

E-Political Campaign in the 2014 Presidential Election in Indonesia

Solikhah Yuliatiningtyas

Universitas Indonesia, Indonesia
*e-mail: solikhah@ui.ac.id

Abstract

Until 2014, only members of the political and military elite have been elected as presidents in Indonesia. The new president, Joko Widodo (known as Jokowi) is the first leader from outside the establishment of political habits to be elected directly by citizens. It uses 'Tri-angulation Methods': in-depth interviews with prominent politicians/advisors from six parties, focus group discussion and Critical Discourse Analysis/CDA of e-campaigns. This paper to explain why Jokowi won the election, and what campaign strategies used. The findings show television still has the highest percentage of usage for campaigns, followed by social media. Two parties (Gerindra and PKB) which focused on e-campaigns, have successfully increased their electability, especially by gaining votes among young voters. Although Prabowo's votes increased 35% but it couldn't beat Jokowi's votes. There were four factors that caused Jokowi to win the presidential election despite a poor e-campaign from his party. *Firstly*, the shaping of his image by traditional media which influenced grass-roots society, people who don't usually have access to the internet. This social fact has resulted in Jokowi becoming the most popular politician in Indonesia and being finally crowned as a presidential candidate by Megawati, the Chairman of PDI-P Party. Unlike Europe and US, traditional media had set out the public agenda to influence the election, in contrast with agenda setting theory (AST) practice that is used widely. *Secondly*, the role of an Islamic Party (PKB) which nominated a vice president (JK) with Jokowi. PKB used integrated campaign strategies: traditional (involving 3000 Islamic scholars) and e-campaign methods managed by PKB's 500 young cadres and 2 million volunteers. *Thirdly*, a strong role model of Muslim women in Nahdlatul Ulama (NU), the biggest Islamic organization in Indonesia. The PKB party, as part of NU, together with the Muslim women organization, succeeded in neutralizing black campaigns which attacked Jokowi's religious integrity. *Finally*, unofficial e-media campaigns organized by PKB and civil society volunteers as well as feeding publications among traditional mass media were also considered to be a strong factor. Through this well managed combination of traditional and new media campaigns, Jokowi won 53.15 percent of the votes, 6.3 percent more than Prabowo's 46.85 percent. It concludes with assessments of the importance of e-media to the presidential election campaigns of Jokowi and Prabowo, and of the value of social media in increasing political participation, especially by young people.

Keywords: New media, traditional media, Islam parties, national parties, political marketing, and e-media campaign.

1. INTRODUCTION

Nowadays the use of new (social) media for election campaigning among developing countries has shown benefits over traditional media usage. As a young democratic country, Indonesia is still categorized as a flawed democracy related to the democracy index by The Economist Intelligence Unit. Previously, after success held a presidential election on 9 July 2014, now Indonesia start to busy preparing the forthcoming election in April 2019. Interestingly, the presidential candidates who will run for the 2019 election still same as previous period: Jokowi as 1st candidate, and Prabowo as 2nd candidate.

How it would be compete in this election? Would it be same as before? Consider the vice president candidates from both Jokowi and Prabowo have been changed, so it could be different the competition as well. However, it is important to reviewing previous presidential election before face the forthcoming 2019 presidential election in Indonesia. Learning from the 2014 presidential election, both political parties and society have massive support in regards to democratisation process. There were only two presidential candidate teams because of coalitions among parties. The Great Indonesia Coalition (consisting of four parties) had Joko Widodo, then called Jokowi, and Jusuf Kalla as presidential and vice presidential candidates respectively. In 2014 election, the Great Indonesia Coalition has become the new government by winning 53.1% of votes among Indonesian citizens worldwide. The alternative Red-White Coalition (consisting of seven parties, including the Gerindra party) had Prabowo Subianto and Mohammad Hatta as presidential and vice-presidential candidates respectively. Prabowo won 46.9 % of votes, a 6.2 % difference. Although Prabowo did not win the election, he is of particular interest related to the use of a new media for political campaigning in Indonesia, because of a strong change in his image which new media helped shape. The use of e-campaigning among all political parties in Indonesia to boost the candidates' popularity, actually begun in the 1999 presidential election. It became stronger between the 2004 and 2014 elections. During the 2014 presidential election in Indonesia, 14 political parties in the two coalitions were striving very hard to win the election. They were using a variety of strategies to attract potential voters.

During the presidential election of 2009, all of the 44 parties used the internet as a political strategy for promoting their ideas, shaping the image of politics, and increasing the number of

votes. The authors further evaluate that 27 parties or 61% of all parties have created their own websites to promote their candidates, and communicated with their potential constituents to obtain enhancement of votes. In the same period, internet users also increased 11.36% of the 220 million population. This parameter indicates that Indonesia as a young democratic society has a step ahead in strengthening the democratization process. Moreover, the recent study shows that internet users have increased dramatically from 45 million to 55 million due to increasingly affordable prices of gadgets (such as mobile phone and tablet) and improved mobile Internet services (Jakarta Post, 2011). Indeed, Internet World Statistics (2012) reports that Indonesia has become the fourth biggest user in Asia after China, India and Japan, due to the increasing number of internet users. Recent studies even show internet users in Indonesia are growing to more than 71 million of 248 million people or around 30 % of the population (BPS 2013). Of these, 95.8% used the internet for electronic mail (e-mail), followed by information and news searching (78.49%) and social media usage (61.23%). By May 2014, Kemkominfo (Ministry of Communication and Information) reported that the internet users in Indonesia had reach 82 million of 253,6 million population (32.3%) with 80 % of them being young people aged between 15–19 years. It is predicted that internet users in Indonesia will continue to increase to 112 million people by 2017. It would be beating Japan ranked 5th worldwide (Yusuf, O, 2014).

