

SOCIAL MEDIA IN THE CONSTITUENT INTERACTION AND MOBILITY (CASE STUDY IN THE 2017 JAKARTA-INDONESIA GOVERNOR GENERAL ELECTION CAMPAIGN)

¹ YUNILA LARAS ISMAWANI, ² LA MANI, ³ MUHAMMAD ARAS

¹Communication Department, BINUS Graduate Program, Master of Strategic Marketing Communications,
Bina Nusantara University Jakarta, Indonesia 11480

²Communication Department, BINUS Graduate Program, Master of Strategic Marketing Communications,
Bina Nusantara University Jakarta, Indonesia 11480

³Communication Department, BINUS Graduate Program, Master of Strategic Marketing Communications,
Bina Nusantara University Jakarta, Indonesia 11480

E-mail: ¹yunila.laras@gmail.com, ²la.mani@binus.edu, ³maras@binus.edu

ABSTRACT

The use of social media in general election campaign in Indonesia becomes more common but the relationship between social media existence in political campaign and the final vote result still need to be scrutinized. Therefore this study aims to analyze with a systematic and empirical approach of the social media usage (Including Facebook, Twitter, and Instagram) by DKI Jakarta governor candidates for the 2017-2022 period. Based on the observations, we found that each DKI Jakarta governor candidate has had a popular social media account in Indonesia, namely Facebook, Twitter, and Instagram. Such media were used to in conducting political campaigns and interacting with their constituents. Based on in-depth analysis of the empirical data showed that the presence of social media in the political campaigns in Indonesia had a strong relationship with the final results of DKI Jakarta governor election. Relationship between the results of the general election and the popularity, participation, and activeness of candidates in using social media were shown not only in interaction quantity but also in quality of the political campaign contents. Furthermore social media popularity of the political parties which supported the candidates allegedly had a relationship with 2017 DKI Jakarta governor election results.

Keywords: *Social Media, Constituents, Interaction and Mobility, Political Campaigns, General Election*

1. INTRODUCTION

Before the 20th century, when television and internet yet in widespread use as a medium of information dissemination, print media and radio had become popular media in conveying the message or information, including a political message to the public. At that time, more political campaigns were carried out in the direct speeches, radio channels, print media such as newspapers and magazines. Nevertheless at the beginning of the 20th century, the development of television had shifted slightly the existence of print media for political campaign, especially in developed countries. Television then able to provide a large effect on the mass public's assessment of a candidate's attractiveness, people's willingness to

vote for a candidate, and judgments about a candidate's likelihood of garnering the nomination (Ross, 1992). Print media, radio, and television were able to maintain their existence in long time so that their role in political campaign development in all countries in the world couldnot be minimized.

Entering the digital era in the 21st century, internet technology development around the world had brought about significant changes in all aspects of life. Every year the internet usage and users become more increasing along with the breadth of the Internet network infrastructure and convenience in obtaining digital devices. No exception to Indonesian itself, the use of internet and social media had become a trend and an inseparable part of daily communication. Based on the survey

conducted by the Association of Indonesian Internet Service Provider in 2017, the number of internet users in Indonesia had reached 143,26 million or 54,68% of the total population, an increase of 7,96% from 2016 (Kompas.com, 2018). Indonesia became the fifth largest internet user in the world. According to research conducted by We Are Social and Hootsuite, out of 265,4 million Indonesians, 130 million were active users of social media, with the top positions dominated by Youtube, Facebook, WhatsApp, Instagram, and Line (KompasTekno, 2018). In the political field, the use of Internet as a new media of political communication and campaign became very popular (Aparaschivei, 2011). David Perlmutter (2008) identified that online political campaign had been started since 1992 by Bill Clinton who was then followed by political parties, other candidates, and the electoral success teams.

Along with the increasingly social media popularity, political parties, political public relations, electoral success teams, and politicians themselves had upgraded their campaign strategy from that originally only based offline, such as the installation of banners, campaign speeches, and the leaflets to the public, evolved into the online basis, such as through Facebook, Twitter, Instagram, Youtube, etc. Indonesia with a very diverse and segregated population of islands looked at the existence of social media as an effective means of political communication and election campaign. For example, we took a case study in the 2017 DKI Jakarta governor election. DKI Jakarta was spread into 6 regions, namely North Jakarta, West Jakarta, Central Jakarta, South Jakarta, East Jakarta, and Kepulauan Seribu. DKI Jakarta governor candidates used social media as massive communication channel to socialize themselves and their programs. The question arised whether the existence of online political communication and campaign through social media from candidates, who took a part in the general election, had capability or not to mobilize their constituents so that they met the expected votes and victory of the election.

Aparaschivei (2011) conducted research related to the use of social media in the Romania presidential campaign in 2009. The results indicated that there were no positive relationship between the real vote result of a president candidates with their political communication strategy through social media. This research was conducted at the time of the Romania presidential election in 2009 which was the first year of social media use for election campaigns in Romania. On the other hand, internet

technology development and the use of social media has not been widespread use like nowadays. The candidate presidents were not in a structured way to utilize social media in their political campaigns. Nevertheless along with the rapid use of social media in Indonesia, especially in DKI Jakarta as the capital city of Indonesia, had stimulated the authors to observe the activities and existence of online political communication of DKI Jakarta governor candidate for the 2017-2022 period. This study aims to find out whether there is relationship between the use of social media in a political communication strategy and the results of a final vote that leads one of the candidates as the winner in the general election. This study focuses on all online communications related to posts or political campaign, a series of strategies, the characteristics of the candidates' social media, and communication mistakes of the candidates on the Facebook, Twitter, and Instagram platform.

2. LITERATURE REVIEW

Some researches related to the use of social media in election campaign and mass political participation began much done, such as research by Aparaschivei (2011) which found that there was no positive relationship between the political campaigns of the candidates on social media with the final result of presidential election. Nonetheless there were interesting findings in the study in which there is a positive relationship between the existence of a candidate on certain social media platform compared to other candidates against the results of the vote. Furthermore, positive content or post of a candidate could lead obtaining superior sound result in some areas of general elections. The results of the study could not be summed up in general, given the research of Aparaschivei was carried out during the Romanian presidential election in 2009 in which the candidates and the success teams had not used social media for a structured and massive political campaign.

Along with the development of internet technology and social media diversification, online media's role as an indicator of political behavior of the people is very interesting to measure. The research of DiGrazia, et al. (2013) concluded that the number of responses to a candidate's tweet compared to other candidates on social media such as Twitter could statistically be used as an indicator of the vote acquisition in general election. Therefore social media could be used as an

alternative means to measure public behavior and attitude in determining their political choice.

