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The Effect Of Political Brand Experience And Constituent Closeness On Voter Loyalty, With Political Trust As A Mediating Variable

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Abstract: The number of seats won by the National Mandate Party (PAN) in the Jakarta Provincial Legislative Council (DPRD DKI Jakarta) increased from 2 seats (2014) to 9 seats (2019), and then to 10 seats (2024); however, the rate of increase slowed sharply from an additional 7 seats to just 1 seat, falling 5 seats short of the 15-seat target set ahead of the 2024 general election. This slowdown serves as the backdrop for this study, which aims to analyze the influence of Political Brand Experience and Constituent Proximity on Voter Loyalty—both directly and through Political Trust as a mediating variable—among voters in Jakarta. The study employs an explanatory quantitative approach using a five-point Likert scale questionnaire distributed online to respondents selected via purposive sampling. Of the 423 responses collected, 388 data points were deemed valid and analyzed using Partial Least Squares-based Structural Equation Modeling (SEM-PLS) with SmartPLS 4. An evaluation of the measurement model showed that all indicators were valid (outer loadings 0.705–0.803; AVE 0.518–0.573) and reliable (composite reliability 0.896–0.915). Hypothesis testing results showed that Political Brand Experience ($\beta = 0.224$; $p < 0.001$) and Constituent Proximity ($\beta = 0.540$; $p < 0.001$) had a significant positive effect on Political Trust; Political Trust had a significant positive effect on Voter Loyalty ($\beta = 0.475$; $p < 0.001$); Constituent Closeness has a significant positive effect on Voter Loyalty ($\beta = 0.284$; $p < 0.001$); whereas Political Brand Experience does not have a significant direct effect on Voter Loyalty ($\beta = 0.073$; $p = 0.077$). Political Trust was found to fully mediate the effect of Political Brand Experience on Voter Loyalty (indirect-only mediation; $\beta = 0.106$; $p < 0.001$) and to partially mediate the effect of Constituent Proximity on Voter Loyalty (complementary partial mediation; $\beta = 0.256$; $p < 0.001$). The research model explains 45.4 percent of the variation in Political Trust and 53.7 percent of the variation in Voter Loyalty. These findings indicate that political brand experience must be translated into trust before it can generate loyalty, while strengthening constituent closeness through access, responsiveness, and follow-up on constituents' aspirations is the key to building trust and voter loyalty among PAN voters in DKI Jakarta.

Keyword: Political Brand Experience, Constituent Closeness, Political Trust, Voter Loyalty, SEM-PLS.

INTRODUCTION

Political parties play a strategic role in a democratic system because they serve as a bridge between the interests of the public and the decision-making process in representative institutions. Political marketing views parties as organizations that need to understand voters' needs and manage political offerings in a measured way (Lees-Marshment, 2020). Voter loyalty does not arise solely from recognition of a party's name but is formed through repeated experiences as voters encounter political messages, party members' activities, candidates' behavior, social media communication, and the party's responses to citizens' concerns. Brakus, Schmitt, and Zarantonello (2009) explain that brand experience is formed from sensory, affective, intellectual, and behavioral responses to brand stimuli; this framework can be adapted to political parties because voters also experience parties through symbols, figures, messages, programs, and political interactions.

The National Mandate Party (PAN) of DKI Jakarta was chosen as the subject of this study because the changes in its seats in the DKI Jakarta Regional People's Representative Council (DPRD) over the last three elections are particularly noteworthy, as shown in Table 1.

