THE PRESIDENT OF THE PEOPLE'S CHOICE IN THE 2014 ELECTION ON TWITTER

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ABSTRACT

Proses pemilihan Umum Legislatif 2014 adalah perayaan demokrasi yang bukan sekedar memilih Anggota DPR tetapi juga pemilihan Presiden. Penelitian ini menjawab apa yang dibicarakan para netizens mengenai kandidat presiden melalui Twitter. Identitas kandidat direpresentasikan secara social bersaing dan berkompetisi berdasarkan pendapat netizen mencari figure ideal kandidat presiden. Studi ini mengunakan metode analisis isi yang menganalisis lebih dari 2,3 juta percakapan danmenganalisis 1,4 juta percakapan di twitter selama 2 bulan mengenai kandidat mengenai semua hal yang berkaitan dengan kandidat presiden. Hasil penelitian menunjukan bahwa kandidat dengan latar belakang public figure memiliki kelebihan dalam peliputan media. Situasi yang sama juga pada kandidat yang ikut dalam konvensi Partai Demokrat. Metode konvensi ini mendorong para kandidat untuk berbicara mengenai isu-isu kesejahteraan, kesehatan, kemiskinan dan be erapa isu umum lainnya. Percakapan mengenai pemilihan presiden Indonesia hanya memunculkan isu kekuasaan, partai politik dan mekanisme partai. Isu subtansi yang seharusnya diperhatikan mengenai kesejahteraan, kemiskinan, kebebasan dan keadilan kurang dimunculkan. Kesimpulan: dalam wacana pemilu 2014, ada beberapa kesenjangan antara perspektif masyarakat melalui gambaran evaluasi institusi Negara dan isu yang didiskusikan sepanjang proses pemilihan secara politis. Beberapa situasi juga dipengaruhi oleh peranan buzzer yang secara siginifikan mendorong dan mengelola kemunculan isu-isu di dunia maya. Pada akhirnya dapat dikatakan Proses Peilu ini hanyalah sekedar Karnaval Demokrasi.

Kata kunci : Presiden, Pilpres 2014, Twitter

Introduction

On 9 April 2014, Indonesian held the General Election to elect our legislative and the next president to be given the people's mandate to lead the nation. Meanwhile, couple of months prior to this national event, most of

the legislature and president candidates had overspread their campaign that was intended to raise people's attention so that they would give away their ballots to elect them at the election.

The Democratic Party began their campaign by carried out a convention that participated by 11 contenders, namely: Ali Masykur Moses, Anies Baswedan, DahlanIskan, Dino Patti Djalal, Endriartono Sutarto, Gita Wirjawan, Hayono Isman, Irman Gusman, Marzuki Alie, Pramono Edhie Wibowo, and Sinyo Haris Sarundayang.

Among the 11 contenders, Dahlan Iskan received the most support from the public among the 11 convention's contenders, gathering a total of 16.1 percent vote from the Democrat Party members. Following him, there was Pramono Edhie Wibowo (5.3 percent), Marzuki Alie (3.2 percent), and Gita Wirjawan (2.2 percent). The Indonesia Survey Institute (LSI) made the 2014 presidential candidates index that consisted with three variables, which are the candidate that nominated by the top three-largest party coalition, the candidate that is nominated due to his or her structural position in the party's organization, and the candidate who participated and win the convention. Overlooked the LSI survey that had been conducted in October 2013, if the legislative election was held on this very day, then the top three parties who would won the vote are Golkar (20.4 percent), PDI-P (18.7 percent), and Democrat Party (9.8 percent). While following the top three would be Gerindra (6.6 percent), PAN (5.2 percent), PPP (4.6 percent), CLA (4.6 percent), MCC (4.4 percent), Hanura (3, 4 percent), Nasdem (2.0 percent), the United Nations (0.6 percent), and PKPI (0.3 percent). If the survey results are simulated toward the 2014 presidential candidate's index, there were only three parties that eligible to nominate the presidential candidate, which are Golkar, PDI-P, and the Democratic Party. This LSI Survey was conducted on 12 September 2013 until 5 October 2013. (*http://nasional.kompas.com/read/2013/10/20/1550168/Lingkaran.LSI.Dahlan .Kandidat.Terkuat.Menangkan.Konvensi.Capres*)

1291

One of the contenders of the national convention is Anies Baswedan, which people often considered him to be the future young leaders. The leadership that shown by Anies Baswedan is notable on the way he performs his political communication. Although in fact, it was never his plan to participate the Democratic National Convention, as he revealed:

Anies Baswedan, one of the contenders of Democrat National Convention, admitted that he was deeply honored to receive the invitation to join the Convention. "I have requested some times to think, because this is new for me, and I feel that the law is changed after I joined the Convention," said Anies, when he was being introduced to the member of the Democratic Party in Parliament, Jakarta, Thursday (10/17/2013). Until his final thought lead him to think that the invitation to join the Democratic Convention for Presidential Candidates is an invitation to take responsibility in an effort to bring the nation to a better condition. Additionally, the obligation of being the Convention's contender is not to manage the party, but to be nominated by the party to be the candidate to manage the nation's governance. (*http://nasional.kompas.com/read/2013/10/17/1613422/Ikut.Konvensi.Bukti.Anies.Tak.Takut.Kritik*) *akses tanggal 30 Oktober 2014*

