Mapping Indonesian Women's Political Participation in the 2024 Presidential Election Based on Twitter Social Media Data Mining

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ABSTRACT

Three presidential candidates contest the 2024 presidential election of the Republic of Indonesia. The number of Indonesian voters was 49.96% male and 50.04% female. The female group was one of the potential targets the presidential candidates chose to support. Although the number of female voters were more significant than male voters, women's participation in politics in Indonesia was still male. The low involvement of Indonesian women in politics is due to patriarchal culture. The presence of communication technology, such as social media platforms, has the potential to change the political behavior of Indonesian women in expressing their opinions and political attitudes. This is what prompted the researchers to conduct research. This study uses the Netnography method, supported by communication network analysis. Twitter social media data mining was carried out using NodeXL software. The study results show that women dare to express political discussions on social media rather than face-to-face. However, big cities in Java still dominate women's participation in political debates, such as in Bandung, Yogyakarta, Jakarta, and Surabaya. Meanwhile, women outside Java still need to be more involved in political discussions. Female figures who received more responses from Twitter users include: Yurisa Agustina Samosir (account @Yurisa_Samosir) and Marlina (account @marlina_idha). Issues that women more widely discuss include education, economy, and online gaming policies. Based on the analysis of communication networks, women prefer the Prabowo-Gibran presidential pair over the Anies–Muhaimin or Ganjar-Mahfud pairs.

Keywords: *Computer Mediated Communication Theory, political participation, women, big data, gender equality.*

INTRODUCTION

The 2024 presidential election of the Republic of Indonesia was contested by three presidential candidates: Anies Baswedan, Prabowo Subianto, and Ganjar Pranowo. Based on Komisi Pemilihan Umum Indonesia (General Election Commission of Indonesia) Decree Number 316 of 2023, the number of Indonesian voters was 205,853,518, with a composition of 102,847,040 (49.96%) male voters and 103,006,478 (50.04%) female voters (Saana, 2024). The women's group was one of the potential targets by presidential candidates to support them. Women through various communities can be a door for presidential candidates to facilitate the implementation of their programs (Achfandhy et al., 2024; Simamora et al., 2024)

Although the number of female voters exceeds that of men, women's participation in politics in Indonesia still lags behind men. This can be seen from the three components that form the 2021 Gender Empowerment Index (IDG), where the percentage of women's involvement in parliament was still around 21.89%. In addition, referring to the 2021 Global Gender Gap Index (GGGI) value, Indonesia is ranked 92nd out of 156 countries in the political

empowerment sub-index. Given this condition, gender equality still must be fought for in Indonesia.

Many things cause the low level of participation and representation of Indonesian women in politics. However, in elections, the leading cause lies in the attitudes and behavior of parties that prioritize male candidates. For example, in the 2024 presidential election, there is no female representation as presidential or vice presidential candidates. Male candidates can boost vote acquisition, increasing the chances of winning the presidential election. Another factor, the patriarchal culture of society, is considered to hinder female candidates in the 2024 presidential election. Society assumes women are more suited to being at home (taking care of the house, cooking, raising children, and serving the family) than politics.

Women's political representation is expected to impact the democratic transition caused by the gap between men and women in political democratization. Based on the law, Indonesian women have the same political rights as men, but in reality, women are still marginalized in politics (Priandi & Roisah, 2019). Several factors are related to women's political participation, including structural and cultural factors. Cultural factors related to the construction and traditions prevailing in society that weaken women's position, including the burden of women's housework, traditional beliefs in the form of cultural values and systems, as well as religious interpretations that position women. Structural factors are factors that cause women to be depressed about the conditions faced by women in their environment, both the political climate and the social environment. Structural obstacles include socio-economic conditions in the form of ownership of property, income, and education levels that generally make women underdeveloped and gender-biased political party institutions. Indonesia's patriarchal culture forms the view that the world of politics is not suitable for women because politics is synonymous with dirty work, full of conflict, and women are worried that they will not be able to complete housework such as serving their husbands, caring for and educating children, managing family finances, completing housework ((Kollo, 2017; Saad & Sannusi, 2023).

This view makes it difficult for presidential or vice presidential candidates in Indonesia to gain support from voters, predominantly female voters, the majority of voters in Indonesia, and determine their choice of presidential pair. In that case, women can determine the leader they want. Unfortunately, female voters are still silenced by patriarchal values and cannot freely choose their choice. Patriarchal cultural norms that are rooted in almost all Indonesian society contribute to inhibiting the political awareness of female voters. The situation and conditions of patriarchal values make female voters psychologically unprepared to participate freely in politics. Female voters who have low self-esteem and feel they lack the skills to access political information tend not to care about the 2024 presidential election. This situation makes many women passive in participating in politics or not involved in political decision-making. In addition, they tend to see politics only as something strategic or in the interests of certain groups, not as a tool to fight for women's rights and interests. The consequences of this perspective: a) Women have difficulty formulating political strategies that benefit them. b) Women cannot identify issues relevant to their interests. c) Women do not have a strong basis for determining political choices, for example, when choosing a presidential candidate who truly represents their aspirations. In addition, this view prevents women from formulating and identifying various strategies for their interests, including determining political choices when choosing a presidential candidate (Suhenty, 2022).