Table 1. PAN's Seat Count in the DKI Jakarta Regional Legislative Council, 2014–2024

Election Year	Seats	Change	Percentage Change	Notes
2014	2	-	-	Starting position
2019	9	+7	350.00%	Sharp increase
Election Year	Seats	Change	Percentage Change	Notes
2024	10	+1	11.11%	Slight increase

Source: DKI Jakarta KPU (2014), Puskapol FISIP UI (2019), DKI Jakarta Provincial KPU (2024), compiled by the researcher

The main finding of this study is not a decline in seats, but rather a slowdown in the growth of electoral support for PAN in DKI Jakarta: a gain of 7 seats in 2019 turned into a gain of just 1 seat in 2024, and the party's actual 10 seats in the 2024 election fell 5 seats short of the 15-seat target set by the Chair of the PAN DKI Jakarta Provincial Executive Board ahead of the election (Republika.co.id, 2023). If a party relies solely on election momentum, voter support may rise during one term but is difficult to sustain in the next. Campbell, Converse, Miller, and Stokes (1960) explain that voters' attachment to a party can constitute a relatively stable political orientation; in this study, the stability of such support is interpreted as voter loyalty toward PAN DKI Jakarta.

This study draws on four theoretical frameworks. Political Marketing Theory views a party as a political brand evaluated through experience, communication, leadership, programs, and relationships with constituents (Cwalina et al., 2011; Scammell, 2015). Brand Experience Theory explains that brand experiences are formed through cognitive, affective, behavioral, and symbolic responses at various touchpoints (Brakus et al., 2009); in the political sphere, candidates and legislators can serve as brand ambassadors for their parties because their behavior is closely associated with public perceptions (Marland & Wagner, 2020). Political Trust Theory defines Political Trust as the belief that political actors possess competence, integrity, concern, openness, and consistency (Mayer et al., 1995; OECD, 2024); political trust is positioned as a mediating variable because political brand experience and constituent closeness are expected to first shape political beliefs before they translate into loyalty. Voter

Behavior Theory defines Voter Loyalty as the tendency to maintain support, re-vote, and recommend a party (Campbell et al., 1960; Sides et al., 2023).

Political Brand Experience is understood as voters' perceptions of their cognitive, affective, behavioral, symbolic, and social-relational experiences when interacting with PAN DKI Jakarta (Brakus et al., 2009; Marland & Wagner, 2020). Constituent Proximity is understood as the public's perception of PAN DKI Jakarta's accessibility, intensity of interaction, responsiveness, concern, and follow-up on the aspirations of its constituents (IPU & UNDP, 2022; OECD, 2022). Political Trust is understood as the public's confidence in the competence, integrity, concern, transparency, and consistency of PAN DKI Jakarta (OECD, 2022, 2024). Voter loyalty is understood as voters' willingness to maintain their support, re-elect, recommend, and not easily switch their support away from PAN (Keller & Swaminathan, 2020; Sides et al., 2023).

Previous research has shown a correlation between political brand experience, constituent closeness, trust, and loyalty. Marland and Wagner (2020) demonstrate that candidates and legislators can serve as ambassadors for the party's image. The IPU and UNDP (2022) emphasize that public engagement in parliamentary work strengthens citizens' ties with their elected representatives, while the OECD (2022, 2024) identifies responsiveness, integrity, and transparency as drivers of trust in public institutions. Robison (2021) demonstrates that partisan loyalty influences how voters process political information. Nevertheless, research that specifically positions Political Trust as a mediating variable in the relationship between Political Brand Experience and Constituent Proximity toward Voter Loyalty in provincial-level political parties in DKI Jakarta remains relatively limited. The novelty of this study lies in testing this mediation model using the empirical phenomenon of the slowdown in the growth of PAN's seats in DKI Jakarta from 2014 to 2024 as a contextual basis.

Based on this description, the research framework positions Political Brand Experience (X1) and Constituent Proximity (X2) as stimuli that influence Political Trust (M), which in turn influences Voter Loyalty (Y). Political Brand Experience and Constituent Proximity are also assumed to have a direct effect on Voter Loyalty, while Political Trust is tested as the mediating variable between these two effects. The research model is presented in Figure 1.

