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# Dynamics of Public Perception toward the Pramono Anung – Rano Karno Ticket in the 2024 Jakarta Gubernatorial Election

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## ABSTRACT

The Jakarta Gubernatorial Election (Pilkada DKI Jakarta) is widely recognized as a highly dynamic political contest and often serves as a barometer of national political trends in Indonesia. The characteristics of urban voters, who tend to be critical, responsive, and highly exposed to information cause shifts in public perception toward candidates to occur rapidly. This article analyzes the dynamics of public perception toward the Pramono Anung–Rano Karno ticket in the 2024 Jakarta gubernatorial election, based on survey data conducted by Charta Politika Indonesia in July, September, and November 2024. The July survey represents the baseline condition prior to the official declaration of the ticket, while the September and November surveys capture changes following the formation of the candidate pair in late August 2024. The analysis focuses on three key indicators: electability, reasons for voting, and the level of vote certainty. The findings reveal a significant increase in electability after the declaration, indicating growing public acceptance of the combination of Pramono’s technocratic image and Rano’s affective–populist appeal. The level of vote certainty also increased in the final survey, suggesting a consolidation of electoral support. These findings demonstrate that a complementary image strategy and effective political narratives can influence urban voter preferences within a relatively short period of time.



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### INTRODUCTION

The Jakarta gubernatorial election (Pilkada DKI Jakarta) occupies a strategic position within Indonesia's political system due to the city's role as the center of government, economic activity, and national information flows. Political dynamics in Jakarta frequently serve as a reference point for interpreting broader national political trends, not only because of the high level of public and media attention, but also due to the complexity of its electorate. Voters in Jakarta are predominantly urban residents with relatively high levels of education, broad access to information, and strong expectations regarding the performance and integrity of regional leaders. Unlike local elections in other regions, the Jakarta gubernatorial election has consistently generated intense political controversy and tension, particularly because of its status as Indonesia's political, economic, and media hub (Al-Zoabi, 2004). These conditions render political competition in Jakarta highly competitive and particularly responsive to changes in candidate configurations (Aspinall & Mietzner, 2019).

Beyond these structural factors, the Jakarta gubernatorial election cannot be separated from the dynamics of identity politics, political image construction, and the polarization of public opinion. Experiences from previous elections demonstrate that identity-based issues and social sentiments can shape voter preferences rapidly, especially when amplified through intensive media coverage and political narratives (Mietzner & Muhtadi, 2018). Nevertheless, amid this complexity, urban voters in Jakarta are not driven solely by emotional considerations. They also exhibit strong patterns of rational evaluation, placing competence, track record, and technocratic capacity as key variables in political decision-making (Holbrook, 2016). This combination of rationality and emotional sensitivity contributes to the fluid and dynamic nature of voter preferences in Jakarta.

In the context of the 2024 Jakarta gubernatorial election, the emergence of the Pramono Anung-Rano Karno ticket presents an intriguing candidate configuration for analysis. Pramono Anung is widely recognized as a figure with extensive experience in governmental bureaucracy and national political structures, often associated with technocratic capacity, administrative stability, and rational competence. Meanwhile, Rano Karno brings symbolic capital and emotional proximity through his popularity as a public figure and his representation of popular culture. The combination of these two figures forms a complementary political image, integrating rational and affective dimensions within a single candidate pair an approach that is theoretically considered effective in engaging multidimensional urban voters (Newman, 2015).

Although studies on voter behavior and candidate image in local elections have been widely conducted, research that specifically traces the dynamics of public perception using



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multi-wave survey data within a metropolitan election context remains relatively limited. Most existing studies tend to focus on final electoral outcomes or identity-based factors in isolation, without conceptualizing changes in public perception as a gradual and evolving process. In large metropolitan areas such as Jakarta, however, voter preferences are strongly influenced by the interaction between political narratives, candidate image construction, and rapidly shifting political contexts. Therefore, analyzing changes in public perception across multiple time periods is crucial for understanding how political images are constructed, accepted, and consolidated among urban voters throughout the electoral process. Empirical findings on rational and dynamic urban electorates suggest that shifts in political preferences should be understood as continuous evaluative processes rather than static choices (Dalton, 2014).

