Use Of Social Media As A Candidate Campaign Tool in Elections in Indonesia Post-New Order

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Abstract: This study discusses the use of social media as a campaign tool in elections in Indonesia held after the New Order, both at the national level and general election of regional heads (Pilkada). The use of social media as a campaign tool has consequences for the shift in media campaign use carried out by candidates in general elections. This study uses the concept of political campaigning and the media deployment theory to see the influence of the use of social media as a campaign tool in post-New Order elections.

1   INTRODUCTION

Current developments, the spread of information is mostly done through the internet network. The internet presents very broad information and provides the necessary features including open space for interaction with its users. The interaction and connectivity of many individual internet users raise a new space for interaction, which is known as social media.

The use of social media has an impact on almost all aspects of people's lives, not least in the political aspect. The use of social media in political campaigns can be found in several countries. The 2008 US President Barack Obama's campaign was described as the first election campaign in which the use of social media had a decisive impact (Andi Wijayanto, 2018). In Tunisia, social media influences young voters. They use social media to make choices. The most influential platform is Facebook and Twitter, whereby using these two platforms they can find out and assess programs and candidates (Ben M'barek, 2015). Not much different than in Tunisia, in India, in the 2014 election, social media significantly influenced the behavior of young voters (Biswas, 2014).

Based on the above exposure, interesting to see the use of social media as a means of a natural d Election campaign in Indonesia organized Post-New Order, both at national and regional head elections (elections). This research is expected to be useful for similar research and can provide a basis for the study of political science, especially the study of political communication in Indonesia. This research is expected to be useful and input for political parties and election organizers, namely the General Election Commission (KPU) and the Election

Supervisory Body (Bawaslu) to be able to make rules for the use of social media in political campaigns in elections that will be held in Indonesia.

2   THEORETICAL
2.1 Campaign as a Form of Political Communication

One form of political communication is political campaigns. According to Cangara (2009) in the context of political communication, the campaign was intended to mobilize support for a matter or a candidate. The campaign is a communication activity aimed at influencing other people so that they have insight, attitudes, and behavior by the wishes or desires of the information giver. Definition of Campaign according to Leslie B. Snyder (in Ruslan, 2008: 23), A communication campaign he was organized in an organized communication, directed at a particular audience, for a particular period a particular goal. That communication campaign is an organized communication activitykompas, directly addressed to a particular audience, at a predetermined period to achieve certain goals.

2.2 Media Dependancy Theory

Another theory used to enrich research is the Media System Dependency Theory (MSD Theory). Ball-Rokeach and DeFleur (1976) state that this theory assumes that the more individuals depend on the media to meet needs, the more important the media is for individuals (in Yoonwhan Cho, 2009). Littlejohn and Foss (2008) state that this theory can also be used to see the extent to which individuals fulfill their needs for media to be dependent on certain media and make the media of choice important to them (in Gita Aprinta and Errika Dwi S.W, 2017).

3 METHOD

In this study using the paradigm of postpositivism research, which is qualitative research. This qualitative research is used because it wants to explain the phenomena that want to be examined more deeply and explain in full how the influence of using social media as a candidate campaign tool In elections in Indonesia Post-New Order. To examine this matter, needed direct involvement between researchers and reality. Qualitative research has two main objectives, namely, first, describe and reveal (to describe and explore) and secondly describe and explain (to describe and explain). Most qualitative research is descriptive and explanatory (Sukmadinata, 2005).

4 RESULT AND DISCUSSION

4.1 Use of Mass Media as a Campaign Tool in Elections in the Beginning of the Reform Era

In the implementation of elections at the beginning of the reform era, the media role in the campaign is very important. Almost no political party does not use media in party campaigns and campaigns. In some political parties, the largest costs and budgets are mostly allocated to spend on advertising in the media. In the 1999 elections, the Golkar Party became the party that spent the most expenditure on political advertising. At that time the Golkar Party spent advertising spending of Rp. 13, 29 billion.

