Figure Power Of The 2024 Presidential Candidate (Analysis Of Social Capital And Electability For The Period Of January – March 2022)

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Abstract: Elections will become the national political agenda in 2024. It becomes interesting, when all figures who have real electability are compared and then measured qualitatively to see in general their political strength towards the 2024 Election. This is then quite relevant to the strength of the figure of the presidential candidate in 2014 based on social capital and electability. The starting point for this research is to take an electability survey which will take place in the period January – March 2022. The result showed that social capital is in the form of bonding social capital, the characters have differences and similarities. Social capital bridging social capital also shows interesting variants. Bridging social capital, which is open and can attract other social/political resources, is quite important. In terms of support for political parties, in the period January - March 2022.

Keywords: Election, Figure Power, Presidential Candidate, Social Capital

1. Background

Elections will become the national political agenda in 2024, in essence, this is a natural thing as a regular consequence of the democratic system. Elections are held periodically both to elect members of the legislature and the executive that is the president. But the 2024 election is interesting because there are at least two major aspects 1) that the incumbent, President Joko Widodo, can no longer run for office again, and the deterrent effect in elections is almost non-existent because incumbents who can be assumed to have the strongest social capital are not contestants, so 2). the candidates who will fight can be said to have relatively balanced strengths.

These two aspects make the 2024 Presidential Election which is relatively far away in various domains, now it is considered so close that the public has also thought about the ideal partner, a partner that must be ignored to alternative figures that have been developed with various responses.[1] The time for the 2024 Presidential Election, which is near, "tempts" the figures and political parties themselves to prepare various matters related to political branding. Many figures emerged who looked serious enough to present themselves as worthy and worthy of being elected as president in 2024.

This then becomes an entry point for various survey institutions to measure the electability of various figures who are often in the public discussion relatively suitable to become presidential candidates. The consequence is the emergence of names in various surveys such as Ganjar Pranowo (Governor of Central Java), Prabowo Subianto (Minister of Defense), Anies Baswedan (Governor of DKI Jakarta), Ridwan Kamil (Governor of West Java), Sandiaga Uno

(Minister of Tourism and Creative Economy), and Agus Harimurti Yudhoyono or AHY (General Chair of the Democrat party). Other names that have emerged include Erick Thohir (Minister of BUMN), Tri Risma Harini (Minister of Social Affairs), Airlangga Hartarto (Ketum of Golkar), and Puan Maharani (Chairman of the DPR).[2]

The names that appear have at least two main components, namely 1) the figure/figure has a level of electability, as an important component that becomes the reliable of being proposed as a presidential candidate, 2) the figure has a good background in the form of public office, position in the party politics, party basis, social support base, which this can be understood as social capital. These figures have social capital which can be understood as a social resource that is seen as an investment to obtain new resources.[3] Electability is an important component, but social capital becomes the other side which then becomes a determining factor when contestation and branding take place. For example, in this case, figures such as Ganjar Pranowo, Prabowo Subianto, and Anies Baswedan in various electability surveys are the top 3. However, these three figures have other aspects such as Ganjar Pranowo as Governor, PDI-P cadres or Muslims, and Javanese ethnicity as social capital preferences. Prabowo Subianto prefers the general chairman of the party, former military, Mulism, and as a minister. Just like Anies Baswedan, he prefers the Governor of DKI (former), lecturers/scholars, ethnic Arabs, Muslims, and non-partisans.

All three-show electability and social capital as well. This becomes interesting, when all figures who have real electability are compared and then measured qualitatively to see in general their political strength towards the 2024 Election. This is then quite relevant to the statement how is the strength of the figure of the presidential candidate in 2014 based on social capital and electability? The starting point for this research is to take an electability survey which will take place in the period January – March 2022. This period is quite crucial and related to the war of "billboards" between figures, dynamics within the Democratic party, or internal issues within the PDIP.

2. Problems

The picture of the figures that emerge as a result of the survey is very interesting when one tries to look at the strength of social capital. This can be the basis for political calculations either for the figures themselves or for those with an interest in getting a picture. The big question that arises is:

1.1. What is the electability of potential figures based on the survey results for the January-March 2022 period?
1.2. What is the strength of the social capital possessed by the characters, both bonding social capital and bridging social capital-based?

These two problems clearly have limitations, so in the context of research simplification of concepts and findings becomes an aspect that cannot be avoided but this will not reduce objectivity in research.

3. Objectives of the Research

Based on the background and problems raised, there are several objectives for the research conducted. These objectives include:

1.1.1.1.1.   Get an overview of the electability of figures as a result of a survey conducted in the January-February 2022 period.
1.1.1.1.2.   Get an overview of the electability of figures as a result of a survey conducted in the March-April 2022 period.
1.1.1.1.3.   Get an overview of the bonding social capital possessed by potential figures to be nominated in the 2024 presidential election.
1.1.1.1.4.   Get an overview of the bridging social capital owned by potential figures to be nominated in the 2024 presidential election.

The purpose of this research is to the point where the aspects of the survey results, namely figures, are then seen in the context of the concept of social capital, both bonding social capital and bridging social capital.

4. Theory and Concepts

Electability and social capital are concepts that are important in the context of political competition in the form of general elections because elections are the result of various major currents of political concepts as well as pragmatic interests from political parties, elites, interest groups, and even the whole society.

5. Literature review

Research on the figures and figures of prospective presidential candidates has been mostly concerned with or based on electability or the level of electability. The election is an important point for a figure to be eligible or not to contest, where the interests of political parties and interest groups become dominant. The election is a determinant of political parties, where multi-party in parliament tends to make the president form a coalition between parties [4], as well as a requirement for the presidential threshold system. The number of surveys conducted shows that electability is indeed an important focus of study, where a figure gets a picture of himself from potential voters.

The election of a candidate, of course, is a resultant factor from various aspects inherent in the prospective candidate which can be termed as social capital.