The configuration of the Pramono–Rano ticket is also closely linked to the strategic considerations of the supporting political party in responding to Jakarta voters' sensitivity toward controversy and political resistance. Candidates with low levels of resistance tend to be more readily accepted by critical urban publics with high media exposure, particularly in highly polarized political environments (Norris, 2000). From the perspective of political trust, low resistance toward a candidate is closely associated with minimal public distrust, which in turn facilitates political acceptance as the candidate gains exposure and institutional support (Hetherington, 1998). Within this framework, this study aims to analyze how public perceptions of the Pramono Anung–Rano Karno ticket were formed and transformed throughout the stages of the 2024 Jakarta gubernatorial election. Utilizing survey data from Charta Politika Indonesia across three waves, this study examines electoral dynamics, reasons for voting, and levels of vote certainty among urban voters as reflections of the political image formation process in a metropolitan contest. Accordingly, this research not only serves as an analysis of shifting electoral preferences but also contributes to a deeper understanding of the mechanisms through which political images are constructed and consolidated in metropolitan local elections.

### METHOD

This study employs a quantitative approach by utilizing public opinion survey data conducted by Charta Politika Indonesia ahead of the 2024 Jakarta gubernatorial election. The surveys were carried out through face-to-face interviews using structured questionnaires and a field survey method. Data collection was conducted across three different periods: July (n = 800), September (n = 1,200), and November (n = 2,000). Each survey wave was conducted over a one-week period. The survey approach is considered an appropriate method for analyzing political opinions and preferences, as it enables systematic measurement of public attitudes as well as comparisons across time within the context of dynamic electoral competition (Fowler, 2014).



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Sampling was conducted using a multistage random sampling technique. The use of multistage random sampling in political surveys aims to enhance respondent representativeness and minimize sampling bias, particularly in urban areas characterized by high social heterogeneity (Lavrakas, 2008). The initial sampling units were defined at the village or sub-district level as the primary sampling units. Within each selected area, several neighborhood units (Rukun Tetangga/RT) were randomly chosen, which then served as the basis for selecting households (Kartu Keluarga/KK). From each selected household, respondents were chosen based on predetermined criteria. This procedure was designed to ensure both geographic and demographic representativeness across all regions of Jakarta. The demographic data collected underwent quality control procedures and were adjusted to match population data from the Central Statistics Agency (Badan Pusat Statistik/BPS) to maintain the validity and reliability of the survey results (Kish, 1965).

The target population of this survey comprises all residents of Jakarta aged 17 years and above or those who are legally married. Charta Politika also implemented survey quality control measures by recruiting interviewers with at least undergraduate student status and providing them with prior training before fieldwork. Additional measures to ensure data validity included conducting spot checks on 20% of respondents for each survey wave. Quality control practices such as interviewer training and spot checks are essential components of survey methodology to maintain data reliability and validity, particularly in large-scale public opinion research (Groves et al., 2009).

Survey data were analyzed by focusing on three main variables: candidate pair electability, reasons for voting, and the level of voter choice certainty. From the available response options, reasons for voting were classified into two analytical dimensions: a rational dimension encompassing competence, experience, and technocratic capacity, and an affective-populist dimension related to personal liking, emotional proximity, and candidate personality image. This classification was employed to provide a more comprehensive understanding of urban voters' evaluative patterns toward candidate pairs. Data analysis was conducted using descriptive and comparative techniques across survey waves to identify changes in public perception over time, particularly between the periods before and after the official declaration of the Pramono Anung-Rano Karno ticket. The analysis is interpretative in nature, situating empirical findings within the theoretical frameworks of political image and urban voter behavior. This approach allows survey data to be interpreted not merely as electoral figures, but as representations of the processes of public perception formation and consolidation within a metropolitan political contest.



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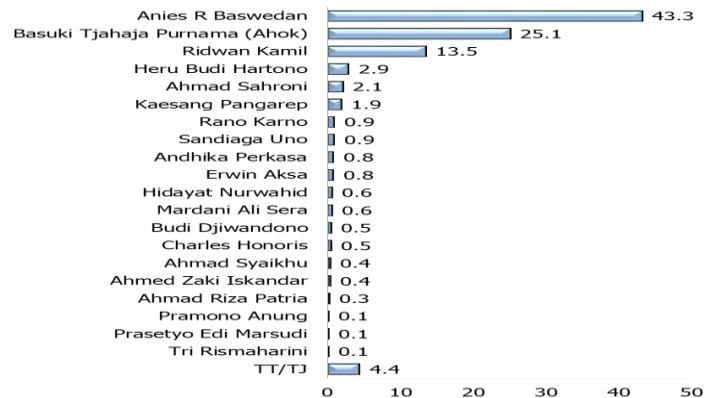


## RESULT AND DISCUSSION

### Electability Across Three Survey Waves

The findings of this study illustrate the dynamics of changing public perceptions toward the Pramono Anung–Rano Karno ticket based on three survey waves. The results are presented in a narrative form that emphasizes patterns and the substantive meaning of electoral change, allowing for the integrated incorporation of findings into the analytical discussion of this journal article. In the voter behavior literature, shifts in electability following a candidate's declaration are often understood as the result of increased political visibility and the articulation of candidate narratives within the public sphere (McNair, 2017). Such changes may also be interpreted through the lens of political framing effects, whereby heightened candidate visibility and media framing of political narratives play a significant role in shaping public perceptions within a relatively short period of time (Iyengar & Simon, 2000).

