stated that it has joined Jokowi's coalition. However, until now not a single position in the cabinet has been assigned to the party (Zaking 2022). In addition to targeting a seat in the government, the issue of postponing the election was initiated by the PAN as well as to prepare logistics for the upcoming 2024. Moreover, Muhammadiyah's vote in the 2024 General Election is in danger of breaking. Because, apart from the PAN, the Ummat Party formed by Amien Rais and the Pelita Party founded by Din Syamsuddin have now emerged. If the two new parties can steal 1-2% of the National Mandate Party votes in the general election, this will be a serious threat to the existence of Muhammadiyah's political power in 2024 (Farisa 2022).

Solidarity incentive motive

This motive has an interest in getting new networks in social life and making it a strength to achieve common goals by generating sympathy, emotional and moral feelings formed from the relationship between individuals and groups (Saputra & Al-Hamdi 2020). The solidarity incentive motive from Muhaimin Iskandar regarding the idea of postponing the 2024 election is more toward personal rewards. The statement by General Chair of the PKB Muhaimin Iskandar, who proposed a one to two-year postponement of the 2024 General Election, was deemed not to have occurred naturally. The request for the 2024 election to be postponed is believed to have been structurally and massively designed. So, it becomes impossible, if the request is the fruit of Muhaimin Iskandar's thought.

The Minister of Investment, Bahlil Lahadalia, has also conveyed a similar statement with making business actors and momentum for economic improvement. Bahlil, earlier this year stated that business players tend to agree if the 2024 General Election is postponed. The assumption is that there are parties who have designed the postponement of the 2024 General Election. Muhaimin Iskandar, who is the government coalition party, may know about this design. The pattern of answers asking for the election to be postponed has similarities, for example, they are compact in answering for reasons of economic improvement; this already has an architect and design. So that it no longer occurs naturally (Santoso 2022). The idea of postponing the 2024 elections has an impact on the image of the PKB. The PKB can now be seen as a party that supports oligarchic groups who maintain power toward an authoritarian ladder.

Then, the solidarity incentive motive from Zulkifli Hasan regarding the idea of postponing the 2024 election is more toward organizational rewards. However, this intention was not properly consolidated by the general chairman to his cadres, causing internal turmoil within the PAN. According to Political Observer at Singaperbangsa University Unsika Karawang Dr. Eka Yusup, Zulkifli Hasan's proposal could damage the party's image as a party that upholds democratic values and was born from the Reformation movement so it is natural that there is resistance from internal parties (Bachtiar 2022). This shows that the general chairman's statement about the postponement of the 2024 election has a negative impact on his own party.

Then, it looks not solid in the internal party of the PAN because the statement caused a polemic within the party itself. So, it can be said that within the internal party the PAN is still not one vote with the idea of the general chairman himself. Whereas as an organization, internal party strength is very important as an effort to maintain its existence in the midst of political waves and society. Solidarity is a political calculation based on developing a collective understanding of the situation of different groups of actors and how this can be defended and/or improved by collective action. However, like the 'prisoner's dilemma', the beneficial outcomes of acting in solidarity are not guaranteed and may not be tangible or visible to particular groups (Morgan & Pulignano 2020).

Meanwhile, the solidarity incentive motive from Airlangga Hartarto regarding the idea of postponing the 2024 election is more toward organizational rewards. Unlike Zulkifli Hasan, Airlangga Hartarto was able to properly convey the idea of postponing the 2024 elections to his cadres. So that internal turmoil for Golkar party did not occur, and even supported the movement carried out by the chairman in general. This is because Airlangga Hartarto's motives are in common with the cadres of the Golkar party who want their general chairman to become a presidential candidate in the 2024 election. The general chairman of the Golkar Party, Airlangga Hartarto, stated that his party is absorbing the aspirations of the people.

who want the 2024 elections to be postponed and the presidential term extended in order to maintain the trend of economic recovery which has been hit hard by the Covid-19 pandemic (CNN Indonesia 2022a). Then, Airlangga also explained that this discourse also needed to be discussed by consensus with the general chairmen of other political parties, especially the general chairmen of political parties supporting President Joko Widodo (Ramadhan 2022).

Furthermore, the central board of Golkar Party, Ace Hasan Syadzily stated that the party that oversees him will remain focused on preparing the General Chair of the Golkar Party, Airlangga Hartarto as a presidential candidate in the upcoming 2024 Presidential Election. Although recently, the discourse on postponing the 2024 elections has been widely discussed by the public (Ridwan 2022). This proves that, internally, the Golkar party is solid in supporting whatever movement the general chairperson undertakes, as an effort to get one of its cadres to become a candidate in the 2024 election.