The candidates will have to get through a process of competition to win the prize of becoming the President and Vice President of Indonesia in 2014, of which it is predicted to be a heating battle arena that will require a proper political communication strategy in order to achieve the expected goals. Political Communication, according to Susanto (1985) as cited in Muhtadi (2008:30) is understood as "*the communication that aimed to achieve a significant influence, for any issues brought by this kind of communication activity, to bind all people through an outcome that would be determined together*". Communications made by a presidential candidate is a form of political communication that is done to achieve the goal. The specific aim of such political communication is to deliver knowledge, insight and understanding of that presidential candidate figure that is worthy to lead Indonesia. As somebody who nominates himself in the 2014 Presidential

Election, the credibility and positive image are the two absolutes things to "sell" to the public.

Vivian (2001: 275) explained that "communication with large groups of people outside an organization is practicable only through the mass media". The nomination of the presidential candidates is a communication addressed to the mass audience, which could only be reached through the mass media.

A communication process can be done by using a variety of media, and one of the new communications media that has been widely adopted by people today is the social media. Social media, as explained by Mayfield (2008: 35), is the "Media that users can easily participate in, share and create content for, including blogs, social networks, wikis, forums and virtual worlds." (Social media is the media, which the users can easily participate in, share and create content, including blogs, social networks, wikis, forums, and virtual worlds). In other words, social media is a new media that allow users to participate in it, by creating content and also to share with other users.

The present democratic process has now turned towards cyber democracy--a terminology which was appeared as an alternative to support the substantial strengthening for democracy through cyberspace. Virtual world is considered as a new public space where every citizen can interact. And in a political context, the discourse on public issues can possibly be done. And due to this this process, it raised some expectations to utilize the virtual spaces as a new public sphere to strengthen the substantial democracy.

Democracy that supported by the virtual worlds, both practically and conceptually, is still in midst of a long debate. The basic question rose whether the transferring into the virtual world will actually reawakening deliberation? Deliberation, in this context is an attempt to encourage the discourse of public opinion to be confronted with others opinion in the public sphere (Wilhelm, 2000:35). Apart from the conceptual debate that has not been finalized, the process of democratization in Indonesia characterized,

and may also contribute, by the process of forming the discourse in the cyberspace.

A research conducted by Derek O'Callaghan and his colleagues (2014) at University College Dublin, measures the social media activity in Syria and concluded that the social media activity in Syria is considered to be more complicated than the results published by some online political activity studies. The research observed more than 600 twitter and YouTube account that shared posts or contents related to the conflict in Syria. The researcher was then diversified these accounts into some clusters, to differentiate those who posted similar content. The interesting part in these finding is that the researcher able to mapping the responsive level between groups of events in the field. There was group that There is a group that reacts quickly on an event by uploading content related posting, while also there are other groups whom were quite slow to respond.

In other research that is brought by M.D. Conover and colleagues (2010) from Indiana University, examines how social media shaped the public networks that spreading and become a medium of communication between communities with different political orientations. This study was testing two political communication networks on twitter, which contains more than 250,000 tweets for 6 weeks before the mid-term congressional elections in the United States. The result is a network that contains political *retweets* and converging on left-wing and right-wing political oriented social media users.

There are several kinds of chatters in cyberspace whether it is chatter in twitter, Facebook, forums, or other. There are chatters for cursing, being sarcastic, or meaningless complaint, to content-full discussion and discourse talks with a full of agenda setting. Moreover, there are possibilities that these chatter that posted on the social media were contained with hidden agendas or particular group interest.

Still, the originality of the account owner's interest behind the chatter in social media or even behind one posted tweet should not be neglected or being doubted. The word 'originality' in this context does not mean the significance of meaning and overview within a tweet of a user is always

right. However, one tweet that posted on twitter able to shown the originality ideas and thought that full of implicit interest beneath a tweet.

When we read the context towards the public discussion about the presidential election, we expect to understand the ideas, thoughts, and the cyberspace public interest regarding the presidential candidates. When we understand that the reality of the virtual world is equal to political reality, then only by reading the public ideas and thoughts in the virtual world, we are able to path a way to understand the people minds toward the candidates in the presidential election.

There are two prerequisites that must be fulfilled in the context to build a digital democracy; first, to do a deliberation and forming a design that supports the discourse in cyberspace. Deliberation is done by triggering the discussion in a more substantial way so that the public issues could easily be understood and the subject of the issue would care to give some justification. Second, build a design that ensures ideas and discourse can be understood by the political subjects.

Research Question

This study chose a specific topic on the presidential election in aim to understand deeper the discourse in the presidential nomination, and more than just about the electability of the nominee. Thus, this study attempts to find and examine the detail aspects that occur in the public perspective in the virtual world to determine their choice of the president.

This study attempts to answer the following questions: (1) what are the issues that was being discussed by the audience toward the presidential candidates? (2) How do the issues that discussed by audience that related to the presidential candidate is associated with substantial issues in democracy and welfare? Moreover, this study has several objectives to analyze the issues discussed in the Twitter about the presidential candidates, with some categories that divide the audience who was leaving a comment on Twitter.

