



## CHAPTER I

### THE RISE OF SOCIAL MEDIA IN POLITICAL CAMPAIGNS

#### Background

The invention of the World Wide Web in 1991, when Tim Berners-Lee managed to connect the hypertext technology to the Internet, formed the basis of a new type of networked communication (Castells, 2007). Weblogs, list server and electronic mail server helped the offline communities to connect through online communities. Until the turn of the millennium, networked media were mostly generic services that people could join or actively utilized to build groups, but the services themselves would not automatically connect people to others. With the advent of web 2.0, shortly after the turn of the millennium, online services shifted from offering a channel for networked communication to becoming an interactive, two-way vehicle for networked sociality (Manovice, 2009).

The social media platform kept evolving and improving from 1990 onwards, e.g. blogger in 1999, Wikipedia in 2001, MySpace in 2003, Facebook in 2004, Flickr in 2004, YouTube in 2005, Twitter in 2006, Intagra in 2010, Path in 2010 and many more (Kittler, 1999). Evolution occurred because the social media platform is a dynamic object and stimulates response in accordance to the user's needs and the owner's objectives. Evolution also occurred in reaction to competing platforms and to the larger technological and economic infrastructure through which they developed (Feenberg, 2009, pp. 77-83).

The major impact which social media has on society is on communication patterns. If in the past communication tended to be one way in which individuals only received information from the information source without having a chance to respond to it directly, the development of social media transformed it into two way communication. Thus the receiver has the ability to respond to the message provided by the information source and in turn being responded to by the information source.

Information dissemination changed drastically because of social media. In offline media such as newspaper, magazine, television and radio, the owners and editors decide who will speak and decide on the issues which they want to raise to the public. The introduction of social media challenged that hierarchy and domination, providing a place where ordinary citizens may create, post and spread contents based on their own perspectives (Taylor, 2012).

Today almost everyone uses social media as one of their communication platforms, starting from the individual to the business and government level. They use social media for many purposes such as for informing society of what happens to themselves, for sharing ideas, for promoting events and many more. One of the main reasons why they use social media is because the number of social media user keeps increasing each day. In Indonesia, the number of social media user is very high. In terms of the use of Facebook, Indonesia is in the second position after Bangkok, with a total Facebook user of up to 11.658.760. Indonesia is also in the fifth rank for the most Twitter user after USA, Brazil, Japan, and the United Kingdom. The total number of Twitter users in Indonesia amounts to 29.000.000 (Socialmemos, 2013).

As one of the most populous democratic country, it is a must for the political party and politicians in Indonesia to advertise themselves through social media to present themselves to society, to obtain votes and to gain trust in governing the country. The increasing trend of social media use in Indonesia also affects the behavior of politicians and political parties. Gibson and Rommele stated that there is a shifting trend on how political parties deliver their message to society (Rommele, 2007). When there was no social media, political parties tended to use mass media as their communication tool. The mass media which political parties used for their campaign include television, radio, newspaper and magazine (Dudek, 2007, pp. 1-10).

On July 9<sup>th</sup>, 2014 Indonesia held its fourth presidential election. Indonesian citizens had to choose between Jakarta's then Governor, Mr. Joko Widodo, or the former commander and leader of the Gerindra Party, Mr. Prabowo Subianto (ABC, 2015). Before these two electoral candidates competed in the national presidential

election, there were other big names who declared themselves probable presidential candidates, such as Aburizal Bakrie, the leader of the Golongan Karya Party and the owner of the Indonesian media Viva Group (Viva News, 2014), and Wiranto, the leader of Hanura party who ran in collaboration with Hary Tanoesoedibjo. Hary Tanoesodibjo is the owner of the MNC Group, one of the largest media in Indonesia (okezone, 2014).

Joko Widodo and Jusuf Kalla were supported by a combination of old and new political parties such as PDIP where Jokowi came from, the National Democrat party (NASDEM), Kebangkitan Bangsa party (PKB) and Hati Nurani Rakyat party (HANURA) (Kompas, 2014). On the other hand, candidates such as Prabowo Subianto and Hatta Rajasa were also supported by larger and more senior political parties such as Golongan Karya party (GOLKAR), Amanat Nasional Party (PAN), Persatuan Pembangunan party (PPP), Kesejahteraan Sosial party (PKS) and Prabowo's party Gerindra (VOAIndonesia, 2014).

The number of Indonesia's potential voters was huge. Indonesia's electoral commission commissioner, Ferry Kurnia Rizkiyansyah in KPU, stated that voters came from 33 provinces, 497 regencies/cities and 6980 sub districts, with the number amounting to 187.612.255 voters. From the total voters, 93.172.645 are female and the rest 93.439.610 are male (Kompas, 2014). From the total number of voters in Indonesia, 20-30% or equal to 67 million are first time voters (The Jakarta Post, 2014).

After a long journey and struggle between both candidates, Indonesia finally came to a consensus and decided Joko Widodo and Jusuf Kalla as Indonesia's next president from 2014-2019. Jokowi received 53.15% votes from around 130 million votes that were being calculated by the electoral commission (Reuters, 2014).

The 2014 election can be viewed as the first election in Indonesia which utilized and maximized every social media platform in the candidates' campaign strategy. Even before the election commissioner decides the legitimate presidential candidate, many big names above have started their social media campaign and even hired a special team to maintain, optimize and support their social media campaign. Aburizal Bakrie was one example of the unofficial presidential candidate

who used social media to promote himself, his political party and his programs for Indonesia.

Jokowi and Jusuf Kalla had their social media team and volunteers who called themselves, Jokowi Advance Social Media Volunteers or known as “JASMEV”. They claimed to have thousands of social media volunteers across Indonesia (Kompas, 2014). Prabowo and Hatta Rajasa also had their social media team to support them, and their major social media team came from the Gerindra party and was led by 22 year old Noudhy Valdryno (Vivanews, 2014). Both candidates maximized this new and trendy communication platform, creating an interesting image to gain societies’ vote during the election. Both candidates used almost the same social media platform during the election, namely Facebook, Twitter, YouTube, Blog, and others, but there are two main social media tools that became the focus for their campaign, namely Facebook and Twitter (aljazeera, 2014).

From the explanation above, it is interesting to analyze how social media plays an important role in Indonesia’s 2014 presidential campaign since we can see how almost every political party and candidate use social media as their communication tool. Indonesia’s 2014 presidential election was the first presidential election which incorporated social media, namely Twitter and Facebook as their campaign strategy. This book aims to shed light on the roles of social media in Indonesia’s 2014 presidential campaign and to understand the dynamics of social media in Indonesia’s 2014 presidential campaign.

## CHAPTER II

## INDONESIA'S DEMOCRACY AND SOCIAL MEDIA

### Definition of Democracy

Democracy comes from the Greek word, "Demos" or people defined as government in which the supreme power is vested in the people. In some forms, democracy can be exercised directly by the people; in large societies, it is the people through their elected agents. In the memorable phrase of President Abraham Lincoln, Democracy is government of the people, by the people, and for the people (US Info, 2005:3). This system allows different opinions, competitions, and contentions between individuals and groups as well as between individuals and governments, groups and governments, and even between government institutions (Alfian, 1978).

Through the procedural definition, democracy occurs when a country conducts an election to choose their leader. A country is incorporating "electoral democracy" when the procedural elements below are adopted (Puddington, 2004):

1. A competitive, multiparty political system.
2. Universal adult suffrage for all citizens (with exceptions for restrictions that states may legitimately place on citizens with criminal offense).
3. Regularly contested election conducted on the condition of ballot secrecy, reasonable ballot security, and the absence of massive voter fraud that yields results that are unrepresentative of the public's will.
4. Significant public access of major political parties to the electorate through the media and through generally open political campaigning.

Within the substantive definition of democracy, the focus is on the condition of life and politics in a given regime to incorporate the following: human rights and welfare, individual freedom, security, equity, social equality, public deliberation,

and peaceful conflict resolutions. If a country fulfills those criteria, then we can say that the country is a democratic country.

Within the process-oriented definition of democracy, some minimum set of processes must be continuously set in motion for a situation to qualify as democratic. Robert Dahl identifies five criteria for a democratic country (Dahl, 1998, pp. 37-38)

1. Effective participation. Before a policy is adopted by the association, all the members must have equal and effective opportunities for making their views known to the other members as to what the policy should be.
2. Voting equality. When the moment arrives, at which the decision about the policy will finally be made, every member must have an equal and effective opportunity to vote, and all votes must be counted as equal.
3. Enlightened understanding. Within reasonable limits as to time, each member must have equal and effective opportunities for learning about the relevant alternative policies and their likely consequences.
4. Control of the agenda. The members must have the exclusive opportunity to decide how and, if they choose, what matters are to be placed on the agenda. Thus the democratic process required by the three preceding criteria is never closed. The policies of the association are always open to change by the members, if they so choose.
5. Inclusion of adults. All, or at any rate most, adult permanent residents should have the full rights of citizens that are implied by the first four criteria. Before the twentieth century, this criterion was unacceptable to most advocates of democracy.

Indonesia's 2014 presidential election was a democracy, both procedural and substantive. We can refer to it as procedural democracy because we have an election system that allows people to directly choose their leaders. We can also say that it is

substantive democracy because it gives a chance to society to actively participate in the election process. With social media, political parties can actively provide information about their vision, missions and programs. On the other hand society can actively give their opinion about the political parties, the election and the political condition at the time.

### **Characteristics of Democracy**

Dahl outlined seven principles of a democratic society. First is the control towards government. Second is honest and detailed election. Third is the right to choose and to be chosen. Fourth is freedom of expression without oppression, fifth is accessibility of information and sixth is the right to have an association (Dahl, 1998, p. 175)

Amien Rais explained the characteristics of democracy in a more comprehensive and detailed manner. He explained ten points of what democratic countries should have. (1) Participation in decision making (2) equality in front of the law (3) fair distribution of opinion (4) equal chance to receive education (5) four types of freedom, freedom to have an opinion, freedom of the media, freedom to associate, freedom to have a religion (6) availability and accessibility of information (7) appreciative of the political manners (8) individual freedom (9) the spirit of team work (10) the right to protest (Rais, 1986, pp. 7-8).

On the other hand, Joseph A Schumpeter stated that there are two important dimensions in a country that employs democracy as their political system. The first is competition and the second is participation (Scumpeter, 1976). In the context of presidential election in Indonesia, there must be a fair competition between all candidates in order to gain votes from the society. Moreover an active participation of the society is also a must in this biggest democratic celebration.

The used of social media in the political process in Indonesia is in line with the characteristic of democracy. First, it gives room for government to control the needs of society and society can also control what happens inside the government. Second, social media makes it possible for society to participate in the decision making process by directly sending their ideas to the decision making process

through social media. Third, social media also allows competition of ideas between political parties to gain votes and last social media allows direct participation and allows society to be a watchdog for the government.

### **Definition of Campaign**

Political campaign is the core of representative democracy. In order to win the election, candidates have to receive support from the public. The quality of the democratic society can be linked to the quality of the campaign. Tight election and active voters' participation are the main characteristics of a democratic country. In this era, campaigns became more varied, from the approach, the structure and also the strategy.

Glossary Grafis noted that campaign is a form of advertising that is made for the purpose of showing and promoting something. William paisley said campaign or communication campaign's purpose is to influence peoples' knowledge, attitude and behavior (Paisley, 1981, p. 23). The campaign will be functioning through individuals that receive and respond upon the message (McQuail, 1994, p. 242).

Political campaign is the time when political parties and candidates introduce their programs to society to influence public opinion and mobilize society to give their vote for them in times of election (Firmazah, 2007, p. 271). During the presidential campaign, the candidates had to choose the issues and their strategic positioning. John Petrocik, William Benoit and Glen Hansen (2003:118, 599-626) said that if one candidate has a specific issue to be shared in society and they understand the issues very well, they will have a better reputation compared to others who don't have any specific issue (Petrocik, Benoit, & Hansen, 2003).

Trent and Friedenbergr explained that campaign communication gives voters brief and comprehensive information about politics (Trent & Friedenbergr, 2008). All forms of communicative campaign are so beneficial and essential for society in democratic countries. In the 2014 election, the political parties and presidential candidates introduce themselves to society, explaining their programs, vision and

mission, also their big dreams for the country. They do this to gain support from the society across Indonesia from Sabang until Marauke.

### **Types of campaign**

Charles Larson divides campaign into three categories (Ruslan, 2008, p. 25-26):

1. Product-Oriented Campaign. This campaign focus is on the product. The goal of the campaign is to sell the product and make the positive image for the product through social event and charity event.
2. Candidate-Oriented Campaign. This campaign focuses on the candidates to gain support from the voters to be chosen in the election. Most of the time the duration of the campaign is short, start from 3-6 months and needs a huge amount of money.
3. Ideological or Cause Campaigns. This campaign orientation is most of the time for the social change. This type of campaign is the non-commercial campaign such as the health campaign, environmental campaign and so on.

In this case the author sees the case as a candidate-oriented campaign. The campaign goal is to influence the society and at the end they hope the society will chose one of the candidates, either Prabowo or Jokowi as their President.

On the other hand, based on NDI, there are 3 types of campaign. The first is the campaign without a clear message; the second is the campaign that has a clear message, but not a clear program over what they will do. The third is the campaign that has a clear message and also a clear program (National Democratic Institute, 2009:8). Herbert Siemens said campaign is about organizing people through a series of message.

In the case of the 2014 election, it is a combination of these three types of campaign. Some candidates and political parties have done a campaign without a clear message of what they offer to the society and why society should choose them. Most of the campaigns in Indonesia has been oriented at gathering as much people as possible in the soccer field and inviting the mass media to cover it. But some

campaigns have such a clear message such as to increase the welfare of the society. But they forget to explain how to achieve that 'welfare'. And they don't explain their programs or strategies to reach their goals. Some campaign can cover both; have a clear message and clear programs.

With social media, the political parties can explain about their values, their ideology, and also their targets when society chooses them as the president. They can also explain their strategies to achieve their goals in more interesting and compelling ways. They can do it with images, videos, and also music.

### **Campaign Strategies**

There are four types of strategy that we can use in the context of political campaign. Decide the communicators, decide the object of campaign, make the campaign message and chose the media (Cangara, 2008, p. 290).

1. Decide the communicators

Communicator plays an important role in the campaign. They will communicate directly to the audience. The communicator has to have good communications skills, rich of ideas, and creative.

2. Decide the target audience

The audience is called a "Khalayak". The campaigners have to understand the society. What they need, what they have, what is their interest and so on. This thing is important to adjust the message that we will give to them.

3. Make the Campaign message

To make an effective message we have to know a few things, A) we have to mastered the message that will be delivered including the structure. B) Should be able to argue with a clear logic. C) Have the abilities to play with intonations and gesture to make people more interesting listening to the audience.

4. Choosing media

Campaigner may use conventional media, electronic media, social media or go directly to the society. This will depend on who, where and when are their target audience.

Both candidates, Joko Widodo and Prabowo Subianto used this strategy in their campaign. Both candidates had their campaign team that became their communicator to the society. But, they also communicated it directly to the society to gain more attention. Second, they also had their target audience in this election. Since the number of first time voters is big, their target in this election is young voter. Third, the campaign message which Jokowi and Prabowo did had different characteristics that influenced the message delivered to the society. From Jokowi's side, the message that they wanted to deliver to society was, Indonesia needs a humble leader and also from a non-military background. On the other hand, the Prabowo team wanted to say that Indonesia needed a firm and authoritative leader. The last strategy is choosing their media. In this case, both used social media as one of their main campaign media.

### **Campaign Techniques**

Ruslan said that there are several campaign techniques that people can use in their campaign (Ruslan, 2008, p.71-74). The techniques are:

1. Participation

Participation is the technique that allows people to participate and have a role in the campaign. The goal is to create the emotional bonding between the candidates and the society

2. Association

Association technique provides the campaign content that has the relation with the current issues that is exist right now. This technique attracts society to engage more to the campaign.