The presence of communication technology such as social media platforms (Facebook, Instagram, Twitter, and YouTube) can potentially change Indonesian women's political attitudes regarding the presidential election. Social media platforms have provided the most accessible public space for women to convey their political attitudes (Pekkala & van Zoonen, 2022). The character of social media as a political medium is different from interpersonal communication. In interpersonal communication, women's groups often do not dare express their political attitudes directly (Tasnima et al., 2023). Ardener (cited in Barkman, 2018) explains that women's silence in public discussions, especially on political issues, is related to several things: a) women are more uncomfortable and less expressive in public situations than men. As a result, women monitor their communication more intensely than men. b) Women are careful about their feelings and thoughts when understanding men. If the understanding and expression of femininity and masculinity conflict, then masculinity tends to win because of male dominance in society. As a result, women are silent (Barkman, 2018). This is what is interesting about doing a study to understand women's political attitudes when having conversations on social media, and the tendency of women's political attitudes toward presidential candidates. Are women's groups still silent when discussing political issues on social media, primarily related to the 2024 presidential election in Indonesia? Social media platforms are an accessible medium for expressing opinions, where everyone can express their attitudes and views without being restricted. This makes researchers interested in understanding women's political attitudes in Indonesia, whether they have experienced extraordinary changes or evolutions in political attitudes in the digital technology era.

Based on the Indonesian Internet Service Providers Association (APJII), internet penetration in Indonesia reached 78.19 percent in 2023, or 215,626,156 people from Indonesia's total population, 275,773,901 people. When viewed from the gender category in Indonesia, the results of the APJII survey show that internet penetration for the male group is 79.32% of the total male population in Indonesia. Meanwhile, internet penetration for the female group is 77.36 percent of the total female population in Indonesia. This shows that there is no significant difference between men and women when viewed from internet penetration. The hope is that women who use the internet to express their opinions and political attitudes are also equal to men. There is freedom for women on social media when discussing politics, especially related to the 2024 presidential election.

Researchers want to understand women's political attitudes when talking about the 2024 presidential election based on Twitter social media big data. The focus of this study includes understanding women's political communication networks on Twitter social media, the comparison of the number of women and men in discussions about the 2024 presidential election, top tweets that women and top female influencers discuss, and the tendency of women's group attitudes towards the 2024 presidential election.

LITERATURE REVIEW
a)   Muted Theory
This study will use Chris Kramarae's Muted Group Theory as an essential foundation for explaining the political communication network of female voters in determining their political decisions (Kramarae, 2005). Political participation in forming communication networks with other parties is not arbitrary. However, they are determined by several things, including 1) spatial distance and 2) hemophilia or similarities in individual characteristics in their social environment. According to Everett M. Rogers, individuals will establish relationships with

others because they are physically close and have relatively similar social characteristics (Karnowski & Kümpel, 2016). Social proximity indicates that political participants will seek political information and discussions with geographically close participants, such as family members, neighbors, or interest groups in a community. In the context of political communication networks, women have different access compared to men. Women need robust enough access to valuable resources (wealth, power, and information). In the concept of networks, groups that do not have access to resources will be subordinated to those that do have access.

The Muted Group Theory, developed by Edwin Ardener, Shirley Ardener, and Kramarae, explains women's low political motivation (Littlejohn et al., 2017). This theory assumes that the language of culture contains an inherent bias against men, that men shape the understanding of a group, and that women's voices are muted (Barkman, 2018b). Women's silence causes them to be unable to express themselves vocally in political speech. In addition, this theory also states that women's silence has manifestations, especially seen in public discourse. Women are more uncomfortable and less expressive in public situations than men, and they feel less comfortable in public situations than alone. As a result, women monitor their communication more intensely than men. In understanding of men, women are careful about what they feel and think. If the understanding and expression of women and men conflict, then men tend to win because of male dominance in society, which causes women to be silent. Muted Group Theory explains that the conditions of a male-dominated society have hampered women's way of expressing themselves in public. The development of this theory provides insight into why women are silent and what can be done to ease male pressure when communicating in public. Some conditions that hinder women from communicating in public include (Richmond & McCroskey, 2019) :

    i.   Because men and women have different experiences based on the division of labor in society, they view their world differently.

    ii.   Men are politically dominant in society, so their perception system is dominant, which hinders women's perception.

    iii.   Women must translate their understanding of the world into men's understanding of it to participate in political life.

b) Computer-mediated Communication Theory

The presence of digital communication technology, such as social media platforms, is assumed to have an essential role in increasing women's political participation. Social media. This refers to the communication theory. Computer-mediated Communication (CMC) has become integral to women's lives. Research shows that CMC is not neutral. Instead, CMC can trigger various changes in how individuals communicate, which impacts communication patterns and social networks (Gaeta et al., 2023). In other words, CMC has a significant social effect on women's communication patterns in politics. Rice and Gattiker argue that CMC is different from face-to-face communication because CMC limits the level of synchronicity in interactions, which can reduce interactivity (Nejad et al., 2021). However, CMC also has the advantage of overcoming time and space constraints, allowing for more flexible Communication. CMC can cause various changes in human life, including how humans communicate with each other, and it can also affect communication patterns and social network patterns. Rice and Gattiker stated that CMC differs from direct face-to-face communication. CMC limits the level of interaction synchronization, which allows for a

reduction in interaction. Furthermore, it is said that CMC can overcome problems between distance and time (Anstead & O'Loughlin, 2015).