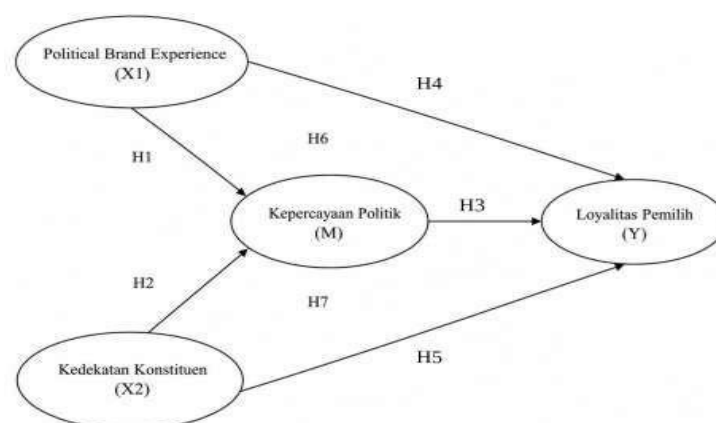


Figure 1. Research Model and Hypotheses

Based on this framework, the research hypotheses are formulated as follows. Voters' positive experiences with PAN's messages, symbols, figures, and activities are expected to foster the belief that PAN possesses a trustworthy political identity, capacity, and reputation (H1). Proximity—marked by accessibility, responsiveness, and follow-up on constituents' aspirations—is expected to reinforce the belief that PAN is present for the community (H2). Strong trust is expected to make voters more willing to maintain their political support (H3). Political brand experience and constituent closeness are also expected to directly foster loyalty (H4, H5). Since voter loyalty is not always automatically formed from political stimuli, Political Trust is expected to mediate the influence of Political Brand Experience (H6) and Constituent Proximity (H7) on Voter Loyalty. The seven hypotheses are: H1: Political Brand Experience has a positive and significant effect on Political Trust. H2: Constituent Closeness has a positive and significant effect on Political Trust. H3: Political Trust has a positive and significant effect on Voter Loyalty. H4: Political Brand Experience has a positive and significant effect on Voter Loyalty. H5: Constituent Proximity has a positive and significant effect on Voter Loyalty. H6: Political Trust mediates the effect of Political Brand Experience on Voter Loyalty. H7: Political Trust mediates the effect of Constituent Proximity on Voter Loyalty.

Based on this background and these hypotheses, this study aims to analyze the effects of Political Brand Experience and Constituent Proximity on Political Trust, the effect of Political Trust on Voter Loyalty, the direct effects of Political Brand Experience and Constituent Proximity on Voter Loyalty, and the mediating role of Political Trust among voters in DKI Jakarta. The research findings are expected to provide a theoretical contribution to the study of political marketing and voter behavior, as well as a practical contribution to the PAN party in DKI Jakarta in strengthening political brand experience, constituent relationships, and political trust.

METHOD

This study employs a quantitative approach using explanatory research because it aims to explain causal relationships among variables through hypothesis testing (Bougie & Sekaran, 2020; Creswell & Creswell, 2023). Data analysis employs Structural Equation Modeling based on Partial Least Squares (SEM-PLS) using the SmartPLS 4 software, as this approach is suitable for prediction-oriented models involving latent constructs, mediating variables, and both direct and indirect relationships (Hair et al., 2022).

The study population consisted of eligible voters in DKI Jakarta Province who were aware of the PAN Party and had previously received information about PAN DKI Jakarta or its legislators. The sample was selected using purposive sampling based on the following criteria: (1) residing in DKI Jakarta; (2) being at least 17 years old or married;

(3) being familiar with the PAN Party; (4) having seen, heard, read, or received information about PAN DKI Jakarta, its members, or its legislators; and (5) being willing to complete the questionnaire in full. The minimum sample size was calculated using the Lemeshow formula for large or unknown populations (Riyanto & Hatmawan, 2020), namely $n = (Z^2 \times p \times q) / d^2$, where $Z = 1.96$, $p = q = 0.50$, and $d = 0.05$, resulting in $n = 384.16$, rounded to 385 respondents.

This value exceeds the PLS-SEM sample adequacy requirement of five times the number of indicators ($5 \times 32 = 160$ respondents), so the minimum sample size used was 385 respondents (Hair et al., 2022).