3. Integrative Technique

This campaign technique tries to unite the communicator and the target audience in a very communicative way by saying the word like, us, we, all of you, and so on. The point is how the

communicator can say to the target audience that this campaign is not only for “my” personal interest, but this is also the society interest.

In this presidential campaign the candidates used social media as their campaign technique. Social media allows participation from society. The presidential election also sent campaign messages that were in line with the issues which existed in that particular time. The candidates also often used the word “us”, “we” and “you” in their campaign speech to be emotionally bound with their voters.

### **Campaign Channel**

Ruslan said that campaign channel is the medium for the candidates to send their message to the audience (Ruslan, 2008, p.84-85). This channel is the mediator between the communicator and the target audience. There are several campaign channels that candidates can use:

1. General Media: Letter, telephone, telegraph
2. Mass Media: Printed media, newspaper, fact sheet, billboard, and other electronic media
3. Special Media: Advertising, Logo and candidate’s name or the brand name that is used for the promotional proposes
4. Internal media:
  - House Journal, like company profile, annual report.
  - Printed Materials, like the printed goods, like booklets, pamphlet, name card, calendar
  - Spoken and visual word, like audio visual, video record, tape record, slide film, and broadcasting media
  - Meeting media, like seminar, meeting, presentation, discussion, exhibition, sponsorship, and gathering meet.

In this case, the author sees that the candidates used a combination of all of the media above: the general media, mass media, special media and also internal media. But the media that the author will observe in this election is the use of social media as their campaign strategy.

## Definitions of Political Participation

Political participation is the methods by which society can be involved in political processes. The participation can be in many forms: the lower level society might do this by voting for their political party or candidate, by making some protests towards the government, and making some views over the government in the media. The higher level society can be the member of political parties or the member of pressure groups. In the highest level of participation the society might decide to run for an election and to gain vote and fight upon the name of society.

Huntington and Nelson said that political participation means the activity by private citizens designed to influence government decision making. Here they said that the intention of the political participation is to influence the decision making process (Samuel P Huntington & Joan M Nelson, 1976)

Verba on the other hand said that: "By political participation, we refer simply to activity that has the intent or effect of influencing government action – either directly by affecting the making or implementation of public policy or indirectly by influencing the selection of people who make those policies" (Verba, 1995). Political participation includes actions such as voting, joining meeting, becoming the political party member or interest group, and having some relations with the elites (Budiarjo, 1988).

Herber McClosky said that political participation is the voluntary action from the society to choose their leader and directly or indirectly influencing the decision making process. Norman Nie and Sidney Verba said that political participations are legal activities from citizens to influence policy makers in decision making. Participation also means the action to influence decision making processes and how the regulation is running (Surbakti, 2010).

Explained from various points of view, political participation focuses on how society is involved in political activities such as decision making, choosing the leaders, policy control and regulatory processes. In a presidential election campaign, we can see many forms of political participation such as becoming a volunteer in a campaign team.

Social media opens a chance for the society to be more active in participating in the political process. First, they can control what happens to government and also the candidates. Second, they can influence the government's policy by initiating a conversation in social media about various issues. Third, they can also influence other society in participating in the election.

### **Topology of Political Participation**

Political participation as an activity can be categorized into two forms, active and passive participation. Active participation is when a person or group gives a suggestion about the general policy, gives an alternative policy from the one which governments have made, criticizes and contributes to the government, pays taxes, and actively joins the election. This participation focused on the input and output process. Passive participation solely focuses on the output process. The society that is not included in both categories is categorized as the abstaining group or in Bahasa we call it *Golongan Putih* (Surbakti, 2010:182).

Milbrath and Goel categorize participation into four categories. First is the apathetic, they pull out their selves form any political process. Second is the spectator, these people at least ever joined the election. Third is the gladiator, they actively participate in political process, member of political party, activist, and campaign worker. The fourth is the critics, and they join in an unconventional way (Laster Milbrath & M.L Goel, 1977).

In a country where the government embraces active participation, some society might chose not to actively participate in politics. There are at least two factors to explain this phenomenon, namely political awareness and trust towards the government. From these two factors, Paige categorized political participation into four types. First, if society is politically aware and trust the government, the participation would likely be active. Second, low political awareness and trust will occur if political participation is low. The third is radical militancy, this happens when society has high political awareness, but trust is low. The last is when trust is high, but awareness is low, this one is called passive participation (Paige, 1971, pp. 810-820).

The two factors above are not the only factors effecting political participation. There are more factor that can directly and indirectly effect participation such as organizational experience, social and economic status and also family political affiliation. Social media campaign in the 2014 election changed the definition of active and passive participation. Now people have the chance to directly participate in politics through their social media accounts, from anywhere and anytime they want. Social media campaign also provides the place for the aphetic, spectator, gladiator and critics to participate in politics.

### **Definition of Social Media**

Social media is the new information network and information technology using interactive and user-produced content, as well as interpersonal relationships that are created and maintained. Typical social media network services could be in the form of content sharing, web communities and internet forums (Sanastokeskus, 2010).

Paramitha sees social media as the media which allows people to easily interact with each other. Social media is based on internet technology that makes information dissemination easy and creates conversations with many audiences (Paramitha 2011:42). In a broader definition, social media is democratic information. It changes the trend from content readers to content creators. Before social media exists, society was a reader of news, stories or articles. But after social media is created, people have access to becoming a writer of an article, story, or even news. There are special characteristics that social media have. First, social media uses various kinds of online platforms. Second, social media always changes time after time. Third, social media is participation from all people (Evans, 2008, p. 34).

There are at least five major features that we can use to identify social media (Eysenbach, 2008, p. 10):

1. Social Networking and Social Interaction
2. Participation
3. The use of different providers (search engine, blog space, etc.)

4. Openness
5. Collaboration (between both users and user groups)

### **Types of Social Media**

There are certain types of social media applications such as Bookmarking, Content Sharing, Wiki, Flickr, Connecting, Creating Opinion, Blog (Puntoadi, 2011, p. 34)

1. Bookmarking: this type social media allows people to share the link of their website based on their interest. The purpose of this form of social media is to find people with the same interest and become friends. The example of this social media is [www.dig.com](http://www.dig.com), [www.muti.com](http://www.muti.com), and [www.reddit.com](http://www.reddit.com)
2. Content Sharing: This social media allows people to share the media that they created, such as video, music, and picture. The examples are YouTube, Flickr, Instagram, and also Sound Cloud.
3. Wiki: is the platform for people to share information about countries, terms, hobbies, important tragedy, history, and so on. Other people can also give inputs for the information if there are some mistakes or revisions.
4. Flickr: This social media was made by Yahoo that specializes in sharing their photos. We will find the detailed information about the photos, such as where, when, what kind of camera and lens they use to take the photos.
5. Social Network: this social media allows people to connect with one and another. The examples are Facebook, Twitter, Path and so on.
6. Creating Opinion: This social media gives people the chance to share their opinion to people around the world. This can be in a form of website and also blogs.

### **Social Media Benefits**

Social Media as one of the forms of communication, has its special benefits for the actor who uses it (Puntoadi 2011:5)

1. Personal Branding is not only for political figures, it's for everyone. The personal branding in social media such as Facebook, Twitter, YouTube and other social media will be more "actual" because the one who decides whether a person or brand become famous is the society who interact in the social media.
2. Fantastic marketing resulted through social media. People don't watch TV anymore, they watch their mobile phones. From now more people bring, see and use their mobile phones almost every day. Thus marketing or even campaigning through social media is more effective now.
3. Social media gives space to interact more with the audience. The closer an actor is with his audience makes his message and also products become more noticeable and attractive to more people to "buy".
4. Social media is "VIRAL". This means the social is like a virus, it spreads really fast.

### **Characteristics of Social Media**

Antony Mayfield in his book, "What is Social Media" defines social media as the new form of media. He also explains five special characteristics that make this platform become important, such as: participation, openness, conversation, communities, and connected.

#### **1. Participation**

Social media encourages contribution and feedback from everyone who are interested in it. No one can limit a person to take part in social media. Everyone can do it collectively based on their self-awareness.

2. Openness

Information that is being published in social media can be accessed by all society. It's open for the public through open source information. There are no barriers to access and create information. Therefore, people tend to dislike social media that have a password, because they believe it hampers the interaction process.

3. Conversation

The basic difference between conventional media and social media is that the nature of conventional media is to inform (one-way) but social media is a two way communication. This means there will be interaction from the communicators and audience. There will be an exchange of information and knowledge in social media.

4. Communities

Communities are likely to optimize social media for their communities. These communities could be related to work, ethnicity, education, or similar interest. Social media gives space for the communities to form and communicate effectively.

5. Connectedness

The characteristic of social media is connectivity. Millions of people around the world are connected through social media.

This characteristic supports the process of political participation. People can directly participate in the discussion in social media regarding the presidential election. Open information makes people all over Indonesia aware of what happens in the region and in the nation. People can create conversations about many issues such as the programs of the candidates, economic issues and so on. For those who have the same interest, they can build their own communities in the social media, they can talk to each other, exchange phone numbers, generate ideas and also gather together to support their candidates. The last characteristic is connectedness: everyone in social media is connected to one and another. They don't have a problem with location, because wherever they are, they can communicate with one and another.

Tabroni in his book noted the same characteristics between conventional media and social media. He said that both media can reach small and large number of society. Like the posting in blogs and the shows on television, both can reach small and large scales of society. But he also characterizes the uniqueness of social media that differentiate it from the conventional media (Tabroni, 2012, pp. 163-164).

1. Reachability

Social media is part of the internet, it gives unlimited access to people. The level of reachability is so high that it can penetrate through time and place. It can be accessed anytime.

2. Accessibility

Conventional media is usually owned and can be accessed only by limited society. In social media everyone can access it, be it the one who own capital or not.

3. Usage

To make and maintain a media, we usually need a certain educational level. But in social media, everyone that has the willingness to make and maintain this media can make it themselves, because from the technicalities it is easy and the cost is not expensive.

4. Response

Response in conventional media takes longer time compared to social media. In social media every person can directly respond to the issues in just minutes or even seconds.

5. Content

Information or content in social media is very editable. The writers and other people have the possibility to edit the contents that are contained in social media. Compared to conventional media, the content could not be edited once it is being published.

Five aspects make social media important in the 2014 presidential election. First, social media makes it easy for people to reach one and another. It makes the

candidates and political parties able to see what their potential voter needs and on the other hand, society can also see the quality of the candidates. Second, almost everyone can use social media and therefore everyone can participate in the political process. Third, to own social media we only need internet connection and a personal computer, so everyone can have their social media account, can access information and can join the conversation about the presidential election. Fourth, social media also allows us to give a direct response towards certain issues. Both political parties and the society can directly respond to the issues that affect themselves. Fifth, everyone in social media can make and spread contents related to the presidential election based on their point of view, and other people can see and read it.

### **CHAPTER III**

#### **THE 2014 PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION AND SOCIAL MEDIA**

##### **The 2014 Presidential Election and Indonesia's Voters**

Indonesia's 2014 presidential election was the third direct presidential election. In the 2014 presidential election, the election commissioner officer, Ferry Kurnia Rizkiyansyah said that the total number of voters in Indonesia were 188.268.432 (KPU, 2014). The male voters were 93.301.112 and the female voters were 93.967.311. Outside Indonesia, the election commissioner said that the number of voters was 2.038.711, the male voters were 95.220.779, and the female voters were 95.086.335. Thus, the total number of voters in the 2014 presidential election was 190.307.134. The number of voters increased from the 2009 presidential election. In 2009, the total number of voters was 171.265.442.

In average, the number of people who participated in the election always decreased in every presidential election. This is shown in the table below.

**Table 4.1**

No	Year	Participation Number
1	1971	96,6%
2	1977	96,5%
3	1987	96%
4	1992	95%
5	1997	93,6%
6	1999	92,3%
7	2004	84,1%
8	2009	71,7%
9	2014	75,2%

Source: (Merdeka, 2014)

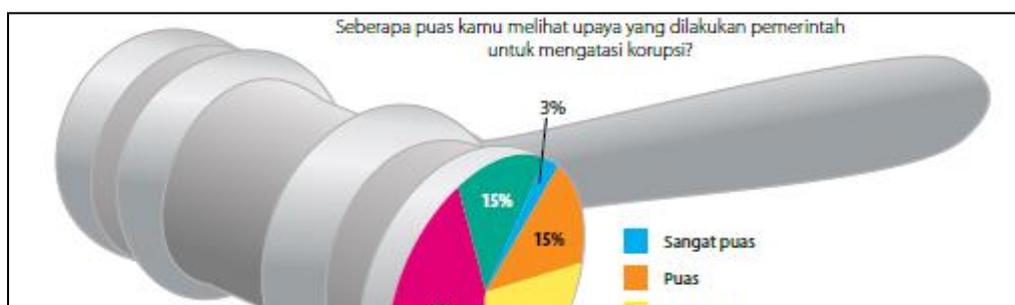
From these data, we can see that the 2014 presidential election was the election with the highest participation since the new order began. These facts showed us that there was something new in the 2014 presidential election.

If we look at the average participation number in Indonesia's election, the author concluded that the number dramatically decreased. Paige explained there

were two factors that can affect the participation number in a country. The first is political awareness and second is trust to the government (Paige, 1971, pp. 810-820). From the political awareness side, Syarfi Hidayat from LIPI or Lembaga Ilmu Pengetahuan Indonesia, said that during the democratic era, the government gave a chance for the society to choose their own leader, but the problem is not all of the people in the society were politically aware of what happened at that time (Kompas, 2015). On the other hand, the executive director of PERLUDEM or *Perkumpulan Untuk Pemilu Demokrasi*, Titi Anggraini, said that the recruitment system of the legislative from the political parties was based on popularity not compatibility (Berita Satu, 2014). These facts proved that political awareness affected the number of political participation in Indonesia. The second factor is society's trust towards the government. The survey done by the Indonesian Transparency International stated that trust towards Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono's government was decreasing (Internasional, 2014). The survey covers at least five indicators. First was young voters' perception towards corruption in Indonesia. Second was the society's opinion about public institutions. Third was the government performance. Fourth were the economic condition, law and security in Indonesia. Fifth was the level of democratic satisfaction.

Picture 4.1 Public Preception About Corruption

In the first indicator in their survey they asked the young voters about their perception of the number of corruption in Indonesia in 2013. 86% of the respondents said that the corruption s increasing dramatically. Only 7 % said that it was decreasing. The other 7% said that it remained the same.



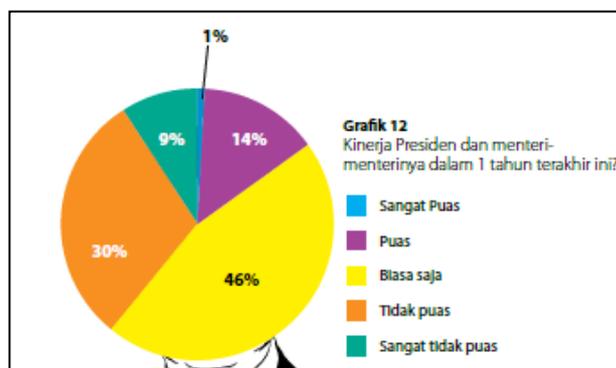
Picture 4.2 Corruption Eradication Perception

They also asked the people about the government’s effort in dealing with corruption in Indonesia. The response is like the picture above; only 3% said that they were satisfied with the government effort. The rest 45% and 15% said that they were not satisfied and 15% were not satisfied at all with the government effort.



Picture 4.3 Public Servant Corruption Level

The second parameter in their survey was society’s opinion about public institutions. In this survey they made a scoring: one representing zero corruption, five representing the most corrupt institution. The picture above showed that the most corrupt institution based on society’s opinion was DPR/DPRD and Political Parties. DPR/DPRD received 4.33 and Political Party received 3.88.



Picture 4.4 Performance of President and Ministers

The third parameter was the government’s performance. In this parameter only 1% of the society said they were satisfied with the performance of the government, 30% said that they were not satisfied, 9% said they were not satisfied at all, and 46% said they were feeling normal.

The fourth parameter was the society’s precaution towards the economy, law and security in Indonesia.



