

Post-Truth and Echo Chamber Phenomena of Indonesian Social Media: Analysis of Political Contestation of Jokowi and Prabowo's Supporters in Facebook

Moh. Gandhi Amanullah & Syahrur Marta Dwisusilo, Universitas Airlangga

Abstract

The political contestation of President Joko Widodo's supporting team and the opposing team from Gerindra, Prabowo Subianto, is one of the big issues that attracts Indonesian society's attention over the last four years, since 2014 until today (2018). The political contestation which should be receding after 2014 presidential election is apparently still heated up, especially in social media. The social media in internet, despite of having the positive sides, also bring the negative sides, that is becoming the fertile "field" to breed the post-truth and echo chamber phenomena. Post-truth is a phenomenon of a constructed information/message whose truth is extremely potential to be believed emotionally instead of objectively, although the fact is objectively wrong or fake, such as hoax, logical fallacy, hate speech, propaganda, and bullying. Meanwhile, echo chamber is a phenomenon of the entrance of social media users into an echo chamber which is filled merely by the information they prefer. This study aims at investigating how far the post-truth and echo chamber phenomena penetrate into Indonesian social media, and the object is the information or messages related to the political contestation of Jokowi and Prabowo's supporters in Facebook. The employed approach is the qualitative approach and the employed analysis method is the discourse analysis. The results demonstrate that Indonesian social media has been penetrated by the post-truth and echo chamber phenomena. It is proved by the discovery of dozens of Facebook groups that are affiliated with Jokowi and Prabowo's supporters as the echo chambers of the members. Each group is known to have high vulnerability of being penetrated by the post-truth phenomenon since the highest number of posts is dominated by the topics of propaganda, criticism, hate speech, and negative campaign toward each figure.

Keywords: discourse analysis; Facebook; hate speech; hoax; logical fallacy; post-truth; propaganda; social media

1. Introduction

The communication patter of modern society changes revolutionary since the emergence of internet. Internet has altered the traditional communication that is restricted to the communication that is broad (even hyper), varieties, multi-interactive, and rapid. If in two or three decades ago the communication pattern only had one-to-many-audiences or one-to-one-audience patterns, the modern communication pattern has exceeded them all, that is many-audience-to-many-audience pattern. Even further, the modern communication can combine them all to a mode which is often known as communication via social media (Juliswara, 2017: 148).

In the development, social media turned out far beyond the expectation of its creators. Social media is not only employed to communicate but further has been transformed into a "replica" of public space in the real world. The public space in the real world, such as park, street, and school, is the shared chatting place. Everyone can come in, enjoy, and even voice their expression or protest, or even only to have a casual conversation. Social media unconsciously replaces the public space in the real world. The weaknesses of the public space in the real world are it is limited by space and time, the conveyed speech/information in the real public space is hard to store and to reproduce in a large quantity.

Meanwhile, the "public space" in the cyberspace or social media far exceeds them all. Through the power of information technology, media, and digital, social media becomes more fluid, egalitarian, and not limited by space and time. Social media is also efficient and inexpensive since everything conveyed there, such as speech, verbal, and visual, can be stored, reproduced repeatedly in unlimited quantity and delivered instantly. These are the positive sides of social media in the cyberspace.

However, like a double-edged knife, social media also brings negative impacts, that is potential to be a fertile “field” for the reproduction of information, speech, statement, verbal, visual, and motion picture that are false, manipulative (hoax/fake news), logically fallacious (logical fallacy), full of hatred (hate speech), and violent (bullying).

Unfortunately, the fake or logically fallacious information is now even more trusted and regarded as the truth. Not because it is objectively true, but it is true because the reproduced wrong/fake fact can be regarded as true since it is able to touch the emotional-psychological side of a person compared to the information that is based on the objective facts yet monotone. This becomes an irony when this kind of information is recently alleged to greatly contribute in shaping public opinion.

