HOW SOCIAL MEDIA ACTIVITY AS A MODERATING VARIABLE INFLUENCED MOMENTUM AND POLITICAL CAREER

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ABSTRACT

Political career is the goals for politicians. Most politicians set their career objective to become senator, mayor or even president but before they can achieve it, they have to have political momentum. The momentum is one of the factor which could create better political career. The role of social media activity on political career might be important. In this social media era, social media activity in political career is something that we have to count. This study explains the role of momentum on political career. There are 4 types of momentum involve in this study, psychology momentum, social cultural momentum, economic momentum and political momentum. It also explains how social media activity as a moderating variable influenced momentum and political career. The study held in Indonesia involved 302 professional politicians as respondent consists of various generations, namely; boomers 1, boomers 2, x gen, y gen and z gen.

Keywords: Political Momentum; Political Career; Social Media Activity, Indonesia; Politicians; Management; Election; Boomers, x gen, y gen, z gen

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1. INTRODUCTION

In 2005, Joko Widodo (Jokowi) was elected as the Mayor of Surakarta (known as Solo) after being promoted and nominated by Partai Demokrasi Indonesia Perjuangan (PDIP). Jokowi is currently the President of the Republic of Indonesia. Jokowi was able to maintain and take advantage of the momentum gained by himself since being elected as the Mayor of Solo, and then elected as the Governor of DKI Jakarta in 2012. The momentum was continued with his first position as the President of Indonesia in 2014 (Tapsell, 2015; Tomsa, 2017; Tomsa & Setijadi, 2018; Hamid, 2014) and repeat it for the second period.

Another story is about Ridwan Kamil, The Governor of West Java, Indonesia. According to several parties, Ridwan Kamil used social media escalated the momentum he gained. (Zaenudin & Suwatno, 2018; Jamilah, Akbar, Gunawan, &

Marantika, 2016). Ridwan Kamil involved social media in many his political event. His political momentum raised during his Mayor of Bandung era. Bandung as the capitol city of West Java turn into more beautiful city during Ridwan Kamil era.

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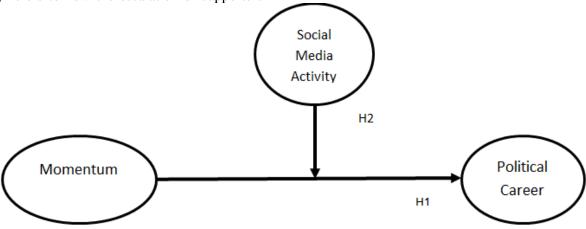
Trump has succeeded in building campaign narratives related to American identity and enhancing the charisma he possesses (Palacková, 2017; van Knippenberg, Wisse, De Cremer, & A. Hogg, 2004; Hogg, 2001). Trump is escalating the momentum that he gained, relying on social media. Trump directly controls his social media accounts. Trump, despite using a somewhat amateurish style in the emphasis on his social media campaigns, emphasizes his authenticity. This has become part of the trend of de-professionalization and even amateurism as a counter-trend in political communication (Enli, 2017).

The experiences of Trump, Jokowi and Ridwan Kamil showing how effective momentum is in escalating the career of politicians (Kenney & Rice, 1994; Tang & Lee, 2018). The characteristics of momentum make momentum owners adored by politicians, the public is fascinated by it, and the media canonizes it. However, academics are still and always debating when and where this momentum can emerge, and there is even no agreement on what concept is used to describe momentum (Kenney & Rice, 1994; Shafritz, 1988; Roeder, 2011; McGowen & Palazzolo, 2014; Fine, 2006; Tang & Lee, 2018). Some academics use the concept of "momentum" (Raymond, 1978; Kenney & Rice, 1994; Tang & Lee, 2018; Clinton et al, 2019). While others call it the bandwagon effect to designate a more traditional phenomenon (Shafritz, 1988).

Whatever term is used, momentum in politics usually refers to how the escalation of supporters

can increase significantly in a short period of time and affect political careers (Kenney & Rice, 1994; Tang & Lee, 2018; Clinton et al, 2019). In the context of these various debates, this study tries to build arguments regarding momentum in the world of politics. Until now, many researchers say that there is no Grand Theory that has succeeded in discussing specifically how momentum actually occurs, especially its effect on political careers. (Kenney & Rice, 1994; Shafritz, 1988; Roeder, 2011; McGowen & Palazzolo, 2014; Fine, 2006).