Computer-mediated Communication states that the presence of new media will give birth to two consequences, mainly social and cultural. The consequences of new media are changes in social relations and social transformation. Culturally, there are changes in the value system and norms and the surrender of some self-authority to communication technology. This is also the focus of researchers' attention. When women communicate via the Internet (computer), the values and cultural norms on the Internet will influence individual Internet users' values and cultural norms, especially for those who are never separated from this virtual world every day.

As is known, the Internet, especially social media and social networks, has enabled every individual to connect with anyone without having to know each other first. From the process of interaction and Communication, new values and cultures will arise (Atnan & Abrar, 2023). Given that culture is created by humans based on mutual agreement. Thus, social media users will accept the new culture and leave their old culture. Including changes in the face-to-face communication process that occur when the Internet mediates the process. In addition to the optimistic view that CMC will be able to connect individuals with other individuals well and quickly. CMC has shifted many concepts in interpersonal communication that existed before the Internet. However, the problem is whether CMC will have the quality of individual interaction as good as face-to-face Communication (Sloan, 2016) .

Given that in CMC, the process of mediated interpersonal communication is complex, there are many things that we cannot find. Non-verbal language, especially, will be challenging to find among netizens when they communicate with each other. In addition, the process that often occurs in interpersonal communication, such as the hesitation of individuals to continue communication when dealing with people they have just met, seems to be lost in interpersonal communication mediated by the Internet. In cyberspace, everyone can interact even though they do not know each other. As in previous interpersonal communication theories, face-to-face communication will fail or be hampered if the individuals communicating are new or strangers. So, individuals will try to limit themselves in communicating or at least seek information or certainty about the identity of the person they are talking to. In reality, such things do not happen in interpersonal communication mediated by the Internet. There is no sense of foreignness or feeling of closing oneself off when dealing (communicating) with strangers or people one has just met on the Internet (Shibuya et al., 2022; Yao & Ling, 2020).

The concept of the CMC perspective states that mediated communication will make it easier for individuals to build social relationships and communicate. This is because communicating via the Internet allows each individual not always to appear as they are in face-to-face communication, so this mediated interpersonal communication makes individuals more comfortable. Internet media that offers more accessible and open friendships has become an inseparable part of adolescent life. As stated above, 50% of adolescents use the Internet every day. This means that the lives of adolescents today are 'invaded' every day with millions of information flows on the Internet. This can happen because everyone involved on the Internet can create and write information without limits and control (Treem et al., 2020).

Society has become a producer of hyperlocal and hyperspectral information. This means that today's society has the power to create personal information that can be

distributed for consumption by the entire world community. This is because easy access and high levels of connectivity have encouraged individuals to create, search, manage, and distribute information through personal devices. In this condition, individuals experience metamorphosis. This aligns with the hyperpersonal communication theory proposed by Walther in 1996): "Hyperpersonal communication as online communication is more socially desirable and intimate than face-to-face communication(Walther & Whitty, 2021). This means hyperpersonal online communication encourages people to socialize and be more intimate with others than face-to-face communication. In communication, using the Internet or what is currently known as using social networks, many parties communicate with other parties even though they do not know each other personally. However, both parties communicate because of similarities, which can ultimately lead to a more intimate level of mutual interest so that the relationship between the two parties can take place intensely. However, the self-representation of the communicator and the communicant in online media is only supported by graphic images (Merriam Webster Dictionary, n.d.).

METHODOLOGY

This study uses the Kozinets Nethnography research method. A netnography study is a unique method developed from the ethnographic method, which involves modifying procedures to reveal the unique conversation habits of a particular online community (Kozinets et al., 2014) (Discetti & Anderson, 2023). Netnography is a qualitative research methodology that adapts ethnographic research techniques to study the culture and community that occurs in computer-mediated communications and then develops into a research technique for social media ((Kozinets, 2023). The ethnography procedure is carried out in several steps (Kozinets et al., 2018): a) research planning begins by first expressing the problem and explaining the objectives of this study. To determine the formulation of the problem that is focused and relevant to the issues of the 2024 presidential election in Indonesia, b) determine the limitations of the research to be carried out by determining the social media to be studied and the duration of the research. c) Data collection was done by mining social media data containing women's conversations about the 2024 presidential election. To obtain data from social media, researchers collaborated with data provider NoLimit Indonesia to download social media data. d) Data downloaded from social media was cleaned to obtain data relevant to the research topic and maintain the data's reliability and validity. The next step is to interpret the quantitative and qualitative data. e) This study also applies research ethics standards. Research ethics cannot be separated and are an integral part of the studied object. For this reason, (i) Researchers fully disclose their presence and goals when present in the community on social media. ii) Researchers also ensure confidentiality and anonymity for social media users regarding what is being discussed and whom they are talking to. (iii) Researchers seek and include feedback from research objects or social media community members. f) Research representation as an effort to gain more specific insights, help fix some problems usually debated by social media community members, and help build an exchange of information between researchers and research objects. Qualitative data is used to analyze the reasons and strategies of women seeking information on the 2024 presidential election. Quantitative data is used to analyze the communication network between social media users in discussing issues of the 2024 presidential election in Indonesia. The method for measuring the communication network between social media users was NodeXL software. Hansen et al. (2011) have created a social media analysis stage with NodeXL software to measure the

effectiveness of social media. The social media analysis model uses three levels of analysis: media analysis, conversation analysis, and network analysis (Hansen et al., 2011).