Data were collected via an online questionnaire using a five-point Likert scale (1 = Strongly Disagree to 5 = Strongly Agree), which was distributed via Google Forms to eligible voters in DKI Jakarta from July 14–19, 2026. Of the 423 responses collected, 35 responses

(8.27%) were excluded because they did not meet the criteria for region, age, knowledge of PAN, information exposure, willingness to participate, completeness of answers, or straightlining; thus, 388 responses (91.73%) were designated as the final dataset for descriptive analysis and PLS-SEM. This number exceeded the predetermined minimum sample size. A preliminary data check found no missing data, out-of-range values, or duplicate timestamps.

The research variables consist of Political Brand Experience (X1) and Constituent Proximity (X2) as exogenous variables, Political Trust (M) as the mediating variable, and Voter Loyalty (Y) as the endogenous variable. All constructs were measured reflectively through 32 indicators developed from the respective dimensions of each variable, as summarized in Table 2.

Table 2. Operational Definitions and Dimensions of Research Variables

Variable	Operational Definition	Dimensions	Number of Items
Political Brand Experience (X1)	Voters' perceptions of their experiences in getting to know, observing, feeling, and interacting with PAN DKI Jakarta.	Cognitive; affective; behavioral; symbolic; social-relational	8
Constituent Proximity (X2)	The public's perception of the extent to which PAN, its cadres, and legislators are present, accessible, responsive, and attentive to residents' needs.	Accessibility; Intensity of interaction; Responsiveness; Concern; Follow-up on residents' concerns	8
Political Trust (M)	The public's belief that PAN DKI Jakarta and its legislators possess competence, integrity, concern, openness, and consistency.	Competence; Integrity; Concern; Transparency; Consistency	8
Voter Loyalty (Y)	The tendency of voters to maintain their support, re-vote, recommend the party, and not easily switch their support away from PAN.	Intention to re-vote; Political recommendations; Resistance to switching support; Alignment of expectations; Commitment to support	8

Source: Adapted from Brakus et al. (2009), IPU & UNDP (2022), OECD (2022, 2024), and Keller & Swaminathan (2020).

Data analysis was conducted in three stages. First, an evaluation of the measurement model (outer model) to assess convergent validity through outer loadings (≥ 0.70) and Average Variance Extracted (AVE) (≥ 0.50), internal consistency reliability through Cronbach's Alpha and Composite Reliability (≥ 0.70), as well as discriminant validity using the Fornell-Larcker criterion, cross-loadings, and the Heterotrait-Monotrait Ratio (HTMT) (< 0.90) (Hair et al., 2022; Sarstedt et al., 2022). Second, an evaluation of the structural model (inner model) to assess multicollinearity via inner VIF (< 5), the coefficient of determination (R^2), and effect sizes (f^2), predictive relevance (Q^2_{predict} via PLS_{predict} and $CVPAT$), and model fit via the Standardized Root Mean Square Residual (SRMR) (< 0.08) (Hair et al., 2024).

Third, hypothesis testing was conducted using the bootstrapping procedure at a 5 percent significance level, with the hypothesis accepted if the direction of the coefficient was consistent and the t-statistic value was ≥ 1.96 and the p-value was < 0.05 (Hair et al., 2022). Mediation testing was conducted using the specific indirect effect, with the type of mediation determined by the pattern of significance of the direct and indirect effects on each path.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

Respondent Characteristics

The questionnaire was distributed online and yielded 423 responses, with 388 responses (91.73%) deemed valid after screening based on inclusion criteria. The most common reason for exclusion was residence outside the Jakarta Metropolitan Area (8 responses), followed by being under the required age, lack of familiarity with PAN, never having received information about PAN, unwillingness to participate, a pattern of identical answers, and incomplete responses (4–5 responses each). The demographic characteristics and political exposure of the 388 respondents are presented in Table 3.

Table 3. Respondent Characteristics (n = 388)

Characteristics	Category	f	%
Gender	Male	217	55.93
	Female	171	44.07
Age	17–25 years	93	23.97
	26–35 years	112	28.87
	36–45 years	97	25.00
	46–55 years	62	15.98
	> 55 years old	24	6.19
Primary source of information	Social media	128	32.99
	Online news portals	77	19.85
	Community activities/recess	52	13.40
	Other (friends/family, party members, TV/radio)	131	33.76
Relationship with PAN	Not affiliated	283	72.94
	Has participated in activities/sympathizer/cadre	105	27.06

Source: Research data, 2026 (processed).

