

**The Political Campaign Industry and the Emergence of
Social Media in Post-authoritarian Indonesian Electoral
Politics**

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I declare that this thesis is my own account of my research and contains as its main content work that has not previously been submitted for a degree at any tertiary education institution.

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EXPLANATORY NOTES

Indonesians may use a single name (for example, Suharto) or multiple names (for example, Megawati Sukarnoputri or Siti Muhyina Muin). In this dissertation the individuals with multiple names are referred to by that part of their names, which are generally known in Indonesia. For example, Prabowo Subianto is shortened to Prabowo while Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono is shortened to Yudhoyono. In addition, following Indonesian practice, this thesis uses some nickname for individuals commonly known by such to the public, for example, Jokowi for Joko Widodo, Foke for Fauzi Bowo and Ahok for Basuki Tjahaja Purnama. This dissertation uses the post-1972 Indonesian spelling system (for example, ‘Sukarno’ instead of ‘Soekarno’). Unless otherwise noted, all quoted translations from Indonesian to English were undertaken by the author.

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Doing a PhD is not easy to most students. But for Indonesian women with little children working on a PhD project in a foreign country, its complexity is multiplied. By any mean, it is no exaggeration. Nonetheless, this is an investment that worth every single effort that had been made in the process. This dissertation is dedicated to fellow Indonesian women with little children wishing to pursue doctoral studies outside their home country.

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ABSTRACT

This dissertation analyses the emergence of social media for electoral campaigning in post-authoritarian Indonesia. Using a critical political economy perspective, it examines the interactions between social media, the political campaign industry, which is understood as a product of “the cross-development of political and commercial persuasion techniques in the 20th century” (Stockwell, 2000, p. 3), and electoral players. This thesis evaluates how the political campaign industry intersects with social media-enabled production and distribution of campaign messages (content), audience (users) mobilisation and labour organisation. It also assesses the impact of the political campaign industry’s social media work upon the web of relations between candidates, donors and voters during electoral periods. The findings confirm that social media has enabled the growing Indonesian political campaign industry to develop social media campaigning services that have been adopted widely in Indonesian elections. These findings contradict previous studies that have suggested that social media contribute to the nurturance of democracy in contemporary Indonesia by enabling citizens to discuss alternative issues to elite-generated ones carried by conventional media (Nuswantoro, 2014; Suaedy, 2014). By contrast, this dissertation demonstrates that during electoral campaign periods social media were *not* autonomous from heavy industry-driven engineering. Instead, social media enabled the political campaign industry to further encroach upon Indonesian electoral politics and thereby generate greater profits for the industry.

These strategies were made possible because social media electoral campaigning serves not only a s practical tool of persuasion but also a new mechanism to manage the temporary converging interests of political, economic and cultural forces during electoral campaign periods. Put differently, with the assistance of the political campaign industry, Indonesian political economy elites have been able to capture social media to safeguard their social ascendancy through competitive elections.

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ABBREVIATION

Abbreviation	Full Name	Translation
Acoma	Angkatan Komunis Muda	Young Communist Force
AKUI	Angkatan Kemenangan Umat Islam	Islamic Victory Force
Baperki	Badan Permusyawaratan Kewarganegaraan Indonesia	Consultative Council on Indonesian Citizenship
DPD	Dewan Perwakilan Daerah	Regional Representative Council
DPR	Dewan Perwakilan Rakyat	People's Representative Council
Grinda	Gerakan Indonesia	Indonesia Movement
Gerindra	Gerakan Indonesia Raya	Great Indonesia Movement
Golkar	Golongan Karya	Functional Group
GPPS	Gerakan Pembela Panca Sila	Five Principles Defender Movement
Hanura	Hati Nurani Rakyat	People's Conscience Party
ICW	-	Indonesian Corruption Watch
IFES	-	International Foundation for Election Systems
INKUD	Induk Koperasi Unit Desa	The Association of Village Unit Cooperatives
IPKI	Ikatan Pendukung Kemerdekaan Indonesia	League of Defender of Indonesia's Independence
JASMEV	-	Jokowi Ahok Social Media Volunteers
KPK	Komisi Pemberantasan Korupsi	Corruption Eradication Commission

Lab KPP UI	Laboratorium Pemberdayaan Pemilih, Ilmu Politik, Universitas Indonesia	Komite Jurusan	University of Indonesia's Politics Department Laboratory's Committee on Voter Empowerment
Litbang Harian Kompas	Penelitian dan Pengembangan Harian Kompas		Kompas Newspaper Research and Development
LP3ES	Lembaga Penelitian Pendidikan dan Penerangan Ekonomi dan Sosial		Research Institute for Economics and Social Education and Information
LSI	Lembaga Survei Indonesia		Indonesia Survey Institute
LSN	Lembaga Sandi Negara		Indonesian Crypto Agency
Masyumi	Majelis Syuro Muslimin Indonesia		Council of Indonesian Muslim Associations
MPRS	Majelis Permusyawaratan Rakyat Sementara		Ad hoc People's Consultative Assembly
Murba	Musyawaharah Rakyat Banyak		People's Consultative Party
NU	Nahdlatul Ulama		Islamic Scholars' Association
P3RI	Persatuan Pegawai Polisi Republik Indonesia		Republic of Indonesia Police Officers' Union
PAN	Partai Amanat Nasional		National Mandate Party
Pakar Pangan	Partai Karya Perjuangan		Labour Party of Struggle
Parkindo	Partai Kristen Indonesia		Indonesia Christian Party
Perhumas	Perhimpunan Masyarakat Indonesia	Hubungan	The Indonesian Association of Public Relations
Perludem	Perkumpulan untuk Pemilu dan Demokrasi		The Association for Elections and Democracy
Permai	Persatuan Rakyat Marhaen Indonesia		Indonesian Marhaen People's Union
Perti	Persatuan Tarbiyah Islamiah		Islamic Educators' Association

PBB	Partai Bulan Bintang	Crescent Star Party
PD	Partai Demokrat	Democratic Party
PDI	Partai Demokrasi Indonesia	Indonesian Democratic Party
PDIP	Partai Demokrasi Indonesia Perjuangan	Indonesian Democratic Party of Struggle
PIR Hazairin	Partai Indonesia Raya Hazairin	Great Indonesia Hazairin Party
PIR Wongsonegoro	Partai Indonesia Raya Wongsonegoro	Great Indonesia Wongsonegoro Party
PKI	Partai Komunis Indonesia	Indonesian Communist Party
PKS	Partai Keadilan dan Sejahtera	Prosperous and Justice Party
PNI	Partai Nasional Indonesia	Indonesian National Party
PPP	Partai Persatuan Pembangunan	United Development Party
PPTI 85	Partai Persatuan Tarikat Islamiyah	Islamic Tariqa Unity Party
PRD	Partai Rakyat Desa	Village People's Party
PRIM	Partai Rakyat Indonesia Merdeka	Party of the People of Free Indonesia
PRN	Partai Rakyat Nasional	National People's Party
PRSSNI	Persatuan Radio Swasta Siaran Nasional Indonesia	Indonesian Private National Radio Stations' Association
PSI	Partai Sosialis Indonesia	Indonesian Socialist Party
PSII	Partai Sarikat Islam Indonesia	Indonesian Islamic Union Party
RRI	Radio Republik Indonesia	Republic of Indonesia Radio
TVRI	Televisi Republik Indonesia	Republic of Indonesia Television

Chapter 1

Introduction

1.1. Background

This dissertation examines the use of social media for electoral campaigning in recent post-authoritarian Indonesia elections. It emphasizes the contribution of the political campaign industry to highlight a basic argument that the use of social media in electoral campaigning could not be understood on the basis of the technological forces (that is, the social media), the political forces (the political parties, politicians or candidates) or cultural forces (the voters or social media users) alone. Instead, I argue that the use of social media in electoral campaigning requires mediation by economic forces as represented by the political campaign industry. Further, I argue that the extent to which the political campaign industry takes advantage of the new opportunities enabled by social media is dependent on specific relationships among the key electoral players, largely constituted of political elites, during electoral campaigns. The Indonesian case particularly shows that the professionalisation of electoral campaigning is tied closely to the nature of political parties and their relationships to candidates in a democracy rife with money politics and easily shifting elite alliances. Such a situation places increasing pressure on candidates to develop new and innovative ways to reach the electorate effectively, especially given the spiralling cost of winning elections.

Informed by Gramsci's hegemony that links the use of the media for the complex maintenance of the ruling class' interests, my arguments are based on the core idea that the use of social media for electoral campaigning purposes does not only signify persuasive efforts aimed at gathering popular votes or influencing voters. Instead, this dissertation finds that such persuasive use of social media is sustained by the nature of electoral campaigning that shapes, and is shaped by, negotiation and cooperation as well as tensions and contradictions in the candidates' relations to other political players. Based on this idea, such a dynamic web of relations enables the political campaign industry to play its part in assisting the candidates or political parties to persuade voters through mass and new media. Through their campaigning works, the political campaign industry is able to develop its business and significance in electoral politics.

In addition, I argue that democratic elections signify both major political events and economic opportunities. As the only accepted mechanism of transfer of power to express the will of the people, the elections' political significance often overshadows its economic importance. In fact, in such important periods, political parties and politicians pull together their energy and resources to engage in political activities such as lobbying, negotiating campaign strategies to reach out to as many voters as possible, intensifying communication channels as well as increasing marketing efforts (Trent & Friedenber, 1995; Petrocik, 1996).

While those activities are indeed political, elections are not autonomous of economic activities. Elections involve a series of economic activities that involves a significant amount of money spent by elections organisers, government, citizens, and, more importantly, candidates and political parties. Although generally more visible in democracies such as the U.S. (Stromback, 2007), the practices of increasing electoral spending are evident too in newer democracies like Indonesia (Dwipayana, 2009; Mietzner, 2008; Ufen, 2010a).

In Indonesia, similar to in other democracies (Kotler & Kotler, 1999), the cost of electoral campaigning can be substantial; and this cost tends to increase each year, as demonstrated in Table 1.1.

Table 1.1.
Total amount of electoral campaign spending (in rupiah)

Election	2004	2009	2014
The Legislative Election*	297,629,275,399	826,556,080,587	3,109,934,812,094
The Presidential Election**	256,350,866,878	576,340,156,985	410,648,064,292

Source: Supriyanto & Wulandari (2013, p. 11-12); KPU (2010); KPU, (2014)

* The 2004 and 2009 data cover the campaign spending of the 10 biggest political parties, while the 2014 data cover that of 12 political parties

** The 2004 presidential election involved 5 candidates, the 2009 election 3 candidates and the 2014 election 2 candidates

Such increasing electoral spending is driven partly by a post-authoritarian electoral system that requires candidates to garner popular votes in their bid to win the elections, thereby intensifying campaigning efforts. A significant amount of an electoral campaign budget is commonly allocated for media campaigning

purposes. One study suggested that 30 percent of campaign budgets is allocated to campaigning through media, mainly television (Mietzner, 2007). A study by anti-corruption organisation Indonesian Corruption Watch (ICW) of the campaign spending in the 2004 legislative election, however, showed that the media campaigning budget was mainly allocated for outdoor media, like billboards or leaflets, and radio, instead of print media and television (Badoh & Dahlan, 2010, p. 47). Regardless, both studies supported the notion that the economic aspects of the elections had contributed to the flourishing of the political campaign industry in Indonesia (Danial, 2009; Qodari, 2010). While the Internet infrastructure is still developing and the number of users is less than, for example, television, which covers nearly the total population of the archipelago, the emergence of the Internet has further reinforced the expansion of the political campaigning industry.

To demonstrate my arguments, this dissertation poses two research questions:
How does the political campaign industry mediate social media campaigning?

How does social media campaigning shape the electoral process in Indonesia?

The use of social media in recent Indonesian elections is selected to answer the questions. Although the Internet had been used for political purposes since the late period of the New Order government, it was not until the 2012 Jakarta gubernatorial election that the use of social media was clearly visible in the country's electoral process (Ahmad & Popa, 2014; Suaedy, 2014). This emergence of the use of social media for electoral campaigning merits further

examination for at least two reasons. Firstly, Indonesian politicians and political parties in the early post-authoritarian period, more precisely from 1998-2009, did not appear enthusiastic about using the Internet websites and social media for electoral campaigning (Hameed, 2007; Hill, 2008; Nurhadryani, Maslow, & Yamamoto, 2009). Studies of this period focused largely on either the Internet penetration or infrastructure and the party organisation or individual politicians, without paying much attention to the contributions of the political campaign industry in mediating such use of the Internet and social media.

Secondly, the emerging use of social media in electoral campaigning in Indonesia occurred after the victory of Barack Obama in the 2008 US presidential election, which has fuelled popular discussions in Indonesian media over the positive impacts of the use of social media in electoral politics (Ahmad & Popa, 2014; Utomo, 2013; Wijayanto, 2010).¹ Such discussions were also present in the emerging studies on social media campaigning in Indonesia, which have focused mainly on examining the positive contribution of the new technology to the development of democracy (Nuswantoro, 2014; Sobri, 2012). Such a view might be inspired by the significance of the Internet in contributing not only to resisting but, more importantly, to ending the authoritarian rule of Suharto (Hill & Sen, 2000).

¹ Obama spent some years of his early childhood in Indonesia, which may have encouraged Indonesian media to cover his victory more widely (see Pratomo, 2012).

These ideas about the potent impacts of social media are widely replicated in recent studies of the Internet and politics or online political campaigning from the fields of political science, communication studies, and information and technology engineering. The studies often examine details of social media's technological features and their subsequent impacts on politics, particularly electoral processes in Indonesia (Ibrahim, Abdillah, Wicaksono, & Adriani, 2015; Utomo, 2013; Wijayanto, 2010; Yuliatiningtyas, 2014).

One of the most common views about social media is that it enables citizens to discuss issues alternative to those which are determined by the political and economic elites, and which are therefore commonly produced and distributed through conventional media. This view is represented in an opinion piece by Indonesian senior public opinion surveyor Toto Sugiarto, which was published by leading Indonesian newspaper, *Kompas* daily:

“As a note, social media may be a solution to minimize injustice. Social media may balance broadcast television media that can no longer maintain their independence and justice. Television (stations) are owned by entrepreneurs, who are as well political party members. This condition turns television into the loudspeakers of their owners' political parties. Here lies the urgency of social media” (Harian *Kompas*, 2014).²

His opinion indicates two basic ideas. The first idea is that media, both conventional and Internet-based mass media, accommodate and channel the

² The original quote was written in Indonesian language.

interests of the elites, which have controlled conventional media and the broader political economy in Indonesia. Secondly, in relation to the first idea, social media serve as an alternative forum to develop possible contrary ideas to those of the elites. In other words, his views suggest that social media are a *neutral or impartial* medium that is autonomous from possible intervention of the political elites or their operatives.

However, previous studies had demonstrated the professionalisation and commercialisation of electoral processes, characterised by increasing campaign costs and the development of the political campaign industry in post-Suharto Indonesia (Danial, 2009; Qodari, 2010; Trihartono, 2011; Ufen, 2010a). The engagement of the political campaign industry in the electoral process has been accommodated by the increasing use of mass media for electoral campaigning. In fact, mass media assumed a significant position in post-authoritarian Indonesian electoral campaigns, particularly after major electoral system changes requiring political parties and candidates to win the popular vote in direct elections (Danial, 2009; Hill, 2003). The political parties and the candidates are seen not only as individuals but most significantly as a part of the vast, often complicated, web of interests of the political economy elites and their operatives (see Hadiz, 2003, 2004; Hadiz, 2010). While such networks are not immune to social changes, it should not be seen as fragile either. In fact, they are adaptive to such changes that require collaboration with the middle class, which is often portrayed as the agent of change in pluralist studies (see Robison, 1995; Robison & Goodman, 1996).

It would be an oversight, therefore, *not* to take into consideration the interests of the elites or the political campaign industry's contribution to the operations of a new media, such as social media, for electoral campaigning.

In fact, this is precisely the problem that this dissertation analyses. In contrast to studies examining social media as alternative media through which voters engage in political deliberation and participation (Nuswantoro, 2014; Suaedy, 2014), this study is concerned with the ways in which the political campaign industry mediates the use of social media for electoral campaigning. However, unlike political marketing studies that focus on the political marketing practices (Ahmad & Popa, 2014), it concentrates on the broader political economic aspects that shape the use of social media. Therefore, rather than social media texts or content, this dissertation focuses on examining the *offline* process in the real world within which social media campaigning is mediated by the political campaign industry in Indonesia.

1.2. The Political Campaign Industry

In many democracies, it is not uncommon for politicians and political parties to obtain assistance from the political campaign industry, which might be defined as a product of “the cross-development of political and commercial persuasion techniques in the 20th century”, to help manage their electoral campaign (Stockwell, 2002, p. 3). The primary service of this particular industry, which defines its existence in politics, is to support the candidates and political parties to

win elections. In this regard, the political campaign industry is seen “as the stewards of the electoral process – though not actual managers. Stewards ultimately act on behalf of larger power and ideological interests” (Sussman, 2005, p. x).

The political campaign industry consists of profit-oriented businesses, similar to other commercial consulting businesses that provide services to support their clients (see Kotler & Kotler, 1999). The main difference between the two types of businesses is in the domain of the business. The political campaign business operates in the political domain. It accumulates profit by catering to the needs of political players, most notably the candidates and the political parties, to win elections or to win public support in more general competitions over public policy. The scope of campaign consulting industry services ranges from public relations and advertising to polling and political lobbying (Thurber, Nelson, & Dulio, 2001). Much of the work of the political campaign industry is channelled through media. This highlights the significance of media in political campaigns.³

One major political marketing study suggests that

The media market plays a unique role in campaigns. Print and electronic media are vehicles of both communication and sales in the political marketplace. As the perceptual screen through which candidates communicate to voters and through which voters view candidates, the media are critical intermediaries between candidates and the other campaign marker” (Kotler & Kotler, 1999, p. 5).

³ Some scholars posit that communication plays a central role in election campaigns to the point that “without it, there is no political campaign” (Trent & Friedenber, 1995, p.13).

The necessity for the candidates and the political parties to engage with media was signified by the involvement of public relations and advertising businesses as the first commercial services to join in electoral campaign teams in the US, the homeland of the political campaign industry (Sabato, 1981). The politicians and political parties recruited the public relations and advertising professionals to assist their electoral campaigning, particularly in reaching out to the electorates through media like television (Plasser & Plasser, 2002; Trent & Friedenber, 1995). The emergence of newer media such as the Internet enabled the industry to expand its scope of business services further (Bimber & Davis, 2003).

The degree of the engagement of the political campaign industry in electoral campaigning could be assessed from the three tiers of the political consulting business: strategists, specialists and vendors (Hamburger, 2001). Strategists are individuals and groups providing advisory services, such as general consultants, campaign managers, polling firms, media firms and direct mail firms. These strategists are usually employed in campaign teams that are more receptive to non-party members. It is these strategists whom many studies blamed for the professionalisation of elections or politics, which has eroded the influence of party members and volunteers in electoral campaigning (Norris, 2004a). The second tier, specialists, comprises those who do campaigning work such as research, tele-marketing or fund raising; while vendors, in the third tier, are those selling campaign logistics, including website developers, printing firms or campaign software suppliers. In comparison to the strategists, both specialists and

vendors are perceived to be less influential to the political party-led electoral campaign organisation, as their roles are limited to assisting the politicians and political party with technical issues, particularly in media campaigning, instead of dealing with more strategic issues.

The diverse services of the political campaign consulting business are fluid and competitive (Hamburger, 2001). The competitive, fluid and technology-driven characteristics of the industry are primed by the incentives provided and the ways in which services are remunerated. While the industry depends on election campaigns that are concentrated periodically in every few years, to maintain a stable business it needs to generate income regularly. In addition, political campaign-consulting businesses may be compensated in different ways. A study suggested that campaign consultants may be paid by flat fee; by victory bonus or fees contingent on winning; or by percentage of the total campaign budget (Grossmann, 2009). The ways in which the political campaign industry is remunerated for services shapes the media campaign operations. According to Grossmann (2009),

“If, however, they are paid more when the campaign spends more, they may have incentive to direct funds toward-high-cost expenditures such as television-advertising; if these funds are dependent on contributions, they may also favor increased candidate attention to fundraising” (p. 4).

The fluid and competitive nature of the business can be identified through the ways in which campaign professionals enter the industry, including those coming

from a background in media technology. Sabato (1981) suggested that media technology enables them to offer new services to their clients (candidates, campaign organisations or other political organisations).⁴ Sussman (2005) also considers media technology to be a new tool of the trade for a political campaign business. Such an understanding of media technology's position in electoral campaigning indicates that new media enable new business opportunities for the political campaign industry.

To sum up, the involvement of the political campaign industry in electoral campaigning or in campaign teams does not occur automatically. The industry is required not only to demonstrate its value and significance in electoral campaigns, but also to develop new political campaign services to sell to their clients, most notably the candidates and the political parties. Therefore, the emergence of social media is seen as offering an opportunity upon which the political campaign industry can capitalize, in order to expand its business further and to deepen its significance in electoral politics.

⁴ There are several definitions of campaign professionals or consultants. Some scholars suggest that a professional in the context of campaigning is "someone who derives at least part of his or her income from providing campaign services" (Farrell, Kolodny, & Medvic, 2001, p. 27). Another scholar defines 'professional political consultant' as "[a] person who is paid, or whose firm is paid, to provide services for one presidential/national or more than one non-presidential/sub-national campaign (whether candidate or issue) per election cycle for more than one cycle, not including those whose salary is paid exclusively by a party committee or interest group" (Medvic, 2003, p. 124). Karlsen (2009b) notes that a professional should also possess particular expertise. Thus, he defines a campaign professional as "someone who derives part of his or her income from working on campaigns, and possesses specialized knowledge, whether this is acquired through training or experience" (p. 195).

1.3. Understanding Social Media

The political campaign industry largely considers media to be tools with which to develop new political campaign services, and thereby to enhance the industry's role in the electoral process (see Sussman, 2005). In this section, it is argued that the political campaign industry faces both opportunities and challenges with regard to social media, due to the new media's characteristics, which differ substantially from those of conventional media. Thus, this section considers the multiple dimensions of social media, which shape the ways in which the Internet platforms are used for electoral campaigning.

Two dimensions of social media are particularly highlighted: their sociality, and their commercial nature. Social media are far from neutral and are, instead, potentially subjects of capture by the political economy elites through the mediation of the political campaign industry. In this study, the term social media is used to refer to such Internet platforms as Facebook, Orkut or Cyworld, Twitter, Youtube, Instagram, Paths and others. Some scholars refer to these as Social Network Sites or Social Networking Sites, abbreviated to SNS. While not wishing to become embroiled in debates over the definition, it is important to highlight the characteristics of social media that make these new platforms distinct from conventional media.⁵ boyd and Ellison (2007), who were among the first scholars examining these platforms, highlighted the technical communication process of social media. They referred to Social Network Sites as

⁵ To understand more about the discussion of the definition and understanding of the new media platforms, Boyd & Ellison's study on social network sites provides a sound start (boyd & Ellison, 2007). Critiques of their works could be examined from works of Beer (2008) and Fuchs (2014).

A networked communication platform in which participants (1) have uniquely identifiable profiles that consist of user-supplied content, content provided by others, and/or system-provided data; (2) can publicly articulate connections that can be viewed and traversed by others; (3) can consume, produce and/or interact with streams of user-generated content provided by their connections on the site (boyd & Ellison, 2007, p. 211).

Kaplan and Haenlein (2010) define social media as “a group of Internet based applications that build on the ideological and technological foundations of Web 2.0, and allow the creation and exchange of user generated content” (p. 61). Web 2.0 is a term coined by Tim O’Reilly, a computer-based publishing entrepreneur, to define the web as a network enabled by computer software, “ as a continually-updated service that gets better the more people use it, consuming and remixing data from multiple sources, including individual users, while providing their own data and services in a form that allows remixing by others, creating network effects through an architecture of participation, and going beyond the page metaphor of Web 1.0 to deliver rich users experiences” (O’Reilly, 2006, p. 16). Web 1.0 suggests computer-based technologies that provided less support for such an architecture of participation.

These definitions essentially highlight social media’s ability to advance new communication practices that have accommodated users to produce and distribute content. The social media’s “many-to-many” personalized communication is

fundamentally different from the “one-to-many” communication accommodated by conventional media (see Figure 1.1).

Figure 1.1.

Example of visualisation of intersecting social media



Source: Heer and Boyd (2005, p. 32).

In addition to content, a social network site accommodate features that enable users to connect and interact to each other, including to join virtual groups based on common interests (Ellison, Steinfield & Lampe, 2007; Boyd & Ellison, 2007). Thus, social media become the arena where social networking takes place, which eventually changed the ways in which users gather information and make decisions.

Through these new communication practices, social media enable the accumulation of connected networks of millions of social media users from around the world. Social media, consequently, change not only the ways in which media content are consumed (Couldry, 2003) but also produced and distributed

(Kelly, Fisher, & Smith, 2005; Meraz, 2009; Park & Kluver, 2009). Thus, social media users are characterised by their ability to consume media in new ways that potentially engage them in production and distribution, as well as re-consumption, re-production and re-distribution, of media content.⁶ Such features set social media apart from conventional media's mode of consumption, production and distribution. Conventional media draw a bold line between media companies as the producers and distributors of media content, and audience/readerships as consumers of media content. The features of conventional media restrain possible involvement of media audience or readership in the process of media content production and distribution.

One notable characteristic of social media is sociality; because the platforms function as integrated tools of cognition, communication and cooperation (Trottier & Fuchs, 2015, p. 6). Furthermore,

SNS are web-based platforms that integrate different media, information and communication technologies and that allow at least the generation of profiles that displayed information that describes the users, the display of connections (connection list), the establishment of connections between users that are displayed on their connection lists and the communication between users. They are communication technologies because they are used for communication and establishing connections in the form of connection lists. SNS are

⁶ Social media users are able to consume media content, comment on the content or post a new content and share such content to their networks. As social media can be accessed through Internet-connected mobile devices, social media users can engage in the consumption, production and distribution of media content anytime and from anywhere.

cooperative technologies because they allow the establishment of new friendships and communities and the maintenance of existing friendships (Trottier & Fuchs, 2015, pp. 6-7).

In electoral contexts, it is social media's sociality that is assumed to enable users to engage in conversations or discussions about politics or public policies, although the new Internet platforms are commonly used for reasons other than that (Westling, 2007). Many social media users access the Internet platforms for communication and intimacy purposes (Baker & Oswald, 2010; Subrahmanyam et al., 2008), entertainment or games purposes (Yee, 2006), and economic purposes (selling or buying things) (Mangold & Faulds, 2009).

Social media content is commonly understood as a genuine product of social media users (Wofford, 2012). This understanding suggests a common expectation in the media and academia over the ability of social media to accommodate the development of alternative ideas, including during election periods. In many cases, however, user-generated content and discourses are not autonomous from content and discourses produced and distributed by conventional, mass media (van der Wuff, 2008). In fact, social media are considered to be "push media", referring to the distribution of content from other media, most specifically conventional media. In an era of media convergence, social media content is inseparable from conventional mass media.⁷ Media convergence encompasses

⁷ Media convergence refers to the merging of conventional and Internet-based media through various digital media platforms enabled by portable and interactive technologies (Grant & Wilkinson, 2009; Jenkins, 2006b; Jussawalla, 1999).

“the flow of content across multiple media platforms, the cooperation between multiple media industries, and the migratory behaviour of media audiences who would go almost anywhere in search of the kinds of entertainment experiences they wanted” (Jenkins, 2006a, p. 3).

Such understandings indicate the influence of various forms of media in the production and distribution of media content in general. Thus, it may be an exaggeration to expect that the Internet and its various platforms automatically breed content pluralism, although the new media foster networks of users in the process of user-generated content production and distribution. At best, what the Internet does is increase content *quantity*, though not necessarily content diversity (van der Wuff, 2008).

More importantly, social media operations remain dependent on political and media systems as well as other social structures (Meijer & Kleinnijenhuis, 2006). As parts of the broader media, social media operations (e.g. production of content) are closely connected to the existence and growth of the media industry; and these remain concentrated in the hands of private owners and a relatively small number of large media corporations (Jenkins, 2006a). In the case of Indonesia, there are 12 national media corporations. All are old players which have been operating since the New Order period, and dominate the media industry across the archipelago (Nugroho, Putri, & Laksmi, 2012). Owners of these corporations, which lead media convergence to maintain, strengthen and expand their business, often engaged directly or indirectly with politics – particularly during the electoral

campaigning period (Nugroho et al., 2012). Therefore, social media share the characteristics of the broader media that “use processes of industrialised technology for producing messages....to reach large audiences”, including during election campaign periods (O'Shaughnessy & Staedler, 2008, p. 4). In other words, while social media operation is not a carbon copy of that of conventional media, it remains part of the broader media industry, and therefore subject to political and economic interventions.

A second dimension of social media is their commercial nature; a dimension which is largely under-discussed in the literature of online electoral campaigning, which tends to celebrate the free use of the platforms as a basis of their revolutionary effects. It should be highlighted that social media are in fact developed and owned by profit-oriented corporations (Fuchs, 2013). Similar to conventional media corporations, these corporations rely on advertising for their capital accumulation. The difference is that social media corporations offer more effective forms of advertising than those of conventional media. Targeted advertising, based on personal data of social media users, enabled advertisers to deliver multiple advertisements customized to the targeted group of users (potential consumers). The process of capital accumulation from corporate social media platforms started with social media companies seeking capital to produce the Internet platforms, which are “not a commodity product that is directly sold” but is made available to users for free (Fuchs, 2013, p. 110). The free use of social media generates content from users, which attracts more users to engage in

the production and distribution of social media content (Albergotti, MacMillan, & Rusli, 2014). These users spend a certain time to produce “user generated data, personal data and transaction data about their browsing behavior and communication behavior on corporate social media”, and these data are in fact a commodity to sell to advertisers (Fuchs, 2014, p. 110). Such user-generated content signifies “the total commodification of human creativity”, as social media users “engage in permanent creative activity, communication, community building and content production” (Fuchs, 2009, p. 82). This understanding shows an important facet of social media as a product of capitalism – that social media operations should *not* be seen as autonomous from the logic of capitalism: to accumulate more and more capital.

These two dimensions of social media have been highlighted as shaping the ways in which social media are used in the political sphere, particularly in electoral campaigns. In contrast, some existing studies tend to ignore its commercial nature, and focus on other dimensions of social media; such as its technological features or sociality. This lacuna is evident in studies detailing Facebook’s contribution to the phenomenal victory of Barrack Obama in the 2008 presidential election in the U.S. (Robertson, Vatrappu, & Medina, 2010; Small, 2008), or YouTube-generated content for minor party candidates in Australia (Gibson and McAllister (2011), and Finland (Carlson & Strandberg, 2008, p. 159). Similarly, reference to the commercial nature of social media campaigning was largely absent in a study on social media’s contribution to potential political change in

Malaysia or the Philippines (Karan, Gimeno, & Tandoc, 2009a; Smeltzer & Keddy, 2010). In the case of Malaysia, social media gained recognition for facilitating the success of the opposition in bringing substantial change to the 2008 Malaysian election outcome: the ruling *Barisan Nasional* lost its two-thirds majority in parliament and control of five out of 13 states (Sani & Azizuddin, 2009). In the Philippines, Karan, Tandoc, and Gimeno (2009b) suggested that *Bayan Muna*, a militant group, strategically used YouTube in its successful campaigns to capture the attention of mainstream media and eventually secure 960,000 of 17 million votes, or the equivalent to two seats, in the Philippines Congress through the party-list system in the 2007 election. In Indonesia, social media were also credited with the rise of Joko Widodo, widely known as Jokowi, from a mayor in the middle size mayoralty of Surakarta in Central Java province to the presidency (Ahmad & Popa, 2014; Suaedy, 2014). Such studies on online electoral campaigning demonstrate the lack of consideration of social media's commercial nature and social relations in their discussions on social media and political and electoral users.

This dissertation, however, highlights how social media's characteristics shape the ways in which the political campaign industry mediates the use of social media in electoral campaigns. This study focuses on three aspects: the ways in which the political campaign industry mediates the campaign teams' adoption of social media; the commodification of social media campaigning; and the impact of social media on the electoral process.

1.4. Research Methods

This dissertation is a qualitative study aimed at identifying and understanding certain aspects of social media campaigning practices in Indonesia (Morse & Niehaus, 2009, p. 15). This case study method involves an in-depth, holistic examination of some aspects of the social media campaigning phenomenon.

According to Yin, a case study is

“an empirical inquiry that investigates a contemporary phenomenon within its real-life context; when the boundaries between phenomenon and context are not clearly evident; and in which multiple sources of evidence are used”(Yin, 1984, p. 23).