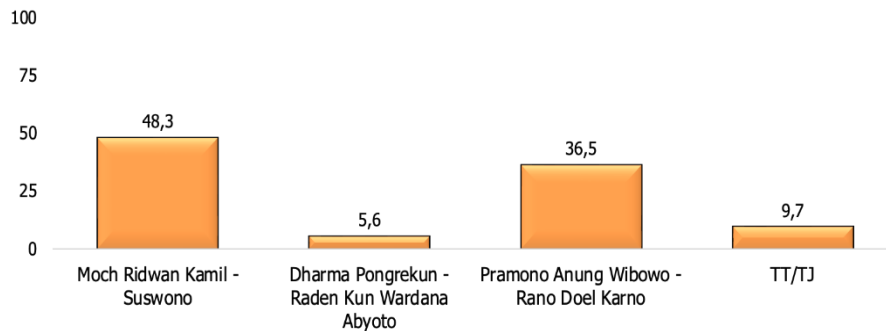
Based on the July 2024 survey conducted by Charta Politika Indonesia, Pramono Anung's electability remained at a very low level, at 0.1%. This condition indicates that during the early stage of the contestation, Pramono was not yet perceived by the public as a relevant gubernatorial candidate within Jakarta's electoral landscape. The low level of electability reflects not only limited public recognition, but also suggests minimal political resistance attached to Pramono during the initial phase of the contestation. During the same period, Rano Karno recorded a slightly higher electability level than Pramono, at 0.9%. Despite his relatively strong popularity as a public figure, Rano's electoral support in the July survey had not yet demonstrated a significant conversion from personal popularity into political preference. This finding indicates that, at the initial stage, Jakarta's urban voters had not fully associated Rano Karno with electoral relevance in the context of the 2024 Jakarta gubernatorial election. The electability figures for July are presented in Figure 1.



**Figure 1.** Electability of Multiple Candidates in the July 2024 Charta Politica Survey

The very low electability levels of both figures in the July survey serve as an important baseline for analyzing subsequent changes in public perception. At this stage, the electoral configuration was still heavily dominated by figures who had long controlled Jakarta's political discourse, such as Anies Baswedan, Basuki Tjahaja Purnama, and Ridwan Kamil, leaving relatively limited space for alternative candidates. The dominance of these major candidates underscores that any increase in the electability of the Pramono–Rano ticket in subsequent surveys represents a substantive shift in public perception, rather than a mere ordinary electoral fluctuation.

After outlining the electoral conditions prior to the official declaration of the ticket based on the July 2024 survey, the analysis then turns to the results of the September 2024 survey, which was conducted shortly after the formal announcement of the Pramono Anung–Rano Karno pair. This period constitutes a critical moment for observing how changes in candidate configuration began to reshape the electoral landscape, as well as how the Jakarta public responded to the emergence of a new ticket in the 2024 Jakarta gubernatorial election. The electability figures for this period are presented in Figure 2.



**Figure 2.** Electability of Candidate Pairs in the September 2024 Charta Politika Survey

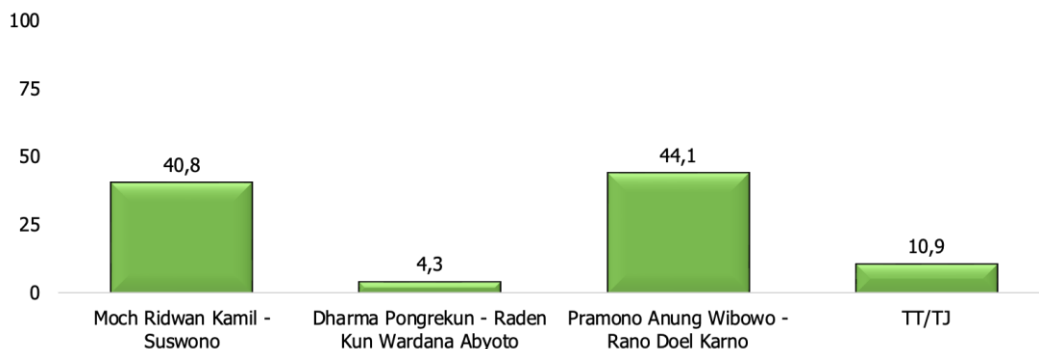
The results of the Charta Politika Indonesia survey conducted in September 2024 reveal a significant shift in the electoral configuration of the Jakarta gubernatorial election. This survey was carried out in the early phase following the official declaration of the Pramono Anung–Rano Karno ticket, making it a crucial moment for assessing public responses to the emergence of a new candidate pair in Jakarta’s political contest. Compared to the July 2024 survey, when voter preferences were still largely concentrated on long-established political figures, the September findings indicate a more open electoral space for alternative candidates.