In terms of education, occupation, and region, respondents were predominantly college graduates (45.88%) and private-sector employees (32.22%), with the largest regional distribution in East Jakarta (25.77%) and South Jakarta (25.52%); the Thousand Islands were represented by only one respondent. A total of 30.15 percent of respondents stated they voted for PAN in the 2024 General Election, 56.96 percent did not vote for PAN, and 12.89 percent did not answer, meaning the sample exhibits a fairly wide range of perspectives regarding their experience, affinity, trust, and loyalty toward PAN.

Description of Research Variables

Descriptive analysis used the following average intervals: 1.00–1.80—very low; 1.81–2.60—low; 2.61–3.40—moderate; 3.41–4.20—high; and 4.21–5.00—very high. Table 4 shows that Political Brand Experience falls into the high category, while the other three variables fall into the moderate category.

Table 4. Descriptive Statistics of Research Variables

Variable	Mean	Category
Political Brand Experience (X1)	3.46	High
Constituent Proximity (X2)	3.38	Moderate

Political Trust (M)	3.33	Moderate
Voter Loyalty (Y)	3.25	Moderate

Source: Research data, 2026 (processed).

The highest average score was found in Political Brand Experience (3.46), while the lowest average was found in Voter Loyalty (3.25). This pattern indicates that experience with and recognition of PAN are relatively better than loyalty commitment. In Political Brand Experience, recognition of the party's symbols/identity received the highest average (3.78), while social-relational experiences with party members, volunteers, and legislators received the lowest average (3.14). In Constituent Proximity, communication channels received the highest average score (3.59), while follow-up on constituents' concerns received the lowest average score (3.21). In Political Trust, legislators' competence received the highest average score (3.49), while consistency in promises and programs received the lowest average score (3.21). In Voter Loyalty, "commitment to conditional support" received the highest average score (3.40), while "willingness to recommend PAN" received the lowest average score (3.14). This pattern indicates that the relative strengths of the four variables lie in symbolic recognition, communication channels, and political capacity, whereas follow-up on constituents' aspirations, consistency, and political recommendations are the areas most in need of strengthening.

Measurement Model Evaluation (Outer Model)

The PLS-SEM model consists of four reflective constructs and 32 indicators. The results of the PLS algorithm show that the outer loadings of all indicators range from 0.705 to 0.803 (the lowest value for Y2, the highest for M1), exceeding the minimum threshold of 0.70; therefore, no indicators were eliminated. Table 5 summarizes the results of convergent validity and internal consistency reliability for each construct

Table 5. Convergent Validity and Construct Reliability

Construct	Outer Loading Range	AVE	Cronbach's Alpha	rho_A	Composite Reliability	Decision
Political Brand Experience	0.705–0.803	0.563	0.889	0.890	0.911	Meets
Constituent Proximity	0.705–0.803	0.555	0.885	0.886	0.909	Meets
Structure	Outer Loading Range	AVE	Cronbach's Alpha	rho_A	Composite Reliability	Decision
Political Trust	0.705–0.803	0.573	0.893	0.895	0.915	Meets
Voter Loyalty	0.705–0.803	0.518	0.867	0.868	0.896	Meets

Source: SmartPLS 4 output, 2026 (processed).

All AVE values are above 0.50, and all Cronbach's Alpha, rho_A, and Composite Reliability values are above 0.70 without exceeding 0.95, thus fulfilling the criteria for

convergent validity and construct reliability. Discriminant validity was assessed using the Heterotrait-Monotrait Ratio (HTMT), with all values below 0.90 and the highest value observed in the relationship between Political Trust and Voter Loyalty at 0.782. The Fornell-Larcker criteria also support these results because the square root of the AVE for each construct (0.720–0.757) is higher than the interconstruct correlations, and the cross-loadings indicate that each indicator has its highest loading on its own construct. Thus, the measurement model is deemed valid and reliable.