A multiple-case study was chosen in this thesis, to present numerous sources of evidence. Rather than sampling logic, conclusive results were achieved through replication that links information from the cases through the theories. Three cases were selected, specifically to examine social media campaigning, and the possible impacts in different types of election campaigns in Indonesia. The cases were (1) the gubernatorial election in Jakarta in 2012, (2) the mayoral election in Makassar in 2013, and (3) the presidential election in Indonesia 2014 (as shown in Table 1.2). These three electoral cases were chosen to examine social media campaigning practices in various arenas of contestation in Indonesia. The election in Jakarta, the capital of a country, signifies an arena of contestation involving vast electoral players more receptive to changes in the context of electoral process. Makassar indicates an arena of contestation under the domination of

local political economy elites. The presidential election is an arena of contestation with the largest political economy stakes.

Table 1.2.
Characteristics of election settings

Details	2012 Jakarta Election	2013 Makassar Election	2014 Indonesia Election
Eligible voters	6,962,348 (1 st round) 6,996,951 (2 nd round)	983,900	190,307,134
Internet users	3,500,000 (36.9% penetration)	59 % penetration	71,000,000
Number of candidates	6 pairs (1 st round) 2 pairs (2 nd round)	10 pairs	2 pairs

Source: KPU DKI Jakarta 2012, KPU Kota Makassar 2013, KPU 2014, APJII 2012, MarkPlus2013, APJII 2014

Each case study focuses on the use of social media campaigning by the campaign teams of the election winners: Jokowi in the Jakarta election, M. Ramdhan Pomanto in the Makassar Election, and Jokowi in the presidential election. However, it does not neglect social media operations by other candidates in each campaign environment.

1.4.1. Data Collection

The empirical data collected for this study was used to understand two aspects of social media campaigning: the ways in which social media information and activities were turned into a political campaign business; and the ways in which social media campaigning shaped, and was shaped by, power relations. Therefore, this study called for two sources of data. The first data were mined from industry professionals, to examine what they actually did with social media in the context of electoral campaigning. The second data dealt with politicians,

campaign donors and social media users or activists, to understand why they engaged in social media campaigning. To collect the data in the afore-mentioned electoral environments, this study used three methods: in-depth interviews, direct observation, and document analysis.

a. In-depth interview

This study used the in-depth, semi-structured interview as the main method to collect data. This method was used with the aim of understanding the views and thoughts of the interviewees regarding their experiences (Fontana & Frey, 2008). Specifically, it aimed to examine the empirical practices of professionals of the electoral campaign consulting industry in undertaking social media-based electoral campaign consulting services, and the experiences of politicians in launching social media-based electoral campaigning in Indonesia.

The interviewees comprised professionals of the electoral campaign consulting industry in Indonesia, and politicians, campaign donors and social media users who were involved with social media-based electoral campaigning in post-authoritarian Indonesia. The semi-structured interviews were conducted, each averaging an hour in length, with a total of 102 professional campaigners, politicians, campaign donors, social media users, members of the media and members of the election governing bodies. All of the interviews were undertaken in Indonesian language in Jakarta and Makassar. They were selected based on purposive sampling (Corbin & Strauss, 2008). The main goal of purposive

sampling is to focus on particular characteristics of interviewees that are the interest of the study. However, purposive sampling is prone to researcher bias. Cognisant of such risks, the main criteria for the selection of the interviewees (particularly the campaign professionals, politicians, social media users/volunteers and campaign donors) in this study is that they had to engage directly or being in decision-making positions during the three elections in the case studies. Since the election campaigns engaged countless of social media users/volunteers, I focused not only those who engaged structurally (establishing or joining volunteer groups) in the campaigns but also those whose involvement in the campaigning was acknowledged by other volunteers and social media activists who opted not to join in the volunteerism. The interviewees were informed of the nature of the research. The confidentiality of the interviews and the interviewees' identities were protected when requested.

b. Direct Observation

This study also employed direct observation sampling, to "provide a wider descriptive framework in multi-method research" (Gilham, 2008, pp. 6-7). Direct observation provided data and information which was unable to be captured through other methods, and later proved to have provided some of the study's most important findings, (as discussed in pp. 107-109). In addition, observation played an important part because "it deals not with what people say they do, but what they actually do – to the extent that their behavior is open to observation" (Gilham, 2008, p. 1). This study considered the necessity to get "something

vivid' and 'real' which might not be apparent even from loosely structured interviews" with the campaign professionals and politicians, who were the main subjects of this research (Gilham, 2008, p. 7).

During sampling, I watched, listened (including considering other languages where necessary), and took notes (Neuman, 2003, p. 381) to capture the key details of campaign operations held in candidates' operation rooms during the 2013 Makassar election campaign and the 2014 Indonesian presidential election. Although recording technologies such as smart telephones, tablet video recorders and voice recorders are common tools used during direct observation, I opted not to use any of these technologies, in order to facilitate and maintain the trust and sense of ease of the subjects of these observations. In this way I was able to sampling using direct observation during two of the three elections that were chosen as case studies; however, I was not able to directly observe the 2012 Jakarta election, because this research began after that election had concluded.

c. Literature Study/ Documentary Analysis

This study commenced at the end of 2012, after the conclusion of the Jakarta gubernatorial election. Therefore, to understand the social media campaign operations in that election, this study relied heavily upon the study of existing literature and documentary analysis regarding that poll. Similar documentary analysis was also undertaken to obtain additional data from other sources, including newspaper articles, electronic articles and publications linked to the

Internet and social media use, during the study's research into the 2013 Makassar election campaign, and the 2014 presidential election campaign; as well as when researching the history of the political campaign industry and the use of media technology in Indonesian electoral campaigns. Such documents are useful to complement information captured by direct observation (Bogdan & Biklen, 2003; Stake, 1995).

1.4.2. Data Analysis

The data analysis centres on three themes that become the focus of this study. First, the analysis examines the candidates' relations to the political parties, campaign donors and voters that defined the nature of their engagement with electoral campaigning. Second, it analyses the ways in which the political campaign industry develops social media campaigning services. Third, it evaluates the impacts of social media campaigning upon both the political campaign business and associated power relations.

As described above, the data for the case studies in this research derive from interviews, direct observation, and document analysis. The collected data were reviewed and classified into the three themes. The findings from the interview data, the observation data and the document analysis data were triangulated to check their consistency (see Denzin, 1978).

1.5. Challenges and Limitations of the Thesis

1.5.1. Challenges

Collecting data on campaigning strategies *during* an actual electoral campaign period is not a simple task. The heightened political tensions often created obstacles for researchers, who were expecting to undertake “participant observation” of a candidate during the electoral campaigning process. While the direct observation sampling during the 2013 Makassar election encountered no substantial difficulties, this was not the case during the 2014 presidential election. The escalating tensions during the presidential campaign period only allowed this researcher to undertake direct observation of the social media campaigning operations of candidate Jokowi. The campaign team of his contender, Prabowo Subianto, refused such observations. This restriction likely reflected significant differences between the two contenders’ campaign styles, which it would have been valuable to capture: the ban on access to Prabowo’s social media campaigning was most likely due to his very organised and militarised campaign organisation and electoral campaigning operations. In contrast, Jokowi’s unstructured, if not chaotic, campaigning operations enabled direct observation inside some of his social media campaign operation rooms.

1.5.2. Limitations

This dissertation focuses on the interactions with social media that were undertaken by professional campaigners, candidates and political parties, campaign donors and social media users, and how these social media activities

played out prior to and during electoral campaign periods. This study focuses particularly on the actual political impact of these interactions, beyond the online sphere. Consequently, this study is *not* intended to examine the details of social media's technological features (Ibrahim et al., 2015). It does not seek to examine the behaviour of the voters in engaging in social media conversations during electoral campaign period, or to map the social media and Internet use in the whole media campaign strategies by the politicians or the political parties (Rahmawati, 2014; Yuliatiningtyas, 2014). Ultimately, this study does *not* aim to examine in detail the symbolic meaning of social media texts, images, videos or memes produced and distributed by social media users.

This study focuses upon the use of social media in the 2012 Jakarta election, the 2013 Makassar election and the 2014 presidential election in Indonesia. For this reason, there would be risks in claiming the findings could be generalized to a broader electoral setting or timeframe in Indonesia. However, the dissertation's findings may expand empirical and theoretical understanding of social media campaigning in post-authoritarian states.

1.6. The Structure of the Study

The dissertation is structured in the following way:

This chapter, chapter 1, introduces the research problems and explains the rationale for examining the roles of the political campaign industry in social media campaigning. It outlines some of the context of the political campaign

industry and social media in Indonesia. This chapter also elaborates on research methods used to collect data in three election campaign cases in Indonesia: the 2012 Jakarta gubernatorial election, the 2013 Makassar mayoral election and the 2014 Indonesian presidential election.

Chapter 2 examines the roles of the political campaign industry in mediating the use of social media in electoral campaigns. It situates the issues within broader debates about online electoral campaigning. It identifies the pluralist, constructivist and structuralist approaches to online electoral campaigning, and provides an alternative framework to understand the key issues of social media campaigning. Drawing upon the Gramsci's concept of hegemony; Sussman's political campaign consultants, Fuchs & Trottier's understanding of media and society as well as Mosco's commodification, this framework highlights the importance of analysing the fluctuating relations of the elites in the study of social media campaigning. This framework enables further enquiry into the understudied roles and operations of the political campaign industry in social media campaigning in Indonesia, beyond political marketing purposes.

Chapter 3 examines the transformation of electoral campaigning practices in Indonesia. It traces the engagement of the political campaign industry in the use of the media in electoral campaigns in three different periods in Indonesia: the Old Order in 1955 election, the New Order's six elections, and the three elections in post-authoritarian Indonesia. It argues that the emergence of social media

campaigning should be seen as a continuation of the use of the media for electoral campaigning. It further argues that the Internet and social media enable new arenas, which call for the political parties and politicians to employ new approaches to voters; which in turn have enabled new opportunities for the expansion of the political campaign industry.

Chapter 4 focuses upon the operations of social media campaigning in the 2012 Jakarta gubernatorial election; which marked the first social media campaigns in post-authoritarian Indonesia. This case highlights how the emergence of social media campaigning –which was widely celebrated for bringing a popular peripheral politician closer to the centre of the web of national elites – was in fact spearheaded by the profit-oriented political campaign industry. The industry was able to develop new business opportunities out of the increasing number of social media users. However, it was the changes in relations between political players that enabled the political campaign industry to assist candidates with their social media campaigning.

In Chapter 5, it is argued that social media campaigning was not clearly visible during the 2013 Makassar mayoral election. This was not because of a lack of social media users in Makassar. Rather, when compared to Jakarta, Makassar constitutes a smaller arena of contestation, under the domination of a few political economy elites. The political campaign industry, therefore, faced limited opportunities to employ large-scale social media campaigning services, as the

candidates and political parties preferred to use conventional media and canvassing for campaigning. In addition, the local political economy elites' domination of electoral campaigning left leading local social media users with little incentive to run social media campaigns.

Chapter 6 analyses the intensified practices of social media campaigning in the 2014 Indonesian presidential election. Driven by the political campaign industry, social media had gained full recognition from political players as an important mode of electoral communication. Moreover, social media campaigning served not only the interests of the politicians and the political campaign industry, but also that of medium-sized campaign donors and some social media activists.

Chapter 7 summarizes the arguments of previous chapters. By valuing the contributions of the political campaign industry in the operation of social media campaigning, this dissertation finds that social media is a subject of commodification, which has enabled the political campaign industry to expand its businesses and deepen its significance in politics. However, contrary to the view that such commodification confirms the use of social media for political marketing purposes, the findings suggested that such commodification has enabled the political economy elites to capture the new media for campaigning.

Chapter 2

Approaches and Conceptual Framework

2.1. Introduction

The purpose of this chapter is to locate this dissertation within the existing approaches to research in the field of online electoral campaigning studies. It aims to develop a critical framework for the analysis of social media campaigning in the electoral contexts. The literature related to online electoral campaigning is driven primarily by two major developments in society: state formation, and the transformation of media technology. A number of studies, mainly from political science and communication science, reflect on what these changes mean for the operations of electoral campaigning and broader democracy (Bimber & Davis, 2003; Chadwick, 2006; Kluver, Jankowski, Foot, & Schneider, 2007a).

This chapter consists of two main sections. The first section engages with two main questions: *What are the uses of social media in electoral campaigns?* and *How do key electoral players use social media to advance their interests?* These questions are discussed through the lenses of the pluralist, constructivist and structuralist approaches. This section argues for the applicability of the structuralist approach to capture the negotiation and cooperation – as well as the tensions and contradictions – that shape social media campaigning. Unlike pluralist and constructivist studies, which position social media as new drivers of changes in electoral politics, this structural study considers social media as a new

object of capture in electoral campaigning; with such campaigning including both the organisation of political persuasion and of relations pertaining to the electoral players.

However, as the available structuralist studies on social media campaigning are largely limited to institutional aspects, in the second section of this chapter I propose an expansion to the structuralist approach to analyse the operation of social media campaigning as a persuasion strategy, through which the temporary interests of electoral players can be organised during electoral periods. Informed by Gramsci's hegemony and the political economy of communication, this framework is receptive to various possibilities regarding the appropriation of social media as new media in electoral campaigning. By emphasising the interplay of social media and the specific relationships between the candidates' relations to other electoral players, this framework examines social media as a subject of capture not only by the electoral players (the candidates and political parties, campaign donors, voters) but also by the political campaign industry that aims to meet their interests. Thus, this framework enables a more in-depth exploration of the roles of the political campaign industry in the operations of social media campaigning, during the electoral periods that are the focus of this study.

2.2. Social Media, Electoral Players and Electoral Campaigning

This section examines the pluralist, constructivist and structuralist approaches to the two questions above. These approaches are taken from the typology

introduced by Street (2005) in his book on mass media and politics, and will guide this chapter in examining the debates on online electoral campaigning (p. 6). Critics have suggested that Street's typology was flawed in that the three perspectives are not mutually exclusive (Corner & Robinson, 2006). However, for the purposes of this dissertation, such a typology is useful to comprehend different approaches to the topics of political communication, media political economy and media effects. Using Street's typology, this study attempts to sidestep the prominent, yet rather limited, equalisation versus normalisation debates in the studies of online campaigning (Bimber, 2003; Margolis & Resnick, 2000; Ward, Gibson, & Lusoli, 2003).⁸

2.2.1. The Pluralist Approach

The pluralist views of media use for electoral campaigning emphasise ideal roles of media (both offline and online) in liberal democracy. The pluralist approach sees democracy as the rule of the people, which is mediated by and through interactions involving political leaders, political parties and interests groups (Street, 2011). There are two substantial assumptions underpinning this view. First, it considers competing political parties and other interests groups as being

⁸ The main assumption underpinning the equalisation or mobilisation thesis is that the Internet has distinctive technological features as compared to conventional technologies (Hagen & Mayer, 2000). This stream of study fostered an idea that the Internet "could help level the electoral playing field" due to its ability to form a public sphere alternative to conventional media-generated public sphere (Margolis, Resnick, & Levy, 2003). However, further studies found that the Internet is nothing more than a reproduction of the offline media sphere, dominated by the views of major political forces and media companies. These studies supported the normalisation or reinforcement thesis. Such studies posited that the Internet benefits political elites the most, particularly in less advanced countries (Bimber & Davis, 2003; Margolis & Resnick, 2000; Norris, 2000). Some scholars have attempted to escape the debates, which tend to be unilateral, by offering new approaches, such as contextualism, because "the relationship between technology and society is complex and dialectical" (Chen, 2010, p. 14).

equally positioned. Second, it considers media to be neutral channels of political information that enable the development of the public sphere, a forum where citizens discuss civic issues relevant to their lives (Bosch, 2010; Papacharissi, 2002). The media is therefore nicknamed the 'fourth estate' for its roles in democracies characterised by deliberation and participation.

a. Electoral Campaigning

The pluralist understanding of electoral campaigning is based on the idea that the state is a set of neutral social institutions mediating various interests. In a democracy, elections are the key event in which political parties, which represent different interests, compete for control of the machinery of the state. This suggests that elections are the accepted means by which the political system ensures checks and balances over the exercise of power, to prevent the domination by any group over others. Election participants (political parties and politicians) are required to secure enough votes to win, necessitating that they broaden their appeal to different sectional interests. Based on this understanding, democracy is characterised by, among other things, the *plurality* of competing political parties, politicians or interests groups that are of equal standing.

Electoral campaigns are intended to enable competing political parties and candidates to win support from voters in the elections. Therefore, electoral campaigns are a period when political parties and candidates inform voters about themselves, their programs, ideology and so forth, while voters obtain electoral

information to make an informed choice in electing leaders to whom they entrust political control. This understanding highlights the nature of electoral campaigning as the organisation of political persuasion. Such electoral campaigning is constituted by the employment of different strategies and techniques to reach out and persuade voters, including by communicating campaign messages through the media.

Given the above, pluralist studies suggest that media play a pivotal role in electoral campaigning. Changes in media technologies influence the development of electoral campaigning, as shown in studies on the transformation of electoral campaigning; which have originated mainly from the experiences in Western democracies, particularly the United States (Norris, 2000, p. 137).⁹ The transformation of electoral campaigning has been driven by modernisation “rooted in technological and political developments” (p. 140). The evolution of campaigning in the context of such Western democracies as the United States has been characterised by the media-led transformation of electoral campaigning practices, which is commonly divided into three stages.¹⁰ The pre-modern stage, from 19th century democracies until the 1950s, is characterised by straightforward campaigning techniques and strategies handled by party leaders, supported by

⁹ Her study raised concerns over the decline of civic and political participation in U.S. elections, as well as criticism of the thesis of Americanisation of election campaigning, referring to the replication of US campaigning practices in many established and new democracies (Norris, 2004b, p. 2).

¹⁰ Such evolution is commonly divided into three stages of campaign communication stages. Blumler and Kavanagh (1999) suggested the stages consisted of the golden age of the parties, the television age, and the third age; while Norris (2000) posited that the evolution consisted of the pre-modern, modern and post-modern stages.

volunteers, and mediated by partisan print press and radio broadcasts. This age is considered a golden period because print media, and to a certain extent radio, facilitated substantive political debates that were based on ideological foundations (Blumler & Kavanagh, 1999). The modern or television stage refers to the campaigning in the 1950s to mid-1980s, which was marked by the presence of national campaign organisations, increasingly professionalised campaigning practices and the massive use of television for campaigning. The post-modern stage, which started in the 1980s, can be identified through the fragmentation of television outlets, the development of the Internet as a mechanism to advance party-voter interaction, and political campaigning practices involving campaign professionals that continue beyond election periods, or what is referred to as ‘permanent campaigning’ (Norris, 2000, p. 6).¹¹

Such an American-based understanding of electoral campaigning has been reproduced in different electoral settings around the world, although the patterns have differed (Danial, 2009; Gainsborough, 2005; Kanungo & Farooqui, 2008). Hence, scholars identified the emergence of the Americanisation or hybridisation of electoral campaigning – by which they meant the contemporary practices of a distinctly American style of electoral campaigning; typified by increasingly

¹¹ Norris (2004b) posited that “[t]he concept of ‘postmodernism’ represents a complex phenomenon, open to multiple interpretations, yet it is usually understood to include the characteristics of greater cultural pluralism, social diversity and fragmentation of sources, increased challenges to traditional forms of hierarchical authority and external standards of rational knowledge; and a more inchoate and confused sense of identity (p. 7). Permanent campaigning refers to the practices of political parties and candidates to focus on media coverage and visibility for the purpose of running or winning the next election rather than on delivering successful public policies and outcomes.

higher campaign costs, media-heavy and candidate-centred campaigning – in different countries (Baines, Scheucher, & Plasser, 2001; Esser & Pfetsch, 2004; Gainsborough, 2005; Plasser & Plasser, 2002). These studies assume that modernisation, characterised by, among other things, technological change, drives the transformation of the nature and operation of electoral campaigning.

b. The Internet and Social Media in Electoral Campaigns

The pluralist approach suggests multiple functions of media in electoral contexts. For voters, media are seen as a forum enabling them to get political information necessary to make informed-choices (Druckman, 2005; Robinson & Davis, 1990). Voters who consume more news media are assumed to have a greater probability of being civically and politically engaged (Gil de Zúñiga, Jung, & Valenzuela, 2012; Kim, Wyatt, & Katz, 1999). In the electoral authoritarian countries like Malaysia and Singapore, where conventional media have been restricted, voters found new media (Internet-based media) to be an alternative space where they could access information other than from government sources (Rajaratnam, 2009).¹² Ultimately media is considered a determinant in voting behaviour (Blais, 2000).¹³ Therefore, political parties and politicians consider media essential to communicate the interests they represent, in the form of campaign messages, in

¹² According to Schedler (2013), “Electoral authoritarian regimes practice authoritarianism behind the institutional façades of representative democracy. They hold regular multi-party elections at the national level, yet violate liberal- democratic minimum standards in systematic and profound ways” (p. 1).

¹³ Such a view on why people seek out political information is influenced by rational choice theories, commonly adopted in political science. Some scholars have criticized such a view, saying that individual voters’ interests in political information may not always be politically-motivated (van Zoonen, 2005).

their bid to attract voters coming from various social groups (Iyengar & Simon, 2000; Karan et al., 2009a). Media campaigning has been employed by the competing political parties and politicians to inform and influence voters to win elections (Gainsborough, 2005; Karlsen, 2009a; Miner, 2015).

The competition to persuade voters through media outlets accommodates the development of political campaign consultancy businesses to provide services to assist competing parties and politicians to win elections. Media may be considered campaign tools to foster and enlarge the business (Nimmo & Combs, 1990; Norris, 2000). This particular business' existence has been sustained by the development of media technology; in the sense that, as technology changes, political actors need professional support to handle technical issues associated with optimising the campaign benefit of constantly evolving media technologies. This eventually extends the needs of political actors to engage campaign professionals to handle various modes of political campaigning, including Internet-based media (Farrel & Webb, 2000; Norris, 2000).¹⁴ Norris (2004b) suggests that politicians are

“essentially lagging behind technological and economic changes, and running hard to stay in place by adopting the techniques of political marketing in the struggle to cope with a more complex communication environment, rather than driving this developments” (p. 7).

¹⁴ At the initial stage of the modernisation campaigning period, radio and later television were considered new.

These campaign professionals increasingly infiltrate political parties and campaign organisations. Eventually, they are often blamed for establishing audiences for media, particularly television, as a new market of electoral campaigning; instead of developing electorates with stable party identification (Postman, 1985). Some scholars have suggested that the campaign industry has contributed to the professionalisation of politics, referring to the involvement of campaign professionals who have gradually replaced the roles of party members, thereby increasing professionalisation while also increasing campaigning costs (Walker, 2009).¹⁵ This transformation is seen as destroying the public sphere, as it contributes to the widening gap between voters and politics, increasing campaigning costs, and so forth.

Pluralist studies on the Internet and electoral campaigns have been largely triggered by fear of the declining public sphere or failure of the media to fulfil their role as the fourth estate, both of which are seen as threats to the democratic process (Davies, 2008). The Internet is thought to support “a return to some of the more localized and interactive forms of communication that were present in the pre-modern period” (Norris, 2000, p. 149). The Internet’s technological features are considered as offering solutions to reduce the barriers to information production and exchange crucial for democracy (Thorburn & Jenkins, 2003).

¹⁵ Negrine and Lilleker (2002) explained that professionalisation of campaigning encompasses work with the media (p. 312). Commercialisation is closely related to professionalisation because new techniques necessitate huge investments, and thus modify the diverse relations between business and politics.

Such an understanding was reflected in the early pluralist debates over the roles of the Internet in electoral campaigns. Focusing on Internet websites, such studies suggested that the Internet supported participatory democracy and its values. The main argument of these studies was that Internet websites had a positive impact upon the public sphere, as shown in a number of studies linking the Internet to civic engagement (Shah, Kwak, Lance, & Dhavan, 2001; Skoric, Ying, & Ng, 2009), political engagement (de Zúñiga, Puig-I-Abril, & Rojas, 2009; Willnat, Wong, Tamam, & Aw, 2013), increased political news consumption (Tewksbury, 2006), or increased volunteerism (Jennings & Zeitner, 2003). Moreover, some studies argued that the Internet was particularly useful in allowing fringe or small parties and poorly resourced politicians to compete against ruling or big parties and well-resourced politicians, to reach out to users (Gong, 2011; Margolis et al., 2003). This led to a conclusion that the Internet is a low cost medium without editorial control and with a non-hierarchical nature, such that “with relatively few skills and resources a minor party can have just as sophisticated a site as a governing party” (Ward et al., 2003, p. 22). A second, rather pessimistic stream in pluralist studies found that the Internet does not always facilitate democratic discourses. Some scholars found the emergence of fragmentation and polarisation in political discussions and deliberations online, which may weaken the democratizing effect of the Internet (Karlsen, 2011; Casteltrione, 2014). Despite this pessimistic tendency, such studies’ point of departure is essentially not different from that of the optimists’, regarding the Internet’s technological features in facilitating new practices in democracy.

The pluralist approach on the roles of websites in electoral campaigns have been replicated and amplified with regard to social media. Such an understanding was generated by further development of the Internet technologies, known largely as Web 2.0, which enable interactivity as the architecture of participation (Gillmor, 2006). The technology has been understood to facilitate the increasing involvement of the general public in reporting and disseminating news or information known as ‘citizen journalism’ practices (Allan & Thorsen, 2009; Sambrook, 2005), or the emergence of “producers”, which is understood as Internet users who are also information producers (Bruns, 2008). This technological development of Web 2.0 enabled Internet users who not only consume and distribute but also produce news and information. A study mapping 36 academic works on social media and political participation noted that the majority of the works found a positive correlation between social media use and different forms of civic or political participation (Boulianne, 2015). Following this approach, these ‘producers’ are considered as playing an important role in electioneering, by producing and distributing alternative information to revive the public sphere (Rojas, 2010; Soon & Cho, 2011). Such studies essentially suggest that content produced through social media is autonomous of mass media production, which fuels the expectation of the vitality of the new technology in re-invigorating the public sphere. In addition to participation, pluralists consider that social media plays an important role in linking key political actors in elections (political parties and politicians) with voters (citizens journalists/ ‘producers’). The new media are praised for their contribution to expanding political

information distribution (Karlsen, 2011), or to supporting political mobilisation (Yujuico, 2010).

Pluralist studies on social media campaigning focus mainly on the ways in which political parties or politicians as communicators use or do not use Facebook or Twitter as new campaigning tools (Criado, Martínez-Fuentes, & Silván, 2012; Karan et al., 2009a; Vergeer, Hermans, & Sams, 2013); or on voters' use of social media for decision-making (Gueorguieva, 2007; Lev-On, 2011; Vergeer, Hermans, & Sams, 2010; Vitak et al., 2011). Few pluralist studies link the roles of campaign consultants to the use of social media for campaigning, although they do briefly mention the existence of such consultants (Hosch-Dayican, Amrit, Aarts, & Dassen, 2014; Wilson, 2011).

c. Contributions and Limitations of the Pluralist Approach

The pluralist studies have shown that electoral campaigns are an avenue for competing political actors and candidates to win elections. Electoral campaigning is understood as the articulation, during such contests, of a plurality of interests pertaining to political actors, candidates and voters, which are assumed to be equally positioned. The operation of electoral campaigning is subject to transformation through a process that seems to be natural, and can be driven by, among other things, media technology. However, while the media are seen as being open to capture or influence from political elites, they are still projected as being neutral channels. Thus, some aspects of the use of media are not properly

explained by such pluralist studies, as is shown in the explanation regarding the emergence of media as campaign tools and campaign consulting businesses. On one hand, media technology such the Internet and social media, being neutral channels, were assumed to empower voters and fringe politicians. However, when the Internet and social media were not able to live up to this expectation, some pluralist studies suggested that the failure was a result of the professionalisation of politics. Such a flaw was partly due to the approach's focus on the technical aspects of media technology as neutral channels, while paying less attention to structural factors that influence the use of media in electoral campaigns.

2.2.2. The Constructivist Approach

While the pluralists believe that media serve as an impartial instrument of the political system, the constructivist approach considers that “media "construct" [the] political system and the relations between the agents within it” (Street, 2011, p. 291). The basic idea raised in the constructivist studies is that, in the increasingly mediated world, a citizen's understanding of politics is, and could only be, conceived through the media. The media's portrayal of politics reconstitutes the ‘political reality’ that abridges citizens’ understanding of politics (p. 291). This view considers media to function not only as the mediator of political reality, but increasingly to play determining roles in constituting

'politics' (p. 24).¹⁶ Dahlgren (2001) goes further by arguing that "politics no longer exists as a reality taking place outside the media, to be "covered" by journalists. Rather, politics is increasingly organised as a media phenomenon, planned and executed for and with the co-operation of the media" (p. 85).

a. Electoral Campaigning

In contrast to pluralist studies highlighting media as a neutral channel in electoral campaigns, the constructivist posits media in a more powerful position. Based on this approach, electoral campaigning constitutes a battle to influence voters. Such contestation facilitates the rise of the media, which become increasingly dominant sites of electoral campaigning. Specifically, in electoral campaigns the media are assumed to serve as the sites of opinion engineering. However, the constructivist approach also suggests more complex roles for media in society. It does not see media solely as the loci of manipulation, as they are also seen as social institutions constituting the elites.

The constructivist approach acknowledges inequality among the competing interests ruling society, rather than the pluralist emphasis on a plurality of competing groups of equal standing. Some of the elites will be more powerful than others, whom they will dominate politically. These powerful and resourceful

¹⁶ Media is considered powerful in shaping politics due to its position as the source of symbolic representations. "[P]olitics is constituted by rituals, and rituals derive their power from their symbolic re-presentations" (Street, 2005, p. 24).

elites control the general members of society through manipulation, propaganda and so forth, to serve their interests.

The constructivist approach underlines that the contestation in electoral campaigning does not implicate political elites only. Such contestation eventually constitutes a contest (and alliances) between politics and the media. The media's particular mediating characteristics tend to make the media more powerful than the political actors, especially during the electoral campaign periods (Bachan-Persad, 2012).

The constructivist approach suggests media exert a power due to their ability to *mediate* politics. Mediatization of politics is increasingly constituted by a series of media representations (Stromback, 2008).¹⁷ Hjarvard (2013) argued that mediatization helps “to understand the process whereby culture and society become increasingly dependent on media and their logic” (p. 17).¹⁸ He regards the media as involved in the processes of mediatization, by which he means

¹⁷ Mediatization (originally written in American spelling as mediatization) involves four phases, starting with the mass media serving as the primary source of political information (Stromback, 2008). This is followed by the increasing significance of the media in facilitating electoral campaigning and developing relationships with political actors. The third phase occurs when political actors increasingly adapt to media logic; while the last phase happens when politics adopt media logic in the policy making process. Other scholars categorize mediatization into four different phases: *extension*, which sees media help overcome boundaries in space and time; *substitution*, where media substitute direct communication activity; *amalgamation*, which sees the merger of media activity with everyday life; and *accommodation*, where media provide policy for actors from other domains if they adapt to media's requirements of selection, edition and transmission of information (Schulz, 2004).

¹⁸ This understanding focuses on the power of the media in mediating reality. The concept that opposes media logic and political logic essentially suggests that both fields employ different institutional systems, which determine their respective ways of acting. While the media field tends to be “evocative, encapsulated, highly thematic, familiar to audiences, and easy to use”, political field tends to show otherwise (Altheide, 2009, p. 294).

parties and politicians adapt their practices and messages to formats, deadlines and genres that are journalistically attractive (p. 19). The scholar refers to the duality of the process; in which the media have become social institutions in their own right as well as the sites for social interaction between institutions in society (p. 19). The mediatisation process is linked closely to the personalisation of politics. It represents the image construction of politicians, which focuses on their personality and personal life, being conveyed to their electorates (Thompson, 1995; van Zoonen, 2005). Electorates are assumed to be able to understand politics, and to be influenced more easily through such means because the majority of citizens rarely have direct experience of politics. They have to rely on news media (Entman, 2004) or entertainment media (van Zoonen, 2005) as their sources of information to make sense of politics.¹⁹

There have been various studies examining such increasing personalisation of electoral campaigning. In the Philippines, for example, it is a common sight to see celebrities, who largely lack political experience and may have only basic education level, participating in political elections and winning (David & Atun, 2015). This tendency is not unique to the Philippines; it also happens in Indonesia, India, and in advanced democracies like Britain and the United States (Hughes-Freeland, 2007; Mukherjee, 2004; Street, 2012; Wheeler, 2012). These studies indicate that the logic of politics increasingly follows the logic of the media to woo voters.