5.1   Electability

Electability or electability is a factor that becomes a benchmark in election contestation. So that knowing electability is very important for candidates participating in the election, including pairs participating in the presidential election. Electability is usually measured through surveys conducted by the winning team and independent survey institutions.[5] Electability as a survey result is also a reflection of political imagery which is closely related to the level of public participation during elections.[6] This shows that the results of a survey or electability are an important measure of how strong a figure is in the electorate. Of course, electability as a benchmark does not just appear but is a complex assessment of an individual for a certain figure. Electability is not a matter of a constituency's rational choice but sometimes involves emotions in the form of personal ties or a person's sense of representation towards a character. Even in an extreme context, electability shows a feeling of "hurt" and revenge against a figure or socio-political condition.

On the other hand, electability also depends a lot on how strong a character appears and the framing in various media. This is realized by figures who use the media (politics) as a means to increase their electability .[7] Electability or electability comes from "choose", electability is defined as the ability or skill to be elected to a position in government [8] which can be understood to a large extent refer to individuals. Another meaning is the level of electability that is adjusted to the selection criteria and can be applied to goods, services, or a person, agency, or party. The meaning of being elected in English is as electable, which means related to deciding or choice, especially the choice of a person for a particular job, by voting.[9] What is elected is of course from something relatively the same type, for example, selecting people for certain positions. The object of the selection is apple to apple in material terms, conditions, and circumstances when compared or of the same/equivalent type.

Based on the context of the basic understanding of being elected or being elected, election research usually focuses a lot on individuals in positions at both the legislature and the executive at various levels. Election analysis based on legislative positions, for example, is research conducted by Mutmainah with the title Electability of Candidates for Golkar Party Women Legislative Members in the 2014 Legislative General Elections in Sidrap Regency.[10] The focus of this research is on the election of female candidates for legislative members, whereas in the region the 30% affirmative action is more formal in nature as evidenced by only one female candidate being elected.

The focus of research on the legislature, especially gender-based electability entitled Hattrick Victory: Een Rusmiyati's Election Strategy in the 2019 Legislative Election in Cirebon City.[11] The election of a female candidate from the Hanura party, Een Rusmiyati, was dissected 3 times in a row and showed that electability was maintained because she could care for constituents. The study of electability becomes interesting when it is revealed that a minority position either personally/gender or because of a small/new party does not preclude the opportunity to be elected.

The context of election is also not only studied to see positions in the legislature, but executive positions at various levels are relatively interesting to study. Studies such as "The Influence of Joko Widodo's Instagram Social Media on Joko Widodo's Electability in the 2019 Presidential Election" [12] show that the correlation between electability and the use of the Instagram media platform in the presidential contest is quite significant. Research conducted by Yos Horta Meliala and Taufik Nurdiansyah shows that electability can get a strong influence from the use of social media platforms, in this case, Instagram.

The electability that emerged before the contestation of both the legislature and the executive certainly could not be separated from the survey institutions. A survey institution released findings related to the 2024 election, both the popularity and electability of political parties, as well as presidential and vice-presidential candidates.[13] Survey institutions are competing to publish their survey results and the size of the institution is of course based on the political conditions of each country. Marcus Mietzner's view in "Political Opinion Polling in Post-authoritarian Indonesia: Catalyst or Obstacle to Democratic Consolidation" provides an important condition for a poll institution with political aims only born in countries that meet two basic conditions. First, its citizens must have substantial civil and political liberties. Two, professional surveys rely on carefully designed methodologies, experienced researchers, and many respondents [14] this view shows that surveys and their results will be of high quality when in a free climate and of course an increasingly rational society. The survey results serve as a reference for actions and steps to be taken by those with an interest in this case political actors and interest groups. So the survey results are certainly interesting to be analyzed and

trusted as study material, at the same time the survey results show the power possessed by the candidates who have the opportunity to fight.

5.2 Social Capital

The contesting candidates, one of which is a survey product, have various preferences inherent in them. The initial description of the figures appearing in the survey from mid-2022 to the end of 2022 shows 3 top names of mind as shown in the table below:

Table. 1 Presidential Candidate Top of Mind December 2022

NO	CANDIDATE NAME	SURVEY INSTITUTION	
		INDO BAROMETER	POLITICAL INDICATORS
1	PRABOWO SUBIANTO	27,5%	26,8%
2	GANJAR PRANOWO	37,1%	35,8%
3	ANIES BASWEDAN	30,2%	26,8%

Source: https://news.detik.com/pemilu/d-6516117/elektabilitas-para-bakal-capres-versi-3-survei-latest, accessed 15/1/2023

The names mentioned above are relatively popular and show that people already have preferences in the social concept called heterodoxy. Heterodoxy means that humans know and are aware of the existence of two or more alternative behaviors, rules, and notions.[3] This aspect makes the electability of each character different, because voters, constituents, or individuals in society are aware of the existence of two or more alternative behaviors, rules, and so on. Each people can represent behavior in the form of choices on characters who are perceived to match their internal self.

These characters have backgrounds or preferences which then differentiate or are relatively the same in condition. Where names like Prabowo Subianto, Ganjar Pranowo, and Anies Baswedan have social backgrounds that become social capital. What is inherent in Prabowo Subianto is public officials/ministers, party leaders, and nationalists, and has a broad base of supporters/networks, of course, are several categories in social capital. Anies Baswedan, his inherent preferences are intellectual/political figures, former ministers/governors, Muslims, and having a support network, this is also inherent in him. In the figure of Ganjar Pranowo, what is visible to the public are public officials/governors, party cadres, nationalists, Muslims, Javanese, and supporters. What is attached or attached to a character is resources and has the power to bind constituents, the people, and the public. This is in line with the view of Pierre Bourdieu, "Social capital is the source of resources, actual or virtual, that accrue to an individual or group by possessing a durable network of institutionalized relationships of mutual acquaintance and recognition". [15]

Sources, both visible and invisible, are the point where what is inherent in an individual or group. This aspect is also in line with Coleman's view that social capital is a representation of resources in which reciprocal relationships are embedded in social networks that institutionalize trust.[15] Coleman's view shows that social capital when it is understood as a resource is formed not in the short term but is a relatively time-consuming process because it is a precipitated relationship. This condition was later stated by Robert Putnam that .... *is the social capital closely related to what some have called "civic virtue"* [15]. Civic Virtue is a citizen's

virtue and is a republican principle and government.[16] Citizen virtues or republican principles and government, of course, are not only values, norms, or relations. However, the functional roles, in this case, the positions and status carried out, are a concrete manifestation of this civic virtue. So values, norms, and functional roles are a must when society is in harmony.