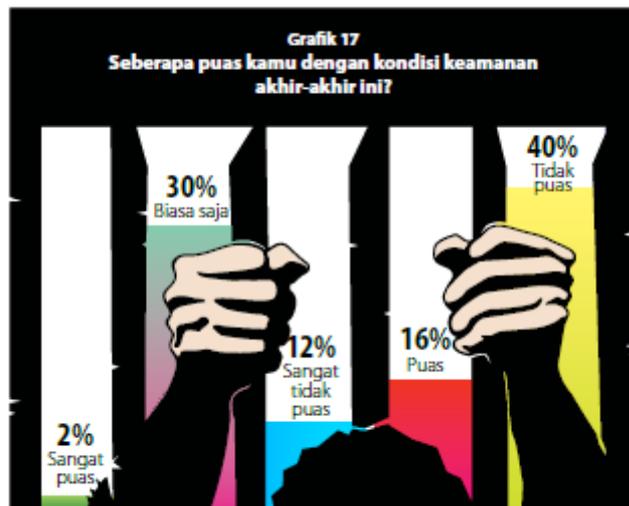
Picture 4.5 Public Perception about Economy Condition in Indonesia

With regard to the economy, most said that they were not satisfied with the condition; 29% said they felt normal, 13% said they were not satisfied and only 1% said they were satisfied.

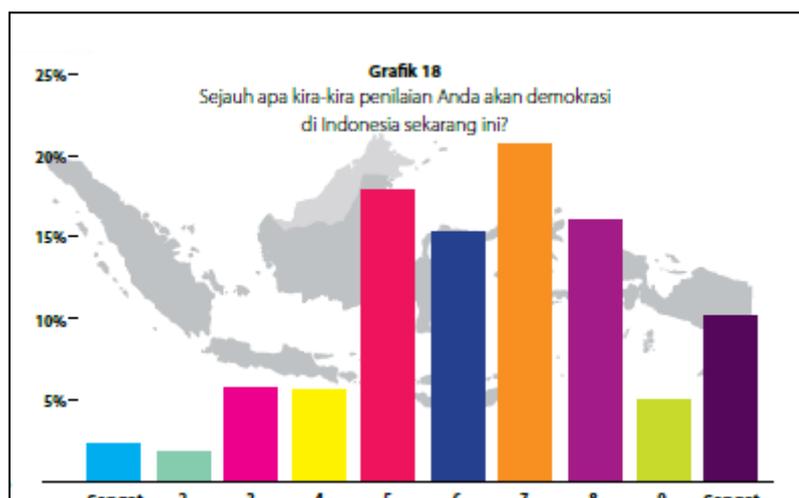


Picture 4.6 Public Perception about Law Condition in Indonesia

With regard to laws and regulations, we can see that most of the people were also not satisfied with the law in Indonesia. From the graph, we can see that 69% of the population was not satisfied with the law and only 10% of the people were satisfied with the law in Indonesia.



Se feel Picture 4.7 Public Perception about Safety Condition secure, 30% said that they felt normal, 12% said they were not satisfied, 16% said they were satisfied and only 2% said that they were very satisfied.



Picture 4.8 Democracy Condition in Indonesia

In this indicator, the respondents were given the number 1-10. One represented a dictatorial country and ten represented a democratic country. From the survey, they found that most of the respondents gave a score of seven. 67% said that Indonesia was in the democracy track, whereas 33% said that Indonesia was not in the democracy track.

From all the surveys which had been released by Transparency International we concluded that most of the indicators showed increasing trust from the voters, especially the young voters in Indonesia. We also can see that society was not so politically aware. Therefore, these two factors affect the political participation of society. In these circumstance, there lies an opportunity for political parties and presidential candidates to grab the attention and votes from the first time voters by providing different political approaches and strategies.

### **Indonesia's Political Parties**

Ranney and Kendal define political party as a group of society that has the highest autonomy to nominate and be involved in the election with the hope to control the bureaucracy and public policy decision making processes (Firmazah, 2007, p. 271). Political party is defined as a public organization with the purpose of taking its leader to lead and making sure the supporters receive benefits from their supports (Firmazah, 2007, p. 271).

Based on the Indonesian constitutional law about political parties, the general purpose of the political party is to manifest the national sympathy based on the 1945 Indonesian Constitution; to maintain the integrity of the Republic of Indonesia; to develop the democratic life based on Pancasila; and to provide for the welfare of the society in Indonesia. The specific purposes are, to increase the

political participation from society; to fight for the party's sympathy; to build the ethics and political culture. The main roles of political parties based on the constitutional law are, first to give political education to party members and the society. Second is to create a good climate for the country's unity. Third is to absorb, maintain and distribute political aspiration from society. Fourth is to trigger political participation from the society and to trigger political recruitment by filling the political position through the democratic mechanisms (UU PARPOL, 2008). In the context of the presidential election, the political parties' roles are to educate society to use their rights to vote and choose their next president; to support the candidates from their own political party or the candidates from their party's coalition.

The current party system which Indonesia adopted is the multiparty system. The democracy system in Indonesia allows people to form the political parties. Multiparty system is the system that has more than two parties dominating the election; this system is the product of pluralistic social structure, based on culture and social economy. The society tends to maintain the origin of their culture and fight for it through political parties (Surbakti, 2010).

The multiparty system is used in line with the 1999 election as part of the reformation. After the end of the new order regime, that being led by President Soeharto, in the context of political parties, there was a demand from the society to have the chance to form a political party, and based on that the government made UU No.2/1999 about political parties.

In the 1999 general election, the number of political parties that fulfill the criteria to join the election were 48 parties, with the biggest vote being for PDIP with 33,11% and 153 seats, GOLKAR with 25,97% and 120 seats, PPP 12,55% and 58 seats, PKB with 11,03% and 51 seats, PAN 7,35% and 34 seats, PBB with 2,81% and 13 seats (Budiarjo, 1988). In the 2004 election, the parties which passed the selection were 24 parties. The big six political parties that dominated the election were GOLKAR with 21,58% voices and 128 seats, PDIP with 18,53 voices and 109 seats, PKB with 10,57% voices and 52 seats, PPP with 8,15% voices and 58 seats, Demokrat with 7,45% voices and 57 seats (Budiarjo, 1988). In 2014, 46 political

parties registered their party and were verified by the Indonesia election commissioner to join the general election. These are the list of the parties. (Kemendagri, 2014)

Table 4.2 Politica Parv in 2014 General Election

Partai Demokrasi Kebangsaan	Partai Karya Republik	Partai Republik
Partai NasDem	Partai Nasional Republik	Partai Kedaulatan
Partai Pemuda Indonesia	Partai Keadilan sejahtera	Partai Persatuan Nasional
Partai Hati Nurani Rakyat	Partai Gerindra	Partai Patriot
Partai Demokrasi Indonesia Perjuangan	Partai Demokrasi Pembaruan	Partai Bhineka Indonesia
Partai Kesatuan Demokrasi Indonesia	20. Partai Buruh	Partai Peduli Rakyat Nasional
Partai Kongres	Partai Keadilan dan Persatuan Indonesia	Partai Barisan Nasional
Partai Serikat Rakyat Independen	Partai Pelopor	Partai Nasional Banteng Kerakyatan Indonesia
Partai Kebangkitan Bangsa	Partai Republiku	Partai Persatuan Nahdlatul Ummah Indonesia
Partai Indonesia Sejahtera	Partai Demokrat	Partai Matahari Bangsa
Partai Bulan Bintang	Partai Damai Sejahtera	Partai Aksi Rakyat
Partai Pemersatu Bangsa	Partai Republik Nusantara	Partai Kebangkitan Nasional Ulama
Partai Amanat Nasional	Partai Islam	Partai Merdeka
Partai Golongan Karya	Partai PNI Marhaenisme	Partai Kedaulatan Bangsa Indonesia Baru
Partai Karya Peduli Bangsa	Partai Pengusaha Pekerja Indonesia	
Partai Persatuan Pembangunan	Partai Penegak Demokrasi Indonesia	

**Source: Kemendagri**

After the parties registered themselves to the election commissioner, the commissioner will validate everything to make sure that all the parties are eligible to join the general election based on the constitutional law that Indonesia has. Indonesian constitutional law number 12/2003 which regulated the general election stipulated several things regarding the requirements which political parties have in joining the general election. Chapter III point II of Law no 12/2003 stated that:

1. Legal entity status based on the law about political party
2. Have a stewardship in every province
3. Have a stewardship in 75% of total number of cities in the relevant provinces
4. Have a stewardship in 50% of total number of sub-districts
5. Have minimum 30% of woman in the central stewardship
6. Have minimum 1000 members or 1/1000 from total citizen in the political party, proven by the ID Card
7. Have the office at the central level, province level, and city level until the last steps of the election

8. Send the name, logo, and the picture sign of the political party to the election commissioner, and
9. Give the campaign fund account number in the name of political party to the election commissioner

From the total number of parties which were registered to Indonesia's election commissioner, 12 national parties and 3 local parties in Aceh passed the verification. The national parties were National Democratic Party led by Surya Paloh, Kebangkitan Bangsa Party led by H.A Muhaimin Iskandar, Keadilan Sejahtera Party led by Muhammad Anis Matta, Demokrasi Indonesia Perjuangan Party led by Megawati Soekarnoputri, Golongan Karya Party led by Aburizal Bakrie, Gerakan Indonesia Raya Party led by Prof Dr. Ir. Suhardi, Demokrat Party led by Susilo Bambang Yudhono, Amanat Nasional Party led by M. Hatta Rajasa, Persatuan Pembangunan Party led by H. Suryadharma Ali, Hati Nurani Rakyat Party led by H. Wiranto, Bulan Bintang Party led by Dr.H.MS. Kaban, Keadilan dan Persatuan Indonesia Party led by H. Sutiyoso. The local parties in Aceh were, Damai Aceh Party led by Tgk. Muhibbussabri, Nasional Aceh National Party led by Irwansyah and Aceh Party led by Muzakir Manaf (KPU, KPU Tetapkan 10 Parpol Peserta Pemilu, 2014).

The legislative election was done on July, 9th 2014. After the commissioner recapitulated the result of the election, they came to a decision that PDIP was in the first position with 18,89 votes and 109 seats, Golkar in the second position with 14,75% votes and 91 seats, Gerindra with 11,81% votes and 73 seats, Demokrat with 10,19% votes and 61 seats, PAN with 7,59% votes and 49 seats, PKB with 9,04% votes and 47 seats, PKS with 6,79% votes and 40 seats, PPP with 6,79% votes and 39 seats, NasDem with 6,72% votes and 35 seats, Hanura with 5,26% votes and 16 seats (MetroTvNews, 2014).

### **The Candidates' Profile**

In Indonesia's 2014 presidential election, two main candidates fought to be Indonesia's next president. The first candidate was the coalition of Prabowo Subianto and Hatta Rajasa, the second candidate was the coalition of Joko Widodo and Jusuf Kalla.

## **Prabowo**

The first presidential candidate was Prabowo Subianto. Prabowo Subianto Djojohadikusumo or known as Prabowo was born in Jakarta on October 17th 1951. He was the son of Sumitro Djojohadikusumo (an Indonesia economist) and Dora Sigar. His grandfather Margono Djojohadikusumo was the founder of Bank Negara Indonesia or BNI. His Father was an Economist who served as former President Suharto's economic minister and minister of research and technology (Djojohadikusumo, 2000). Prabowo enrolled in Indonesia's Military Academy in Magelang in 1970. He graduated in 1974 with others who would gain senior leadership position such as Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono. In 1976, Prabowo served in the Indonesian National Army Special Forces known as KOPASUS. In 1996 Prabowo led the Mapenduma Operation in the mountainous terrain of Papua, Indonesia. On March 1998, Prabowo was appointed head of the Army's Strategic Reserve Command or known as KOSTRAD (Conboy, 2003).

Prabowo started his political career with GOLKAR. In 2004 Prabowo was one of the five contenders vying to become Golkar Party's presidential candidate. The other four candidates were Wiranto, Akbar Tandjung, Surya Paloh and Aburizal Bakrie. Prabowo gained the lowest number of votes in the election, only 39. At the end of the day he decided to resign from Golkar Party, his last position in the party was as the party advisory (Ananta, 2005).

After he failed in the GOLKAR Party, Prabowo with his inner circle, including Fadli Zon established the Great Indonesia Movement Party known as GERINDRA. Prabowo was nominated by his political party to be the presidential candidate in Indonesia's 2009 presidential election. However, having won 26 out of 560 seats in the Indonesian parliament, the party did not have the required number of seats and Prabowo ran as vice presidential candidate to Megawati Soekarno Putri from PDIP. The coalition between Megawati and Prabowo was called Mega-Pro and they earned 27% of the vote and lost to the coalition of Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono and Budiono (Detik, 2008).

After another failure in the political competition, Prabowo with his political party Gerindra decided to compete again in the 2014 presidential election. In 2012

Gerindra decided to nominate Prabowo as the presidential candidate for the 2014 election. In the 2014 presidential election, Prabowo chose Hatta Rajasa to be his vice president.

From this explanation we can conclude that the first candidate for Indonesia's 2014 presidential election came from a military background and a bureaucratic family background.

### **Jokowi**

The second presidential candidate was Joko Widodo. Joko Widodo was born in Solo, June 21 1961 with the real name Joko Widodo. His father was Noto Miharjo and his mother's name was Sujiatmi. He was the oldest and the only male son in the family. Jokowi came from a poor family, his father was a carpenter and a bamboo collector from Kalianyar, Solo (MetroTvNews, 2014). The name "Jokowi" came from his business partner from France, Michl Romaknan. The term JOKOWI is easy to remember.

After Jokowi finished high school, he continued his study to the university level in Gadjah Mada University in Jogjakarta and graduated in 1985. After graduating, Jokowi worked in the state owned enterprise in Aceh for one and a half years. Not long after, in 1986 Jokowi married his wife, Iriana. Jokowi then decided to go back to Solo and worked in Ltd Roda Jari, the company that operates in the wood working sector. Around 1998 Jokowi started his own furniture business. While running his business Jokowi was also a leader in an organization, namely the Association of Indonesian Furniture (ASMINDO) (Kristin & Fransisca, 2014).

In 1998, Jokowi started to enter the political arena, by joining PDI-P that was led by Megawati Soekarno Putri. With his political vehicle, Jokowi gained so many achievements. In 2005, he was elected the Mayor of Surakarta together with his partner Mr. FX Hadi Rudyatmo. Under his leadership, many things have changed in Solo. He regulated the street vendors, set up the special place for them so they would not crowd the street and caused traffic jam. He also managed to improve the socio-cultural sector in Surakarta, the environmental sector, and the urban planning sector (Solopos, 2012).

All the achievements that Jokowi accumulated in Surakarta induced PDIP and Gerindra to support him in running for the governor's election in Indonesia's capital city, Jakarta. His partner that was to run for the Governor Election in Jakarta was Basuki Tjahaya Purnama, or publicly known as Ahok. In Jakarta's governor election, Jokowi fought against the old Governor, Mr. Fauzi Bowo and Nachrowi Ramli. However, because of the fresh campaign style, the unique characters of the candidates, creative campaign message, Jokowi and Ahok won and became the Governor of Jakarta. In 2014, Megawati as the leader of PDIP chose Jokowi to be their Presidential candidate for the 2014 Election. Jokowi ran for the presidential election together with Jusuf Kalla as his vice president in 2014 (JakartaPost, 2013).

In the presidential election, the support from the political parties was an important aspect for the candidates. There was a specific regulation saying that the political party that wanted to send their members to be a presidential candidate should at least have 20% from the total seats in DPR and have at least 25% legitimate votes from the national election (KPU, 2014). Therefore, if a party did not meet that requirement they would not send their candidates. The only choice that political parties had was to make a coalition with each other. Coalition meant combining their number of votes. In the 2014 national election, no political parties got 20% votes. Therefore, the consequence was that they had to form a coalition to support their own presidential and vice presidential candidates.