However, internet penetration in Indonesia still has some limited factors, and not all citizens have internet access. Relating to the 2014 presidential election campaigns, all political parties have been using social media as strategy campaigns. According Norris (2000, cited in Zittel 2007, p.5), postmodern campaigns are running on the basis of three components: Firstly, increasing importance of the constituency level of campaigning; secondly highly centralized and party driven endeavours with strong top down control; lastly categories as new campaign tools such as direct-mailing or online strategies of campaigning. Rommele (2002, cited in Zittel 2007, p.5) stresses 'direct-mailing as a core means in the context of professionalized campaigns'. This strategy can bypass traditional campaigns to communicate with voters. More importantly, direct-mailing allows parties to make up their message to engage particular groups of voters. This study findings show all parties use the World Wide Web (www) which as strong indicator in the centre of any postmodern campaigns. It could help to disseminating the parties messages, also could deliver to target

audience through the conduct of public opinion polls. Also, they use social media such as Facebook and twitter for same goal, mostly these parties update the content of their websites through one media (Facebook) then linked to other online media (website and twitter). Personal website, Facebook and twitter of individual candidates can also be perfect means of postmodern campaigning. Zittel (2007, p.6) argue 'Political parties enable communicate with geographical segments of the voting population and to 'narrowcast' their message, accessing constituencies via individual candidates. The party vision and mission, including image, symbol, and political jargon, can be at the core of content in their websites.

According to Howard (2005, p.158) the digital communication technology is different from traditional mass media, such as newspapers, radio and television, because it is more interactive and allows people to communicate in two way communication. Also, the internet has more space to deliver political information with broadcast technology. By using new technologies, the Internet can provide broader knowledge of political information for ordinary people (Czernich 2012, p.33), and more active participation of politicians and citizens alike (Curran & Singh 2011; Jackson 2007; Rohlinger & Brown 2009). As a result, this innovative strategy can result in increasing votes significantly (Czernich 2012, p.34). Thus, it is believed that digital technology will stimulate civil society to increase their political participation in democratic process. The 'communicative action' is basic to political obligation over the whole of collective life' (Habermas 1987, cited in Stockwell 2005, p.11). Then, reinforce the democracy theories by states 'at heart of strong democracy is talk' (Barber 1984, p.173, cited in Stockwell 2005, p.11). It is clear that there is a positive relationship between democracy and communication channel or mass media.

The Democracy Index is an index compiled by the Economist Intelligence Unit, that measures the state of democracy in 167 countries, of which 166 are sovereign states and 165 are United Nations member states. The index is based on 60 indicators grouped in five different categories measuring pluralism, functioning of government, political participation, political culture and civil liberties. In addition to a numeric score and a ranking, the index categorizes countries as one of four regime types full democracies (score 8-9.99), flawed democracies (score 6.00-7.99), hybrid regimes (score 4.00-5.99) and authoritarian regimes (score 1.00-3.99). Meanwhile, the democracy index of Indonesia has risen from 6.34 (EIU 2008) to 6.95 (EIU 2014), due to the

increasing political participation from 5.00 to 6.67 between 2008 and 2014 (see Table.2 below). The level of democracy is increasing in Indonesia, and one of the factors is caused by the stimulating of internet use as well. The internet is an important tool for democracy as it increases the participation of the ordinary people or citizens (Jackson 2007; Rohlinger & Brown 2009).

Table 1. The Democracy Index of Indonesia

Year	Rank	Overall score	Electoral process and pluralism	Functioning of government	Political participation	Political culture	Civil liberties
2008	69	6.34	6.92	6.79	5.00	6.25	6.76
2011	60	6.53	6.92	7.50	5.56	5.63	7.06
2014	49	6.95	7.33	7.14	6.67	6.25	7.35

Source: The Economist Intelligence Unit (2008, 2011, & 2014)

In Indonesia in the 2014 elections, e-media was used more extensively. Marketing approach is to electoral politics were more intense because of the media support. Currently the media industry in this young democratic country is growing rapidly, allowing the marketing of political candidates either individually or in groups, to be used intensively. Finally, there were only two presidential candidate teams because of coalitions among parties. The Great Indonesia Coalition (consisting of four parties) had Joko Widodo, then called Jokowi, and Jusuf Kalla (JK) as presidential and vice presidential candidates respectively. The Great Indonesia Coalition has become the new government by winning 53.1 per cent of votes among Indonesian citizens worldwide. The alternative Red-White Coalition (consisting of seven parties, including the Gerindra party) had Prabowo Subianto and Mohammad Hatta as presidential and vice-presidential candidates respectively. Prabowo won 46.9 per cent of votes, a 6.2 per cent difference. Although Prabowo did not win the election, he is of particular interest in relation to the use of a new media for political campaigning in Indonesia, because of a strong change in his image, which new media helped shape. This paper examines the role of the internet compare to traditional media in the democratization process in Indonesia between 1999 and the 2014 presidential election. The main question of the research was: 'To what extent has the use of social media and the internet communication by or on behalf of candidates in the 2014 Indonesia presidential election demonstrated that these

techniques have become an essential and necessary complement compare to other campaign methods?’

