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Social Media, Candidate Campaign And Quality Of Democracy: Overview Of The Attacking Campaign In Indonesian Elections

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Abstract

Social media has become the main communication tool that changes the barriers of today's communication. The open characteristics of social media make its use in various aspects including aspects of political campaigns possible. The current campaign model uses social media a lot because of the breadth of reaching the audience. However, the use of social media does not rule out the possibility of attacking each other such as negative campaigns and black campaigns. This study aims to look at candidate campaign patterns and strategies by focusing on candidate political communication, use of offensive campaigns, and detection of vulnerabilities to democracy in Indonesia. By using a literature review research model, this study shows that social media is the main medium in political communication and it is found that there is an increase in the intensity and spread of communication with political topics during the election stage, especially during the campaign period. The campaign strategy carried out by the candidate was found to use an attacking strategy in bringing down or killing the character of his political opponent. This campaign model has the potential to cause a decline in democracy in Indonesia. This study shows that the use of black campaigns that are full of slander, lies, and selling racial issues makes the quality of Indonesian democracy worse and the legitimacy of the elected leaders low.

Keywords: social media; campaign; democratic party; political communication

Introduction

The rapid development of information technology has made social media a community space for communication facilities. Social media is able to change the barriers of social life to be connected to each other. Indonesians have long been familiar with social media, including Twitter, Instagram, Youtube, Facebook, Whatsapp, Telegram and many more.

Social media can be categorized as a mass media, because it is able to reach all audiences. Social media in its access does not know the boundaries of space such as geography. Everyone on social media connected by the internet will be able to share and receive information quickly. The use of social media has indeed been used in such a way, including political campaigns in democratic parties. Social media and political campaigns have their own interrelationships. Social media is becoming a space for political campaigning to attract wider support. In a simple sense, a political campaign is a form of political communication that aims to persuade, form and establish political relationships that a person or political organization does in a certain time (Siagian, 2015). The main thing about political campaigning is to attract audiences to agree with the ideology conveyed by political communicators.

The campaign period became an interesting phase for the public in the series of electoral processes. Political campaigns in the context of elections are used certainly to provide exposure, good image, and entice potential voters to choose their candidates by using political communication strategies. Then, political campaigns in elections are also a means of political education in the community by being carried out responsibly.

Campaigns through the internet in the sense that social media is increasingly prevalent and is considered the easiest at a cost that is certainly cheaper (Ratna, 2018). The ease of campaigning methods in today's digital age allows for uncontrolled filtering of information. The campaign model is a land for spreading fear, refraction of information, and SARA issues that are not based on facts are widely echoed.

In this context, black campaigns show a counterproductive role to the true essence of campaigning, namely as a means of political education. Then, a similar campaign model, namely negative campaigning that moves to bring down political opponents, is now adopted to attract voters. Although negative campaigns put forward the fact of bringing down opponents, this raises opposition regarding the existence of ethics and morals in political campaigning itself.

A number of studies focused on candidate campaigns have been widely conducted. More than half of campaign ads are negative campaigns (Fowler & Ridout, 2010). The tendency to use negative campaigns because they are more likely to be covered by the media (Iyengar & Simon, 2000). The use of negative campaigns is influenced by the characteristics of the

candidate and is relevant only to people with less tolerance (Fridkin & Kenney, 2011). Negative campaign effects have only a limited effect on candidates (Lau, Sigelman, & Rovner, 2007; Seeberg & Nai, 2021; Sirait, 2020), but using it in the strategy of attacking political opponents is not an effective way to improve the image of candidates (Lau et al., 2007).

This finding could be due to the fact that many voters are not interested in negative campaign messages and political campaigns of candidates or are not easily persuaded (Hill, Lo, Vevreck, & Zaller, 2006). Nevertheless some researchers have found that negative advertising does generate critical impressions of targeted candidates (Kim & Kenney, 2008) and it is found that political candidates and political consultants make negative campaigns a valuable tool in campaigns (Lau et al., 2007).

With the description above, the author reviews academic literature regarding negative campaigns and black campaigns as part of the type of attacking campaign on social media which then to detect how insecurity in political campaigns if using the attacking campaign model, especially in campaigns in Indonesia during the election moment.