Prabowo and Hatta were supported by the coalition from Gerindra Party, Kesejahteraan Sosial Party (PKS), Amanat Nasional Party (PAN), Persatuan Pembangunan Party (PPP), Bulan Bintang Party (PBB), and Golkar Party (VOA, 2014). This coalition named itself the Red and White Coalition or known as KMP. Jokowi and Jusuf Kalla were supported by the coalition from Demokrasi Indonesia Perjuangan Party (PDIP), National Democratic Party (NASDEM), Kebangkitan Bangsa Party (PKB), Hati Nurani Rakyat Party (HANURA), Keadilan dan Persatuan Indonesia Party (PKPI) (Kompas, 2014). This coalition named itself "Indonesia Great Coalition" or known as KIH.

### **The Political Campaigns**

During the presidential election period, it was an obligation for political parties and candidates to conduct a campaign to gain society's attention, trust and votes. This activity was the consequence of a country that adopts democracy as their political system. In this country the society had the right to directly choose their president. All presidential candidates and their political parties tried their best to persuade the Indonesian society. They introduced their programs, vision and mission (Firmazah, 2007). They talked about the issues which the society was concerned with at that time (Petrocik, Benoit, & Hansen, 2003). They used the best strategies to make sure their campaign was as effective as possible, such as deciding the communicators, deciding their target audience, making the campaign message, and choosing the best campaign media.

In Indonesia's 2014 presidential election, all presidential candidates and their political parties directed their political campaign to influence the society's opinion to finally choose them to be Indonesia's next president. The general things which the candidates did during the campaign period were, forming their campaign team, having a direct meeting and talking with the societies all around Indonesia, spreading campaign kits such as stickers, t-shirts, flags, pins, and also delivering many events for the society.

In Indonesia, the body which had the authority to make the regulation about the nation's campaign was the Indonesian Election Commissioner or KPU (Komisi Pemilihan Umum). The commissioner regulated everything from the campaign, such as what the candidates can and cannot do during the campaign, the specific time for the candidates to perform their political campaign, the location of the campaign, the campaign media that the candidates may and may not use, to the roles of the current government, military and police in the campaign. This regulation was made to make sure the campaign process ran as effective as possible.

Before the candidates joined the election there were several documents that they had to complete. There were eight documents that were needed to be completed as the requirement. The first was reporting their wealth condition to the Corruption Eradication Commission or KPK. The second was SKCK or Zero Criminal Record from the Indonesian Police. Third was the legalization of identity

card. Fourth was the legalization of certificates. Fifth was the legalization birth deed Sixth was the NPWP or the Tax Number, the letter to prove they didn't have any tax dependent, and the last one is the photos (VivaNews, 2014).

In the 2014 Presidential election, the election commissioner decided that the campaign started on June 4<sup>th</sup>, 2014 and ended on July 5<sup>th</sup>, 2014, so every presidential candidate had one month to officially run their presidential campaign and gain society's support (VivaNews, 2014). After the campaign time was over and before the election time, the election commissioner instilled the "calm period", this is the time where there was no more campaign activity and the time for society to think and decide their preferred candidate (Detik, 2014). On July 9<sup>th</sup>, 2014, the society went to the polling stations and finally chose their president.

In the campaign method, Indonesia's election commissioner outlined several things which candidates can do in the campaign, such as (KPU):

1. Limited meetings
2. Direct meeting and dialogue
3. Spreading information through printed mass media and electronic media
4. Spreading campaign kit to the society
5. Spreading information through radio and or television
6. Make and put the campaign material in a location that has been agreed upon by the commissioner
7. Candidate debate
8. Other activities which did not contradict the constitution

There were three campaign categories based on Charles's definition. The first one is the product oriented campaign, which focused on the product, on increasing the product selling and on making a positive image of the product. The second was candidate oriented campaign, which focused on gaining support from the voters to choose the candidates in the election. The third was ideological campaign, which focused on the social change such as environmental campaign, woman's issues, etc. (Ruslan, 2008, p. 25-26). In the case of the presidential election, the campaign fitted with the second type, candidate oriented campaign,

because the campaign's purpose was to socialize the candidates and their programs to society to gain their votes.

Before the presidential campaign period, every candidate had a vision and mission that they declared to the society to gain societies' attention and votes for them. This vision and mission should also be submitted to the election commissioner to be distributed to the society.

Prabowo and Hatta's vision was to create a united, sovereign, fair, prosperous, and prestigious Indonesia. In order for Prabowo and Hatta to achieve this vision, their mission was first to create a united Indonesia that is safe and stable, prosperous, democratic and prestigious, moreover to actively promote world peace and enact Indonesia's 1945 constitutional law and Pancasila. Second is to create a fair, prosperous, and independent Indonesia. Third is to create a socially righteous Indonesia, with the adequate human resources that are smart, creative and credible.

In order for Prabowo and Hatta to accomplish their vision and mission, they had several agendas and tangible programs. The first was to develop strong, sovereign, fair and prosperous economy. The second was to run the populist economy. The third was to build sovereignty in food, energy and natural resource use. The fourth was to increase the quality of human resources through educational reform. The fifth was increasing the quality of social development through health, social, religious, cultural and sports programs. The seventh was to maintain environmental sustainability. The eighth was to build the government which protects the society, promotes anti-corruption and promotes effectiveness in serving the people (KPU, Visi Misi dan Program Bakal Pasangan Calon Presiden dan Wakil Presiden Prabowo Hatta, 2014).

In real practice, Prabowo and Hatta performed several strategies in their campaigns. The first was direct meeting. In this method, Prabowo and Hatta maximized themselves and their political parties in conducting direct interactions with the society. Here Prabowo and Hatta went directly to speak with the society, including, but not limited to, the laborers, traders, farmers, and students to interact with them and hear about their problems directly (Jakpro, 2014). At the end of the campaign period, Prabowo and Hatta maximized their time to visit traditional

market and meet the trader. They believed that the government should support the traditional market (Detik, 2014). This strategy was used by Prabowo and Hatta to create an image as the candidate who cared and wanted respond to the problems that society faced at the time. The second strategy that Prabowo and Hatta did was to hold a meeting in the biggest football stadium in Jakarta, Gelora Bung Karno Stadium. Here Prabowo met thousands of his supporters from all over Indonesia and gave a speech to inspire them (Kompas, 2014). The purpose of this strategy was to directly meet and talk with his supporters in Jakarta and all over Indonesia. This campaign was covered by the national media and broadcasted in television and newspapers. The third strategy was optimizing social media to spread their campaign ideas and information relating to their candidacy (VivaNews, 2014). Through the social media, Prabowo and their campaign team spread plentiful creative information about themselves and regarding the presidential election. They did these things to attract first time voters in Indonesia.

The strategy which Prabowo and Hatta did in their campaign team was in line with the campaign concept that was outlined by Cagnara. The first one was deciding the communicators, second was deciding their target audiences, third was making the campaign message, and fourth was choosing the media (Cangara, 2008, p. 290).

The first campaign strategy that Cagnara outlined is choosing the communicator. In Prabowo's campaign strategy, they chose more than one communicator. In the direct meeting activities, Prabowo and Hatta became the main communicator. They persuaded society to vote for them by showing that they cared about the society's circumstances and their problems. In the huge meeting in the Gelora Bung Karno stadium, they also became the main communicator. However, in the third strategy, when they were using social media as their strategy, they chose the society to be their communicator. Here they optimized their team in spreading the issues and information about them, then their supporters in the social media could socialize the information to other people including their friends in social media, their family and even the people that they did not know.

The second strategy was deciding their target audiences. Through direct meeting with society, their target audiences were the society that they met in that meeting, such as the laborers, traders, farmers and students. In the huge meeting, their target audience was their supporters in Jakarta and the other place in Indonesia. However, the important thing in the social media campaign was that their target audiences were first time voters or young voters, since most of the social media users in Indonesia is in the age of 15-35 (CNN, 2015).

The third strategy was choosing the message. In Prabowo's campaign, there were many messages that they wanted society to know as their priority. In their vision and mission, they talked about the economy, security, democracy, and human resources. The core message from the vision and mission that Prabowo and Hatta made was to make Indonesia an independent country.

The fourth was choosing the media, in this strategy Prabowo also combined all the media in his campaign, the first one is by direct meeting with the society. The second was using the conventional media, such as television and newspapers. Moreover, in his campaign team Prabowo had supporters that owned a huge media in Indonesia, namely Hary Tanoesoedibjo, the owner of MNC Group and Abrurizal Bakrie, the owner of TV One and Viva Group. The third was choosing to use the new media, Social Media.

On the other hand, Jokowi and Kalla's vision was to make sovereignty and independence based on cooperation. Their main point in this vision was cooperation. Cooperation was the core value of Pancasila. They believed that the responsibility to build the country should be based on consensus. To bring the vision into reality they had their strategies. The first was to create a national security system that can ensure the sovereignty of our territory, keep our autonomous economy while protecting our maritime resources and reflecting Indonesia's personality as an archipelagic country. Second is to create a progressive, balanced, and democratic society. Third is to create active foreign policies while strengthening our identity as an archipelagic country. Fourth is to create a prosperous society. Fifth is to create a competitive nation. Sixth is to create an independent archipelagic country, moving forward strongly based on national

interests. Seventh is to create a society with personality in its culture (KPU, Visi Misi dan Program Aksi Jokowi Jusuf Kalla, 2014).

In Jokowi and Jusuf Kalla's coalition, they had nine priorities which they called Nawa Cita. The nine priority agendas were, first to make a country which provided security to all of its society. Second was to make sure the government would always be there to build the government system that is clean, effective, democratic and trustable. Third was to develop Indonesia from the coastal areas and strengthen the regions and villages. Fourth was to reform the law system to be free from corruption, prestigious and trustable. Fifth was to increase the quality of life of the society in Indonesia. Sixth was to increase the productivity and competitiveness of the people to compete in the international market. Seventh was to create the independent economy by optimizing the strategic domestic sector. Eighth was to revolutionize the country's identity; ninth to strengthen the unity in diversity.

Jokowi and Kalla's team used several strategies in their campaigns. First, they optimized their followers in the province until the district level to socialize their candidates. They used their followers which were also local leaders to influence the society's point of view. Second, they saw volunteers as an important extension of their arms. Jokowi, Jusuf Kalla and their campaign team optimized the people who had the same vision and mission to be their volunteers. There were so many volunteers that were willing to help Jokowi and Kalla in their campaign. Some examples of the volunteers were, BARA JP, Jokowi Center, Jokowi-JK Center, Two Finger Volunteer, Projo, and others. These volunteers initiated many creative movements using a variety of media such as making an event such as Rock The Vote event in Bandung (Kompas) and the Two Finger Greeting concert that was located in Gelora Bung Karno Stadium which was attended by thousands of Jokowi and Kalla supporters (Tempo, 2014). In this concert Jokowi also attended and gave his speech in front of his supporters. The volunteers also utilized the social media to spread their ideas about Jokowi and Jusuf Kalla. They made the photo template that people could use as their profile picture that had the quote "I Stand on The Right Side", they also made simple games about Jokowi and also made an informative content with a good visual quality. Third, they also used door-to-door

method. In this method, the campaign team came to the people's house and told the family about Jokowi and Jusuf Kalla and at the end of the day the team convinced the family to give their votes to Jokowi and Jusuf Kalla. They believed this direct meeting method was more effective compared to a campaign in a huge stadium and inviting thousands of people. The team also maximized the witness in the polling station to control the voting process and make sure there was no cheating.

Jokowi and Kalla's campaign was also in line with the four-campaign strategies that were outlined by Cagnara. In Jokowi and Kalla's campaign, they also combined the communicators. Jokowi and Kalla sometimes became the main communicator in the campaign when they met and talked to the society directly. They also made their political party members and their communicators promote themselves to society, especially the leaders such as the governor or the mayor. In the door-to-door campaign, Jokowi Kalla used their volunteers as their communicators to socialize themselves and their programs to the society. In the social media campaign, they used their social media campaign team as their communicators to spread creative campaign messages to society. In social media, they also used society as their communicators, because the society could easily spread their campaign message to their friends and even family.

The second was choosing their target audiences. Jokowi and Kalla's strategy in choosing their target audiences was almost the same as Prabowo and Hatta's. They targeted almost all elements of society in Indonesia. However, they had different campaign teams for different elements of society. By directly meeting the society, they were targeting the workers such as farmers, laborers and others. By door-to-door campaign, they were targeting families, by incorporating social media and other creative campaign they were targeting the young and first time voters.

The third was choosing the campaign message. In this strategy, they also had different campaign for different target audiences. However, there were several general campaign messages that Jokowi and Kalla sent to their audiences. Their campaign would focus on nine issues, including security, responsible government, developing the coastal areas, reforming the legal system, increasing life quality,

increasing productivity, creating an independent economy, and promoting unity in diversity.

The fourth was choosing the media. In this strategy Jokowi Kalla also chose to combine the media that they used for their campaign. They used conventional media such as television, newspapers and online media to spread out their news, but on the other hand, they also maximized social media.

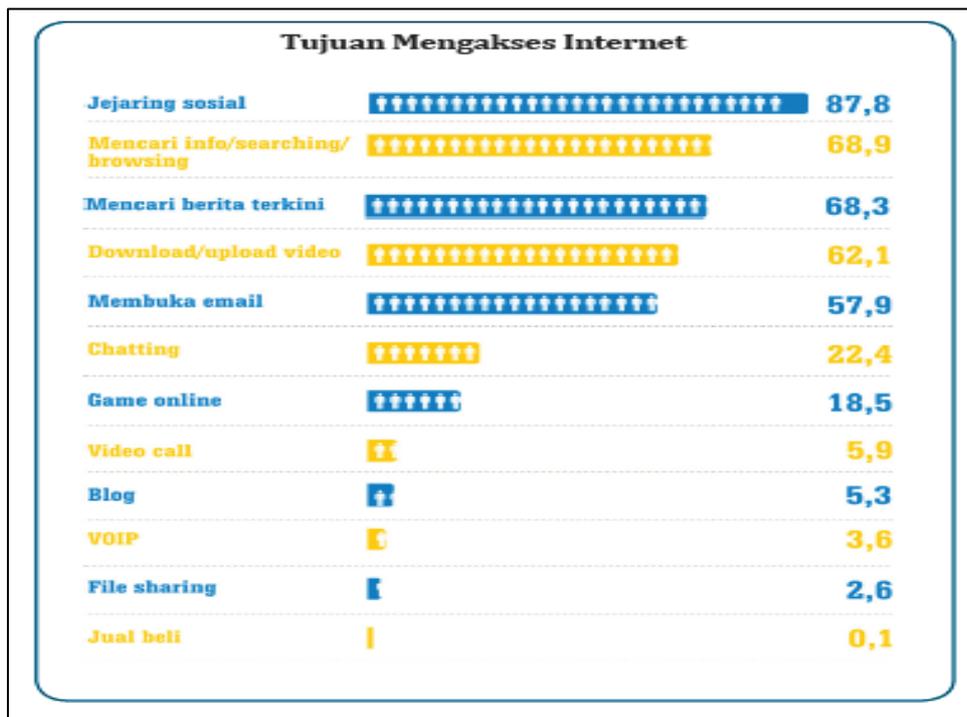
Ruslan said there were several campaign techniques that candidates could use in their campaign. The first is the participation technique, the second is the association technique, and the third is the integrative technique. From the campaign case that Prabowo and Jokowi did, there were some similarities that appeared in their campaign techniques. Both candidates used and maximized social media as their campaign strategy. By using social media, they used the combination of these three techniques. They let people become their campaign team in social media, they spread the information that became society's attention, and they also made society think that their campaign is not only for themselves but also for all society in Indonesia.

### **Social Media Platform for Campaigns**

In this thesis the author observes the unique side from the campaign in Indonesia's 2014 presidential election, which was the optimization of social media as one of the main campaign strategies from both candidates Prabowo-Hatta and Jokowi-Kalla. Both candidates used and optimized social media to socialize their programs, their vision and mission and to communicate directly to the society.

Indonesia is one of the most active countries in using social media. In the annual report that was released by We Are Social, one of the social media-marketing agencies said that in 2015 there were 72.7 million active internet users in Indonesia. 72 million are active social media users, 62 million of them are using their mobile phones to access it. Indonesia also has 308.2 million people who use mobile phones (Techinasia, 2015).