At this stage, the Pramono–Rano pair recorded an electability level that positioned them as one of the main contenders in the race, reaching 36.5%, ranking below the Moch Ridwan Kamil–Suswono ticket. This increase cannot be separated from changes in public perceptions of the available candidate configurations. The emergence of this pair offered an alternative political image distinct from previously dominant candidates, thereby attracting the attention of Jakarta’s urban voters, who tend to be highly responsive to new dynamics in electoral competition. This condition underscores that voter preferences in Jakarta are not entirely fixed, but remain open to candidates who are able to articulate relevant political narratives within a relatively short period of time.

Despite the sharp rise in electability, the September survey results also indicate that electoral dynamics during this period were still in a formative stage. Voter preferences had not yet fully converged, as reflected by the continued presence of respondents who had not made a definite choice (classified as undecided or no response). This situation suggests that the increase in electability for the Pramono–Rano pair in September is more appropriately understood as an initial phase of public perception formation rather than as fully consolidated electoral support. Accordingly, the September survey represents an important transitional period in which voters began to reassess their political choices amid changes in candidate configurations and the intensification of post-declaration political narratives.

The Charta Politika Indonesia survey conducted in November 2024 illustrates a subsequent phase in the electoral dynamics that had taken shape since September. Unlike the earlier period, which was still characterized by perception-building processes, the November results demonstrate a clearer convergence of voter preferences. At this stage, the Jakarta gubernatorial contest entered a consolidation phase, in which voters not only responded to the presence of candidates but also increasingly solidified their choices based on more stable evaluations.

Within this context, the Pramono Anung–Rano Karno ticket recorded a further increase in electability, placing them in a more dominant position compared to the previous survey period. This increase indicates that public perceptions of the Pramono–Rano pair did not remain at the level of initial post-declaration interest, but instead developed into more structured forms of support. This response suggests that the political image combination offered by the pair was increasingly accepted by Jakarta’s urban electorate, alongside intensified public exposure and political narratives throughout the campaign period. The consolidation of electoral support in the final survey period is illustrated in Figure 3.



**Figure 3.** Electability of Candidate Pairs in the November 2024 Charta Politika Survey

In the November phase, changes in electability also reflect a shift in voter support from other candidates toward the pair perceived as capable of offering a balance between technocratic capacity and emotional proximity. This condition underscores that Jakarta voters do not evaluate popularity or track records in isolation, but instead assess the overall relevance of candidates in addressing the complex challenges of a metropolitan city. Accordingly, the increase in electability for the Pramono–Rano ticket in November can be understood as the outcome of a more mature process of public evaluation compared to earlier periods.

Overall, the November survey results indicate that the electoral dynamics of the 2024 Jakarta gubernatorial election progressed from a phase of initial recognition and exploration in July, to a phase of perception formation in September, and ultimately entered a phase of consolidation in November. This pattern demonstrates that changes in public perception toward the Pramono Anung–Rano Karno pair occurred gradually and followed the logic of political development, rather than representing a sudden or short-lived surge in electoral support.