The formation and rapprochement of public opinion that has traditionally been shaped by mainstream media, yet it is no longer that way in the internet era. The mainstream media (journalism), that is fulfilled with the strict rules to produce information, has the “arch-rival” from the individual or society (read: netizens) who are able to produce information, manipulate it as freely as possible, then spread it with the dissemination power that is no less than the mainstream media. The true information that is packed correctly based on the true objective facts can lose from the false information that touches emotionally. Here, the truth eventually becomes bias, distorted, and relative, thus it is hard to tell which one is right or wrong, which one is fact or fiction, and which one is honest or deceitful. This phenomenon is recently called as the post-truth phenomenon.

The post-truth term was first popularized in 2016 by the Oxford Dictionary as the Word of the Year of 2016. Definitively, post-truth is a condition where the objective facts are less influential in shaping opinions compared to the emotion and personal belief (Oxford Dictionaries, 2016). Meanwhile, Zarzalejos (2017) emphasized that “post-truth consists in the relativization of truth, in the objectivity of data becoming commonplace and in the supremacy of emotional speech.” (Zarzalejos, 2017: 12).

The objective facts that are not appreciated and the false facts that are more believed yet considered true emotionally is actually not a new thing. The information reproduction like this actually has been commonly done by humans since a long time ago. However, the huge potential in shaping public opinion just happened recently. In the post-truth era, people nowadays can influence public opinion through cyber path with the potential and speed that are no less than the mainstream media.

The false facts that touch emotionally that are more believed than the objective facts happen not without cause. There are many factors affect it, and one of them is due to the social media users’ own behaviors which are selfish when using social media, tend to like or be fanatic toward the things they believe, and do not want to open their mind toward things out of their favor. They seem to wear “sunglasses” while consuming information and do not want to see the information they dislike regardless of whether the information is true or false. If the information is wrong, they will look for the right sides no matter how small it is, and if it is true, they will immediately take it up.

Such behaviors of social media users are apparently accommodated by the used social media. Through engine algorithm, social media provides the “peer-group” for the users to gain information in accordance with their favor. The engine algorithm of certain social media will detect the digital history of its members, then it will provide all information that is in accordance with the members’ likes, starting from peer-group, information, advertisement, and picture, as well as sorting the information that is not in accordance to the members’ preferences.

In the real world, such peer-group is similar to the communities of fellow fans of something. However, in the real world, the choice of such peer-group is limited, while in the cyberspace, the choice of the peer-group is boundless, very fluid, and egalitarian. When the social media penetrates into the space merely filled with what a person likes or with other members with the similar perspective, a person is actually trapped in the space called echo chamber. Echo chamber is a phenomenon in which a person enters a “room” filled only with the things he likes. It means that in the room, the social media user solely hears, feels, and sees the information he

likes or in accordance with his preference. He indeed hears various voices, information, opinions, and arguments, yet the substance is the same.

When a social media member is included into the echo chamber, then the engine algorithm will fill him up with the preferred information. On one side, the information can please the user, yet on the other side, it will blunt criticality. The user will be difficult to distinguish the rights and the wrongs since all of them are the same. The user has previously built a kind of a priori since the emotional side plays more role than the logic. This is allegedly to cause the users tend to accept and believe in what he likes all the time, regardless of whether the information is false, full of hatred, logically fallacious, exaggerated with propaganda, provocative, and full of violence. Here, the signs of post-truth and echo chamber phenomena have entered the social media users.

These phenomena are what lately have been used by the political actors to achieve the political goals in a political contestation in the world. Let us remember Donald Trump's campaign in the US presidential election in 2016. Donald Trump exploited Facebook by making approximately 50,000 different advertisements for his campaign which are assumed that not all advertisements were made based on true and objective facts. In England, the Brexit referendum also did the similar thing with Trump by making thousands of advertisements in Facebook. In Germany, the right-wing party obtained the escalation of seats in the parliament for spreading fear in the social media that the Syrian refugees gained more privileges than the genuine German people. In Egypt, social media played the significant role in overthrowing Husni Mubarak's regime and became one of the initial triggers of Arab Spring 2011.

Indonesia is also penetrated by the post-truth and echo chamber phenomena. In Tannjung Balai, North Sumatera, in July 2016, riots occurred due to the provocation in social media. Then, in 2017, the police arrested syndicate called Saracen due to their action of spreading provocative hate speech in social media. In 2017 DKI governor election, the victory of Anies Baswedan and Sandiaga Uno was also assumed to be the result of the success in playing identity politics in social media.