The theory of social capital is relatively more categorized as presented by Francis Fukuyama who states:

What is needed in these pursuits (where social capital is low) is to increase the radius of trust among individuals in the various small, inward-looking groups that comprise these societies, and to facilitate the building of cooperative relationships, in both economic and political spheres, between groups that typically have little to do with one another. [15]

Fukuyama views that social capital crosses boundaries not only in purely social areas but across both political and economic areas at various levels. This position makes social capital quite broad in scope and this reinforces that the concept of social capital is a resource that can be viewed as an investment to obtain new resources.[3] This position shows that anything that can be used to obtain new resources is social capital, of course, including aspects of status or position being held by a person or the organization that houses a person. At an advanced stage, Fukuyama divides social capital into at least three models, namely bonding social capital, bridging social capital, and surrounding social capital.[15]

The concept of social capital has several models that have their categorization. Although originally by Nan Lin, social capital had controversy, which was based on the question of whether social capital is a collective good or individual good. Experts then generally agree that social capital is shared assets as well as individual assets.[15] Based on this view, it is quite reasonable that social capital can be applied to look at both the group/institutional level and the individual dimension. The offered model form, social capital has its characteristics, which then differentiate it from other models, although sometimes there is confusion when applied to factual conditions.

5.2.1   Bonding Social Capital (bonded social capital)

According to Fukuyama, it is usually conceptualized as relations that are intertwined in homogeneous groups that can utilize the resources they have collectively by strengthening identity similarities.[15] Based on this view, the aspects that emerge are forms of ties that are relatively limited, bounded by social/primordial, exclusive boundaries where both groups and their group members in the context of ideas, relations, and attention are more inward-looking.[3] In many ways bonding social capital shows that the tendency is towards homogeneity, such as the same tribe, and the same value orientation. This same value orientation also illustrates that the characteristics of groups and individuals tend to maintain totalitarian, hierarchical, closed values and even their daily interactions are guided by values and norms that benefit certain hierarchical and feudal levels or are termed sacred society.[3]

Social bonding capital also shows the characteristic that the values that exist in society are formed by human "cultural experience". It means even what humans carry with them a set of assumptions and feelings about how the world works that are embedded.[3] It means that the values used to view one context have been provided by society in the form of culture so that free dialogue and rationalism are limited. Individuals will never question the assumptions and beliefs that develop they never question, or what is termed doxa.

Table 2. Conceptualization of Bonding Social Capital

No.	Concept	Operationalization

No.	Concept	Operationalization
1.	1.2.1. Bound / Tight, exclusive network. 1.2.2. Strong distinction between "Our people" and outsiders 1.2.3. There is only one alternative answer 1.2.4. Difficult to accept the flow of change 1.2.5. Less accommodating to outsiders 1.2.6. Prioritize the interests of the group. 1.2.7. Prioritizing group solidarity 1.2.8. Homogeneous 1.2.9. Inward looking [3]	- family - tribe - religion - supporter ideological perception
2.	2.10. Homogeneous group relations 2.11. Utilizing resources that are owned collectively by being strengthened by a common identity. 2.12. Binding social actors based on place of residence, kinship, ethnicity, religion and customs. [15]	

Source: processed from: Hasbullah., Jousairi. Social Capital. (Jakarta ; MR-United Press, 2006). Usman., Sunyoto. Social Capital. (Yogyakarta; Student Library, 2018).

5.2.2 Bridging Social Capital

In bridging social capital, Fukuyama sees relationships that are intertwined in groups that contain bonds that are built to facilitate cooperation to develop access to various resources.[15] The development of open access requires acceptance of outsiders, and this makes bridging social capital rational and open, which are attributes/public positions. There are several principles in bridging social capital, namely equality, freedom, and pluralism [3] which shows that there are universal values that are strong across primordial social boundaries.

Table 3. Conceptualization of Bridging Social Capital

No.	Concept	Operationalization
1.	1. Open 2. More flexible network 3. Tolerant 4. Allows to have multiple answers and problem solving (rational) 5. Accommodating to accept change 6. Tend to be altruistic, humanitarianistic and universal. 7. Outward Looking [3]	8. Political Party Base 9. Public Office 10. Public Profession 11. Moderation of Support/Pluralist Groups 12. Supporting Ormas Affiliation
2.	13. Relationships that exist within the group 14. Contains bonds built to facilitate cooperation 15. To develop access to various resources.	

16.	Binding social actors based on networks that penetrate the boundaries of residence, kinship, ethnicity, religion and customs. [15]

Source: processed from Hasbullah., Jousairi. Social Capital. (Jakarta; MR-United Press, 2006). Usman., Sunyoto. Social Capital. (Yogyakarta; Student Library, 2018).