1295

Literature Review

Democratization in the cyberspace is required to meet these four major prerequisites; access, inclusion, deliberation, and design (Wilhelm 2000: 35). The first requirement necessitates access for all citizens to connect to the virtual world. Despite, whether this access is being used or not, but such access need to be provided.

The second prerequisite is to establish the inclusivity; meaning, all citizens will have equal opportunity to get involved. The word *'citizens'* in this context refers to every stakeholder who might receive the impact due to of a policy determination. Meanwhile, the role of the state is to ensure that they have the opportunities to be engaged.

The third prerequisite is deliberation. Deliberation ensures that the process of discourse in the virtual world contains some in-depth discussion regarding public discourse and not just a meaningless *chitchat.* The last prerequisite for Democratization in Twitter is a communication design that will connect society with policy makers and generate political communication between them.

Nevertheless, based on particular observation, these four prerequisites are still some constraints that are hard to be fulfilled yet to the occurring democratization process in Indonesia, especially the democratization in the virtual world. While, the first and the second should be the major concern for Indonesia to see the fact that access to the virtual world is still very limited, both in quality and quantity.

Cyberspace is a new public space where people can express their opinions. Referring to the definition of public space by Habermas that cited by Fuchs (2009:181), there are several indicators as follows:

- *Formation of public opinion.*

- *All citizens have access.*

- *Conference in unrestricted fashion (freedom of assembly, freedom of association, freedom to expression and publication of opinions) about matters of general interest.*
- *Debate over the general rules governing relations.*

Indonesia, at some level, has actually executed these four indicators, such as public opinion and access, although it is not applied and has not utilized by all citizens just yet. However, the access to social media had become a tool for most citizens to speak up their thoughts about the ongoing public issues that faced by the country.

By positioning the virtual world as a public space, means we should expect the potential for any movement and activism would occurred in the cyberspace. The activism in the cyberspace have a different variety of analyzes. Activism that occurred in the social media is, in some way, lessening the significance of meaning of an actual movement. For a revolutionary movement in the real world, a great struggle becomes very essential to it. While on the other hand, any movement of activism that takes place within the cyberspace are dismissing those challenges they faced in real world, with further bonus is to eliminate number of victim by any means.

Busy people can think they are active – the technology will act for them, alleviating their guilt while assuring them that nothing will change too much. [. . .] By sending an e-mail, signing a petition, responding to an article on a blog, people can feel political. And that feeling feeds communicative capitalism insofar as it leaves behind the time-consuming, incremental and risky efforts of politics. (Dean in Fuchs, 2010; 186)

This quoted opinion from Jodi Dean is mentioning that the activism in the virtual world is no more than an attempt to reduce the guilt and redeem the

user's social ignorance towards political issues in her or his vicinity. Activism in cyberspace that is being done by writing a petition, or joining the Facebook group, or giving comment on articles and creating status have nothing to do with political struggle in the real world.

In line with Dean's opinion, Maxwell wrote that the success of their activism on Facebook and twitter can be achieved when the fight does not require sacrifice in the true sense. In addition, Morozov expressed cynicism by defining cyber-activist as *slactivisme*.

> *Feel-good online activism that has zero political or social impact. It gives those who participate in "slacktivist" campaigns an illusion of having a meaningful impact on the world without demanding anything more than joining a Facebook group. [. . .] "Slacktivism" is the ideal type of activism for a lazy generation: why bother with sit-ins and the risk of arrest, police brutality, or torture if one can be as loud campaigning in the virtual space? (Morozov in Fuchs 2010; 186)*

Such satire seeks to express that in a true sense, cyber-activism just merely a noise without real action to drive social change.

Though, this research is agreeing that variety of opinions about the definition of social media activism as *slactivism* and *pseudoism* with not sacrifice, yet the substance that is being discussed related to political and citizenship issues that felt by the citizen in the virtual world are very real and up-to-date.

Chatter in the cyberspace does not specifically discuss the aspects that were examined in previous studies. These aspects are found after the text that emerged from the chatter is being separated, categorized, and interpreted. This effort refers to the context of democracy in the virtual world, as an attempt to do deliberation. Further, it will also be a necessity to do channeling, which is an effort to distribute ideas that found in the virtual world and make it a discourse within the public arena.

The Logic built by this study in giving meaning to the virtual world chatter is using the follow

Graphic 1 Research Framework

Chatter in cyberspace will be provided a framework and meaning through public view in aim to understand public perspective toward the presidential candidate. The research tries to understand in what extent does the democratization issues are discussed and acknowledged as well as attributed to a particular candidate. Finally, the research seeks to understand the political communication context of the presidential candidates in campaign their nationalism ideas.