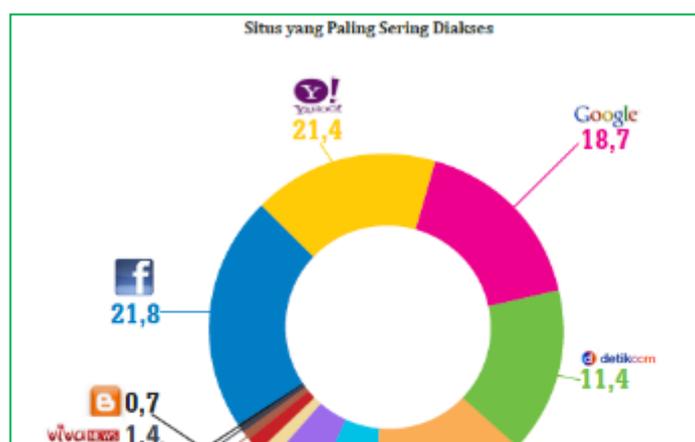
The Association of Indonesia’s Internet Provider or APJII in their survey in 2012 about Indonesia’s internet users found several facts which strengthened facts about social media users in Indonesia. In their survey concerning people’s goals in using the internet, they found that from the total internet users in Indonesia most of the people use it to access their social network (APJII, 2012).



Picture 4.9 The Purpose of Accessing Internet

In the survey, the most common purpose for people using their internet in Indonesia is to access social network, number two is to search or browse about specific information, number three is to find the latest news, number four is to download or upload videos, and number five is to open their email. The picture above explains that most Indonesians use their internet to access and manage their social media accounts.

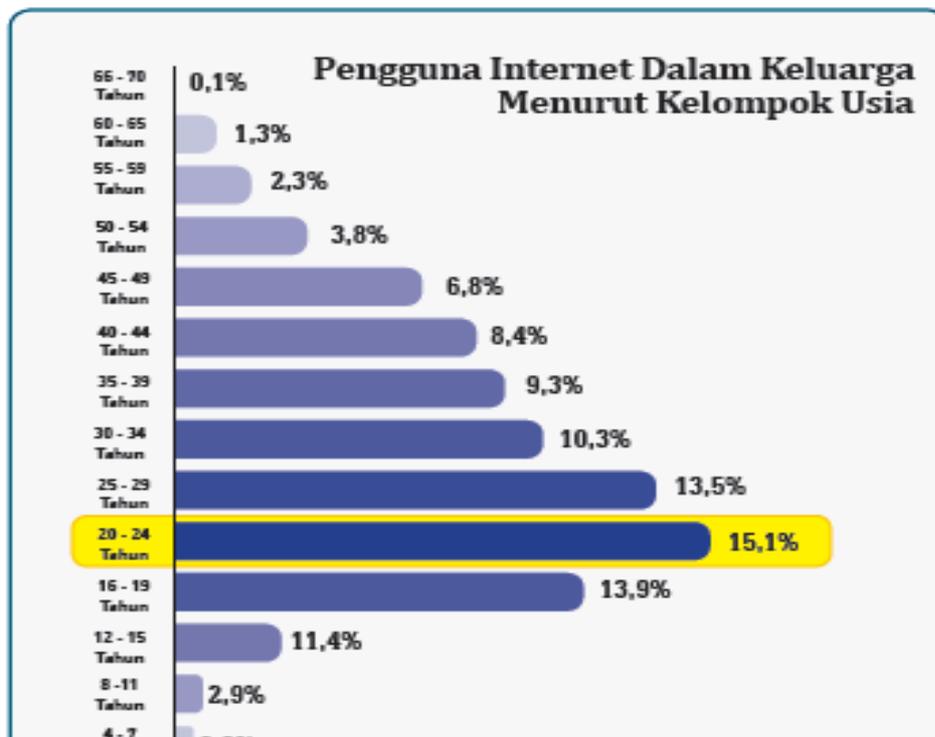
In their survey, they also ranked the most accessed website in Indonesia. They have found that the most visited website were social networks such as Facebook, YouTube, Google, and Twitter.



Picture 4.10 Most Accessed Website

From the picture above, we can see that in the first position the most accessed website is Facebook, number two is Yahoo, number three is Google, number four is Detik.com, number five is YouTube, number six is 4shared, number seven is Twitter, number eighth is Kompas and so on. From these most accessed website list we can see that it is dominated by the social media website like Facebook, YouTube and Twitter, and we can also see that people use social media alot in Indonesia.

APJII shows the demography of the internet users in Indonesia based on age. From the data from APJII most of the internet users are in the age 20-24. The total number of the internet users in that age is 15.1% from the total of Indonesian population. Here we can see that most of the internet users in Indonesia are dominated by young people starting from the age 16-34 years old.



Picture 4.11 Internet Users Based on Age

Alexa.com, one of the most trusted web analytic tools, also published data about the most popular website that people in Indonesia visited. This ranking is based on the traffic of website or in more simple way, they count the number of people who visit a specific website and compare it to another website. From their data in specific places in Indonesia, here are the top 15 most visited websites based on Alexa.com. The first is google.co.id, the second is google.com, the third Facebook.com, the fourth is YouTube.com, the fifth is BlogSpot, the sixth is Yahoo.com, the seventh is Kaskus.co.id, the eighth is Detik.com, the ninth is wordpress.com, the tenth is ask.com, the eleventh is Kompas.com, the twelfth is Lazada.com, the thirteenth is Liputan6.com, the fourteenth Twitter.com and the last one is Wikipedia.com (Alexa, 2015). This data also shows us that most of the people in Indonesia use social media a lot. We can see from the ranking that Alexa has, social media website is in the top 15 most visited website in Indonesia, namely Facebook, YouTube and Twitter.

Based on the APJJI survey in 2012 and the data that Alexa published in 2015, we can see that these social media, namely Facebook and Twitter, are always the most visited website in Indonesia. This shows that most of the people in Indonesia spend most of their time on the internet to access their social media accounts. Anand Tilak, the head of Facebook in Indonesia said that Indonesia is the fourth biggest country who uses Facebook after USA, India and Brazil. He said that the active users in Indonesia increased around 6% from 65 Million active users to 69 Million in 2014 (OkeZone, 2014).

Dick Costolo the CEO of Twitter in the meeting with Indonesia's vice president Mr. Jusuf Kalla explained that in Indonesia Twitter users are around 50 million (Kompas, 2015). According to Twitter report in 2013, Indonesia is the fifth top country that use twitter after US, Brazil, Japan, and UK (Forbes, 2012). There are interesting facts about Twitter, yet Indonesia is in the fifth rank of Twitter users based on country, but in the data from Simiocast, the company based in Paris that provided intelligence data and research on social media, said that most tweeters are found in Jakarta, the capital city of Indonesia (JakartaPost, 2012).

From the data that we have, the top two social media that the society in Indonesia uses are Facebook and Twitter. Facebook has around 69 million users and twitter has around 50 million users.

### **Social Media Trends in Indonesia**

Some benefits that social media offers to the users are the personal branding for the candidates through several platforms that are available in social media. Second is the fantastic marketing result, because now most people always interact with their social media. Third, it provides space for interaction from the candidates towards the Indonesian society. Fourth is that it is viral, it spreads really fast, making the people talk about the candidates and the political party a lot in social media (Puntoadi, 2011, p. 34).

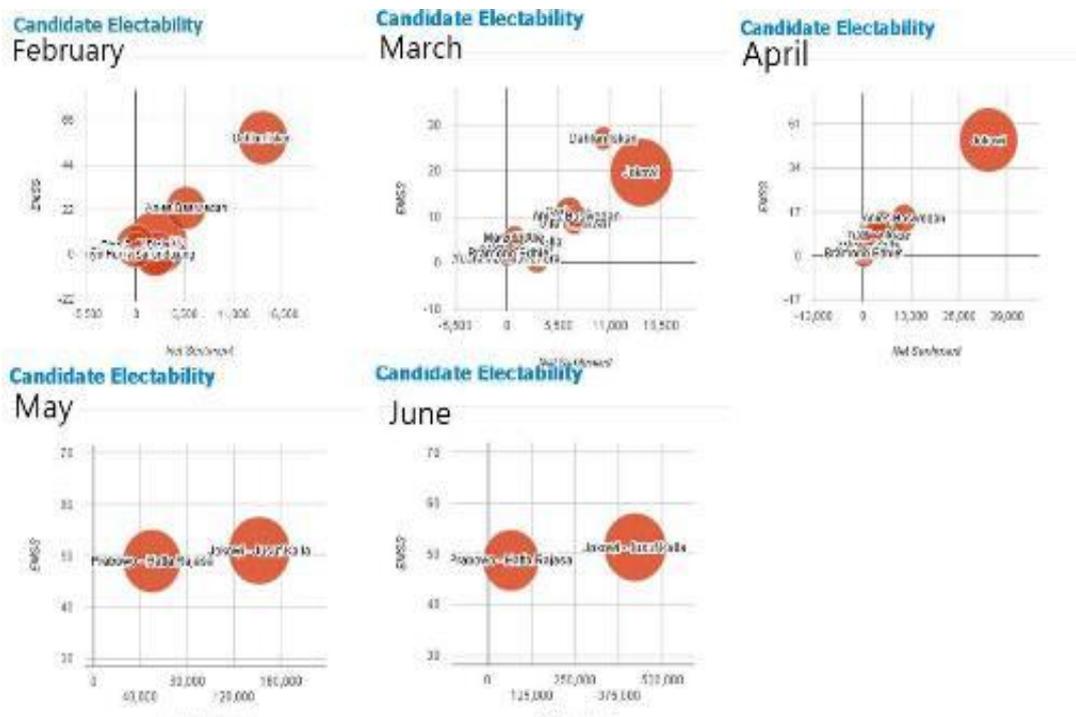
We can analyze the performance of the social media owned by both candidates during the campaign. In Indonesia, there is a survey body which dedicate itself to conducting surveys in the social media about the candidates, Prabowo Hatta and Jokowi Kalla. Their name is Politicalwave, they have done the lifetime survey using social media to see the candidates' trends in social media, namely Twitter and Facebook.

We are the first social media monitoring di Indonesia 2010. In the first time, we monitor the conversation in the social media about brand and perception society about the brand. Nah, in 2012 using the same algorithm we modify and try to measure conversation in Politic. It was the governor election; we have the different result with the other survey body. The other survey body said Voke-Nara that won the election, we have different result. At the end, we monitor 14 elections in Indonesia, 12 of it we can predict from social media. Until now in presidential election 2014, 3days before the election done, we have released that Jokowi will win 53,8%. (Yose Rizal, founder of Political Wave, interview 6th June 2014).

There are three things they measure in their survey, the first is Net Sentiment, the second is share of awareness, and the third is share of citizen. Net sentiment is the position of the candidates in society's perception or in simpler way, how much society like the candidates in social media. Share of awareness is the total number of talks in social media concerning the candidates and share of citizen is the number of people who are talking about the candidates.

Here is how to measure net sentiment, the total of positive conversation plus the neutral conversation minus the negative conversation of the candidates. So here we can see the how far society like a candidates in social media. Share of awareness is the total conversation in social media about the candidates. Nah, we count this total by the keywords that we have decided in our pre-research. For the example for Prabowo we use key words like, Prabowo Subianto, Prabowo, PS, Hatta Rajasa, Hatta, the combination of Prabowo Hatta, we can use Gerindra. For Jokowi we use Joko Widodo, Jokowi, Jusuf Kalla, JK, JWJK and PDIP, yaa we use as many key word that have the correlation with the candidate, if it is necessary we can add the key words. Share of citizen is the number of people who talked about the candidates in social media. It is possible for one person to talk about the candidates 5 times, so we count that as one share of citizen and five share of awareness. (Yose Rizal, founder of Political Wave, interview 6th June 2014).

Below are three category data from February until June 2014. Here are the data. These are the net sentiment data.



Picture 4.12 Candidate's Net Sentiment

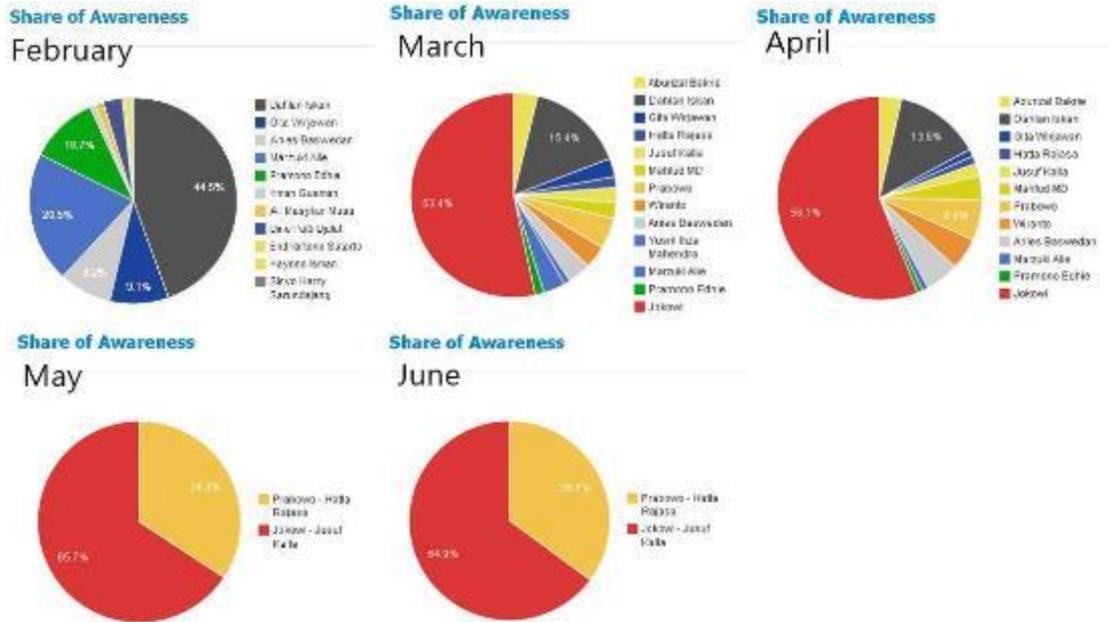
This is the net sentiment of the candidates in February. In this month, there were still many names of the potential candidates in the election. The names that we can see from the data are Anies Baswedan and Dahlan Iskan. Based on social media survey at the time, Dahlan Iskan received the biggest score in terms of net sentiment. This means there were many people talking about Dahlan Iskan, and compared to other candidates, Dahlan Iskan received the highest positive talk score.

The second picture is the data from March. In this graph, we can see that Dahlan Iskan still received the highest positive score in social media, but the newcomer Jokowi came and were in the second position after Dahlan Iskan.

In the third month, April, Dahlan Iskan was no longer in the first position of the net sentiment graph. This month we can see that Jokowi is dominating the net sentiment graph. In this month, many people talked about Jokowi's decision to run for the election and most of them talked about the positive things, so the result was like the graph above.

In the fourth month, May, the election commissioner had already decided the official presidential candidates for the election in Indonesia, Prabowo-Hatta Rajasa and Jokowi-Jusuf Kalla. This affects the result of the net sentiment graph. From the net sentiment above, we can see that the net sentiment score from both candidates is almost the same. We can see the net sentiment score is almost the same, but the difference is the number of conversation and people who talked about the candidates. Prabowo-Hatta Rajasa received around 40.000-80.000, but Jokowi's net sentiment score is 160.000.

In the last day of June 2014, the net sentiment score for the candidate Prabowo-Hatta is around 125.000 and the Jokowi-Jusuf Kalla got a score of 500.000.