Idealism intensive motive

The idealistic incentive motive is having a desire to produce something more ideal. Prioritizing the interests of the people over personal interests is something that must be fought for. In the context of the idea of postponing the 2024 elections, constitutional law expert Jimly Asshiddiqi argues that the political parties that propose this are just playing games to become the subject of public discussion. The political party is not ready to take part in the 2024 General Election (Maharani 2022).

In fact, many political parties expressed their rejection of the idea of a postponement. The six political parties that have seats in parliament emphatically reject the postponement of the election. The six parties are the PDI-P, the Gerindra Party, the National Democratic Party (NasDem), the Democratic Party, the Prosperous Justice Party (PKS) and the United Development Party (PPP). In addition to rejecting the proposed postponement of the election, the six parties also rejected the extension of the President's term of office. Rejection does not only occur within parliament, but also occurs from outside political parties. It is reported that President Joko Widodo's volunteers, Jokowi Mania (Joman) and Projo also openly rejected the discourse of postponing the 2024 General Election. Even though they can be said to be at the forefront of supporting Jokowi's election in the previous presidential contest (Wardani 2022).

Based on this explanation, it shows that the Muhaimin Iskandar, Zulkifli Hasan and Airlangga Hartarto do not lead to idealistic political motives in the idea of postponing the 2024 elections. This is because the idea of delaying does not concern the interests of the community, but tends to group interests. Moreover, in terms of achieving something ideal, the idea of postponing the 2024 elections is far from ideal. Because it would violate the country's constitution and the spirit of democratic development that is being built by Indonesia. The idea of postponing the 2024 election is a political party's ambition to satisfy its pragmatism passion for power. Political ambition, where the latter may take the form of lust for political power and the perks/prestige of office, or the more positive form of the desire for public service and/or legislative achievement – has long been of great interest to social scientists (Keane & Merlo 2010). Political parties elite and major economic interest groups often used to be closely linked, but over recent decades they seem to have become more and more detached. Until now, this process has primarily been described in almost deterministic structural models that tell us little about how this detachment takes place and imply that it affects all players at around the same time (Christiansen 2012).

Figure 1 is the result of an analysis using the NVivo 12 Plus software using data on the political motives of Muhaimin Iskandar, Zulkifli Hasan and Airlangga Hartarto to visualize their tendencies. NVivo 12 Plus is a qualitative data analysis software (Salahudin et al. 2020). Figure 1 shows that the tendency for the political motives of the related party elites to give rise to the idea of postponing the 2024 election is dominant to material motives. The results of the analysis of the NVivo 12 Plus crosstab query feature show a percentage of 46.00% for the material motive indicator. This explains that the idea of postponing the 2024 election that was put forward by party elites namely Zulkifli Hasan, Muhaimin Iskanda and Airlangga Hartarto was more directed to his personal interests. The reason that strengthens it is the ambition of the elites to become presidential candidates, but it is not balanced with adequate electability.

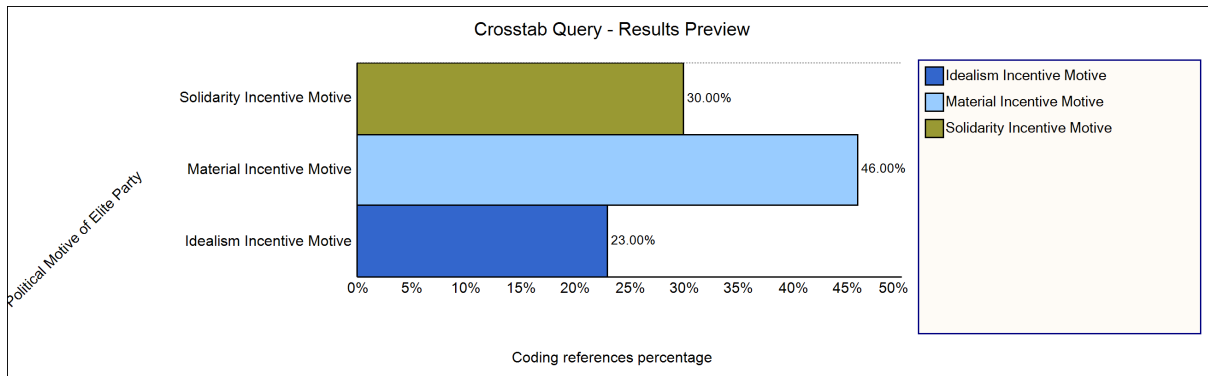


Figure 1.
The tendency of the party elite’s political motives
Source: NVivo 12 Plus Analysis with feature crosstab query

Furthermore, other indicators actually also have an influence but are not so significant. The solidarity motive only has a figure of 30%, as well as the idealism motive which is only 23%. It can also be analyzed that the idea of postponing the election is very weak with ideal motives for the benefit of the community. In fact, it should be valuable if the ideas put forward by the party elite have an impact or good intentions for the wider community.