2.1 Social Media in Democracy

According to Ward in (Kirtis dan Karahan, 2011), social media is one type of online media that accelerates communication like a conversation, and is different from conventional media that does not allow readers to participate in content creation. The use of social media in democratic process has been carried out by many countries around the world. Such an example of the United States, known as the most influential country in democracy practices and had become a benchmarking state for other countries in the world on communications and political campaigns through online media. The United States had demonstrated the power of social networking for promoting the candidates in the presidential election which ultimately leads one of the candidates as the winner (Aparaschivei, 2011). Indonesia is no exception, which is one of the democracy countries in Southeast Asia, also adopted direct general elections, both presidential elections, legislative elections, and regional head elections (governors and mayors/regents). Internet users are believed to be new decision makers in the digital world (Van Dijck, 2009). Through information and interaction exposure that occur on social media, they are expected to be able to make decisions that are more prudent and directed, including decisions in determining political choices in general elections. Social media provides large access of democracy to the public so that the directed and responsible freedom of state can truly be realized in a democratic government which defined as the government of the people, by the people, and for the people as according to Abraham Lincoln.

Political participation of people in social media is also interesting to study, considering their decisions are closely related to the results of the general elections held. The utilization of new media in attracting political participation of voters and relationship of political participation with internet literacy factor showed that many of the constituents or voters who were also social media users still tend to be apathetic toward politics, but relationship of political participation and internet literacy showed quite high (Mudjiyanto, 2012). In addition, a survey conducted on 6.330 young children in Belgia (Quintelier & Vissers, 2009) also showed that despite the time they spend on social media very much, they did not follow all sorts of activities and

political discussions (88% of respondents never read or forwarded emails related to political contents). Furthermore, based on this survey it was known that the use of blogs, reading online news related to politics, and sending emails with political contents could have a positive effect on political participation in the real world. From these studies, candidates and campaign success teams might have a clear picture of the existence of social media in the democratic process and the influence on online audiences political attitude or behavior. Campaign success teams are encouraged to design epic strategies when they will use social media for political campaign so that political communication in social media is not merely a formality but have an impact to persuade constituents and encourage social mobility to make political choice. Thus the existence of social media in democracy become coherent each other and mutually beneficial.

The election of DKI Jakarta governor which was held in 2017 could be a good case study to be analyzed as an illustration of the existence of social media in leading constituents to determine their choice of DKI Jakarta governor candidates for the 2017-2022 period. The election of the DKI Jakarta governor could be considered as a reflection of the Indonesian president election, because even though DKI Jakarta's population was only 3,95% of the Indonesian population, the participation and enthusiasm of the constituents in DKI Jakarta had brought about a political atmosphere as large as the presidential election. DKI Jakarta governor candidates were also inseparable from social media whose followers had even exceeded the number of their constituents. The existence of governor candidates on social media related to political campaign and their political image encouraged the authors to research deeply related to whether there was relationship or not between social media existence with the result of general elections of democracy in Indonesia.

2.2 Internet Users and Political Constituents in Indonesia

Indonesia with the fourth largest population in the world, approximately 3,5% of the total world population (CIA World Factbook 2004) was the fifth largest internet user in the world. Based on data from a survey conducted by the Association of Indonesian Internet Service Provider (APJII), the number of users internet increased by 795,38% within 12 years, from 2005 to 2017.



Figure 1: Trend number of internet users in Indonesia for the period 2005-2017.

Total internet users in Indonesia at the time of this research conducted was 143,26 million people or 54,68% of the total population in Indonesia with the composition of internet users consisting of 51,43% men and 48,57% women (Kompas.com, 2018). In line with this, development of Facebook, Twitter, Youtube, and Instagram since 2008 had made these social media became very popular in Indonesia with the penetration number of followers as follows:

Table 1: Penetration number of social media followers in Indonesia.

Types of social media	Number of followers	Penetration (%)
Facebook	130 million	49.64%
Twitter	46 million	17.56%
Instagram	53 million	20.23%

Table 1. shows that the existence of social media cannot be separated from the lives of Indonesian people now a days, especially when democratic event was held, both regional and national scale. Indonesian government officials and politicians had also begun to actively use social media, ranging from President Joko Widodo, former DKI Jakarta Governor Basuki Tjahaja Purnama, Mayor Ridwan Kamil, etc. with the number of followers were increasingly growing day by day.

In the context of general elections, there are two parties directly correlated, the candidate to be elected and the elector (voter). Voters here are often referred to constituents which means voters in the constituency region, supporters of political parties, the givers of the mandate to the parties that should be given the responsibility, society that must be represented or target group to be served by the party or parliamentarian (Consolidation of Democracy, 2005). In terms of general elections, the correlation between internet users and

constituents is a relationship that does not directly impact, but have ability to be an indicator of constituent political behavior. In reality, the number of internet users are not always directly proportional to the number of constituents in a country. For example internet users of Indonesia in 2017 amounted to 143,26 million people with potential constituents approximately (internet users aged 18 years to above) was 83,32% or 119.36 million people (Kompas.com, 2018). On the other hand, based on data from the Domestic Ministry, it was known that the number of constituents in Indonesia was predicted to reach 196,5 million (Kemendagri, 2017). This shows that there are slices of data which illustrate that not all constituents have access to the internet. Likewise that Internet users may not necessarily be constituents if they are not quite in accordance with election regulation. In the other hand, possible bias data from Internet users may happen because one person can have more than one account in social media. Thus contradictory and irregularities in predicting the behavior of public politics in the real world by seeing their behavior in the online media may largely occur.

In this study, the authors are going to observe total number of followers/friends in three different social media owned by each DKI Jakarta governor candidates. From the number of followers/friends in social media could be identified the number of supporters or participants. They might be a great potential power for the politician because these followers/friends could be the constituents that would choose the candidate and might even influence other constituents to choose the candidate (political e-WOM).

2.3 Political Campaign Through Social Media

In practice, campaign activities are carried out through electronic media (television and radio), print media (newspapers, magazines, and tabloids), group communication media (exhibitions, seminars, and panel discussions), as well as outdoor media (posters, banners, and billboards). But along with technology developments, campaigns through digital media (social media, websites, e-mail, and chat applications) become more popular choices that have several advantages, such as:

1. improve cost efficiency and campaign time flexibility.

The costs needed to spread content through social media are very cheap and can even be said to be free because all that is needed is only an internet connection. In contrast, putting content in newspaper, magazine, television, or radio need to spend more money. Therefore political campaigns and the promotion of election candidates through social media could reduce political cost. Moreover, political campaign through social media has time flexibility beneficial so that the campaign team and candidate can actively promote their programs and visions anytime and anywhere, not limited to time and place.