On the principle of equality, every member in a group has the same rights and obligations.[3] Equality is a feature of the social aspect which is equality in nature, there is nothing higher and what is the basis is the function of one role. Thus the position between individuals is based more on respect for rights and obligations, not based on privileges based on kinship, caste/class. It can happen in a society that is relatively open and shows egalitarianism. The next principle is freedom, that each member is free to speak, and express opinions and ideas that can develop the group.[3]
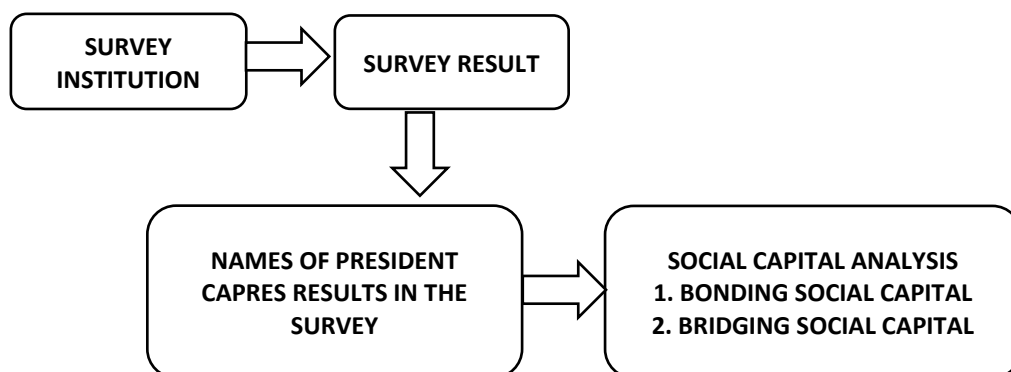
These two categorizations of social capital are of course very interesting when trying to analyze the figures/prospective candidates who then always appear in electability surveys. Until research based on social capital has received enough attention. Indira and Mariyah's writing with the title "Analysis of Political, Social, and Economic Capital on the Election of Beginner Female Candidates in the 2019 DKI Jakarta DPRD Pileg".[17] The paper examines how women candidates "play" with political, social, and economic capital, especially first-time candidates. Other writings based on social capital are widely used in aspects of community empowerment. Fathy's article entitled Social Capital: Concept, Inclusivity and Community Empowerment. The focus of the study is how social capital takes the form of norms, social networks, and trust to gain economic and social benefits.[18]

5.3   State of the Art and Flow of Thought

This research certainly has similarities and differences with both electability and social capital-based research. There is one study that is relatively similar in focus on electability and social capital, namely from the research "Analysis of Political, Social and Economic Capital on the Electability of Beginner Female Candidates in the 2019 DKI Jakarta DPRD Pileg". However, this research is relatively different because it discusses and departs from the electability of potential presidential candidates as a result. The survey results that validly state several names with certain electability, certainly have social capital. In this aspect, it is assumed that the appearance of a character with electability is a power of the social capital he has. Without social capital, these figures cannot have electability.

Based on the electability of the published results, then each character is analyzed based on the special categorization of social capital, whether bonding social capital, bridging social capital, or linking social capital.

Chart 1. Thinking Plot

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┌──────────────┐       ┌──────────────┐
│   SURVEY     │ ───▶  │ SURVEY RESULT│
│ INSTITUTION  │       │              │
└──────────────┘       └──────┬───────┘
                              │
                              ▼
┌──────────────────┐       ┌─────────────────────────┐
│ NAMES OF PRESIDENT│      │ SOCIAL CAPITAL ANALYSIS │
│ CAPRES RESULTS IN │ ───▶ │ 1. BONDING SOCIAL CAPITAL│
│    THE SURVEY     │      │ 2. BRIDGING SOCIAL CAPITAL│
└──────────────────┘       └─────────────────────────┘
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6. Methodology and Data

Based on the context of the existing problems, namely looking at the electability and social capital of potential presidential candidates. The research model is clearly in a qualitative position, where a lot of data and various statements and theories will be raised. Research is used to examine the condition of natural objects.[19] The natural object here is the desire of the community/public which is reflected in the survey results (survey institutions) and published, besides then there are also formal legal aspects of political parties in nominating presidential candidates. The goal that can then be obtained from this research model is to understand the condition of a context by directing it to a detailed and in-depth description of the portrait of the condition in a natural context (natural setting), about what happened according to what is in the field of study.[20] This context will have empirical consequences and connect with places, people, groups, institutions, and special material objects that can be interpreted and relevant, including documents and archives.[21] The database used is the results of surveys. which were published in online media, especially in the January-March 2022 period. This period was crucial because several conditions emerged, such as billboard wars between potential candidates, dynamics within the democratic party, or dynamics within the PDIP.

7. Research Result

7.1 The electability of presidential candidates

Electability is an important part that is inseparable from contestation in general elections. This is related that electability is power and a reflection of how strong a figure is in gaining public trust and at the same time the possibility of winning the vote. Electability is also a manifestation of the success of imagery, where imagery has a close relationship with the level of community participation during elections.[6] This shows that high electability is driven by constituents/voters to give their voting rights. The big push to participate was then reflected in the amount of electability possessed by the candidates. Choice in the contestation is driven by intrinsic motives within the voter which is then directly proportional to the row of vote acquisition figures. The aspect does not stand alone but the attractiveness of the candidates, the more attractive the candidates are because they are considered to represent a variety of political/social preferences, the higher the electability.

In the period from January to March 2022, there were at least 14 survey institutes publishing survey results related to the electability of figures with potential for presidential candidacy in 2024. To make it easier to get an overview, between January-April 2022 it is divided into 2 periods, namely January-February 2022 and the period March-April 2022.

Table 4. Publication of Potential READPRES Survey Results for January – February 2022 Period

No	Online media uploaders	Survey institution	Total / %
1.	Detik.com	Prc-ppi, litbang kompas, lsn, dts indonesia	4 (57,14%)
2.	Inews.id	Ipo	1 (14,29%)

3.	Tribunnews.com	Smrc	1 (14,29%)
4.	Viva.co.id	Indonesian politics indicator	1 (14,29%)
Total	4	7	7 (100%)

Source: processed from detik.com, inews.id, tribunnews.com, viva.co.id 2022.