### Voters' Reason for Voting

**Table 1.** Voters' Reasons for Voting in the Charta Politika Survey (July–September–November)

Voters' Reason	July (%)	September (%)	November (%)
Family relationship with the candidate	1.0	0.5	2.2
Recommendation from local traditional leaders	1.9	2.2	3.3
Coming from a political or community leader's family	3.5	3.5	3.1
Not familiar with other candidates	8.8	6.5	5.0
Supported by the political party I support	2.5	5.1	3.6
Experienced in government	28.6	28.4	20.9
Following the choice of family, friends, or community	2.9	3.6	4.0
Attentive to the people/ cares about the public	6.4	6.2	13.5
Honest/ free from corruption	7.9	9.1	5.6
Firm and desicive	3.9	5.6	6.3
Intellegent/ well educated	7.1	7.9	6.1
Has tangible evidence of past performance	20.0	12.7	9.0
Religious figure	0.5	0.6	0.7
Political party figure	0.3	1.2	1.2
Others	0.4	1.8	4.5
Undecided/ No response	4.5	5.3	11.3

Source: Charta Politika Survey, 2024

Survey results from July, September, and November 2024, three main reasons consistently dominated voter preferences in the Jakarta gubernatorial election: experience in government, tangible evidence of past performance, and perceptions of honesty and attentiveness toward the public. Although each factor exhibited percentage fluctuations over time, these three considerations remained the primary bases for voter decision-making. This pattern reflects the characteristics of Jakarta's urban electorate, which tends to be rational, critical, and to hold high standards regarding the quality of regional leadership. Such characteristics correspond to the concept of *critical citizens*, referring to voters who possess high expectations regarding leaders'



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performance and integrity, while remaining willing to revise their political preferences when candidates are perceived to no longer meet evaluative standards (Norris, 2011).

Across the three survey waves, “experience in government” emerged as the most dominant reason for voting. This finding indicates that Jakarta voters prioritize technocratic competence and leadership capacity when making political choices. As the national center of government and economic activity, Jakarta presents a high level of administrative complexity that demands leaders with a deep understanding of bureaucratic governance. Consequently, experience in government serves as a key indicator for voters in assessing candidates’ readiness to manage complex urban challenges. The prominence of this factor is also consistent with the problem-solving orientation of urban voters, who tend to evaluate political choices based on performance and practical capacity.

The second most salient reason was “having tangible evidence of past performance.” This factor is typically associated with candidates who possess visible policy achievements or development records that can be directly observed by the public. The decline in the proportion of this reason from July to November suggests that, toward the later stage of the contestation, some voters began to move beyond assessments focused solely on past performance. Instead, voters increasingly opened space for candidates offering new approaches or image combinations perceived as more relevant to evolving political dynamics. Nevertheless, the overall prominence of this factor indicates that Jakarta voters continue to value evidence-based leadership, favoring candidates who not only make promises but also demonstrate verifiable accomplishments.

Another prominent factor concerns perceptions of candidates’ honesty and integrity, reflected in the reasons “being attentive to the people” and “being honest/free from corruption.” These considerations represent both normative and affective dimensions in voters’ evaluations of regional leadership figures. The reason “being attentive to the people” reflects voters’ expectations for leaders who are not only administratively competent but also socially empathetic and sensitive to public needs. In the context of Jakarta as a metropolitan city characterized by significant social inequality, attentiveness to the public is understood as an indicator of social proximity, responsiveness to public aspirations, and a commitment to engaging with everyday citizen concerns. For urban voters, attentiveness to the people is not necessarily interpreted as populist policy-making alone, but also as a leadership style that is responsive, communicative, and non-distant from society. This finding underscores that Jakarta voters continue to demand a humanistic dimension in leadership, despite their generally rational and critical orientation. Meanwhile, the reason “being honest/free from corruption” reflects voters’ sensitivity to issues of integrity and clean governance. High levels of information access, the presence of national media, and relatively high educational attainment make



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transparency and accountability central criteria in evaluating political leaders. In this context, integrity is regarded as a fundamental prerequisite for leadership, particularly in Jakarta, where budgetary and bureaucratic complexity is substantial.

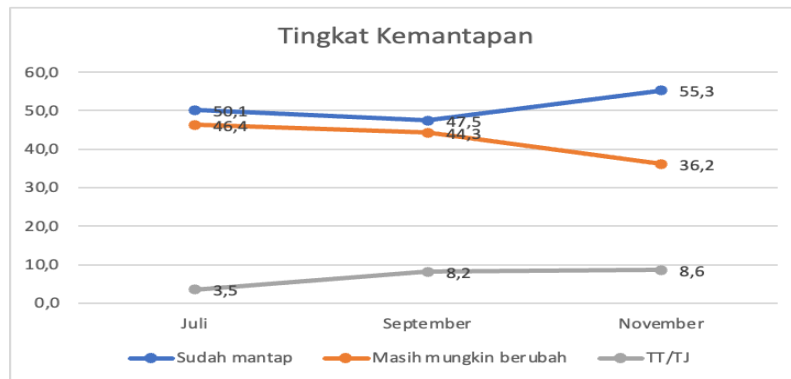
The decline in the proportions of these two reasons in the November survey may be interpreted as a shift in voter focus from normative–moral evaluations toward factors that are more affective and symbolic in nature. This shift does not indicate diminishing concern for integrity and social concern; rather, it suggests that these values have increasingly become baseline expectations assumed to be inherent in candidates deemed viable. Under such conditions, voters tend to allocate greater attention to the combination of rational competence and emotional proximity offered by new candidate pairings, such as Pramono Anung–Rano Karno, who are perceived as presenting leadership figures that are both competent and close to the people.