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

a) Number of Women Discussing the 2024 Presidential Election

This study analyzed the number of women discussing the 2024 presidential election. Understanding this volume is essential to see the composition between men and women in political discussions. If women have a volume balance with men on social media, it is a political indicator that women have political courage. The long history in Indonesia shows that women are still politically isolated. Women still lack the courage to talk about politics in the public sphere, and the representation of Indonesian women in parliament was still 20% in the 2019 general election. The main factor that hinders the political participation of Indonesian women is patriarchal culture (a culture that adheres to the father's line). Values, norms, attitudes, and behavior in a patriarchal society are formed according to the expectations of men. Patriarchal culture opens up opportunities for power to be dominated by men. Through discipline and normalization, individuals are controlled by patriarchal values without them realizing it. All life in society starts from the family, social groups, offices, and schools that illustrate the desire to dominate. Male power control over women occurs in various elements of society, including using social media to discuss political issues. Social media is considered a channel that is free from various power interventions, including patriarchal values.

Data download was carried out on social media Twitter with the keywords "Anies Baswedan," "Prabowo Subianto," and "Ganjar Pranowo" in the period from December 1, 2023, to February 5, 2024. This period was selected based on considerations three months before the February 14, 2024 presidential election. Based on the data collected, there were 32,717 conversations about the Indonesian presidential candidates. If these conversations are grouped by gender, there are 16,621 (50.8%) conversations from the male group and 16,096 conversations from the female group (49.2%). For more details, see the Figure 1 below.
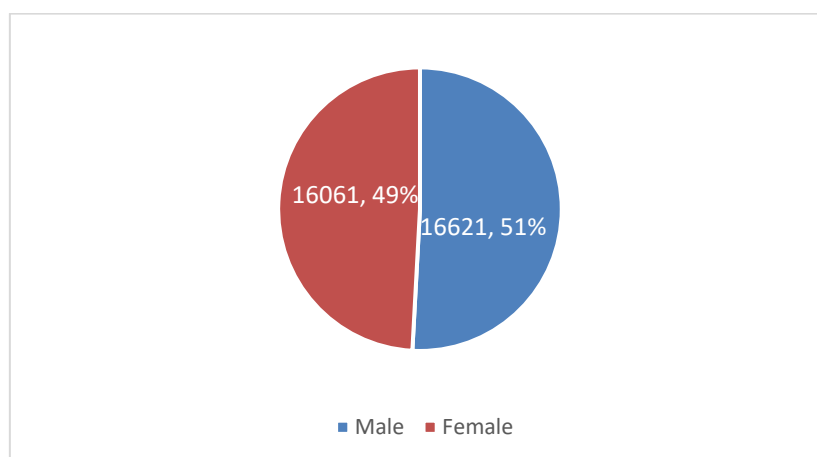

Figure 1: Comparison of presidential candidate conversation percentages between male and female groups on Twitter

The results of this study indicate that 49.2% of Indonesian women dare to express their political opinions openly regarding the 2024 Indonesian presidential election on Twitter and social media. Meanwhile, 50.8% of men discussed the issue of the 2024 presidential