Besides being able to streamline campaign costs, social media could mobilize fundraisers from sympathizers in the online world, such as in the 2012 DKI Jakarta governor election campaign which sent Joko Widodo and Basuki Tjahaja Purnama to be the winner. They attracted sympathizers through social media and raised funds campaign from selling attributes, such as Jokowi-Ahok's distinctive plaid shirts that were widely marketed by sympathizers and selling ticket of The Lady in the XXI Taman Ismail Marzuki theater, Central Jakarta. The sale of Jokowi-Ahok's plaid shirt was even targeted to reach Rp. 20 billion which was used for campaign costs and paying the witnesses at the voting place. This concept was also carried out during the 2008 US Presidential election which was an excessive example of how the role of social media as the main campaign tool on the political stage was gaining attention from around the world. Obama's victory was a decisive turning point in the modernization of political campaigns (Utomo, 2013). Obama and his success team succeeded in using the internet and social media in political campaigns to raise funds, organize citizens, and mobilize voters (Utomo, 2013).

2. increase the effectiveness of information dissemination and exchange of ideas.

Social media coverage is very broad and unlimited. Once a message or information is released then the effect on online audiences could not be stopped. It is as described in the theory of a hypodermic needle or bullet theory initiated by Harold Lasswell in the 1920s which focused on the power of media influence on audiences. The theory that was born during World War I assumed that the public did not have the power to avoid media influence. In the use of social media, audiences are faced with a variety of information exposure disseminated by news content owners. The information disseminated

could be the real news but sometimes could be the hoaxes in which readers were often immediately trust without comparing the contents first. This phenomenon sometimes is further exacerbated by content viralisation which may cause negative electronic word of mouth (eWOM) from the public like injected disease viruses. The tendency of viral phenomena to spread news, especially negative news and hoaxes in the political campaigns, becomes more increase so that the hypodermic needle effect of the media to the public is increasingly massive. Unlike the mass media whose influence on the audience is very large, social media should not be the only factor that can affect directly and immediately against the changes in behavior. Social media users still have a variety of alternative channels to filter news content so that they could avoid the effects of hypodermic needle in political decision making. Like two sides of the blade, the dissemination of information through social media could be an advantage in political campaigns because once the work program and the positive image of the candidate are spread, the positive effect (eWOM) will work. On the contrary, the spread of negative campaigns and black campaigns could have an impact on the killing of candidate characters.

Effectiveness, efficiency, and flexibility become an attraction in the use of social media for candidates and their success teams in conducting political campaigns. Unfortunately, Asp and Esaiasson (1996) stated that the shift in communication strategies to social media actually had a large negative impact, especially for the mass community. This was because the political world as seen in the mass media was becoming increasingly full of drama. The public as media consumers saw the political world as seen and displayed in the media. For example, every case is deliberately shared to create a black campaign from political opponents could have an impact on the decreasing number of voters as McChesney (1999) had stated which could lead to slow depoliticization process against the public. Symptoms of depoliticization was marked from public apathy about the political issues to the drop in number of voter turn-out in elections.

The use of social media in political campaign in Indonesia also needs to consider the condition of its constituents, given that internet literacy and social media in Indonesia are also not evenly distributed. Based on the results of a survey conducted by the Association of Indonesian

Internet Service Provider (APJII), it was known that based on the geographical area, the percentage of the spread of Internet users in Indonesia was as follows:

Table 2: Penetration of internet users by geography.

Regional geography	Internet users penetration (%)
Jawa	57,70%
Sumatera	19,09%
Kalimantan	7,97%
Sulawesi	6,73%
Bali - Nusa Tenggara	5,63%
Maluku – Papua	2,49%

This uneven literacy should not complicate the democratic process and political campaigns for society because essentially democracy is the government of the people, by the people, and for the people. Community inability to use social media had been studied by Kluver, Jankowski, Foot, and Schneider (2009) in the book *The Internet and National Election*. One conclusion of the study showed that instead of increasing citizen political participation on a broad scale, the internet actually played a role in sharpening fragmentation and isolating citizens. Therefore political campaigns in developing countries such as Indonesia should still use a combination of conventional media and online media to accommodate all society.

Political campaigns through social media make it possible to interact with their constituents by online so that increasing participation, transparency, and accountability of both parties. The way of political campaign through social media could be very effective if there was an ethical political awareness of online media users and protection by the rule of law that was consistently and consequently regarding Electronic Information and Transactions regulation (UU ITE). In this study, the authors described a series of campaign strategies carried out by each candidate on the three different social media as well as the miscommunication made by candidates on social media that could be a potential for viral news dissemination and could even be a black campaign by political opponents.

2.4 Political Parties in General Elections in Indonesia

General elections in Indonesia began in 1955 and up to 2014 Indonesia had executed eleven times of presidential election. Generally, presidential elections in Indonesia are held every five years but there was a period in which Indonesia did not execute elections during 16 years, that was in the general election in 1971 after the recess from 1955. In the year of 1999, after the end of Orde Baru, the election was held intermittent only 2 years of the previous general election in 1997. The end of the Orde Baru regime was marked by the fall of President Soeharto, who had led Indonesia for almost 32 years. This signaled the rise of a new democracy in Indonesia and was known as the Reformation era. The well known principles of election in Indonesia since Orde Baru was LUBER (Direct, General, Free, and Confidential) in which each voter must vote directly without being represented, followed by all citizens who are aged enough, have freedom without coercion, and the voice given is highly private and confidential. Then in the Reformation era, the principles were added to become Jurdil (Honest and Fair). During Orde Lama until the beginning of the Reformation era, election in Indonesia were intended to elect legislative members, but after the fourth amendment to the UUD 1945 in 2002, the presidential elections originally voted by the People's Consultative Assembly (MPR) were agreed to be carried out directly by the Indonesian people. The presidential election directly first performed in 2004 with President Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono awarded as the first Indonesian president directly elected by the people. Furthermore, based on UU No. 22/2007, the election of regional head was also agreed to be directly elected by the people. As a form of representation of UU No.22/2007, several provinces executed regional elections in 2017 with one of them was the election of DKI Jakarta governor for the 2017-2022 period.

Indonesia, known as the third largest democratic country in the world after India and the United States, regularly executes a democratic event with the aim of electing the leaders and representatives to carry out the constitutional mandate. The function of political parties are designed to provide a political learning medium for society and the place of citizens' aspirations in political freedom. Along with the development of political parties in Indonesia, from 1955 until now,

there are a lot of changes in the number of political parties which is participating in general elections in Indonesia.