The latest big issue in Indonesia which is potential to become the social conflict because of the vulnerability to what happens in social media is the contestation between the supporters affiliated with the political figures President Joko Widodo and the former presidential candidate Prabowo Subianto. The contestation which should be receding after 2014 presidential election is apparently dragged out, wildly developed, and heated up ahead of 2019 presidential election.

Therefore, this study attempts to investigate further on how the post-truth and echo chamber phenomena enter the contestation of two supporters that are politically affiliated with Prabowo and Joko Widodo in social media. The employed method is the qualitative approach by analyzing in depth the utterances, visual images, and news conveyed by each supporting group in Facebook using critical discourse analysis method.

2. Political Contestation of Jokowi and Prabowo's Supporters in Social Media

Joko Widodo, or Jokowi, and Prabowo Subianto, or Prabowo, were two presidential candidates who contested in Indonesia's 2014 presidential election. What makes Indonesia's 2014 presidential election special compared to the previous presidential elections was first, there was no third presidential candidate which made the two candidates seemed doing a competition where one of them should win and another should lose. Second, Jokowi was not the candidate to be reckoned with previously.

Jokowi, when he was a presidential candidate, actually still officially served as DKI Jakarta Governor period 2012-2017 and just became the presidential candidate several months before the election. Jokowi's unforeseen nomination, of course, made Prabowo as another presidential candidate and his supporters upset and giddy.

Prabowo had long wanted the position, yet unexpectedly, there was a candidate who had the similar electability as him a year before the presidential election, that is Jokowi. The great hope that had burst in his heart finally vanished. Meanwhile, Jokowi's supporters experienced

great euphoria in knowing their candidate had the great electability. His party, PDI-P, did not waste this opportunity, although Jokowi still had many responsibilities in Jakarta.

This situation eventually placed both supporters in the position of fierce competition. There was no choice for them except winning the election. For such purpose, any means of campaign were utilized by both supporters, and social media became one of the essential means chosen for the campaign.

Social media became the arena to propagandize their own support candidates and to campaign the potential opponent negatively at once. Hundreds to thousands of news, speech, visuals, and motion picture were produced every single day to campaign the candidates. Social media had become the proxy war that lasted until the election day.

2014 presidential election was eventually won by Jokowi. Jokowi's supporters felt the euphoria of victory, while Prabowo's supporters were disappointed. However, what is worth noting was that the contestation that has been running fierce and heated during the campaign period apparently continued after the election of Jokowi as President of the Republic of Indonesia in 2017, even up to now when approaching 2019 presidential election.

3. Discussion

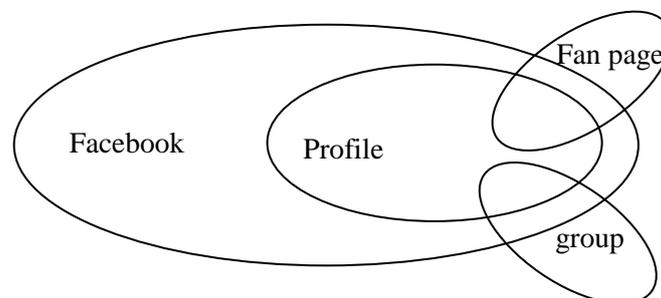
3.1 The Echo Chamber and Post-Truth Phenomena

In the political contestation between Jokowi and Prabowo's supporters, Facebook is the main social media that is employed for the contestation beside Twitter and Instagram. Facebook provides various features to engage in social media, that is main account or profile, fan page, and group.

In a main account or profile, an individual is free of expressing their speech then being responded by the members who become his friends. Meanwhile, fan page and group have the almost similar function, that becomes a place for the members who have similar favorite and preference toward something. Yet, a fan page is a group which functions to obtain fans and it tends to be a place to promote, advertise, or propagandize. Anyone can create a fan page and anyone who has similar preference can be the members. However, its weakness is that only the owner of the fan page who can throw in information and the members can only respond, thus it tends to be a one-way communication. Meanwhile, a group tends to be a discussion place for the members who own similar interest and preference. Its strength is that anyone can give information, and anyone is free of responding it.