¹⁹ Soap operas, movies or reality shows often guide audience to understand politics (van Zoonen, 2005).

It is through this process that the significance of the political campaign industry is built. Assigned by political actors who have a bigger influence than voters in the production of media messages during the electoral campaign period, political campaign professionals engage collectively to produce such campaign messages or content (Negrine, 1994). The focus of the work of these professionals is solely on the short-term goal of winning elections (Germond, 2004). To meet such a goal, the political campaign industry is partly responsible for the development of political impression formation, which increasingly reduces political problems to simple “political rhetoric, sound bites, appearance characteristics, and perceived personality” (Landsheer, De Vries, & Vertessen, 2008, p. 232).

b. The Internet and Social Media in Electoral Campaigns

Constructivist studies posit that the presence of websites, and later, social media, provide new opportunities for political actors to engage directly with the electorates; thus shaping, expanding and strengthening such processes of mediatisation and personalisation of politics. The websites have been used for generating news, which eventually shapes the broader media’s news agenda (Broersma & Graham, 2012; Machill & Beiler, 2009; Meraz, 2004). Social media enable political actors to produce and increase online visibility to, and interactivity with, citizens directly; without going through the established media as gatekeepers (Weaver, 2007). The Internet websites and social media increasingly became tools of public relations and impression management during electoral campaigning (Lees-Marshment & Lilleker, 2012; Lilleker & Negrine,

2002).

Found that in the party-centred Norwegian setting, Enli and Skogerbø (2013) suggested that social media technological features “add to processes of personalisation” and “expand the political arena for increased personalized campaigning” (pp. 757-758). These researchers argued that social media such as Facebook and Twitter “represent semi-public, semi-private spaces for self-representation where borders between offline personal and online mediated relations are blurred” (p. 759). Social media have been used to convey emotional, motivational appeal to present the candidates’ images and messages persuasively to users (Bronstein, 2013; Williams, Trammell, Postelnicu, Landreville, & Martin, 2005).

In electoral campaigning, personality-related aspects of the political parties’ leadership or candidates are assumed to determine voter behaviour (McGraw, 2003). This relates closely to the development of both persuasive and negative campaign messages.²⁰ The production of campaign messages that are constructed around symbols, myths and framing often results in personalized or emotional messages that put greater emphasis on image (of the personal characteristics of the

²⁰ Campaign messages are under the control of political actors. In such messages, they (and their campaign organisations) could associate their opponent with negative images and, on the other hands, associate themselves with positive images (Christ, Thorson, & Caywood, 1994).

party leadership or candidates) over substance.²¹ Image manipulation through social media results in users developing more positive sentiment toward politicians and political parties in electoral campaigns (Groshek & Al-Rawi, 2013). On the other hand, negative campaigns often result in political cynicism and the decrease of political participation (Brooks, 2006; Brooks & Geer, 2007; Geer, 2006). However, negative and superficial campaign messages have been shown to captivate many voters, in comparison to substantive and deliberative messages (Lipsitz, Trost, Grossmann, & Sides, 2005).

More recently, the influence of social media in politics has been evident with regard to politicians changing their campaigning behaviours to win the attention of social media users. It has become common in many democracies for established politicians to take pictures of themselves (commonly known as ‘selfies’) using mobile phones, and to distribute these pictures through various social media channels (Baishya, 2015; Manolo & Orefice, 2015). Such strategies indicate the increasing significance of social media not only as a new space of opinion manipulation to woo voters, but also in shaping the ways political communication operates.

²¹ Framing is defined as selecting “aspects of a perceived reality and (making) them more salient in communicating a text, in such a way as to promote a particular problem definition, causal interpretation, moral evaluation, and/or treatment recommendation (Entman, 1993, p. 52). Through framing, campaign professionals direct voters on how to judge or form opinions (Lee, McLeod, & Shah, 2008).

c. Contributions and Limitations of the Constructivist Approach

The constructivist approach contributes to the notion that the media, including the Internet and social media, are not always impartial and merely serve as political instruments. It also suggests that political discourses and public opinion could be shaped, instead of being organic. More importantly, the constructivist approach is valuable also because it recognises the vitality of the Internet and social media in constructing political discourses and public opinions that are not autonomous from the political actors that employed the technology, or from conventional media, to reach their aim of winning the election (Meraz, 2011; Ragas & Kiouisis, 2010). However, precisely because of its emphasis on the mediatisation process, the constructivist approach does not elaborate further upon structural factors, including social relations pertaining to the political actors, which contribute to media use during electoral campaigns. Or, as Garnham (2000) puts it, “Who can say what, in what form, to whom, for what purposes, and with what effect will in part be determined by and in part determine the structure of economic, political and cultural power in society” (p. 4). Therefore, this approach’s division between media and politics does not recognize the fact that, in democratic societies, the politically powerful may use various strategies, including forming alliances with each other and with the media, to be able to rule and maintain that rule. It is not uncommon for politicians or political parties and the media to build alliances and cooperate, in various ways, in contemporary electoral campaigns. After all, democracy is seen as a process, often manipulative, whereby elites consolidate their power by co-opting members of society, including the media, to support

their interests. The “compliance” of the politicians and political parties in following the media logic during the electoral period can be seen as the political actors’ strategy to maintain their rule.

2.2.3. The Structuralist Approach

The structuralist approach locates the media within the structures of the political economy that organises the media. Quoting Garnham, Street (2005) explained that the development of media has to be “understood as part of a larger process of state formation and capitalist development, and the roles and characters of the media are analysed in terms of the particular political and commercial demands and interests operating at that time” (pp. 28-29). The main focus of this approach is “upon the structural power that allocates resources and constrains behaviour” (p. 29). Therefore, the structuralist approach attributes “the causal effect to material resources and economic relations” rather than to the new media *per se* in examining the relationships between politics and media (p. 28).

a. Electoral Campaigning

According to this approach, political power is concentrated in the hands of a relatively small minority of people in societies. It is used to further the interests of the powerful at the expense of the interests of the less powerful. The ultimate source of all power in any society is the ownership and control of the means of economic production. However, there can be degrees of power. For example, established political parties (which represent various interests, but mainly of those

who own and control economic and political resources) are generally more powerful than voters, but voters can consign effective limitations upon the way in which political parties are able to exercise their power.

This concept highlights the importance of economic sources of power. Control over economic resources enables not only economic power but can also be extended into political power, which transmits, to the less powerful, ideological messages favourable to the interests of the powerful. The state, in this respect, is never neutral; on the contrary, it becomes an institution that protects the interests of the economically powerful over all other elements of society.

The structuralist's approach on power is reflected in the nature of electoral campaigning not only as an organisation of political persuasion, but also of various interests that are in play in electoral campaigns. The organisation of the interests of the electoral players shapes the organisation of political persuasion, including the ways in which media are used for campaigning.

In the structuralist approach, media are seen as campaign tools, but not in the same ways as the pluralist approach interprets this. Apart from the few public service media, the majority of media are profit-oriented institutions. The livelihood of the media depends on advertising placed by owners of commercial products and services (Jhally, 2014). Moreover, media companies are owned by corporations, which often link to other businesses or political interests (Chomsky,

1997; Herman & Chomsky, 1988; McChesney, 2004; Papatheodorou & Machin, 2003). In plain words, media constitute the powerful (Davis, 2003). It could be expected that the media would voice the interests of the powerful rather than the interests of other members of society (Callaghan & Schnell, 2001; Niven, 2005).

Therefore, the structuralist approach interprets the campaign consulting business as emerging not necessarily because of the technological features nor the mediating capacity of the media, but rather because of the needs of the powerful elites to achieve, maintain and strengthen their power. The emergence of the campaign consulting business should be examined through its linkages with organised wealth and control of resources (Sussman, 2005). Therefore, it is not surprising that this particular business takes root in public relations and advertising, two types of business that play key roles in connecting the public (masses/the less powerful) to advertisers (basically, the owners of capital). Electioneering should not be seen simply as efforts to influence voters to interpret electoral news and information from a particular point of view to support and vote for certain candidates. It should not be seen as mere ‘spin doctoring’, or efforts of campaign professionals or campaign consultants to orchestrate the extensive use of media and campaigning techniques in electoral campaigns to achieve a victory for their clients. Instead, it should be understood in a larger, complex web of political and corporate interests, which often appear in the alliance of consultants, media, corporate and political power (Cain, 2011; Sussman, 2005).

b. The Internet and Social Media in Electoral Campaigns

The structuralist approach acknowledges that online campaigning occurs as part of an unequal competition. Established political actors are considered to have better access than their fringe counterparts to campaign resources and media; two foundational aspects that contribute significantly to the outcome of election campaigns. Some structuralist studies have found that substantial budgets and expertise are required to run online campaigning, such as to construct and maintain political campaign websites (Lusoli, 2005; Margolis et al., 2003). Amateurs such as individual politicians or their non-professional campaign team members are able to do this. However, the resources available to political players such as money, bureaucracy, supporter networks or mainstream media restrict the ability of minor parties and politicians to conduct online campaigning, such as establishing campaign websites, which attract public interest (Gibson, Lusoli, & Ward, 2008; Margolis & Resnick, 2000). Thus, Resnick (1997) concluded that “[i]f we ask which political parties and candidates are likely to provide sophisticated web sites, the answer is clear: those who command the resources to hire the talent to produce them” (p. 63).

More recent studies have examined the involvement of campaign consulting professionals in online electoral campaigning. The use of the Internet in political campaigning has been changing over time (Gulati & Williams, 2007). While political election websites tended to be more informative rather than interactive (Gibson, 2012; Jackson & Lilleker, 2009; Kluver, Jankowski, Foot, & Schneider,

2007)²², recent online campaigns have tended to embrace a more interactive mode (Tumasjan, Sprenger, Sandner, & Welpe, 2010). The case of US presidential candidate Barack Obama's use of Facebook in his 2008 election campaign exemplifies developments in the use of social media. Obama was not the first US presidential candidate to use new technology for campaigning (Myers, 1993; Small, 2008), but his online campaign team adopted an innovative approach. They allowed users to become involved in producing campaign messages during the election campaign by, among other things, encouraging users to create online groups to produce, circulate and discuss issues linked to the candidate through social media (Carpenter, 2010; Cogburn & Espinoza-Vasquez, 2011; Gibson, 2012; McGirth, 2008; Talbot, 2008; Thomas, 2010). This strategy was due partly to the role of professionals in Obama's campaign team, who "have done a great job in being precise in the use of the tools" and, most importantly, played "a big part of its strategy" (Talbot, 2008, pp. 79-80). Obama and his campaign manager, David Plouffe, did not consider campaigning through the web and social media to be as important as mainstream media campaigning. However, Chris Hughes, a co-founder of Facebook who became Obama's online campaign coordinator, managed to "become a critically important" figure after the candidate's loss in the New Hampshire primary (McGirth, 2008).

Obviously, the involvement of campaign consulting professionals in online

²² Perceived loss of control to campaign content and lack of resources are identified as two factors behind the establishment of political campaign websites that tend to be more informative rather than interactive (Stromer-Galley, 2000). Accommodating interactivity on political campaign websites may result in the influx of messages deemed damaging the candidates' image or reputation that their campaign teams attempt to build online.

campaigning and, hence, the development of online campaigning businesses varies, depending on, among other things, the political and media system applicable in different campaign environments. In countries like Norway, for example, the involvement of campaign consulting professionals in electoral campaigning is limited, mainly because election campaigns in the country are funded by the state (Karlsen, 2009a).

c. Contributions and Limitations of the Structuralist Approach

This structuralist approach is useful because it acknowledges that broader social factors shape the use of social media in electoral campaigning. More importantly, it highlights the economic-based relations within which political actors operate, which in turn contribute to the ways in which media are used for electoral campaigning. However, the available structuralist studies to media electoral campaigning tends to reduce the role of media to institutional factors, without paying sufficient attention to the power relations that accommodate such use (see Chadwick, 2006). The ways in which media are used for campaigning actually reflect the competing interests of political and economic power. There are clear, widespread disparities of power, even amongst well-organised elite groups. The existing structuralist studies on media and electoral campaigns are unable to analyse the ways in which elite groups can monopolize media space to maintain their sectional interests, nor the ways in which the tensions within the elite groups shape public opinion in electoral campaigns.

Another critique is that the structuralist approach to online campaigning assumes that pre-Internet power brokers will define the online world autonomously of technological change (Anstead & Chadwick, 2008). This critique is significant not only because it shows the importance of the new media capabilities, which are different from those of conventional media, but also because of the implications of such features for electoral campaigning practices and for broader social relations. Therefore, there is a need to elaborate more on the idea that cyberspace “will be moulded by the everyday struggle for wealth and power” (Margolis & Resnick, 2000, p. 2). Such a struggle for wealth and power may well be explored through the process that mediates the emergence of social media in electoral campaigns. This understanding builds the conceptual framework that will be discussed in the upcoming section.

2.3. The Conceptual Framework

This dissertation understands that electoral campaigning connects the media, politics, the economy and civil society (Blumler & Gurevitch, 1995; Gurevitch, Coleman, & Blumler, 2009; McQuail, 2000; Sussman, 2005). It conceptualises social media campaigning as a mode of electoral campaigning enabled by social media which shapes, and is shaped by, the candidates relations to political parties, campaign donors and voters, in an election characterised by competition for access to and the distribution of political and economic resources, authority, and legitimacy. It implies that electoral players are dependent on and influenced by one another as a strategy to achieve their own interests and objectives. Thus, the

emphasis of this framework lies not necessarily on institutional aspects, but on the relationships between candidates, political parties, campaign donors, voters, media and the political campaign industry; which engage in a high degree of mutual interdependence during the electoral period (see Sussman, 1999). In particular, this dissertation shows that analyzing the fluctuating relationships among the electoral players enables further exploration of the ways in which the contestation, alliances and fragmentation of their interests are organised and structured through social media.

This study situates social media campaigning within “social and economic relations [that] are not egalitarian within society today” (Mansell, 2004, p. 3). This understanding acknowledges that the contribution of the political campaign industry in mediating the use of social media for electioneering in the electoral process is characterised by the candidates’ relations to the political parties, campaign donors and voters, which are not equal.

This suggests that such concept of social media campaigning provides the basis for further enquiry into the roles of the political campaign industry in facilitating such social media campaigning, and in facilitating the politics of social media campaigning in the electoral process in the digital age in general. Within the context of Indonesia, the framework is particularly useful to balance the domination of techno-optimists and techno-pessimists in the studies of online electoral campaigning that reiterate the arguments of the pluralist approach

(regarding electoral campaigning as a contest involving equal competing political actors), and the constructivist approach's view of electoral campaigning as a contest between politics and media. In addition, this framework contributes to broader studies of the political economy of communication and specific studies of the Internet and electoral politics, which remain understudied in Indonesia (Ufen, 2010a).

The framework utilised in this study incorporates insights from Gramsci's theory of hegemony and from the critical political economy of communication, mainly as represented by the works of Sussman, Trottier & Fuchs, and Mosco. Gramsci is adapted to explain the relations between the political economy elites and the media in the electoral process. This allows for analytical space to explain that electoral campaigns are characterised not only by domination but also conflicts, negotiation and compromises. Gramsci is particularly useful to examine the contribution of media in the establishment and fragmentation of socio-political coalitions competing for power and resources. In other words, his approach is useful to provide an explanation as to why media may engage in the organising of temporary interests in election campaigns. The critical political economy of communication provides an analysis to understand social structures, not in the sense of traditional institutionalism, but as the interconnections of the political, economic and industrialized cultural forces that constitute society. Sussman's, Trottier & Fuchs' and Mosco's works constitute a strand in the studies of political communication known as the critical political economy of communication or

media, which consider “political and economic aspects of communications and which are critical in regard to their concerns with the manner in which power relations are sustained and challenged” (Hardy, 2014, p. 4). The theories are adapted to examine how social relations define the use of social media in electoral campaigning, and how the political campaign industry contributes to the process that mediates the emergence of social media campaigning. Combining these theories, this framework offers an analysis of the relational social media campaigning, focusing on broader struggles over power, characterised by conflicts, fragmentation and alliances accommodated by the relations between the electoral players.

2.3.1. Gramsci’s Theory of Hegemony

Gramsci understands the state as a complex web of social, economic and political relations, which differentiates it from traditional Marxist theory that sees the state as the instrument of the ruling class (Bocock, 1986). Offering a distinct perspective on state-society relations, Gramsci (1971) posits that

"The historical unity of the ruling class is realized in the state, and their history is essentially the history of states. But it would be wrong to think that this unity is simply juridical and political, the fundamental historical unity, concretely, results from the organic relations between state or political society and civil society" (p. 52).

Gramsci posits that political society and civil society overlap, as shown in his conception of the ‘integrated state’ as a synthesis of both societies. The two societies correspond to one another through coercion (political society) and

hegemony (civil society). Therefore, Gramsci understands that power is sustained not only through coercion but also through hegemony, as both instruments enable the ruling class to maintain its rule and its subsequent political and economic interests in a system where a small elite from the ruling class exploit and alienate other classes that are far bigger in number.

Gramsci suggests that hegemony is mainly employed by the ruling class to gain and maintain consent from the ruled. However, hegemony may also enable the working class to lead. Gramsci's hegemony acknowledges possible development of cross-class alliances, which are mainly temporary in nature. Most political parties, as representations of ruling class interests, commonly form alliances with the industrialists or landowners (Gramsci, 1971, p. 155-156). But it is not impossible for political parties to coalesce with the working class or even subaltern groups (Green, 2015). Such a relationship is commonly not stable. Gramsci (1971) explained that the instability was due to internal conflicts within the groups or the conflicts between the groups (p. 144). The ruling class, as represented by political parties and business, may sacrifice a fraction of its own interests over subordinated groups in its strategy to maintain its broader interests. Gramsci's understanding of hegemony is signified by "the process by which alliances and coalitions are made and remade: a process that presupposes not merely the articulation but, crucially, the aggregation of interests" (Fontana, 2008, p. 84-85).

This idea distances Gramsci's hegemony from Lenin's, which inspired his analysis. Lenin highlights his analysis of hegemony mainly as a political orientation (Bates, 1975).²³ In contrast to Gramsci who presents hegemony as a concept that serves "a tool for understanding society in order to change it", Lenin sees hegemony as a strategy for revolution that the working class and its alliances have to employ, to gain the support from the majority in their attempts to topple the ruling class (Simon, 1982, pp. 25-26). Lenin argues that such alliances must be temporary, to secure the interest of the working class (Shandro, 2014). The emphasis, in Lenin's hegemony, is on the struggle for working class power to gain the leadership of the revolutionary party (Shandro, 2014). Therefore, Lenin's hegemony tend to see the ruling elite as a relatively solid block that is more antagonistic to the working class (see Harding, 1983; Shandro, 2014). Gramsci's hegemony, by contrast, is more open to possible contestation within the ruling elites and possible coalitions across classes (Simon, 1982).

An important element of Gramsci's analysis is the role of the political party in maintaining hegemony. Political parties play a crucial role in maintaining hegemony, through which the ruling class is able to lead other social classes. As Sassoon (1987) notes, "each moment of hegemony represents a certain relationship between class forces" (p. 115). However, a political party is also a social group upholding hegemony.

²³ Lenin's hegemony closely links to Plekhanov's argument (in the context of the pre-Bolshevik revolution in Russia) that the working class needs new strategies to topple the deeply-rooted old order (Lester, 2000). These strategies largely involve political activities to create, control and maintain the dominant position.

Although every party is the expression of a social group, and of one social group only, nevertheless in certain given conditions certain parties represent a single social group precisely in so far as they exercise a balancing and arbitrating function between the interests of their group and those of other groups, and succeed in securing the development of the group which they represent with the consent and assistance of the allied groups – if not out and out with that of groups which are definitely hostile (Gramsci, 1971, p. 148). Ultimately, a political party plays a crucial role in the maintenance of ruling class hegemony. A political party can play a leadership role in developing the collective will for the establishment of an ethical state, as suggested by Gramsci (1971),

“Every state is ethical in as much as one of its most important functions is to raise the great mass of the population to a particular cultural and moral level, a level (or type) which corresponds to the needs of the productive forces for development, and hence to the interests of the ruling classes” (p. 258).

This description of Gramsci’s concept of hegemony has highlighted class struggle as representing not only political activities but also social, intellectual and moral activities or superstructural activities. Thus, hegemony is both centralized (in the state) and diffused (across society) through different superstructures, including the media.

Media become the sites of the constant readjustment and renegotiation of hegemony, particularly as class struggle always involves ideas and knowledge (Gitlin, 1980). In particular, the media accommodate the contestation of ideas

within which the ruling class' interests are maintained. The media play a central role in developing public compliance through texts, linguistic codes and so on (Zompetti, 1997). This understanding highlights the importance of the media's content in the contestation of hegemony and, particularly, the establishment of the ruling class' central and dominant ideas and views (Carragee, 1993).

This study considers that such an approach, which highlights the meaning of media content, explains the partial contribution of media to accommodate the maintenance of contestation of hegemony. This dissertation argues that instead of textual analysis, hegemony may also be examined through the production of media content. Examining the production and distribution of media content can clarify power relations within a society (Golding and Murdoch, 1979). In the studies linking media ownership and politics (Baker, 2006; Herman & Chomsky, 1988; Walgrave, Lefevere, & Nuytemans, 2009), the political forces used the mass media to develop and maintain their interests. Therefore, the maintenance of hegemony through the media is not only autonomous from, but also depends upon, the economic forces partly because the media are increasingly profit-oriented.

In the context of the electoral process, such ideas are useful in order to understand that media are subject to capture by the political economy elites. However, Gramsci does not explain further how the political economy elites capture the media. Moreover, Gramsci developed his idea of the media's contribution in the

early 1900s; at a time of print and partisan media. Since then, the nature of the media has changed considerably, becoming more complex and commercial, as has the media's contribution to power and the development of hegemony. Thus, this dissertation adopts the critical political economy approach to communication, to complement Gramsci.

2.3.2. Critical Political Economy of Communication

Media are keys for the ruling elites to be able to maintain the support of the ruled. In a contemporary electoral environment, characterised by more dynamic and unpredictable media and communication development, this section identifies the importance of the critical political economy of communication for understanding the *ways* in which media and communication work, specifically to facilitate the economic forces (represented by the political campaign industry) to capture social media for their interests, and for the interests of the ruling elites.

Sussman (2005) posits that the emergence of the political campaign industry suggested “the extension of neoliberal values into political spaces” that facilitated “the successful deployment of power”, which “requires not only material security but also a degree of political legitimacy sufficient for regime maintenance” (p. 2). Furthermore, “[o]rganizing elections becomes a means of consolidating interest group power in the policy arena as well as managing the symbolic utilities and legitimizing functions of voting” (p. 2).

In the electoral process,

“Political consultants play a crucial part in state legitimation. Their job is not only to win elections, which is what makes them marketable to other politicians and corporate patrons, but also to build public interest or at least consent around specific politicians, parties, and hegemonic ideas. The most important of the hegemonic ideas is that the electoral process itself is a legitimate means by which citizens engage in a meaningful exercise of democratic enfranchisement and register their political preferences.” (Sussman, 2005, p. 58).

Based on this understanding, the media and communication technologies play central roles in “the struggles between dominant and competing interests in society and socioeconomic classes” (p. 2). Social media are easily turned into the tools of the trade of the political campaign industry, due to their capability to mediate different interests in society.

Trottier & Fuchs (2015) posit that there are varieties of media, namely public service media, commercial media and civil (or alternative) media.²⁴ Drawing from the works of Habermas, Arendt and Murdock, both scholars suggest that the different types of media cater to different elements in society, consisting of “the socio-political, the socio-economic and the socio-cultural spheres”, and link each sphere to the organisational forms of the media – including public service media, commercial media and civil/alternative media (p. 13). These forms of media, however, are under “a specific political economy of the media realm that allocates

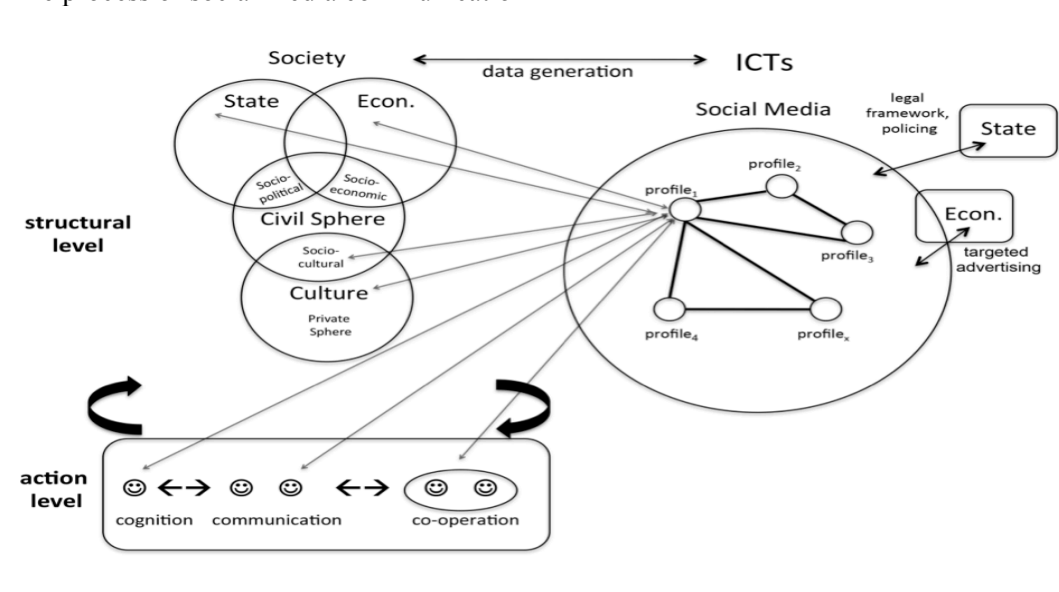
²⁴Trottier and Fuchs’ relational model of media and society was developed to understand activism, crimes, protests and policing in the digital era. However, the model can also explain the interaction of social media and power relations in the electoral contexts.

resources to different media types to a different degree, generally putting civil-society media at a disadvantage, and favouring capitalist media organisations” (p. 13).

Against this backdrop, media play crucial roles in linking citizens and politics. The majority of citizens’ experience and knowledge of politics and political processes (parliamentary procedure, political campaigns, political scandal) is achieved through the media. Conversely, political parties or politicians’ main engagement with citizens is also through the media, either mainstream or Internet-based media like social media. The use of social media in politics “means that political power and influence, especially insofar as citizens are concerned, will spread to platforms that feature integrated social roles, all of which can be entirely visible to political actors” (Trottier & Fuchs, 2015, p. 27).

Social media’s capability to link the state, the economy and cultural spheres is sustained by the social media’s constitutive features of “integrated sociality that converged cognition, communication and cooperation... integrated roles that are based on the creation of personal profiles that describe the various roles of a human beings life... [as well as] integrated and converging communication” (p. 15). The relational nature of social media defines the communication process that occurs in social media, as shown in Figure 2.1. This figure visualizes the communication process in a single social media system (such as Facebook) (p. 16).

Figure 2.1.
The process of social media communication



Source: Trottier and Fuchs (2015, p. 16).

The combination and network of a multitude of such processes resulted in the integration of different forms of sociality and social roles on various social media. This means that there is a myriad of possible social functions that any single platform can serve. Individual citizens may use it to communicate with other citizens in the context of any number of social roles, as well as for purposes that may transcend roles. They may also communicate with organizations and institutions for the same purposes. They may also simply monitor the communication in which any of these social actors are engaged. Institutions, including branches of the state and the economy, may do all of the foregoing as well (Trottier & Fuchs, 2015, p. 16).

In the context of the electoral process, social media's ability to connect different spheres of society parallels electoral campaigning; as a political persuasion effort within which the interests of the political players – comprising the politicians (candidates), the political parties, the campaign donors and voters – are connected.

Social media gain their significance by enabling the practices of targeted political campaigns and other kinds of political communication. Trottier & Fuchs (2015) also suggest “[t]he danger that lies in this development in contemporary neo-liberal governance regimes tend to commodify everything that politics become public relations, advertising and the selling of an idea, a politician and a party as brand” (p. 27). One implication is that the use of social media as a political campaign tool results in “political advertising, point-and-click politics without real engagement and discussion – a form of pseudo-participation and pseudo-voice” (p.27).

The practices of political advertising through social media, however, do not occur automatically. On the contrary, they require complex processes, including the commodification of electoral campaigning by the political campaign industry that was accommodated by social media. The political campaign industry’s persuasion takes place in the civil sphere during the electoral campaigns, which connect the political, economic and cultural spheres. The commodification of electoral campaigning through social media goes beyond the ideas of commercialisation of politics in the electoral process or the professionalisation of campaigning.

Commodification of social media campaigning can be explained through the commodification theory, which focuses on the “study of the social relations, particularly the power relations, that mutually constitutes the production, distribution, and consumption of resources, including communication resources”

(Mosco, 2009, p. 2).²⁵ Communication is defined as “more than the transmission of data or information; it is the social production of meaning that constitutes a relationship” that embodies issues of competition, production and distribution pertaining to power relations (p. 6).

In analysing the complex and changing interactions pertaining to communication and power relations, Mosco (2009) suggests that commodification of communication provides a departure point to understand “processes rather than simply to identify relevant institutions” (p. 129). Rooted in the works of Marx, the theory of commodification has been used widely in multidisciplinary studies.²⁶ Commodification is defined as “the process of transforming things valued for their use into marketable products that are valued for what they can bring in exchange” (Mosco, 2009, p. 127).²⁷ Provdik (2012) considered commodification to be the “processes of transforming literally anything into a privatized form of (fictitious) commodity that is exchanged in the circulation process” which he regarded as of “fundamental importance for the rise and reproduction of capitalism” (p. 274). Such a fictitious commodity refers to intangible information,

²⁵ This approach is also known as the political economy of communications (Wasko, 2004, Wasko, Murdoch, Sousa 2011); the political economy of information (Garnham 2011, Mosco & Wasko 1988); the political economy of mass communication (Garnham, 1990); and the political economy of the media (Golding & Murdoch 1997, McChesney 2008).

²⁶ Marx’s analysis of commodities and alienation became the basis of the studies of “commodification”, a terminology that he did not invent himself (Appadurai, 2005).

²⁷ Mosco specifically emphasised the necessity “to distinguish commodification from commercialization and objectification” (2009, p. 132). The first referred to “a narrower process that specifically focuses on the creation of a relationship between an audience and an advertiser e.g. commercialisation of the airwaves means the growth of broadcast advertising and the development of programming to deliver audiences to advertisers. The latter is understood as “a general process that points to the many different ways dehumanization takes place” (p. 133). One of the manifestations of such ways is the process of commodification.

news or data. Therefore, commodification is foundational for capitalist social relations and its further expansion and reproduction (Wallerstein, 1983). This study considers commodification to be a crucial process that assists the political campaign industry in mediating the use of social media as campaign tools, mainly because it draws broader social relations “into the structural causes of the existing capitalist relations in wider society” (Mosco, 2009, p. 129).

Commodification of social media campaigning involves the transformation of information into campaign messages; a process that produces marketable services valued directly for political advantages as much as they are for financial ones. In a way, it resembles the commodification of advertising. Advertising is valued for its direct financial advantages to advertisers (producers of the advertised products; media companies that sell the time and space for advertisement) and indirect financial advantages to broader capitalism (producers of other products and services) (Jhaly, 1987). While online campaigning provides financial advantages (media companies, companies producing campaign material), it is particularly valued for its direct political advantages to advertisers (politicians/parties who paid for the services). Both services are constituted by the media industry, which connect their audience/readerships to the advertisers through their media products.

However, it should be noted that the social relations that facilitated the use of social media for electoral campaigning are, just like any relations in society, never stable. Mosco (2009) underlines that the political economy approach “tends to

favour the value of extending democracy to all aspects of social life” (p. 4). What he means by democracy is not merely the right to participate in government but also a system that is characterised by conflicts in economic, social and cultural domains.

Therefore, there are two presuppositions about social media use in the electoral process, based on the critical political economy of communication. Firstly, such use has occurred within the backdrop of the qualitative transformation of capitalism, characterised by the extensive flows of communication and information through most social relations (Provdik, 2012). This study considers that commodification of social media today has occurred within capitalism in general, instead of just a specific form of capitalism understood (and variously characterised) as ‘information society’, ‘informational capitalism’ or the ‘digital economy’ (Schiller, 2007). Capitalism has always engaged with the commodification of communication/information, albeit never to the extent of today (Provdik, 2012). Secondly, the commodification of social media campaigning has occurred alongside changes to democracy that has enabled the transformation of electoral campaigning practices. Commodification analysis draws social relations into the electoral campaigning process that is situated within a new media environment, characterised by new practices.