Research Method

Content analysis method is used for this study. "*The content analysis method is a method used to research or to analyze the contents of communications systematic, objective, and quantitative. Systematic means that all analytical processes must be structured through a systematic process, started from determining the contents of the communication that are being analyzed, how to analyze it, and the categories used to analyze. Objective means that researchers must set out the factors that are subjective or personal bias, so that the results of the analysis is completely objective*

1299

and if the research is done further by others, then the results should be relatively similar. Content analysis should be quantified in numbers." Analisis isi adalah metode yang digunakan untuk meneliti atau menganalisa isi komunikasi secara sistematik, objektif dan kuantitatif. Sistematik artinya semua proses analisis harus terstruktur melalui proses yang sistematis, dimulai dari membatasi isi komunikasi yang akan dianalisis, bagaimana cara menganalisisnya dan menyusun kategori untuk menganalisanya. Objektif maksudnya peneliti harus menghindari factor-faktor yang akan menyebabkan bias personal atau subjektivitas. Hasil analisis harus objektif dan bisa juga dilakukan oleh peneliti lainnya dengan hasil yang kurang lebih sama. Analisis isi akan dihitung berdasarkan angka-angka (Kriyantono, 2009: 60-61)

Such analyzing method requires researcher to get through several stages; (1) Formulating the problem, (2) Establishing conceptual framework for descriptive research (one single concept) or theoretical framework for explanatory research (multiple concepts), (3) Elaborating the research methodology by; a) determines the measurement method or operationalization procedure of the concept—in such case, the concept should be elaborated in particular measurement, commonly being categorized based on the unit to be analyzed and followed by its indicators. These categories are based on the unit of analysis, namely the unit to be analyzed; b) determines the unit of analysis, categorization and reliability testing; c) determine population and sample (the universe); d) determine the method in collecting data; e) determine the method of analysis; f) data analysis and interpretation (Kriyantono, 2009: 60:61).

The research population is the conversation that occurred in the virtual world including on twitter, Facebook, forums, and online media that related to the presidential candidates. While, the sample that is being selected for this research is the conversation (tweets) on the Twitter. Twitter was chosen due to several supporting aspects like; (1) the conversations on the twitter are considered to be more original and do not undergone any third party editing proses, unlike the news on the mainstream news media. As the result, it reflects anything that truly comes up in the user name and has a kind of spontaneous feeling within (the tweets). (2) The top coverage on the mass media will be shared on the Twitter, which ultimately it has reflected

the public concern of the ongoing selected issues. (3) To avoid any repetition of multiple calculations to the same issues that posted on Twitter as well as on other media, because in fact, Twitter is an extended outlet of many other media such as online news, forums, Facebook, etc.

The study only investigates the presidential candidates' related tweets within the period of January 1st to February 13th of 2014. This periodical limitation was set to gather sufficient data composition to be analyzed, specifically intended for the conversations about the less popular candidate. The criteria of the candidates that being examined in this study were as the following: (1) the candidates who were declaring themselves as a candidate. (2) The candidates who had gone through selection mechanism in certain political party. (3) The candidates who were under consideration by public to be a president. Based on these three criteria during the predetermined period of conversations' population in the cyberspace, the researchers were able to map the research sample up to 2,302,049 tweets. The data analysis technique that was being used for this study is descriptive statistics.

The first phase to analyze the data is to extract the entire conversations gathered in the virtual world, mainly the conversations on Twitter. Those conversations, was then categorized and being sorted based on topic with similar subject and object of the presidential candidates' conversation. From several topics of discussion occurred major themed conversation.

The assembly between one subject to a conversation topic was then being connected with other subject and topic. The mapping of this assembly will be presented visually by using visual statistic in the form of *biplot* or boxplot aimed to be easily understood by everyone.

This virtual conversation mapping is expected to help indicating the connection between each candidate toward certain issues and public perspective. These issues are interpreted as the identity or character that being attached by public, toward some certain presidential candidates. This very first phase is necessary to map out the idea of ideal character of a

presidential candidate based on virtual conversations that reflecting the public interest.

Theme mapping was completed by using *the Principal Component Analysis*. This method allows the researchers to generate cluster (categorization) of certain themes being associated with the candidate (components) that will be examined in this study.

Research Outcome

The 2014 Legislative elections generated to a brand new phenomenon. Though it was yet the legislative elections, where the political parties were supposedly selling their party's ideologies or candidate's capacities, but instead they campaigning the representative figure that will be candidate for the later presidential election from each political party. As the result, such jargons like "PDIP Win, Jokowi for President" or "Gerindra Win, Prabowo for President" was common to see during the campaign period for the legislative election.

Those Political parties seemed to believe that the electability of the figures of their presidential candidates will be able to drive the electability of the political parties as well. Later, after the election results were announced, while many experts doubted such strategy of electability driver, nonetheless the concept of the failureof '*Jokowi Effect*' andthe success of *'RhomaIrama Effect'* became one measurement at the surface level. Although, this thesis must be verified over again in order to obtain its validity.

Based on the occurring phenomenon of presidential candidate figure as part of the legislative elections, this study attempts to make sense the campaign and try to use the frame outside the electability aspect. Electability is an important aspect and the ultimate goal of the campaign. Nevertheless, the motive that prompted electability and the substance of the campaign were becoming another important factor that also necessary to be understood and studied.

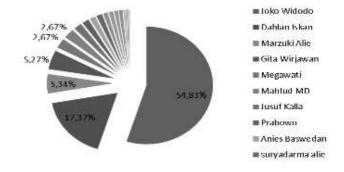## 5.1. The Popularity of Presidential Candidates

This study gathered a population of 2,309,049 virtual conversations, which denotes the conversation that associated with the 2014 presidential candidate's figures whom representing the political parties. Such population amount is actually dominated by populist figures and media darling figures for the past few years ahead of the election.