2. METHOD

This study used a triangulation of methods. As discussed by Neuman (2011, p.165), triangulation means ‘the idea that looking at something from multiple points of view to improve accuracy. Thus, triangulation of method mixes the qualitative and quantitative research approaches and data. The qualitative methods, by using the steps as follows:

1. In-depth interviews with some prominent politicians &/advisors of 6 political parties.
2. Participant observation both traditional forms & new media of 6 political parties
3. analyzed their e-campaigning by using Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) of Norman Fairclough (Chouliaraki & Fairclough, 1999; Fairclough, 2000).

While the quantitative methods, by using FGDs with the community categories as follows: lecturers, students, and ordinary people. In a framework for Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) of Norman Fairclough (1995), this study uses a model that attempts to link the micro-level analysis of the text to the larger social context. The third stage of the analysis phase, combines all of the above, critically analysing language, linking the text with socio-cultural context, and conducting in-depth interviews with the editors and newsrooms (cited in Eriyanto 2001).

Table 2. CDA Analysis Methods

Level of analysis	Analysis methods
Texts	<i>Critical linguistics</i>
Discourse Practice	In-depth interview's <i>newsroom</i>
Socio-cultural practice	Literature search

Source: Fairclough 1995b (cited in Eriyanto 2001)

3. FINDINGS AND DISCUSSION

3.1. Campaign Strategies among Political Parties

This study found various campaign strategies has been used by political parties during period of campaign before the legislative election (August 2013 to 5 April 2014). Campaign strategies are the most important way in political marketing from the parties which joint in the 2014 Indonesia election to promote their candidates both legislative and presidential candidates. The political campaigns needed to build good imaging of the candidates. While, mass media has an

important role in the general elections due to public get full information about the legislative and presidential candidates. Publication of information and media in reporting the quality and track record of the presidential candidates to be one of the deciding factors that can change the nature and form an opinion as well as an input for the voter to make his choice (see table 4.1 below).

Table 3. Campaign strategies of political parties in the 2014 elections

No	Type of campaigns	PDIP	Golkar	Democrat	Gerindra	PPP	PKB
1	Television	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
2	Radio	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
3	Newspaper	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
4	Advertising (billboard, poster, yard signs, leaflets, pamphlets, etc)	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
5	Door-knocking visits	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
6	Community leaders	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
7	Interaction with community groups	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
8	Direct email/e-mail	No	No	No	Yes	No	No
9	Telemarketing	No	No	No	No	No	No
10	New Media	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
11	Film	No	No	No	Yes	No	Yes
12	Blackberry Broadcast Message (BBM)	No	No	No	No	No	Yes

Source: primary data of qualitative studies (in-depth interviews and observation)

3.2. By Focus Group Discussion

Furthermore, continue to a results for focus group discussion from three different criteria of society, who assumed as potential voters as target audience of political parties campaigns (see table 4.2 below).

Table 4. Knowledge of general voters about political parties & their candidates

No	Type of campaigns	Number of participants	Percentage
1	Television	30	100
2	Radio	11	37
3	Newspaper	22	73
4	Advertising (billboard, poster, yard signs, leaflets, pamphlets, etc.)	28	93
5	Door-knocking visits	6	20
6	Community leaders	6	20
7	Interaction with community groups	6	20
8	Direct email/e-mail	0	0
9	Telemarketing	0	0
10	New Media	10	33
11	Film	0	0
12	Blackberry Broadcast Message (BBM)	0	0

Source: primary data of FGDs by using quantitative results (N=30)

Table 5. Knowledge of young voters about political parties & their candidates

No.	Media Usage	University Students (%)	First young voters (%)
1	Television	47	52
2	Radio	2	0
3	Newspaper	16	8
4	Magazine	0	0
5	Social Media	35	40
	Total	100	100

Source: primary data of quantitative studies (surveys)

3.3. The Role of New Media as Campaign Strategy

From 6 parties, this study found only 3 parties used e-political campaigns as one of their campaign strategies. They are classified as post-reform parties; PKB, Gerindra, and Demokrat. They strongly believe that new media is a useful tool to increase popularity and electability. That's why almost every day they updated news, pictures and videos through Facebook and YouTube, then it news linked to website and twitter automatically. Especially Gerindra, this party has new media directorates which consist of more than 10 employees to manage e-political campaigns, and they

are working 24 hours per day and 7 days per week. However, using a website campaign is still an ineffective way if compared with individualized campaign. That's why it should be supported by multiple applications. For example in this findings, Gerindra used multiple media for e-campaigning such as store online and email. Therefore, increasing popularity and electability of votes reached as a result.