Research Methods

The research method used by the author is a qualitative approach with a descriptive method. Descriptive methods can provide a more in-depth exposure of the research subject. The main purpose of qualitative research is to understand social phenomena and get a complete picture by examining into related indicators (Sutisna, 2021). For this reason, data analysis with the elaboration of empirical facts and academic literature such as journals, books, and other reliable sources will strengthen the arguments for the author.

Results and Discussions

Twitter Communication Network of the Election Commission of the Republic of Indonesia

Elections are an event for candidates of political candidates to occupy seats in government through a voting mechanism. To win as many votes as possible, political candidates are ensured to carry out a series of political communication strategies. A number of political communication activities have colored the jahad of the mass media such as news, advertising, propaganda, campaigns, and others. (Muhtadi, 2008) explained that the existence of political communication in society is an important part of the occurrence of a political dynamic. The political dynamics that occur in the momentum of the elections, especially during the campaign period, are the use of political communication to attract voter sympathy by utilizing the mass media space, especially social media. Social media especially

facebook has become an indispensable tool for implementing campaign strategies. Candidates' campaigns in the form of advertisements are increasing as polling day approaches (Calvo & Cano-or, 2021).

Social media is becoming an important mass media in gaining a wider audience. In the 2019 elections, social media became a very massive means of political communication. One of the social media that is widely used for cyber political communication media is twitter. Research (Stier, Bleier, Lietz, & Strohmaier, 2018) the German state federal election campaign found that candidates prioritize different topics based on their audience. The analysis also shows that politicians use facebook and twitter for different purposes.

Data from Twitter alone said there were around 124 million tweets on the topic of the 2019 elections. That means that out of the hundreds of millions of twitter users have had political communication interactions. Research from (Yuliahsari, 2016) states that Twitter social media is an example of mass media that is popular among the younger generation and has become a tool for political socialization about today's elections.

Below is a graph of the distribution of political communication topics that were built in the phase of the 2019 election period.
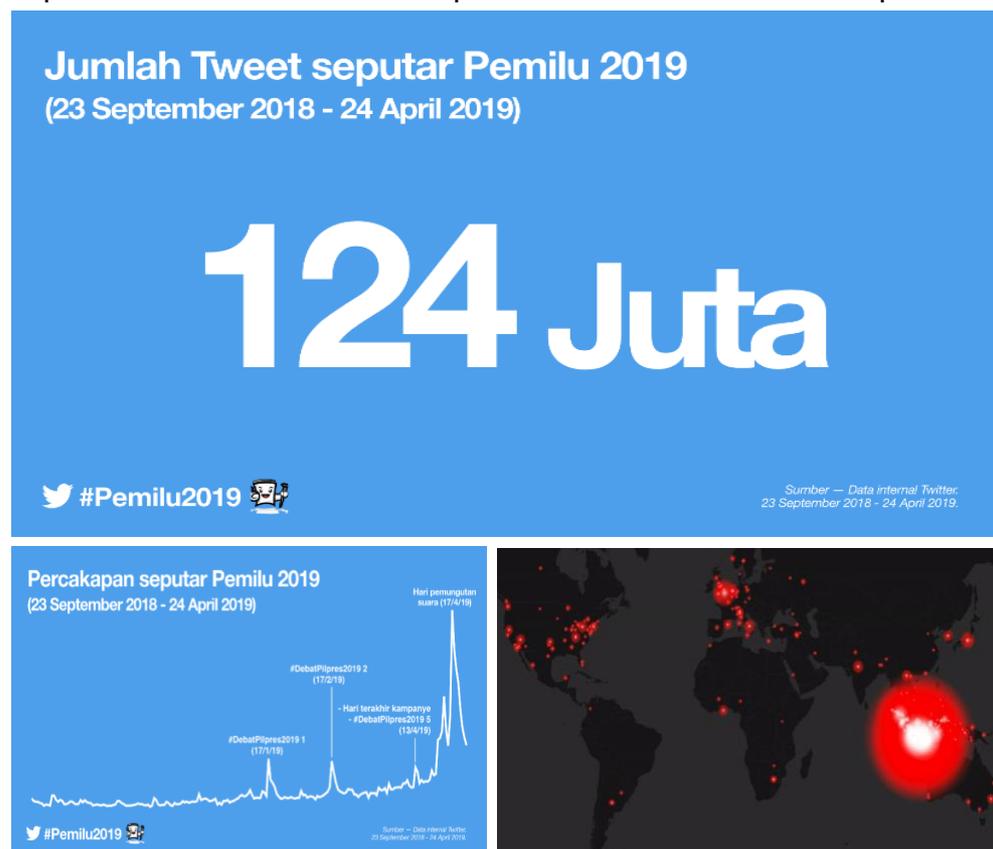
Figure 1. 124 Million Tweets About the 2019