2.4. Conclusion

This chapter has situated this study within the literature of media and electoral campaigning. It has contrasted approaches to the Internet/social media and electoral campaigning from the perspectives of the pluralist, the constructivist and the structuralist. It has explained that the structuralist perspective provides a valuable point of departure to link social media use in election campaigns and political structures. However, the structuralist approach needs to be expanded to explain social media campaigning within the broader power relations in an election setting.

Therefore, this chapter proposes a conceptual framework to capture the power relations of Indonesian electoral players using social media for electoral campaigning. Using insights from Gramsci's theory of hegemony and critical political economy, this framework explores social media campaigning's connection to broader struggles over power involving civil society and the (political and economy) elite. This framework, thus, avoids an examination of social media campaigning that reduces it to morality for example whether the industry or the media technology contributes to or decreases democratic values.

This framework can be employed to analyse social media and media campaigning in any political setting. The basic assumption of this framework is that any change in one electoral player causes changes in the actor's relations to the other players, who try to adapt to the new conditions by redefining their relational

strategies to maintain their interests. In addition, the broader environment in which these relations operate is not immune to changes, which can be triggered by political, economic and social developments or the emergence of new communications technologies such as the Internet and social media. To further demonstrate the framework, in subsequent chapters this dissertation proceeds with an exploration of the foundation of the online campaigning in Indonesian electoral campaigns.

Chapter 3

Tracing the Origins of Social Media Campaigning

3.1. Introduction

This chapter analyses the transformation of electoral campaigning practices since the 1955 election, the first national election after Indonesian independence. It is argued that, while contributing to new practices and approaches in electoral campaigning, the use of social media in post-authoritarian elections is a continuation of on-going practices of political persuasion that have been shaped by the fluctuating relations between the electoral actors. In other words, social media campaigning is not technology-driven or independent of political, economic and social developments in the country. Instead, the use of social media for electoral campaigning is part of a complex process that shapes and is shaped by relations involving the candidates, political parties, campaign donors and voters.

Scholarly works on electoral campaigning in Indonesia identify changes and continuity in electoral campaigning practices following the emergence of the Internet in Indonesia. Most such studies tend to interpret online campaigning as a technology-driven change (Suaedy, 2014). Since the early use of the Internet for political campaigning in Indonesia, studies on this subject have mainly focused on the impacts of the new media technology upon democracy (Ahmad & Popa, 2014; Alford, 2014; Hameed, 2007; Nurhadryani et al., 2009). Despite the limited use

of the Internet for political campaigning in the early post-New Order elections, some scholars suggested the potential of the new technology in Indonesian electoral politics (Hill & Sen, 2000; Hill & Sen, 2005; Nurhadryani et al, 2009). Increasingly, more recent studies embarked from the premise that the Internet is a ‘democratic innovation’ enabling self-actualized networking and interactions to generate political participation in Indonesia elections (Murti, 2013).

Those studies appear to be fixated by the emerging prominence of the Internet in electoral campaigning, particularly after the implementation of direct presidential campaigning in 2004. As a consequence, they have neglected the fact that the use of the Internet – and subsequent Internet-based media – in Indonesian electoral campaigns never occurs in a social vacuum. There is no doubt that post-authoritarian political transformations have contributed to some significant changes in electoral campaigning practices. However, post-authoritarian dynamics in both the economic and cultural spheres were no less significant in facilitating online electoral campaigning practices.

Since this chapter aims to trace the origins of social media campaigning in Indonesia, it examines the transformation of media campaigning in three periods: the President Sukarno period, the President Suharto period and the post-authoritarian period. Media campaigning practices in these periods are discussed in three sections. The first section analyses the media campaigning practices in the

1955 election.²⁸ The second section elaborates on the media campaigning practices under the rule of President Suharto, and the third section explores the development of the electoral campaigning practices in contemporary Indonesia. Each section focuses on the use of particular media (outdoor media and mass, mainly print, media in the Sukarno period; both print and broadcasting media in the Suharto period; and mass media and the Internet-based media in post-Suharto period) and the contribution of the political campaign industry in media campaigning operations. The discussions also examine the relations between politicians, political parties, donors and voters that facilitated the use of media for campaigning.

3.2. The President Sukarno Period

The 1955 general elections were characterised by electoral campaigning under the control of political parties and with limited reach from mass media. The combination of both these characteristics resulted in the use of canvassing as a main mode of electoral campaigning, which remained reliant on the patronage of local political economy elites to mobilise voters at the grass roots. In this respect, media campaigning signified a second-tier mode of electoral campaigning.

However, while some studies suggested that there was no involvement from the political campaign industry in the 1955 election (Ufen, 2010b), evidence indicates that the communication industry, seen as an integral part of the political campaign

²⁸ Sukarno became a president when Indonesia declared its independence from the Dutch in 1945. Between 1950 and 1957, Indonesia had representative or liberal democracy (Heryanto & Adi, 2001).

industry, was visible, albeit to a very limited degree. In fact, the 1955 election saw the emergence of the communication industry in electoral campaigning. Media enabled the political campaign industry to profit from the business opportunities associated with electoral campaigning. However, the extent of the industry's work was limited to managing technical aspects of the political persuasion through print and outdoor media for the political parties and politicians.

Figure 3.1.
Example of campaign advertisements



Source: Majalah Hikmah and Harian Rakyat as quoted by Triyana (2015).

The campaign advertisements, published in newspapers and displayed outdoors, (with examples shown in Figure 3.1) suggested the engagement of the communication industry (most notably involving advertising and printing) in the 1955 electoral campaigns. The political parties benefitted from technical assistance from the industry to optimise their political persuasion (Feith, 1957), as the following discussion illustrates.

3.2.1. The Electoral Campaigns and Players

The 1955 general election was the only nation-wide election held during the presidency of Sukarno, prior to his ousting after 1965. The plan to hold a nation-wide direct election for the parliament and the Constituent Assembly (*Konstituante*) was partly triggered by internal political conflicts involving the parliament and the government (see Legge, 2003). The form of liberal democracy adopted by Indonesia was a multiparty political system, but resulted in a lack of parliamentary majority, leading to the formation of a series of weak coalitions of parties (Feith, 1957, pp. 1-5). Between 1945-1959, the country was ruled by 17 cabinets. Such political instability impaired the economy, which was still struggling after independence (see Cribb & Brown, 1995; Ricklefs, 1993).

Under such conditions, the first parliamentary elections attracted more than 39 million Indonesians, representing 91.5 percent of registered voters (Ricklefs, 1993; Temple, 2001). There were 172 participants, consisting of political parties, social organisations and individuals, of whom 28 gained seats in the parliament (see Table 3.1.)

Table 3.1.
Result of the 1955 parliamentary election

Participants	Votes	Seats
PNI	8,434,653	57
Masyumi	7,903,886	57
NU	6,955,141	45
PKI	6,179,914	39
PSII	1,091,160	8
Parkindo	1,003,326	8
Partai Katolik	770,740	6
PSI	753,191	5
IPKI	541,306	4
Perti	483,014	4
PRN	242.125	2
Partai Buruh	224.167	2
GPPS	219.985	2
PRI	206.161	2
P3RI	200.419	2
Murba	199.588	2
Baperki	178.887	1
PIR Wongsonegoro	178.481	1
Grinda	154.792	1
Permai	149.287	1
PD	146.054	1
PIR Hazairin	114.644	1
PPTI 85.	85.131	1
AKUI	81.454	1
PRD	77.919	1
PRIM	72.523	1
Acoma	64.514	1
R.Soedjono Prawirisoedarso	53.306	1
Lain-lain	1.022.433	1
Total	37.785.299	257

Source: Ricklefs (1993)

The political contestation involved not only political parties but also individual contestants. Political parties won the majority of seats, suggesting their superior economic resources and political networks compared to non-party individual contestants or social organizations.

To finance party organisation and electoral campaigning, political parties were dependent on the donations of their members and sympathizers (Feith, 1957, p.

27). The two richest political parties were PKI and Masyumi. In addition to raising party funds partly from its members, Feith (1957) also suggested that the PKI gained donations from “individual Chinese businessmen resident in Indonesia, and very possibly also from overseas Communist governments through their consular and business representatives in Djakarta” (p. 27). In the case of Masyumi, he considered that “it is probable that the greatest part of the party’s funds came in large donations from the land-owners, rubber growers and batik manufacturers who supported by party” (1957, p. 27). Other parties such as NU also relied on donations from local businesspeople. Despite the legitimate sources of political parties’ finances, party campaigns were also supported by illegitimate sources. “As to the sources of the parties’ finances, it is a fact that ministerially sanctioned corruption for party campaign funds came to be practiced on a large scale in the period of the Ali Sastroamidjojo cabinet” (p. 27). One party that received such funding was the PNI, which held the finance and economic affairs portfolios and the prime ministership at the time. In addition, the PNI also gained financial contributions from “city business interests, Indonesian and Chinese” (p. 26).

3.2.2. The Political Campaign Industry and the Media

With stronger political machinery and access to political economy resources, political parties were able to control the operations of electoral campaigning. Canvassing was the main mode of electoral campaigning, reflecting the powerful position of the political parties in organising electoral campaigning

(Poesponegoro (2010)²⁹. Such organisation involved not only campaigning operations, but more importantly, the relations between political parties and politicians, campaign donors and voters.

In term of mobilising voters, for example, political parties' strong machinery enabled them to deploy their members who were respected in their villages or communities to engage in canvassing. Such figures included village leaders, religious leaders, landlords, and other patrons based on ethnicity or kinship. The strategy was effective in attracting voters in villages or subdistrict level (*kecamatan*), through a process that required party members to engage directly in smaller face-to-face meetings with the villagers. It also showed a closer bond between political parties and the electorates, characterised by strong party identification (Feith, 1957).

Canvassing was appropriate not only to attract the attention of voters in the first ever election in Indonesia, but also to educate them about the political parties and *how* to cast their votes in the elections. Therefore, most of the electoral campaigning effort was directed at popularising political parties and their platforms, rather than issues or ideologies (Feith, 1957). The scholar found that

“...a great deal of campaigning concerned itself not with issue-type appeals at all but with the things which a party said about itself, particularly about its history, its leaders and its ballot-paper symbol...In

²⁹ Villagers were required to spend time and energy to attend the meetings, commonly held in areas outside their villages. If they attended mass rallies, their attendance might be motivated by social appeals, such as to meet other people, rather than political ones e.g. discussing or getting information about electoral politics.

appeals concerning individual party leaders the emphasis was also frequently on their record as nationalists. But other attributes were also stressed, in particular honesty, expertise, the firm and radical approach, and the quality of a bapak (literally, father) who is disegani (held in awe) and has a mystical understanding of the people from above, or, in some Communist appeals, the quality of being a saudara (brother) and kawan (friend) who understands the people from their own level” (Feith, 1957, p. 17).

As electoral campaigning was dedicated to popularising political parties, their platforms and how to vote, issues pertaining to Jakarta or national politics were not considered appealing to the majority of voters, who mainly resided in the regions. Direct interaction with the grass roots constituency enabled political parties, through their membership, to persuade villagers using communication techniques that were familiar. For example, political parties “naturally considered popular legend and belief, and then, realizing the great importance of symbols as means of creating effective ties to the party, they each elaborated allegorical interpretations of them, attractive in terms of a national or regional cultural pattern” (1957, p. 17).

Under this party-controlled campaigning, media campaigning was of secondary significance. Mass media, mainly outdoor media and to a lesser extent print and broadcast media, served as a medium of campaigning in this period. The limited reach of mass media across the nation was a main reason for the limited use of mass media during electoral campaigning. The combined circulation of

newspapers nation-wide only reached 821,000 (Feith, 1957, p. 18), and there were only about half a million licensed radio sets in the mid 1950s, although radio broadcasts were extensively used for political education (Feith, 1957, p. 24). In this period, the press were largely partisan (Sen & Hill, 2000, p. 82), but contributed to electoral campaigning both through news coverage and advertisements (Dhakidae, 1991; Hill, 1994).

This relatively limited reach of mass media had implications for voter mobilisation. Rather than radio or print media, it was outdoor media, such as wooden or tin billboards, cloth banners, paper pamphlets and flyers, which played the more prominent role in electoral campaigning. These outdoor media were used by political parties to introduce party symbols to voters. Such media campaigning was not inexpensive. It required political parties to employ the services of the media industry to conduct such media campaigning. The advertising and printing sectors, which this dissertation considers to be an element of the political campaign industry, contributed extensively to the production of such expensive campaign material, under the full authority of political parties (Feith, 1957).

Unsurprisingly, only big parties like Masyumi and PKI were able to spend 'extremely large sums' from campaign funds on the production and distribution of iron-sheet billboards (Feith, 1957, p. 27). In addition, Masyumi also produced election films to be screened during mass campaigns. Political parties with

smaller campaign funds could not afford to produce films, so relied on more affordable paper pamphlets or flyers.³⁰

Based on the description of Feith (1957), it may be surmised that media campaigning was already present in this period. It indicated the emergence of the political campaign industry, which was able to profit during the electoral campaign period. The profit-making could be assumed through, among other thing, the advertising companies' work in managing the technical media aspects of political persuasion, mainly using outdoor media. In the 1950s, the rudimentary nature of electoral campaigning, which was centralized in the political parties, and the limited reach of mass media left few opportunities for the industry to employ media more strategically.

The emergence of the political campaign industry in this period stalled shortly after the 1955 elections. There were no further opportunities for the industry to develop such business following Sukarno's decision to end parliamentary democracy in 1957. The political campaign industry would only reappear in a different form after the transfer of political power to President Suharto.

³⁰ In addition to media campaigning, campaign funds were also allocated for various campaigning activities, including mass rallies, community activities such as film screening in the villages, carnivals or community feasts, travel for party leadership, and printing of pamphlets and papers to conduct practice voting in the villages (Feith, 1957).

3.3. The President Suharto Period

In contrast to political party-controlled electoral campaigning, this section illustrates the operation of media campaigning during a period of tight government control; during more than 30 years of the Suharto government's rule and the proliferation of mass media. Both centralised political control and national media proliferation contributed to the electoral contradictions that facilitated the expansion of the political campaign industry into media campaigning.

The military-backed Suharto government used coercion and fear as a means by which to consolidate power. However, being a democracy, the government organised regular elections, albeit highly stage-managed, in order to give the appearance of public support for its legitimacy. While the New Order authoritarian government did not shun dishonest measures in such a highly controlled electoral system to ensure its victories, it provided spaces – albeit highly limited and not completely free from oppression – for the people to participate in elections; and to gain the notional consent of the people.³¹ Therefore, the New Order government's acceptance of the involvement of the political campaign industry during this period, and the employment of various strategies in the operation of media campaigning, indicated the necessity of the authoritarian government to build and maintain its legitimacy.

³¹ The concept of consent in Gramsci's hegemony involves a condition where people are willingly, or happily, support the ruling class (see Simon, 1982).

The necessity of the authoritarian government to balance the tight control over electoral campaigning with the need to gain perceived consent from the people created an environment that was more receptive to commercial business involvement in political campaigns. This supports this dissertation's argument that the media was not the primary driving force behind the transformation of electoral campaigning. While mass media were increasingly employed for electoral campaigning, it was the re-configuration of the relations between the electoral players that stimulated the political campaign industry to expand its business in the evolving electoral process.

The success of the Suharto government's strategies to employ persuasion in addition to coercion can be assessed from the consecutive victories of the ruling party, Golkar, in the 1971 election and all five subsequent elections (see Table 3.2. and 3.3.)³² The massive victories of Golkar in these six New Order elections illustrated the Suharto government's persistent strategy to use these elections to build and maintain its (appearance of) legitimacy to further consolidate power, rather than using elections (as in 1955) as a mechanism for power-regeneration.

³² The Suharto government used Golkar, an initiative of the Army, to balance the influence of PKI in 1964, as its political vehicle.

Table 3.2.
Result of the 1971 elections

Participants	Votes	Seats
Partai Katolik Indonesia	603,740	3
PSII	1,308,237	10
NU	10,213,650	58
Parmusi	2,930,746	24
Golkar	34,348,673	227
Parkindo	733,359	7
Murba	48,126	-
PNI	3,793,266	20
Perti	381,309	2
IPKI	338,403	-

Source: Nishihara (1972).

Table 3.3.
Result of the 1977 to 1997 elections

Parties	1977		1982		1987		1992		1997	
	Votes	Seats	Votes	Seats	Votes	Seats	Votes	Seats	Votes	Seats
PPP	18.743.491	99	48.334.724	94	13.701.428	61	16.624.647	62	84.187.907	11
PDI	5.504.757	29	5.919.702	24	9.384.708	40	14.565.556	56	25.340.028	89
Golkar	39.750.096	232	20.871.880	242	62.783.680	299	66.599.331	282	3.463.225	325
Total	63.998.344	360	75.126.306	364	85.869.816	400	97.789.534	400	112.991.150	425

Source: Puspoyo, Swantoro, and Sukmantri (2012).

3.3.1. The Electoral Campaigns and Players

This section demonstrates the nature of the election in relation to the interplay between the state and political parties, and between parties and campaign donors and voters under the New Order government. While taking power slowly from Sukarno after 1965, Suharto began the de-construction of the political parties. The PKI had been known for its powerful machinery, progressive programs and determined canvassing approaches in mobilising voters, particularly peasants and those in other poor areas, in the 1955 elections (Anderson & McVey, 1971; Feith, 1957; Utrecht, 1974). Therefore, the Suharto regime effectively banned the PKI

not only from running in elections but wiped out its organisational structure and its membership across Indonesia, to eliminate the regime's most possible political opposition.

In addition, in the 1971 election the Suharto government also considerably reduced the number of political parties and social organisations that were allowed to participate in the elections. This strategy was aimed at controlling political parties and possible political opposition to the Suharto government. In contrast to the 172 parties and organisations that had contested the 1955 election, in 1971 only 10 political parties, including the pro-Suharto Golkar party, participated in the election. Most of these parties were set up during Sukarno's presidency.³³ The Suharto government used Golkar, a 1964 initiative of the Army intended to counter the influence of PKI, as its political vehicle (see, among others, Reeve, 1985; Temple, 2001).

Two years after the 1971 election, the New Order government increased its control over the political parties by, among other things, reducing the number of parties from 10 to three. While Golkar remained largely unaltered, the government forced Islamic-based political parties to fuse into PPP, and other religious-based parties and nationalist-based parties to merge into PDI in 1973. These amalgamations reflected the New Order's strategy to control any possible opposition that might jeopardize its power (Ricklefs, 1993). Neither PPP nor PDI

³³ Sukarno reduced the number of political parties from 25 to 10 in 1960. Suharto effectively banned the PKI from Indonesia in 1965.

were permitted to develop branches at lower level administrative units (subdistricts or *kecamatan* and villages) where the grass roots membership resided. Party-political activities were only permitted at these grass roots levels during the official election period that lasted for two months. In 1985, both PPP and PDIP were forced to accept the *Pancasila* as their sole ideology, a further move by the New Order to control possible political opposition.

Golkar became the strongest party under the New Order, politically and economically. Bouyed by oil-fuelled economic growth, Golkar's party funds derived from a combination of state funds (through embezzlements and corruption in government agencies such as the state oil company, Pertamina) as well as donations from the regime's cronies (King, 1992; Nishihara, 1972).³⁴ Under the New Order, large corporate financiers played key roles in funding political parties, the bureaucracy and the military in their bid to secure access to resources (King, 2000; Nishihara, 1972; Tomsa, 2008b). The regime's main cronies included Chinese Indonesian conglomerates (King, 2000).³⁵

In the context of electoral campaigns, in comparison to Golkar, other political parties had far less access to resources and so had far more limited party funds; although the government officially provided campaign subsidies in the form of "Rp 10 million, two jeeps and other minor materials" in the 1971 elections

³⁴ The New Order regime was thought to have recorded remarkable economic performances, including the rise of GDP per capita to more than fourfold previous levels, a decline in the poverty rate, and other welfare indicators, such as a decline in infant mortality rates (Booth, 2000).

³⁵ Chinese Indonesians were not allowed to engage in politics. These conglomerates were nurtured by the regime mainly to serve as its economic coffers (Liddle, 1992).

(Nishihara, 1972, p. 34). Golkar's campaign funds were mainly sourced from the Home Affairs Department, the General Election Institute, and the Defence and Security Department; as well as a "private contribution from" Lt. Gen. Ibu Sutomo, president director of the state oil company Pertamina, and "foreign companies operating in Indonesia" (p. 33-34). Some political parties required their members to contribute financially to their electoral campaigns (Subekti, 2014, p. 68), while others sought campaign donations from business interests in places like Tokyo, New York and Bonn due to slim domestic resources (Nishihara, 1972, p. 34). In addition to the government campaign subsidies, PPP and PDI were only able (and allowed) to secure party and campaign funds from their membership and sympathizers, some of whom owned small to medium sized businesses.

In developing Golkar and to win the elections, the government combined both coercive and persuasion approaches to mobilise voters. All government bureaucrats were compelled to become Golkar members; and to vote for the party to ensure its victory against nine other political parties in the first New Order election in 1971, and two other political parties in later elections (Nishihara, 1972; Reeve, 1985). This strategy was useful to mobilise a core of voters, who were in turn then able to mobilise more voters in the villages. This persuasive strategy was enhanced by the fact that government bureaucrats usually assumed positions as opinion leaders among regional villagers (Reeve, 1985).

The New Order government also engaged the military to intimidate its political opponents and their supporters. Since the 1971 election, for example, the military played ‘dirty tricks’ to ensure a Golkar victory. Nishihara (1972) observed several tactics employed by the military. These included: the arrest of a Parmusi Central Java chairman Mintaredja over his alleged involvement in an arms smuggling case; the search of PNI leaders in Wonogiri on similarly dubious charges; the arrest of prominent NU leader Achmad Sjaichu for alleged involvement in the 1965 communist upheaval; the obstruction of party campaign rallies by Golkar and the military through such means as blocking roads and destroying bridges leading to rally sites; as well as prohibiting PNI campaigning by Guntur and Rachmawati Sukarno, due to an allegation of possible agitation for Sukarnoism (p. 36).³⁶

Voters were also subjected to intimidation by, among other things, the labelling those who did not vote for Golkar as PKI supporters, which made them subject to possible torture or harassment such as dismissal from government employment (Nishihara, 1972). In addition, Golkar also introduced the system of “*Bebas Parpol*” (literally meaning “freed from political parties”), under which the military forced voters in the villages to declare their support for Golkar and desire to block other parties from campaigning there (Utrecht, 1974). The scholar concluded that

³⁶ Nishihara (1972) noted that the military pressure and intimidation during the elections indicated the Suharto’s government’s intense concern for political order and national consensus (p. 56).

“In many villages the Bebas Parpol system could work very well owing to strong patron-client relationships. After Golkar functionaries had succeeded in winning over the village authorities and landowners to side with Golkar it was not difficult to obtain the support of the rest of the inhabitants of the villages... It was the economic dependence on landowners and village authorities, who themselves were dependent on facilities granted to them by the Golkar functionaries, that made the small farmers – for the greater part poor sharecroppers – vote for Golkar” (Utrecht, 1974, p. 85).

3.3.2. The Political Campaign Industry and the Media

The growing distance between the political parties and the electorates shaped the ways in which the political parties engaged with voters in the electoral campaign periods. To attract voters to shore up its electoral legitimacy, Golkar introduced a new mode of electoral campaigning that was very different from the canvassing in the 1955 election. This new mode of electoral campaigning was characterised by very expensive parades across the nation, presenting entertaining performances to mobilise voters (Lindsay, 2007; Nishihara, 1972). Golkar also developed mass rallies in the form of motorized street parades (*pawai*) of party supporters during the two-month campaign period. These became known as *safari*, and were, as Nishihara (1972) observed, “a strange, un-Indonesian campaign tactic” (p. 37).³⁷ The orchestrated campaigning events on the streets (parades) and public spaces (mass campaign), which became a hallmark of elections under Suharto, were a stark contrast to the canvassing strategy used in the 1955 election.

³⁷ Traces of the personalisation of politics appeared in the New Order elections, as indicated by Golkar’s conscious efforts to nominate popular candidates to mobilise voters (King, 2000).

The New Order regime turned elections into what it dubbed a ‘festival of democracy’ (*pesta demokrasi*) instead of a democratic means of power regeneration.³⁸ Consequently, electoral campaigning was not aimed at educating or persuading voters, particularly at the grass roots, to vote for political parties’ programs and ideology. Instead the New Order designed electoral campaigning as popular events to entertain people with little beyond that, because the winner of the election had already been determined (1972, p. 37). In addition, Golkar introduced another expensive campaigning technique, in the form of the distribution of free shirts with the Golkar symbol printed on them (King, 1992; Lindsay, 2007; Nishihara, 1972). Golkar also produced the largest amount of campaign material, including posters, leaflets, slides, slogans and brochures. All media campaign material, whether in the form of printed materials, outdoor media or conventional mass media, was subject to state censorship. In one incident in 1977, the popular *dangdut* singer with millions of fans across Indonesia, Rhoma Irama, who was a campaigner for PPP, was banned from performing on state television station TVRI (Nishihara, 1972).³⁹

Such ‘street-appeal’, mass campaigning strategies, under the heavy control of the government, turned out to be more receptive to the work of the political campaign industry. Organising hundreds of musicians, comedians and performers,

³⁸ The terminology was introduced by PDI Secretary-General Sabam Sirait during a mass campaign in Jakarta in 1977, in his satirical speech to protest against state-sponsored intimidation and coercion towards Golkar opponents.

³⁹ Rhoma Irama is often dubbed the king of *dangdut*. *Dangdut* is a music genre that attracted millions of fans in Indonesia. Capitalising on their popularity, some popular *dangdut* singers joined political parties. On this music genre and its social aspects, see Weintraub (2010); Hill & Sen (2000); Frederick (1982).

including high profile ones, and transporting them in a tour across the country to support electoral campaigns required technical support from the media industry, because the political parties lacked such skills (Lindsay, 2007). Increasingly, advertising and public relations experts were employed to support electoral campaigning. For example, senior Golkar member and environment minister Emil Salim engaged a team of Jakarta-based advertising and public relations professionals to support Golkar campaigning in the province of Riau (Danial, 2009). Emil was on a specific Golkar mission to improve the votes for the party in Riau in 1981 following the decrease of Golkar's votes from 76.7 percent in 1971 election to 63.3 percent in the 1977 election there (p. 121). Two notable communication professionals, Alwi Dahlan and Wisaksono Noeradi, were in the Golkar electioneering team, developing a research-based public relations campaign for the local audience.⁴⁰ The team suggested Emil not use the top-down strategy employed by Golkar's local campaign organisation, which consisted of local military officials and bureaucrats. The professionally-directed campaign was considered a success, as the Jakarta-based Emil Salim was able to impress Riau voters with his understanding of local circumstances and issues, which he addressed in his campaign (Danial, 2009).

⁴⁰ Dahlan, the son of a regent in Padang, set up the first recorded public relations firm in Indonesia PT Iscore Zecha, in 1972. He holds a PhD in communication science from the University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign, USA. Dahlan briefly served as a minister of communication in the Suharto Cabinet in 1998, before he returned to lecture at the University of Indonesia's communication department, where he gained his professorship. Wisaksono was the public relations manager of Stanvac oil company in Indonesia in the 1970s, and later co-founded a public relations firm, Matari advertising company. He was also the founder of the Public Relations Association of Indonesia (Perhumas).

The involvement of the campaign professionals in Golkar's campaign team was not autonomous from the development of the communication industries in Indonesia. The establishment of the communication industries, mainly the public relation industry, was closely linked to the economic development of various sectors under the New Order government, most prominently the extractive or natural resources sectors.⁴¹ The establishment of foreign companies, particularly oil and mining companies, nurtured not only the practices of the public relations and advertising but, more importantly, the public relations and advertising business (Yudarwati, 2011, 2014). Both Dahlan and Wisaksono were among the first Indonesian communication professionals to establish public relations firms in Indonesia. Their involvement in Golkar's campaign team indicated the business expansion of the public relations industry beyond the commercial domain.

As shown above, the increasing involvement of professional communication and media specialists in electoral campaigning operations was not particularly driven by media technology. Television, a new media technology that increasingly expanded its audience, and print mass media were highly restricted during electoral campaigning. In the first five New Order elections, politicians representing their parties were allowed to campaign through state television TVRI in a highly controlled manner (Danial, 2009). TVRI primarily served Golkar's interests, but was also required to broadcast 'campaign dialogues' (*kampanye*

⁴¹ In the 1950s, public relations departments were established at state oil company Pertamina, state airline company Garuda Indonesia, and the National Police headquarters. The practice became so common in the 1960s – as more state institutions and enterprises (in addition to private enterprises) established public relations departments – that the government set up a coordinating body for state public relations practices (King, 1992; Nishihara, 1972).

dialogis) presenting politicians from Golkar, PPP and PDI. This form of campaigning aspired to copy televised public debates commonly employed in Western democracies, but instead such dialogue campaigning lacked any debate.⁴² Private television stations, which started to develop in 1987, were also obliged to air such campaigning in their prime-time.⁴³ Golkar played a leading role in engaging the political campaign industry to support televised electoral campaigning, by employing communication and public relations professionals to train its politicians before they went on-air for these campaign appearances (Sen, 2003).

While the government imposed heavy restrictions on the mass media in relation to the publication of political and electoral content (Hill & Sen, 2005), the use of mass media for electoral campaigning expanded. This was triggered partly by the increasing development of telecommunications and media industrialisation in the 1980s. Following the opening up of the television industry to commercial stations in 1987, and through to the end of the regime in 1998, there were four private national television stations – RCTI, SCTV, TPI, ANTV and INDOSIAR all owned by Suharto’s family or cronies – in addition to the state television company

⁴² This televised dialogue campaigning was so notoriously engineered that it failed to attract an audience. The run down of the televised campaign had been screened by the regime. The regime was also involved in the selection of the studio audience (who were allowed to question the politicians) and the questions to be asked (Danial, 2009).

⁴³ Television station management had requested a delay in relaying the campaigning from TVRI during prime-time, as it clashed with their high-value programs that attracted commercials (Dhakidae, 1991; Hill, 1994).

TVRI. The emergence of these private stations offered alternative information to the heavily controlled propaganda broadcast by TVRI.⁴⁴

Private radio stations were also regulated by the Suharto government through the establishment of PRSSNI in 1974, which increased its members from 227 in 1974 to 717 in 1997 (PRSSNI, 2016).⁴⁵ Radio had the ability to deliver up-to-date information rapidly, as well as interactively through caller participation (Sudibyo et al., 2004). Local radio stations fostered interactive communication with their listeners, enabling them to express their ideas, sometimes critically, on live programs, although such practices were limited to the local level (Jurriëns, 2009; Sen, 2003). Radio's archipelagic audience reach was larger than print media, but it was highly localized, which limited its impact upon national politics.

Being heavily regulated by the New Order, newspapers' content was so restricted "that the Indonesian press did little to influence the floating voters and thus the end result of the 1971 elections" (Oey, 1974, p. 33). Throughout the New Order period, newspapers were subject to government regulation. While some news media outlets were able to resist such control through various strategies such as investigative journalism (Steele, 2005) or political caricatures/cartoons (Sibarani,

⁴⁴ Similar to TVRI, state radio RRI channelled government propaganda through programs that were relayed compulsorily via local private radio stations across the country.

⁴⁵ PRSSNI was the commercial private national radio broadcasters' association. The government required the association to "help the government in supervising and overseeing commercial national broadcasters" in Indonesia (Sudibyo, Andre, Aminuddin, & Simbollah, 2004, p. 216). The association was chaired by Suharto's eldest daughter, Siti Hardiyanti Rukmana, since 1989; to ensure the association's support to the government. She stepped down from the position in 1998, after the end of his father's presidency.

2001), political campaign advertisements were not allowed in any of these mass media.

The real trigger that shifted the emphasis during electoral campaigning to media campaigning was an internal PDI conflict, which was orchestrated by the regime in 1996 and which resulted in a major riot (Heryanto, 1997; Hill, 1994). Following that unrest on the streets, the government issued a regulation, endorsing the use of media campaigning and limiting the use of street campaigning (Danial, 2009). The military had considered endorsing media campaigning since the 1980s, when street campaigning had led to civil disturbances and clashes which were regarded as potentially threatening political, economic and security stability (Danial, 2009). The violence and riots that occurred during such street campaigns were seen as a threat to the New Order government. Since 1982, the public violence had gradually intensified during election campaigns, in response to the government's tightening of economic policy following a fall in the oil price, and consequent increases in the domestic price of oil and electricity (Danial, 2009; Hill, 1994; King, 1992). The military's physical presence became a common sight during these elections. Civil opposition occurred in the form of public protests, rallies or even violence and riots, although most such incidents were not reported in the highly censored press (Dhakidae, 2003).