This study has political momentum as exogenous variable, social media activity as moderating variable and political career as endogenous variable. It will test 2 hypotheses, first, political career influenced by momentum (H1) and social media activity moderating momentum to political career (H2).



Research Model

2. Literature Review: Momentum, social media activity and Political Career

2.1. Momentum

Political scientists still have difficulties to define what momentum is (Bartels, 1987; Brady & Johnston, 1987). The explanation of momentum tends to be more general, when it falls into the category of political science. It is not uncommon for academics to be confused because the existing explanation is not sufficient to explain the momentum strictly. Based on explanations from the existing literature, references to political momentum have something in common; they all explain the rise and decrease in mass public support for candidates (Bartels, 1987; Brady & Johnston, 1987).

The term momentum was originally used in the fields of mathematics and physics, which describe momentum as a "quantity of motion" arising from

the simultaneous variable of velocity and quantity of matter. The term momentum also refers to the "change in motion" which is proportional to the force received. The term momentum was later adapted in the fields of sports and economics: investment, finance and economic technical analysis, to refer to significant changes in a particular time and space (Kent, 2006).

Skinner (1938) argued that all behavior is based on a basic unit of behavior called the differentiable operand. A differentiated operand is known as a three-term contingency which has three components: a differentiated antecedent stimulus, a response, and reinforcement or punishment in terms of its consequences. Organisms respond with a stimulus in the present, because past responses to a stimulus have resulted in reinforcement. Behavioral Momentum, as the idea of resistance to change in psychology, was introduced in the study of animal

behavior (Nevin, Mandell, & Atak, 1983). This should be compared with DiSessa's (1993) idea of general momentum as a continuation of whatever happens.

In the field of financial or economic, momentum tends to be observable empirically on a variety of issues associated with rising asset prices and falling prices. Financial analysts use various indications for the occurrence of momentum to recommend buying and selling share prices (Low & Tan, 2016). The definition of momentum in the world of economics or finance does not always have a positive meaning, because it not only talks about the matters and processes of how things affect the increase in asset prices, but also about how things can make financial values fall to their lowest price, and take a long time to return. (Daniel & Moscowitz, 2014). Momentum in general in the financial world refers to how prices can increase or decrease following a trend.

Not a few parties believe that momentum can affect performance within a company. However, Tien and Chen's (2015) study shows that the effect of momentum in the context of company performance is a myth: momentum does not significantly improve company performance. In the same study,

it shows that there is a relationship between momentum and company performance that can be moderated by age, size, capital intensity, and country of origin of the company, but this does not work universally, but adjusts to the scope and field of industry of the company (Tien & Chen, 2015).

Momentum in the context of sociocultural change can be explained through the process of how the relationship between one unit and another, one organization and one organization, escalates very quickly. This then ushers in a new era in which the agents are connected to one another and allow for significant and sustainable social and cultural change. Momentum in this context can be measured by looking at 3 things: connectedness, participation and use of information (Fine, 2006).

Whereas in the political sphere, as previously explained, academics often make reference to momentum as an explanation of the rise and decrease in mass public support for candidates (Bartels, 1987; Brady & Johnston, 1987). However, researchers understand very little of the origins of the psychological dimension of the opportunities that candidates gain when gaining momentum (Mutz, 1997).

Table 1: Momentum Indicators: Psychological, Sociocultural, Economic and Political Momentum

| Variable | Dimension | Indicator | Item of Question | |
|----------|---------------|----------------------------|---------------------------------------|--|
| Momentum | Psychological | Internal Momentum | I have the motivation for a career in | |
| | Momentum | | politics | |
| | | External Momentum | Other people helped to motivate me | |
| | | | to pursue a career in politics | |
| | Sociocultural | Encouragement from | Sociocultural situations contribute | |
| | Momentum | sociocultural situations | to my political career | |
| | | Encouragement from | The organization, community, or | |
| | | organization, community, | group I join contributes my political | |
| | | or group | career | |
| | Economic | Positive Economic | When I need it, I get support | |
| | Momentum | Momentum | financially | |
| | | Negative Economic | When I needed it, I lost my support | |
| | | Momentum | financially | |
| | Political | Rise of Support | I had a rise in political support / | |
| | Momentum | | electability | |
| | | Rise of Support by Parties | Party support boost my political | |
| | | | career | |
| | | Rise of Support by Media | Media coverage boost my political | |
| | | | career | |
| | | Rise of Competence | Increased competence enhances my | |
| | | | political career | |

2.2. Social Media Activity

Social media pushes everyone to build an image of themselves and that includes an image of leadership. Gazali (2014), who observed the interaction between the government, market, society and the media in contemporary Indonesian

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political communications, explained the ongoing relations between those four elements. Through the interplay in Gazali's research, readers are able to see that all actors and factors in contemporary Indonesian political communications have experimented with social media. Despite having different interests, most view social media's presence as gradual yet significant towards Indonesia's democracy. Social media activists for a long time have tried a tactical approach to handle the need to embrace the principles of consumer culture and to defy the dominance of narration.