Figure 1. can be seen in the conversation about the election debate that made the graph rise or the increase in political communication at that time. Candidates' campaigns in the form of advertisements are increasing as polling day approaches (Calvo, Cano-Orón, & Baviera, 2021). This can also be seen

when the exposure of the Obama campaign carried out in the last weeks of the election resulted in a substantial increase in people's voting intentions (Bartels, 2014). Crucial momentum in the recent moments leading up to the conduct of the elections is increasing the wave of campaigning that is getting bigger and bigger. In this phase, campaign content cannot be annulled on the downside or indeed presents political education.

Figure 1. shows the distribution of political tweet areas about the 2019 elections. When interpreted, social media is able to reach a very wide audience even to the whole world. No boundaries of time and space make social media the space of today's political communication. However, the vastness and freedom of social media is undeniable to include all content without prior filtering. Millions of political communications In the 2019 elections on social media Twitter could have hoarded a wealth of misguided information, hoaxes, and fights without adhering to political morals and ethics.

Overview of Attacking Campaigns and Patterns of Political Communication That Occur

During elections, there are several types of campaign models that are often used as political strategies, one of which is the attacking campaign model. Candidates will conduct attack campaigns if they are in opposition positions, the contestations that candidates participate in are at the national level, and when candidates are in a state of lagging behind other candidates (Maier & Jansen, 2017).

In addition personality is also a factor influencing the use of attacks. This campaign contains elements of bringing down opponents, worsening the reputation of other candidates, and spreading false and irresponsible information. There are two types of attacking campaigns, namely negative campaigns and black campaigns. In the context of a democratic state, not all offensive campaigns are prohibited. In the laws and regulations regarding elections, there are several aspects that make campaigns invalid, for example by raising elements of SARA, insulting religion, and others. The campaign model will be legal if it is still within the corridors of statutory provisions regarding elections.

Attacking campaigns in the election climate in Indonesia are often accommodated by the masses. Candidates carry out campaign strategies to attack both negative campaigns and black campaigns by utilizing the mass media space, especially social media because of the nature of the information that is spread more widely. Under such conditions, the role of the buzzer as a buzzer of information is very noticeable. Since the 2014 elections in Indonesia, information buzzing services have begun to be widely used by political candidates as a political communication strategy (Juditha, 2021).

In research Christiany explained that buzzers move as opinion leaders in shaping public perspectives. Buzzer content is relevant, unique, and has a consistent narrative intensity at all times. This is where negative and black campaigns creep in quickly through the help of political buzzers and the role of social media. As a note in the 2017 DKI Jakarta Regional Election, the heating up of the case of the inactive Governor of DKI Jakarta Basuki Tjahaja Purnama is currently inseparable from the contribution of opinion movements by the buzzer. By raising the crucial issue of sensitive statements at the time, the public heated up with a lot of boisterous conflicts everywhere. The narratives that raise issues like this are actually part of a negative campaign because the context is factual, but such content has grazed on the SARA issue which makes the content issue more towards the black campaign. Such a campaign flooded hate speech in the local elections at that time.

Negative campaigning has become common in democratic parties around the world, including in Indonesia. According to (Mark & Kommers, 2009) explains that negative campaigning is an act of a political candidate who wants to excel in a general election by attacking opponents through negative information. This campaign over-narrates the bad side/weakness of the opposing candidate but it is not fraudulent, dirty, or fraudulent because the nature of the information conveyed is fact. Negative campaigns are legally carried out in Indonesia even though there is no law that explicitly mentions it. However, a negative campaign in its context is to spread factual news, therefore there is no prohibition on this. This campaign may become illegitimate if the narrative carried out concerns the issue in Pasal 280 Ayat 1 Huruf c, "insulting a person, religion, ethnicity, race, class, candidate, and/or other election participant." Article 521, "any executor, participant, and/or election campaign team intentionally violating the prohibitions in Pasal 280 Ayat (1) Huruf a,b,c,d,e,f,g,h,i, or j, shall be punished with imprisonment for a maximum of two years and a maximum fine of 24 million rupiah" (FHUI Public Relation, 2018).