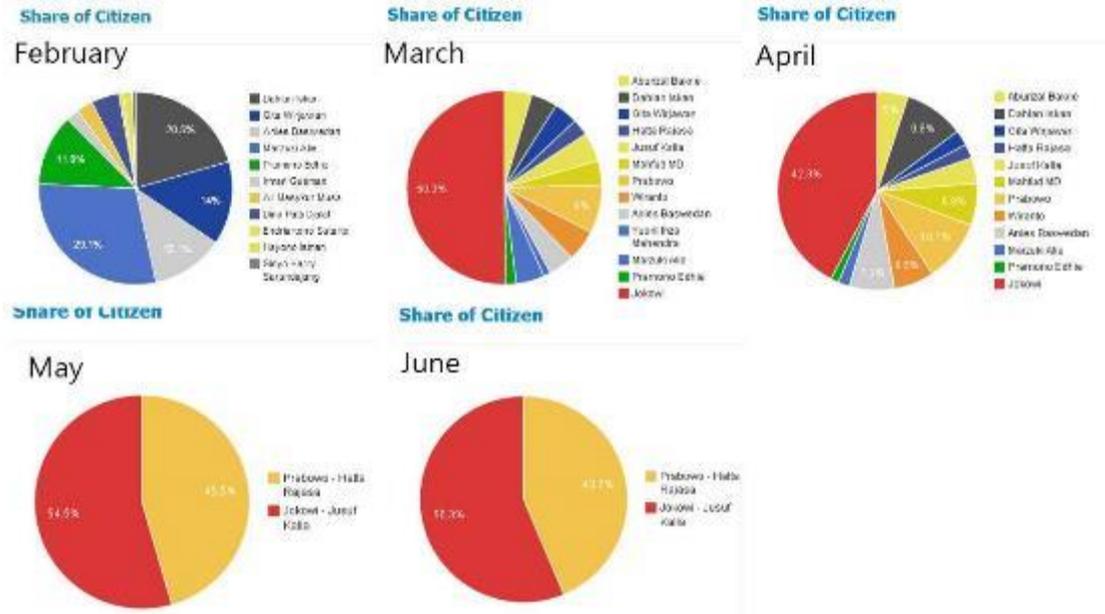
Picture 4.13 Candidate's Share of Awareness

In the first days of the February survey, the highest share of awareness goes to Dahlan Iskan. From the total number of conversation in social media about politics in February, 44.5% is talking about Dahlan Iskan. In the second month, after Jokowi announced that he himself is running for the presidential election, people started to talk about him. In this month 53.4% of the talks are discussing about Jokowi and the conversation about Dahlan is reduced to 15.4%.

In the third month, the percentage of conversation was still dominated by Jokowi with 56.1% from the total conversation in social media.

In May, the conversation is narrowing into two candidates. In this month, Jokowi-Jusuf Kalla is dominating the number of conversation in social media by 65.7% and Prabowo-Hatta Rajasa by 34.3%.

In the last month of the election, Jokowi-Jusuf Kalla still dominated the number of conversations in the social media with 64.9%. On the other hand, the Prabowo-Hatta Rajasa conversation percentage is 35.1%.



Picture 4.14 Candidate's Share of Citizen

Here we can also see the percentage of people that were talking about the candidates. In the first month, we can see that 29.1% of the people were talking about Marzuki Ali, 20.5% were talking about Dahlan Iskan, and the other 14% were talking about Gita Wirijawan.

In the second month, we can see that the number of people who talked about Jokowi is 50.3%, and dominated the graph.

In the third month, the people who talked about Jokowi were decreasing to 42.3%. People started to talk about other candidates. The people who were talking about Prabowo were 10.1%, about Dahlan Iskan were 9.8%, and about Aburizal Bakrie were 5%.

During the last month of the election, Jokowi and Kalla still received the highest percentage of people who were talking about them. 56.3% of the society was talking about them. The 43.7% of the society were talking about Prabowo-Hatta Rajasa.

### The Candidates' Social Media Campaign

In the 2014 presidential election, all candidates maximized the use of social media as their campaign strategy. Prabowo-Hatta Rajasa and Jokowi-Jusuf Kalla

had their own social media strategy that they used in the presidential election. In the presidential election, they used two main social media platforms, namely Twitter and Facebook.

Actually we cannot do social media campaign in short period. Therefore, our platform is clear and has a pattern 1, 5 year before the election. The platform that Mr. Prabowo and Gerindra use is Facebook. We were the biggest fan page in Indonesia. We also use twitter, but we have the problem of originality, there are many technologies that allow us to make fake account. We use twitter for the online debate. The benefits of using twitter is that the low consumption of data, so even the internet connection is not strong, we still can access twitter. Therefore, Facebook and twitter is our main social media platform. (Noudhy Valdryno, Social Media Campaign Manager of Gerindra).

In Jokowi and Jusuf Kalla's side, we use many social media platforms. We use Facebook to post news, long information, upload short videos, create photo albums and post a long story. We use twitter to post a news link, engage with our followers, spread photo quotes and design, and trigger a conversation about specific issues. We also use YouTube to upload our campaign videos such as short movies, fox pop and many others. However, the platform that we maximized to spread issues and also to engage with society is Facebook and Twitter.

In social media, the main target audience that becomes the focus of the candidates is the young people, be it man or woman from the age of 17-35. One of the factors is that this age category is the biggest social media user in Indonesia.

So, our main target is that the people that don't have access to information, but by times go on, we can see who are the audience that have high interest in our social media, they are men at the age of 18-32 years old. They dominated the interaction, spreading the content. So it is in line with our goal (Noudhy Valdryno, Social Media campaign Manager of Gerindra, interview 6th June 2014).

Jokowi and Kalla also had the same target audience in social media. They are men and women at the age of 18-35 years old. This consideration comes in several reasons, the first is most of the social media users are at that age, second the number of young voters in Indonesia is also high in the 2014 election, third is young people easily share things to other people, this means when young people find something interesting in social media they tend to share it again in their own social media account or tell other people that there is something cool in the social media. This is important because it creates a conversation about certain brands or issues.

In order to have a good social media campaign, both candidates form specific strategies in their social media campaign. The strategy varies from the candidates, such as making a social media team, hiring people to be their social media volunteers, creating an interesting content with good visual quality, and spreading issues to be responded by society.

If we talk about strategy, we talk about content. Presidential election is talking about the vision and mission from the candidates. The holy strategy is to spread the vision and mission from the candidates. However, how much people that care about that? Most of people do not even know the vision and mission from the candidates. Therefore, our job is to simplify the vision and mission from Prabowo and Hatta. Media social become the bridge of the vision and mission with the society. For the example, one of the program from Prabowo Hatta is to build a road, so we make a digital imaging about that, to make society easy to understand the program from Prabowo and Hatta. We make videos, gif and we spread it to the society as much as possible (Noudhy Valdryno, Social Media Campaign Manager of Gerindra, interview 6th June 2014).

These are some example of the contents that Prabowo and Hatta team spread in the social media:



Picture 4.15 Prabowo and Hatta's Program Infographic

The first visual explains the five programs from Prabowo and Hatta. The first one is to create land, sea and air transportation industry. The second is to create the farmers' bank. The third is to create two hectares of new land to make bioenergy products. The fourth is to create a safe institution for the hajj pilgrimage. The last program is to create two hectares of new land to produce food. The purpose of this content that the creative team made and spread is to make it easier for society to understand what Prabowo and Hatta will do if they become president.



Picture 4.16 Prabowo Photographs

The second content that the Prabowo and Hatta team spread in their social media is the photography created by Prabowo. The photograph is of Prabowo signing the document of registration for the candidacy. This photograph tells society that he is ready to run for the election. On the right side is the photograph of Prabowo in a car on his way to the campaign to meet his supporter. This photograph tells the society in the social media about the size of the support given to Prabowo as the next president.



Picture 4.17 Prabowo Comic Cartoon

The third content is about the tips and tricks from Prabowo and Hatta. This poster tells about five steps to make a better Indonesia. The poster visualizes

Prabowo when he wants to vote on the Election Day. The purpose of this poster is to persuade the society to vote for him on Election Day.

In the presidential election, we form a collaborative social media team from across political parties, Hanura, Gerindra, PKS, PAN and Golkar in Polonia. So we work in each team but keep coordinating with the issues that we want to spread in the social media (Noudhy Valdryno, Social Media campaign Manager of Gerindra, interview 6th June 2014).

Jokowi-Jusuf Kalla also has specific strategies to gain maximum result in social media. The first strategy is to optimize the existence of volunteers. In times of election, so many volunteer organizations support Jokowi Kalla to be the president and vice president. We make sure that all volunteers use social media to spread information about Jokowi Kalla and trigger society to talk about Jokowi Kalla. Some names of the volunteers in Facebook are JokowiJK2014, Jokowi For President, Jokowi JK Center, Jokowi Adalah Kita, Kawan Jokowi, and the official account is IrH Jokowi and Muh Jusuf Kalla. In Twitter the volunteer's organizations are JKW4P, Kawan Jokowi, Jokowi Jk Center, Jasmev2014, and Jokopedia. All of this account spread positive information about the candidates in the forms of news, article, photo, and video. These accounts are also responsible for responding when there are negative issues about Jokowi and Jusuf Kalla in the social media. Another thing that the volunteers should do with their social media account is to invite and inform people to like, follow and interact with Mr. Jokowi and Kalla. These are the example of the volunteers.

Picture 4.18



The second strategy is to spread interesting visuals about the candidates. The team decided to do this because we found that when we post something with image, the engagement rate is higher compared to only posting a text. The visuals are in the form of photographs of Jokowi and Kalla with quotes, infographics, comics and so on.



Picture 4.19 Jokowi and Kalla Programs Infographic

This visual design explains what Jokowi and KALLA will do as their priority. The first is building a sea TOL, second is establishing a fisherman’s bank, third is building villages where fishermen live, fourth is allocating 5 million hectares of land for farmers, and the last is revitalizing traditional market.



Picture 4.20 Jokowi and Kalla Campaign Poster Design

The other visual design that the team made for Jokowi and KALLA is the poster above. The poster is a persuasive poster telling the society to be smart voters, do not create riots during election time and to be smart voters.



Picture 4.21 Jokowi Photographs

These are some photographs that the team spread in social media. The left side shows the condition of Gelora Bung Karno Stadium when there was a “Salam 2 Jari” Concert. There were thousands of people attending the concert. This photograph message is that Jokowi has so many loyalists that want to support him. The right side is the photograph of Jokowi and his mother. In this photo, we can see Jokowi was greeting his mother and his mother wanted to kiss Jokowi on the forehead. This photograph showed how Jokowi is close to his family and respects his mother.

The third strategy is to interact with the society in the social media. What makes social media becomes a unique platform is that they are open for public. Every person can use social media. We use social media to trigger interaction with the society. When there are critiques, comments, or questions from society, we will respond to it because the key to having a good social media account is to be interactive. We have to give information to the society and respond when the society asks. This is important to give the image that leaders are close to them and want to hear what society wants from their next leader.



Picture 4.22 Jokowi and Kalla Interaction In Social

These are some of the examples of interactions that occurred in the social media of Jokowi and KALLA. The first left photo showed Irwan posting the photo of him and his son using the same cloth and showed number two as the sign of supporting Jokowi, and he also mentioned the Jokowi official account and also the Jokowi JK Center account. The second picture showed a musical event that is also part of Jokowi's campaign strategy. The tweet is being replied by Kartika Jumadi and also mentioning @Jasmev2014. The last photo showed that @AengGayau said Salam damai and posted a photo of Jokowi and retweeted by @KawanJokowi.

### The Roles of Social Media

Social media played several roles in Indonesia's 2014 presidential election campaign. The first one was as monitoring and research tools. This means the candidates could see the characteristics of their voters and made the best move in social media. The second was as a direct communication tool for the society. In social media, especially in the presidential election period, society had a very high interest to search information, responded to an issue, asked question and gave critiques to the presidential candidates. Both candidates and their social media team used social media to engage with their fans and followers. They wanted society to be able to ask question, gave critics/credit and responded to the society as soon as

possible. The third role of social media was to spread information to the society. High accessibility from the social media makes it easy for society to access information. It has also become an effective platform for the candidates and political parties to spread information. The last is to create communities.

### **Monitoring and Research Tools**

The first role of social media in the presidential election campaign was as monitoring and research tools. The informant from Prabowo-Hatta's team explained the above in following interview:

In Facebook and Twitter, we are given the insight data that we can analyze. In social media, the data is quantitative, we can choose it. We can know in details about who are the readers, the gender, their age, their location and other valuable information. We found that most of the audience of our campaign is male from the age of 18-32 years old. This can be the consideration of the data team. So when we make the program, we can target them (Noudhy Valdryno, Social Media campaign Manager of Gerindra, interview 6th June 2014).

From the interview above, we could conclude that Prabowo-Hatta's team used social media to see the detailed information of their followers and fans. They used the quantitative data from Facebook and Twitter as their supporting data to perform their field campaign. They also used the data as their reference for the content that they wanted to spread in social media.

In Jokowi and KALLA's team, they used social media to monitor the issues and to see their potential voters. They could monitor the issues from the posts and tweets that the candidates spread in their social media and from the tweets and posts from society about the election. The method for the monitoring and research were, first was by monitoring the posts and tweets on Facebook and Twitter, second was by using the analytic data that was provided by Facebook and Twitter and the third was using the engine that they have from the social media team. The output of this monitoring and research were first, they could see what kinds of posts or tweets that the society likes, second, they could map the strategic accounts they engaged in within Twitter and Facebook, third, they could find out the response from the society regarding their conventional campaign methods, whether positive or negative. Monitoring and research in social media was important for the team to take strategic action with regard to their campaign.

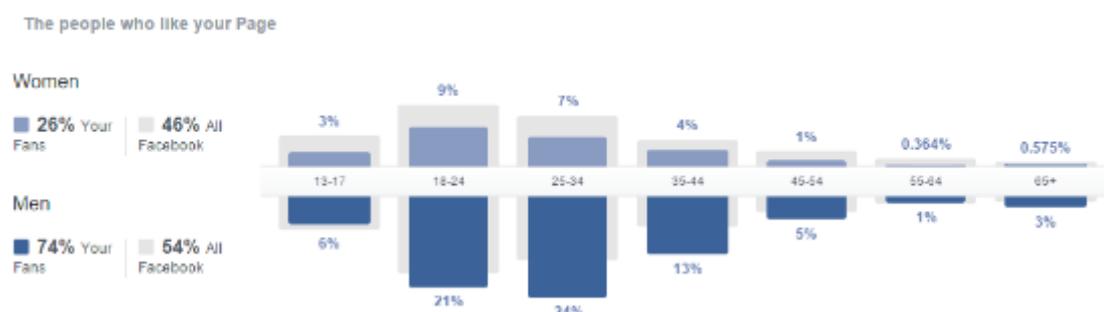
In social media such as Facebook and Twitter, they provided the analytic tools which people could use and maximized. Here are the analytic tools that Facebook and Twitter provide.

**Facebook**



Picture 4.23 Facebook Post Detail Analysis

The first aspect of the analytic tool from Facebook is the “Post Detail” analysis. Here candidates could see the detailed information about the content which they posted on Facebook. They could see how many people read their post, how many people liked it, gave comments and shared their posts. They could also see how many people did not like the post by seeing the negative feedbacks.



Picture 4.24 Facebook Fans Detail Analysis

In Facebook, they could also see gender classification. They could monitor the percentage of women and men who liked their fan page. They could also see the age classification of their fans.

Country	Your Fans	City	Your Fans	Language	Your Fans
Indonesia	23,612	Jakarta, Jakarta	4,066	Indonesian	20,335
Turkey	2,036	Bandung, West Java	892	English (US)	3,338
Malaysia	232	Medan, North Sumatra	810	Turkish	2,053
Saudi Arabia	126	Surakarta, Central Java	781	English (UK)	739
United States of America	111	Surabaya, East Java	716	Javanese	284
Taiwan	108	Yogyakarta City, Special ...	684	Malay	61
Hong Kong	108	Semarang, Central Java	494	German	20
South Korea	64	Tangerang, Banten	474	Portuguese (Brazil)	18
Singapore	59	Makassar, South Sulawesi	469	French (France)	10
Australia	57	Bekasi, West Java	446	Dutch	9

Picture 4.25 Facebook Demographic Analysis

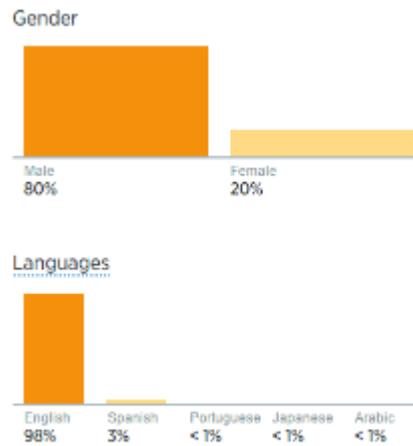
The last thing that was important to be seen in Facebook analytic was the country, city and language information. They could see where most of their fans came from. We can see by country, city and language used.