#	Candidates	Number of Tweets
1	Joko Widodo	1.262.226
2	Dahlan Iskan	399.773
3	Marzuki Alie	122.861
4	Gita Wirjawan	121.320
5	Megawati	61.462
6	Mahfud MD	61.359
7	Jusuf Kalla	46.093
8	Prabowo	38.341
9	Anies Baswedan	32.828
10	Suryadarma alie	32.172
11	Aburizal Bakrie	25.676
12	Anis matta	25.241
13	Dino Patti Djalal	20.896
14	Surya Paloh	20.120
15	Wiranto	15.725

Graphic 2 the Population Amount of Twitter Conversations Associated With Each Candidate

1303

The amount of conversations on twitter was taken by using the names of candidate's figures as the keyword. The search engine *Awesometrics*recorded every discussion that is related to the candidate's name.

The graphic above exhibited the highest number of popularity amongst the presidential candidates is still claimed by the media darling figure such as JokoWidodo and DahlanIskan. The infamous JokoWidodo for his breakthrough in the capital city of Jakarta and DahlanIskan for his groundbreaking strategy to improve the performance of the state-owned companies through a variety of controversial approaches; Both figures have been in the spotlight of the media for their movement as a bureaucrat.

Graphic 3 the Popularity of the Presidential Candidates

The conversations on the Twitter regarding the presidential candidate was mainly dominated by JokoWidodo who occupied 54,38% of the discussions, followed by DahlanIskan as the runner-up with 17,37% discussions, and Marzuki Ali was on the third place with 5,34% discussion occurred about him.

The spotlight from the public not only benefited these top three as the presidential candidates but also giving their performances and their positions some positive evaluation. For example, JokoWidodo who was not only being talk about him being the representative presidential candidate
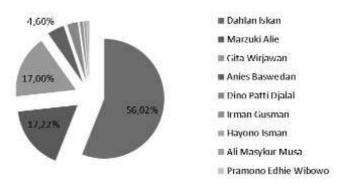
from the PDIP party, but the conversations about him also mentioning several issues faced by Jakarta. Subsequently, DahlanIskan, whom at that time was one of the Convention's participants, gets a lot of discussion on his breakthrough in managing the Ministry of State-Owned Enterprises. Lastly, in the case of Marzuki Ali who received advantages from his position as the Chief of the House of Representative (DPR) that allows him to talk and giving comment on almost everything related to the political matters in Indonesia. Consequently, this was a consequence for being the spoke-person in the parliament.

Such advantages that hit these top three figures thrive them to get huge proportion within the virtual discussion compared to other candidates. One more figure who also received advantages due to his position was Gita Wirjawan. One of the aspects that drive Gita Wirjawan gained attention of virtual conversation is his decision to quit his position as a minister so that he could registered himself as the participant at the Convention.

The National Democratic Party Convention was considered to be an aspect that contributed in gaining popularity amongst the top three participants, namely; DahlanIskan (56,02%), Marzuki Ali (17,22%), dan Gita Wirjawan (17 %). Their popularity was also the result of their significant position for the public.

Peserta Konvensi

1305

Graphic 4 Popularity of the Participant of the Convention

Other candidates who had substantial position among public but did not able to steal the spotlight to become the media darling were less being discussed by the public. Giving an example of Candidate Megawati who was only being talked for as much as 2,67% discussion. Such few amount of discussion was already included the contribution from the discussion about JokoWidodo in becoming presidential candidate. And parallel with Megawati, Mahfud MD was could only attract very few attention within the virtual public discussion.

The raising popularity to these public officials, in fact, did not equally put effect on some convention participants like Irma Gusman (chairman of DPD-RI) and SinyoSarundayang(the Governor of North Sulawesi). Both participants did not obtain popularity in the virtual conversations because their performancesnever get the chance to steal the media spotlight, therefore they did not have sufficient capital towards popularity.

Thus, the raising popularity that being obtained by popular figure seemed to be determined by two major aspects; controversial action and controversial statement. In this context, the definition of 'controversial' may be varying and much depends to the subject of the figures. When it comes to controversial action, JokoWidodo and DahlanIskan are the two figures who meet the criteria. Jokowi was renowned with his '*blusukan*' style—an unexpected site observation that being done by Jokowi himself in order to grasp the issues faced by the citizen and the province, which considered to be controversial by the media. DahlanIskan was also infamous for his controversial *'Sidak'* move—a sudden inspection towards institutions. Whilst, the latter aspect to gain popularity was very much attached to MarzukiAlie with his role as the chairman of the House of Representatives and one of key persons in the Democratic Party that forcing him to take the position as important as President Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono. Though, this position was not always became a populist in the mass media. It is the initial capital of popularity that supported by outstanding performance and important statements were the determinant aspects that affecting those popular figures able to steal high attention from *the Netizens*.

4.2. Content of Conversations

A side from popularity, the content of Twitter conversations related to the presidential candidates was similarly important to take concern of for this study. After dividing the conversations into 31 major categorizations of the conversations about the presidential candidate, the study finds that only 62.01% from the total population contained with meaningful discussion. The rest 47.99% of the virtual conversations about presidential candidates were found meaningless.