In the January-February 2022 period, 7 survey institutions published survey results in several online media. Most online media that became the place of release was detik.com where there were 4 survey institutions followed by inews.id, tribunnews.com, and viva.co.id. 1 survey institution each. Based on the media where the survey results were released, detik.com is the media that releases the most frequently. This shows that at least detik.com is the most active and the survey institute chose detik.com as the main website.

In the period March - April 2022, there are at least 7 survey institutions that also publish electability survey results. There is also a survey that is conducting a survey again and releasing the results again, namely the SMRC and Political Indicators. Thus, the two pollsters conducted surveys twice as well as released the results of the electability survey of the figures. The findings for the period March-April 2022 show that there are at least two media platforms that are the place of release, namely detik.com as many as 6

Table 5. Publication of Potential READPRES Survey Results for the Period March – April 2022

No	Online Media Uploaders	Survey Institution	Total / %
1.	Detik.Com	Charta Politics, Smrc Indicators Of Indonesian Politics, Spin, Populi Center, Pws	6 (85,71%)
2.	Mediaindonesia.Com	Ips	1 (14,29%)
Total	2	7	7 (100%)

Source: processed from detik.com, mediaindonesia.com 2022.

The survey agencies carry out publications and on mediaindonesia.com one survey publication. This aspect shows that detik.com is relatively many platforms that carry out publications as well as a reflection of relatively more detik.com reader ratings.

Based on the two survey periods, namely January-February and March-April 2022, the electability and the order of electability obtained by the figures were obtained. The order of electability shows the number of times a character occupies a certain rank and the table below shows this. For example, in the January-February 2022 period, Ganjar Pranowo won electability rank 1 in four survey institutions, followed by Prabowo Subianto who received electability rank 1 in three survey institutions, and then Anies Baswedan received electability rank 2 in four survey institutions and so on. Likewise, in the March-April 2022 period, there was a difference where Prabowo Subianto received electability rank 1 in the results of a survey of five survey institutions, followed by Ganjar Pranowo who received electability rank 1 in the results of a survey of 2 institutions and Anies Baswedan received electability rank 3 in seven survey results.

The results show that each period has its trend as well as that the electability of each character is still quite dynamic even though there are names that are stagnant, for example at rank 3, namely Anies Baswedan, rank 4, namely Sandiaga Uno, rank 5, namely Ridwan Kamil and Rank 6 is Agus Harimurti Yudhoyono.

Table 6. Comparison of Ratings Between January-February 2022 and March-April 2022 Periods

		January-February 2022 Period	Character Name	March-April 2022 Period
1	Ganjar Pranowo	4 Times Rank 1 1 Time Rank 2 2 Times Rank 3	Prabowo Subianto	5 Times Rank 1 2 Times Rank 2
2	Prabowo Subianto	3 Times Rank 1 2 Times Rank 2 1 Time Rank 3 1 Time Rank 6	Ganjar Pranowo	2 Times Rank 1 5 Times Rank 2
3	Anies Baswedan	4 Times Rank 2 3 Times Rank 3	Anies Baswedan	7 Times Rank 3
4	Sandiaga S Uno	1 Time Rank 3 2 Times Rank 4 1 Time Rank 5 1 Time Rank 6	Sandiaga Uno	4 Times Rank 4 1 Times Rank 5 1 Times Rank 6 1 Times Rank 8
5	Ridwan Kamil	3 Times Rank 4 2 Times Rank 5	Ridwan Kamil	2 Times Rank 4 5 Times Rank 5
6	Agus H. Yudhoyono	2 Times Rank 4 1 Time Rank 5 1 Time Rank 7 2 Times Rank 8 1 Time Rating 10	Agus H Yudoyono	1 Times Rank 4 1 Times Rank 5 3 Times Rank 6 2 Times Rank 8
7	Erick Tohir	2 Times Rank 5 2 Times Rank 7	Madam Empress	2 Times Rank 7 1 Times Rank 9 1 Times Rank 10
8	Basuki T Purnama	3 Times Rank 6 1 Time Rank 9	Basuki T Purnama	1 Times Rank 6 1 Times Rank 7 1 Times Rank 8
9		1 Times Rank 5	Dedi Mulyadi	2 Times Rank 7 1 Times Rank 10
10	Jokowi Puan Maharani	1 Time Rank 6 1 Time Rank 8	Erick Tohir	1 Times Rank 7 1 Times Rank 8 3 Times Rank 9

Source: processed survey releases published in online media for the period January 2022 to April 2022.

An important point that can be seen from the two survey periods is the presence of names that can be said to have the opportunity to become presidential candidates. This aspect becomes material for those who have an interest in presidential candidates, including the figures themselves, political parties, interest groups, and at the same time all Indonesian people as users of the presidential election.

The national leadership and the electoral process that will take place. The people have already got an idea of the names that will be presented in the 2024 election so that they can consider from the start whom to vote for and with what considerations these figures are chosen.

The simplification of these names shows that the characters have various characteristic components and of course, this is the basis for making considerations for choosing them. The altruist components and characteristics that surround these characters can of course be termed social capital, where these characters have differences and similarities. Some characters have many components/characteristics in common, there are also characters who differ greatly. 10 The names listed in Table 4 are processed from the survey results by looking at the ranking of the survey itself. So that these names have a clear electability position, at least this is evidenced by their names appearing in the survey results in the January-March 2022 range.

Table 7. Potential Figures for Presidential Candidates Survey Results for the January-March 2022 Period

No	Name
1	Prabowo Subianto
2	Ganjar Pranowo
3	Anies Baswedan
4	Sandiaga Uno
5	Ridwan Kamil
6	Agus H Yudoyono
7	Puan Maharani
8	Basuki T Purnama
9	Dedi Mulyadi
10	Erick Tohir

Source: processed survey releases published in online media for the period January 2022 to April 2022.