Table 3: Trend number of election contesting political parties in Indonesia.

Period	Number of election contesting political parties
1955	172 parties
1971	10 parties
1977 - 1997	3 parties
1999	48 parties
2004	24 parties
2009	38 parties and 6 Aceh local parties
2014	12 parties and 3 Aceh local parties
2019	14 parties

As a political organization, parties tend to struggle and defend the interests of it's members especially and society generally as well as maintain the integrity of the state. In order to achieve these goals, a strategy is needed to campaign the party's vision , mission, and political direction through various media (multimedia), one of which is social media. Number of official account followers political parties in social media up to the time when this research was conducted could be quantified as follows:

Table 4: Number of social media followers of political parties participating in 2019 elections.

Political Party	Facebook	Twitter	Instagram
Partai Demokrasi Indonesia Perjuangan (PDI-P)	1.569.551	174.000	66.200
Partai Golongan Karya (Golkar)	55.958	95.000	10.000
Partai Nasional Demokrat (Nasdem)	50.348	64.300	10.900
Partai Persatuan Indonesia (Perindo)	279.467	18.200	27.000
Partai Berkarya	4.105	28.100	13.500
Partai Demokrat	191.221	72.400	15.600
Partai Gerakan Indonesia Raya (Gerindra)	3.620.574	348.000	204.000
Partai Hati Nurani Rakyat (Hanura)	527.143	20.000	763
Partai Gerakan Perubahan Indonesia	1.212	357	2.496

(Garuda)			
Partai Amanat Nasional (PAN)	174.334	29.400	15.900
Partai Kebangkitan Bangsa (PKB)	48.623	76.300	22.200
Partai Keadilan Sejahtera (PKS)	434.601	249.000	69.900
Partai Persatuan Pembangunan (PPP)	250.535	48.400	20.000
Partai Solidaritas Indonesia (PSI)	2.085.454	69.300	70.200

Social media could be used to develop political marketing strategies for politicians in showing their policies, figures , parties, and images (Juditha, 2014) and formulated political branding like what was done by Jokowi-Ahok during the 2012 DKI Jakarta governor election campaign (Sandra, 2013) which was known that a campaign by Jokowi through Twitter had shown the attitude of a politician who would determine the popularity of himself and his bearer party (Partai Demokrasi Indonesia Perjuangan). The role of political parties in general elections is aimed both as a political vehicle for candidates and also as a driving force for constituent mobility to choose these candidates. A non-party or independent candidate could be promoted as long as there was political support from political parties who shared the same vision and mission. The greater the political party's support for candidates, the greater the potential for votes from election bases. In this study, there were three candidates who raced in the election with two of them were independent (non-party) candidates, Basuki Tjahaja Purnama and Anies Baswedan, while Agus Harimurti Yudhoyono was the candidate from Partai Demokrat. On the other hand , the performance and political image of a candidate could also influence the popularity and public trust to the political parties that support them. From this point of view, the influence of the existence of political parties in social media on the candidates' votes and vice versa could contribute to the victory in the general election.

3. RESEARCH METHOD

This study aims to examine and analyze the use of social media by candidates who take part in general elections with case study in the 2017 DKI Jakarta governor election. The governor candidates of DKI Jakarta had already social media accounts that were very popular in Indonesia (Facebook, Twitter, and Instagram) so that they

have the same power in the social media to attract and lead their constituents who were active on social media. This study focused on all posts related to communication or political campaign, a series of strategies, social media characteristics, and communication errors made by candidates on the Facebook, Twitter and Instagram platforms.

DKI Jakarta governor candidates who were analyzed consisted of three political figures, namely Agus Harimurti Yudhoyono (AHY) from the coalition of Partai Demokrat-PAN-PKB-PPP, Basuki Tjahaja Purnama (Ahok) from the coalition of PDIP-Golkar-Nasdem-Hanura, and Anies Baswedan (Anies) from the Gerindra-PKS coalition.

The research methodology used in this study was data observation and analysis with systematic and empirical approach of the social media activities and usage by DKI Jakarta governor candidates on three different platforms (Facebook, Twitter, and Instagram). This method is relevant to research because the object of the research relates to human behavior, the respondents observed are not many, and the observed phenomena are measured so that they can be compared. In observational research there are characteristics that must be considered, such as (1) observations must be related to research objectives, (2) systematic, (3) quantitative, (4) systematically recorded, (5) demanding the expertise of researchers, and (6) research results can be tested for validity and reliability. Observation conducted on three social media using indicators that describe the existence and activities of candidates during political campaign. Social media indicators used in this study were divided as follows:

- Observation indicators on Facebook: number of friends, like, posts, photos, videos, and groups.
- Observation indicators on Twitter: number of followers, following, like, and tweets.
- Observation indicators on Instagram: number of followers, following, posts, and hashtags of candidate names.

From these indicators, the results of observations were analyzed systematically and deeply to get the research results and will have been compared with the actual results of the elections to obtain a conclusion in order to answer the research

questions. This empirical analysis is in accordance with the positivist paradigm that can be tested for its validity and reliability.

4. RESEARCH RESULT

Based on observations on social media platforms, was known that three candidates of DKI Jakarta governor 2017-2022 period have had social media accounts which were popular in Indonesia (Facebook, Twitter, and Instagram) with the number of followers were more increasing day by day even all candidates accounts had verification badge symbol on their social media which meant that the account was genuine, trusted, and had a good account management. From the indicators that had been determined in this study, the researcher divided the data observation and analysis into three different sections (Facebook, Twitter, and Instagram).

4.1 Facebook

From the number of friends on Facebook, Basuki Tjahaja Purnama got the first rank since the first campaign period (1,22 million) and up to the second round, the number of friends were getting more increasing that reached more than doubled (2,59 million) until today. The second rank was Anies Baswedan (619 thousand) with an average addition of 150 accounts per day during the campaign period and until now had reached 1,21 million. Meanwhile Agus Harimurti Yudhoyono was in the third position with total friends during the campaign reached 52.000s in the first round of campaign and at the time of this research, the number only reached 179 thousand and are still the lowest share, below the two other candidates. In line with the number of friends on Facebook, the number of Like Basuki Tjahaja Purnama was the highest with 2,55 million Likes, followed by Anies Baswedan (1,18 million) in the second place, and the last rank was held by Agus Harimurti Yudhoyono with 174 thousand Likes.