From the total of 1,427,564 conversations, there were several dominant topics of discussion such as the topic of presidential candidate as much as 25.56%, the topic on Jakarta issues by 9.31%, discussion on candidate's partner that occupied 9.05% of the conversations, and regarding the Convention for as much as 3.86%. The discussion regarding issues faced by Jakarta became a dominant topic because it was being related to the presidential candidate from PDIP representative (which not yet being officially appointed), Joko Widodo. Additionally, the discussion on issues that faced by Jakarta might become one interesting topic to be analyzed specifically.

This virtual conversation mapping is expected to help indicating the connection between each candidate toward certain issues and public perspective. These issues are interpreted as the identity or character that being attached by public, toward some certain presidential candidates. This very first phase is necessary to map out the idea of ideal character of a presidential candidate based on virtual conversations that reflecting the public interest.

The other three dominant issues have shown that the conversations related to presidential candidates were nothing but just some shallow discussions about those figures' move to become candidate. Consequently, the mechanism that generated by political party like The National

Convention that organized by The Democratic Party did not reinforcing the substantial issues during the democratic discourse.

Whereas, some substantial issues concerning health, rice import, education, farmer, energy, food, and poverty were unfortunately becoming less favorite by the public to be talk about. Joko Widodo and MarzukiAlie were amongst few eligible candidates to be related to these issues.

Predominantly, Marzuki Alie was related to almost every issue exists in this country due to his position and role at the house representatives, which legally allows him to throw formal statement or critique on those substantial issues.

In contrast, a different phenomenon was occurred towards Joko Widodo. Though he did not have certain political position back then, yet his name always being brought up by the public within every occurring political conversation. Generally, the scope of conversations went from citing his statement to comparing JokoWidodo with other presidential candidate.

Briefly, public conversations on the presidential candidate were mostly being associated with the ongoing political process that influencing presidential candidate appointment, rather than discussing about substantial issues during the progress towards democratization such as welfare, health, education, and security.

Politic and Welfare

Democracy formed a governing system that is considered being perfect enough compared to the other governance systems. This system is believed to be one of the most effective means to ensure the regime fulfilled public interest, which makes democracy not solely a way to achieve welfare, yet it also serves as the purpose of a statehood.

In relation to such perspective thinking, an election that takes the role as a legal and formal process within democracy is supposedly becoming a discourse that reflecting the quality of democratic legal process toward a regime shift. The discourse should contain an agenda to strengthen the

commitment to democracy and also it should be delivered as a way to measure the extention of principal issues such as welfare, safety, justice, and freedom that being the main talk and agenda for the presidential candidates.

An assumption appeared that if the election is a product of democracy, it means the core essence of choices given by democracy is the protection of basic values. Such topic about protection of basic values is supposedly being discussed broadly by the public to reinforce this public issue. Ideally, the candidates will offer pledges of solution regarding the issues faced by a country and the people will make a choice based on that pledges. However, the discussions that we observe during the campaign period are still far from the ideal aspect, at least when it comes to a broader issues that being discussed and being related to the candidates.

The percentage of issues about Convention, Electability, Political Party, Candidate, and Survey are relatively more dominant compared to some substantial issue like performance and leadership only got fewer portions as we see on the chart about presidential candidates and the circle of occurring issues.

Moreover, almost half of the figures line DinopatiDjalal, AniesBaswedan, EndiartonoSutarto, Sinyo Hari Sarundajang, IrmanGusman, Haryono Isman, Pramono Edi, Gita Wirjawan andMarzuki Ali were only being discussed related to candidacy, while other substantial issues were only being discussed in few portion causing failure in tightening relationships.

Some figures likeSuryadharma Ali, Gita Wirjawan, Mahfud MD, Prabowo, JokoWidodo, JusufKalla, and Surya Paloh are considered to be familiar with issues other than candidacy. These people are often being associated with issues like performance, economic, farming, welfare, and also leadership.

And even though some substantial problems are being discussed, yet not all candidates are being associated with the occurring issues. When it comes to the battle of candidates within the Convention level, then the scope of

issues will be different. DahlanIskan and Marzuki Ali are the two candidates in the convention who happened to be very familiar with issues like welfare, nationality, performance, farming, and education. Both candidates had the privileged of being well-exposed by the media due to their legitimate position to make a statement toward those issues. Moreover, The Democrat Party was also providing the space in the convention for the candidate to debate anything regarding the issues faced by the country.

Other unique phenomenon is found on the virtual conversation mapping about Gita Wirjawan. His effort to build image branding on the social media was quite success and made his image became competent to be a leader. His well-skilled supporting team in cultivating Gita's activities while he was assigned as the Minister of Trade was one important keys that we found in this mapping.

The candidates of National Convention were getting some major privileges because of the well-organized mechanism that being create by the Democratic Party. One of those privileges is the series of debate sessions that were being held in several big cities across Indonesia. This mechanism forced the candidates to bring up the issues beyond just general issues around the election like electability, survey, and political party, but also drive them to bring up the compulsory topic of the convention like welfare, education, national safety, and other topics.

Though these topics are sound elitist, but they still heard by the public through mass media reports.

This assumption is shown by the growing issues on welfare and nationality in comparison to the Candidates of the Convention. These growing issues demonstrate increasing intensity of discussion regarding these issues amongst the candidate of the convention.