Response in Twitter: Content and narrative via hashtags

Twitter platforms facilitate the exchange of emotional and motivational contents in support of and opposition to protest activity, including messages emphasizing anger, social identification, group efficacy, and concerns about fairness, justice, and deprivation as well as explicitly ideological themes (Jost et al. 2018). In the context of the idea of postponing the 2024 election, Twitter as a social network is used by Indonesian people to respond to this idea. Even the idea became a trending topic on Twitter. Twitter users who discussed the idea expressed their opinions and informed them by creating hashtags.

Figure 1 shows trending hashtags on Twitter related to the response to the idea of postponing the 2024 election. Processing of Figure 1 through NVivo 12 Plus first identifies and captures trending hashtags related to the topic. The second is to enter it into the NVivo 12 Plus software, then code it and make a case. After that process the data using the chart feature, and display the results of the analysis. There are five contents in the hashtag regarding the response to the idea of postponing the 2024 election, namely polemic of postponing election, political parties elite ideas, political parties elite interest, reason of postpone, and refuse of postpone election. More details are in Figure 2.

Figure 2 shows that there is some content in hashtags about the idea of postponing the 2024 election. First, the highest content of polemic of postpone election is in #penundaanpemilu2024 with 94.02%. This content means that the idea of postponing the 2024 general election initiated by the three general chairmen of the party turned out to be a polemic in society. Polemic in the sense that the community intensely discusses this topic, both those who agree and those who reject the idea. The suggestion by several political parties general chairman to postpone the holding of the current election has become a hot ball among the political elite, which has also received a response from many observers. The expert on constitutional law from the University of Nusa Cendana (Undana), Dr. Johannes Tuba Helan also stated that there is no reason that can be used as an alibi at this time. Postponing the 2024 simultaneous general elections is only possible if the country is in a state of emergency, while Indonesia is currently in good condition (Musthafa 2022).

Second, the highest content about political parties elite ideas is found in #airlanggahartarto with a figure of 88.51%. The purpose of the hashtags content is to explain that the idea of postponing the 2024 election did originate from a political elite, in this case the general chairman of the PKB, which was then welcomed positively by the chairman of the PAN and The Golkar party. However, several parties have urged the initiators of the idea to withdraw their remarks and apologize for not being in accordance

with the state. The Executive Director of Lingkar Madani Indonesia, Ray Rangkuti, encouraged political party leaders who proposed the idea of postponing the election to apologize to the public. The political elite has dragged society into endless debates (Kartika 2022).