election on Twitter and social media. There was no significant difference between men and women in discussing the 2024 presidential political choice on Twitter and social media. This shows that social media can encourage women to discuss political issues openly in public spaces. So far, Indonesian women have had difficulty discussing political issues in public spaces. This is related to the general view in Indonesia that politics is an issue that is more interesting for men than women. Social media is the most comfortable and safe way for women to discuss political issues. The ease of digital technology, especially the presence of social media, can provide freedom for men to express themselves in political discussions in public spaces. This fact contradicts the basic assumption of the Muted Theory, which states that women do not dare to discuss politics publicly. However, in the digital era, women dare to publicly express themselves by discussing politics. Social media can support women in sharing private messages with other women or men. Social media has made it easier for women to communicate with other individuals by building new social networks and community networks. In social media networks, women not only communicate with other women but also with groups of men. Women dare to communicate across groups, which is very different from face-to-face communication. Figure 2 is a communication network between Twitter users discussing the 2024 presidential election. Researchers have separated the communication networks of women's groups and men's groups to facilitate analysis. The communication network that uses red nodes is a symbol of women, and green is a symbol of men.
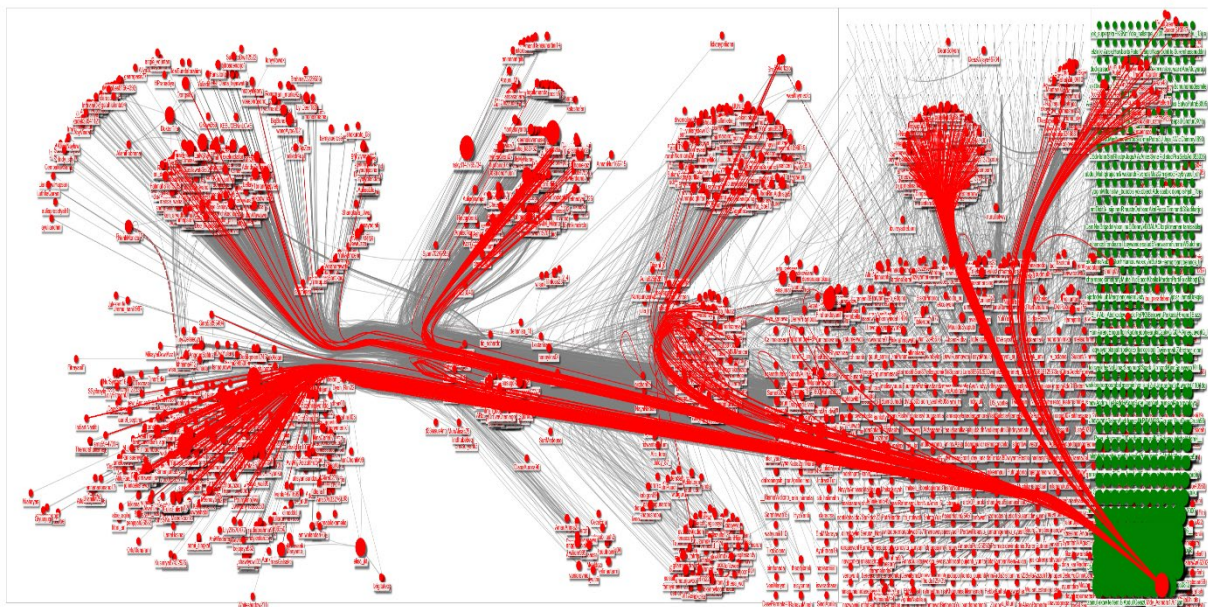

Figure 2: Twitter user communication network in discussing the 2024 presidential election which the red nodes are women and the green nodes are men.

Castell describes the network society as a culture constructed virtually by the media system that can penetrate distance and connect each individual with a different cultural background(Castells, 2016). Individuals in cyberspace can feel like they are "living" in it, building new identities and spaces different from physical reality. As a result, they can become increasingly detached from the real world due to their deep involvement in virtual interactions. Social media provides a space for women to communicate more openly compared to the real world. In politics, women tend to be bolder and more comfortable

expressing their opinions on social media than in real-world politics. Although women are more active in discussing politics on social media, they still face obstacles to being bolder in real politics. There needs to be encouragement for women to be directly active in the digital space and the world of politics. Social media has become a tool for women to express their opinions, especially in politics. However, challenges remain to ensure that women's political participation increases in the real world, not just in the digital space (Doron & Raja, 2015).

b)   *Women's Information Needs in the 2024 Presidential Election*
Women try to identify and understand political candidates by forming communication networks with other parties on social media. The formation of communication networks carried out by women depends on 1) the need for presidential candidate issues and 2) social and environmental opportunities. Women, as the majority of voters in Indonesia, need information about various things related to the good of the Indonesian state. Issues that concern women related to the 2024 presidential election can be seen in the Figure 3 below.
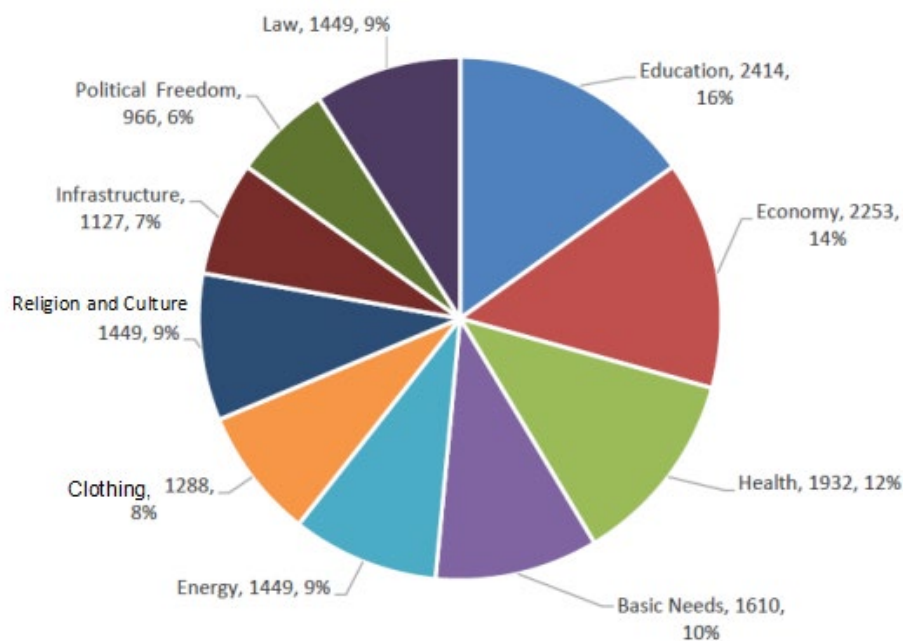