If we look at several analyses that elaborated earlier, it is important to have the role as public official, as it becomes a determinant factor. The candidates' position as the public officials allow them to give statement on the issues related to the public. Those public officials were supposed to use this previlleges to attract public's attention in building their reputation.

Some issues on welfare, nationality, performance, and governing state institution received a bigger attention amongst public officials who go for presidential candidates. Several important aspects like their performances as public officials were also becoming widely discussed and being associated to the candidates. Nevertheless, issue about presidential candidacy is the most dominant substance that being discussed still. There were at least three figures who are familiar with those issues; Gita Wirjawan, Suryadharma Ali, and Joko Widodo. The three are connected with the key issues on welfare and performance. Especially Joko Widodo and Gita Wirjawan, these two gentlemen are facing each other to compete for reputation as an ideal leader amongst the other public officials.

Other than those three figures, the other candidates were not associated with such substantial issues. They were entangled with issues about presidential candidacy and not being attached at all, or even disassociated from the issues on welfare, nationalism, and performance. Public officials and The Democrat Convention are two important determinants that affecting public conversations toward the presidential candidates and public issues. Both provide space and chance to the candidate to speak up not just about their candidacy and election, but also to say something on fundamental issue within democracy, which also becoming public issue. However, to what extend does the candidate being associated with that reputation is very much depend on candidates' characters and how their supporting team cultivating the issues.

Riding Jokowi's Wave

The figure of Joko Widodo on the 2014 presidential candidacy has his own role and particular impact.The Jakarta Governor obviously a media darling since the beginning of his campaign in becoming the capital city leader back in 2013. His actions have been coverage and published on various media in a massive amount. While within this research, we recorded

the conversations about JokoWidodo gathered the biggest portion above all, and even the media darling like DahlanIskan could not defeat his popularity.

This fact presumably made other candidates put their effort to get attached and involved in every conversation about Jokowi. Such strategy is believed to help pushing their popularities on mass media. The efforts that they do were vary; by giving supporting comment, or giving contradictory opinion so it will become a polemic.

Other figures who often involved themselves with the conversations about Jokowi are Dahlan Iskan (46.90%), Aburizal Bakrie (18.93%), and Anis Matta (19.53%). DahlanIskan is the only candidate whoever enjoyed being media darling that associated to Joko Widodo, whether it is in the virtual world or in the real situation. The two become adjacent communication and collaboration in various issues, particularly about managing the State-Owned industry, which is why any news report and discussion between the two are often being associated. On the other hand, the two are commonly being talked about and receiving good reputation because their work patterns and performances are perceived to be similar.
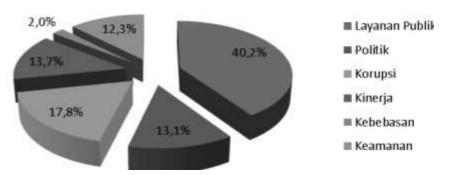
In contrast to DahlanIskan; Aburizal Bakrie and Anis Matta are being associated with Jokowi due to their counter-position. The two are continuously throw critiques on Jokowi's Policy for Jakarta. And although they have different stand and ideology but the two gained their popularities by pulling the conversations about Jokowi. This finding shows that the media darling position was not just used by Jokowi himself, but it was also used by Jokowi's political rivals so they can ride his popularity.

The Disconnection between Expectation and Campaign

The citizen of cyberspace was sort of ongoing the disconnection. Such disconnection occurred between their expectations toward *the Trias Politika* performance and their conversations on the election. This assumption was appeared on the comparison about the highlighted major issues within two researches that being done by Paramadina Graduate School of Communications.
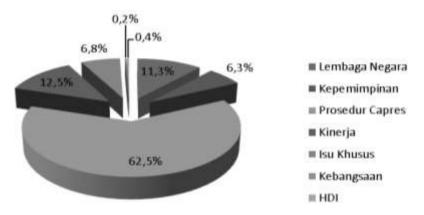
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The result of the first research found that the biggest issue associated with the three state institutions (executive, judicial, and legislative) is related with the issue about public services (40.2%). The next finding shown 17.8% is related with the issue on corruption and 13.7% talked about performance.

Graphic 5.1the Netizen Valuation on TriasPolitika Performance

However, when we talk about election and specifically regarding presidential candidates whom will be the leader of this nation, we could see how public issues were not being discussed at all. The biggest percentage by 62.5% was occupied with discussion regarding the candidacy procedural, followed by 12.5% discussion on the performance of presidential candidates. Some specific issues about *alustista*, corruption, diplomacy were discussed for as much as 11.3%. Lastly, the issues on poverty, social welfare, and education were only had the portion of 6.8% from the total conversations.

Graphic 5.2 Topics or Issues Associated With the Candidates

Election, in the context of democracy, is the only legal way to make shift to a new regime. The dissatisfaction towards the previous regime will force public to choose the antithesis of the prospective leader of the upcoming regime.Such antithesis tendency was supposedly seen and appeared in the discourse during the campaign period, so that the ideal expectation is to see a lot of roaming conversations in the cyber space containing substantial issues like public service, performance, and corruption were being related to the presidential candidates. Nonetheless, these substantial issues were being ignored and replaced with the phrenecticness of the appointment process for presidential candidates.