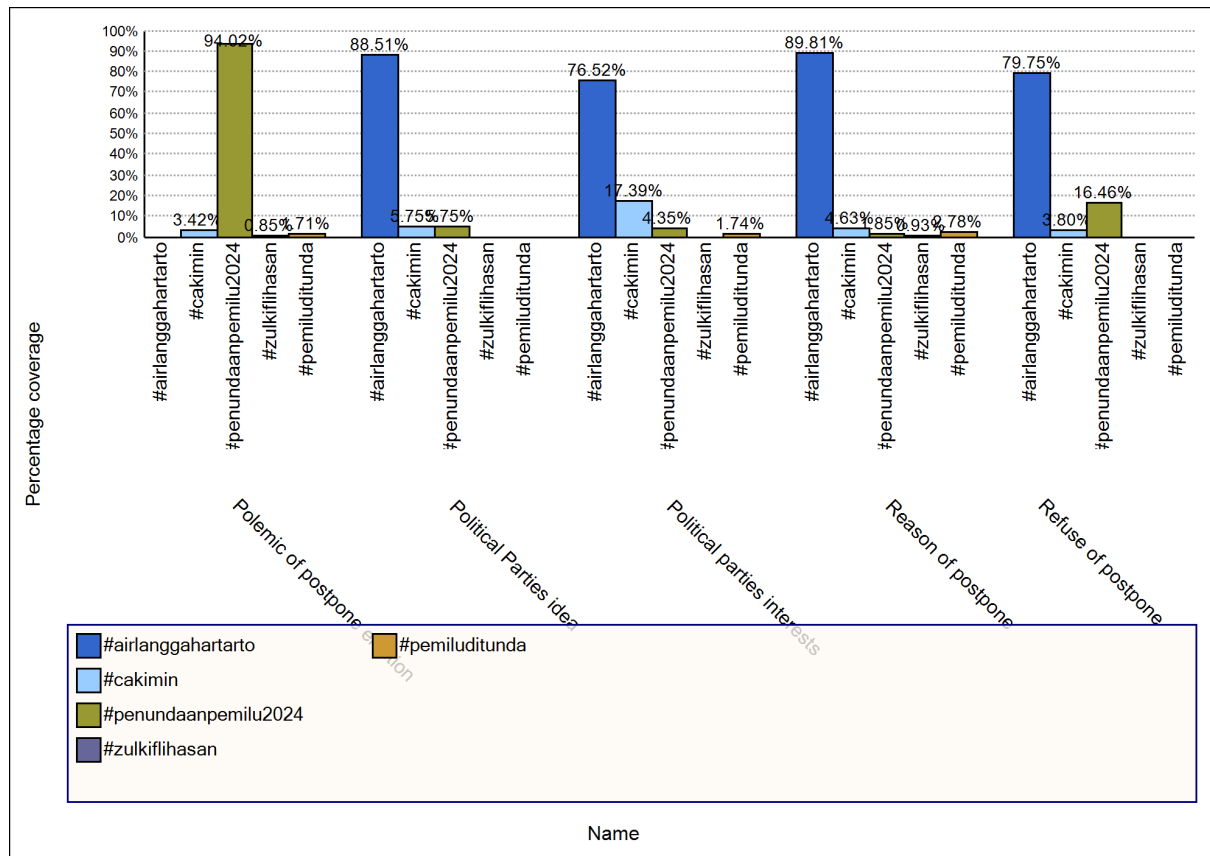


Figure 2.
Content in hashtags about the response to the idea of postponing the 2024 election
Source: NVivo 12 Plus Analysis with feature chart

Third, the content of hashtags about political parties elite interest contained in #airlanggahartarto was 76.52%, #cakimin was 17.39%, #penundaanpemilu2024 was 4.35% and the election was postponed as much as 1.74%. The content of these hashtags explains that public discussion using Twitter directs the response about the idea of postponing the 2024 election only for the interests of political parties. As one of the goals of the political party is to seize power, the idea of postponing the 2024 election can be interpreted as one of the strategies to gain that power. What’s interesting is that the community of Twitter users who are against the idea expressed it. Many studies have explained that indeed a political party is an organization or interest group, but is experiencing a crisis in aggregating the interests of the community as its constituents. Political parties are in trouble, especially when it comes to producing democratic representation. The party crisis, on the other hand, hasn’t prompted new theoretical reflection on the role of parties and their relationship to democracy. As a result, there’s a lot of disagreement regarding what we may expect from them (Luna et al. 2021).

Fourth, highest hashtags content about reason of postpone is #airlanggahartarto at 89.81%. The content of these hashtags explains various reasons why the general chairman of the party gave rise to the idea of postponing the 2024 election. Actually, this idea is legitimate to be conveyed by everyone, as a democratic country that respects all people’s opinions. However, it became a scene and was discussed by the public, even to the point of becoming a polemic because it was the general chairmen of the party who conveyed it. So that the political element is very thick, which makes people see it is not for the benefit of many people but only for their own group.

Furthermore, the idea has become a hot topic of discussion among the public because the three political parties are parties that support the government. Studies that explain the rhetoric of established political parties or government supporters. Recently created political parties can present themselves as clean and untainted in comparison with established political actors. Similarly, it is easier for parties in opposition to blame parties in government for the problem of political corruption; this is particularly true for challenger parties that have not yet participated in government. The salience of anti-establishment and anti-corruption rhetoric will be greater for new parties than for older established competitors, and greater for parties in opposition than for those in government (Polk et al. 2017).

Fifth, hashtags content about refuse of postpone election contained in #airlanggahartarto by 79.75%, #cakimin at 3.80%, and #penundaanpemilu2024 at 16.46%. The content of these hashtags discussed that the Twitter user community responded negatively to the idea of postponing this election. Most people openly reject the idea, even many academics and experts also reject the idea presented by the party leader with various reasons and arguments. The social movement against the proposal to postpone the 2024 elections continues to spread among various elements of society. As many as 12 NGOs and research institutions that are members of the Coalition Against Postponement of the 2024 Elections launched a petition rejecting this discourse (Nurita 2022).



Figure 3.