7.2 The Strength of Social Capital of Potential Figures for Presidential Candidates

There were 11 figures whose names appeared in the electability period January-March 2022 after deducting Ir. Joko Widodo is currently in his second term as President of the Republic of Indonesia. Table 4 illustrates that aspects of social capital are understood as resources that can be viewed as investments to obtain new resources.[3] Each character has intrinsic aspects that can be used to obtain a variety of other resources, for example, positions at various levels. Nan Lin further sees that social capital is not only to be invested individually but also to generate profits individually, even though when many individuals receive profits, it becomes collective profits.[18] Characters with electability show that the person concerned has attributes that are inherent in him in the context of social capital, which can then be profitable and relevant to getting other positions. Political parties and interest groups will endorse figures who have the most attributes in strategic positions, of course with the aim that the character's attributes (social capital) can make an advantage for victory and electoral effect on them.

At the pragmatic level, for example, a figure like Prabowo Subianto certainly has at least some social capital attached to him, such as always being in the top three electability, chairman of the Gerindra party, public official as Minister of Defense, an adherent of the majority religion or having a network of proven volunteers. These things make Prabowo Subianto worthy of being declared by his party. This is an aspect that can then be called the strength of social capital

which will always be a consideration in determining candidates for office in the executive realm, including in legislative positions.

Based on the use of the concept of social capital, the strengths of these characters can be seen qualitatively even though there is a reduction in the concepts that are then offered. The concept of social capital can also be a social relationship that is intertwined in the daily lives of citizens, where social relations reflect social interaction over a relatively long time to produce networks, patterns of cooperation, social exchange, and mutual trust including the norms and values that underlie these social relations.[17] This further shows that the attributes inherent in a person's figure are social capital because these attributes are formed in a long process in society and are quite complex. Position, characterization, trust, or economic ability are the contents of social capital.

This social capital has several broad categories which are an important basis for viewing figures in society at various levels, whether local figures or national caliber figures. This category is as stated by Hasbullah 1. Bonding Social Capital where its characteristics tend to be exclusive, both groups and group members, in the context of ideas, relations, and concerns are more inward-looking, homogeneous both ethnicity, religion, descent, or tend to maintain hereditary values have been recognized and implemented as part of the code of conduct.[3] In social bonding capital, the identity equation [15] is an important component. This aspect makes the existing social attributes tend to be conservative or traditional, with limiting aspects from external aspects. Bonding Social Capital usually binds social actors based on place of residence, kinship, ethnicity, religion, and customs.[15]

Category 2. Bridging Social Capital, is a modern form of a grouping, group, association, or community. Its organizing principles are based on universal principles of equality, freedom, plural and human values, openness, and independence.[3] Bridging Capital clearly shows aspects of open values, thus the attributes that appear are based on a modern organization that is rational or moderate in perspective. An open side allows bridging capital to cross traditional barriers, especially those based on primordialism and inward-looking. Its position is the organization of moderate political parties, moderate organizations, and public positions/professions, both political and other, that are outward-looking, and able to cooperate with anyone rationally. It makes actors based on bridging social capital have a network that penetrates the boundaries of residence, kinship, ethnicity, religion, and customs.[15]

7.3 Bonding Social Capital

Based on these two typologies of social capital, potential actors as presidential candidates in 2024 have their tendencies. Each candidate has its electoral niche which is shown in the survey results and all their variations. This condition is important, that each actor by reading the social capital he has will get a picture of his strength. An understanding of one's strengths is important enough to strengthen its electoral base, as well as a basis for a strategic approach to constituents. The foundation for making a character potential enough to be promoted is electability, so based on this, the basic aspect in analyzing a figure's strength is those who have electability values. Electability is the initial key to how strong a figure can develop its electoral base, as well as the basis for the considerations of the bearers.

Comparing the potential figures from the survey based on social capital would certainly be interesting. The configuration of social capital based on bonding social capital and bridging social capital owned by candidates is very varied, so this is quite natural when the political process is an integral part of the social process. The electoral bases owned by the candidates reflect the strength as well as which groups are the network and their fanatical supporters with various political orientations and "ideologies".

Table 8. Bonding Social Capital

No	Name	Bonding Basis Area	Ethnic Kinship	Social Religious		Capital Supporters' Characteristic
1	Prabowo Subianto	**Jawa Barat**	Jawa/Sulawesi	**Islam**	Supporters	**Heterogenic tendencies**
2	Ganjar Pranowo	**Jawa Tengah**	Jawa	**Islam**	Conservative-Moderate	**Heterogenic**
3	Anies Baswedan	**DKI Jakarta**	Arab	**Islam**	Moderate	**Homogenic Tendencies**
4	Sandiaga S Uno	**DKI Jakarta**	Sulawesi	**Islam**	Conservative-Religious	**Heterogenic**
5	Ridwan Kamil	**Jawa Barat**	Sunda	**Islam**	Conservative-Moderate	**Homogenic Tendencies**
6	Agus H. Yudoyono	**Dki Jakarta**	Jawa	**Islam**	Conservative-Moderate	**Heterogenic**
7	Puan Maharani	**Jawa Tengah**	Jawa,Sumatera	**Islam**	Moderate	**Heterogenic**
8	Basuki T Purnama	**Babel / DKI Jakarta**	Tionghoa	**Kristen**	Moderate	**Heterogenic**
9	Dedi Mulyadi	**Jawa Barat**	Sunda	**Islam**	Moderate	**Heterogenic**
10	Erick Tohir	**-**	Sumatera, Tionghoa, Sunda	**Islam**	Moderate	**-**

Source: Processed from the operationalization of the Bonding Social Capital concept

The table above shows that there are several variants of the characters which then become binding values, both positive and tend to be a barrier to the entry of wider support. In bonding social capital which is regional in nature, it is the basis on which the figures dominate, these areas show that the figures have strong supporters. Almost all figures except Erick Tohir, have a regional base of supporters and the description above reflects more simplification, at least in this area the figures have contested regional/central legislative or executive elections (PILKADA/PILPRES). Only Erick Tohir has never contested an election, so his regional basis is relatively unknown.