Buzzer and Campaign Discourses

The social media in the 2014 Election was a brand new battle field. Such kind of media was believed to be one of the tools to change or shift public opinion towards a candidate. The consequences of this conviction, cyber-warriors were seriously deployed in virtual world to assured that the battle of discourses becomes merrier.

By utilizing the Awesometrics search engine, it helps to reveal some accounts who reenacting the role of cyberspace warriors to optimize the campaign of whichever stand he took on. These accounts that suspected to be the cyber-warriors of certain candidate were being assessed by the number of high mention quantities to these accounts over a period of 1 week.

Some accounts including @indonesiaTrends are the influencers for @anismatta with the highest number of mentions up to 373 per week. There was also, @infogitawirjawan with 338 mentions per week for @gwirjawan. The account of @turuntangan was the major supporter of @aniesbaswedan. Meanwhile, candidate @wiranto1947 was using TV program @kuiskebangsaan to be his influencer. And the last of the top 5 is @jokowi_do2 whom supported by a news portal @presiden2014.com.

However, not all the search engines have significant impact or support. In terms of effectiveness, @dahlaniskan was the one who actually get the most impressions. Although the number of mentions from @triomacan2000 only as much as 95 per week. However, its follower of 647,000 accounts put

some substantial effect that equal with a number of 61,465,000. The similar situation also stroke MarzukiAlie who was mentioned by @fajroel.

When we observe the range scope that reach by each buzzer, we can tell that @triomacan2000 have the most significant impact. As the main buzzer for DahlanIskan, @triomacan2000 was able to give 61.465 million impressions per week to the Minister of State-Owned Enterprises. On the second most significant impact was Marzuki Ali who gets 27.6 million impressions generated by the buzzer @fajroel with 337,000 followers.

The account of @Triomacan2000 and @fadjroel could be categorized as buzzer but they were not the buzzer with full dedication to certain candidate. They are renowned as the accounts with price to generate image branding for certain figures by request. Moreover, beside the utilization of paid buzzer, those presidential candidates tend to manage their fans organically by taking the advantage of some official accounts to gather support.

For example, @gerindra is a buzzer account that objectively created to support PrabowoSubianto. With 140,000 followers and 158 weekly mentions to Prabowo, he was able to gather 22 million impressions. On the second place, the account @turuntangan—an organization of volunteer movement that managed by and for AniesBaswedan, was created to support the figure for presidential candidate on the National Democratic Party Convention. The splendor of these buzzers were becoming one phenomenon of the 2014 election since that began since the announcement of National Democratic Party Convention. The presence of buzzer is believed to put impact in increasing the conversation about the presidential candidates in the virtual world.

Apparently, the presences of these buzzers were not just putting their impact on increasing the popularity of the candidate; instead they become a new medium that facilitates the discussion between the candidates and the public. Thus, the presences of these buzzers should be read in the context of restructuring the political democratization in Indonesia.

Conclusion

The 2014 election was like a carnival of symbols of democracy. This terminology arouses due to the electoral process that focusing only on the election procedural process. The public discourses on substantial democratization and citizenship issues did not occur to accompany the process of political regime shift.

The followings are some basic findings of the research, about the discourses that occurred in cyberspace regarding the elections;

1. The issues that was being discussed by the audience toward the presidential candidates :

    a. *First*, The substantial issues in democracy such as welfare, education, poverty, justice, and liberty is hardly got enough feed to be discussed.

    b. *Second*, The convention of Democratic Party gave the candidates benefit in providing space for them to talk about substantial issues.

2. How do the issues that discussed by audience that related to the presidential candidate is associated with substantial issues in democracy and welfare :

    a. **First,** *the Netizens* discussions that associated with presidential candidate are more related to presidential nomination process such as survey, political parties, electability and political intrigue within the political parties.

    b. **Second,** public officials who nominate themselves as candidate in the election some also received political advantages. Nevertheless, the beneficiary of those political advantages was highly dependent to the candidate's own support team in their ability to process the occurring issues.

    c. **Third,** Joko Widodo as one of the alternative candidates was the captain for some substantial issues. This made many

other candidates sought to be involved within the issue that cultivated by Jokowi.

d. **Fourth,** the absence of discourse concerning democratization is suspected towards the massive role of buzzer that only seeks to build the image of his stand and weaken the image of the political opponents. On the other hand, the scattered discourses by the buzzers that emphasizing actuality, simplistic, and easiness were resulting a discourse was failed to occur.

Recomendation

Election comes to be a mechanism to ensure that the country has truly fulfilled the responsibilities and obligations toward the citizens. When the manager of the state does not fulfill the rights and obligations, then the citizens have the right to withdraw or transfer their mandates to other parties who are capable to implement the mandates. Therefore, in an effort to ensure that the country has fulfilled the obligations and citizen rights, a preceded political process must be filled with such discourses. Thus, it emphasizes the importance of political education for and by the citizens of the country.

Moreover, as for the aspect of research methodology, the use of quantitative data processing is recommended towards the study of social media because it makes the data assessment becomes simpler and easier. However, postpositive approach is required to process the meaning of the data. It is an approach that does not disaggregate data based on variable and indicator. This approach processes the data by clustering the themes through grounded means. Such process is done in order to understand the tweets meaning in the authentic language of the audience and it is not interpreted by using variables and indicators from the researcher perspective.

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