Overall, the dominance of these three reasons indicates that Jakarta voters possess a strong rational and performance-oriented orientation in determining political choices. Experience in government, tangible performance outcomes, as well as attentiveness to the public and candidate integrity form the primary foundations for evaluating leadership suitability. This hierarchy of considerations reflects the pragmatic and critical character of urban society, in which competence and performance constitute basic requirements, while social concern and honesty function as normative dimensions that complement rational evaluations. Nevertheless, the shifting patterns of voting reasons from July to November also demonstrate that voter rationality in Jakarta is adaptive. Voters remain responsive to new political narratives, particularly when candidate pairs are able to integrate technocratic competence with social empathy and emotional proximity, thereby forming a combination of rational and affective appeal that resonates with urban voters, as reflected in the evolving support for the Pramono Anung–Rano Karno ticket.

### **Level of Vote Certainty**

Data on vote certainty reveal dynamics that are highly relevant for understanding how Jakarta voters responded to changes in the political configuration between July and November 2024. In the July 2024 survey, conducted prior to the declaration of the Pramono Anung–Rano Karno ticket, the level of vote certainty was recorded at approximately 50.1 percent. This figure can be considered relatively high, indicating that a substantial proportion of voters had already formed fairly stable electoral preferences. This initial stability was closely linked to the dominance of political figures who had long occupied Jakarta’s electoral landscape, such as Anies Baswedan, Basuki Tjahaja Purnama, and Ridwan Kamil, all of whom were already widely recognized by the public at that stage. Within this context, voter preferences in July may be understood as relatively settled, as no significant changes had yet occurred in the configuration

of available candidates. The changes in voters' levels of vote certainty across the three survey waves are presented in Figure 4.



**Figure 4.** Trend in Voter Certainty in the Charta Politika Survey

Changes became evident in the September 2024 survey, when the level of vote certainty declined to 47.5 percent. This decrease reflects a transitional phase in voter behavior, coinciding with shifts in the political configuration following the declaration of the Pramono Anung–Rano Karno ticket in late August. The emergence of this new candidate pair prompted a segment of voters to reassess their electoral orientations, particularly those who had not yet been fully committed to their previous choices. This condition indicates that public preferences during this period became more fluid, as voters opened space for evaluating alternative candidates that had not previously been available in the contestation.

In the November 2024 survey, the level of vote certainty increased substantially, reaching approximately 55.3 percent. This increase suggests that after undergoing a phase of adjustment and exploratory evaluation in September, voters began to form more stable electoral orientations. The consistency between rising vote certainty and the strengthening electoral position of the Pramono Anung–Rano Karno pair indicates the consolidation of public support. Within the context of urban voter behavior, higher levels of vote certainty can be interpreted as reflecting stronger acceptance of candidates' narratives and political images, encompassing both rational and affective dimensions.

This interpretation is further reinforced by the decline in the proportion of voters categorized as “still likely to change,” which decreased from 46.4 percent in July to 36.2 percent in November. This shift demonstrates a movement of voters from uncertainty toward more definite electoral orientations, thereby strengthening indications of preference consolidation in the final survey period. Meanwhile, a slight increase in the proportion of respondents classified



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as “don’t know/no response” in November does not alter the overall pattern observed in the data. Overall, the dynamics of vote certainty illustrate that changes in Jakarta voters’ preferences occurred gradually and followed developments in political configurations and candidate image construction, rather than representing random or abrupt shifts.

**Shifts in Public Perception and the Effectiveness of a Complementary Image** The development of electability for the Pramono Anung–Rano Karno ticket from July to November 2024 indicates that public perceptions toward this pair were formed progressively following their official declaration in late August. In the July survey, the electability levels of both figures remained extremely low, suggesting that the public had not yet associated either Pramono or Rano with viable gubernatorial candidacy in the Jakarta electoral landscape. However, the substantial increase observed in September, followed by further reinforcement in November, signals a significant shift in public perception toward the pair.