Table 6. Usage of New Media and exposure

No	Type of communication	Golkar	Democrat	Gerindra	PPP	PKB	PDIP
1	Website 2.0 or higher	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
2	Facebook	Yes	Yes (2)	Yes (2)	Yes	Yes	Yes
3	Twitter	Yes	Yes (2)	Yes (2)	Yes	Yes	Yes
4	You tube	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
5	Instagram	No	No	Yes	No	No	No
6	News	No	Yes	Yes	No	No	No
7	Store online	No	No	Yes	No	No	No
8	Blog	No	Yes	Yes	No	No	No
9	Sound cloud	No	No	Yes	No	No	No
10	Email	No	Yes	Yes	No	No	No

Source: Primary data modified by author.

3.4. Differences of E-Campaigning between Prabowo and Jokowi:

Related to types of online political campaigning among two presidential candidates, there are some differences between Prabowo-Hatta and Jokowi-Jusuf Kalla as follows:

Table 7. E-campaign strategies of Prabowo-Hatta vs Jokowi-Jusuf Kalla (JK)

No	Items	Prabowo - Hatta	Jokowi - Jusuf Kalla (JK)
1	Party's website & social media	Provided both PDIP (Prabowo) & PAN (Hatta)	Provided both PDIP (Jokowi) & PKB (JK)
2	Having personal accounts on social media	Yes, they managed well by their parties	Jokowi has no personal social media during the campaign period. JK has social media and managed well by PKB
3	Link management	Every news published always linked to other types of their social media campaigns both party and personal Prabowo's	Never linked to the Jokowi's social media accounts, although made by his volunteers. It seem separate campaign between the PDIP and the

		accounts	winning team or volunteers by PKB & NU
4	Style of communication	used informal way as personal communication approach, and making personal bonding as results	used formal way as organization communication approach, with short words, rigid, straightforward and assertive
5	The communication systems	more structured and organized well, so there is uniformity in communicating with constituents	Not organized well either by the party, so many answers that are not uniform. More answered by volunteers who certainly inaccurate information
6	Staff responses	All questions or comments answered directly by the party and management quickly, even in the same day	Often times no answers responses both questions and comments from participants
7	Having fun or creative campaigns	Yes, it was fun and persuasive to audience, although created by volunteers but strongly supported by the party	Yes, but poor entertainment. So, it seem poor management who aware to the electability of the candidates
8	Having various types of e-campaigns	More types of new media as media campaigns (see table 5.1)	Only have Facebook, Twitter and YouTube (see Table 5.1)
9	Amount of participants liking on social media	More participants who liking both party and personal social media	Small number in liking due to poor organizing
10	Menu 'donation' in the website	Yes	No
11	Facebook	Gerindra: 3,510,471 likes Prabowo: 8,781,919 likes Hatta: 179,050 likes	PDIP: 1,410,676 likes Jokowi: none JK: 1,852,663 likes
12	Twitter	Gerindra: Tweets 64.6K; Followers 216K; Favorites 556; Prabowo08: Tweets 8,367; Following 2,009; Followers 2.01M; Favorites 21; Hatta: Tweets 1,769; Following 94 ; Followers 1.29M ; Favourites 14	PDIP: Tweets 35.6K; Followers 111K ; Favorites 1 Jokowi: not provided JK: Tweets 3,522; Following 598 ; Followers 1.82M Favourites 1
13	YouTube	Gerindra entitle ' <i>Prabowo</i>	Not provided

		<p><i>Subianto - Hatta Rajasa Untuk Indonesia Bangkit!</i> Having 16,211 views 1 year ago</p>	
--	--	---	--

Source: primary data compiled by author.

There are some benefits or successful stories of political campaigns by using digital technology found during the election campaigning period.

1) Increased opportunities for communication

There is evidence that political campaigns with the use of digital technology have made significant social change in the process of democracy, such as the big impact on communication between electors and participants. It can confirm the views of some experts that use of new media technologies enables broader knowledge of political information for the ordinary people (Czernich 2012, p.33), and more active participation of politicians and citizens alike (Curran & Singh 2011; Jackson 2007; Rohlinger & Brown 2009), due to the use of text, photos and videos. Politicians can convey their ideas more easily and effectively than using traditional mass media such as newspapers, radio and television (Curran & Singh, 2011). In general, for political parties, politicians and citizens, social media have facilitated a much more direct and specific relationship between different participants in the communications process. Rather than the diffuse and general model of broadcasting, individuals can go straight to a variety of news sources instead of relying on the newspaper (Curran and Morley, 2006).

2) Increased electability of both political parties and candidates.

Looking at the case study of the Gerindra Party, the organisation used an informal method language in communication, even tending to use personal communication between a presidential candidate (Prabowo) and the potential voters through social media. It made the communication seem more interesting and acceptable among citizens, and allowed a closer relationship between prominent politicians, parties and society. There was no gap in social status, economics, education level and other elements in this form of communication. Most importantly, confirming the Czernich theory (2012), this innovative strategy resulted in significantly increased votes due to an increase of visitors to the websites, blogging or social networking on sites such as Facebook and twitter. With regards to the process of democracy, the communication facilities afforded by the internet

encouraged political participation by parties and citizens. If the political participation and intensity of political culture increased, it indicates the level of democracy has increased too. Because the internet is becoming more affordable for citizens worldwide, civil societies can access political information from different parties via the internet. Most importantly, online political campaigns have led to increasing public participation in the process of democracy in developing countries. According to Democracy Index, increased political participation and a stronger political culture indicate that the level of democracy in some developing countries has risen, due to the implementation of online political campaigns. This is because political participation is a vital component in democratic process. Also, confirming what Robbin and Buente (2008) say, using new media as a campaign strategy in elections can decrease social inequality related to levels of political knowledge, encouraging public participation in political life. However, a healthy democracy requires the actively and freely chosen participation of citizens in public life.