Throughout the pre-campaign and campaign in 2016 until the beginning of 2017, the number of posts on Facebook more published by Anies Baswedan, made him in the first rank with 192 posts. In the second round until the completion of DKI Jakarta governor election in 2017, the number Anies Baswedan posts was more increasing (289 posts) which put him in the first rank with the highest number of posts on Facebook. Anies Baswedan's posts were much related to the work program of 0% Home Down Payment, explore activity to various places in Jakarta, and the relevant confirmation tweet evil against him. In the

second rank, there was Basuki Tjahaja Purnama with 170 posts during a pre-campaign and the campaign in 2016 then 265 posts in the campaign and post-campaign in 2017. Posts of Basuki Tjahaja Purnama were more about his activities as DKI Jakarta governor and his success achieved during the governor. In the third place, there was Agus Harimurti Yudhoyono with 92 posts during the pre-campaign period and 93 posts during the campaign period. The post by Agus Harimurti Yudhoyono was more about building his image to the community because he had just involved in politic after leaving the military unit of the Republic of Indonesia.

Slightly different from the number of candidate posts to Facebook, the number of photos uploaded by each candidate was quite competitive with a slight difference. Basuki Tjahaja Purnama (102 photos) had 3 more photos than Anies Baswedan (99 photos) and Agus Harimurti Yudhoyono uploaded 91 photos in the pre-campaign and 2016 campaign. Conditions changed slightly during the campaign period in 2017 in which Anies Baswedan was in the first rank with 100 photos, the second place was Basuki Tjahaja Purnama with 96 photos, and the third place was Agus Harimurti Yudhoyono with 91 photos. The photos uploaded by Anies Baswedan was mostly related to Anies track record which was made like a series of photos starting from the order of 1 to 40 photos and related to 23 Anies work appointments. Meanwhile, Basuki Tjahaja Purnama uploaded a lot of photos with DKI Jakarta people in every work visit. Agus Harimurti Yudhoyono uploaded more photos of himself and his family and photos when he gave a campaign speech.

In line with the number of photos uploaded to Facebook, the first rank in terms of the videos uploaded was achieved by Basuki Tjahaja Purnama with 53 videos during the pre-campaign and 2016 campaign, followed by Anies Baswedan with 27 videos, and finally Agus Harimurti Yudhoyono with 7 videos. During the 2017 campaign period, the rank experienced a shift in the second and third ranks, in which Basuki Tjahaja Purnama (45 videos) in the first rank, Agus Harimurti Yudhoyono (37 videos) in second rank, and third rank was Anies Baswedan (3 videos).

Regarding the number of active groups in Facebook's fanpage of each candidate, Agus Harimurti Yudhoyono had more groups than the other two candidates (47 groups) while Basuki Tjahaja Purnama and Anies Baswedan had 41 and 40 groups. However, not all groups were created to support the candidates. For example in the

Facebook of Basuki Tjahaja Purnama, there were at least three groups who were contra with the figure of Basuki Tjahaja Purnama as DKI Jakarta governor candidate.

Table 5: Candidates activity in Facebook of 2016 pre-campaign and campaign.

Candidate	Number of friends	Number of posts	Number of photos	Number of videos
Agus Harimurti Y.	52.000	92	91	7
Basuki Tjahaja P.	1.224.000	170	102	53
Anies Baswedan	619.043	192	99	27

Tabel 6: Candidates activity in Facebook of 2017 campaign and post campaign.

Candidate	Number of friends	Number of posts	Number of photos	Number of videos
Agus Harimurti Y.	179.065	93	99	37
Basuki Tjahaja P.	2.591.920	265	96	45
Anies Baswedan	1.214.031	289	100	3

4.2 Twitter

No too much different from Facebook, the number of followers of Basuki Tjahaja Purnama was the highest with 6,38 million during the campaign period and increased steadily until today has reached more than 7,87 million. The number of the second highest followers was reached by Anies Baswedan with 1,24 million followers in the campaign period and currently has doubled (2,26 million). Meanwhile Agus Harimurti Yudhoyono was still in the bottom position compared to other candidates, with 291 thousand followers during the campaign and in the time of this study held, the number of followers were not more than 308 thousand.

Beside the number of followers, number of following which indicated the involvement and interest of DKI Jakarta governor candidates also need to be assessed. Amount of followers could indeed indicate the number of fans loyal or sympathetic, but the number of following could describe the concerns of candidate about issues or specific figures and allowed candidates to interact with more followers in Twitter. Based on the number of following, Anies Baswedan had the most following number to other accounts (642 following) while the second was Agus Harimurti Yudhoyono

with 146 following. Basuki Tjahaja Purnama with the greatest number of followers, in fact only had 52 following on Twitter.

In terms of the number of Like on Twitter, Anies Baswedan was more superior than two other candidates with 11.300 Like much left Agus Harimurti Yudhoyono with 271 Like, and Basuki Tjahaja Purnama with only 41 Like. This condition is inversely proportional to the number of Like on Facebook that made Basuki Tjahaja Purnama was in first rank.

Based on the number of tweets of each candidate during the campaign period, Anies Baswedan was in the first ranked with 10.200 (72,34 %). In the second position was 2.449 (17,37%) achieved by Basuki Tjahaja Purnama, and the third rank by Agus Harimurti Yudhoyono with 1.452 (10,29%). Based on research conducted from September 23rd to October 9th 2016 by Provetic that the conversation on Twitter was dominated by Basuki Tjahaja Purnama, which was 83% of the total conversations on Twitter, followed in the second position by Agus Harimurti Yudhoyono (12%), and Anies Baswedan (6%). Discussions and talks about Basuki Tjahaja Purnama were more related to negative sentiments such as the sensitive issue of his statement quoting the Al-Quran Surat Al-Maidah in his working visit to the Kepulauan Seribu. Meanwhile the positive sentiment was highest in the discussion about Agus Harimurti Yudhoyono who had just involved in the politics. Conversations at Tweeter related to Anies Baswedan had not experienced a significant increase in the initial period of the 2016 campaign. However, in the second round of campaign, the number of tweets by Anies Baswedan continued to increase even up to this research has reached 11.300 tweets while Basuki Tjahaja Purnama had no more than 2.605 tweets, and Agus Harimurti Yudhoyono tweeted 1.458.

4.3 Instagram

Slightly different from previous social media, the number of followers of Agus Harimurti Yudhoyono Insatgram account during political campaign was the largest (1,80 million) compare to other candidates. In the second rank was obtained by Basuki Tjahaja Purnama (1,60 million) and third rank achieved by Anies Baswedan with total number of followers as much as 189 thousand. The unique thing happened over time in which the increase in the number of followers of Basuki Tjahaja Purnama soared to more than 3 million. Meanwhile Agus Harimurti Yudhoyono was ranked second with the number of current followers 2,6

million and third place with 1,3 million followers achieved by Anies Baswedan.