Structural Model Evaluation (Inner Model)

The inner VIF values range from 1.270 to 1.830, well below the 5.00 threshold, indicating no issues with multicollinearity among predictors. The model's coefficient of determination and predictive relevance are summarized in Table 6.

Table 6. Coefficient of Determination (R^2) and Predictive Relevance (Q^2_{predict})

Endogenous Constructs	R^2	Adjusted R^2	Q^2_{predict}	Interpretation
Political Trust	0.454	0.451	0.444	Moderate
Voter Loyalty	0.537	0.533	0.404	Moderate

Source: SmartPLS 4 output, 2026 (processed).

The model explains 45.4 percent of the variation in Political Trust and 53.7 percent of the variation in Voter Loyalty. Both Q^2_{predict} values are greater than zero, and the PLS model's RMSE is lower than that of the linear benchmark across all indicators, indicating that the model has predictive relevance. The CVPAT results show a negative and significant ($p < 0.001$) average loss difference for Political Trust, Voter Loyalty, and the model as a whole, reinforcing the model's out-of-sample predictive ability. The overall model fit is also good, with an SRMR value of 0.044 (< 0.08) and an NFI of 0.901.

Effect sizes (f^2) indicate that Constituent Proximity has a large effect on Political Trust (0.421), while Political Trust has a moderate effect on Voter Loyalty (0.266). These two relationships are the primary drivers of the model. Conversely, Political Brand Experience has a small effect on Political Trust (0.072) and a negligible effect on Voter Loyalty (0.009), while Constituent Proximity has a small direct effect on Voter Loyalty (0.097). This pattern suggests that the statistical significance of a path must be interpreted in conjunction with its practical importance.

Hypothesis Testing

Hypothesis testing was conducted using the bootstrapping procedure at a 5 percent significance level. The results of the tests for direct and indirect (mediation) effects are summarized in Table 7, and a visualization of the bootstrapping results is presented in Figure 2.

Table 7. Hypothesis Testing Results

Hyp.	Path	Coeff.	t-stat.	p-value	Decision
H1	Political Brand Experience → Political Trust	0.224	4.757	< 0.001	Accepted
H2	Constituent Proximity → Political Trust	0.540	14.041	< 0.001	Accepted
H3	Political Trust → Voter Loyalty	0.475	10.117	< 0.001	Accepted

H4	Political Brand Experience → Voter Loyalty	0.073	1.766	0.077	Rejected
H5	Proximity to Constituents → Voter Loyalty	0.284	5.780	< 0.001	Accepted
H6	Political Brand Experience → Political Trust → Voter Loyalty	0.106	4.092	< 0.001	Accepted
H7	Constituent Proximity → Political Trust → Voter Loyalty	0.256	8.372	< 0.001	Accepted

Source: SmartPLS 4 output, 2026 (processed). Hyp. = Hypothesis; Coef. = Path coefficient

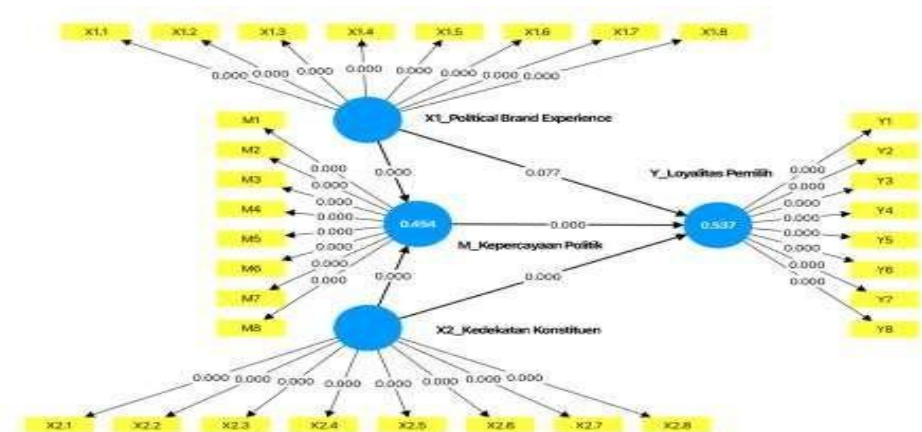


Figure 2. Bootstrapping Results of the Research Model (SmartPLS 4 Output)