This shift can be understood through the effectiveness of a complementary image strategy that combines rational and affective dimensions within a single candidate pairing. Pramono Anung represents the rational dimension through his bureaucratic experience and technocratic capacity, while Rano Karno embodies the affective dimension through popularity, emotional proximity, and long-standing cultural symbolism. This phenomenon aligns with the concept of *celebrity politics*, in which public figures from popular culture are able to translate symbolic popularity into effective political capital, particularly among urban voters who maintain emotional attachments to specific cultural representations (Street, 2004). This combination corresponds with the characteristics of Jakarta’s urban electorate, which evaluates candidates not only on the basis of competence-based considerations, but also on emotional resonance in political decision-making.

The consistency of electability gains across two post-declaration survey waves indicates that the public increasingly viewed the Pramono–Rano ticket as an alternative capable of addressing the complex demands of a metropolitan city. Within the framework of political image theory, these findings reflect the success of a *dual-image construction* strategy, in which rational and affective images do not compete, but instead reinforce one another in gradually stabilizing public perceptions.

### Low Political Resistance as Electoral Capital

Another factor contributing to the rise in electability of the Pramono–Rano ticket is the low level of political resistance associated with Pramono Anung. In the July survey, Pramono’s extremely low electability not only reflected minimal initial support, but also indicated the absence of significant negative sentiment among the public. In the context of Jakarta voters, who



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are highly sensitive to controversial figures and polarizing issues, low resistance constitutes a strategic form of electoral capital.

This condition was effectively leveraged by the Indonesian Democratic Party of Struggle (PDIP) by positioning Pramono as a relatively “safe” figure in the Jakarta gubernatorial contest, particularly at a time when several other prominent figures faced higher levels of political resistance. Low resistance enabled Pramono to gain broader acceptance across voter segments, especially among the urban middle class, which tends to evaluate candidates based on stability, integrity, administrative track records, and the ability to establish social proximity.

In the voter behavior literature, candidates with low levels of resistance are more likely to experience rapid increases in support once new political narratives are introduced, as the public lacks negative associations that might hinder acceptance (Hetherington, 1998). The rise in electability for the Pramono–Rano ticket in September and November reinforces the *low resistance advantage* thesis, whereby previously marginal figures can experience significant growth in support because public perceptual space remains relatively open.

### **The Impact of the Constitutional Court Ruling and the Relevance of Technocratic Figures**

The strengthening of Pramono Anung’s electability following the declaration cannot be separated from the national political context, particularly the Constitutional Court ruling that expanded opportunities for party nominations. This ruling provided strategic flexibility for PDIP to nominate technocratic figures who were previously not considered to possess strong electoral bases, yet held strategic value in the medium and long term.

Within the national political structure, figures such as Pramono, characterized by strong administrative records, party loyalty, and bureaucratic experience became increasingly relevant under this revised regulatory environment. PDIP capitalized on this momentum by pairing Pramono with Rano Karno, producing a candidate ticket that was not only complementary in terms of image, but also strategically advantageous from a structural and regulatory standpoint.

The increase in electability observed in November, alongside rising levels of vote certainty, demonstrates that the strategy of combining a technocratic figure with a populist cultural icon was effective. These findings suggest that voters did not merely respond to the pair temporarily, but began to regard them as a credible leadership alternative for Jakarta.



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### Responsive and Dynamic Urban Voters

The three survey waves reveal that Jakarta voters are responsive, adaptive, and dynamic in responding to changes in political narratives. In July, relatively high levels of vote certainty reflected stable preferences toward dominant candidates. However, following the declaration of the Pramono–Rano ticket, the decline in vote certainty observed in September marked a phase of *evaluative reassessment*, in which voters reconsidered their political choices in response to the emergence of a compelling alternative.

By November, the sharp increase in Pramono–Rano’s electability accompanied by higher vote certainty levels indicates that urban voters not only respond quickly to new dynamics, but are also capable of forming stable preferences when candidate narratives align with public expectations. In this context, the integration of rational and affective images produced a *dual appeal* that proved effective in reaching a broad spectrum of voters.

These findings align with established characteristics of metropolitan electorates, which tend to be pragmatic, issue-oriented, and to hold high expectations regarding leadership performance. The shift in voting motivations from a dominance of technocratic factors toward a combination with affective considerations in the later survey period suggests that Jakarta voters seek a balance between competence and personal proximity. Accordingly, the Pramono Anung–Rano Karno ticket was able to capitalize on these dynamics to build electoral advantage within a highly competitive contest.