The most number of followings was currently owned by Anies Baswedan with 128 following, second rank with the most number of following was Agus Harimurti Yudhoyono (46 following), and the third rank was Basuki Tjahaja Purnama as much as 4 following.

In terms of the number of posts on Instagram during the campaign period, the highest number of posts was held by Agus Harimurti Yudhoyono with 695 posts, followed by Basuki Tjahaja Purnama in the second place (622), and Anies Baswedan in the third place (392).

In addition to the number of posts by candidates, hashtags that highlight each candidate also needed to be analyzed because they were related to public interest in social media toward the candidates. For Anies baswedan's hashtag posted up to 750 thousand which made Anies Baswedan in the first position, while Ahok hashtag posted as many as 669 thousand and Ahy's hashtag made 47 thousand posts.

Table 7: Candidates activity in Instagram during campaign period.

Candidate	Hashtag	Number of followers	Number of tweets	Number of hashtag
Agus Harimurti Y.	#AHY	1.800.000	695	47.628
Basuki Tjahaja P.	#Ahok	1.600.000	622	669.940
Anies Baswedan	#Aniesbaswedan	189.000	392	750.425

Agus Harimurti Yudhoyono's activity on the Instagram platform which was bigger than the other two candidates during the campaign period showed that the characteristics of Instagram's social media were initially used more by the younger generation, while Facebook and Twitter had entered the mature era for communication on social media. However, conditions could always change in which Instagram's popularity had led old generation candidates use this platform as well as to garner sympathizers and a wider network of constituents.

5. DISCUSSION

Based on the three different social media platforms observation and analysis of DKI Jakarta governor candidates for the 2017-2022 period, there were a lot of interesting findings to answer the study questions. High enthusiasm of online

audiences towards political issues made a new atmosphere in democracy of Indonesia. This enthusiasm could be seen from the number of friends or followers of each candidate in which more than 20 million Indonesian online audiences had participated in the democratic process on social media. Likewise, DKI Jakarta governor candidates had campaigned through social media by actively posting 20 thousand contents, 600 photos, and 200 videos. From all indicators that had been observed, the winners of each social media platform could be categorized that was as a reference to know whether there is alignment between victories in social media with a real victory.

With a great number of friends on Facebook, Basuki Tjahaja Purnama who was a defense candidate of DKI Jakarta governor was a candidate with big fans, who were very numerous and dominate the Facebook platform. However, the number of very intense posts from Anies Baswedan (44% of all candidate posts) and photo uploads that attracted online audiences could change the winning position on this platform even though the number of videos uploaded by Basuki Tjahaja Purnama was still superior (57% of total video) compared to Anies Baswedan (17%). Content management of both candidates on the Facebook platform was also very good that their account administrators regularly and neatly uploaded the campaign contents so as to boost audiences awareness to the campaign. Meanwhile there were totally 185 posts uploaded by Agus Harimurti Yudhoyono during the 2016 and 2017 campaigns. These amount were the same as the number of other candidate posts during only the 2016 campaign period. Although Agus Harimurti Yudhoyono was less active on Facebook than the two other candidates, but the figure of Agus Harimurti Yudhoyono as a candidate for young leaders made him got a lot of fans. There were at least 47 Facebook groups created to support Agus Harimurti Yudhoyono and these groups were very popular with different members and activeness levels. Therefore, according to level of activity and popularity reason, Basuki Tjahaja Purnama could be regarded as the winner of the Facebook platform, accounted for 40% of the total posts, 57% of the total video, 34% of the total picture, and 65% from total friendship. The more friends on Facebook, the greater the potential for a post in view, in like, in comment, even in reshare so the viral effect of a greater content could be occurred. This could have both good impact and bad impact according to the situation. The successful achievement of the defense governor, Basuki

Tjahaja Purnama, which was often uploaded in Facebook could quickly spread that effect positive electronic word of mouth during the campaign. However, the blasphemy of religion issue occurred by Basuki Tjahaja Purnama whose video uploaded directly to Facebook became an adverse effect on his image and electability. Communication errors related to the quotation of Surat Al Maidah verse 51 deliberately edited by irresponsible party and could be used by his political opponents to carry out black campaigns which led to slander and chaos in society. The voluminous demonstrations that demanded to imprison Basuki Tjahaja Purnama increasingly made the political heat in DKI Jakarta. The culmination of this issue was on the final result of general election in the second round in which Basuki Tjahaja Purnama, who faced head to head with Anies Baswedan, must accept defeat due to the issue of SARA which overshadows the general election. Religion and political issues had been mixed so that people were sedated by media exposure whose truth had not been proven in court.

Twitter is one of the social media that allows the followers to retweet every conversation. Based on the number of followers, Basuki Tjahaja Purnama had a great number of followers (75% of total followers) but the number following was not too much so that the interaction with followers was still not optimal. In the case of openness to interact with online audiences, Anies Baswedan had a higher openness than the other two candidates with the number of following as many as 642. In reality Twitter is used to interact between online audiences in cyberspace, not just one-way communication. Therefore, for the use of Twitter to be more effective, the ratio of followers and following should be balanced. Number of posts also determine the effectiveness of the use of this microblogging platform in which Anies Baswedan was the most active users to tweet as much as 10.200 (72,34 %) during the campaign period, while Basuki Tjahaja Purnama as many as 2,449 (17.37%), and Agus Harimurti Yudhoyono was 1,452 (10.29%). In terms of the number of Like , Anies Baswedan was more favored by Twitter users rather than on the Facebook platform. Negative sentiments related to the blasphemy issue by Basuki Tjahaja Purnama also enlivened Twitter which cornered him more. In contrast to Basuki Tjahaja Purnama, a positive sentiment occurred in the discussion about Agus Harimurti Yudhoyono who had just involved in politics. Agus Harimurti Yudhoyono was considered as a young person who is polite, cool, and diciplined. Meanwhile, the discussion related to Anies Baswedan was still

related about his participation in DKI Jakarta governor election. Anies Baswedan, who was the former Minister of Education, also enlivened the election of DKI Jakarta governor and was supported by some communities. Although the number of his followers was only one-third of Basuki Tjahaja Purnama, yet another positive indicator of the number of posts (74% of total tweets), the number of Like (97% of total Like), and the number of following (76% of the total following) that reflected the attitude of openness from Anies Baswedan made him right to be awarded as the winner in the campaign via Twitter. In addition, media coverage of Anies Baswedan was not as bad as the news directed at Basuki Tjahaja Purnama regarding his communication errors during political campaigns in Kepulauan Seribu on September 2016.