Six of the seven hypotheses were accepted, and one hypothesis was rejected. The direct path with the largest coefficient is Constituent Proximity to Political Trust (0.540), followed by Political Trust to Voter Loyalty (0.475). The path from Political Brand Experience to Voter Loyalty was the only direct effect that was not significant (H4 rejected). In the mediation test, the indirect effect of Political Brand Experience on Voter Loyalty through Political Trust was significant (0.106; $p < 0.001$; 95% CI 0.058–0.160), while its direct effect was not significant; thus, the pattern observed was indirect-only mediation (full mediation). The indirect effect of Constituent Closeness on Voter Loyalty via Political Trust was also significant (0.256; $p < 0.001$; 95% CI 0.198–0.319), and since its direct effect remained significant in the same direction, the resulting pattern was complementary partial mediation. The total effect of Political Brand Experience on Voter Loyalty is 0.180 ($p < 0.001$), and the total effect of Constituent Proximity on Voter Loyalty is 0.540 ($p < 0.001$), with the indirect effect accounting for approximately 47.4 percent of the total effect of Constituent Proximity.

Discussion

Political Brand Experience has a positive and significant effect on Political Trust (H1 accepted), consistent with Brand Experience Theory, which explains that cognitive, affective, behavioral, and symbolic responses to brand touchpoints shape individual evaluations (Brakus et al., 2009), as well as Marland and Wagner (2020), who demonstrate that candidates and legislators can serve as brand ambassadors for their parties. However, the coefficient of influence is relatively small ($\beta = 0.224$; $f^2 = 0.072$), consistent with the descriptive findings that social-relational experiences with party cadres and legislators received the lowest rating (3.14) compared to symbolic recognition (3.78). This pattern suggests that PAN is stronger in symbolic recognition than in direct relational experiences; therefore, digital outreach needs to

be linked to tangible evidence of work and real interactions so that political experiences can build trust more effectively.

Constituent closeness has a positive and significant effect on political trust, with the largest coefficient in the model ($\beta = 0.540$; $f^2 = 0.421$; H2 accepted), reinforcing social exchange theory, which explains that relationships tend to be maintained when the parties involved perceive benefits, attention, and reciprocity (Blau, 1964), as well as findings from the IPU and UNDP (2022) and the OECD (2022, 2024), which identify responsiveness and openness as drivers of trust in public institutions. The closeness felt by voters proved to be a stronger determinant of trust than more symbolic political brand experiences. The average Constituent Closeness score (3.38) remains in the moderate category, with communication channels (3.59) scoring higher than follow-up on aspirations (3.21), indicating that PAN needs to transform communication access into a documented process for addressing aspirations—one with designated responsible parties and accompanied by feedback.

Political Trust has a positive and significant effect on Voter Loyalty, with the largest direct coefficient on Voter Loyalty ($\beta = 0.475$; $f^2 = 0.266$; H3 accepted), consistent with commitment-trust theory, which positions trust as the foundation of long-term relationships (Morgan & Hunt, 1994), and the explanation of trust through ability, benevolence, and integrity (Mayer et al., 1995). Conversely, Political Brand Experience does not have a significant direct effect on Voter Loyalty ($\beta = 0.073$; $p = 0.077$; H4 rejected), indicating that recognition of and impressions regarding PAN are not yet sufficient to generate a commitment to support without a prior trust evaluation process, consistent with the view that voters also evaluate performance, integrity, issues, and alternatives from other parties before making a choice (Sides et al., 2023). Nevertheless, the total effect of Political Brand Experience on Voter Loyalty remains positive and significant (0.180) after accounting for the mediating effect of Political Trust.