This, however, did not mean that the political parties gained more freedom in using mass media for electoral campaigning. Hill and Sen (2005) noted that

“radio, television, and print media were circumscribed by protocol dictated by the Minister of Information” (p. 79). The parties were allocated particular time slots for campaigning through the broadcast media. Their campaign materials had to be screened by the government prior to the broadcasting of the taped campaign programs.

The Internet, which was still in infancy with limited infrastructure and access to users, escaped such restriction. However, in the 1997 election, which was the last election held under the New Order in 1997, PPP, PDI and Golkar set up official websites for political communication (Danial, 2009). Some scholars suggested that the impact of the Internet on electoral campaigning, particularly for PPP and PDI, remained marginal, although it contributed to the de-legitimation of the New Order and the elections (Hill & Sen, 2005). Regardless, such incorporation of the Internet was foundational for the transformation of media campaigning operations in the post-authoritarian elections.

These evolving electoral campaigning practices under the New Order government showed that media was not the driving force changing electoral campaigning methods. As a consequence of New Order government control over the electoral campaigns, media campaigning was used mainly for persuasion purposes. Its capability to negotiate interests pertaining to electoral players was not yet evident. However, contradictions – such as the government’s highly centralized media campaigning and the relaxation of government control over the

telecommunication and media sectors, which was transferred to Suharto family members and cronies – provided more opportunities for the political campaign industry to develop further commercial businesses involved in political campaigning.

3.4. The Post-authoritarian Period

This section will illustrate that, during the post-Suharto period when Indonesia experienced the proliferation of a liberalized mass media, political parties again controlled electoral campaigning, but in a different way than that under the Sukarno period. Such characteristics shaped the operation of media campaigning, which saw the rise of the political campaign industry and the increasing use of media in the electoral process.

3.4.1. The Electoral Campaigns and Players

Major post-authoritarian political transformation brought back the elections as a mechanism of power re-generation and, once again, it was the political parties, instead of the state or the government, which controlled their electoral campaigns. Participating in the 1999 election, the first election after the Suharto government, were 48 political parties, with 24 in the 2004 polls and 38 in the 2009 elections (see Table 3.4.). In addition, after 2004, Indonesia has held direct presidential elections, when the electorate votes for candidates endorsed by the political parties (see Table 3.5.).

Table 3.4.
Result of the legislative elections

Year	Political Parties	Top three winners
1999	48	PDIP (33.12%), Golkar (25.97), PPP (12.55%)
2004	24	Golkar (23.27%), PDIP (19.82%), PPP (10.55%)
2009	38	Demokrat (26.79)%, Golkar (19.11%), PDIP (16.96%)

Source: KPU (2010).

Table 3.5.
Result of the presidential elections

Year	Candidates	Political Support	Results	
			First Round	Second Round
2004	Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono- Jusuf Kalla	Demokrat, PKPI, PBB (1 st round), PAN, PPP, PKB dan PKS (2 nd round)	33.57%	60.62%
	Megawati Sukarnoputri- Hasyim Muzadi	PDIP	26.61%	39.38%
	Wiranto- Salahuddin Wahid	Golkar	22.15%	-
	Amien Rais- SiswonoYudhohusodo	PAN	14.66%	-
	Hamzah Haz – Agum Gumelar	PPP	3.01%	-
2009	Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono – Budiono	Demokrat, PKS, PAN, PPP, PKB	60.80%	-
	Megawati Sukarnoputri- Prabowo Subianto	PDIP	26.70%	-
	Jusuf Kalla- Wiranto	Golkar	12.41%	-

Source: KPU (2010).

The dominance of the political parties in running the electoral campaigning, both in the legislative election and the presidential election, however, has been weakened by major changes in the post-authoritarian electoral and media systems. The post-authoritarian electoral system that accommodated direct elections increasingly enabled the candidates to take charge of their electoral campaigning,

which eventually transformed their relations with the political parties, campaign donors and voters.

The candidates' increasing involvement in their campaigning is particularly visible in elections for presidents or local leaders. The candidates do not necessarily need to be party members to run in elections for president or local leaders (Buehler & Tan, 2007). In such cases, the candidates commonly take charge of their electoral campaigning, particularly in campaign fund raising, despite retaining some party support. The increasing campaign costs required the candidates to have strong campaign financing. They depended more and more on external funding (usually from commercial corporations) to finance their electoral campaigning operations (Ufen, 2010a).⁴⁶ For such candidates, the campaign costs were largely expended on media campaigning.⁴⁷

Since 2001, during the government of President Abdurrahman Wahid, political parties were in fact subsidized. Following a 2001 government regulation, the government provided a subsidy of up to Rp 100 per vote that the political party obtained the national election (DPR). However, in 2005, the government of

⁴⁶ Mietzner (2008) suggests that in addition to external funding, political parties also depended on revenue sourced from members in public offices, in ways that were often corrupt and illegal. Corruption, money politics and strong patronage relationships between candidates and voters were rampant in local elections (Sjahrir, Kis-Katos, & Schulze, 2013, p. See also).

⁴⁷ The political parties or the candidates are required to provide financial incentives for any campaigning undertaken by the party members in the grass roots.

President Yudhoyono decided to cut the subsidies significantly (Mietzner, 2007), which intensified parties' and candidates' dependency upon private donors.⁴⁸

The 1997 economic crisis and the decentralisation policy after 1998 have shaped the roles of campaign donors and the ways they donate to political parties. Private business donors have become more selective, because the demands to donate arise not only from parties' national headquarters, but also from local politicians and party branches in the regions where such businesses may be located (Mietzner, 2007, pp. 244-245). The campaign donors' selectivity may also be due to their need to ensure that their donation goes to the actual candidates who will assume public office, or the political parties that will form government. More importantly, the campaign donors need to be certain that their donations are channelled through to the correct party members, so that they get the expected returns from their financial assistance, namely the protection of their business interests (Mietzner, 2007).

It is not easy to map national and regional level corporate donors in electoral campaigns in Indonesia (Mietzner, 2007, 2008). Despite the electoral laws requiring candidates (political parties and politicians) to submit their campaign financial reports to the election commissions, this obligation has not been taken seriously by the campaign teams. Many listed "phantom donors", or fabricated

⁴⁸ Under President Yudhoyono, the government allocated Rp 21 million per seat secured in the DPR. This suggested that the winner of the 1999 election could earn some Rp 35 billion a year in government subsidies, based on more than 35 million votes in the 1999 election. By comparison, the winner of the 2004 election received less than Rp 3 billion a year in government subsidies.

the donation amounts (Mietzner, 2010). Generally, however, major electoral donors are believed to include politicians' family members, contractors wishing to get contracts funded by local and national budgets, bureaucrats, local and state enterprises, private local and national corporations, and even corporations with foreign shareholders (Aditjondro, 2010; Buehler & Tan, 2007; Maeswara, 2010; Mietzner, 2010; Petriella, 2014; Rochman, 2014).

The electoral campaign donations from private donors were usually channelled through the political party's treasury (Buehler & Tan, 2007; Mietzner, 2010). In more recent elections in Indonesia, campaign donations were not only channelled through the party treasurers or party members, but also via payment to campaign consulting companies (Mietzner, 2007). Qodari (2010) acknowledged that campaign professionals are "taking some significant functions that used to be performed by the parties, rather than being merely complementary to them" (p. 137).

3.4.2. The Political Campaign Industry and the Media

The contribution of the advertising and public relations industries has rarely been discussed in studies of post-authoritarian period political campaigning in Indonesia. The advertising industry operates far more broadly than just political campaigns, because advertising firms more commonly handle commercial

clients.⁴⁹ However, since the 1999 elections, advertising businesses have increasingly catered for the needs of government and political clients, including during election campaigns. For example, in the 1999 election Matari Advertising served PKB, Fortune PR worked for PAN, Adikreasi and Wow Production were engaged by Golkar, and Adwork!RSCG was employed by PDIP (Riadi, 2015). Even more political parties used the services of advertising companies for the 2004 legislative elections. In that campaign, Golkar employed Wow Communication, PDIP used Adwork!EuroRSCG, the Democratic Party used Dharma Pena Comm, PAN chose Rumah Ide- Suris Comm, Crescent Star Party used Domindo Inko Prabo, PKB used BVM Ad House, PKS selected 25 Frames and the Prosperous Peace Party engaged DDB-Advis Indonesia (Danial, 2009; Ufen, 2010a). The presidential election also attracted major advertising companies: such as Hotline Advertising, which was engaged by Yudhoyono and Jusuf Kalla; Adwork!EuroRSCG, which worked for Megawati Soekarno Putri; and Hasyim Muzadi, Rumah Ide-Suris Comm, which served Amien Rais and Siswono Yudhohusodo, JC & K developed advertising products for Wiranto and Salahuddin Wahid (Danial, 2009). In the 2009 and 2014 elections, political parties, presidential and local leader candidates also employed advertising companies (Danial, 2009) In the context of the increasingly competitive post-authoritarian Indonesian elections, advertising services were particularly needed

⁴⁹ The advertising business, in particular, can be traced back to the Dutch colonial era while the public relations sector was nurtured under the New Order. The national Indonesia Advertising Companies Association (P3I) developed from an association of the Jakarta and Bandung-based advertising companies in 1949 (Prihandoko, Yasra, & Pram, 2012). In 2015, P3I included around 600 advertising agencies employing more than 20,000 employees in total, across 14 provinces in Indonesia (Sukotjo, 1999). The total revenue from their clients, who numbered between 8,000 to 10,000, was estimated at Rp 150 trillion annually (Riadi, 2015).

by political parties and presidential or local candidates' campaign teams to increase their candidates' visibility among voters.

The public relations businesses also contributed to the development of the political campaign industry. In post-Suharto electoral campaigns, public relations agencies' engagements in electoral campaigning were evident with the employment of the communication consultancy Soedarto & Noeradi PR by the PKB, and Ida Sudoyo & Associates by Golkar in the 1999 election (Danial, 2009). The first direct presidential election in Indonesia in 2004 also saw the involvement of public relations agencies in the electoral campaigns, as the campaign team of Yudhoyono and Jusuf Kalla employed Inke Maries & Associates public relations firm as the coordinator of its media centre, while Megawati Sukarnoputri and Prabowo Subianto engaged Ida Sudoyo & Associates. While an advertising agency's main goal in political campaigning is improving political parties' or candidates' visibility in the media, public relations services supporting the campaign teams aimed also to enhance the images of the parties and candidates for the public. One senior public relations practitioner suggested that an election was a "public relations war" encompassing a war of communication strategies and campaign funds (Ufen, 2010a).

Despite the increasing number of commercial businesses contributing to electoral campaigning, it is extremely difficult to qualify the economic size of such services. There is no official billing or revenue data on the scale of such

business.⁵⁰ Available studies and anecdotal reports indicate campaign costs in Indonesia are growing. Political parties are estimated to allocate at least 30 percent of their campaign funding to pay for television, radio and print media advertising in post-authoritarian Indonesia (Wiloto, 2006). In the 2009 presidential election, Mietzner (2008) found that campaign spending on behalf of Yudhoyono and Boediono topped US\$5.1 million for television ads alone. By comparison, the Golkar Party, which supported Jusuf Kalla and Wiranto, spent \$4.8 million, while the Gerindra Party supporting Megawati Sukarnoputri and Prabowo Subianto expended \$4.4 million (Mietzner, 2008). Mujani and Liddle suggested that Indonesian voters' exposure and attention to the campaign ads of Yudhoyono and Boediono was higher than to the ads of their competitors, suggesting a correlation to their campaign spending (Mujani & Liddle, 2010).

In 2014, government officials estimated that the total budget for the presidential candidates as well as the legislative candidates at the local and national levels was between Rp 85 trillion and Rp 115 trillion (Dartanto, 2014). The figures comprised election funds from the state budget (APBN), local administration budgets (APBD), political parties' campaign budgets, presidential candidates' campaign budgets, and the campaign budgets of the 208,511 legislative candidates. Each of the legislative candidates at the local level was estimated to have spent between Rp 250 million to Rp 500 million in their campaign budget,

⁵⁰ It is difficult to determine the scale of campaign consulting business in Indonesia. In addition to the lack of official data from state agencies or associations, secrecy commonly surrounds clients' identities and billing levels in Indonesia.

while their counterparts running at the national level DPR spent between RP 750 million to Rp 1 billion each (Dartanto, 2014).

Political campaign businesses, along with several industries such as paper, printing and paper-based products; textile and clothing; transportation and telecommunication; manufacturing; and hospitality, hotels and restaurants, were estimated to gain the most from the overall election budget (Mujani & Liddle, 2010). Therefore, while there has been no empirical study on the billing of the campaign consulting industry in Indonesia, it is clear that the political campaign industry is no longer a fringe business (Dartanto, 2014).

a. The Opinion Polling Businesses

The commercial opinion polling business in post-authoritarian Indonesia can be traced back to the New Order period. Under the New Order government, the business potential of opinion polling had not yet developed as an integral part of the political campaign industry, due to government constraint. In fact, in a notable case that delayed the development of this type of business, the New Order government closed down a survey company Survey and Business Research Indonesia (known as PT Suburi) in 1972. The New Order authorities were not pleased that Suharto's name was placed at number three in a list of eight national figures in a question that sought the public's perception of their favourite leaders in a pre-election survey in Jakarta, West Java, Central Java and East Java (Danial, 2009; Putra, 1996). Although the question was a part of a survey for business

purposes, a project officer and 13 surveyors of PT Suburi, which had been established in 1967, were arrested and questioned by the Attorney General's Office on charges of subversion, after the military authorities (the task force intelligence of Diponegoro division of the Indonesian Army) reported them on hearing about the survey being undertaken in Semarang, Central Java. The company's license was subsequently revoked by Home Minister Amir Mahmud, which led to its permanent closure in the country (Trihartono, 2014, p. 930). (Trihartono, 2012) The government's response suggested a desire to quash any political evaluations that might question its legitimacy.

As commercial polling agencies were not allowed, opinion poll activities were carried out by non-commercial, mainly research agencies. Surveys were restricted to issues deemed not directly threatening the New Order government such as environmental issues. Research organisations such as LP3ES had in fact started to carry out surveys, using a quick count method, since the 1977 election. However, the results were never published, because conducting opinion polling on political issues was strictly forbidden by the Suharto government (Simanjuntak, 2014).

Contrary to the situation during the New Order, the commercial opinion polling agencies, rather than the communication industry, becomes the flagship of the post-authoritarian political campaign industry; although the latter's contribution is no less significant, as shown in the previous section (Qodari, 2010). This development was important because it suggested that the political campaign

industry was seen as valuable mainly for political opinion engineering, offering “a full range of services needed to secure the victory of a candidate – from strategic planning, to conceptualizing a candidate’s ‘vision and mission’, from campaigning door to door and designing and organising media campaigns to providing poll monitors on election day” (Karni, 2007).

Commercial opinion polling gained its impetus mainly because its services – mapping political behaviour of the electorates – fulfilled the political actors’ needs to develop new campaigning strategies to woo voters in the new election environment. The first election in the *reformasi* period, the 1999 democratic legislative election, had already demonstrated the contribution of pollsters, some of whom were paid commissions from international donors, notably LP3ES, Resources Productivity Centre, IFES, Litbang Harian Kompas and KPP-Lab Politik UI (Qodari, 2010).⁵¹

However, the opinion polling business really began to thrive rapidly from 2004, when the first direct presidential election was held. It was evident in the establishment of a number of commercial pollsters, such as LSI, Soengeng Sarjadi Syndicated, and Danareksa Research Institute. These opinion pollsters initially portrayed themselves as a sort of democratisation agent, rather than a commercial

⁵¹ LP3ES was born during the New Order regime as a non-profit organisation; IFES is a Washington D.C.-based development organisation assisting elections in new and emerging democracies, *Harian Kompas* is a commercial newspaper established during the New Order period, Resources Productivity Center is a non-profit organisation, and KPP Lab Politik UI is a unit of the University of Indonesia. All of these organisations did political polling *not* for profit or commercial purposes.

business. For example, Burhanuddin Muhtadi suggested that the rise of opinion polling businesses was due to the need of democratic regimes to devise public policies that are closer to public aspirations (Muhtadi, 2009).⁵² His former senior in LSI, M. Qodari, similarly argued that most campaign professionals in Indonesia are “independent and unaffiliated”, comprising political experts, academics or advertising people with non-party backgrounds (2010,p. 137). His argument essentially highlighted the idea that opinion polling, despite being a commercial service, was not a part of opinion engineering that was closely associated with the aim of electoral campaigning.

However, a split within LSI in 2005 indicated that opinion polling did indeed play a role in engineering victories for particular candidates and political parties in the elections. Mietzner (2009b) described how the split was triggered by disagreements over the agency’s business strategy development, as well as the conduct, during opinion polling, by LSI’s main figures: Denny Januar Ali, known as Denny J.A. and M. Qodari (p. 119).⁵³ Denny pushed for the establishment of LSI as a full commercial political consultancy agency, which provides political

⁵² Burhanuddin is a Syarif Hidayatullah University academic and a leading opinion polling business actor, who used to worked for LSI and later set up his own polling agency, Indikator Politik Indonesia.

⁵³ There are two versions on how LSI was established. The first version, as told by Denny, suggested that he founded LSI following his discussions with activist and PDIP politician Heri Akhmadi, who supported him with his networks to access resources (Surdiasis, Yusron, & Mathari, 2008). Saiful was recruited as LSI’s research director. The second version, which came from Saiful, considered that both Denny and Saiful established LSI (Mietzner, 2009b). Denny and Saiful were PhD graduates from US-based Ohio State University. Saiful, an academic from Syarif Hidayatullah Islamic State University, did his first national survey in the 1999 election, as parts of his doctoral work, supported by his supervisor William Liddle and funded by the US National Science Foundation. LSI itself was under Yayasan Pengembangan Demokrasi Indonesia, which was a foundation registered under the name of Denny, as well as the former dean of the University of Indonesia’ Faculty of Economy and Bappenas chairman Djunaedi Hadisumarto, former BPN head Joyo Winoto, and entrepreneurs Theodorus Permadi Rahmat and Oentoro Surya.

consultancy services in addition to opinion polling services. In contrast, Mujani insisted that LSI focused on opinion polling services only. Mietzner (2009b) suggested that Denny eventually left LSI in 2005, after he was caught engineering a poll commissioned by the ministry of social affairs that was done without the knowledge of LSI boards. This was, in addition to his decision to become actively involved in the 2004 presidential election by supporting Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono; which concerned JICA, the LSI's main donor (p. 119).⁵⁴ According to Mietzner (2009b), JICA was a donor due to Saiful's personal connection to Takashi Shiraishi, a Japanese academic who helped lobby JICA to provide grants for LSI. However, it should be noted that JICA's support of LSI was likely not unrelated to the he connections held by Heri, as well as Djunaedi, Theodore and Oentoro from Yayasan Pengembangan Demokrasi Indonesia, who were members of President Megawati Sukarnoputri's Indonesia-Japan Economic Cooperation Working Team.⁵⁵

Denny later set up Lingkaran Survey Indonesia (or Lingkaran), which branded itself as "an election supermarket" and marketed itself as a campaign consultancy company (see Mietzner, 2009b).⁵⁶ It was successful in developing itself into a

⁵⁴ LSI engaged in commissioned opinion polling. The results of the polling commissioned by domestic and international donors are published, while that commissioned individual, political parties or politicians or private organisations are not.

⁵⁵ Set up in 2002, the team was lead by then State Corporation Minister Laksamana Sukardi, who was also a PDIP senior official.

⁵⁶ Saiful developed Saiful Mujani Research Centre or SMRC with former TVOne presenter Grace Natalie (Qodari, 2010, p. 131). LSI senior official M. Qodari, who obtained a Masters degree from Essex University in Britain before joining Denny, eventually left Lingkaran to establish Indo Barometer polling company. After Saiful's departure, LSI was under the leadership of Burhanuddin, who eventually left the agency to establish Indikator Politik Indonesia in 2013. LSI

leading campaign company in Indonesia, establishing a business group consisting of several companies offering various campaign services. In addition to Lingkaran, other companies offering political campaign consultancy services emerged, such as McLeader (hired to support the campaigning of Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono in 2004) and Fox Indonesia (supporting Yudhoyono's campaigning in 2009). These companies, however, were not able to maintain their existence in the increasingly competitive market.⁵⁷

3.4.3. The Internet Use in Politics

In their study of the Internet's early development in Indonesia, Hill and Sen (2005) found that

“the Internet arrived in Indonesia, already valorised as ‘technology of freedom’, and became the space where frustrations and aspirations excluded from state and commercialized platforms – not all political, and certainly not all ‘democratic’ – could be expressed” (p. 34).

As these scholars suggested, the Internet was used by various interests that were previously unable to express their ideas, including those offering anti-democratic campaigns (Hill & Sen, 2005). However, the general assumption linking the Internet with democratisation or democratic developments in Indonesia was partly

is now under the command of Kuskridho Ambardi, a Gadjah Mada University communication department lecturer who is also a PhD graduate from Ohio State University.

⁵⁷ McLeader was chaired by Hotman Limbong, a media person with close military connections, while Fox was managed by Andi Zulkarnaen Mallarangeng, the brother of Andi Alfian Mallarangeng, who was Yudhoyono's minister of sports and youth affairs. Fox won some high profile campaign consultancy contracts, such as with Golkar Party candidate Alex Nurdin in his campaigning for North Sumatra Governor; the National Mandate Party's Sutrisno Bachir, who hired the company for Rp 120 billion for his presidential candidacy; and Yudhoyono's son Edhie Baskoro Yudhoyono, for his DPR campaign costing Rp 10 billion (Rachmawati, 2015).

due to the fact that initially this media technology was used prominently by Indonesian pro-democracy activists, journalists and politicians as a tool for activism, and as an alternative political communication channel to the highly-controlled conventional media (Bräuchler, 2003; Hill & Sen, 2002; Lim, 2003, 2006).

In her study of media dynamics during authoritarian Indonesia, Steele described how a group of journalists at *Tempo* magazine, which had been banned by the Suharto government, organised their fights against censorship through the Internet (Steele, 2005; Winters, 2002). Connected to the Internet through dial-in technology, the group cooperated with NusaNet (an NGO networking system) and Apakabar, a Maryland-based mailing list moderated by academic John McDougall. The Internet enabled a ‘political space’ not only for these activists but also for individual citizens to join in the resistance against the authoritarian regime (Steele, 2005).⁵⁸

There have been several cases when Indonesian audiences’ engagement with the Internet – and subsequently social media, which required their active participation in the production of online content – have stood out in the country’s media space.

⁵⁸ Hewison (1999) referred to political space as an “arena created through struggle with the state and involving activist groups. It can be created even under oppressive regimes, and may exist where civil society is not especially vibrant. The idea of the struggle for space avoids some of the normative assumptions associated with certain ideas of civil society, which could conceivably become dominated by groups which, for instance, repress subordinate classes or groups.” (pp. 224-225). His idea regarding the struggle for space suggested the flexibility of the political space and the vitality of the activists in the creation of the political space. Activists played a crucial role in the struggle and negotiation with the state to expand the political space in Indonesia.

The cases were often celebrated by Indonesians as an evidence of the vitality of social media as a new media technology, providing their citizens' with a negotiating space within the state (Lim, 2013; Nugroho & Syarief, 2012).⁵⁹ One of the most well known cases was that involving Prita Mulyasari. In 2008 this housewife was reported by Omni International hospital, a private hospital in Tangerang, Banten for both criminal and civil lawsuits for writing emails to her family and friends complaining about the poor service offered by the hospital; emails which later went viral. She was subsequently detained during the judicial process. The authorities charged her under the Criminal Code and the law on information and electronic transactions, a newly enacted law widely criticized by Internet activists for restricting civil rights. Indonesian Internet users initiated a 'Coins for Prita' campaign to raise money to help pay her fine in her civil case. With support from Internet activists, the campaign turned into a bigger offline movement as the story of Prita, a mother of two children, one of whom was still being breastfed, attracted the attention of many Indonesian social media users and made headlines in the mainstream media. No less than former president Megawati Sukarnoputri paid Prita a visit to show her concern. The hospital later dropped the civil lawsuit.⁶⁰

Another case involved the Deputy Chairpersons of the Corruption Eradication Commission (KPK), Bibit S. Riyanto and Chandra Hamzah. In 2009 these two anti-corruption officials were arrested by the National Police on extortion and

⁵⁹ Media have been recorded to play a role in social movements in Indonesia (see Jackson & Pye, 1978).

⁶⁰ The Supreme Court later convicted Prita in the case, but sentenced her in probation.

bribery charges, in a move widely interpreted as a plot to weaken the Commission. An online campaign, entitled “the Movement of 1,000,000 Facebookers in Support of Chandra Hamzah & Bibit Samad Riyanto” (*Gerakan 1.000.000 Facebookers Dukung Chandra Hamzah & Bibit Samad Riyanto*), was set up soon after the arrest. The Facebook campaign was started by a lecturer based in Bengkulu, Sumatra, wanting to support the commission. The page attracted 1.4 million members (Nugroho & Syarief, 2012). In addition to this group, other similar social media-based groups were set up to support KPK. The online movement progressed offline, with up to 5,000 people joining rallies against their arrest in Jakarta and elsewhere in Indonesia. The authorities later dropped the charges against the two men, following a call from President Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono urging an out-of-court settlement. Both Chandra and Bibit were also reinstated into their KPK deputy positions.

Another more apparent political movement involving social media was the #savejkt or ‘Save Jakarta’ movement. Initiated in 2010 by a group of Jakartans led by Singapore-based Indonesian academic Sulfikar Amir, it endorsed independent candidates running for the 2012 Jakarta gubernatorial election. The group set up a campaign team, a concept team and a strategy team. The group was set up with an awareness that their “ideas will never turn into policies unless we have political clout” (Susilo, 2010). The social movement thus turned into a political one, as it endorsed Faisal Basri and Biem Benyamin, who were running for the Jakarta governorship and deputy position as independent candidates. In addition to

Twitter, the group also used a Facebook website and offline engagements in the form of discussions or other face-to-face forums. Thus, the #savejkt case demonstrated another struggle to expand political space. While the struggle did not materialize in the form of a straightforward confrontation (as was the case of Prita and KPK), the activists opted to use social media to garner popular support for independent candidates running in a local election. Home to over 10 million residents, Jakarta as the capital of Indonesia had been largely seen as poorly managed by previous governors.⁶¹ The group's decision not to channel their political support to party-backed candidates may be due to an 'anti-party backlash' in post-authoritarian Indonesia (Sulfikar as quoted by Tampubolon, 2010). Tan (2002) has suggested that such a backlash was "a result of anti-party attitude, the parties' behavior across the transition, the strong position of the parties as set out in the 1999 election laws and the current public opinion toward the parties" (p. 484). The #savejkt group's use of social media to support a candidate in an election campaign should be seen as more than simply the use of social media as a political instrument. Instead, it reflected the ways in which a group might use social media as a new communication resource, which enabled them to organise themselves in their attempts to endorse candidates.

Arguably, the cases above were the 'success stories' of the use of social media in the struggle to expand political space, although there are many other examples of unsuccessful attempts at organising an online movement across the country (Lim,

⁶¹ Jakarta has been dealing with poverty, floods, traffic congestions, and other urban-related problems related to developments, although it received one of the biggest budget in Indonesia (see Butt, 2011; Mietzner, 2012b).

2013; Tan, 2002). However, the significance of the cases above is not only that they have shown a new way for Indonesian citizens to articulate their political expression in the new political space, but also that they offer a new way to further their political goals. There are elements of the voting public that are increasingly able to use media not only to articulate their political expression, but also to achieve their political agenda.⁶² Some scholars have observed that media were increasingly made the sites of ideological rivalries by different groups, a phenomenon that started to emerge in the declining years of the New Order (Danial, 2009; Mietzner, 2009b, 2010; Qodari, 2010, Ufen, 2010a). This development highlights that voters no longer consist of passive conventional media audiences only but also of active users of social media (and other Internet-based media). This requires new approaches from the candidates and the political parties to mobilise voters, which eventually enabled more economic and social opportunities for the political campaign industry.⁶³

3.5. Conclusion

By highlighting the history and development of electoral campaigning practices since the 1955 election, this chapter has demonstrated the changing nature of media campaigning in Indonesia elections, and conveys two arguments. Firstly, media campaigning is a persuasion strategy *and* a way to organise the temporary,

⁶² In both Old and New Order Indonesia, the media had been used mainly by the political elite to mobilise people to maintain the regime's continuity. For more information on the development of education under New Order regime, (see Leigh, 1999)

⁶³ The New Order's development in education, as well as telecommunication and media, contributed to the increase in educated, media literate voters in post-authoritarian Indonesia (Hadiz, 2010; Mietzner, 2009a; Simandjuntak, 2012).

election-specific interests of the politicians and political parties, donors and voters, as well as media and the political campaign industry. Media campaigning may evolve into different modes, depending on the changing relations and interests of the three spheres. Secondly, the contribution of the political campaign industry to such organisation is dependent on media technology. However, the extent to which the industry is able to contribute to campaigning is shaped by the dynamics of the relations of the political, economy and cultural spheres, and these dynamics vary for each campaign environment. Thirdly, this chapter shows that the employment of different types of media for electoral campaigning requires different strategies, suggesting that social media (and other media technology) is not merely a dead instrument of politics (Lim, 2013). Instead, media also shape the relations of the political, economic and cultural spheres that were mediated by the campaign industry. These arguments are to be explored further in the following three empirical cases about the use of social media for electoral campaigning, starting with the experience in the Jakarta election in Chapter 4.

Chapter 4

The Emergence of Social Media in the 2012 Jakarta Gubernatorial Election

4.1. Introduction

This chapter examines the emergence of social media campaigning in the 2012 Jakarta gubernatorial election, which marked a significant rise in the use of the Internet platform in Indonesian elections. Using the framework described in Chapter 2, this chapter's findings describe the contribution of the political campaign industry in mediating the use of such social media emergence in a major arena of political contestation in Indonesia.

The Jakarta election provides a suitable case study mainly because Jakarta is the site of the first acknowledged large-scale social media campaigning in post-authoritarian Indonesia (Ahmad & Popa, 2014; n.n., 2012).⁶⁴ In addition, Jakarta is the capital of the country, the home of government offices, national parties' headquarters, local, national and multinational corporations' offices, and local and national media outlets (Okamoto, 2014; Okamoto & Honna, 2014). The Jakarta gubernatorial elections may be interpreted as the 'barometer' for contests over power across the country (Hui & Bhakti, 2012).

Several scholars have examined the roles of social media in the 2012 Jakarta election, particularly given the decisive victory of Surakarta mayor Joko Widodo, (popularly known as 'Jokowi'), who challenged incumbent Jakarta Governor

⁶⁴ There was small-scale social media use in the 2009 presidential election, but this was limited (see Nurhadryani et al., 2009).

Fauzi Bowo (nicknamed 'Foke'). Some analysts argued that social media, and the Internet in general, had enabled the development and implementation of more sophisticated political marketing strategies to increase Jokowi's personal political brand; crucial for his victory (Ahmad & Popa, 2014, p. 98). Some other studies linked Jokowi's electoral achievement to the contribution of social media in facilitating grass roots, albeit online, political participation and volunteerism (Suaedy, 2014). Not only did social media help popularize Jokowi, but new media were seen to represent a 'cyber war site' that was fundamental for the mobilisation and maintenance of Jokowi's volunteers.⁶⁵ One such study finds that,

"...cyber war, a term that particularly described the war in social media... barely involved Jokowi and Ahok directly; although both have Twitter and Facebook accounts, communication was more one-way than reciprocal. Both did, and still, use their accounts to inform supporters about their programmes or to seek input, but not to communicate directly with individuals. This is where the virtual world volunteers stepped in to provide two-way communication with fans and critics alike" (Suaedy, 2014, p. 124).

The framework adopted by this dissertation treats such an argument with caution; particularly the suggestion that the candidates had only limited involvement in the social media campaigning, or that social media political conversations during election campaign period were organic or self-directed by common social media users or volunteers. Instead, this chapter confirms that the political campaign

⁶⁵ Jokowi's campaigning in the 2012 Jakarta election was characterised by the emergence of volunteers, who were attracted by the reputations of both Jokowi and his deputy candidate, Basuki Tjahaja Purnama or Ahok (Suaedy, 2014).

industry played a crucial part in mediating the use of social media as a new arena of contestation during the Jakarta election. It maintains that the emergence of social media campaigning in Jakarta was shaped by the candidates' relations to political parties, campaign donors and voters in this post-authoritarian period. Some Jakarta-based political campaign industry professionals were able to seize the opportunity to employ social media more strategically, for example to shape the organisation of temporary interests pertaining to the electoral players, which contributed significantly to the emergence of social media campaigning. These arguments are explored through an analysis of the candidates' relations to campaign donors and voters and the political campaign industry professionals' penetration to the candidates' campaign team and the professionals' social media campaigning works.