## Twitter

Tweets	Top Tweets	Tweets and replies	Promoted	Impressions	Engagements	Engagement rate
	<b>Jokowi-JK Center</b> @Jokowi_JKCenter · Jul 22	Antusiasme relawan maupun wartawan dalam menghadiri acara ini @InfoJKW4P pic.twitter.com/k6srZPTkUx		357	22	6.2%
	<a href="#">View Tweet details</a>					<a href="#">Promote</a>
	<b>Jokowi-JK Center</b> @Jokowi_JKCenter · Jul 22	Jokowi: "Karena politik bukan hanya menang dan kalah tapi juga ada sebuah pembelajaran untuk berdemokrasi yg lebih baik lagi"		335	107	31.9%
	<a href="#">View Tweet details</a>					<a href="#">Promote</a>

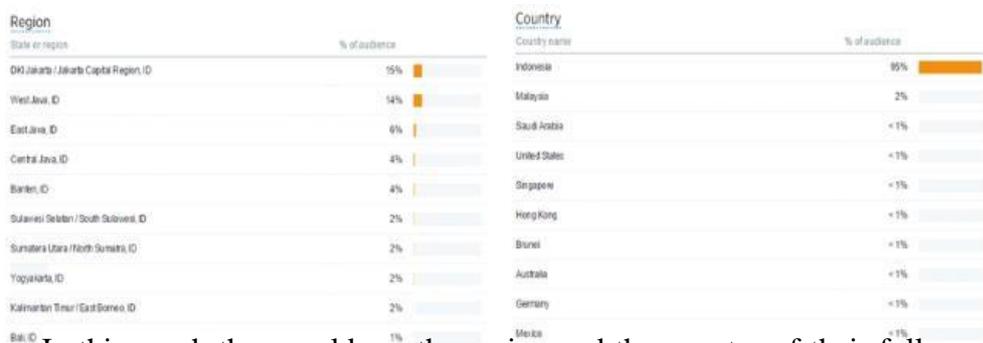
Picture 4.26 Twitter Tweet Analysis

On Twitter, they could also see the details of the tweet activities. They could monitor how many people read their tweets or the number of impressions and how many people were engaged with their tweets.



Picture 4.27 Twitter Gender and Language Analysis

They could see how many males and females were their followers and they could also see the language which their followers used.



In this graph they could see the region and the country of their followers.

They could see important to decide  
 Picture 4.28 Twitter Demographic Analytic what kind of creative approach should be used.

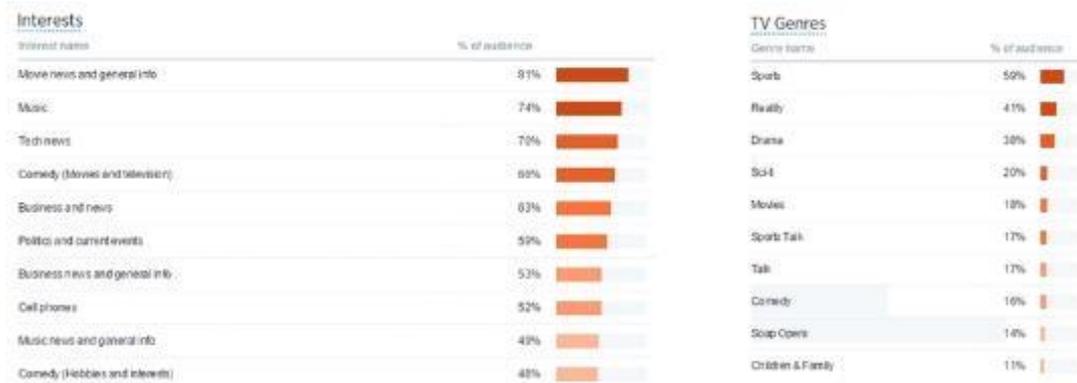


Image 4.29 Twitter Interest and TV Genre Analytic

In Twitter, they could see the interest of their followers, the types of activities which they liked to do. They can also see which TV Genre they liked.

The data that Facebook and Twitter provided was important for the candidates to make strategic actions, such as determining the content which they wanted to share. They could also use the data for their real campaign.

Thus from the explanation above, we can conclude that both candidates used social media as their monitoring and research tools. In Prabowo and Hatta’s team, they preferred the quantitative data provided by Facebook and Twitter. This data was used as to support their field campaign. They also maximized social media to see their potential voters and made specific programs for them. In Jokowi and Kalla’s team, they managed to control and monitor the contents which were dispersed in social media. This content could be from society and also from their competitor. They appreciated the positive feedback, responded to the negative feedbacks and also clarified the wrong information.

### Direct Communication Tools for the Society

The second role of social media was that of direct communication tool for the candidates and the team. According to Puntoadi, one of the benefits of using social media was that social media gives space to interact with the audience (Puntoadi 2011:5). He also said that the closer the actor is with their audience, it makes their message and products become more noticeable and attract more people to buy it. In this case, both candidates used social media to communicate with society. They build interactions with their potential voters. They asked people about

what they wanted from their leader, they also answered when there were questions. Both candidates believed that building good communication with society was an important aspect in social media campaign.

There were many things that could differentiate social media and other media. However, in my opinion, the openness that makes social media important. Social media will be good if it is maintained. There should be an interaction with our fans and followers. In less than 10 minutes, our social media team should answer the question from the netizen. Because the problem is young, people face a problem to get the information about political party and the figure. Young generation becomes apathy. Everything seems hard. From here, social media become prestigious. It makes the interaction with society (Noudhy Valdryno, Social Media campaign Manager of Gerindra, interview 6th June 2014).



Picture 4.30 Prabowo and Hatta Interaction in Social Media

The pictures above showed interactions in Prabowo Hatta's social media account. The right picture showed Prabowo posting a video music link and Shinta commented on it by saying "I can't wait to see Mr. Prabowo as President to hasten the Asian Tiger". After she said that, Prabowo replied to the comment by saying "Thank You". On the second picture we could see someone commented on a photo album that Prabowo posted by saying "We hope you are the current Soekarno",

after that Prabowo replied the comment by saying “There are many things that we can learn from Soekarno’s leadership”.

Jokowi and Kalla’s team also believed that interaction was an important aspect of social media. The more conversations about the candidates in social media, the more people were aware about Jokowi-Jusuf Kalla. They used social media to engage their followers and fans. From their research, they found that the more engagement they made, more people would like and follow them. Society wanted to communicate with their leader. The only media that allows every person to say something directly to his or her president was social media. There were several things they did to initiate interactions. First was by making tweets or posts which contained a question. They asked society to share their perspectives regarding specific issues. Second was by making a live report in Facebook and Twitter about Jokowi -Jusuf Kalla’s agenda. For example, when they met their supporters in a campaign and when they gave some speech. Third, they used their social media team to spread information that they shared to the broader audience.



Picture 4.31 Jokowi Kalla Inteaction

This was the example of interaction which occurred within Jokowi-KALLA’s team. From this picture we could see that @AengGayau posted Jokowi’s

photo with Indonesian typography in front of him. He tagged several accounts in his tweets such as @RDP, @GanjarPranowo, @WandaHamidah, @Jokowi\_do2, and also @KawanJokowi. This tweet responded by @KawanJokowi by retweeting it.

Here we could see that both candidates maximized social media as their communication tools with the society. They tried to create an atmosphere where society was close to their future President. But in this role, there was a difference, in Prabowo and Hatta's team, most of the interactions were from the official accounts, be it Prabowo's social media accounts or Hatta's social media accounts. From Jokowi and Kalla's side, most of the interactions were made by their team using the volunteers' social media accounts and also the other supporters' accounts. The official account belonging to Jokowi and Kalla was not as active as Prabowo and Hatta's.

### **Information Spreader Tool**

The third role of social media was to spread information about the candidates to the society. Referring to the study which Mayfield conducted, he explained five characteristics which social media has compared to conventional media. The first was participation; social media encourages contribution and feedback from people who are interested in it. Second was openness, people could access the information that was published in social media. Third was conversation, there will be an interaction from the communicator and audience regarding the content they spread. Fourth was communities, many communities used social media as their communication tool. Fifth was connectedness, millions of people around the world are connected with this media.

The author found that one of the reasons why the campaign team decided to maximize social media as their campaign strategy was because they wanted to spread the campaign content to society efficiently. Because in social media they received lots of interactions from the society and the society in the social media talked and created conversations about them.

### **Prabowo-Hatta**



Picture 4.32 Prabowo Visual Design

This was the example of the information which Prabowo-Hatta spread. This was a program which Prabowo-Hatta had for the farmers and fishermen. Prabowo and Hatta wanted to initiate a bank for them with low interest loans.

Social media becomes the bridge of the vision and mission with the society. To make society easy to understand the program from Prabowo and Hatta. (Noudhy Valdryno, Social Media campaign Manager of Gerindra, interview 6th June 2014).

### **Jokowi-Kalla**

The strategy that they used in social media was spreading interesting visual designs about Jokowi-Kalla to the society. The team decided to do this because when they posted something with image, the engagement rate was higher compared to only posting a text. The visual things could be in the form of photographs of Jokowi and Kalla, the photos with quotes, infographics, comics, and so on.

There were several facts that supported the role of social media as spreading information tools about the candidates to the society. First was the number of users in Indonesia that used social media that was high and most of them were young people. Second, it was very easy for society to access social media, third was the wide coverage of social media, almost every person in Indonesia had social media accounts, and the last one, there was an advertising that campaigners could use to target specific population, by age, by location and by interest.



Picture 4.33 Jokowi Visual Design

The information that Jokowi and Kalla spread was also about the program that they would implement during their presidency. This image shows that what will Jokowi and Kalla do is to revitalization 5000 traditional markets.

In spreading the information to the society, both candidates almost had the same patterns in terms of content. Both candidates spread information about their activities during the election in the photographs, and they made some interesting infographics such as how to vote, such as information about young people, such as information about their programs, and they also spread wise words from them in the form of photo quotes. Both candidates believed that social media was an effective channel to socialize their vision and mission. But here we could also see the difference between both candidates in spreading the information. In Prabowo and Hatta's side, most of the information came from their official social media accounts. In Jokowi and Kalla's side most of the information came from their volunteers' social media accounts.

### **Creating Communities**

The last role of social media is creating communities. Here social media is not only the communication tool between the candidates and the society, but also the communication tool between groups of society.

The communities are virtual communities that only exist in the social media. What is unique from this communities is that, even though it's only in social media they perform many activities in the real world. These virtual communities also connect people from different age and location. With the communities that they made, they generate communication, spreading support to each other, and counteracting when there are negative issues about their candidates.

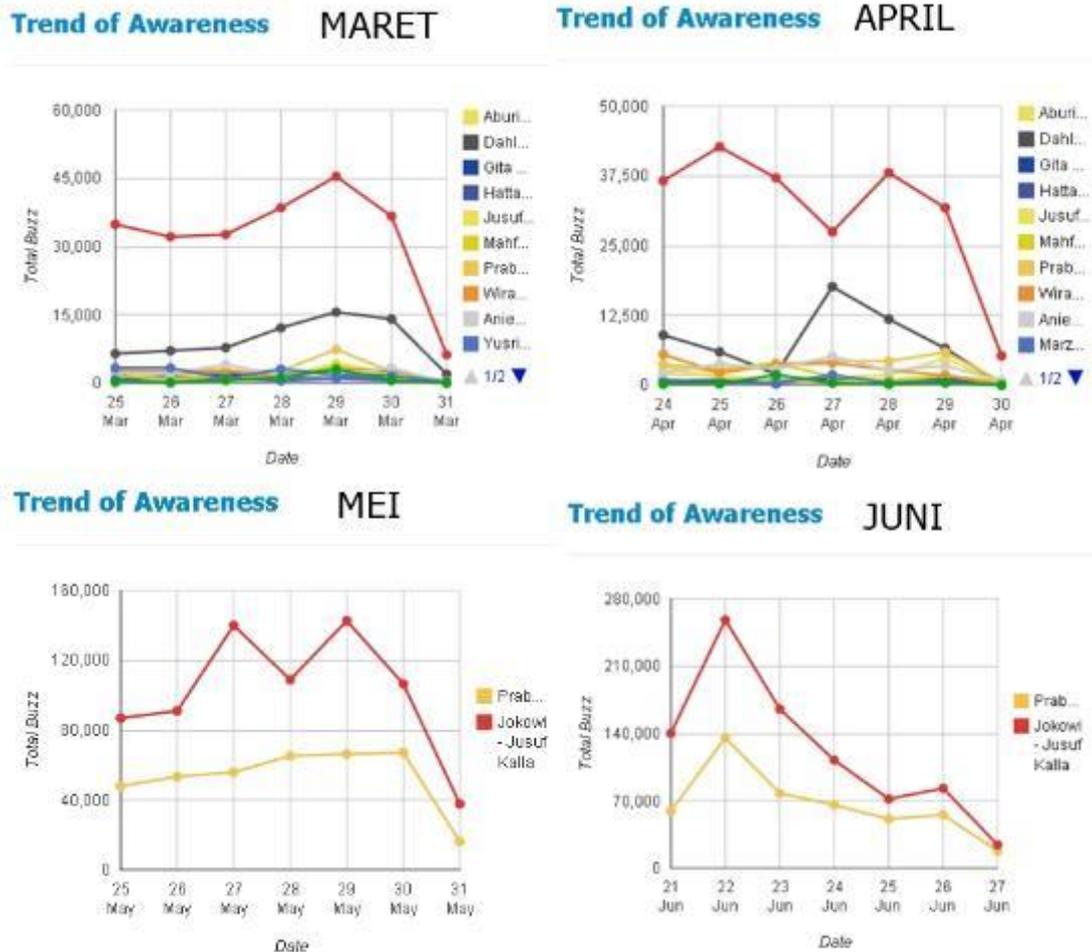
Both communities from Prabowo – Hatta's side and also Jokowi – Kalla's side did many activities under the name of their communities. There were several activities which the communities did such as having direct meetings, public discussions and long marches during the car free day event in each city.

The activities from these communities which spread in each city have impacts to the society and also the candidates. For the society the impact were, it increased societies' awareness about the candidates and also increased society's participation because the society could also participate in the activities that the communities created. For the candidates, the communities increased the candidates popularity among society, these communities also became their active communicators, they spread positive information about the candidates and counteracted when there were negative issues about the candidate.

### **The Dynamics of Social Media**

From the social media campaign in Indonesia's presidential election, we can see the interesting dynamics of social media. The first was the increasing number of conversations in social media about the presidential election topic, and this topic includes the number of conversations about politics, election and about both candidates. The second was the negative and black campaigns. The third was that there were many social media accounts that had a strong correlation with the presidential candidates, such as the accounts that used the candidates' name in the social media account. The fourth, there were many trending topics in social media especially in Twitter about the presidential election.

### **Increasing conversations about candidates in social media**



Picture 4.34 Candidates' Trend of Awareness in Social Media

In the presidential election, we could see that there was a significant increase in the number of conversations that discussed about the presidential candidates. In the data from politica wave, we could see the increasing number of “buzz” or number of conversation that included the keywords about the candidates. In March, we could see that the number of conversation about Jokowi in the social media Twitter and Facebook was 35.000 buzz, Dahlan Iskan was around 7000 buzz. In April, the number of buzz for Jokowi was around 37.500 about Dahlan was around 12.200. In May the candidates were only Prabowo-Hatta and Jokowi-Kalla, and this time Jokowi-Kalla got 81.000 conversations and Prabowo-Hatta got 41.000 conversations. In the month of June, Jokowi-Kalla got 140.000 conversations and Prabowo-Hatta got 69.000 conversations.