In the 2014 election, based on Sigi Kaca Pariwara data, political party advertising spending on television throughout the open campaign reached legislative elections of Rp 340 billion. The expenditure was calculated from March 16 to April 5, 2014. From advertising spending issued by political parties, the biggest was poured out by the People's Conscience Party (Hanura), which reached Rp. 70.5 billion.

Table 1. Ad Spending of Political Party in the 2014 Election

Political Parties	Advertisements
Hanura	IDR 70.5 billion
Democrat	IDR 56.8 billion
PAN	IDR 43.8 billion
Golkar	Rp. 39.88 billion
PDIP	IDR 33.58 billion
Nasdem	IDR 33.28 billion
Gerindra	IDR 26.49 billion
PKB	IDR 20.68 billion
PPP	Rp. 9.69 billion
PKS	IDR 4.93 billion
PKPI	Rp. 3.17 billion
PBB	IDR 400 million

Source: Kompas.com - 11/04/2014

4.2 Campaign Ads Through Mass Media Replaced Social Media

The increasing trend of using mass media as a campaign tool through campaign advertising in elections does not guarantee the electability of political parties in several elections in Indonesia. In the 2004 elections, many political parties were very generous in placing advertisements, but their votes were stagnant or even dropped.

Based on the results of a survey of 1,200 respondents in 32 provinces on April 9-15, 2004, PDI-P campaign advertisements on television were the most-watched, around 56 percent. But, it turns out, only able to boost PDI-P's vote from 12.6 percent in November 2003 to 18.5 percent in April 2004. Meanwhile, the Democratic Party whose advertisements were only watched by 2.8 percent of respondents, as well as PKS, 2.6 percent, the acquisition of the votes has soared (Dyah Pitaloka, 2006).

In the 2009 Election, a survey of the Political Study Center, the Department of Political Sciences, University of Indonesia (Puskapol UI) against 2,077 respondents on March 13-20, 2009, found out of three types of mass media, television was the media most often accessed by the public. This can be seen from the significant number of people in the community who had seen the advertisements of several political parties on television. In addition, Gerindra Party advertisements on television are among the most viewed (85% have seen Gerindra ads on television). While the Democrats and Golkar ads are in the next order. Based on the results of the survey, it seems that there is no positive correlation between the most-watched advertisements and the electability of political parties. This is like what happened to the Gerindra Party which only gained 4.46% of the national vote in the 2009 Legislative Election.

Political analyst from Exposit Strategic Arif Susanto said that the amount of expenditure on television advertising by political parties does not always correlate with their vote in the election. According to Arif Susanto, the effectiveness of political party advertisements is at least influenced by several things. First, public recognition of political parties. New parties have a greater burden to be known than established parties. Second, the suitability of the issue. The closer the issue is raised to the preferences of the voters, the greater the party's chances of gaining vote support. Third, creative advertising content. This is related to the ability to package messages according to the needs and interests of the target audience. Apart from the factors mentioned by Arif, perhaps the influence of advertisements on television media to campaign for political parties has begun to fade. Especially with the rapid use of the internet and social media (katadata.co.id, 04/25/2019).

Seeing the shift in the use of mass media to social media as a campaign tool, Andrew Chadwick (2006) states that the use of social media increases party competition. Small parties or new parties can leverage social media to increase their visibility. In many cases, small parties that have limited resources have no influence, especially in elections. But with social media as a cheap medium, and also more accessible than other communication technologies, they can compete with large parties that have stronger resources. Social media allows small political parties to reach potential supporters similar to large parties. If you look at the numbers of social media users in Indonesia, based on the data of We Are Social and Hootsuite in 2019, it shows that of the total 268.2 million people in Indonesia, 150 million of them have used social media. Thus, the penetration rate is around 56 percent. There has been an increase of 20 million social media users in Indonesia compared to last year. Millennials that are commonly called generation Y and generation Z dominate the use of social media (kompas.com, 04/02/2019). So it is not surprising that political parties and candidates use social media as a campaign tool to reach out to their supporters.