3) Reduced cost of political campaigns and fund-raising

Another benefit of an online political campaign is cost-effectiveness for the political parties. The main advantage is to make politics and its decision-making processes accessible to a whole new demographic of people at the same time and with reduced costs of the budget of political campaigns (Curran & Singh 2011, p.27; Czernich 2012, p.50). The findings of this thesis confirm the Curran and Morley theory (2006, p.278); it is true internet usage in e-political campaigns can reduce significantly the cost of political marketing among political parties and their candidates. Indeed, also this research also shows, as Stanley and Weare (2004) said, the gap between rich and poor parties also is reduced. Relating to their capability to promote candidates, using new media has given parties cheaper campaign strategies and more effective methods in the communication process between candidates and voters. Logically, when parties campaign via online mass media, the budgets of their campaigns will be lower, because they save time and money, especially in travelling. Also, it is a more effective strategy for promotion, because of the internet has advantages over traditional mass communication. The positive impact on political life for parties and citizens can improve the development of democratic societies in developing countries.

Internet usage on political campaigns, while reducing costs, could also help many parties by making fund-raising easier and more rapid. For example, Gerindra has claimed that they gained

fund raising through selling some party attributes during the 2014 election through the internet. It is also believed that internet use has contributed to raising funding by mobilising support off line for donations. It is clear that political campaigning via new digital technology has led to lower costs for campaigns off line, at the same time also increasing funding from new memberships and donations. The investment in democracy is increased when citizens are willing to participate in electing representatives and joining in political parties, whether it be as members or just as contributors of funds. So the internet can be seen to influence political participation and political culture in developing countries, bringing an increasing level of democracy.

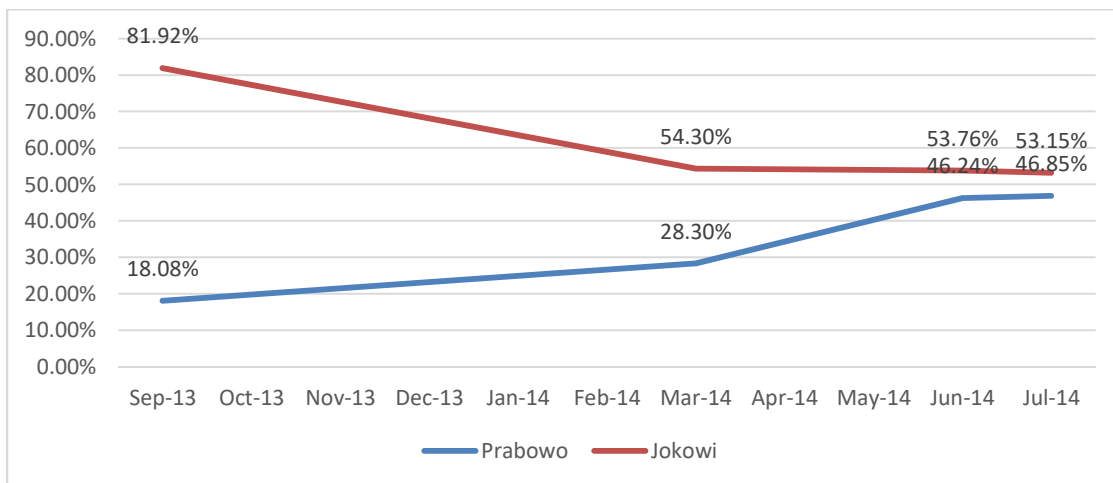
However, using social media in political campaigns also has disadvantages, such as black and negative campaigns among presidential candidates. According to PoliticaWave research (2014) Jokowi - JK was targetted by black campaigns as much as 94.9 per cent of attacks and negative campaigns as much as 5.1 per cent. While Prabowo - Hatta was targetted by a black campaign as much as 13.5 per cent and 86.5 per cent as much negative campaigning (Simanjuntak 2014).

What is the difference between black campaigns and negative campaigns? According to PoliticaWave, a black campaign is a hoax typically consisting of fake or doubtful news (negative campaigns not based on reality/facts), while a negative campaign is a negative story based on actual facts. Jokowi was subjected to more black campaigns than Prabowo. Jokowi's social media campaign was less structured and not always up to date in responding to readers. Thus, he became an easy target for both black and negative campaigns. Some black campaigns against Jokowi rumored he was not Muslim or even that he was of an anti-Islamic religion. His real name Hebertus was given as evidence of Chinese descent. He was also alleged to be controlled by Christian people. His government system was supported by Chinese tycoons (capitalist people); he was an American agent, a communist agent, the agent of Syiah (Islam left line). Also, he was thought to have behaved corruptly in the Transjakarta (public transportation project) during his time as Governor, and at other times. His death was even announced in some mass media. But, the worst gossip, which had a long-term effect, caused people to believe he was not Muslim and was anti-Islam. Both PDIP and Jokowi did nothing or had ineffective strategies to cope with the allegations. However, another party which is still in coalition with the PDIP, the Islamic party of PKB, managed to rebut black campaigns against Jokowi well. By contrast, Prabowo's online media campaign was well organised

by party officials. So, every single black campaign or negative news item was able to be engaged with directly by the media management. Prabowo also experienced negative campaigns (based on true facts), although not as much as the black campaigns against Jokowi