The increasing number of conversations in social media during the presidential election period happened because of several things. The first was because the candidates used social media as their campaign tools. The social media team of the candidates managed to spread the information about the candidates in social media as much as possible. The second was because people could easily access social media and be involved in the conversation about the candidates.

The conversations in the social media were generated from the candidates and their social media team, from the volunteers, from their supporters, and also from the society who also talked about their candidates.

The increasing number of conversations in social media during the election is in line with the characteristics of social media that Mayfield explained. First is participation, this platform encouraged contribution and feedback from every person who are interested in it. Second is conversation, social media is a two-way communication platform; there will be an interaction between audiences and communicators. In this case, the participation and communication occurred between the people who were interested in the presidential election case and the candidates and their campaign team.

### **Black and Negative campaigns in social media**

During the presidential election period, there were many negative and black campaigns about the presidential candidates. Based on the election commissioner, negative campaign is a condition when there was a person spreading negative information about the candidates with the intention of creating a bad image for the candidate. In negative campaign the information was based on reality. Black campaign intention's was also the same with the negative campaign, the difference is, the information was not true or it was a fake information (Republika, 2014).

This black and negative campaign was spreading through the main social media that the candidates used, namely Twitter and Facebook. It was in the form of online articles, photographs, pictures and also videos. This black and negative campaign was usually done by the fanatic supporters, unknown people, volunteers and people who were not listed in the election commissioner as the campaign team.

The target audience for this negative and black campaign was society. The information spreader wanted to influence the society's opinion about specific candidates.

In Indonesia's 2014 presidential election, the black and negative campaigns were derived from the racial, religious, political and personal problems which the candidates had. Based on political wave, the black campaign which surfaced in social media for Jokowi-Jk was more numerous than that of Prabowo-Hatta's. Jokowi and Kalla received 74.5% black campaigns and 25.5% negative campaign. Prabowo and Hatta received 83% negative campaign and 16.5% black campaign (Kompas, 2014).

The negative and black campaigns which spread in social media for Prabowo and Hatta involved human rights issues, the double citizenship that Prabowo had, which is Indonesia and Jordan, and Prabowo's company in Berau which was in a huge debt (Republika, 2014). For Jokowi and Kalla, the issues were him being a puppet candidate and him being a Christian and Chinese as well as his marriage certificate (Republika, 2014).

The black and negative campaigns on social media had several effects for the candidates and the society. Burhanuddin Muhtadi, the executive director of Indikator Politik, noted that black and negative campaigns influenced the candidates' electability. It increased the electability of one candidate and decreased the other candidate's electability (Berita Satu, 2014). But on the other hand, the survey body in Indonesia, namely Charta Politica, noted that the black and negative campaigns in the election were not affecting the candidates' electability. For Jokowi and Kalla, only 24% of the respondents said that the black and negative campaigns did affect their choices, the rest (53.7%) said that it did not affect their choices. For Prabowo and Hatta, 18.3% of the respondents said they were affected by the campaign, the rest (73%) said it did not affect their choices (Detik, 2014). We can conclude that the black and negative campaigns had some impacts on the candidates' electability, but they amounted to only a small number of the total public perception towards the candidates.

Black and negative campaigns also impacted the society. Based on the survey by Kompas, they found that 38.5% of the respondents said they could tolerate the negative and black campaigns, but 50% of the respondents said that it was too much. The negative and black campaigns made society feel insecure, and 55% of the society stated that they feel insecure. They were afraid this negative and black campaign would create an unstable election. Around 61.6% of the respondents stated they were afraid this would create hatred between the candidate's supporters. Moreover, 64% of the respondents said it could trigger open conflicts between the supporters. This also affected society's participation in the election. Based on their survey, only 30% of the respondents said they were enthusiastic with the election (Kompas, 2014).

Political participation can be categorized into two forms, active and passive participation. Active participation is when a person or group provides suggestions and recommendations over general policies, gives alternative policy choices, criticizes and contributes improvement to the government, pays taxes, and actively joins the election process. This participation focuses on the input and output process. Passive participation solely focuses on the output process. Those who spread negative and black campaigns are active participants. Those who respond to negative and black campaigns are also active participants. Those who watched the campaign on social media and gave some comments are also active participants.

This type of campaign in social media triggered people to actively participate in the discussion about the election. The supporters from both sides joined in the discussion and gave their ideas, comments and criticisms over the negative and black campaigns.

### **Increasing social media accounts related to the candidates' names**

The third dynamic in social media during the presidential election was the emergence of social media accounts using the candidate's names in their profile or using terms related to the candidate's identities such as their political parties, their taglines, etc. This phenomenon occurred during the campaign period.

These accounts were created by several actors, the candidate's social media teams, volunteers and also supporters. The roles of these accounts were to create a conversation about the candidates, to widely spread information relating to the candidates, to influence social media users to support their candidates and to create a positive image.

These accounts spread a lot of information about the candidates, such as the photographs of their candidate, their quotes, their points of view about specific issues, the candidate's positive aspects, their visual designs and other positive information relating to the candidates.

These accounts had several impacts for the candidates and the society. For the candidates, it created a conversation about them. The conversation could be information about the candidates' programs, their vision and mission and other programs, etc. These accounts contributed to the candidate's popularity. These accounts also responded to the negative issues that attacked them. As well, there were many social media events that were made from these accounts, such as games and other social media gimmicks. Moreover, these accounts trigger society to actively participate in the election process, from discussion until voting.

From the data, there are several major Facebook and Twitter accounts that are correlated with the names of the presidential candidates. Here are the lists of the social media accounts.

### **Prabowo and Hatta**

#### **Facebook**

1. Sahabat Prabowo
2. The Prabowo Center
3. Dukung Prabowo Hatta
4. Solidaritas Menangkan Prabowo Fanpage

#### **Twitter**

1. @GarudaPrabowo
2. @Vote\_Prabowo
3. @Info\_Prabowo
4. @Sahabat\_Prabowo

### **Jokowi and Jusuf Kalla**

## Facebook

1. Jokowi For President
2. Jokowi JK Center
3. Jokowi adalah Kita
4. Kawan Jokowi

## Twitter

1. @Jokowi4Me
2. @InfoJKW4P
3. @Bara\_Jokowi
4. @Jasmev2014
5. @Jokowi\_JKCenter

These were the examples of the interactions which these accounts captured to spread the content and promote their candidates.



Picture 4.35 Dukung Prabowo Post on Facebook

This is the post from the Facebook account called Dukung Prabowo – Hatta. In this post, the administrator wanted to spread the information to social media users about society’s support for Prabowo-Hatta. Here the administrator posted a picture of a noodle seller with the sticker of Prabowo-Hatta on his cart. In the post, the administrator said, “Greetings from Uncle Aris for Prabowo’s best friend all over Indonesia, don’t forget to vote for number 1”



Picture 4.36 Sahabat Prabowo Post On Facebook

This was the post from the Facebook account with the name Sahabat Prabowo. In this post, the administrator wanted to send the message to the society about the quotes from Prabowo. In the post the administrator remarked “Dear friend, as Indonesians let us be one for the Indonesia that we love and are proud of, Prabowo Subianto”.



Picture 4.37 @GarudaPrabowo’s tweet on Twitter

This was the tweet from the Twitter account called @GarudaPrabowo. In this tweet, the administrator posted a picture from the back when he gave his speech in one of their campaign events.



Picture 4.38 @SahabatPrabowo’s tweet on Twitter

This was the tweet from the Twitter account called @SahabatPrabowo. In this tweet, the administrator shared their points of view about the result of the election. They said that “Even if the result is not fair, but it was the final result and we need to accept it and fight for the coalition”



Picture 4.39 Jokowi Jk adalah Kita’s post on Facebook

This was the Facebook account called Jokowi-JK Adalah Kita. In this account, the administrator posted photos that showed the Jokowi-JK supporters in Canberra and Azerbaijan. This administrator wanted to show users that Jokowi had supporters from all over the world.



Picture 4.40 Jokowi JK Center’s post on Facebook

This was the post from the Facebook account called Jokowi-JK Center. In the post which the administration spread, the news link discussed the issues of hopes and opportunities after the inauguration of Jokowi-JK.



Picture 4.41 @InfoJKW4P’s tweet on Twitter

This was the tweet from the Twitter account called @InfoJKW4P. In this tweet, the administrator spread the photo quotes of Jokowi which stated, “Where we see challenge, I see opportunities, Indonesia’s challenges are your opportunities”.



Picture 4.42 @Jasmev2014's tweet on Twitter

This was the tweet from the Twitter account called @Jasmev2014. In this tweet, the administrator spread information about an event that Jokowi-JK hosted after the inauguration of the President and Vice President. They called the event “festivities held by the people” or in Bahasa “Syukuran Rakyat”.

### **Trending Topic about the Presidential Election**

During the election there were many trending topics in Twitter related to the presidential election. Based on Twitter's definition of Trends, Trends are determined by an algorithm and, by default, are tailored for you based on who you follow and your location. This algorithm identifies topics that are more popular now, rather than topics that have been popular for a while or on a daily basis, to help you discover the hottest emerging topics of discussion on Twitter that matter most to you (Twitter, 2015). Trending topics arose because there were so many people talking about the same issues at a specific moment in time. In the case of the presidential election, these trending topics were made by the candidates' social media team. There were several strategies that they used to turn issues into trending topics in Twitter. The first was choosing interesting key words as their trending topic. By choosing the right and strategic key words, there will be more interactions with society using those specific keywords. The second was choosing a good social media endorser. In social media there were people who had a good reputation. This

was shown by the number of their followers, the number of people who talked about them and also the number of interactions that happened in their social media accounts. By choosing the right endorser and asking them to tweet about specific keywords, people will see it and respond to it by tweeting the same keywords. The third strategy was by using their social media team. In both candidates' social media teams, they had a buzzer team. The job of this team was to create a conversation about the candidates. In every social media campaign team they have up to 50-100 buzzers. One buzzer could have up to 10 Facebook accounts and 10 Twitter accounts. So from one buzzer, it generates up to 20 conversations in one day.

When there are trending topics in Twitter people who use Twitter can see it because Twitter provides specific column to show the current trending topics. Thus every trending topic that occurs in Twitter can be seen by the people who use Twitter. This means, the key words that they spread would go viral. People saw it and they could participate in the conversation. The trending topics also increased the number of conversations about the candidates in the social media. This means it also increases the candidate's popularity. This trending topic could trigger and encourage people to tweet with the keywords that the campaign team set up.

There were several trending topics that appeared during the presidential election such as, #AkhirnyaMilihJokowi, #Rame2Celup2Jari, #SudahCoblosPeciPrabowo, and #PresidenBaru (Berita Satu, 2014).

These are several examples of trending topics that arose during the presidential election. The examples of the tweets about these trending topics are found in the attachment.

1. #Rame2Celup2Jari

#Rame2Celup2Jari was the trending topic about Jokowi and Kalla. The trending topic was about the people who choose Jokowi and Kalla as their next president. This topic also includes the quotes from society, photographs of society that already voted with the sign of the two fingers. This trending topic was followed by many public figures in Indonesia such as politicians, businessmen, and also artists. The trending topic was made by Jokowi and Kalla's social media team and their supporters.

2. #CoblosNomor1\_PrabowoHatta

#CoblosNomor1\_PrabowoHatta was the trending topic about Prabowo and Hatta. The conversation on this trending topic was about the comments from society to Prabowo and Hatta. This trending topic also includes photo quotes, society's photos after using their votes. The trending topic was made by Prabowo and Hatta's social media team and their supporters.

3. #PresidenBaru

#PresidenBaru was the trending topic about the euphoria of presidential elections in Indonesia. Most of the tweet was about the society's hope for Indonesia, the society's perception about the election and also their inputs for the president and vice president. This trending topic was made by the society who participated in the discussion in social media.

## CHAPTER IV

### CONCLUDING REMARKS

In Indonesia's 2014 presidential election, social media became an important campaign tool. Both presidential candidates maximized the use of the social media platform in their campaign strategies. In this study, the author explored two main points, the first was the role of social media in the presidential election campaigns and the second was the dynamics of social media campaigns.

The roles of social media campaigns in Indonesia's 2014 presidential election are as follow:

1. Both candidates used social media as their monitoring and research tools. The social media which the presidential candidates used, Facebook and Twitter, provided an analytical tool in their application. In this analytical tool the candidates could see detail information about their social media accounts such as who were their fans/followers, their ages, their interests, their locations and even their personal backgrounds. Both candidates could also see the interactions which occurred, whether it is a positive interaction or a negative interaction. From this data, both candidates could analyze their potential voters and perform strategic actions for their campaigns.
2. They used social media as their direct communication tool to society. What makes social media different from the conventional media was the ability to create interactions. There is no limitation in social media for people who want to interact with each other. The problem which politicians had was the gap between them and the society. It was hard for society to reach them and tell them what they wanted. Thus through social media both candidates maximized their use to hold intense communication with the society. They wanted to create an environment where society could easily reach them and tell them everything.
3. Both candidates used social media to spread information about themselves. During Indonesia's presidential campaign, both candidates maximized social media to spread information about their vision and missions, programs, profiles, values, and other information related to their campaigns. The reason behind this action were, first was if they

compared the cost in conventional media such as television, newspapers, street banners, campaigning in social media is not as high as the others. Moreover, in social media, they knew how many people saw it, who liked and disliked them as well as other analytical facts with numerical data. The second was, in terms of accessibility, social media is an open application for all and every person could access it as long as they had an account. Thus social media was very accessible.

4. The last role of social media is in creating communities. The existence of social media creates lots of communities. These communities helped candidates to increase society's awareness about the candidates, increased the candidates' popularity among the society, and countered negative issues about the candidates.

The second matter discussed was the dynamics of social media campaigns in Indonesia's 2014 presidential election. The dynamics of social media were as follow:

1. There was an increasing number of conversations about the candidates in social media. During the presidential campaign, the conversations about the candidates were increasing in social media. The social media survey body called Politica Wave counted the conversations about the candidates in social media. They counted it through specific keywords such as Prabowo, Jokowi, Hatta, JK, Jokowi Dodo, Prabowo Subianto, ect. Thus when people posted or tweeted with the keywords, it was counted as one conversation. During the presidential campaign period, specifically in June 2014, the conversations about the candidates reached 410.000.
2. There were many social media accounts related to the name of the candidates. During the presidential campaign period, there were so many emerging social media accounts which used the names of the presidential candidates as their profile. Some of the examples were, JokowiJK Center, Jokowi4P, Kawan Jokowi, Sahabat Prabowo, The Prabowo Center, Info Prabowo and many more. The roles of these social media accounts were to spread information about the candidates, to trigger interactions with

society, to influence society to vote for the candidate of their choice, and to respond to negative issues about the candidates.

3. There were also many trending topics in the social media related to the presidential election. This trending topic occurred because there were so many people talking about the same topic or using the same keywords in that specific time frame. The social media Twitter had their algorithm and mathematical analysis to determine what was eligible to be the trending topic. Some trending topics included #RameRameCelup2Jari, #CoblosNo1\_PrabowoHatta and #presidenBaru.

Politicians in Indonesia who wanted to use social media as their campaign strategy to support their political campaign should understand several points:

1. The social media users. Before maximizing social media as their campaign strategy, candidates must understand the social media users within their perimeters. They should know how many people access social media and which social media is suitable for them. Hence in their campaign they will not miss their targets.
2. Forming their social media team. The role of the team is to set up the strategy, to increase interactions and to respond to positive and negative issues that appear, etc.
3. The candidates should make an informative and visually attractive content. In social media people will like or follow social media accounts when they provide interesting information with good visual contents. They should provide high definition photographs, infographics, statistics and many more.
4. Maintain interactions in social media. The candidates should always respond to the interactions in their social media accounts. They should devise strategic moves in response to the interactions. They should make sure that the interactions are improving their image in social media.

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