Figure 3: Top issues for women in 2024 presidential election

Based on Figure 3 shows that 16% of Indonesian women want serious handling of education in Indonesia, which is considered still too expensive and its quality still needs to be improved. Indonesian women hope that the new president will make education cheaper so that all Indonesian children have the same opportunity to go to school and get higher education. An issue that is no less important to discuss in the presidential election is the economy, which is 14%. Indonesian women hope that there will be economic stability so that prices will not increase. Women still question the high poverty rate in Indonesia and the increasing unemployment rate. Whoever will become president in the 2024 presidential election must resolve this issue immediately. Another issue that is of concern to women is health at 11%. This issue is related to health insurance for Indonesian people, especially those with low incomes. Other issues that are highlighted by women on social media Twitter include

basic needs at 10%, energy at 9%, law at 9%, religion and culture at 7%, infrastructure at 7%, and political freedom at 9.6%.

c)   *Reach of Women's Political Participation on Social Media*

Women's political participation in political discussions related to the 2024 presidential election is still clustered in big cities on the island of Java and needs to be evenly distributed throughout Indonesia. As shown in the diagram below, women in big cities still dominate compared to other areas.
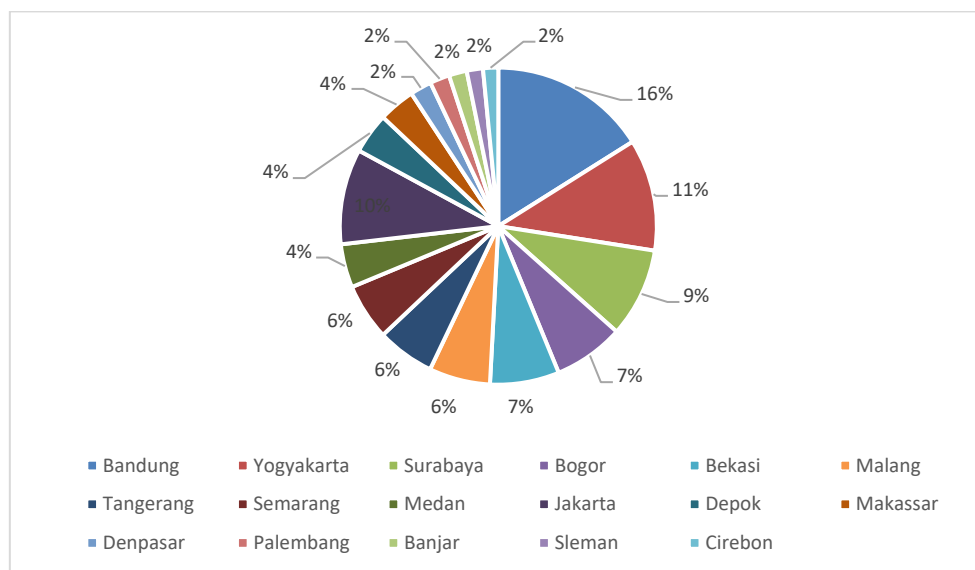

Figure 4: Reach of women's political participation on social media

Figure 4 shows that the participation of Indonesian women discussing the issue of the presidential election is still clustered in big cities such as Bandung at 16%, Yogyakarta at 11%, Jakarta at 10%, Surabaya at 9%, Bogor at 7%, Bekasi at 7% and others. The participation of women living in eastern Indonesia, such as Sulawesi, Kalimantan, Maluku, Papua, and Kupang, is still visible in political discussions on social media. Women who live in big cities dare to discuss politics openly because they have a high education, are knowledgeable in politics, and have the awareness to help solve problems in community life. These problems relate to economic, social, and political and women's political problems. This awareness inspires women to be more involved in politics, including determining political choices in the 2024 presidential election. Groups of women like this do not just make political choices for specific candidates but also think about the consequences of their political choices.

d)   *Top Female Influencers in the 2024 Presidential Election*

In real life, top influencers are the most prominent people, while in communication network analysis, top influencers are measured by the number of responses received from other social media users. Several women have high political awareness in the 2024 presidential election. This can be seen from their activities on Twitter, which often get responses from other Twitter users. Women who get many responses from others are called top influencers. Several women are top influencers in discussions about the 2024 presidential election issue.
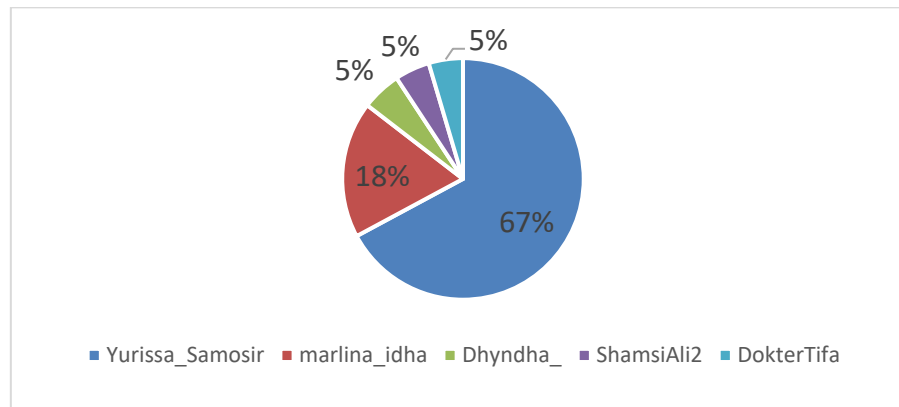
Figure 5: Top female influencers in the 2024 Presidential Election

Top influencers are measured by the number of engagements obtained compared to other women during political discussions on social media. The study results show that Agustina Samosir, with the Twitter account @Yurisa_Samosir, is the female Actor who obtained the highest engagement compared to others, namely 3197 responses or 67%. Agustina Samosir is an activist who lives in Jakarta and cares about always fighting for justice, especially women's rights. Meanwhile, Marlina, with the Twitter account @marlina_idha, is an Anies Baswedan volunteer and serves as Secretary General (Sekjen) of Sobat Anies.