The profile, fan page, and group are the places called as the peer-group or echo chambers. Facebook inserts our profile into an echo chamber, but it also provides choices for anyone to follow. It also makes people to be able to create their own echo chambers through fan pages and groups that can be followed by anyone. If our profile becomes a certain fan page or group at the same time, then we will get a chart as follows.

Chart 1: Echo Chamber in Social Media



This study only focuses on the echo chamber of Facebook group since this chamber is more fluid, egalitarian, and not one way. In the political contestation of Jokowi vs. Prabowo, the echo chambers in social media, particularly Facebook groups, is also divided into two; the supporters affiliated with Jokowi and the supporters affiliated with Prabowo.

If the keywords “Jokowi” and “Prabowo” are searched and “group” is clicked, dozens of groups of the two supporters appear with various number of members, starting from dozens to hundreds of thousands. The groups affiliated with Jokowi are 94 groups and the ones affiliated with Prabowo are 101 groups. Not all groups that utilize Jokowi or Prabowo’s names are affiliated with the figures. Some are affiliated with the opponent, but the number is not many. Table 1 shows three Facebook groups with the highest number of members from each figure’s supporters.

Table 1. Groups Affiliated with Jokowi and Prabowo with the Highest Members

Jokowi Affiliates			Prabowo Affiliates		
Group Name	Number of Members	Number of Posts in 30 Days	Group Name	Number of Members	Number of Posts in 30 Days
Loyalis Jokowi-Ahok	222.639	6.923	Prabowo for NKRI	736.076	7.720
Pengawal setia Jokowi-BTP dan NKRI	221.283	2.190	Harga Mati 2019 Dukung Prabowo Presiden	375.060	533
I Love Jokowi Presidenku	213,111	422	Prabowo Harapan Terakhir Rakyat Indonesia (PTHRI)	271.940	344

The groups above are the echo chambers as the place for the individuals with the favorite, preference, and support to each figure. Jokowi’s fans and lovers are assumed to enter one of the groups affiliated with him. The similar condition also applies to Prabowo’s fans who will enter the groups affiliated with him. The total number of members when all group members are summed has yet been known. It is predicted to reach millions of members, which means that there will be at least one million Indonesians has entered the echo chambers who will inevitably be exposed to post-truth phenomenon in the political contestation affiliated with Jokowi and Prabowo.

In the table above, if it is seen from the group with the highest number of members of each affiliation, that is “Loyalis Jokowi-Ahok” and “Prabowo for NKRI” groups, it can be seen that the number of members entering Prabowo affiliates is three times (300%) higher than the number of the same group affiliated with Jokowi. It means that Prabowo’s supporters who enter the echo chamber are a lot more than Jokowi’s supporters, which is potential to be exposed to the post-truth phenomenon.

Before going further, the forms of messages conveyed in each group with highest members will be examined. The message form or medium plays a quite important role in shaping perception since the form has the great contribution in influencing the emotional side of the readers. The message in the form of discourse is harder to understand compared to memes, photos, voices, or motion pictures. Emotion is usually easy to touch, and it is easier when the information is conveyed in the form of visual or sound instead of only monotonous writings. As what stated by Marshall McLuhan in his book published in 1964, *Understanding Media: The Extensions of Man*, “the medium is the message.” The form of media is also a message.

Moreover, this is the era where information is abundant, and it makes people to have an enormous selection of information, yet they solely have limited time to consume it all. The simple assimilation form of visual, verbal, and motion picture will be more preferred or seen by the communicants instead of the discourse with longer verbal and less visual. Table 2 presents the forms or media of conveyed messages in the two biggest groups taken for a day on June 24, 2018.