According to (Domore, 2002) there are four variables why negative campaigns are chosen as a campaign strategy. The first has to do with the time distance to the election. As the election approached, the positive campaign reached a saturation point and the public began to be flooded with negative campaigns. Second, it is related to the behavior of the opposing political camp. Attacking and cornering each other during the campaign period allows counterattacks by discrediting the opposing side. The third is about the power of electability. If the electability built is still lacking then it allows resistance by inflating a negative campaign. The last is about issues that can be brought and have the potential to increase vote support (Wisnu, 2014). Divisive issues between camps are considered capable of creating the supporting character of each

candidate, as an example of labeling supporters between cebongs and kamprets.

In the 2019 General Elections, the spread of negative campaigns was numerous. For example, the negative campaign from the Jokowi-Amin camp which is widely lodged on social media Twitter and Instagram. The campaigns presented include enlarging Prabowo's speech about Boyolali's appearance, questioning Sandiaga Uno's behavior and making "memes" regarding Prabowo's status as a widower (CNN Indonesia, 2019). Meanwhile, the Prabowo-Sandiaga camp produced a negative campaign with terms such as "Jokowi Pro-China", "Jokowi Anti-Islam and Pro PKI". Although a negative campaign is okay to do, its essence is more for the victory of obtaining votes alone, not taking into account the divisions caused. The communication patterns that are built tend to be the same and simultaneously. By raising the hashtags carried, the negative campaign will get a stage and acquire the goal it wants to get.

Turning to black campaigning as part of an attack campaign, the pattern of political communication that is built is to bring down the opposing camp and character assassination by refraction of false information and tends to hoaxes (Handoko, 2019). Black campaigns are usually conducted anonymously. Such anonymity activities are because their practices are basically prohibited. The black campaign is contained in Law No.1 of 2015 concerning the establishment of government regulations in lieu of Law (Perppu) No.1 of 2014, specifically contained in Article 69 letter c. This article provides a regulation that in campaigning it is forbidden to commit sedition, slander, mutual fighting. The explanatory section of this article calls the act nothing but a black campaign practice. In the election provisions in Law No.7 of 2017, it does not explicitly mention black campaigning as prohibited but explains that in campaigning it is prohibited to insult a person, religion, ethnicity, race, class, potential opposing candidates. And it is not allowed to incite and pit a person and community, violation of this provision is a criminal act. The content of the provisions of the law implies black campaign behavior in practice.

The black campaign is carried out by targeting voters who have not made a choice because according to political observers from the KedaiKopi institution, Kunto Adiwibowo considers this campaign effective for voters (Adnan, 2019). Voters who tend to look at political strongholds from narratives built in the public sphere are more easily influenced by black campaign incitement. One of the most well-known black campaigns was regarding the "sandiaga scandal". The issue of slander was raised through the skandalsandiaga.com website. In a statement, the site said that Prabowo Subianto is rumored to be in frequent relationships with three women. Although, Badan Pengawas Pemilihan Umum (Bawaslu) has followed up on the slanderous news by blocking the site, the impact is that prabowo's image is considered to have been damaged in the

public eye. This is how black campaigns work, which is actually an unconstitutional act against election and campaign provisions. The spread of the black campaign made the election lose its substance as part of the democratic party. Elections are considered unhealthy if the democracy built has been damaged by attacks of false information and mutual slander.

Detection of Insecurity to Democratic Life

The campaign as a place to attract public sympathy in the contestation of democratic parties cannot be separated from various polemics. Negative campaigns become a scourge of polemical carriers during election momentum due to the nature of campaigns that attack each other to bring down opponents. Although prone to polemics, the path of negative campaigning cannot be banned. This campaign is carried out usually by delegitimizing the opposing party by looking for weaknesses in the policies brought. This kind of thing actually opens up a public space to find out what the candidate is really conveying in relation to policy and providing political education, but if it is excessive in negative campaigning, it has the potential to divide society. Moreover, Indonesia as a democratic country should be able to respond to elections and campaigns and polemics so as not to cause divisions. Because when reviewed, elections often cause divisions and bloodshed in various countries such as the United States and countries in Europe.