Meanwhile, Hansen et al. (2011) conceptually divide the role of social media users in communication networks into four quadrants: potential influencers, actors with connections, brokers, and secondary actors (Hansen et al., 2011). The potential Influencer quadrant is an individual or entity that has the potential to influence the opinions, attitudes, or behavior of others in the communication network. Usually, it has access to many people or specific groups that can be influenced. These individuals do not necessarily have a significant influence at present but have characteristics that allow them to become influencers in the future. The Actor with the Connection quadrant is an individual or entity in a network that has many relationships with other actors. It does not always have a significant influence but plays an important role in connecting various network parts. The individual can have many friends or connections in a community. The Broker quadrant is an individual or entity that connects two or more groups in a network that do not have a direct connection to each other. The individual is usually in the middle position in the network structure and can control or mediate the flow of information. The Secondary Actor quadrant is an individual or entity that does not have a primary role in disseminating information or interaction in the network. These individuals often only act as recipients of information or part of the network without active involvement in communication (Neill, 2022). Based on the mapping made by Hansen et al. (2011), Twitter users Agustina Samosir with the Twitter account @Yurisa_Samosir and Marlina with the Twitter account @marlina_idha are actors who act as potential influencers. Both of these people have the potential to influence the opinions, attitudes, or behavior of others in the 2024 presidential election communication network in Indonesia. Agustina Samosir and Marlina, besides having strong characters, also have access to a large number of people or certain groups. The position of Agustina Samosir and Marlina as individuals who act as potential informants can be seen in Figure 6 below.
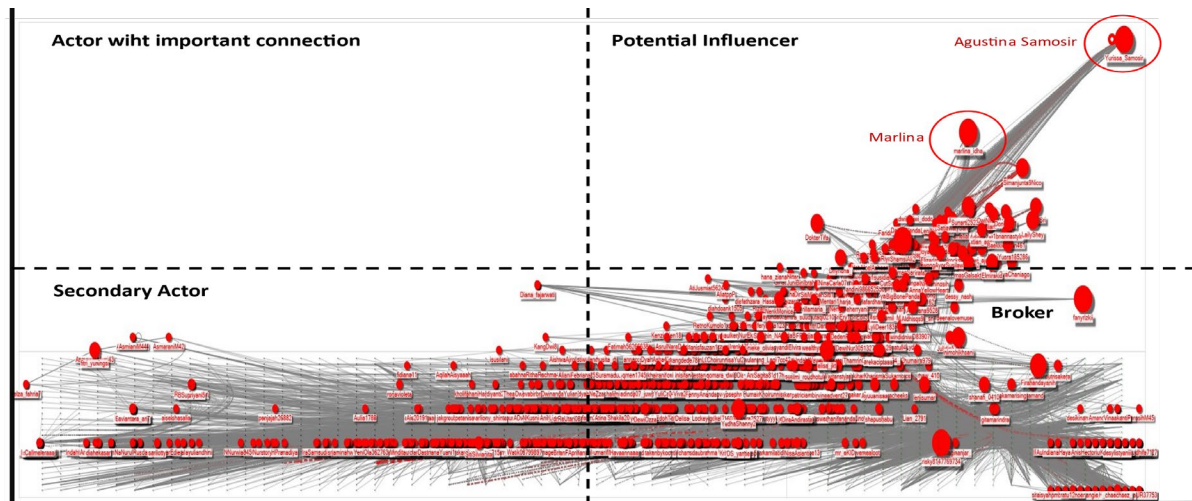
Figure 6: Mapping the role of women in the 2024 presidential election communication network

e)   Tendency of Women's Political Attitudes in the 2024 Presidential Election.