Table 2. Forms of Message Posts in “Loyalis Jokowi-Ahok” and “Prabowo for NKRI” Facebook Groups on June 24, 2018

Types of Forms	Loyalis Jokowi-Ahok	Prabowo for NKRI
News/discourse	81 (32%)	17
Meme	34 (13%)	80
Speech/short statement	43 (17%)	45
Photo (plus speech)	56 (22%)	68
Motion picture	37 (14%)	50
Polling	5 ()	9
Total	256	269

In the particular date, the number of posts for the two supporters almost reached the same number on average, that is 250s posts. In “Loyalis Jokowi-Ahok” group, the highest post was in the form of discourse or news, followed by photo-speech, short speech, motion picture, meme, and polling. By observing the composition of the various forms of posts in the two groups, the potential of being penetrated by the post-truth phenomenon is still great. However, Jokowi’s supporting group has the less condition to make the members get penetrated by the post-truth deeper than Prabowo’s supporting group.

The cause is that in Jokowi’s supporters, the number of posts in the form of news/discourse is the highest compared to other forms. The high number of posts of this form causes the conducive condition for the readers to not be exposed to the post-truth phenomenon since only in the extensive verbal space the readers can obtain the clearer and more objective facts. Nevertheless, nobody can guarantee that this form of post can also be objective, true, and logical. Thus, the readers’ criticality is required to assess the post’s message since the discourse post only provides the condition.

If there is a form of post which is the most potential to provoke the post-truth phenomenon, it must be the photo-speech and motion picture. However, the motion picture like video is actually only touch the emotion easily but quite hard to manipulate, so this form tends to be able to avoid the post-truth phenomenon as long as it is not edited or manipulated. Probably the forms of memes and photo-speech are the forms of posts that are most vulnerable to be penetrated by the post-truth phenomenon since on one side, it can touch the emotional aspect, while on the other side, it is too easy to manipulate.

In Jokowi’s supporting group, the number of meme and photo-speech is less than the news/discourse form. Yet, the posts exist, are numerous in quantity (35% if combined) and potential to create the readers’ condition to be exposed by the post-truth phenomenon.

Meanwhile, in Prabowo’s supporting group, the posts with highest number are meme (30%) and photo plus speech (25%) compared to other forms of posts. It indicates that in this group, the members enter the conducive chamber for the post-truth phenomenon to penetrate instead of Jokowi’s supporting group. Moreover, if the numbers of both forms are summed, it reaches more than 50% in total. It means that the members entering the group should be more critical, so they will not be exposed to the post-truth phenomenon. Then, the contents of posts from each supporter are summarized in table 3.

Table 3. The Post Contents in “Loyalis Jokowi-Ahok” and “Prabowo for NKRI” Facebook Groups

Loyalis Jokowi-Ahok Group		Prabowo for NKRI Group	
Post’s Content/Theme/Topic	Total	Post’s Content/Theme/Topic	Total
Bad comments and criticism on Jokowi’s projects, programs, policies, and supporters	13 (5%)	Bad comments/criticism, mockery, hate speech, and negative campaign on Jokowi, his policies, and programs, PDI-P, or his supporters	91 (33%)
Propaganda/campaign/defense on Jokowi/PDI-P/supporters/his family, programs, and policies	105 (41%)	Prabowo’s propaganda/campaign/Gerindra/his supporters	49 (18%)
Criticism on the opponent/rival in 2018 regional head election in North Sumatera, Central Java, and other regions	13 (5%)	Criticism on Prabowo and his supporters	4 (1%)
Bad comments/criticism, mockery, hate speech, and negative campaign on Prabowo, his policies and programs, Gerindra, or his supporters	60 (24%)	Criticism/bad comments/negative campaign on the opponent in regional head election in North Sumatera and Central Java	30 (11%)
Others	23 (9%)	Others	15 (6%)
Rivalry news of Jokowi and PDI-P	11 (4%)	Jokowi’s propaganda	4 (1%)
Propaganda of governor candidates supported by PDI-P/their team in 2018 governor election	31 (12%)	Criticism of Chinese foreign workers	10 (4%)
		Propaganda of governor candidates supported by Gerindra/their team in 2018 governor election	67 (25%)
TOTAL	256 (100%)	TOTAL	269 (100%)

From the table above, it can be seen that in Jokowi’s supporting group, the top three most posted topics starting from the highest to the lowest are the topics of propaganda, support, and defense on Jokowi (41%), mockery, bad comments, and criticism on Prabowo and his supporters (24%), and the propaganda of governor candidates supported by PDI-P in 2018 governor election (12%).