Based on ethnicity and kinship, the characters also vary relatively from Javanese, Sundanese, Sumatran, Sulawesian, Arabic, and Chinese. It shows that there is no single ethnic/kinship that is dominant in the characters, several figures such as Prabowo Subianto, Puan Maharani or Erick Tohir come from mixed-ethnic families. It is quite good because so far there has been an assumption that political figures tend to be Javanese-centric, but by looking at the ethnicity and kinship of potential figures, the view that political elites must be Javanese-oriented can certainly be ignored.

In the religion category, 90% of the bonding social capital component is Muslim, and only Basuki T. Purnama is Christian. This configuration is still relatively reasonable because almost 90% of Indonesia is Muslim, so the figures that appear are mostly based on the majority religion. To a certain extent, this religious basis has made most of the figures have no resistance, although sometimes the view that Islam is "not enough" appears. This aspect certainly becomes undeniable when "Political Religion" becomes stronger as shown by purification/conservatism

movements appearing on the national political stage both on an organizational scale and in political battles which culminated in the 2017 DKI PILKADA.

At an advanced level, this phenomenon is strengthened by the orientation of most of the supporters of the figures, at least on the surface of the mainstream and social media, the orientation of the supporters of the candidates is very visible. The terms conservative and moderate oversimplify the components but at least describe the different characters of the candidate's supporters in their ideological orientation. Two ideological orientations can be "offered", namely conservative and moderate based on the assumption that conservative orientation tends to be more exclusive, and tough and makes a strong demarcation line "us and them" as well as resistance to primordial-based differences. At moderate, it shows inclusivism that accepts different views and is not based on primordial differences. Most of the figures have supporters with a moderate ideological orientation such as Ganjar Pranowo, Dedi Muyadi, and Puan Maharani while on the other hand, there are supporters with a conservative-moderate mix such as the orientation of supporters of Prabowo Subianto, Ridwan Kamil and Sandi Uno. Supporters with religious-conservative ideological orientation tend to appear in Anies Baswedan's supporters. The ideological orientation of the supporters has consequences for the characteristics of the supporters, where the categorization is heterogeneous and homogeneous with the understanding that bonding social capital shows that one group consists of diversity or tends to be uniform, in general, all the supporting figures tend to be heterogeneous and only one figure whose supporters tend to be homogeneous.

7.4 Bridging Social Capital

In the category of bridging social capital, the characters show several variants, all of which illustrate the power they must access other resources, as is the nature of bridging social capital. In the supporting political parties, only a few figures have had the initial supporting political parties. Prabowo Subianto is clear that his political parties have confirmed that he is the only presidential candidate as chairman. Likewise with P. Democrats continue to encourage AHY to popularize himself as a presidential candidate.

Table 6. Bridging Social Capital

NO	NAME	BRIDGING SUPPORTING PARPOL	POSITION IN PARPOL	SOCIAL PUBLIC OFFICE	ORIGIN PROFESSION	CAPITAL CIVIL/MILITARY
1	PRABOWO SUBIANTO	GERINDRA	GENERAL CHAIRMAN OF THE GERINDRA PARTY	MINISTER OF DEFENSE	MILITARY	MILITARY
2	GANJAR PRANOWO	-	PDIP CADRES	GOVERNOR	POLITICIAN	CIVIL
3	ANIES BASWEDAN	-	NON-PARTISM	GOVERNOR	LECTURER	CIVIL
4	SANDIAGA S. UNO	-	GERINDRA FUNCTIONARY	MINISTER OF TOURISM AND CREATIVE ECONOMY	ENTREPRENEUR	CIVIL
5	RIDWAN KAMIL	-	NON-PARTISM	GOVERNOR	LECTURER	CIVIL

6	AGUS H. YUDOYONO	DEMOCRATS	CHAIRMAN OF THE DEMOCRATIC PARTY	-	MILITARY	MILITARY
7	PUAN MAHARANI	-	PDIP DPP FUNCTIONARY	DPR CHAIRMAN	POLITICIAN	CIVIL
8	BASUKI T. PURNAMA	-	PDI-P CADRES	PERTAMINA COMMISSIONER	POLITICIAN	CIVIL
9	DEDI MULYADI	-	FUNCTIONARIES OF GOLKAR PARTY	DPR MEMBER	POLITICIAN	CIVIL
10	ERICK TOHIR	-	NON-PARTISM	MINISTER OF SOES	ENTREPRENEUR	CIVIL

Source: Processed from the operationalization of the concept of Bridging Social Capital.

The sufficient condition is in PDIP, where two figures have electability even though they are far apart. PDIP has two figures who are included in the electability period January-March 2022, namely Ganjar Pranowo and Puan Maharani. Both have different positions in the party, Ganjar is just an ideological cadre or an ordinary cadre while Puan Maharani is an ideological cadre and a PDIP "biological" cadre through its general chairman Megawati Soekarnoputri. Of course, PDIP tends to make Puan Maharani a potential candidate for President compared to Ganjar Pranowo.

The positions held by Anies Baswedan, Ridwan Kamil, and Erick Tohir are relatively the same, both are not cadres of any party meaning they are non-partisan. However, Anies Baswedan has relatively high electability, at least he is always included in the top 3 surveys, while Erick Tohir is still far from the final. The important point is that even three non-partisans can have the potential electability to be nominated. This position also illustrates that indeed 70% or most of the presidential candidates are from political parties. The interpretation could also be that at least the current political parties have progressed in forming cadres who are considered suitable to become elites at the national level.