Instagram which is a more recent platform appears to be in great demand by milenial children because of its more attractive and expressive features. Therefore, no wonder there were early 2016 pre campaigns and campaigns , the number of followers from Agus Harimurti Yudhoyono, who was the youngest candidate, was more than the other two candidates with 50% of the total followers. But in the 2017 campaign period, the conditions changed instantly where the number of followers of Basuki Tjahaja Purnama pursued to reach 3 million to date. The number of followers of Anies Baswedan on the Instagram platform was not as much as Basuki Tjahaja Purnama and Agus Harimurti Yudhoyono, but Anies's openness as reflected in the number of following was superior to the other two candidates (72% of the total following). In addition, although followers of Anies Baswedan were the lowest (19% of total followers), the level of concern for Anies Baswedan's hashtag was very large (51% of the total public posts). In terms of the number of posts on Instagram during the campaign period, the highest number of posts was made by Agus Harimurti Yudhoyono with 695 posts, Basuki Tjahaja Purnama was in the second place with 622 posts, and Anies Baswedan with 392 posts. Thus based on the indicators on the Instagram platform, the three candidates had balanced strength. The strength of popularity laid with Basuki Tjahaja Purnama, the power of support laid with Anies Baswedan, and the strength of content laid with Agus Harimurti Yudhoyono. For the Instagram platform, there had been no domination by one of the candidates, but in terms of its impact, Anies Baswedan could be seeded as the winner because of the amount of support from instagram users.

The campaign strategy of each DKI Jakarta governor candidate had a difference that made uniqueness. Agus Harimurti Yudhoyono who was the youngest candidate had an image as a polite, cool, and disciplined young person because he was a former member of the military of the Republic of Indonesia. As a young man who recently involved in politics, he wanted to strengthen his image as a younger generation that was ready to lead and respected. Agus Harimurti Yudhoyono's posts often displays harmony in the family, closeness to its military, political campaign speech, style of life as a future leader, and activities of daily life. The intense platform used is Instagram with photo uploads and accompanying captions. The only communication error that became viral from the figure of Agus Harimurti Yudhoyono was his rejection of political debate invitations from several television stations. He would only fulfill the invitation of official political debates from the General Election Committee (KPU). His absences in the several times in the political debate caused ridicule and reduced the level of public trust, especially young voters, towards the figure of Agus Harimurti Yudhoyono. In contrast to Agus Harimurti Yudhoyono, DKI Jakarta's defense governor and his deputy were figures from the old generation who still used Facebook to conduct political campaigns more intensively. It was evident from the number of posts uploaded that much related to work achievement, field activities to all areas in Jakarta, and an invitation to continue the work program which had been running. Unfortunately, the SARA issues that became very viral made his political image damaged. He was considered to be demeaning to Muslims and as a result Basuki Tjahaja Purnama had to accept the defeat in the second round in which there was a shift of support from Basuki Tjahaja Purnama supporters to the figure of Anies Baswedan due to being affected by this issue. In addition, there was sound support from supporters of the previous candidate who lost (Agus Harimurti Yudhoyono) to Anies Baswedan. Anies Baswedan was considered to be the right figure for most residents of DKI Jakarta because they had similarities in political and religious views. Anies Baswedan was quite active on social media, both Facebook, Twitter, and Instagram with most of his posts regarding Anies Baswedan's track record and work appointments. The popularity and activeness of Anies Baswedan on social media could be seen primarily on Twitter in which the number of posts were very much related to clarification of Anies Baswedan over the black campaign that attacked him. Anies

Baswedan's communication error on social media was hardly found so this became a political advantage for him. He was also known as a person who was intelligent, wise, and polite in speaking. This image was also a capital for him when arguing with the defense governor who was known as an assertive and firm person. Therefore Anies Baswedan's attitude attracted supporters from candidates who lost in the first round tend to choose him as governor of DKI Jakarta.

Supporting parties from each candidate also had social media that needs to be observed, especially regarding their popularity. Although Anies Baswedan was only supported by two political parties, Gerindra and PKS, the number of followers of both parties were very large and the highest among the number of followers of other political parties, with 4,1 million on Facebook, 597 thousand on Twitter, and 274 thousand on Instagram. The PDIP-Golkar-Nasdem-Hanura coalition which supported Basuki Tjahaja Purnama was in second rank in terms of the number of followers on social media, which was 2,2 million on Facebook, 353 thousand on Twitter, and 88 thousand on Instagram. While the Democratic-PAN-PKB-PPP coalition which supported Agus Harimurti Yudhoyono had the lowest number of social media followers, with 664 thousand on Facebook, 227 thousand on Twitter, and 74 thousand on Instagram. From the data described, it was known that there was a positive correlation between the number of followers of political parties on social media and the results of the vote in the general election which led the candidate as the winner. This was possible because number of followers could become a power base that could generate support for candidates who were promoted.

6. CONCLUSIONS

DKI Jakarta 2017 election had been held in two rounds. The first round with a total vote of 42,99% was awarded for Basuki Tjahaja Purnama that made him in the first place, followed by Anies Baswedan in the second place with votes of 39,95%, and 17,06% for Agus Harimurti Yudhoyono in third place. According to PKPU No. 6/2016, if the votes for DKI Jakarta regional head candidates are not more than 50%, then the second round election must be conducted. Therefore the second round held on April 19, 2017 only took two pairs of candidates with the highest votes. They were Basuki Tjahaja Purnama and Anies Baswedan.

For these vote result, if we compare them with the advantages of each candidate on social media platforms, there was a strong positive correlation between excellence on social media and actual winnings. The strength of followers and friends of Basuki Tjahaja Purnama, as much as 63% of the total followers on all three social media platforms, made him very popular which could lead the mobility of its constituents in the real world. This was proven in line with his victory in the first round with a vote of 2.364.577 (42,99%). Meanwhile Anies Baswedan with a valid vote of 2.197.333 (39,95%), in line with the number of followers on social media by 22% which is ranked second. Agus Harimurti Yudhoyono had to be eliminated in the first round of the DKI Jakarta election with a valid number of votes of 937.955 (17,06%), in line with the number of followers on social media (14%) which placed him in the third place. Apart from the number of followers, the level of activity and participation of Agus Harimurti Yudhoyono in the campaign on social media was also considered low. Throughout the 2016 and 2017 campaigns, the number of Agus Harimurti Yudhoyono's posts on the three social media only contributed 14% of the total posts (2.759 posts). This was exacerbated by his absence in several political debate invitations, both officially held by the KPU and unofficially by the television shows and other online media platforms. This absence was negatively perceived by online audiences and the wider community by giving bad comments which reduced the level of public trust in the figure of Agus Harimurti Yudhoyono. In addition, his political image as a child from the former President of the Republic of Indonesia for the period 2004-2014 was also inseparable from corruption issues that often hit him.