The chapter consists of four sections. The first section introduces the Internet landscape and social media campaigning in Jakarta in the lead up to the 2012 gubernatorial election. The second section examines the relations between the political players, which paved the way for the adoption of social media for electoral campaigning. This is followed in the third section by an analysis of the ways in which the political campaign industry employed social media for electoral campaigning, opening up the capability of social media to organise temporary interests in parallel to its persuasion capability. The fourth section concludes by assessing the significance of social media campaigning in the election.

4.2. The Internet Landscape and Social Media Campaigning in Jakarta

Social media campaigning in the 2012 Jakarta campaigning indicated the emergence of a new media-based arena of contestation, in addition to conventional mass media. At the heart of such a development were the social media users. These users were not only increasing in number, but more importantly, were known to be amongst the most prolific social media users in the world.⁶⁶

The number of social media users in Jakarta can be measured by the increasing number of Internet users in Jakarta, and Indonesia in general, as shown in Table 4.1. In 2012, the number of Internet users in Jakarta exceeded 3.5 million, which was 36.9 percent of the total Jakarta population of around 9.5 million. Such Internet users, albeit not all of them, were amongst 6.9 million registered voters in the 2012 Jakarta election.

Table 4.1.
Total figures of the Internet users in Greater Jakarta and Indonesia

Area	Population	Internet User	Facebook User	Twitter User
Jakarta	9,583,000	3,538,000	7,743,580	n/a
Bekasi	2,554,000	677,000	n/a	n/a
Depok	1,902,000	502,000	n/a	n/a
Tangerang	1,967,000	371,000	n/1	n/a
Bogor	1,040,000	273,000	n/a	n/a
Indonesia	244,775,796	63,000,000	43,000,000	19,500,000

Source: APJII, 2012; BPS, 2012; Semiocast, 2012

The majority of these Internet users were middle-class Jakartans, who were able to access social media regularly (Markplus Insight, 2011). They comprised

⁶⁶ Jakarta earned the title of the most active Twitter city in the world in 2012 (Semiocast, 2012).

mainly young people (17-35 year-old), who were educated (see Utomo, Reimondos, Utomo, McDonald, & Hull, 2013). Jakarta-based social media users commonly accessed social media through their mobile communication devices, meaning that they were able to engage in online conversations with fewer time and space restrictions than those social media users who accessed the new media through computers.⁶⁷ In other words, this indicated the emergence of users able to access information for a longer period and from more locations than had previously been the case with the conventional media audience. These social media users favoured politics as a topic of discussion; politics was second only to entertainment in gaining the attention of social media users (Rachmawati, 2014).

It should be emphasised that social media conversations and activities during the Jakarta election campaign period involved not only social media users residing in Jakarta. Internet users in Greater Jakarta also contributed significantly to social media dynamics during the Jakarta election campaign period. Greater Jakarta consists of Jakarta (a special region on a par with a province) and the surrounding Bekasi, Depok, Tangerang and Bogor mayoralities. A significant number of residents from these mayoralities commute to work in Jakarta on a daily basis. Some of them might not be registered voters in Jakarta elections, but most of them were familiar with, and have experienced, Jakarta's urban problems; such as heavy traffic congestion, flooding and environment degradation.

⁶⁷ There was a dramatic change in the mode of Internet consumption in Indonesia, including Jakarta, in 2012. The number of Internet users accessing the service from homes increased to 47 percent in 2012 from 23 percent in 2011. In 2011, most users had usually accessed the Internet from cafes or Internet kiosks (Fitriana, 2013).

In addition to Internet users from Greater Jakarta, the Jakarta elections also attracted social media users from other parts of Indonesia, most notably Surakarta and Palembang, from where candidates Jokowi and Alex Nurdin originated. Given Jakarta is the capital of Indonesia, events in the city attracted the attention of Indonesians residing across the nation and abroad. Together such social media users, irrespective of whether or not they were registered as voters in the Jakarta election, contributed to the social media conversations and activities that were part of the electoral process in Jakarta.

In the 2012 Jakarta election, all candidates' campaign teams incorporated the Internet and social media platforms, particularly Twitter and Facebook, into their media campaign repertoire. As mentioned above, some use of social media during electoral campaigning had been evident in the 2007 Jakarta gubernatorial election. However, the use of social media, particularly Facebook, was still in its infancy during that earlier election, having not yet gained significant public attention (Wiguna, 2009).⁶⁸ It was only in 2012, when Facebook, Twitter, Youtube and other social media attracted a greater number of users, that social media campaigning generated wide public attention. This contributed to the appropriation of social media for electoral campaigning in the election, which was shaped by relations between the electoral players, as will be discussed in the next section.

⁶⁸ Facebook opened up its services to the public in 2006, but it was only able to attract users in Indonesia from mid-2008 (Wiguna, 2009). Before Facebook, Indonesians were more reliant on the now-ceased Friendster.

4.3. The Candidates and Their Relations to Other Electoral Players

This section examines the ways in which the political campaign industry penetrated the candidates' campaign teams, as a first step in the use of social media in electoral campaigning. The analysis focuses on the candidates in relation to other electoral players who were also engaged in the political campaign industry's use of social media campaigning. This section shows that the relations between electoral players determine the ways in which the political campaign industry penetrated the campaign teams and employed social media for electoral campaigning. These findings differ from those of studies of the adoption of social media in the electoral process, which have focused on technological, institutional and system factors (Chen & Smith, 2010; Gulati & Williams, 2011; Williams & Gulati, 2012).

The liberalised political system enabled elites at the lower levels of the New Order's formerly vast system of patronage to re-organise and re-invent themselves through democratic means (Hadiz, 2003). In the newly refurbished environment, these peripheral elites were able to climb up the political ladder through various means, including through new media. Based on this observation, the post-authoritarian elections were increasingly characterised by the struggle of these peripheral elites wishing to climb up to the top of the elite structure. Such struggle, however, should *not* be seen as a straightforward battle between the progressive outsiders pursuing reform and top elites seeking to maintain their positions. Instead, it is characterised by negotiation and cooperation among these

peripheral and top political elites, who relate closely to the elites from both the economic and cultural spheres. This is in line with Gramsci's hegemony that acknowledges possible contestation within the ruling elites and possible coalitions across classes (Simon, 1982). This further highlights the importance of examining the candidates' relations to other electoral players: the political parties, campaign donors, and voters.

There were six pairs of candidates competing in the first round of the 2012 Jakarta election, as shown in Table 4.2.⁶⁹ They consisted of both party-backed and independent candidates.⁷⁰ In comparison, the 2007 Jakarta election attracted only two pairs of candidates.⁷¹

⁶⁹ The election was conducted in two rounds. The first round was conducted on July 11, 2012, with 6 pairs of governor and deputy governor candidates. The second round was on September 20, 2012, with 2 pairs of governor and deputy governor candidates. The electoral campaign period ran from June 24 to July 8, 2012, with a second round for two days from September 14 to September 16, 2012.

⁷⁰ Independent candidates were permitted to run following a 2008 law on elections, which allowed the acceptance of candidates in regional elections without the need for affiliation with a political party or a coalition of parties.

⁷¹ The first direct Jakarta election in 2007 involved two pairs of candidates: Adang Daradjatun, a retired Police Commissioner General and former Deputy Chief of Indonesian Police; and Dani Anwar, a senior member of PKS; as well as Foke and Prijanto, a retired Army Major General. The first pair was supported by PKS, while the second pair was supported by 19 other parties, which represented 72.4 percent of the total votes or 70.7 percent of the Jakarta Council.

Table 4.2.
Jakarta election's candidates and political supporters

Candidates	Political Supporters (1 st Round) *	Political Supporters (2 nd Round)	Total Campaign Budget**
Faisal Basri Biem Benyamin	Independent	-	Rp. 4.1 billion
Hendarji Supandji Riza Patria	Independent	-	Rp. 3 billion
Alex Nurdin Nono Sampono	Golkar, PPP, PDS, several non-seat parties 18 seats, or 19.1 percent of total DPRD seats	-	Rp. 24.5 billion
Hidayat Nur Wahid- Didik J. Rachbini	PKS, PAN (percentage of seats in DPRD) 18 seats, or 19.1 percent of total DPRD seats	-	Rp. 21.5 billion
Fauzi Bowo Nachrowi Ramli	PD, PKB, PAN, Hanura and scores of non seat parties 41 seats or 43.6 percent of total DPRD seats***	PD, PKB, PAN, PKS, PDS and Golkar 77 seats, or 81.9 percent of total DPRD seats	Rp. 62.6 billion
Joko Widodo Basuki Tjahaya Purnama	PDIP, Gerindra 17 seats, or 18.1 percent of total DPRD seats****	PDIP, Gerindra 17 seats, or 18.1 percent of total DPRD seats	Rp. 27.5 billion

Source: Adapted from Ahmad and Popa (2014); KPU DKI Jakarta (2012).

* Independent candidates were required to secure support from a minimum of 3 percent of Jakarta voters, or 407,345, as evidenced by copies of supporters' ID cards. Party-backed candidates were required to gain support from a party or a coalition of parties that secured 15 percent of the total seats in the Jakarta council, or 15 percent of votes in the last election.

** Data on campaign funds for the second round are not available, as unlike in the first round in the second round the campaign teams were not required to declare this information.

As shown in Table 4.2, Foke secured the biggest support; from the coalition of parties which together controlled over 40 percent of the total Jakarta DPRD seats in the first round and over 80 percent in the second round. It is therefore not surprising that opinion polling conducted by major Indonesian pollsters predicted that Foke would win the election in the first round (Hamid, 2012). However, the prediction was proven later to be inaccurate; as his closest rival Jokowi, although

supported by only a coalition of two parties with mere 18 percent of DPRD seats, won both the first and second rounds of the elections (See Table 4.3.).

Table 4.3.
Result of the Jakarta 2012 gubernatorial election

Candidates	First Round	Second Round
Faisal Basri Biem Benyamin	215,935 (4,98%)	-
Hendardji Supandji Riza Patria	85,990 (1,98%)	-
Alex Nurdin Nono Sampono	202,643 (4,67%)	-
Hidayat Nur Wahid- Didik J. Rachbini	508,113 (11.72%)	
Fauzi Bowo Nachrowi Ramli	1,476,648 votes (34,05%)	2,120,815 (46,18%)
Joko Widodo Basuki Tjahaya Purnama	1,847,157 (42,6%)	2,472,130 (53,82%)

Source: KPU DKI Jakarta, 2012.

4.3.1. Joko Widodo

In the 2012 gubernatorial election, Jokowi's campaigning was characterised by its decentralized, if not chaotic, nature; as shown in the establishment of a number of campaign teams in addition to the official campaign team led by PDIP.⁷² The decentralized nature of his campaign teams made Jokowi's camp more open to the contributions of the political campaign industry, and also provided the opportunity for the industry to employ social media strategically for electoral campaigning.

⁷² KPU requires a candidate to register his or her official campaign team. The campaign team is known as the official campaign team of the candidate. For party-backed candidates, the campaign team always consists of, and is led by, party members. However, it is a common practice in Indonesia for a candidate to set up one or two unofficial campaign teams, which are usually led by the candidate's relatives or trusted friends or colleagues. In the case of Jokowi, in addition to PDIP-led campaign team, his personal campaign team accommodated the establishment of a number of smaller teams for different campaigning purposes. For digital campaigning, for example, there were a number of teams under the coordination of industry professional industry professionals.

The political campaign industry's participation in Jokowi's campaign teams in the 2012 Jakarta election, and the industry's employment of social media to support his campaigning, were shaped largely by the contradictions in Jokowi's relations to the political parties, campaign donors and voters.

Jokowi's popularity ahead of the Jakarta election had contributed considerably to his unexpected victory. Jokowi was a 'media darling', a profile that he had been building since he began serving as mayor of Surakarta in 2005. Supported by his communications team, he successfully built an image as a clean, humane and humble leader in the Indonesian political scene, in stark contrast to the more common image of corrupt politicians.⁷³

However, popularity was not the sole factor that defined his successful media campaigning in Jakarta and contributed to his victory. Jokowi media campaign strategies, including the use of social media by industry professionals who supported his campaigns, were determined by his relations to various political parties, which eventually shaped his relations to campaign donors and voters. Jokowi's relations to other political players were not always smooth. On the contrary, his relation to Partai Demokrasi Indonesia Perjuangan (PDIP), the main political party that supported him, was marred by friction within the party elite pertaining to his nomination, which subsequently defined his relations to other

⁷³ His popularity was achieved by his media team, which initially built his public image as a reformist, clean and humane leader in Surakarta. In fact, his trusted media team, led by Surakarta veteran journalist Anggit Nugroho, continued to work for him not only during political campaign periods but also after he was in office, as mayor, governor and as president (Saputra, 2012).

political players.⁷⁴ Such friction was not uncommon in the electoral process. In the case of Jokowi, it centred on him not being a member of the PDIP, the major party that nominated him.⁷⁵ He was a furniture entrepreneur from Surakarta mayoralty in Central Java who became a mayor in 2005; with the full support of PDIP headquarters following the endorsements and personal guarantee of Surakarta PDIP Chairperson FX Hadi Rudyatmo. At best, Jokowi was a PDIP cadre.

PDIP Chairperson Megawati Sukarnoputri's decision to endorse Jokowi was shaped by her personal conflict with President Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono.⁷⁶ She rejected a proposal to pair PDIP member and former Army major general Adang Ruchiatna Puradiredja as the deputy governor candidate to Foke, because Yudhoyono endorsed the pair (Anonymous senior PDIP member, personal communication, November 2013). Megawati opted to nominate Jokowi, following intense lobbying not only from members of the PDIP elite, but from former Golkar Chairman and former Vice President Jusuf Kalla (see Dewi & Aritonang, 2013; Witoelar, 2014). Kalla's endorsement was made following the request of

⁷⁴ Megawati founded PDIP in 1999, shortly after the fall of Suharto, whose government forced her out of PDI leadership in 1996 (see Lay, 2010; Mietzner, 2012a).

⁷⁵ A political party or a party coalition commonly nominates party members, particularly those in the leadership, to run in the election. However, the nomination of a non-party member by a political party or a coalition of political parties is possible under the post-authoritarian Indonesia electoral system.

⁷⁶ Megawati appeared to be unable to move on from her failure in the 2004 Indonesian presidential election to her former minister Yudhoyono. Megawati considered this former minister "untrustworthy" and ceased her personal relations with him. Therefore, she did not endorse Adang as Foke's deputy candidate although it was her late husband, adviser and senior PDIP member, Taufik Kiemas, who had cut the deal with Yudhoyono over Adang's nomination (Anonymous senior PDIP member, personal communication, 2013). This information was confirmed by Basuki Tjahaja Purnama, who ran as Jokowi's deputy governor candidate. Ahok suggested that Megawati's insistence to endorse him had created tension between her and Taufik (see Aziza, 2016).

Djan Faridz, a PPP senior member, who opposed the candidacy of Foke. Kalla, who barely knew Jokowi, lobbied Megawati through his long-time partner, Sofyan Wanandi (Dewi & Aritonang, 2013). He also lobbied Gerindra Chairman Prabowo Subianto, as PDIP needed to form a coalition to be able to endorse Jokowi. Prabowo's agreement was related to his ambition to run in the 2014 presidential election.

Megawati's decision disappointed the PDIP elite in Jakarta (Boy Sadikin, personal communication, October 2013).⁷⁷ One of the reasons was because Jokowi, who was based in Surakarta mayoralty, had made no contribution to developing the party in Jakarta. Moreover, some members of the PDIP elite considered themselves to have better access not only to political and economic resources but also to the networks in Jakarta that were necessary for winning the election.

This internal PDIP friction stalled Jokowi's electoral campaign plans considerably. A Javanese, Jokowi expected to run in the Jakarta election with popular movie director/actor and Betawi native Deddy Mizwar as his deputy candidate (Huda, 2012). However, Megawati opted to approve Prabowo's proposal to endorse lesser known Christian politician of Chinese descent Basuki Tjahaja Purnama (known as 'Ahok'), in return for Prabowo's commitment to fund

⁷⁷ Sadikin, who chaired PDIP in Jakarta, admitted that Megawati's decision to endorse Jokowi disappointed him, as a PDIP member for over 20 years. He eventually resigned as PDIP chairman in Jakarta in 2016, in the hope that he would get endorsement from other parties in the 2017 Jakarta election.

their campaign (Dewi & Aritonang, 2013).⁷⁸ Prabowo's endorsement of Ahok reflected his strategy to soften his image in his preparation to run in the 2014 presidential election, after his alleged involvement in the 1998 anti-Chinese racial riots.⁷⁹

The disappointment of some members of the PDIP elite contributed to their rather indifferent support in generating campaign funds, particularly in the first round of the election. Jokowi himself was not without resources. However, his personal funds were supplemented by donations from the PDIP and a few senior PDIP members.⁸⁰ Gerindra, which promised to cover the campaign expenses, actually used more of their campaign funds to produce outdoor and mass media campaign advertisements supporting Prabowo than Jokowi (Boy Sadikin, personal communication, October 2013). Moreover, campaign donors were not easily found, because of a general inclination to support Foke as the incumbent governor. However, with the help of his trusted confidante, retired army general

⁷⁸ Ahok was an entrepreneur before he turned to politics. He once joined PPIB, a new party founded by the late economist and politician Sjahrir, and served as member of DPRD Belitung Timur, before becoming regent of Belitung Timur, a small regency in Sumatra in 2005. He later joined Golkar and became a member of the DPR. Ahok had attempted to run as an independent candidate in 2012 Jakarta election, but was unable to gain sufficient public support. He then approached Gerindra for endorsement, through Prabowo's brother, Hasyim Djojohadikusumo.

⁷⁹ Prabowo was a former chief of the Army Strategic Command assigned to ensure Jakarta's security in 1998. However, Prabowo was in fact dismissed from the military in 1998, due to his role in the kidnapping of some pro-democracy activists, some of whom remain unaccounted for today. His last military rank was lieutenant general. Prabowo had indicated his intention to run in the presidential election in 2014.

⁸⁰ Jokowi personally provided Rp 8 billion rupiah for his campaigning, which was ridiculed as paltry by PDIP senior members. They estimated the ideal campaign budget in Jakarta was between Rp 50 to Rp 100 billion (Boy Sadikin, interview, 2013).

and former Minister of Trade and Industry Luhut B. Panjaitan, Jokowi was still able to attract substantial campaign funds from some high profile donors.⁸¹

The combination of weak political support and limited campaign funds influenced Jokowi's mobilisation of voters in Jakarta. To be able to reach out to the electorate, the party needed to run its political machinery effectively. The party machinery, however, would not work successfully without sufficient funds (Boy Sadikin, personal communication, October 2013). Under such conditions, it was crucial to maximise the attraction of Jokowi's popularity in order to mobilise voters in Jakarta.

Under the conditions described above, Jokowi was unable to entrust his electoral campaigning to PDIP and Gerindra. In response, he set up and led his personal campaign team, consisting of his trusted supporters from Surakarta – a number of professionals from the political campaign industry as well as former generals like Luhut – to support his campaigning. This personal campaign team of Jokowi's was more receptive not only to the participation of the industry professionals, but also to those industry professionals employing new media, including social media, to support his campaigning. The political campaign industry professionals, in turn, gained more opportunities and incentives to experiment with social media for electoral campaigning.

⁸¹ Luhut founded an energy and plantation company after he retired as a minister. He was able to gain donations from his network in the industry for Jokowi's campaign. Jokowi's main donor was a Surakarta royal, Mooryati Soedibyo, who is also the founder a major Indonesian cosmetics company and other companies in the property and hospitality sectors.

Jokowi involved and coordinated such members of the political campaign industry from the first round of the election. Among the members were Andrinof Chaniago, director of the polling agency Cirrus Surveyor; Eep Saifullah Fatah, director of the political consultancy agency PolMark; Sonny Subrata, director of advertising and marketing agency CDA/Arwuda; Kartika Jumadi, director of lobbying company Spin Doctors Indonesia; Jose Rizal, director of Politicawave; and Deddy Rachman, director of Katapedia. These last four professionals were heavily involved in Jokowi's social media campaigns.

The industry professionals had foreseen business opportunities enabled by social media. For example, prior to the Jakarta election, Sonny Subrata, who owns a company specializing in the social media marketing field, joined forces with PT Mediawave to establish Politicawave, which focuses on social media monitoring services for politics. Similarly, Deddy, who founded Katapedia for commercial social media marketing purposes, considered that the increasing number of social media users provided new business opportunities (Deddy Rachman, personal communication, October 2013).

These professionals to Jokowi's campaign teams was able to engage in his social media campaigning either due to their previous professional experiences or personal connection. Sonny, who has close ties to PDIP had approached Jokowi individually long before the election campaign period. He was involved in lobbying Megawati to endorse Jokowi in the Jakarta election (Kartika Jumadi,

personal communication, November 2013).⁸² Lingkaran Survey Indonesia, which was recruited to Jokowi's campaign in the second round of the election, also engaged its digital media division to support his social media campaigns (Reza Yunanto, personal communication, November 2013). On the other hand, Deddy joined Jokowi's campaign team through the recommendation of a relative of Jokowi. Apart from Andrinof, none of the professionals was paid for their services by Jokowi.⁸³ Importantly, their campaigning efforts, particularly those through social media, were not funded by Jokowi either. This condition affected how social media were employed for his campaigning, which will be discussed in the next section.

4.3.2. Fauzi Bowo

In contrast to Jokowi, Foke produced a far stronger electoral campaign. His campaign, including its media aspects, was largely centralized inside the campaign team, which comprised members of the relevant political parties and the political campaign industry. Such a centralized campaign team is no less welcoming to the political campaign industry than is decentralized one. However, it provides limited incentives for the employment of *experimental* social media campaigning, due to the stable relations between the candidates, the political parties, campaign donors and voters.

⁸² Sonny, along with other professionals such as Andrinof, Jokowi's main pollster, were involved in lobbying Sukarnoputri to endorse Jokowi in the Jakarta election.

⁸³ Organised by PDIP and Gerindra, the professional campaigners working for Jokowi's campaign teams were professionally compensated by the political parties.

Unlike Jokowi, Foke was a seasoned Jakarta-based bureaucrat and politician, who was assumed to retain the strongest campaign resource base in the capital. His profile as a candidate was impeccable. He held a doctorate in engineering from a noted German university, had served the Jakarta administration for more than 30 years, including as a deputy governor, and was a member of the ruling Democrat Party (PD).

However, Foke's candidacy was not without problems. The major impediment that undermined Foke's campaign was rooted in the internal conflicts operating within the political parties that supported him. PD was in the midst of major elite party conflict. Prior to the election campaign period, PD Chairman Anas Urbaningrum and its Advisory Board Chairman and Indonesian President Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono had engaged in a clash, spurred by Anas' victory as PD chairman against the will of Yudhoyono in the party's national convention in 2010. The latter, who had founded the party and remained the core figure within it, had guaranteed the position to his trusted ally: spokesperson and Minister of Youth and Sports Andi A. Mallarangeng (Manafe, 2012). To tone down Yudhoyono's disappointment, Anas chose as his secretary general the President's inexperienced son Edhi Baskoro Yudhoyono, who was later implicated in a corruption case (Buehler & Tan, 2007; Tarigan, 2011).⁸⁴ In addition, PD was not

⁸⁴ The friction between the elites increased until Anas was forced to step down from his position in February 2013 (see Honna, 2012). Anas was later jailed for 14 years in a high profile corruption case over the loss of more than Rp 450 billion. Senior PD allies of Anas were jailed for corruption, including Angelina Sondakh (for 10 years) and M. Nazaruddin (for 4 to 7 years in multiple corruption cases). Both Angelina and Nazarudin were on Anas' campaign team in the PD election in 2010. However, Mallarangeng was also jailed for 7 years in a related graft case.

able to form a coalition with PDIP or PPP. Eventually, Foke accepted Nachrowi Ramli, the chairman of PD Jakarta branch and former chief of LSN, to become his deputy governor running mate.

Foke's fractured ties to PPP's influential senior member and Yudhoyono's Public Housing Minister Djan Faridz also created a major problem. Foke's alliance with Djan, who had been one of his major campaign donors in the 2007 election, broke down (Dewi & Aritonang, 2013). Their relationship ended after the Jakarta administration took over a shopping centre in Tanah Abang, Central Jakarta, operated by one of the Djan's companies. The conflict resulted in PPP offering only partial support for his nomination. PPP also supported their alternative candidate, PPP cadre Nono Sampono, who was nominated as the running mate of Golkar's gubernorial candidate Alex Nurdin. However, the major problem for Foke was not simply PPP's partial support for his candidacy. Rather, because the problem was that the conflict had motivated Djan to lobby Jusuf Kalla to find a strong challenger for Foke; which led to Djan supporting Jokowi (Dewi & Aritonang, 2013).⁸⁵

Despite the complex problems experienced by those political parties that supported him, Foke was able to generate the largest amount of campaign funding in the election; an achievement that was not unrelated to his position as the incumbent governor (see Table 4.2). His campaign donors consisted mainly of

⁸⁵ He planned to challenge Foke in the election, but aborted his plan due to his low popularity (Gatra, 2012).

national property businesses. In addition, other national and local businesses operating in Jakarta supported his campaigning, as did various enterprises owned by the Jakarta administration (Budi Siswanto, personal communication, November 2013). His position as the governor also facilitated greater campaign reach to the grass roots of Jakarta.

Under Foke's campaign team, the political campaign industry functioned to maintain and increase his visibility in public to win the election. This explained the ways in which professionals from the political campaign industry were recruited into his campaign team. Those hired by him included scores of high profile campaign professionals such as Ipang Wahid of FastComm, Ratih Hardjono of Mirah Sakethi Consultancy, Widdi Aswindi of Jaringan Survey Indonesia, Saiful Mudjani of SMRC, and Denny J.A. of Lingkaran Survei Indonesia.⁸⁶

Not only were the political campaign members recruited professionally, their media campaigning was fully funded by Foke's campaign team. This explained the Foke's team's preference for mass media, particularly television and newspapers. Mass media campaigning remained a major mode of electoral campaigning to support Foke, not only due to its vast reach but also due to the

⁸⁶ Ipang Wahid, or Irfan Asyari Sudirman, is the executive director of Fastcomm. He graduated from the Jakarta Institute of Technology and the Art Institute of Seattle in the United States. Ipang is the son of Salahuddin Wahid, who is the brother of the late former president Abdurrahman Wahid. Ratih is known most widely as a former journalist and spokesperson for Abdurrahman Wahid, who later set up her communication agency. Widdi is a former director of LSI, an ITB graduate and former 1998 student activist.

team's relative control over the campaign messages produced and distributed through mass media. This issue was raised by the secretary of Foke's campaign team:

“Most social media users were young people. You would not know what they would post about. We need to be careful as it might backfire against our campaigning. It's different to campaign ads. Our campaign messages that we developed for the ads are the ones published on television or newspapers.” (Budi Siswanto, personal communication, November 2012).

Some members of the political campaign industry in Foke's teams preferred to engage with mass media campaigning for other reasons: because it was proven to be sustainable and profitable. Some industry professionals tended to consider social media campaigning to be a *complementary* service to the more profitable forms of mass media campaigning (Heryanto, 2012). Social media users in Jakarta were assumed to consist of mainly the young middle class who were perceived to be disinterested in politics, and not easy to mobilise (Ratih Hardjono, personal communication, October 2013).

Such attitudes shaped the Foke campaign team's strategies in using the Internet and social media for his campaigning. The industry professionals working for Foke tended to employ online campaigning as one-way communication, similar to mass media. His campaign team preferred to control the channelling of any

campaign messages through online media, although his campaigners did also set up his official social media accounts.⁸⁷

4.3.3. Alex Nurdin

The incorporation of political campaign industry professionals into Alex Nurdin's campaign team shared similarities to the situation with Foke. Alex's electoral campaigning was centralized in his campaign team, which comprised both political party members and political campaign industry professionals. His strategy of centralized campaigning also limited the incentives for industry professionals to employ social media strategically.

Alex, a senior Golkar member and South Sulawesi Governor, was nominated by his party. However, due to friction with Golkar, his nomination did not guarantee his party's full support. Although Alex was endorsed by Golkar Chairman Aburizal Bakrie, his nomination was not supported by the majority of Golkar members. The Golkar branch in Jakarta considered endorsing Prya Ramadhani, its chairman and father in law of Bakrie's youngest son Ardiansyah Bakrie, as well as senior members Tantowi Yahya and Azis Syamsudin (see Witoelar, 2014).⁸⁸

Some Golkar members challenged Alex's nomination, mainly because he was not

⁸⁷ The industry professionals working for Foke came from different companies and expertise. Their collaboration in support of Foke was not always smooth. During the first round of the elections, for example, Irfan Wahid was given the highest budget from Foke to run his media campaigning. However, other professional campaigners disagreed with his decision to allocate most of that budget to produce campaign ads for television (Anonymous professional campaigner, personal communication, December 2013). Such disagreement indicated the rivalry between the industry professionals.

⁸⁸ Bakrie-owned PT Bakrie Sumatra Plantation Tbk ran 120,000 hectares of plantations in Sumatra, some of which were located in South Sumatra.

popular in Jakarta and was still on his South Sumatra gubernatorial services until 2013 as South Sumatra governor. Alex teamed up with Nono Sampono, a PPP cadre. However, Alex could not expect much political support from the PPP, because that party had also endorsed Foke in the election.⁸⁹ Similarly, while he had some support from PDS, this party was both small and internally divided, split between factions supporting Foke and Alex.

Regardless, it was Golkar that was in charge of organising Alex's electoral campaigning. Alex, however, set up a second campaign team in addition to his official Golkar-led campaign team. He placed his son Dodi Reza at the head of the second campaign team. Both teams were financed mainly by Alex, although Golkar did donate to fund his official campaign team operations (mainly in the form of campaign materials like campaign shirts) (Ade Komaruddin, personal communication, November 2013).

Alex was able to raise more than Rp 24 billion (see Table 4.2) with the help of his campaign donors, which included some plantation and mining companies in South Sulawesi (Anonymous member of Alex campaign team, personal communication, October 2013). Suharto's daughter, Titik Suharto, also supported his campaign by lending her house in the wealthy suburb of Menteng, Central Jakarta free of charge (Asril, 2012).

⁸⁹ Nono had initially approached PDIP to get the party endorsement to run for governor. However, he later decided to switch to Golkar, as PDIP could not guarantee his nomination. The Jakarta branch of PPP had endorsed its senior member, who was also a Jakarta gangster leader, Abraham Lunggana (popularly known as Haji Lulung), to run as Alex's candidate for deputy governor.

Moreover, unlike Foke, as the Governor of South Sumatra, Alex was unable to optimise the benefits of his networks and patronage of office. This situation was capitalised on by the campaign industry professionals, who saw an opportunity to employ social media in Alex's electoral campaigning for their own benefit. As with Foke's campaign team, Alex's campaign teams recruited both political campaign industry firms and individuals, including LSI and Giga Communication, led by former journalist M. Sulhi Rawi. However, although Alex's campaign strategists employed online campaigning, they focused more on online media (through paid advertisements) instead of social media; although the team also set up some official campaign accounts on Facebook and Twitter (M. Sulhi Rawi, personal communication, November 2013).

4.3.4. Hidayat Nur Wahid

The electoral campaigns of Hidayat Nur Wahid, a former chairman of both PKS and MPR, was also centralized within the party that supported him: PKS. The main difference between his campaigning and that of other party-backed candidates was the level of support from the party. PKS not only supported Hidayat politically; it also organised, financed, fund-raised and operated his campaigning. Such party-centralized campaign organisation provided little opportunity for the political campaign industry to contribute in his media campaigning.

PKS was known as the best and most effectively organised party in the country. However, while Hidayat's nomination was fully endorsed by his party, he was not able to maximise the benefit of the political support from PAN, whose senior member, Didik J. Rachbini, ran as Hidayat's running mate in the election. PAN officially endorsed Foke, although some members insisted on supporting Rachbini's campaigning (Qodir, 2012).

Consequently, Hidayat's campaigning relied mainly on funds raised by PKS. The party was able to attract funds from its members, many of whom owned small and middle size business in Jakarta (Dedi Supriyadi, personal communication, November 2013). Therefore, it tended to spend its campaign funds in ways that distributed more benefits to such members. In the case of social media campaigning, for example, PKS was supported by a number of campaign professionals who were PKS cadres (Boy Hamidi, personal communication, October 2013).⁹⁰ PKS social media campaigning was mainly supported by its members and sympathizers, most of whom were familiar with the Internet and social media. However, precisely because of that, Hidayat's social media campaigning was strictly limited to PKS members and sympathizers and, as a result, was unable to attract common social media users (Boy Hamidi, personal October communication, 2013).