To what extent both black campaign and negative campaigns impact on the presidential candidates, especially to their electability as chance to be the winner in the 2014 presidential election in Indonesia. According to the survey from some independent research in Indonesia, in September 2013 Prabowo's electability was only 18.08 percent compared to Jokowi with 81.92 percent. But, in June 2014, Prabowo's electability increased dramatically to 46.24 percent, while Jokowi reduced to only 53.76 percent (LSI, 2014). Similarly, other reported Prabowo's electability was still 28.3 percent and Jokowi's electability was 54.3 percent in March 2014. Finally, the real account as results on the 2014 presidential election was Prabowo received 46.85 percent of the votes, and Jokowi won the election with 53.15 percent of the votes (see Graph 1. below). It is clear that Prabowo's electability continued increase significantly from September 2013 until the election day. On the other hand, Jokowi's electability decreased significantly from September 2013 until March 2014, then continued to reduce slightly until 9 July 2014.

Graph 1. Electability the Presidential Candidates before the Election Day, 9 July 2014.



So it doesn't matter who already become the winner from the previous election, in this study shows that campaigning through digital media has gain more effective to increased votes, reduced campaign cost, fund raising from both party members and anonymous participants, and even,

interestingly, to encountered negative campaign attacked Prabowo's political history. This fact has reverse the existing theories have been known worldwide, in which mentions that negative campaign usually supposed to reduce a votes chance to the candidate.

Graph 1 above shows that Gerindra's sustained use of interactive new media did increase Prabowo's electability significantly. This study's findings show the way new media played an important role in increasing political participation in the development of democratic society in Indonesia and they enrich existing findings worldwide. Confirming the e-campaigning theories outlined in section 3 (Theoretical framework), the electability of Prabowo as Gerindra candidate actually continued to increase significantly from September 2013 until 9 July 2014. This confirms the Social Bakers statistics about the best social media (Facebook) of politicians in Indonesia:

- 1) Prabowo ranks highest with a number of fans 9,142, 843
- 2) Jokowi (as President Indonesia) with 6,134,353 fans
- 3) Former President Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono (SBY) with 5,379,084 fans
- 4) Gerindra Party ranks as the fourth highest with 3,563,989; and
- 5) Ridwan Kamil (Gerindra cadre who become Mayor of Bandung, West Java) with 1,867,259 fans.
- 6) Followed by Muh. Jusuf Kalla (as Vice-President Indonesia) with 1,849,212 fans (Socialbakers 2016).

It is clear that social media, as a vital channel in political life in Indonesia, has been growing dramatically, both in use in campaign strategies during the presidential election or after the election to maintain voters, as well as for building good images for the politicians themselves. Then the question is, if Gerindra and Prabowo were better in e-campaigning than his rival, Jokowi, why did they lose the 2014 presidential election? The answer is, despite used more traditional campaign strategy than digital campaign, actually Jokowi also, indirectly, supported by unofficial e-media done by PKB party and their volunteers. There were some key factors played important role in the winning of Jokowi.

- 1) Support of PKB as the only Islamic Party in Jokowi's coalition parties. Jokowi himself has publicly acknowledged the role of PKB in his speech at the PKB National Conference in December 2014, Surabaya, East Java. He said that if not for PKB, he would certainly have

lost the presidential election due to continually attack in terms of SARA (ethnic, religious, racial, and sectarian) from all directions. When Jokowi was facing a large number of black campaigns through both new media and traditional media, his electability continued to decrease significantly. Especially, the black campaign which related to his religion in which his political opponents claimed 'Jokowi is not Muslim and anti-Islam'. Therefore, PKB used a smart strategy that was called as '*Gerakan 3000 Kyai Kampung*' (the movement of 3000 Islamic leaders for Jokowi). PKB and their young volunteers/cadres worked together to rebut the black campaigns against Jokowi-JK by built many informal Facebook and Twitter belonged to Jokowi-JK.

(1) Jokowi Center (www.facebook.com/jokowicenterina) with 23,486 likes.

(2) Jokowi Presiden RI (www.facebook.com/jokowi.indonesiaraya) with 44,616 likes

(3) Jokowi Centre (www.facebook.com/JokowiCentre)with 3,799 likes.

(4) Semeton Jokowi (www.facebook.com/semetonjokowi) with 1,607 likes.

(5) Jokowi-jk (www.facebook.com/jkwjkno2) with 11,758 likes.

(6) Jokowi Center Indonesia-JCI (www.facebook.com/jokowicenterindonesia)with 519 likes

(7) Seknas Jokowi Pusat (www.facebook.com/seknas.jokowi) with 6,888 likes.