The author of the book "Poison Politics", Viktor Kamber, gave the view that negative campaigns, especially black campaigns have a bad impact on democracy (Bappenas, 2009). Viktor likens the attacking campaign to the poison of democracy. In a country with a good level of democratic maturity like the United States even if the black campaign is still a frightening scourge. During the presidential election, for example, Barack Obama came under attack from a black campaign. The black campaign attack at the time reviewed Obama's childhood life while in Kenya and Indonesia. The narrative mentioned that Obama is considered to endanger religious life in the United States because Indonesia is majority Muslim. Moreover, the views of Muslims in the U.S. are still partly regarded as a radical group. It was these black campaign agendas that Viktor said delegitimized political attitudes and gave rise to the attitude of the golongan putih (Golput) during the elections. Attacking campaigns, especially black campaigns, have left the nation divided because it is full of slander and hatred.

In Indonesia, negative campaigns often color election times. During the momentum of the 2019 elections, the General Election Commission (KPU) determined the campaign period from September 23, 2018 to April 13, 2019 (Yoyok, 2018). During the campaign period, political parties should put forward the values of education or political education to the public. The debate of programs based on factual data is a vehicle for the

community to make choices. However, even though it is based on facts, the political camps have instead shifted towards the private. Like interfering in the personal affairs of one of the paslons, namely related to Prabowo regarding the status of the widower, something like this is revealed even though it is factual information but unethical. Narratives built on negative campaigns like this certainly create rifts and evoke hate speech.

Another thing in the Jokowi-Amin camp narrates Prabowo's talk about Boyolali's look. This is normal in negative campaigns but of course by looking at the opposite side, narratives like this have the potential to divide the unity of society. The campaign narrative should indeed pay attention to moral and ethical values, and the most important thing is to bring down opponents by looking at the policies that are followed and then debated, not things in the private sphere or outside the political context that is echoed. Campaigns that prioritize trivial information not in the debate should be avoided and the public today should already understand which campaigns are educating which ones only show sensations.

Figure 1. Findings of Hoax Issues in the 2019 Election

Source: Siaran Pers No. 95/MH/KOMINFO/ 005/2019

A press release from the Ministry of Communication and Informatics (Kominfo) regarding the spread of hoaxes for the period of August 2018 to April 2019 projects the results of the distribution of hoax information that continues to increase ahead of the 2019 general election. From the data collected as many as 1,731 hoaxes during the campaign period, 620 of the total findings were charged with political issues, 210 data on the government and others. Hoax content about politics and elections is on the rise ahead of the day of the vote. The tidal wave of false information that occurred made the democratic climate damaged by black campaign practices. The increase in hoax information in the run-up to the election will give voter quality bias. The public judges political parties and candidates with undue but

sometimes believable information. Although disseminators of hoax information and pitting political camps are often unaffiliated against any candidate's camp, this must be strictly followed up. Badan Pengawas Pemilihan Umum needs to screen information during the campaign period in addition to the role of Kementerian Komunikasi dan Informatika.

Reviewing black campaigns, in terms of political education, is very bad for democratic life. The campaign justifies all means including dirty practices such as falsification of information and complaints. If political education is not obtained by the people then it can be said that the quality of democracy is built in a bad state. A good education in the campaign process is to the public to know the ideas brought by political candidates, to educate about ideas and solutions for the country, and to always provide factual campaign information to the public.

The public is often presented with the term democratic party in elections. One of the democratic parties in question is the means of realizing the right to vote or participating in the electoral process. The existence of a black campaign that pits the public, as well as providing poor political education, is not impossible to discourage public participation in the holding of elections. The public will judge that political practices are dirty and only put interests first. If this potential occurs, the essence of the pillars of democracy as an active form of political participation of the community will decrease. In campaigning and political communication, communicant behavior to the public must prioritize ethics and morals. Ethics and morals here can be interpreted as carrying out noble values, tolerance, not divisiveness, and mutual respect for each camp. Former Commissioner of the Election Supervisory Board (Bawaslu) Nasrullah said that the ethical and moral values in campaigning are by conveying the values of political education to the community (Rastika, 2014). Basically, ethics in political campaigning cornered on a ban on black campaigning. The black campaign is full of slander, hoaxes, and SARA issues, so no political ethics has been brought. Ethics and morals in campaigns also imply any action based on the applicable provisions. Adhering to all election provisions is part of political morale.