4.3 Dynamics of the Use of Social Media as a Tool for Political Campaign in Indonesia

In Indonesia, a political campaign using social media was significantly carried out by Joko Widodo (Jokowi) - Basuki Tjahaja Purnama (Ahok) when running for the 2012 Jakarta Election. Jokowi-Ahok campaigned through videos on YouTube and Twitter and Facebook accounts. This allows it to reach millions of voters, especially young people (Nicolas Picard and Michelle Chang, 2014). The amount of support for this couple in the media social is considered to be one of the contributing factors on the winning of this pair at the 2012 DKI Regional Election 2012.

In the 2014 election, the stronger the influence of social media, this has changed the way, style and approach of political party campaigns. Even the two pairs of Indonesian presidential candidates in the 2014 election, already knew the power of social media for their political campaigns (Leon Andretti Abdillah, 2014). While the voter side based on the Indriani study Rahmawati (2014) shows that young voters in Indonesia have used social media in political activities.

The trend in the use of social media then increased in the holding of the 2015 Regional Head Elections (Pilkada) held simultaneously for the first time. Based on data from the General Election Supervisory Agency (Bawaslu), the majority of candidates for regional heads who participated in the 2015 simultaneous regional elections used Facebook social media as campaign media. As many as 57 percents of prospective couples use Facebook as a media campaign. In addition to Facebook, prospective couples also use Twitter social media, which is as much as 26 percent. As many as 12 percents of prospective couples use blogs and special sites and 6 percent use using other social media. The data is the result of the supervision of the Indonesian Bawaslu Supervision Division June to September 4, 2015.

Furthermore, the use of social media in the campaign was also conducted in the 2017 simultaneous regional election. However, unfortunately, this was followed by an increase in the speech of hatred and the use of identity politics during the campaign on social media. Based on data from the Ministry of Communication and Information (Kemenkominfo), during the DKI Jakarta Election 2017, complaints related to the content of hate speech that entered the Ministry of Communication and Information can reach 10,000 complaints per day (kompas.com, February 22, 2018).

In the 2018 Simultaneous Local Election, based on research conducted by The Indonesian Institute (2018), in six provinces (i.e. in East Java, North Sumatra, South Sulawesi, West Java, Central Java, and West Kalimantan) which held the Governor's and Deputy Governor's Elections, it was found that the use of social media had no effect in significantly boosted the votes of candidates. This is reflected in results in several provinces such as East Java, North Sumatra, South Sulawesi, and West Kalimantan.

The difference in the influence of using social media as a campaign tool for candidates in the 2018 Governor Election is because, first, the factor of interaction between candidate accounts and social media users. Candidates who use social media interactively can bring candidates closer to their voters. Different if the candidate uses the one-way communication method. Although candidates have accounts on a number of social media platforms and a large number of followers, if communication is only done in one direction with voters, the voters cannot feel the closeness to the candidates. This is contrary to the purpose of the political campaign itself, namely to mobilize support for a candidate.

Joss Hands (2011), warns that having social media does not guarantee its use will be appropriate. Often, this new thing is only used to support the old political campaign, and ignore the real potential of social media. In addition, viewed from the side of social media users, referring to the opinions of Herbert Blumer and Elihu Kartz in the theory of usability and satisfaction, it is said that social media users play an active role in choosing and using the media. In other words,

social media users are active parties in the communication process. Social media users try to find the best source in their efforts to meet their needs. Social media users are no longer seen as passive people who only receive information. However, social media users are active and selective and are also critical of all information that is conveyed (Morrisan, 2014). So that the use of social media as a political campaign tool is not necessarily accepted by social media users. If the information or message delivered is not following the needs of social media users.