The response narrative on Twitter regarding the idea of postponing the 2024 election
Source: NVivo 12 Plus analysis with word frequency feature

Then, the response to the idea of postponing the 2024 election on Twitter was mixed. But what is interesting is looking at the narrative of the hashtags, this is an attempt to describe the mood of the people using Twitter regarding the idea of postponing the 2024 election. Figure 2 shows the narrative on Twitter about the response to the idea of postponing the 2024 election. Figure 3 is obtained through the results of the NVivo 12 Plus analysis from trending hashtags used in this research. There are several words that appear such as “muhammadiyah,” #Refusetopostponeelections, “polemic,” “reject,” “election,” etc.

Figure 3 explains that the response narrative on Twitter regarding the idea of delaying the 2024 election focuses on you, this is illustrated by the words that appear, namely “reject” and #tolaktundapemilu2024. Then, as an effort to strengthen the narrative, the major Islamic organization in Indonesia, namely Muhammadiyah, also stated its position that it rejected the idea of delaying the 2024 elections. Through the general secretary of the Muhammadiyah Central Executive, Abdul Mu’ti asked the political elites to not discuss postponing the 2024 elections. Because implications for the addition of the term of office of the president and parliament as well as regional heads.

The narrative on Twitter regarding the idea of postponing the 2024 election also describes a situation that has become a polemic. This means that the ideas presented by the general chairman have various responses from the community, even to the point of academics who presented their arguments that postponing the election would have an impact on the spirit of democracy and the state constitution. Kompas R & D survey on 7 -12 March 2022 by telephone with 1,002 respondents aged at least 17

years living in urban areas in 34 provinces. The survey found that 62.3% of respondents agreed that the election would still be held on 14 February 2024. The remaining 25.1% of respondents said they did not care whether the election was postponed or not. While 10.3% of respondents agreed to postpone the 2024 election, the remaining 2.3% said they did not know (Marsyukrilla 2022). This explains that the majority of the people do support the 2024 election not to be postponed, as a form of respect for the constitution and democracy of the Indonesian state.

Furthermore, they also disagree with the interests of political elites who run for the satisfaction of their own group's pragmatism. This finding is in line with what has been explained in cognitive response theory which says that when someone receives a persuasive communication, the recipient of the message will try to consider whether to accept or reject the communication message he receives (Stephanie et al. 2021). The Twitter user community received communication regarding the idea of postponing the election being spread, then Twitter users responded by choosing to reject it. This is rational for Twitter users, because the elite's political interests are strongly associated with this idea.

Conclusion

The conclusion in this study is that first, on the indicator of material incentive motives, Muhaimin Iskandar seeks more personal rewards. The personal reward is in the form of an opportunity to increase electability to become a presidential candidate in the 2024 election. Meanwhile, Zulkifli Hasan and Airlangga Hartarto are more toward organizational rewards. The idea of postponing the elections that these two figures put forward was aimed at the interests of their respective political parties. Second, the indicator of solidarity incentive motives, Muhaimin Iskandar is also more on personal rewards. Meanwhile, Airlangga Hartarto has a motive for organizational rewards. Likewise with Zulkifli Hasan who has a motive for organizational rewards, but is weak in consolidating internally to the party, resulting in turmoil. Then, thirdly on the indicator of idealism incentive motives, the three political elites do not have idealistic political motives in the idea of postponing the 2024 elections. This is because the idea of postponing does not concern the interests of society, but tends to be group interests. Furthermore, the tendency of the political motives of the three political elites is in material incentive motives. This is because the three political elites in issuing the idea of postponing the election had the desire to gain personal and group benefits, in this case their political parties.

Then, talk about the response on Twitter related to the idea of postponing the 2024 election. In terms of quantity, the content of hashtags with a negative tone is more than positive. In the sense that the response on Twitter tends to lead to the rejection of the idea of postponing the 2024 election. Content that tends to be negative includes polemics of postponed election, political parties elite ideas, political parties elite interest and refuse of postponed election. Likewise with the narrative, which raises more words of rejection and polemics in the community. Thus it can be interpreted that the community, especially Twitter users, prefers the 2024 election to be held according to a predetermined schedule. Twitter users responded to the idea of postponing the 2024 election as an effort to smooth out the interests of certain groups. Therefore, the idea of postponing elections, which is dominated by the private interests of the elite, is not responded positively by the public. This has implications for the emergence of public distrust of elites politic and their political parties.

Furthermore, although this research has succeeded in explaining political motives and responses on Twitter regarding the idea of postponing the 2024 election, it has a limitation, namely that it only explores one social network. So, the recommendation for further research is to add Facebook as one of the data sources, in order to get more diverse data.

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