Nevertheless, politicians don't always succeed in conquering the *many clicks, little sticks (Lim, 2013)* phenomena. This is why they tend to simplify their patterns to make use various networks and movements from other activists. If these activists maintain a systematic and innovative way of working in the unique realm of social media, Indonesia can keep a gradual but significant progress towards what's called social media democracy (Lim, 2013).

The variable indicators, based on the elaboration in this subchapter, for social media usage variables are: the frequency of posts on social media; involvement in social media discussions; language usage on social media and self-presentation on social media. These four indicators will be used in social media's position as moderator of the link between political momentum and career.

2.3. Political Career

The underlying causes that connects the concept and exposure to the phenomenon related to "momentum" is how the escalation of supporters can increase significantly in a short period of time and promote political careers (Kenney & Rice, 1994). Political career is also very close to the legitimacy of power. Legitimacy of power can be defined as a person's ability to influence the behavior of others so that other people become what those who have power want (Haryanto, 2005). The higher the political career, the greater the legitimacy of power. According to Firmanzah (2010), legitimacy is when an individual or organization conforms to social norms, values and expectations of the wider community (Dowling & Pfeffer, 1975). The legitimacy of power can change according to political developments in a region. Individuals in politics or in political science are called politicians must be able to use their resources to gain political legitimacy. In a democracy, political legitimacy means getting the most votes.

Meanwhile, to derive operational variables from a political career, we need to first analyze the extent to which (political) career success can be measured. Political career sphere, whatever achievements are obtained in the scope of practical politics. Career success can be measured by objective and subjective indicators. Objective career success can be reflected in a person's status (eg. hierarchical position, promotion), income (eg, salary), and professional competence (Ng, Eby, Sorensen, & Feldman, 2005; Nicholson & de Waal-Andrews, 2005). Subjective career success can be reflected in a person's subjective evaluation of achievement, work-life balance, health, and well-being related to career development (Guan, Arthur, Khapova, Hall, & Lord, 2018).

Table 2: Career Indicators: Objective and Subjective

| Table 2: Career maleators: Objective and Bubjective | | | | | | | |
|---|----------------|-------------------------------|--|--|--|--|--|
| Political | Perceptions | Position in Political parties | I occupy a fairly high position in the | | | | |
| Career | with Objective | | Political Party | | | | |
| | Career | Position in Public Position | I occupy a certain Public Position | | | | |
| | Indicators | Experience in politics | I am quite experienced in politics | | | | |
| | | Career leap in politics | I got a career leap in politics | | | | |
| | Perceptions | The suitability of work | My achievements in politics match | | | | |
| | with | achievement with hard work | my hard work | | | | |
| | Subjective | The compatibility of | The welfare that I get from politics | | | | |
| | Career | prosperity with hard work | is in accordance with my hard work | | | | |
| | Indicators | | | | | | |

Both career indicators: objective and subjective, in this study will be used as part of operational variables to measure how public officials carry out their political careers.

3. Methodology

To test the research hypothesis, this study uses

Structural Equation Modeling (SEM). SEM is a statistical tool used to solve multilevel models simultaneously which cannot be solved by linear regression equations. SEM is also a multivariate statistical analysis technique that allows researchers to include unobservable variables that are measured indirectly by indicator variables (Wijanto, 2008;

Hair et al, 2018).

There are various advantages of SEM research compared to other statistical analyzes: SEM is able to analyze stratified and complex models involving many variables, which would be difficult to solve by linear regression analysis; Be able to test multilevel hypotheses simultaneously; Errors (errors) in the empirical findings were not ignored but were still analyzed, so SEM is more accurate for analyzing questionnaire data involving perceptions. SEM can find a model of reciprocal relationship (recursive) simultaneously, where this model cannot be solved by linear regression analysis simultaneously (Wijanto, 2008; Hair et al, 2018).