- 2) Another key to the success of Jokowi is Khofifah Indar Pariwangsa, a Chairwoman of *Muslimat*, a largest woman organisation in Indonesia. Both PKB and *Muslimat* are organisations under Nahdlatul Ulama Indonesia, the largest Islam organisation in Indonesia. The NU's Women or '*Muslimat* NU organization' has now expanded across the province, and has 554 branches in the district or city, more than 5,200 branches on district level, as well as more than 36 thousand branches at the villages with a total membership of about 22 million Islam women in all parts of the archipelago Indonesia. Meanwhile, based on the latest data from the survey NU Association (ISNU) in Java, it is known that the number of members of NU throughout Indonesia is 83 million people. Compared to the total number of Muslims, the number is around 40% of the total number of Indonesian Muslims.

4. Conclusion

Regarding the research questions in this study, it can be concluded:

1. The internet or new media has succeeded in becoming an essential and necessary complement to the traditional mass media as a vital communication channel of campaign strategies of political parties in Indonesia.
2. The use of new media demonstrates that new media makes a necessary contribution to winning elections by gaining higher votes, and is more beneficial when it is used to complement traditional media.

The internet and mobile media should not be seen as a replacement for traditional campaign strategies (especially traditional mass media), but rather as integral parts of a holistic political communication network. While the internet/new media complement the use of traditional media and grass-roots campaigning, enabling campaigns to reach a growing segment of the online population, the mobile phone also can be used for social media networking, and deserves greater attention as a tool of personal communication with the electorate. However, the content and messages delivered via the internet were also more important than the new media itself to attract potential constituencies, adding new knowledge until voters formed their political decisions to vote for their favourite candidates. Political parties who were really concerned to use online political campaigning, such as Gerindra and PKB, have been successful in increasing their electability or votes as well as gaining other benefits. This indicates that using new media as a complement of traditional media is becoming more effective in increasing votes as well as political participation, particularly among young voters. This evidence is strengthened by Jokowi's statement in PKB's national congress on December 2014 at Surabaya, East Java, he acknowledged that his winning in the 2014 presidential election was because of the new media strategy used by PKB's IT team and volunteers. As a researcher I also attended that PKB's national congress as well. Further Jokowi made a statement that e-campaigning had successfully countered huge black campaigns attacking Jokowi that had decreased his votes significantly before the day of election. A well-known political expert in Indonesia, Prof. Ramlan Surbakti, also stated that the use of social media as new campaign strategy on behalf of both of the two candidates has influenced the social change phenomena of the Indonesian election in 2014 (based on in-depth interview). Further, implementing the use of internet or social media in media campaigning has increased the political participation among young voters (12 per cent as reported by KPU or the General Election Committ) as well as

improving knowledge of the democratic society in Indonesia, which is important in a young democracy country.

References

- Bardes, Shelley, & Schmidt, 2008, *American government and politics: the essentials*, 2009/10 edn (Belmont, CA: Thomson Wadsworth).
- Biro Pusat Statistic (2013). Statistik Indonesia. Retrieved from [http:// www.bps.go.id](http://www.bps.go.id)
- Brians, Leonard, CL. 2005, 'Women for women? Gender and party bias in voting for female candidates', *American Politics Research*, Vol.33 (3), pp.75-357.
- Chouliarakis, L and Fairclough, N 1999, *Discourse in late modernity – rethinking critical discourse analysis*, Edinburgh University Press, Edinburgh.
- Curran, T. & Singh, R. (2011). E-democracy as the future face of democracy: a case study of the 2011 Irish elections. *Centre for European Studies*, pp.25- 31.
- Curran, J and Morley, D 2006, *Media and cultural theory*, Routledge, London and New York.
- Czernich, N 2012, 'Broadband Internet and Political Participation: Evidence for Germany', *KYKLOS*, Vol. 65, No. 1, pp. 31-52.
- Dolan, K. 1998, 'Voting for women in the 'Year of the women', *American Journal of Political Science*, Vol.42 (1), pp.93-272.
- Eriyanto (2001). *Analisa Wacana dengan Analisis Teks Media*. Yogyakarta.
- Fairclough (N.) 1995b, 'Critical discourse analysis and change in management discourse and ideology: a transdisciplinary approach to strategic critique'. To appear in Ramallo (F.). ed , *Studies in Organisational Discourse*.
- Fairclough, N. (2000). *New Labour, New Language?*. London: Routledge.
- Foot, K., Schneider, S.M., Dougherty, M., Xenos, M. and Larsen, E. 2003, 'Analyzing Linking Practices: Candidate Sites in the 2002 US Electoral Web Sphere', *Journal of Computer-Mediated Communication*, Vol.8 Issue 4, view at <<http://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/doi/10.1111/j.1083-6101.2003.tb00220.x/full> >.
- Hague & Harrop 2010, *Comparative government and politics an introduction*, Hampshire, England.
- Hakim, S. (2014, April). *Pakar: Gerindra tiga besar karena komunikasinya efektif*. Retrieved from <http://www.antaranews.com>
- Holman, M.R., Scheneider, M.C., & Pondel, K. 2015, Gender Targeting in Political Advertisements, *Political Research quarterly*, Vol. Vol 68, Issue 4, pp.816-829, view at <<http://journals.sagepub.com/doi/abs/10.1177/1065912915605182> >.
- Hong, S. 2013, 'Who benefits from Twitter? Social media and political competition in the U.S. House of representatives', *Government Information Quarterly*, Vol.30, pp.464-472.
- Howard, PN 2005, 'Deep democracy, thin citizenship: the impact of digital media in political campaign strategy', *The ANNALS of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, Sage, viewed on 26 May 2012, <<http://www.sagepublications.com>>.
- Howard and Jones (2004, p.123-124)
- Internet World Stats* (2012, August 5). Internet usage in Asia: Internet users, Facebook