Propaganda is a message similar to advertisement. In a fan or supporting group, in this case, Jokowi’s supporters, the post of propaganda is the common post. Yet, 41% is a quite high percentage. This is predicted since 2018 is the year of presidential candidate registration and 2019 is the year of presidential election, so his supporters want Jokowi to remain popular. Second, it can also be caused as a defense or reply to criticism made by Prabowo’s rival supporters.

Propaganda is a topic vulnerable to the post-truth phenomenon since not a few are done excessively. This can be detected from many forms of memes used to convey messages. The number of memes with the topic of propaganda like this is quite dominating compared to other forms like discourse, speech, and video. The tricky combination of verbal (diction), graphic, and picture seems more able to lure the emotional side than only verbal. Here the post-truth phenomenon operates since if it is seen critically, the meme seems logical and true because the trust level of Indonesians toward their president is the highest compared to other countries. But then again, it is only for Indonesia, not to all countries in the world. Thus, it should not be “Jokowi Presiden nomor 1 terpercaya sedunia” (“Jokowi is the world’s number 1 trusted president”), but

“Jokowi presiden no.1 terpercaya di Indonesia” (“Jokowi is Indonesia’s number 1 trusted president”) is sufficient.

The next is the posts containing mockery, bad comments, and criticism on Prabowo and his supporters which occupies the second largest number of posts. This kind of post is supposed to be in the lowest place to talk about since it contains the elements that make others feel offended, upset, and angry. Criticism is fine as long as it is delivered well and objectively. However, in this group, there are more criticism with insults, mockery, and harassment.

Various issues are utilized by Jokowi’s group to attack, criticize, or mock Prabowo, starting from the issues of government debt, Chinese descent, request for political donations, human rights, LRT transportation, and so on. Similar to propaganda posts, the most frequently used media is in the form of meme.

The meme above is the meme related to the issue of campaign fundraising conducted by Prabowo in June 2018. Campaign fundraising is legal and permitted by law. According to the regulation of Indonesia’s General Elections Commission no. 13 year 2016, campaign fund can be sourced from the candidate pair, political party, and other legal donations. But the common reality is constructed by Jokowi’s supporters into a negative information which not only contains criticism but also hate speech and logical fallacy.

The statements “bodoh maksimal” (“maximum stupid”) and “bodoh kan” (“stupid, isn’t it?”) demonstrate the hate speech and considering fundraising equals to begging on street is also a kind of hate speech. Thus, through verbal, visual, and graphic manipulation the same reality can be constructed into a display of meme information that provokes emotion. Anyone who sees the rude words like “bodoh” (“stupid”) and a beggar picture will indeed feel insulted and furious. This kind of information is what is used to spread the post-truth phenomenon. People who are not critical and get easily emotional will believe that this meme is the truth.

Meanwhile, in “Prabowo for NKRI” group, the posted topics were contrary to the posted topics by Jokowi’s supporters. The most distinguishing with the posts in Jokowi’s supporting group is the number of posts with the topics of criticism, bad comments, and hate speech toward Jokowi occupies the highest portion, that is 33%. It is ironic since the posts that should occupy the smallest portion instead occupies the largest portion in this group. It means that this group is “somewhat unhealthy” to be used as a space to develop a good way of thinking.

There are various issues employed by Prabowo’s group in spreading criticism, bad comments, hate speech, and negative campaign toward Jokowi, such as Indonesia’s debt, toll road, infrastructure development, 2019 president replacement, Indonesian troops neutrality, and so on. Similar to Jokowi’s group, not few criticisms contain hate speech, logical fallacy, and negative campaign.

For example, the issue of Indonesia’s debt. This issue starts when the position of Indonesia’s foreign debt reached Rp 4,000 trillion in February 2018, and almost reached Rp 5,000 trillion in June 2018 along with the strengthening of Dollar against Rupiah which reached Rp 14,000. The debt issue is used by Prabowo’s supporters to criticize Jokowi because the large debts is due to the policies he takes. However, many criticisms delivered are excessive, less objective, and contain hate speech as well as logical fallacy. Again, the form of media used most frequently is meme.