### Policy Implications

The findings of this study carry important implications for political strategy and party nomination policies, particularly in urban electoral contexts. The analysis demonstrates that electoral success is not solely determined by high initial electability, but rather by a party’s ability to understand voter characteristics and design candidate configurations that align with public expectations. In the context of the 2024 Jakarta gubernatorial election, PDIP’s strategy of nominating a low-resistance technocratic figure and pairing him with a candidate possessing strong affective appeal created substantial opportunities for electoral growth.

These implications suggest that party nomination strategies in major cities should move beyond short-term popularity considerations toward more strategic, medium-term approaches. Candidates with strong administrative capacity and bureaucratic experience, even in the absence of large initial electoral bases, can possess significant electoral potential when supported by effective political communication strategies and complementary candidate



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pairings. Thus, technocratic figures may serve as strategic assets rather than mere complements in electoral contests.

Moreover, these findings highlight the importance of adaptive political communication policies tailored to the characteristics of urban voters. Metropolitan electorates evaluate candidates not only on technocratic competence, but also on their ability to establish symbolic and emotional connections. Consequently, effective nomination strategies must be accompanied by political narratives that integrate rational and affective messages in a balanced manner. These implications are relevant not only to the Jakarta gubernatorial election, but also to elections in other metropolitan cities with similar voter characteristics.

Overall, the policy implications of this study suggest that success in urban local elections requires synergy between party nomination strategies, complementary candidate configurations, and political communication approaches that are responsive to the dynamics of urban voters. Such an approach offers political parties the opportunity to develop more inclusive, adaptive, and sustainable electoral strategies in future local political contests.

### CONCLUSION

This study demonstrates that the dynamics of public perception toward the Pramono Anung–Rano Karno ticket in the 2024 Jakarta gubernatorial election were formed through a gradual yet consistent process. Based on three survey waves conducted by Charta Politika Indonesia, it can be observed that at the initial stage of the contestation, both figures occupied a very low electoral position. This condition reflected the absence of an established image construction for the candidate pair as well as their limited electoral relevance amid the dominance of major political figures who had long shaped Jakarta's political landscape. These findings emphasize that low initial electability does not necessarily indicate public rejection, but may instead reflect the absence of a structured political narrative.

The official declaration of the Pramono Anung–Rano Karno ticket in late August 2024 marked a critical turning point in this dynamic. The significant increase in electability observed in the September survey, followed by further reinforcement in November, indicates that Jakarta voters responded rapidly to the emergence of an alternative candidate pair offering a combination of rational and affective images. These findings confirm that a complementary image construction that integrates technocratic capacity with emotional appeal constitutes an effective strategy for engaging urban voters with evaluative and adaptive characteristics. Beyond image-related factors, this study also underscores the importance of low political resistance as a form of electoral capital. Candidates with low resistance are more likely to be



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accepted across voter segments, particularly in the context of the Jakarta gubernatorial election, which is often marked by polarization and controversy. In this regard, regulatory changes following the Constitutional Court ruling created strategic opportunities for political parties, especially PDIP, to nominate technocratic figures such as Pramono Anung, who possess strategic value despite lacking a strong initial electoral base.

The dynamics of voting motivations and levels of vote certainty further reinforce the characterization of Jakarta's urban electorate. Voters prioritize experience, proven performance, and integrity as the primary foundations for political choice, while remaining flexible in shifting preferences when candidates are able to integrate rational competence with emotional proximity. These findings are consistent with studies on urban voter behavior, which suggest that voters tend to combine performance-based rational considerations with normative expectations regarding the moral quality of leadership (Dalton, 2014). The increase in vote certainty during the final survey period indicates that the political narrative advanced by the Pramono-Rano ticket not only captured public attention, but also succeeded in building short-term stability in voter preferences.

Overall, this study concludes that the electoral success of the Pramono Anung-Rano Karno ticket within the survey dynamics of the 2024 Jakarta gubernatorial election resulted from the synergy between party nomination strategies, complementary political image construction, the national regulatory context, and the characteristics of urban voters who are responsive and rationally adaptive. These findings contribute to the literature on political communication and voter behavior by demonstrating that changes in public perception in metropolitan local elections do not occur randomly, but instead follow discernible and analyzable patterns. Furthermore, the implications of this study suggest that party nomination policies in urban areas should consider not only candidates' initial popularity, but also their potential for electoral growth supported by low political resistance and the ability to construct a balanced image between rationality and affectivity. In this way, the study provides an analytical framework that is relevant for understanding the dynamics of local elections in other major Indonesian cities that share voter characteristics similar to those of Jakarta.



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