Basuki Tjahaja Purnama with a very large number of followers (63%) benefited because this could attract constituents in the real world to vote. Apart from that, sufficient level of activity (20% of total posts) and support through social media (46% of total hashtags) showed that the existence and popularity of a person in cyberspace could have an impact on the real world as shown by the results of votes. However, the level of activity of an independent (non-party) candidate on social media also needs to be managed well because if one acted wrong, it could lead to unexpected results (Aparaschivei, 2011). This was consistent with the conditions that occur in the second round election in which a candidate's communication errors could be a negative issue on social media which results in mushrooming hoax content and sensitive news to

bring down political opponents. The issue of blasphemy conducted by Basuki Tjahaja Purnama had brought a very significant negative influence so that he must accept defeat in the 2017 DKI Jakarta election. In the second round, it was alleged that there was a wave of constituent mobility of Agus Harimurti Yudhoyono's supporters to Anies Baswedan and a shift in voice from Basuki Tjahaja Purnama to Anies Baswedan of almost 1% where voters allegedly were affected by the blasphemy issue by Basuki Tjahaja Purnama. The exposure of social media related to the SARA issue which was pointed out in one of the candidates encouraged irrationality in the real world so that caused chaos in the community, massive social mobilization to carry out voluminous demonstrations masterminded by other political interests, riots in several places and even outside Jakarta area. People who were vulnerable to SARA issues on social media would be affected, which in turn mobilized constituents to immediately change their political choices so that in a short time victory could change.

Anies Baswedan's victory in the second round was also inseparable from the increasing number of massive political campaign posts since entering the second round of the campaign, plus great support from aniesbaswedan hashtags on Instagram (51%), and the support of political parties' social media accounts (Gerindra and PKS) which had a large number of followers, thus contributing popularity to him in the 2017 DKI Jakarta election.

The existence of social media that has been very closely related to the lives of Indonesian people has brought a significant impact in the real world, both directly and indirectly. Unlike conventional media which only runs one direction and is very slow in providing feedback, social media as a new media gives users the option to interact and confirm the validity and reliability of the content distributed. However, the effect of viralisation and massive content sometimes makes users believe something without confirming it again. This research has shown clearly that the existence of social media had an impact on the results in the real vote and was aligned with conditions happened. All candidates' activities on social media were recorded and monitored by the public so that they could influence the political decisions of online audiences. From this study, we could summarize that the management of social media, both individually owned by political candidates and managed by the campaign team must pay attention not only to the quantity of content posted, photos, and videos uploaded but

also the quality of each post. The quality was meant as moral norms, grammar, display layout, contents, image posting, and attitude. Social media could be both friends and opponents to their owners, especially accounts owned by politicians with a large number of followers. The next challenge is how the strategies that need to be carried out by political parties public relations, campaign success teams, and candidates themselves in utilizing the existence of social media in political campaign, given that social media has an impact on the results of the vote in the real world.

REFERENCES:

- [1] Aparaschivei, P. A., "The Use of New Media in Electoral Campaigns: Analysis on the Use of Blogs, Facebook, Twitter and YouTube in the 2009 Romanian Presidential Campaign", *Journal of Media Research*, 4(2), 2011.
- [2] Asp, Kent, and Peter Esaiasson, "The Modernization of Swedish Campaign: Individualization, Profesionalization, and Medialization in Swanson and Paolo Mancini, *Politics, Media, and Modern Democracy: An International Study of Innovations in Electoral Campaigning and Their Consequences*. Wesport: Praeger, 1996.
- [3] DiGrazia, J., McKelvey, K., Bollen, J., & Rojas, "More tweets, more votes: Social media as a quantitative indicator of political behavior", *PloS one*, 8(11), e79449, 2013.
- [4] Gudykunst & Mood, "Handbook of International and Intercultural Communications", (2nd edition), *California: Sage Publications Inc*, 2002.
- [5] C Juditha, "Political Marketing dan Media Sosial (Studi Political Marketing Capres RI 2014 Melalui Facebook)", *Jurnal Studi Komunikasi dan Media*, 19(2), 225-241, 2014.
- [6] Kirtis, A. K., & Karahan, F, "To be or not to be in social media arena as the most cost-efficient marketing strategy after the global recession", *Procedia-Social and Behavioral Sciences*, 24, 260-268, 2011.
- [7] Konstituen: Pilar Utama Partai Politik by Friedrich Naumann-Stiftung Untuk Kebebasan (FNF) on Scribd.
- [8] Muhadam Labolo & Teguh Ilham, "Partai Politik dan Sistem Pemilihan Umum di Indonesia", *Depok: RajaGrafindo Persada*, 2015.
- [9] McChesney, "Rich Media, Poor Democracy; Communication Politics in Dubious Times", *New York: The New Press*, 1999.

- [10] Mudjiyanto, “Literasi Internet dan Partisipasi Politik Masyarakat Pemilih dalam Aktifitas Pemanfaatan Media Baru”, *Jurnal Studi Komunikasi dan Media*, 16(1), 1-15, 2012.
- [11] Perlmutter, “Blogwars”, *Oxford University Press*, 2008.
- [12] Perlmutter, “Political Blogging and Campaign: A Roundtable”, *Sage Publications, Press/Politics*, Vol. 13(2), 2009: 160-170, 2008.
- [13] Quintelier, Vissers, “The Effect of Internet Use on Political Participation: An Analysis of Survey Results for 16-Year-Olds in Belgium”, *Sage Publication, Social Science Computer Review*, Vol. 26(4): 411-427, 2009.
- [14] Ross, “Television news and candidate fortunes in presidential nomination campaigns: the case of 1984”. *American Politics Quarterly*, 20(1), 69-98, 1992.
- [15] Sandra, “Political branding Jokowi selama masa kampanye Pemilu Gubernur DKI Jakarta 2012 di media sosial twitter”, *Jurnal E-komunikasi*, 1(2), 2013.
- [16] Utomo, “Menimbang media sosial dalam marketing politik di Indonesia: belajar dari Jokowi-Ahok di Pilkada DKI Jakarta 2012”, *Jurnal Ilmu Sosial dan Ilmu Politik*, 17(1), 67-84, 2013.
- [17] Van Dijck, “Users like you? Theorizing agency in user-generated content”, *Sage Publications, Media Culture Society*, Vol. 31(1), 2009: 41–58, 2009.
- [18] We are social and Hootsuite, “Essential Insight Into internet, Social Media, Mobile, and E-Commerce Use Around the World”, *KompasTekno*, 2018.