Political campaigning as part of political communication that is currently nested a lot through social media must be responsible for the ethics conveyed. Social media, which in fact has a very wide mass, has the potential to have a greater effect. Communicating with no ethics is the same as having sacrificed the masses, no longer on individuals (Tabroni, 2014). Especially if you look at the very high intensity of the mass space when elections are held, there are more victims if the ethics of political communication are flawed. Flawed ethics such as those in the black campaign model will easily ignite conflicts and divisions that are even non-substantive

to elections. Maintaining ethics in campaigning and conducting political communication is not only the responsibility of the government, the media must also contribute to filtering content properly. Then, politicians as interested parties must also maintain ethics in every action.

Campaign Attack as a Form of Democratic Decline?

The way a negative campaign works is to attack the opposing candidate's side with a constructed narrative of facts. The facts used to attack are sometimes contrary to the political context. Negative campaign narratives when reviewed through the 2019 Indonesian elections are narratives that come from the candidate's private realm. This is a potential bad thing for democracy which implies conditions as a decline in democracy. Professor Budi Setiyono, Professor of Government Science at Diponegoro University, gave the view that the decline of democracy in the context in Indonesia is a process that slowly but surely fades the essence and practice of democracy that is built and out of the path of political governance (Junita, 2021). The campaign, whose essence is as a contest of ideas, showing the ideology of the political parties brought, and a means of political education for the people, is actually flooded by negative campaigns that are counterproductive to the essence of elections.

Black campaigns that present a refraction of information, spreading commotion between camps, framing that spreads false reality show a state of affairs that worsens the quality of democracy during elections and campaign periods. Hoax information that is built in a structured and systematic manner as in black campaigns when juxtaposed with the context of communication rights can be called junk information. The problem of garbage information will become serious if it is carried out massively. The information waste that is built will pollute public spaces, especially in digital public spaces such as social media. Respect for openness as well as the truth of information is an important part of the democratic process. The principle of respect for the openness and correctness of such information will be damaged by the refraction of information and the spread of hoaxes brought to the black campaign. Under these circumstances, public spaces or democratic spaces become dirty and damaged by black campaigns. This is what makes the black campaign an act of decline in today's demoracy.

Conclusion

Indonesia is a country with adherents of the democratic political system in driving the state government system. In every democratic system, there are pillars of democracy as an important prerequisite that must be carried out, one of which is free and periodic elections. In every election there is a political campaign process, where candidates and political parties give their ideas and political education to attract voter sympathy. However, political campaigns in today's era show the opposite conditions. In Indonesia, attacking and dropping campaigns are more commonly seen. In politics, attack campaigns are divided into negative campaigns and black campaigns. Negative campaigns can be carried out in Indonesia and do not violate the law, because basically this campaign puts forward facts. Meanwhile, black campaigning is not legal because it violates the provisions of laws related to elections.

The running of the campaign during the election moment is often likened to a democratic party. The democratic party referred to here is related to people's sovereignty which is realized through political participation and the establishment of political education for the public. The democracy brought to the elections has the potential to be diminished in quality due to negative campaigning practices and black campaigning. Both of these campaigns evoked the condition of a divided society. The narratives of knocking each other down, the refraction of information, the massive production of false information during the campaign do not provide a good political education. The public is pitted and flooded with hoax information which injures the rights of civil society in obtaining correct information. The right to know or obtain information is actually a constitutional right that every citizen has because it is guaranteed in law. The attacking political campaign will be a pest of democracy and the essence of the democratic party known all along is only as a riot party that breaks the unity of society.

In maintaining the quality of democracy during the phase of the political campaign period, it requires a serious attitude and moral commitment in carrying out the provisions of the legislation. Violations of unauthorized forms of campaigning must be unequivocally committed. It needs to contribute from all parties in the success of clean and open elections and campaigns. The provisions and laws and regulations on the conduct of elections must also clearly regulate actions that tarnish the climate of the democratic party. The absence of explicit arrangements regarding today's campaign models has the potential to increase divisive content.

Basically, political life must be ethical. Political actions must be held accountable and eliminate the thing that justifies all means. Elections that are not based on ethics will allow giving birth to candidates who are opportunistic, dishonest and only concerned with short-term affairs. A reflection of a good

campaign will give birth to a good leader.

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