Women's political attitudes in communication network analysis can be seen from tweets, likes, and comments given to the 2024 presidential candidates. If women's tweets or comments on social media praise one of the presidential candidates, their attitude tends toward that candidate. In addition, women's political attitudes can also be seen from the clusters that are formed. Women with the same political choices tend to gather in the same cluster. A cluster is a group of individuals or nodes closely related to each other in a social media network. In the context of this study, this cluster is formed based on certain similarities because they both like a certain presidential candidate so that they will form a cluster. The similarity of political support encourages stronger relationships between members than members outside the group. Women affiliated with presidential candidate Prabowo will be grouped in the same cluster. Likewise, women affiliated with presidential candidates Anies Baswedan and Ganjar Pranowo will be grouped in another cluster. Members of the communication network in a cluster have the same interests or views; they often strengthen certain information or opinions among themselves, which can cause bias or closed perspectives (echo chambers). The following chart shows the number and percentage of female Twitter users who support the 2024 presidential candidates.
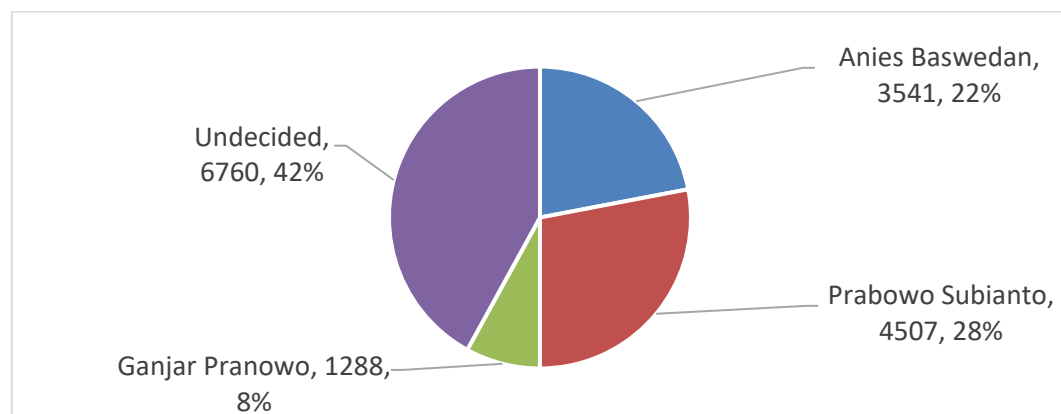

Figure 7: Tendency of women's political attitudes in the 2024 Presidential Election

Based on the analysis of communication networks between Twitter users of 16,096 female groups, it shows that female Twitter users tend to choose the Prabowo Subianto by 28%, Anies Baswedan by 22%, and Ganjar Pranowo by 8%. During the research period, female Twitter users have not decided on their political choice are 40%. Female Twitter users prefer Prabowo Subianto because he is considered a leader who has character, is authoritative, and is firm. Prabowo Subianto is also considered a leader who does not commit corruption, so he is trustworthy in eradicating corruption in Indonesia. The tendency of women's political choices reflected in social media reflects the reality of women's political choices in Indonesia (Suratnoaji, 2018).

Female voters who reached 51% in Indonesia significantly contributed to the Prabowo-Gibran pair's election as President of the Republic of Indonesia in 2024. The presence of social media technology has become a means for women to seek information comfortably and free from intervention. Women have good abilities to seek and produce political information needed by women themselves or others, as in the concept of the CMC perspective, which states that mediated communication will make it easier for individuals to build social relationships and communicate. This is because by communicating via the internet, each individual cannot always appear as they are in face-to-face communication, so this mediated interpersonal communication makes individuals more comfortable. Internet media that offers more accessible and open friendships has become inseparable in women's lives.

Women have become hyperlocal and hyperspectral information providers. This means that Indonesian women now have the power to create personal information that can be distributed for consumption by the entire world community. Ease of access and high levels of connectivity have encouraged women to create, search, manage, and disseminate information through personal devices. In this condition, women experience metamorphosis. This aligns with the Hyperpersonal Communication theory proposed by Joseph Walther in 1996 (Cai, 2023). Hyperpersonal communication is a concept in digital communication that describes how individuals can interact more openly, personally, and deeply through digital media compared to face-to-face communication. Hyperpersonal communication in the context of bold communication is more desirable for women socially and intimately than face-to-face communication (Walther & Whitty, 2021). This means hyperpersonal, bold communication encourages women to socialize and be more intimate with others than face-to-face communication. In communication using the internet or what is currently known as using social networks, many women communicate with other parties even though they do not know each other personally. Women are more comfortable sharing thoughts, emotions, or opinions in digital spaces than in indirect interactions. Women are more confident expressing their feelings through text messages than speaking directly. In online communication, women can compose messages more carefully than in spontaneous direct communication. In addition, digital sentence production can be re-arranged before sending messages to social media. Another factor that encourages women's courage to express themselves in the digital world is that it allows women to show the best version of themselves. Without facial expressions and body language, communication in the digital world relies on text, emojis, or symbols to convey emotions.

CONCLUSION

Social media presence has raised women's courage to talk about politics on social media. It is different when women deliver political discussions face-to-face. Social media, such as Twitter, can catalyse women to discuss political issues in public spaces. Social media is a medium women consider comfortable and free to discuss political issues. However, big cities in Java still dominate women's participation, such as in Bandung, Yogyakarta, Jakarta, and Surabaya.

Meanwhile, women outside Java still need to be more involved in political discussions. Women in big cities in Java have a higher education and social mobility than other women. Issues that women more widely discuss include education, the economy, and online gaming policies. Top influencers include @Yurisa_Samosir. Agustina Samosir is an activist who lives in Jakarta and is concerned about fighting for justice, especially women's rights. @marlina_idha is an Anies Baswedan volunteer who serves as Secretary General (Sekjen) of Sobat Anies. Indonesian women's political attitudes tend to prefer the Prabowo-Gibran pair over the Anies-Muhaimin or Ganjar-Mahfud pairs.

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