Second, the digital gap factor. The digital gap is due to the still inequality of telecommunications and internet access infrastructure. The survey results of the Association of Indonesian Internet Service Providers (APJII) found that there were large inequalities in the penetration of internet users between urban and rural-urban and rural categories. In the urban category, the penetration rate of internet users reaches 72.41 percent. While in the rural-urban and rural categories, the penetration rate of internet users is still 49.49 percent and 48.25 percent. This data shows that internet access in urban areas is much easier than rural areas (APJII, 2017). Because of the high level of inequality, the campaign using social media has more influence on urban voters. As for voters in rural areas, there is little influence. This is due to the fact that there is still a lack of internet infrastructure in the area.

Pippa Norris stated that there are three contexts in the digital divide, namely the global gap between developed and developing countries, social inequalities between information-rich countries and information-poor countries, and democratic gaps between people who can access and participate in public spaces with limited access to cyberspace. (Ahmad Safril et al., 2016). This digital divide factor ultimately affects the use of social media as a candidate campaign tool. Candidates cannot reach voters in areas that do not have internet access. On the other hand, this also affects information access of a voter to be able to be involved in a wider public space in an election campaign.

Table 2. Political Party Ad Spending in Election 1999

political parties	Advertisements
Golkar Party	IDR 13.29 billion
PDI-P	IDR 7, 47 billion
PKB	IDR 3, 12 billion
PAN	Rp.2.4 billion
PPP	IDR 800 million

Source: NMR (in Minanto, 2014)

In 2004, political party spending on ad spending increased. PDI-P, which at that time was the ruling party issued Rp. 32.9 billion to spend on the 2004 Election campaign advertisement.

Table 3. Advertising Expenditure Political Party in the 2004 elections

Political parties	Advertisements
PDI-P	IDR 32.9 billion
Golkar Party	IDR 21.7 billion
PAN	IDR 6, 8 billion
Democrats	IDR 6, 1 billion
PPP	IDR 5, 1 billion
PKB	Rp. 4, 4 billion

Source: NMR (in Minanto, 2014)

In the 2009 Election based on an ad survey conducted by Nielsen Company throughout July 2008-April 2009, found that the Golkar Party spent Rp. 277, 292 Billion, followed by the Democratic Party with Rp. 214, 439 billion (viva.co.id, April 29, 2009).

Table 4. Ad Spending Political Party in the 2009 elections

political parties	Advertisements
Golkar Party	Rp. 277,292 billion
Democrats	Rp. 214,439 billion
Gerindra	Rp. 151,211 billion
PDIP	IDR 102,891 billion
PKS	Rp. 74,647 billion
PAN	Rp. 71 billion
Hanura	IDR 44,796 billion
PPP	Rp. 40,349 billion

Source: viva.co.id, April 29, 2009

In the 2014 election, based on Sigi Kaca Pariwara data, political party advertising spending on television throughout the open campaign reached legislative elections of Rp 340 billion. The expenditure was calculated from March 16 to April 5, 2014. From advertising spending issued by political parties, the biggest was poured out by the People's Conscience Party (Hanura), which reached Rp. 70.5 billion.

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5 CONCLUSION

The use of social media has an impact on almost all aspects of people's lives, not least in the political aspect. The use of social media in the political world is one of them used as a campaign tool in elections. In Indonesia, the use of social media as a campaign tool began in the 2012 DKI Jakarta regional elections which then continues to this day.

The use of social media as a campaign tool has consequences for the shift in media campaign use carried out by candidates in general elections. The use of conventional mass media such as newspapers, radio, and television content is slowly becoming obsolete. This is because the large costs incurred by political parties and candidates for political advertising do not correlate with electability. Whereas when compared to social media, the relative costs incurred are lower than television advertisements.

However, in its development, there was a dynamic in the use of social media as a campaign tool. The developing dynamics is that campaigns with the use of social media are characterized by the increased speech of hatred, false information and also strengthening of identity politics. In addition, the use of social media in the campaign was faced with a number of challenges such as the still digital divide. This is due to the uneven infrastructure of telecommunication and internet access between urban and rural areas in Indonesia. So that the campaign using social media is not accessible to voters in regions that do not have internet access.

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