⁹⁰ PKS also recruited communication company Fortune to support its mass media campaigning (Boy Hamidi, personal communication, October 2013).

4.3.5. Faisal Basri

In contrast to the campaigning strategies of party-backed candidates, independent candidate Faisal Basri was the central initiator of his campaign. Without political party support, he took charge of his own electoral campaigning. This opened up more possibilities for the political campaign industry to become involved in his campaigning, including through social media. However, and despite his limited campaign budget, the campaigners working for Faisal focused on mass media campaigning.

As a lecturer of University of Indonesia' School of Economics, as well as a researcher, activist and founder of PAN, Faisal relied heavily on his personal networks to support his campaigning. The networks of his deputy candidate, Biem Benyamin, who was a member of DPD, owner of a private local radio station, and son of Jakarta's popular performing artist the late Benyamin S, were not as vast as other party-backed candidates.

Faisal was forced to finance his campaigning himself, as he was unable to raise substantial campaign funds from other major donors.⁹¹ Consequently, his campaign team's strategy to pay for expensive advertisements through mass media, most prominently television and newspapers, was aimed at raising his visibility in public. While known among some middle class in Jakarta, Faisal was not a familiar figure amongst the general public. Regardless, his campaign team,

⁹¹ Faisal sold one of his properties to finance his campaigning (Setyadi, 2012; Sobri, 2012).

which comprised mainly industry practitioners who were not employed professionally by Faisal, was well prepared with social media campaigning. His campaign team, which included some of his friends with media expertise such as Santosa and Reiza Azhari, was able to generate Rp 1 billion in campaign funds through online fund-raising (Reiza Azhari, personal communication, November 2013).

4.3.6. Hendarji Supanji

Like Faisal, independent candidate Hendarji Supanji also personally directed his campaign team, which included some former colleagues and professional campaigners, including former television presenter Ida Parwati. The retired Army Major General who was paired with Riza Patria, a senior Gerindra member and middle level entrepreneur, was not able to generate much funding and had limited resource networks.

Hendarji's campaign team also used mass media as a main campaigning tool, a strategy that took a significant part of his limited campaign budget (Ida Parwati, personal communication, December 2013). His team's employment of online campaigning, which was not specifically budgeted, was seen as an initiative of a member of the team who had some media industry experience. The main reason he failed to mobilise voters was his lack of finances (compared to party-backed candidates), which limited his capacity for online, and offline, campaigning (Ida Parwati, personal communication, December 2013).

4.4. The Political Campaign Industry and Social Media Use

This next section argues that the use of social media in the Jakarta election was not organic. The emergence of social media use was a consequence of the involvement of practitioners from the political campaign industry, who developed and sold social media campaigning services to their clients (mainly the political parties and the candidates). This finding supports the idea that commercial means increasingly play crucial roles in constructing public opinion, particularly in the electoral context (Sussman, 2005). More importantly, it also supports the view that social media have been used for commercial purposes in the context of electoral competition (Trottier & Fuchs, 2015).

In addition to the nature of social media, there were crucial commercial incentives for the industry to build social media campaigning as profitable services. Firstly, there was a lack of regulation on social media electoral campaigning.⁹² The existing law regulating the 2012 Jakarta gubernatorial election did not refer to online electoral campaigning through the Internet or Internet-based platforms.⁹³ The law merely regulated electoral campaigning through conventional media, which were obliged to provide free and balanced coverage to all candidates in electoral campaigns. The lack of regulation suggested that social media, unlike

⁹² Electoral campaigning in local elections is regulated in 2015 following the issuance of *Undang-undang No. 8 Tahun 2015 tentang Pemilihan Gubernur dan Wakil Gubernur, Bupati dan Wakil Bupati serta Walkota dan Wakil Walikota*, also known as the law on local elections. Online electoral campaigning is regulated in 2015 following the issuance of KPU Regulation No 7/2015 on Local Election Campaigns.

⁹³ Direct local elections were regulated by *Undang Undang No 32 Tahun 2004 tentang Pemerintahan Daerah*, or the law on local administrations. Direct local elections were later regulated by *Undang-undang No. 22 Tahun 2007 tentang Penyelenggaraan Pemilihan Umum*, or the law on general elections. The 2007 Jakarta election become the first local election regulated by the law. The 2012 Jakarta election was held under the same law.

conventional mass media, were not considered official campaign channels during the 2012 Jakarta election, and thus that the Internet platforms escaped any such requirements set by law. Secondly, social media have the potential to mobilise users; a crucial factor that can be developed into a new service as an alternative to established forms of mass media campaigning. The general perception that campaigning through social media is cheaper than the more expensive forms of mass media contributed to the development of social media campaigning as a new competitive service. This is not to suggest that social media campaigning services are free. After all, social media campaigning services were developed by commercial enterprises for profit, particularly because this development required particular technical expertise that the political parties or politicians do not have. Such development of social media campaigning services represented media commodification as suggested by Mosco (2009).

Those industry professionals who were ready to initiate social media campaigning were those who were optimistic about its prospects in the political campaigning market. Most of these industry professionals involved in the Jakarta elections were working for Jokowi (Kartika Jumadi, personal communication, November 2013). In these Jakarta elections, despite their sometime indifferent attitudes to social media, all candidates nonetheless employed social media as shown in Table 4.4.

Table 4.4.
Jakarta candidates and modes of campaign

Candidates	Consultants	Offline Campaign	Websites	Social Media
Faisal Basri-Biem Benyamin	Santosa (senior journalist of KBR68H) and Reza Azhari (media professional)	Canvassing Mainstream media	http://www.faisalbiem.com	Twitter: @FaisalBiem Facebook: https://www.facebook.com/faisalbiem
Hendarji Supandji-Riza Patria	Ida Parwati (former TV presenter), Karel Susetyo	Canvassing Mainstream media	http://hendardjisoepondji.net	Twitter: @Hendarji74 Facebook: https://www.facebook.com/groups/hendarji.ariza https://www.facebook.com/groups/2195009527207
Alex Nurdin-Nono Sampono	Lembaga Survei Indonesia, individual campaigners	Canvassing Mainstream media	http://www.3tahunbisa.com http://alexnono.com	Twitter @3TahunBisa Facebook: https://www.facebook.com/TigaTahunBisa
Hidayat Nur Wahid-Didik J. Rachbini	Fortune PR, individual campaigners	Canvassing Mainstream media	http://hidayatdidik.net	Twitter: @hidayatdidik Facebook: https://www.facebook.com/hidayatdidik
Fauzi Bowo-Nachrowi Ramli	JSI, SMRC, Lingkaran Survei Indonesia, Fastcomm, Mirah Sakethi Consultancy, individual campaign consultants	Canvassing Mainstream media	http://www.fauzibowo.com , http://web.fauzinachrowi.com	Twitter @bangfauzibowo Facebook: https://www.facebook.com/bangfauzibowo
Joko Widodo-Basuki Tjahaya Purnama	Cirrus Surveyors Group, Cyrus Network, PolMark, individual campaigners	Canvassing Mainstream media	http://jakartabar.u.co , http://www.jokowicenter.com , http://ahok.org	Twitter: @JokowiAhok @Jokowi_do2 @basuki_btp Facebook: https://www.facebook.com/jokowibasuki

Source: Author

In the case of all contestants in the 2012 Jakarta elections, the use of social media for campaigning was initiated and operated by the campaign professionals. However, this chapter argues that economic factors drove the emergence of social media campaigning (Sussman, 2005); rather than the trigger being the lack of

expertise of the political parties or candidates to engage with the technical aspects of media technology (Norris, 2000).

However, the involvement of practitioners from the political campaign industry in the electoral campaigning operation did not occur automatically. It was initiated by the development of social media campaigning services, including the managing of content, audience or users, and labour. These three aspects defined the significance of social media campaigning services in the electoral process.

4.4.1. Social Media Content

The production and circulation of campaign messages became a main focus for the campaign industry. The findings of this dissertation contradict arguments that social media articulated a *genuine* expression of social media users (or volunteers) in the 2012 Jakarta election (Suaedy, 2014). While the findings did not contradict arguments that social media content reflected textual contestation and manipulation (Sadasri, 2016), it found that application of social media to generate content can actually provide a new business opportunity for the industry.

Social media content consists of text, images, videos or memes that are passed from one user to another.⁹⁴ Social media content is significant not only because it is a subject of consumption, but also, more importantly, production and distribution (as well as re-production and re-distribution) by social media users (see Dean, 2005; Fuchs, 2009). Therefore, the main purpose of social media

⁹⁴ Social media content ranges from regular text to complicated images, videos and memes, highlighting the time, skills and energy dedicated by users to producing them, mainly for free.

campaigning is to make campaign issues go *viral*. Virality refers to a many-to-many, mass-personal communication shaped by various factors, from the characteristics of networks to human attention (Nahon & Hemsley, 2013). This is the point where the political campaign industry can contribute: generating content that attracts as many users as possible to engage in the production and distribution of the campaign messages.

However, the work of the political campaign industry did not focus on the creation of social media content *per se*. Instead, their main task was sourcing, curating and managing campaign *issues*, to maintain the flow of social media content production and distribution throughout the electoral campaign period, until the day of the election.⁹⁵ These tasks were to support the strategies dubbed positive and negative campaigning. This refers to electoral campaign messages that highlight the strengths (achievements or personal characteristics deemed supportive of image development) of the candidates, known as positive content; and its converse, the negative content that focuses on campaign messages promoting the weakness (failures or personal characteristics deemed detrimental to image-making) of the contenders.⁹⁶

⁹⁵Social media campaigning firms provide a series of services commonly adopted in the field of marketing; from setting the campaign objectives, to determining key selling propositions and statements, to conducting research, planning, execution and evaluation.

⁹⁶Some scholars have condemned negative campaigning as the malaise of democratic politics, while others argue that negative campaigning is a legitimate and necessary part of a democratic discussion, because it provides citizens with essential information about the issues and choices at stake (Ansolabehere & Iyengar, 1994; Mayer, 1996). Indonesian campaign professionals also acknowledge a strategy known as “black” campaigning, referring to fictitious issues or rumours against the candidates’ contenders aimed at reducing their electability or popularity.

The significance of the positive and negative campaigning was to encourage users to amass campaign content through social media (see Dean, 2005).⁹⁷ It is the interplay between the positive and negative aspects of the candidates that becomes the ground from which the whole electoral campaign is played out in social media. Through positive and negative campaign issues, the industry was able not only to mobilise users to generate content, but more importantly to highlight the visibility of social media content carrying issues during the election that fell into the two categories: supporting the candidates and denouncing their contenders.

During the 2012 Jakarta election, Jokowi became a target of negative campaigning drives which culminated during the second round of the election (Kusumadewi & Sodik, 2012). Most of the issues against him revolved around false accusations about his Muslim credentials or his Javanese background. In contrast, the issues against Foke were mostly those focussing on the failure of his administration to handle urban problems such as traffic jams and flooding (Haryanto, Theo, & Malik, 2012).

4.4.2. Mobilising Users

The political campaign industry professionals sought to mobilise social media users to engage in the production and distribution of social media content.⁹⁸

⁹⁷ The ability of social media to amass content is a particular media phenomenon which one scholar named “the fantasy of abundance” (Dean, 2009). It refers to the accumulation of content on the Internet which, instead of proliferating discourses, depreciates its meaning. The abundance of social media content often hides or buries the substance or the messages.

⁹⁸ Political campaigners commonly target specific group of voters as a strategy to divide voters into “ours” and “theirs”. The target voters may be defined by geographical location, ethnicity,

Analysing and categorising interest groups within an electorate is a routine task for political campaign professionals, who seek then to sell candidates to those targeted voters. Mobilising voters through social media requires “a highly individuated and partisan political climate in which politicians speak through the electorate largely through sound bites that their pollsters’ data identify as safe, memorable and marketable” (Sussman, 2005, p. 41).

To mobilise social media users in the proliferation of campaign content supporting their clients, Jakarta-based professional campaigners categorised users into supporters of the candidates, supporters of the contenders, undecided voters and journalists (Kartika Jumadi, personal communication, November 2013). In conventional campaigning, supporters of other candidates were not targeted; due to the assumption that they will never convert their preference. Conventional campaigning through mass media was mainly designed to influence undecided voters and reinforce the supporters of the candidates. The opposite, however, has happened in social media campaigning (Suaedy, 2014, p. 124). Campaigners target supporters of the contender *not* necessarily to convert them, but rather to engage them in a cyber campaign war. Such a war (involving the proliferation of social media content that either supports or denounces certain candidates) is important for purposes such as opinion reinforcement, mobilisation, donation and activism targeted at the candidates’ supporters.

Central to what the campaign teams dubbed the ‘cyber war’ is online activism,

demography (such as age, sex, religion, social class), life styles, values or attitudes.

which aims to convert interested but passive social media users into activists. This was introduced prominently by professionals working for Jokowi, particularly in the second round of the election in August 2014. The professional campaigners working for Jokowi set up Jokowi-Ahok Social Media Volunteers (JASMEV), a loose volunteer group. This group turned into the first visible online volunteer group during the electoral campaign period in Jakarta. These volunteers comprised mostly students and office employees, who were trained by the professionals to engage in social media campaigning. The training provided meticulous guidance for the volunteers to engage in cyber wars, aimed at both encouraging Jokowi's supporters and provoking supporters of his contenders to join in these cyber wars.⁹⁹ The campaigners not only prepared campaign issues for the volunteers to discuss on social media, but also instructed them on how to produce social media content based on such issues; and when to post this content. The guidance also outlined how to respond to social media content degrading Jokowi and his deputy candidate.

Several campaign teams, including those of Foke and Alex, opted to pay a number of social media users to drive the majority of social media users in their campaigning. Another way of steering social media users to join in social media campaigning was through political party machinery. However, during the Jakarta election, only PKS was able to implement such a strategy. Social media campaigning by Hidayat's team relied heavily on PKS members; however, this

⁹⁹ The professionals' work involved developing campaign issues, monitoring the behaviour of social media users, and guiding the volunteers to engage in cyber campaign wars.

failed to attract the attention of other users, partly because they only connected to fellow PKS members on social media. In addition, professionals working for Hidayat did not specifically guide their members on how to engage in social media campaigning (Boy Hamidi, personal communication, October 2013).

Specifically, such “cyber war” was aimed at *maintaining* the enthusiasm of social media users to continue to produce and distribute electoral content throughout the one month campaign period. The industry’s employment of hash tags on Twitter, for example, reflected its ‘cyber war’ strategy of inviting users to join in the social media electoral campaign. The first acknowledged Twitter hash tag used in the 2012 Jakarta election was #ReplaceTitleSongWithJOKOWI to support Jokowi, which became a trending topic in Indonesia during the Jakarta election (Amri et al., 2013).¹⁰⁰ The use of such a strange and politically irrelevant hash tag was aimed at attracting users to participate in social media campaigning, whether consciously or not. This highlights the attempts to engineer content on social media, aimed specifically at mobilising voters to *participate* in the production and distribution of content about Jokowi.

4.4.3. Managing Labour

This study found that social media campaigning generated labour that require the political campaign industry to manage. The finding contradicts the assertion that social media campaigns which supported candidates were generated by genuine

¹⁰⁰ ‘Trending topics’ refers to a number of topics, using the particular hash tag symbol #, that are the most discussed on Twitter over a particular period.

social media volunteers, or, to put it differently, that *all* social media users were volunteers of the candidates (Suaedy, 2014).

The main concerns of this section are the ways in which social media campaigning has enabled new players to enter the campaign consulting business. The industry is a ‘fluid’ one, which welcomes new players with the necessary expertise (Hamburger, 2001; Thurber & Nelson, 2001). However, the findings of this chapter also suggest that the fluid nature of the industry not only accommodates regular players, such as ICT or communication professionals, but also the likes of unidentified ‘buzzers’ or influencers running pseudonymous social media accounts to conduct smear campaigns against the candidates.

Social media campaigning introduced new form of campaign labour, such as ‘buzzing’ and social media monitoring. Buzzing refers to the distribution of campaign issues through social media by users with a large network (for example, with a large number of followers on Twitter or ‘friends’ on Facebook) (Paramadhita, 2013). Such buzzers are perceived to be influential due their ability to reach out and to distribute content to many social media users. In the commercial marketing sector, these users, mainly celebrities with a large number of Twitter followers or Facebook ‘friends’, often receive financial incentives from advertisers to endorse commercial products. However, such users are not always celebrities or famous people. In the context of electoral campaigning, such individuals have become known as buzzers.

In fact, there were two types of buzzers identified during the Jakarta election. The first category was buzzers unpaid by a campaign team; these were mainly popular celebrities and social activists who supported the candidates. This group commonly supported either Jokowi or Basri. The second category was paid buzzers, who were recruited mainly by the campaign teams of Foke and Alex.

a. The Emergence of Pseudonymous Buzzers

In particular, the 2012 Jakarta election marked the emergence of the popular pseudonymous social media buzzers @triomacan2000 or @kurawa, who drew hundreds of thousands of followers, as political buzzers on Twitter.¹⁰¹ The account of @triomacan2000, for example, was run for financial purposes by a number of people led by individuals identified as Raden Nuh and Abdul Rasyid, who were graduates of Sumatra Utara University (Yusron, 2012). Raden once served as a commissioner of state-enterprise PT Asuransi Berdikari. Rasyid was on the expert staff of the Coordinating Minister of Economic Affairs, Hatta Radjasa, who was both PAN chairman and father-in-law of the youngest son of President Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono. The account administrators reportedly threatened Ahok's campaign team that they would buzz smear campaigns against Jokowi and Ahok if the team did not use their buzzing services for Rp 1 billion. The offer was

¹⁰¹ The first recorded popular pseudonymous Twitter account, which posted political issues and gossip on Twitter, was actually @bennyisrael, whose account was set up in 2010. This account garnered the attention of Twitter users because it often tweeted "behind the door" while readers would understand the meaning of this, the colloquial expression with which readers would be familiar would be 'behind the scenes' stories related to some controversial political and securities issues (Reza, 2011).

rejected (Amri et al., 2013).¹⁰² During the election campaign period, @triomacan2000 was hired by Foke's campaign team in the second round of the election (Anonymous campaigner, personal communication, November 2013). This account focused on attacking Jokowi's personal life (Sadasri, 2016).

Twitter account @kurawa, on the other hand, joined the campaign team of Jokowi in a voluntary capacity, organised by JASMEV. This twitter account was run by a man identified as Rudi Sutanto.¹⁰³ In comparison to @triomacan2000, @kurawa focused on uncovering the failures of the Jakarta administration under Foke (Sadasri, 2016).

b. The Establishment of Social Media Monitoring Services

Mobilising social media users required the industry to monitor the behaviour of social media users closely during the electoral campaign period. The emergence of social media monitoring services fulfilled such a need; tracing not only social media users' behaviour and candidate preferences, but also their possible changes in behaviour and preferences. Such information enabled the political contenders to develop a social media campaign strategy and monitor the social media components so as to win the 'cyber campaign war'.

This service represented immanent commodification (see discussion in chapter 2),

¹⁰² The account was active up to the 2014 presidential election.

¹⁰³ Sutanto identified himself as a forensic auditor. His account supported the administration of Ahok, who became the Jakarta governor after Jokowi, who relinquished that office on winning the 2014 presidential election.

which is defined as “how commodities produce their own new commodities, and how new commodities are produced through the association among different commodities” (Mosco, 2009, p. 141). Social media monitoring is on a par with the significance of audience ratings in the commodification of conventional media, which “demands the use of measurement procedures to produce commodities and monitoring techniques to keep track of production, distribution, exchange and consumption” (p. 141).

A social media monitoring service is enabled by a search engine trawling through a mass of content from the Internet and social media. The machine commonly uses certain keywords relevant to the candidates to mine millions of items of social media. It is able to analyse this big data to extract the information necessary for social media campaigning strategy making (Table 4.5). During the 2012 Jakarta election, it was only Jokowi’s personal campaign team that employed such services. The companies that provided the services were Katapedia and Politicawave.¹⁰⁴ Their services involved presenting the results of social media monitoring regularly (daily, weekly or during a certain period prior to crucial times such as televised gubernatorial debates) to other strategists tasked with managing campaign issues.

¹⁰⁴ Politicawave and Katapedia, which were among the first Internet monitoring companies in Indonesia to service a political candidate, when they worked for Jokowi in the 2012 Jakarta election. Politicawave is led by Jose Rizal, while Deddy Rachman chaired Katapedia. Both Rizal and Rachman were ITB-educated engineers. These companies developed software to monitor the Internet and social media content. Their businesses initially catered to commercial campaigning, but then expanded to political campaign online monitoring.

These companies were among the first Indonesian Internet monitoring companies to become involved formally in a political campaign. This particular service of social media monitoring gained public attention following their accurate prediction that Jokowi would win the election, which was against the forecast of conventional pollsters in the first round of the election.¹⁰⁵

Table 4.5.
Social media measurement methods

Method	Function
Sentiment index	To measure and compare the sentiment of social media users toward candidates
Unique user	To measure the number of unique accounts involved in a social media conversation about a certain brand (or candidate) during a certain period of time. This is equal to 'media reach' in conventional media as an effectiveness measurement
Buzz	To measure the number of social media conversations about a brand (or candidate) during a certain period of time
Trend of awareness	To measure the level of buzz about all candidates during a certain period of time
Candidate electability	To measure the position of a candidate compared to other candidates during a certain period of time
Share of awareness	To measure the percentage of buzz of every candidate during a certain period of time
Earned media of product	To measure the share of sentiment in conversations about a brand (or a candidate) against other brand (or other candidate) during a certain category (or election)
Share of citizen	To measure the percentage of unique users involved in social media conversations about every candidates

Source: Politicawave (2014).

Such a service is essentially a form of immanent commodification, referring to commodities that may produce their own new commodities (Mosco, 2009). The most popular example of immanent commodification in conventional media is audience rating, which refers to a measurement of viewership of a particular

¹⁰⁵ IndoBarometer (M. Qodari), Lingkaran Survey Indonesia (Denny JA), Jaringan Survey Indonesia (Widdi Aswandi) and Sugeng Sarjadi School of Government (Sugeng Sarjadi) predicted that Foke would win the election.

television program.

4.4.2. Assessing Impacts of Social Media Campaigning

This section analyses the significance of social media to the electoral process in Jakarta. It focuses on the social media's significance to the development of the political campaign industry, and the extent to which social media contributed to the electoral campaigns.

The existence of social media enabled the political campaign industry to build social media campaigning services to serve the interests of the candidates to win elections. However, these social media campaigning services also served the business interests of the practitioners; quite separately from the electoral function. Most of the media industry strategists and professionals involved were affiliated with other commercial communication businesses areas, such as advertising or public relations. In the case of Jokowi, for example, the industry professionals provided *pro-bono* social media campaigning services. However, such pro-bono services should be seen as a part of encompassing strategies to get wider access to the economic resources available in Jakarta, including in the form of commercial projects from the Jakarta administration.

Three industry practitioners who volunteered for Jokowi's social media campaigning operation in the 2012 Jakarta election, for example, chaired enterprises specializing in communication. PT Spin Doctor Indonesia, as one

example, gained several commercial projects from the Jakarta administration under Governor Joko Widodo (Kartika Jumadi, 2013).

Social media also enabled the political campaign industry to play *strategic* roles in the electoral campaigning. As shown in the case of Jokowi, the professionals were able to use social media campaigning to mobilise campaign donors and middle class activists strategically. The loose nature of JASMEV facilitated Jokowi's campaigners to access and benefit from middle level donors.

There were two types of campaign donors identified in the 2012 Jakarta election. The first type were the high-profile donors; comprising, for example, major national companies. The second were the middle level donors, such as the owners of middle level companies, and officials or directors of both government and Jakarta administration offices. The donations from high-profile donors were mainly in the form of money, use of their vehicles (from cars to jet planes) and office space (for campaign rooms), and payment for campaign advertisements. This left little room for the middle donors to contribute towards the elections, particularly because these middle level donors were cautious about donating through political party members, some of whom embezzled campaign donations for their personal use, thereby risking the return of the donor's political investment.¹⁰⁶

¹⁰⁶ There were several known cases where donations channelled through party members did not reach the party treasurers. Some members may have used the funds for purposes other than campaigning (Mietzner, 2007).

Within this line, social media campaigning enabled a space for these middle level donors to contribute to Jokowi's social media campaigning. One middle level donor to Jokowi explained,

“I am lucky to find this group to help his campaign. I did not know much about social media, but if the volunteers needed paper, telephone credit, or anything that I could help with, they always came to me. I didn't expect anything in return, but I am glad *Pak* Jokowi acknowledged my contribution.” (Anonymous campaign donor, personal communication, December 2013).

Their donations, albeit not as great as those of high-profile donors, were deemed significant to support Jokowi's social media campaigning, covering not only expenses for telephone credit, but also food and pocket money for the volunteers who were the main implementers of his social media campaigning. In return for both their financial contributions and network largesse, these middle level donors expected not only business opportunities and protection but also protection and support for their careers. This finding showed that the elite's alliances with other social groups were necessary in the development of hegemony as suggested by Gramsci.

Thus, this is not to suggest that social media as a new media technology helped an outsider politician level the competition he faced against established politicians. On the contrary, Jokowi was understood to be a stepping stone from which these middle level donors could gain wider access to political and economy resources. It should be underlined that Jokowi was considered to be the closest contender to

Foke, because of his popularity. Riding on that popularity, those who joined in Jokowi's volunteer groups expected to gain something in return for their campaign donations. This explained their preference for Jokowi, instead of independent candidate Faisal Basri, who was able to form a relatively clean image but lacks popularity.

These middle level donors could not compete against high-profile donors, who were mostly channelling their donations to a candidate who was predicted to have the greatest chance (as validated by opinion pollsters) to win the election. These high-profile donors, however, contributed smaller amounts to other candidates who requested it. According to one high-profile donor,

“In every election, we donate to all candidates through their trusted people. They could be party members, their assistants or siblings. We always give the most (donation) to the one who will win the election based on (opinion) surveys.” (Anonymous national property company director, personal communication, 2013).

Social media campaigning also attracted middle class activists to volunteer for Jokowi (Nuswantoro, 2014; Sembiring, 2014). The findings reported in this section, however, do not support the argument that the involvement of such activists in social media conversations was a form of deliberative participation and volunteerism (Nuswantoro, 2014). This dissertation found instead that such involvement was facilitated partly by the middle class' decreasing tolerance towards urban issues that have substantially reduced their rate of increase in living

standard. It is in line with Gramsci's idea that the ruling class may form alliances and cooperation with the ruled.

Indeed, Jakarta's middle class did engage in social media conversations about the elections. However, the middle class in Jakarta employed social media to voice their concerns over certain specific issues associated with access to productive resources, life quality, and security – including basic education fees, health care, traffic jams, public transportation, flooding and bureaucracy (Prisma, 2012). In short, their grievances revolved around Jakarta's major urban problems (Simone & Rao, 2012).

Jakarta's middle class largely represents the broader middle class in Indonesia, which developed during the Sukarno presidency and expanded during the New Order and post-authoritarian periods. This middle class consists of “the skilled workforce of capitalism”, including managers, technocrats, marketers and financiers (Robison & Goodman, 1996, pp. 8-9). Journalists, university students and lecturers, artists, lawyers, non-governmental organisation (NGO) activists are also parts of the middle class (Heryanto & Mandal, 2003, p. 27). According to Robison & Goodman,

“Clearly the middle classes represent a new set of social interests that regimes must take into account. What now becomes critical for these new social interests are living standards that include high levels of consumption and a greater emphasis on leisure; a greater concern for education as a central mechanism for securing position and wealth; a desire for predictability and certainty of laws; and access to

information and analysis.” (Robison & Goodman, 1996, p. 11).

While often demanding, such a middle class is generally not interested in joining a political movement; instead they tend to form alliances with capital owners or other social groups that share the same interests (p. 8). In line with such an understanding, this dissertation suggests that middle class Jakartans joined in social media conversations during the Jakarta election period *not* necessarily because of their interest in participating in electoral volunteerism or activism, but rather because social media provided an avenue for expression of grievances that aligned well with the Jakartan middle class lifestyle.

In addition, this group’s participation of social media users during the 2012 election was facilitated by their better access to the Internet, compared to that of the lower classes. Facebook and, particularly, Twitter offered a convenience for the middle class to vent their concerns and frustrations over the perceived decline in quality of living in the capital under the administration of Foke. The new technology enabled them to make their voices heard, particularly during the electoral campaign period, without having to leave the convenience of their air-conditioned houses, offices and vehicles.

Unlike conventional media, Facebook and Twitter have no restrictions upon anyone expressing their opinion. The mediated nature of conventional media requires a complex process to publish every-day complaints from audiences. In newspapers, for example, it requires the editorial board to approve the complaint

letter from a reader before this can be published (see Setianti, Hafiar, & Koswara, 2005). The newspaper space dedicated to such a purpose is commonly very limited. Therefore, use of such a relatively complicated conventional avenue to channel and voice complaints was not favoured among the middle class.¹⁰⁷

4.6. Conclusion

This chapter has explored the contributions of the campaign consulting industry in the use of social media for electoral campaigning during the 2012 Jakarta Gubernatorial Election. It has argued that such use of social media was determined by the relations within and among the candidates, political parties, donors and middle class social media users. This enabled the campaign industry to expand its commercial interests through the commodification of content, audience and labour.

As the country's capital, Jakarta was a major arena of electoral contestation, characterised by complex social relations among the many electoral players, even beyond its geographical boundary. In particular, the Jakarta election reflected the contradictions inherent in such relations. The candidate-party relations, which shaped their immediate relationships with campaign donors and social media users, became a major force in the strategic use of social media campaigning by the political campaign industry supporting Jokowi. The contribution of the

¹⁰⁷ The middle class in Jakarta rarely went to the street to express their demands. Their engagement with political parties was limited. During the 2007 and the 2012 elections, it was the lower classes that dominated the vote count (Sultani, 2014).

campaign donors and social media users to Jokowi's social media campaigns supported him to enter the epicentrum of national politics in Jakarta.

The ability of the political campaign professionals to employ social media strategically contributed to the increasing visibility of social media in Jakarta's election. Such campaign efforts led not only to the engagement of social media, but also the entrenchment of the political campaign industry, which had its own interests in expanding its business opportunities, in the electoral process. Eventually, the industry-led social media campaigning enabled Jokowi to widen the base of the candidate's campaign sources to middle level donors and networks of middle class Jakartans, necessary to win the election.

Chapter 5

The Use of Social Media in the 2013 Makassar Mayoral Election

5.1. Introduction

This chapter examines the use of social media in the 2013 mayoral election in Makassar, the capital of South Sulawesi province in eastern Indonesia. This represents a smaller arena of contestation than the previous Jakarta example, with smaller stakes characterised by stable relations between the electoral players under the control of just a few members of the political economy elite. In contrast to the situation in Jakarta, such stable relations presented less pressure for the candidates to innovate during their campaigning. Consequently, there were few incentives for the political campaign industry to exploit social media strategically as a new profitable campaigning service; and this resulted in their limited roles in mediating the use of social media during this election and eventually the overall social media campaigns which did not gain strong support from campaign donors and leading local social media users.

This situation was driven partly by the fact that the existing modes of campaigning, such as canvassing and mass media campaigning, were adequate to channel the candidates' persuasive efforts to reach voters. However, social media were used in the 2013 Makassar mayoral election as a new mode of campaigning, steered by the political campaign industry's attempts to capitalise on social media.

Central to the discussion of this case is the implementation of post-authoritarian decentralization reform in Indonesia, which granted greater autonomy to local leaders. The policy dispersing authority to the district level was expected to strengthen local administration to deliver prosperity to local people (Buehler, 2010). However, the post-authoritarian local elections in Indonesia had yet to fundamentally transform local power relations, despite new election laws lifting the restriction on common citizens joining in the democratic process of power regeneration. Instead, local elites found direct local elections to be “new opportunities to reinvent themselves according to the exigencies of change and to survive and thrive yet again” (Hadiz, 2010, p. 143). In simple terms, local elections were captured by local elites to maintain their power in the regions. Such a capture of local elections by local predatory interests was visible in Makassar, in both the physical and virtual space.

A few families, including the Yasin Limpos, the Halids, and the Kallas, were especially influential, gaining control of the local political economy in South Sulawesi (see Tomsa, 2008a). From the end of the Suharto government, the influence of these families on local politics and businesses in the province became increasingly visible. These families were able to build their power through local direct elections enabled by the decentralization policy (Kenawas, 2013). The circumstances in South Sulawesi illustrated the capture of elections as a decentralization mechanism by predatory local interests (Choi & Fukuoka, 2015).