- subscribers & population statistics for 35 countries and regions in Asia.
Retrieved from <http://www.internetworldstats.com>>
- Jackson, N 2007, 'Political parties, the internet and the 2005 general election: third time lucky?', *Internet Research*, Emerald, Vol. 17 No. 3, 2007, pp. 249-271
- Karan, K, Gimeno, JDM & Tandoc, E.Jr, 2009, 'The internet and mobile technologies in election campaigns: the GABRIELA Women's Party during the 2007 Phippine elections', *Journal of Information Technology & Politics*, Vol.6, pp.326-339, Routledge Taylor and Francis Group.
- Kaye, K. 2009, *Campaign '08: A turning point for digital media*, CreateSpace.
- KPU (General Election Committee) (2014). Result Legislative Election 2014.
Retrieved from <<http://>>
- LSI (Lembaga Survey Indonesia) 2014, *Indonesia Survey Institution*, Independent Research Indonesia, viewed 7 October 2014, <<http://www.lsi.or.id/>>.
- Maarek, P.J 2011, *Campaign Communication and Political Marketing*, Wiley.
- Miller, W. 2013, 'we can't all be Obama: The use of new media in modern political campaigns', Fortcoming in *The Journal of Political Marketing*.
- Neuman, WL 2011, *Social Research Methods: Qualitative and Quantitative Approaches*, 7th Edition, Pearson Education Inc.
- Norris, P 2004, 'Political Communication', *Encyclopaedia of the Social Sciences*.
- Painter, A & Wardle, B 2001, 'Viral politics', *Politicos*, London, in Parry-Giles, SJ and Parry-Giles, T 2002, *Constructing Clinton: Hyper reality and presidential image making in postmodern politics*, Peter Lang, New York.
- Plutzer, Eric, and Zipp, JF. 1996, 'Identity politics, partisanship, and voting for women candidates', *Public Opinion Quarterly*, Vol.60 (1), pp.30-57.
- Rohlinger, DA & Brown, J 2009, 'Democracy, action, and the internet after 9/11', *American Behavioural Scientist*, SAGE, Vol. 53, No. 1, pp. 133-150.
- Schaffener, BF. 2005, 'Priming gender: Campaigning on women's issues in U.S. Senate elections', *American Journal of Political Science*, Vol.49 (4), pp.17-803.
- Simanjuntak, L 2014, 'Jokowi diserang 94% kampanye hitam, Prabowo 13%', *Merdeka*, 5 June 2014, viewed 4 May 2015, <<http://www.merdeka.com>>.
- Smith, A. 2008, The internet's role in campaign 2008', *Pew Internet & American Life Project*, retrieved Sepetember, 1, 2011, from <<http://www.pewInternet.org/Reports/2009/6-The-Internets-Role-in-Campaign-2008.aspx>>
- Socialbakers 2016, *Facebook Society stats – Politics*, Social Media Marketing Company, Czech, viewed 18 March 2016, <<http://www.socialbakers.com/statistics/facebook/pages/total/society/politics/>>.
- Socialbakers 2016, *Facebook stats in Indonesia – Politics*, Social Media Marketing Company, Czech, viewed 18 March 2016, <<http://www.socialbakers.com/statistics/facebook/pages/total/indonesia/society/politics/>>.
- Stanley, JW & Weare, C 2004, 'The effects of internet use on political participation: evidence from an agency', *Administration & Society*, ProQuest Central, Vol.36, No. 5, pp.

503-527.

- Stockwell, S 2005, *Political campaign strategy: Doing democracy in the 21st Century*, 1st edn, Australian Scholarly Publishing Pty Ltd, Victoria.
- Suhaimi, M.H. 2008, *Preliminary FGPA implementation on adaptive modulation*, Universiti Teknologi Malaysia, Malaysia.
- Towner, TL. & Dulio, DA. 2012, 'New media and political marketing in the United States: 2012 and beyond', *Journal of Political Marketing*, Vol.11, pp.95-119.
- The Economist Intelligence Unit 2008, *The Economist Intelligence Unit's index of democracy 2008*, The Economist, viewed 15 June 2012, <www.eiu.com>.
- The Economist Intelligence Unit 2011, *The Economist Intelligence Unit's index of democracy 2011*, The Economist, viewed 15 June 2012, <www.eiu.com>.
- The Economist Intelligence Unit 2014, *The Economist Intelligence Unit's index of democracy 2014*, The Economist, viewed 15 June 2012, <www.eiu.com>.
- The Jakarta Post (2011, October 28). Internet users in Indonesia reaches 55 million people. Retrieved from <<http://www.thejakartapost.com>>.
- Yusuf, O. (2014, November 24). Pengguna Internet Indonesia Nomor Enam Dunia. Retrieved from <<http://www.tekno.compas.com>>.
- Zittel, T 2007, 'Lost in technology? Political parties and online-campaigning in mixed member electoral systems', *Refereed proceedings of the 2007 ECPR Conference: European populist in the shadow of the great recession, analysis of twenty-five populist parties in seventeen European states*, European Consortium for Political Research General, pp. 5-6.