4. Population and Sample

The population of this research is professional politicians. The criteria are whoever participates in a political party and that participation becomes one of their professions. In contemporary political studies, there is the term professional politician which refers to politicians who have a career in political parties to climb a career ladder in the party system, so they can fight at the electoral level. (Rush, 1994, Riddell, 1996; 2011; Paxman, 2002; Oborne, 2007; Allen & Cairney, 2018; Allen et al, 2020). Some of the professional politicians have non-political backgrounds: teachers, academics, businessmen, or from the beginning they started their careers in politics after completing their studies (Allen, 2013; Allen et al, 2020). Meanwhile, others only have careers in political parties with various ambitions (Wright, 2013).

Based on the Guidelines for the Recruitment & Cadre of Ideal Political Parties in Indonesia published by the KPK (Indonesia Corruption Eradication Commission) and LIPI (Indonesia Institute of Science) in 2016, at least one political party needs 147,725 cadres to become party administrators. If the number of parties in Indonesia currently is 16 political parties, then there are at least 2,363,600 party officials throughout Indonesia.

This research makes professional politicians as the population, namely those who have careers in political parties: they are party members who with their parties have been successfully elected in electoral activities (have been elected as Head / Deputy Regional Head and were elected as members of DPR / DPRD), party members which is part of the governing party organizational structure. Party members who will be involved in this research are party members at the sub-national

level.

The sampling technique used in this study is convenience sampling, which adapts to the needs of Structural Equation Modeling (SEM) analysis. Convenience sampling is sampling based on the availability of elements that meet the research objectives (Sugiarto, 2001; Hair et al, 2018).

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The minimum sample size estimation with Sample Determination (SEM - Based) method most widely used in research based on SmartPLS-Structural Equation Modeling, in management and other fields, is the "10-times rule" method (Hair et al., 2011; Peng & Lai, 2012). Among the variations of this method, the most commonly seen is based on the rule that the sample size must be greater than 10 times the maximum number of inner or outer links pointing to a latent variable in the model (Goodhue et al., 2012).

In this study, which involved 3 variables: social media activity as a moderating variable, momentum as exogenous variable and political career endogenous variable.

There is another method for determining SEM-based samples, that is through quantification based on the "relative power" between indicators (Wolf, et al, 2013), in other words it can be measured simultaneously with data processing carried out. However, quantification based on "relative power" tends to produce a minimum sample figure below the number "10 times rule" (Kock & Hadaya, 2018; Ulum, Tirto & Anggraeni, 2014). To strengthen the validity and reliability of the data, this study will multiply 5 times the minimum number of respondents using the formulations of Hair et al., (2011) and Peng and Lai, (2012).

Initially, the sample used in this study was 300 respondents to obtain a valid analysis, but after conducting field studies, a total of 302 politicians be the respondents for this study (n = 302).

5. Research Discussion

5.1. Demography

5.1.1 Ages

5.2. Validity and Reliability

The PLS Algorithm basically gives us an analysis of the path modeling that is adjusted to the model that has been determined in a study. The PLS path modeling method was developed by Wold (1982). Where in essence the PLS Algorithm is a sequential regression in terms of weight vectors. The weight vector obtained at convergence satisfies the fixed

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point equation (Dijkstra, 2010).

Validity and reliability testing using the SmartPLS application can be made possible if path modeling is carried out first as a basis for pre-analysis of

reliability and validity (Hair et al, 2017; Hair, 2013). Following are the results of reliability and Average Variance Extracted based on the prior modeling analysis:

Table 4: Composite Reliability and Average Variance Extracted

| | Composite Reliability | Average Variance Extracted (AVE) |
|------------------------|-----------------------|-------------------------------------|
| Political Career | 0.915 | 0.642 |
| Economic Momentum | 1.000 | 1.000 |
| Political Momentum | 0.889 | 0.668 |
| Psychological Momentum | 0.847 | 0.734 |
| Sociocultural Momentum | 0.873 | 0.775 |

The composite reliability of each variable has shown a number> 0.70 (Hair, 2013): This shows that each latent variable has a reliable indicator.

Meanwhile, as a validity parameter, using SmartPLS obtained Average Variance Extracted (AVE), which is a measure of the amount of variance that is part of the construct related to the amount of variance due to measurement errors. Average Variance Extracted (AVE) in management analysis is often used to assess the validity of a variable. Average Variance Extracted (AVE) is calculated as the average of the squared load of each indicator related to the construct. The acceptable threshold for Average Variance Extracted (AVE) is 0.50 or higher. This level or higher indicates that, on average, the construct accounts for (more than) 50% of the item's variance.