In the context of public office as a component of bridging social capital, only Agus H Yudoyono is not a public official. This also indicates that the electability component can be supported by public office, as well as public office being a rational force. The 9 figures are public officials from the chairman of the DPR, ministers, and commissioners of SOEs to the Governor. When viewed quantitatively, the governor's public office looks large enough to strengthen bridging social capital, this is evidenced that 3 people such as Ganjar Pranowo, Anies Baswedan, and Ridwan Kamil have fairly good electability. The governor's public position to a certain extent shows competence in managing government and development which of course is easy for the public to assess. But in general, public office is a strong component in bridging to get a lot of access to influential sources in increasing power.

Another bridging social capital is professional background, the profession certainly shows the personal capability and scientific competence of a figure. The profession is also a status attribute that reflects one's self-achievement and plays a role in one's self-image. This makes the profession able to give an idea of how interesting a character is as well as show the skills they have. Most of the figures have a political background, followed by lecturers, the military, and businessmen. The large number of politicians who have high electability cannot be separated from the role of political parties, where these politicians are of course cadres or

administrators of political parties. This at the same time also shows a positive tendency towards the regeneration of political parties to place people who are considered "competent and good" in public positions. The proof is that many politicians are appreciated by the public for their performance, and they influence public perception so that their electability is high. Previously, the military profession had quite a positive image and became a fairly strong bridging social capital, this was shown in the contestation of national elite figures with military professionals who often decorated exchanges and candidates. In the mid-January-March 2022 survey, two figures with military backgrounds emerged, such as Prabowo Subianto and Agus H Yudoyono, even though the electability of the two was quite far. Prabowo is always in the top 3 of surveys while Agus H. Yudoyono generally starts strong at 5-6.

Another aspect of bridging social capital is the election based on civil-military, where this is to show that various inputs can be obtained when people are civilian or military. Democracy requires that elites are civilians or civilians who have become civilians, whereas civil and military in the context of national politics have their respective advantages and disadvantages. This context was inseparable during the New Order era, which placed the military in many civilian positions as a consequence of ABRI's dual function at that time. One-sided placement of the military in civilian positions can be understood as two sides, both the strength of military domination and the weakness of civilians in politics. Democracy requires that the military is a defense and security professional, and in the context of reform, it shows the result that civil/political positions are currently dominant.

8. Conclusion and Recommendation

Contestation in the succession of the national elite is a necessity in a country adhering to a democratic political system. Democracy provides the greatest possible space for anyone with social capital to test themselves to fight healthily in elections. This battle certainly shows that the characters have their characteristics and this is influenced by various components and complements each other.

8.1   Conclusion

Based on the results of the research, it can be concluded the following things:
1.   Whereas social capital is in the form of bonding social capital, the characters have differences and similarities. The regional bases of several figures are the same as those of Prabowo Subianto, Ridwan Kamil, and Dedi Mulyadi, namely West Java. Other figures spread across DKI Jakarta such as Anies Baswedan and Sandi Uno, Central Java, there are Ganjar Pranowo and Puan Maharani. Based on Ethnic Kinship, it is quite varied, there are no dominant tribes and kinship and there are Javanese, Sundanese, Sumatran, Sulawesi Arab, and Chinese ethnic kinship. This shows that the domination of ethnicity/certain kinship is not significant. In the context of religion, most of them are Muslims and only Basuki T Purnama is a Christian, thus all figures should not have resistance based on religion although sometimes resistance still exists. In the dominant supporting ideological orientation, moderate is followed by a mixture of conservative-moderate and religious conservative. This side shows that the potential of a character with a moderate support orientation base is quite large. This has the consequence that most of the supporting characteristics of the characters are more heterogeneous, although there is still a tendency for supporters to be homogeneous.
2.   Social capital bridging social capital also shows interesting variants. Bridging social capital, which is open and can attract other social/political resources, is quite

important. In terms of support for political parties, in the period January - March 2022 only two names were supported by their party's presidential nomination, namely Prabowo Subianto-Gerindra and Agus H Yudoyono-Democrat, while other figures were unclear. This correlates with the position of Prabowo and AHY who are indeed general chairmen, while the other figures are only DPP functionaries or cadres. There are two non-partisans such as Anies Baswedan and Ridwan Kamil. 90% of the figures that appear also have public positions from the chairman of the DPR, ministers, and BUMN commissioners to governors, only AHY does not have public positions. Governors are the most public positions held by figures. The original professional base is dominated by politicians, followed by lecturers and former military personnel. It turns out that many governors endorsed by political parties have been quite successful in captivating the public, so they emerge with high electability. In the civilian and military elections, the majority were civilians which showed a major change since the reform era when civilian politicians were in public positions.

3. Both bonding social capital and bridging social capital have two supporting and inhibiting sides. For example, in bonding social capital, the majority ethnicity becomes a supporter, but on the other hand, ethnic minorities can also have high electability when they are positioned to have belief-based privileges or are considered symbols of resistance. In bridging social capital, the position as a partisan political party can be a supporting factor, because the political parties will prioritize their cadres first. On the other hand, there are inhibiting factors when the public is quite resistant to the political parties that carry them.

4. The description of bonding social capital and bridging social capital shows that all figures have advantages and disadvantages and it is an important task to strengthen both sides of both bonding and bridging social capital to win the contest.

8.2 Recommendation

Based on the results of the research and conclusions, some recommendations that can be given, especially for those with an interest, are as follows:

1. Based on the variations in power that arise, interested parties can see what social capital is already prominent and what social capital is relatively lacking in the character. For this reason, it is necessary to strengthen the social capital that is still lacking to strengthen its position, for example, if in general, the components in bonding social capital are strong, while in bridging social capital it is still weak, then the components of bridging social capital need to be strengthened.

2. Based on the strengths of both bonding social capital and bridging social capital, it shows that the two social capitals can have positive or negative impacts. For this reason, candidates and interested parties must be careful in this context not to magnify the negative effects of these two social capitals. For example, in capita social bonding tends to play in narrow primordial areas and SARA to be avoided as much as possible to avoid thicker aspects negatives that arise in bonding social capital.

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