Constituent Closeness has a positive and significant effect on Voter Loyalty both directly ($\beta = 0.284$; H5 accepted) and through Political Trust ($\beta = 0.256$; H7 accepted), with a complementary partial mediation pattern indicating that closeness operates through two channels simultaneously: a sense of closeness and being cared for can directly increase support, while the experience of a responsive relationship helps build trust that strengthens loyalty. The total effect of Constituent Closeness on Voter Loyalty reached 0.540, with indirect effects accounting for approximately 47.4 percent of that total effect, consistent with Bernardi (2020) regarding the importance of responsiveness in political representation relationships. Meanwhile, Political Trust fully mediates (indirect-only mediation) the influence of Political Brand Experience on Voter Loyalty ($\beta = 0.106$; H6 accepted), meaning that the PAN's political brand experience only influences loyalty after voters interpret it as confidence in the party's competence, integrity, and concern.

Overall, the research findings support the extension of Brand Experience Theory and Political Trust Theory to the provincial level: political brand experience has been shown to shape trust, but requires a stronger trust evaluation mechanism before generating loyalty, whereas constituent closeness serves both a direct function and a trust-building function. From a managerial perspective, these findings indicate that the success of PAN DKI Jakarta's political branding strategy should not be assessed solely based on brand awareness, message reach, or the number of digital interactions, but rather on its ability to build political trust through evidence of competence, integrity, concern, transparency, and consistency, while managing constituent relationships based on data regarding their aspirations, service standards, and follow-up actions remains the primary lever for increasing voter trust and loyalty.

CONCLUSION

This study concludes that PAN DKI Jakarta's Voter Loyalty is explained by a combination of Constituent Proximity, Political Trust, and Political Brand Experience, which

operate through distinct mechanisms. Political Brand Experience and Constituent Proximity were found to have a positive and significant effect on Political Trust, with Constituent Proximity ($\beta = 0.540$) being a far stronger predictor than Political Brand Experience ($\beta = 0.224$). Political Trust was found to have a positive and significant effect on Voter Loyalty ($\beta = 0.475$) and served as the strongest direct predictor in the model. Constituent Proximity had a positive and significant effect on Voter Loyalty both directly ($\beta = 0.284$) and through Political Trust ($\beta = 0.256$; complementary partial mediation), whereas Political Brand Experience had no significant direct effect on Voter Loyalty ($\beta = 0.073$; $p = 0.077$) and exerted an effect only indirectly through Political Trust ($\beta = 0.106$; indirect-only mediation). The research model explains 45.4 percent of the variation in Political Trust and 53.7 percent of the variation in Voter Loyalty, with good predictive relevance and model fit.

Based on these findings, PAN DKI Jakarta is advised to develop a data-driven system for managing constituent feedback (by region, issue, person in charge, timeline, status, and feedback); to prepare periodic performance reports for the party and legislators that include promises, actions, results, and follow-up agendas to strengthen consistency—which was rated the lowest; integrate digital communication with field activities so that symbolic recognition transforms into relational experiences; and establish Political Trust—rather than merely content reach—as a performance indicator for political branding strategies. Legislators, party cadres, and regional officials are advised to set standards for constituent response services, conduct regular community forums and thematic recesses, and maintain alignment between the party’s messages, cadres’ statements, and legislators’ actions.

For future research, it is recommended to use probability sampling or stratified sampling based on region to ensure stronger representativeness, particularly in areas with a very limited number of respondents such as the Thousand Islands; to develop a longitudinal design to observe changes in variables over time, especially during campaign periods; to compare multiple political parties or provinces to broaden generalizability; and to include variables such as Party Identification, Satisfaction with Political Work, and Political Information Received by Voters, given that 46.3 percent of the variation in Voter Loyalty is still explained by factors outside the model. This study has limitations, including its cross-sectional design; the use of purposive sampling, which limits generalizability; the potential for common-method bias in self-reported data; a scope limited to a single party and a single province; an uneven distribution of respondents across regions; and the measurement of loyalty based on intent rather than actual voting behavior. Therefore, the generalizability of the results must be interpreted with caution.

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