Based on these criteria, there are 3 latent variables in this study that do not meet the validity criteria, namely: Social Media Activities, Transformational Leadership, and Momentum. All three have an Average Variance Extracted (AVE) value below 0.50.

5.3. Path Analysis

After analyzing the PLS Alghorithm and Bootstrap based on the type or sub-variables of Momentum: Psychological Momentum, Sociocultural Momentum, Economic Momentum and Political Momentum, to obtain the path coefficient of each sub-variable. The largest path coefficient is owned by Political Momentum (0.787) with a very large gap when compared to Psychological Momentum (0.036), Economic Momentum (0.030) Sociocultural Momentum (-0.025). The effect of exogenous variables, Political Momentum on endogenous variables, Political Career can be said to have a strong influence because it is in the range 0.70 - 0.89 (Hinkle, Wersma & Jurs, 1998). Below is an SEM graphic that explains how Momentum affects Political Career:

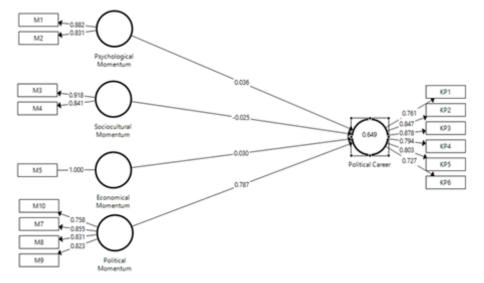


Figure 1: Path Analysis of the Momentum to Political Career

Although it was analyzed simultaneously, the

Momentum variable fulfills the degree of validity

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because it meets the criteria for T Statistics / T Value> 1.96 and P Value \leq 0.05, but if analyzed separately based on Bootstrap analysis, it is found that only the effect of Political Momentum on

Political Career meets the degree of validity, namely the T Statistics criteria. T Value> 1.96 and P Value ≤ 0.05 (Hair et al, 2017):

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Table 5: Analysis of Sub-Variable Momentum Path Analysis on Political Career

| Effects of the Momentum | Path coefficient | T Statistics (O/STDEV) | P Values |
|---|------------------|--------------------------|----------|
| Political Momentum → Political Career | 0.787 | 23.485 | 0.000 |
| Psychological Momentum → Political Career | 0.036 | 0.764 | 0.445 |
| Economic Momentum → Political Career | 0.030 | 0.678 | 0.498 |
| Sociocultural Momentum → Political Career | -0.025 | 0.471 | 0.638 |

The effects of Psychological Momentum on Political Career, Economic Momentum on Political Career and

Sociocultural Momentum on Politics can be declared invalid.

These findings are the basis for drawing conclusions on the hypothesis:

- (H1) Psychological Momentum Affects Political Career is rejected
- (H2) Sociocultural Momentum Affects Political Career is rejected
- (H3) Economic Momentum Affects Political Career is rejected
- (H4) Political Momentum Affects Political Career is accepted

Only H4 can be stated as accepted in this study.

6. CONCLUSION

The results of this study basically show that Momentum affects Political Career, although it is specific only to Political Momentum. Meanwhile, Psychological, Economic and Sociocultural Momentum does not have significant effects on Political Career. Thus, political momentum is the most impactful momentum on political career.

This affirms the current empirical facts experienced by Indonesian politicians such as Jokowi (Tapsell, 2015; Tomsa, 2017; Tomsa & Setijadi, 2018; Hamid, 2014), Ridwan Kamil (Triyono, 2016; Lestari, 2017) and even Tri Rismaharini's achievements (Rahmi, 2015; Kusumastuti, Septi Jatiningsih, 2015) can achieve, maintain and enhance their political career due to the political momentum they have achieved and managed well. The same is true for world politicians who have successfully stolen the political scene at the national and international levels such as Trump, Bolsanaro, Boris, Macron (Clarke, Goodwin, & Whiteley, 2017; Clarke, Goodwin, & Whiteley, 2017; Hunter & Power, 2019). They are examples of how effective political "Momentum" can be (Kenney &

Rice, 1994). The characteristics of political momentum make momentum owners adored by politicians, the public is fascinated by it, and the media canonizes it.

In this finding, we can see that a new trajectory will be created in the achievement of a political career, in which politicians will compete to create their political momentum, when compared to the creation of other forms of momentum. A spike due to certain stimuli at one time and situations in various dimensions is one of the orientations of political actors in the process of advancing a politician's career.

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