Through the verbal, visual, and logical game, the information that was originally manipulated becomes logical, true, and objective. Whereas, if criticized further, the information is not entirely true. Indonesia indeed owns debt, yet the debt was not made entirely in his reign, but the debt existed far from the period he served. However, by saying “Jokowi’s Debt”, it is seen as the efforts of manipulating facts and presenting hoax. The readers will assume that the debt is made by Jokowi, which is not true.

Moreover, with the debt that size, the ones who should bear it indeed are Indonesian people, but it does not mean that Indonesian people are obliged to directly pay every month or every year like an individual owing to a bank. The country becomes the one who will pay it through its income. The information which seems true yet illogical is compounded with Joko Widodo’s additional statement who stated that “The reason that I dare to increase the debt is

because I AM NOT THE ONE WHO PAYS”. This statement is a lie since Joko Widodo himself never stated as such. But with the combination of the last statement and various construction of facts above, it causes the entire information in the meme seems true.

For Prabowo’s supporters who are anti-Jokowi and enter the echo chamber which provides such information, it will be psychologically pleasing and the meme will be emotionally potential to be believed. Meanwhile, for Jokowi’s supporters who are anti-Prabowo who enter the echo chamber of anti-Prabowo, they will be furious and emotionally hate to see the discrediting meme like this. Thus, this meme causes the situation of hating and mocking each other, whereas the information is objectively not completely true.

The memes like the one above will be preferred by Prabowo’s supporting group but hated by Jokowi’s supporting group. Thus, this kind of situation is not a healthy discussion, but the emotional situation of liking and disliking that emerges. Here, the post-truth phenomenon reoperates since the inclination of the emergence of emotional atmosphere is stronger than the healthy discussion atmosphere that is caused by the content of unhealthy information/message.

When Jokowi’s supporters see the meme above, they indeed will not remain silent. They usually will create the information reply. The problem is that the information reply also contains the things that are not completely logical and filled with hate speech, fake news, and the kinds. The informed facts are indeed true and logical, yet inappropriate to answer the criticism of the debt amount.

Answering Jokowi’s debt amount by comparing it with the debt in the reigns of former presidents is inappropriate, remembering that Jokowi’s debt amount is the smallest. But this kind of reply is not healthy in building the right critical thinking culture. The one which plays more role is the emotional side instead of the logic. The matter of debt should be replied by asking for what matter the debt is utilized. What it means by the small debt if it is only used for useless matters. Similar to Prabowo’s supporters, Jokowi’s supporters are also experienced the post-truth phenomenon. If not being careful and critical, the members who enter the group will easily believe the facts emotionally and it will be difficult for them to differentiate which one is true objectively.

4. Conclusion

The post-truth and echo chamber phenomena are two things that get harder to avoid when the modern society utilize social media nowadays. Social media is the fertile field for the development of the post-truth and echo chamber phenomena since it uses engine algorithm to select the information preferred by the users. As a result, the social media users will “live” in the space filled merely with the things they like or prefer.

Almost all countries in the world has been penetrated by the post-truth and echo chamber phenomena, and Indonesia is no exception. In the issue of political contestation between Jokowi and Prabowo’s supporters in Facebook, there are dozens of groups found that are affiliated with each figure. Each of the figures has hundreds of supporting groups, which means each supporting team has approximately a hundred echo chambers in Facebook. It also means that there will be hundred thousands of followers who enter the echo chamber and are automatically affected by the post-truth phenomenon in Indonesia.

It is proved that when the sample was taken from the group with the highest number of members, it is known that there are many posts with the topics of propaganda, criticism, hate speech, mockery, logical fallacy, and fake information in it. However, there are several small notes, the sample of Jokowi’s supporting group is filled mostly with propaganda, while Prabowo’s supporting group is filled mostly with criticism, hate speech, mockery, and negative campaign toward Jokowi. Both propaganda and criticism are the posts that are vulnerable to be penetrated by the post-truth phenomenon. In other words, the Facebook groups affiliated with each figure are vulnerable of being penetrated by post-truth. Critical thinking and broad insight are required when people want to be the members of the groups.

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