Hadiz (2010) suggests that the elite's capture of the electoral process was often facilitated by practices such as money politics and political violence. This chapter, however, demonstrates that such elite capture of the elections was not only achieved through such predatory behavior in the real world, but also achieved in the virtual world, through the employment of media – most prominently the Internet and social media. It essentially supports Gramsci's hegemony over the necessity of the ruling class to maintain their rule through non-coercive methods.. The political campaign industry's contribution in the employment of social media for electoral campaigning was seen as a way of expanding the elites' influence, using a new mechanism for obtaining popular support; with the adoption of the new features of social media providing new networks of users, interactivity and real-time communication (see Abdillah, 2014).

This chapter comprises three sections. The first section explores the online landscape and the use of social media for electoral campaigning in Makassar. The second looks into the relations between local candidates, to understand the nature and operations of electoral campaigning during these elections. The third section examines the ways in which the local campaign industry employed social media for electoral campaigning, and the impact of such social media campaigning upon political campaign business and the electoral process.

5.2. The Internet Landscape and Social Media Campaigning in Makassar

Unlike during the 2012 Jakarta gubernatorial election, the use and impact of social media appeared to be minimal in the 2013 Makassar mayoral election.¹⁰⁸ At a glance, the reason for this seems to have been the Internet infrastructure. Makassar is a mayoralty located in eastern part of Indonesia, which is less developed overall than the capital. Moreover, the 2013 Makassar election represented the lowest level of direct political election in Indonesia involving political parties and government Electoral Commission oversight; with smaller number of voters and fewer resources available.¹⁰⁹

The number of voters in Makassar approached 1 million, while the number of Internet users was estimated to be around 472,000; out of a total population of nearly 1.3 million people in 2012 (Kominfo, 2013). In comparison, in 2012 Jakarta had nearly seven million registered voters and about 3.5 million Internet users, out of a total Jakarta population of some 9.5 million. Internet users in Makassar consisted of residents who accessed the Internet from home, office, school and other wireless-connected public spaces. The number of subscribers to mobile Internet broadband alone in Makassar in 2013 exceeded 110,000. Central Statistics Bureau (BPS) data for 2010 showed that the number of Makassar

¹⁰⁸ The use of social media for electoral campaigning in Makassar was not completely invisible to the public. In fact, social media campaigning had been reported in the mass media (see Rudhy, 2013).

¹⁰⁹ Indonesia also undertakes village level elections. However, there is no formal involvement of political parties at this lowest level, because candidates for village head do not require any backing from political parties. Nor do village level elections involve election authorities such as the Election Commission (*Komisi Pemilihan Umum/KPU*) and Election Supervisory Committee (*Panitia Pengawas Pemilu/Panwas*).

households with Internet access reached 130,000, out of a total number of some 300,000 (BPS, 2010). As with the 2012 Jakarta elections, the 2013 Makassar election also attracted the attention of users from other cities, in this case mainly in South Sulawesi province. In 2010, there were over 300,000 households in South Sulawesi, out of a total of 1,626,629 households that had access to the Internet (BPS, 2010).

Makassar Internet users, similar to their peers across Indonesia, went online largely to access social media (APJII, 2014). A study revealed that 87 percent of Internet users in Indonesia accessed social media (APJII, 2014). Most users, including those in Makassar, comprised young middle class people between 17-35 years old, who shared similarities with social media users in Jakarta. Makassar Internet and social media users were enthusiastic users, with many joining and participating active in various online communities (Abud, 2012).

The increasing number of social media users in Makassar has facilitated the use of social media as a new site for campaigning. Prior to the 2013 Makassar mayoral election, there were only a few examples of social media use for electoral campaigning in Makassar and South Sulawesi in general. In one example, the first direct Makassar mayoral election in 2008, which was the first Makassar mayoral election that accommodated independent candidates, included the use of blogs for campaigning.¹ At that time, the blogs were not developed professionally; because this form of campaigning was merely an experiment by the campaign teams, some

of which were supported by university students with familiarity with social media (Abdul Haris Awie, June 2014). The 2013 South Sulawesi Gubernatorial Election, which was held in January or some six months before the Makassar mayoral election, had also witnessed the use of social media for campaigning, including Facebook and Twitter (Azhar, 2012). Use of social media in the gubernatorial election had engaged local industry professionals. However, given the slow impact of the use of social media in the electoral process in Makassar, further examination of the relations between the local electoral players in the election is warranted, to understand the extent to which local political campaign industry professionals employed social media campaigning.

5.3. The Candidates and Their Relations to other Electoral Players

The 2013 Makassar mayoral election was not immune to political party internal conflicts pertaining to the candidates' nomination process. However, unlike in Jakarta, Makassar's local elites had sufficient numbers of candidates from within their inner circles who were popular enough to compete in the election. The candidates running in the 2013 Makassar mayoral election were largely linked strongly to the local political economy elites.

The elites, particularly the few privileged families, had strong local political networks and relations with local media, the two most important means for canvassing and mass media campaigning. Therefore, in contrast to Jakarta, the dominance of the local elites in Makassar presented less need for the candidates to

innovate their campaigning strategies. The limited extent to which the local political campaign industry used and benefited from social media campaigning during this election was influenced by these local dominance relations.

Ten pairs of candidates competed in the 2013 Makassar election, as shown in Table 5.1. The 2013 Makassar mayoral election was the second election in Makassar that accommodated independent candidates.¹¹⁰

Table 5.1.
The candidates and political support in the 2013 Makassar mayoral election

Candidates	Political Support	Votes
Adil Patu- Isradi Zainal	6 PDK, 3 Gerindra, PKB (not represented) 9 seats, or 18 percent of the total DPRD seats	14,556
Supomo Guntur- Kadir Halid	11 Golkar, 2 PDIP 13 seats, or 26 percent of the total DPRD seats	84,153
Rusdin Abdullah- Idris Patarai	Independent	23,846
Herman Handoko- Latif Bafadhal	Independent	2,930
Erwin Kallo- Hasbi Ali	Independent	5,489
Tamsil Linrung- Das'ad Latief	5 PKS, 3 Hanura, 1 PBR 9 seats, or 18 percent of total DPRD seats	93,868
St. Muhyina Muin- Syaiful Saleh	Independent	56,607
M.Ramadhan Pomanto- Syamsu Rizal	9 Demokrat, PBB (not represented) 9 seats, or 18 percent of total DPRD seats	182,484
Irman Yasin Limpo- Busrah Abdullah	5 PAN, 3 PPP 8 seats, or 16 percent of total DPRD seats	114,032
Apiaty Amin Syam- Zulkifli Gani Otto	21 non-seat parties	7,326

Source: KPU Kota Makassar (2013).

* Independent candidates were required to secure support from a minimum of 3 percent (53,493 people) out of the total registered voters in Makassar, as proved by copies of ID cards of the supporters. Party-backed candidates were required to gain support from a party or a coalition of parties that had secured 15 percent of the 100 total seats in the DPRD council, or 15 percent of

¹¹⁰ The participation of independent candidates was made possible by a 2008 law on elections permitting candidates to run in regional elections without a political party or party coalition support. The 2008 Makassar mayoral election attracted six pairs of candidates, including three pairs of independent candidates.

votes in the last election.

* Data on campaign funds are not available, as the KPU Makassar did not make this information public.

Although there were five independent candidates among the total of 10 candidates running in the 2013 Makassar election, none was a complete outsider from the political economy elite in Makassar and South Sulawesi. All the independent candidates were either local politicians or had some experience in politics. Most had decided to run as independents after they failed to secure party endorsement. Consequently, while in Jakarta Jokowi was able to present himself as a new figure who could bring in changes, none of the candidates in Makassar was able to present themselves as such; the impacts of which will be discussed in the later section.

As has been mentioned briefly in the introduction, the elections in South Sulawesi were highly influenced, if not controlled, by a few influential families, most notably the Yasin Limpos, the Kallas and the Halids (Tomsa, 2008a). In the 2013 Makassar election, the families of Yasin Limpo¹¹¹ and Halid¹¹² in particular engaged actively in the process. Another influential family, the Kallas, did not

¹¹¹ The Yasin Limpo family's influence in local politics in Makassar and South Sulawesi was initiated by the father, M. Yasin Limpo, a retired military colonel who helped established the Golkar party in South Sulawesi. He later assumed several positions, including as regent in both the Gowa regency and the Maros regency. His wife Nurhayati served as a DPR member representing Golkar. The couple's seven children were all groomed by their parents to enter politics, and included: Syahrul Yasin Limpo, South Sulawesi Governor; Haris Yasin Limpo, a Golkar councilor in Makassar; Dewi Yasin Limpo, a DPR member representing Hanura Party; Tenri Olle Yasin Limpo, who chaired the Gowa council; and; Ichsan Yasin Limpo, a regent of Gowa regency. The grandchildren of the late Yasin Limpo also engaged in politics, representing different parties.

¹¹² The Halid family consisted of 10 siblings, with Nurdin Halid acting as the patron. Halid family members who entered politics included: DPR member representing Hanura, Andi Rahman Halid; DPR member representing Golkar, Andi Kadir Halid; and Rismono Sarlim, a DRPR Bone councillor. Nurdin himself was a DPR member for Golkar before he chaired PSSI. He and his other brother, Abdul Waris Halid, who chaired INKUD, were once implicated in a graft case.

engage directly in this election because none of their family was competing in the election; family members having become more embedded at the national level of politics. Fatimah Kalla, who chaired a Kalla's company and was the sister of Jusuf Kalla, rejected endorsements offered by several parties to endorse her. Younger members of the Kalla family tended to focus on managing their established businesses.¹¹³

In addition to these families, the Sirajuddin family, to which Mayor Ilham belongs, is another influential political elite family, albeit smaller in size than the three families above, in Makassar mayoralty. The mayor – who is a son of Arief Sirajuddin, a former police colonel who became a Gowa resident from 1976-1985 during the authoritarian period – was the most influential member of the Sirajuddin family (Berita Kota, 2014). His wife, Aliyah Mustika, was a DPR member representing PD. His brother, Syamsu Bachri Sirajuddin is a former chairman of the National Democratic Party (Nasdem)'s campaign team in South Sulawesi while his sister, Nurhani Sirajuddin, is also a PD member.

The electoral campaigning in Makassar was largely centralised, either in the political parties or the candidates themselves, as will be elaborated below. This factor defined the ways in which the political campaign industry penetrated the

¹¹³ Although some joined the Golkar party, the younger members of the Kalla family have yet to show interest in competing for local leadership seats, as they tend to focus on managing and enlarging their sprawling businesses across the country. However, Jusuf Kalla indicated his personal support for candidate Danny.

candidates' campaign teams, and the employment of social media for campaigning.

5.3.1. Adil Patu

The centralised nature of Adil Patu's electoral campaigning was shaped by his influence in the Democratic Nationhood Party (PDK), the political party that he chaired. Adil was a seasoned local politician. His political career started in 1999, when he represented Golkar in the South Sulawesi council; a position he held until 2004. He left Golkar to join and chair PDK in 2004. Both Adil and his wife, Erna Amin, had served as DPRD South Sulawesi councillors representing PDK. The candidate who ran as his deputy mayor, Isradi Zainal, was a local dockyard entrepreneur and the chairman of the Gerindra Party in the nearby town of Bulukumba.

Adil was supported by a coalition of PDK, Gerindra and PKB. While PDK was not represented nationally in the DPR, the party was considered a medium sized party in Makassar. It achieved this size partly due to Adil's influence, mainly in those parts of the electorate around the outskirts of Makassar. In contrast, while Gerindra and PKB were represented in DPR, these parties were only small in Makassar. Adil's campaign fund, therefore, derived mainly from PDK and himself. Adil's imprisonment for two and a half years, for his involvement in a corruption case that cost the state Rp 8.8 billion in 2008, might suggest a source

of his campaign funds (Putra, 2015). The corruption case also involved another PDK councillor, Mudjiburrahman, who chaired Adil's campaign team.¹¹⁴

Adil's campaign team recruited a number of individual professional campaigners to support his media campaigning. Organised and directed by PDK, his electoral campaigning was focused more on canvassing and mass media campaigning to reach out to voters. His campaign team did not consider social media to be an important mode of electoral campaigning, due to its limited reach in Makassar. According to a PDK member,

“We hired campaigners to do our media campaigning, but you cannot rely on mass media campaigning or social media campaigning here. Of course, we also use social media for campaigning, but it is only for young people.” (Mudjiburrahman, personal communication, September 2013).

Consequently, Adil's campaign team did not specifically employ campaign industry professionals to run his social media campaigning. PDK's members operated Adil's campaigning accounts on Facebook and Twitter. The employed industry professionals opted to focus on profitable canvassing and mass media campaigning. The industry professionals' participation in the production and distribution of campaign messages through social media was considered as simply a supplement to their main work, and was not budgeted.

¹¹⁴ The corruption case involved the South Sulawesi provincial administration's of social funds in 2008. Adil was found guilty of masterminding a series of fake social projects, which were carried out by Mujiburrahman, to embezzle the money.

5.3.2. Supomo Guntur

Supomo gained the largest political support in the 2013 Makassar mayoral election. As chairperson of Golkar in Makassar and the incumbent deputy mayor, he appeared most likely to win the election. Moreover, his running mate, Kadir Halid, who was a Golkar councillor in DPRD Makassar, was the brother of Nurdin Halid, who also led South Sulawesi's Golkar campaign body.

However, Supomo's nomination was a result of an internal rift within Golkar involving rivalry between members of the Halids and the Yasin Limpos, triggered by the nomination process in Golkar. The party decided initially to endorse its chairman and incumbent deputy mayor of Makassar, Supomo Guntur, based on Golkar's nomination procedures; and remained undecided on the deputy candidate (Harris Yasin Limpo, personal communication, September 2013). However, without the knowledge of South Sulawesi Golkar Chairman and Governor Syahrul Yasin Limpo (who was then abroad), Nurdin Halid endorsed his younger brother Kadir Halid, a local entrepreneur, to run as Guntur's deputy candidate. As the Eastern Indonesia coordinator of the Golkar party's national headquarters, Nurdin Halid had no problem securing the party national headquarters' endorsement for his brother.

In response to Nurdin Halid's unexpected move, Governor Syahrul decided to endorse his brother, Irman Yasin Limpo, who chaired the South Sulawesi Investment Body, to run in the election. Irman eventually ran for the election

with PAN Chairman Busrah Abdullah (Koran Tempo, 2013). This created an awkward situation for Haris Yasin Limpo, who was Supomo's deputy in Golkar Makassar. With Governor Syahrul's blessing, Haris continued his roles in support of Supomo's campaigning (Haris Yasin Limpo, personal communication, September 2013).¹¹⁵

This rivalry caused significant damage to Supomo's electoral campaign. While he himself was an incumbent deputy mayor, his campaign was not supported by his supervisor, Mayor Ilham Arief Sirajuddin, who chaired the Democratic Party (PD). Supomo's campaign funds, therefore, relied heavily on the Halid family instead of the Golkar Party (Haris Yasin Limpo, personal communication, September 2013).

Moreover, given such an internal conflict, Golkar Makassar could not optimise its political machinery, which was in fact the strongest in Makassar. In addition, Supomo's leadership in Golkar Makassar was not sufficiently strong, and he failed to unite the party in Makassar. Instead, his influence was increasingly weakened by a faction supporting Governor Syahrul, led by Golkar Makassar senior member Farouk M. Beta (Lutfi, 2013).

¹¹⁵ Golkar headquarters sacked a number of Golkar members in Makassar, who supported Irman Yasin Limpo's candidacy, immediately after declaring its endorsement of Supomo. However, Golkar did not dismiss Syahrul Yasin Limpo. Nurdin Halid was eventually appointed as the caretaker of Golkar in South Sulawesi, replacing Syahrul (Aziz, 2016)

Therefore, while some industry professionals managing Supomo's media campaigning were able to penetrate his campaign team due to their relations with the Yasin Limpo family, they relied on the Halid family to finance the media campaigning for Supomo.¹¹⁶ Mass media, particularly print media and television, remained the most favoured channel for distributing campaign messages. The politicians appeared to be sceptical of the reach of social media in Makassar, in comparison to mass media's reach. This reluctance by politicians made it more challenging for local political campaign professionals to develop social media campaigning into a new, profitable service. According to a local professional campaigner,

“Social media are very useful for our work, but we need more time to convince them [candidates and political parties in the decision making process]. Media workers need to present actual results like campaign advertisements or news reports. These reached a vast audience. Social media campaigning may not reach as large an audience, but the users are all educated and opinion makers in their networks. This is something we need to help them [the politicians] understand more”.
(Akbar Abu Thalib, personal communication, September 2013).

As a result, similar to some political campaign industry professionals working for Adil, the local Makassar political industry professionals working for Supomo were not specifically compensated financially to run Supomo's social media campaigns. However, unlike for Adil, Supomo's social media accounts were

¹¹⁶ Some industry professionals, including Suherman Madani and Akbar Abu Thalib, had previously experience in supporting Haris Yasin Limpo's campaigning and that of his nephew, Adnan Purichta Ichsan, the son of Ichsan Yasin Limpo, during the local council's elections (Thalib, 2016)

operated and maintained by the industry professionals working for him. They considered their social media campaigning to be a (free) complementary service to the paid-work, more-expensive mass media campaigning (Akbar Abu Thalib, personal communication, September 2013).¹¹⁷

5.3.3. Rusdin Abdullah

The political campaign industry's contribution to the electoral campaigning of independent candidate Rusdin Abdullah was limited. Despite his restricted campaign budget, Rusdin was able to recruit a few professional campaigners. However, his mass media and social media campaigning was modest in scope, due mainly to his limited campaign budget.

The deputy treasurer of South Sulawesi's Golkar Party, Rusdin decided to run as an independent candidate in the 2013 Makassar election. He openly declared his disappointment that his services to Golkar were not reciprocated by party support for his candidacy (Lutfi, 2013). He was an experienced campaigner, having been involved in the campaign team of Governor Syahrul in the 2007 South Sulawesi gubernatorial election, as well as Mayor Ilham in both the 2008 mayoralty election and the 2012 South Sulawesi gubernatorial election.

¹¹⁷ Akbar did not state the exact amount required for the social media campaigning service. However, to fund the social media campaigning for Supomo, he took a small portion from the budget of the mass media campaign. The expenditure for social media campaigning was mainly to buy phone credits, which was deemed little as compared to television airtime or newspaper advertisement space.

Rusdin's campaign team was organised, funded and led by him. His running partner, Idris Patarai, although he headed the Makassar's planning agency, was not able to support the campaign team financially. Therefore, Rusdin mainly funded the campaign himself, with some help from a few of his fellow local entrepreneurs (Hamzah Abdullah, personal communication, September 2013). Rusdin was not able to make use of Golkar machinery to support his campaign, because he was eventually expelled from the party by the Jakarta headquarters following his declaration to run in the Makassar election.

Similar to other candidates in both Jakarta and Makassar, Rusdin focused on canvassing to reach voters, particularly in Makassar's urban poor areas. However, his campaign teams also engaged in social media campaigning, at the initiative of a few individual campaigners (Umar Laumma, personal communication, September 2013). While the campaigners were not able to profit from their social media campaigning works, they envisioned not only a long term cooperation with Rusdi but also expanding their networks in Makassar's political domain.¹¹⁸

5.3.4. Herman Handoko

The electoral campaigning of independent Herman Handoko, a local entrepreneur of Chinese descent and former chairman of PKPI, did not engage any professional campaigners (Herman Handoko, personal communication, September 2013). He led his own campaign, assisted by his running partner Latif Bafadal, a local

¹¹⁸ Umar considered that while social media campaigning was not a profitable service, it was a way to build a record of his experience in running a media campaign in the electoral period.

entrepreneur, together with their families. These two candidates had practically no base in the electorate, except for some sections of the urban Chinese-Indonesian community. Their media campaigning was very limited. Herman's social media campaigning through Facebook was managed, amateurishly, by his sons (Herman Handoko, personal communication, September 2013).

5.3.5. Erwin Kallo

Erwin Kallo is a Jakarta-based property lawyer and confidante of Hutomo Mandala Putra, the youngest son of Suharto. His running candidate, Hasbi Ali is the dean of private local Universitas Muslim Indonesia's School of Law. Kallo funded, organised and run his electoral campaigning by himself. He did not recruit any political consultants. However, he did recruit a few young people to manage his social media campaigning.¹¹⁹ These young people had degrees in information technology engineering, but no experience in electoral campaigning (Erwin Kallo, personal communication, September 2013).

Erwin's social media campaign cost him around Rp 100 million (AUD\$9000), which included the hardware, hosting fees and operators' salary. This amount was considered petty in comparison to conventional media campaigning, as Erwin spent Rp 500 million for print advertisements alone (Erwin Kallo, personal communication, September 2013).

¹¹⁹ Erwin recruited two young men who were, like him, graduates of Indonesia Islamic University (UII) in Yogyakarta. Erwin's social media campaign was operated in a room of his house, which was made his campaign headquarters.

5.3.6. Tamsil Linrung

Tamsil Linrung was a PKS senior member, a deputy chief of DPR's budgetary committee. His running partner was Das'ad Latief, a local preacher and a lecturer of Hasanuddin University School of Political and Social Sciences. Tamsil's electoral campaigning was highly centralised in PKS. His campaign funds were provided mainly by the party central board, with support from campaign donors; who were mainly local members of PKS who ran medium sized businesses in Makassar. His connection to voters was dependent on the PKS machinery.

Similar to tHidayat's campaigning in the 2012 Jakarta election, Tamsil's online campaigning was conducted by his party. PKS in South Sulawesi recruited some of their members and cadres, who owned communication or digital communication businesses, to support their social media campaigning (Muttaqien Yunus, personal communication, September 2013). One of the companies recruited was Win & Wise communication, the only social media monitoring company in Makassar, which was owned by PKS cadre Anwar Abu Gaza. The company provided their services for free; however, Anwar expected a long term gain from his cooperation with PKS.

5.3.7. Siti Muhyina Muin

Unlike other independent candidates, Siti Muhyina Muin did not face difficulties in raising campaign funds, mainly because of the support of her mother, Najmiah

Muin.¹²⁰ Siti Muhyina Muin was a councillor of DPRD Makassar council representing Pakar Pangan. She is the daughter of Professor Muin Liwa, Rector of Sulawesi Barat University and Najmiah Muin, a local property mogul and a former chairperson of South Sulawesi Chapter of Barindo, an organisation set up by former Golkar Chairman Akbar Tandjung. Muhyina took over the chair of Barindo South Sulawesi from her mother in 2008. Her running partner, Syaiful Saleh, was a former head of the Makassar administration's fisheries and maritime agency and a former vice rector of Universitas Muhammadiyah Makassar.

Although her electoral campaigning was managed by her family, Muhyina was able to recruit scores of campaign professionals, including high profile Jakarta-based PolMark led by Eep Syaifullah Fatah, to help her campaigning. However, her strategy focused more on canvassing, mass campaigning and mass media campaigning. The political campaign industry professionals were not able to employ social media strategically because her campaign team disapproved, having "limited understanding of social media campaigning" (Blontank Poer, personal communication, September 2013).¹²¹

¹²⁰ Najmiah was well known for spending Rp. 1,8 billion to build a local police precinct office (Rastika, 2012). She was named as a suspect in an illegal reclamation case, but her status changed into a witness within 24 hours, suggesting her political and economic influence in Makassar (Arm, 2013). In May 2016, Najmiah passed away. Later, her son reported to the police that she was a victim of a fraudster in East Java. She reportedly handed over some Rp 200 billion to the fraudster in the hope to get this amount multiplied (Hajramurni, 2016).

¹²¹ Blontank is a Surakarta-based former journalist and a prominent blogger in Indonesia. He had engaged in various electoral campaigns, handling both media and social media campaigning. Blontank was not a permanent employee of PolMark, however; he was recruited by PolMark to support its campaigning project in Makassar. He helped PolMark to be able to engage in Jokowi's campaigning in the 2012 Jakarta election.

5.3.8. M. Ramdhan Pomanto

M. Ramdhan Pomanto, who was better known as Danny, had his campaigning organised and centralised in his campaign team, led by the Democratic Party (PD). The team recruited professional campaigners, mainly linked to Mayor Ilham, to undertake specific campaigning tasks, including media and social media campaigning.

Similar to Jokowi in the 2012 Jakarta election, Danny was not a core member of the Makassar elite, for two reasons. Firstly, he was a Gorontalo, a minority in Makassar, whose residents were mainly of Bugis and Makassar descent. Secondly, he was not a party member; a crucial prerequisite to get party support. Yet, like Jokowi, he won the election.

While sharing similarities to Jokowi's situation – including not being part of the core elite – Danny did not share the same strategy as Jokowi in representing himself as an outsider while at the same time embedding with the elites. On the contrary, to do so could be detrimental not only for his campaigning but also his candidacy. To win the election, Danny needed to capitalise on his relations to the influential patron he had become close to, Mayor Ilham; who not only chaired PD, which had endorsed his nomination,¹²² but also held control over the Makassar

¹²² Ilham was a long time Golkar member before exiting the party two years after he won the Makassar mayoralty election in 2010 (Tempo.com, 2010). Ilham left the chairmanship of the Golkar party in Makassar to join and chair PD, after Golkar opted to endorse Syahrul Yasin Limpo in the South Sulawesi gubernatorial election in early 2013, which was eventually won by Yasin Limpo. It is useful to note that it is not uncommon for politicians in Makassar, like their colleagues

bureaucracy, which played a crucial role in his campaigning.¹²³ The mayor was an elite figure in Makassar, supported primarily by Makassar residents and the local media partly, due to his massive development programs.¹²⁴ Therefore Danny – an architect whose firms designed a number of prestigious infrastructures commissioned by the Makassar mayoralty – needed to highlight his close relations to the mayor in his campaigning.

Danny's nomination was not possible without the full personal support of Mayor Ilham; who risked opposition from his own party members by appointing Danny to run as the mayoral candidate in the election, with PD member Syamsu Rizal appointed as his deputy candidate. However, Mayor Ilham was able to contain the conflict due to his popularity and vast access to campaign resources. The endorsement of PD, which formed a coalition with the PBB (which did not hold any seats in the council), paved the way for Danny to run in the elections with the full support of the party. Under the support of the mayor and PD, it was not difficult for Danny's campaign team to raise funds from campaign donors; mainly local entrepreneurs (Selle K. Dalle, September 2013).¹²⁵ More importantly, the support from Mayor Ilham enabled him to access both the mayor's networks and PD's machinery to mobilise the electorates.

across Indonesia, to jump from one party wagon to another to maintain and further their political careers and power (Kompas, 2013).

¹²³ There were also traces of the Makassar bureaucracy's involvement in canvassing for Danny at the grass-roots level (see Damayanti, 2014b)

¹²⁴ Ilham Arief Sirajuddin has been elected twice as the Makassar mayor since 2007.

¹²⁵ In 2016, Ilham was sentenced to four year in prison in a corruption case investigated by KPK. Ilham was found guilty of marking up water maintenance and rehabilitation projects, involving a local water company, which cost the state Rp 45,8 billion (n.n., 2016).

Danny's campaign team, which centred on Mayor Ilham, influenced the recruitment of professional campaigners who supported his campaigning. The team recruited those with close relations to Mayor Ilham. For example, in addition to SMRC, which was hired to do opinion surveys, Danny's team recruited Batu Putih Syndicate, a local political consultancy owned and run by Mayor Ilham's brothers, Syamsu Bachri Sirajuddin and Hendra Sirajuddin. For media campaigning, Danny's campaign team recruited Irwan Ade Saputra, who had also been engaged to support Ilham previous campaigning. The strong influence of Mayor Ilham provided limited opportunities for the political campaign professionals on the team to profit from social media campaigning, because canvassing and mass media campaigning were considered more effective; particularly due to the Mayor's vast networks in the mayoralty (Irwan Ade Saputra, personal communication, September 2013). Therefore, of the 10 staff employed to support the media campaigning, Irwan only assigned one to handle social media campaigning (Thalib, 2016).

5.3.9. Irman Yasin Limpo

Irman Yasin Limpo was serving as head of the South Sulawesi administration industry and trade agency, at the time that he was nominated as a Makassar mayoral candidate. Irman's running mate was Busrah Abdullah, a deputy chairman of DPRD Makassar and a National Mandate Party (PAN) Chairman (Koran Tempo, 2013). Irman's campaigning was centred within his campaign

team, which, despite being supported by PAN, was highly dependent on his family, particularly his oldest brother Governor Syahrul. Governor Syahrul's vast patronage networks in Makassar and South Sulawesi enabled him to mobilise both funds and voters to support Irman's campaign.

Given the situation, while the political campaign industry professionals in Irman's campaigning played a crucial part in his campaigning, they also had limited opportunities to develop social media campaigning services, due to reliance on canvassing and mass media campaigning. Irman's campaign team recruited his political consulting agency, Adhyaksa Supporting House, as well as media professionals such as former journalist Sultan Rakib, who had worked previously for Syahrul's campaigning.

Sultan's media team, in charge of his media campaigning, employed mainly television and newspapers to distribute campaign messages, relying on their vast reach. Social media were considered important in order to address and reach a faction of young voters in Makassar (Henny Handayani, personal communication, September 2013). In addition, social media were employed to distribute negative campaign messages (Thalib, 2016). Regardless, Sultan's team did not assign any staff to specifically address social media campaigning, making it merely a complementary service to the mass media campaigning.

5.3.10. Apiaty Amin Syam

Similar to other independent candidates, Apiaty Amin Syam largely controlled his own campaign strategies. Her campaign struggled with limited funding and involved few campaign professionals. As she struggled to fund her campaign, social media campaigning was overlooked; with Apiaty the only candidate in the 2013 Makassar election who did not incorporate any social media in her campaign repertoire.

A former Makassar administration civil servant, Apiaty is the wife of former South Sulawesi Governor Amin Syam. Her running mate, Zulfikli Gani Otto, was a journalist who served as the Commissioner of PT Media Fajar Group, one of the largest media groups in Makassar. He also chaired the Indonesian Journalists' Association (PWI) branch in South Sulawesi.

Apiaty's campaign funds were derived predominantly from her family's personal wealth. Although her husband was a former governor, Apiaty did not have a specific electoral base from which to draw support (Haerudin, personal communication, September 2013). Focusing on canvassing and mass media campaigning, her campaigners regarded social media as unprofitable.

5.4. The Political Campaign Industry and the Use of Social Media

This section demonstrates the limited commodification of content, audience and labour, driven by the stable relations between the electoral players, which affected

the financing of the new campaigning service by the emerging local political campaign industry, and which limited the number of local professionals operating in social media campaigning. As discussed, in the Makassar political campaign industry its members employed mainly social media campaigning, and their strategies in commodifying social media in the 2013 election were unable to appeal to many of the leading social media users who played important roles in creating viral social media campaigns. This finding, in relation to the Makassar elections, and as elaborated below, suggests that the political campaign industry's limited commodification of social media campaigning services prevented it from mediating the use of social media that resulted in the sudden eminence of social media campaigning, such as that identified earlier in the Jakarta gubernatorial elections. The finding shows that media commodification is dependent on the structural factors (Mosco, 2009).

The author's interviews with members of the campaign teams of the six candidates suggested that the use of social media for electoral campaigning was initiated and operated by campaign professionals, rather than by candidates or party members. This does not challenge earlier studies, which suggested that a lack of expertise by political parties or candidates to engage with the technical aspects of media technology contributed to the involvement of professional campaigners in the electoral campaign operation (Norris, 2000). However, such initiatives by political campaign industry professionals to employ social media, reflecting the economic significance of the new media technology for the political

campaign business, do not always end up flourishing (Sussman, 2005).

Table 5.2. shows that, with the exception of Apiaty Amin Syam, most candidates employed political campaign industry professionals and ran social media campaigning in the Makassar election.

Table 5.2.
Makassar election's candidates and mode of campaign

Candidates	Consultants	Websites	Social media accounts
Adil Patu-Isradi Zainal	Biro Survey Nusantara, individual campaigners	n/a	Twitter: n/a Facebook: https://www.facebook.com/APZ4Makassar
Supomo Guntur- Kadir Halid	Duta Politika Indonesia, Voice Indonesia, individual campaigners	n/a	Twitter: @supomogunturmks @kadirhalid1 Facebook: https://www.facebook.com/groups/270313419778359/
Rusdin Abdullah- Idris Patarai	Individual campaigners	n/a	Twitter: n/a Facebook: https://www.facebook.com/pages/Rusdin-Abdullah-RUDAL-for-Makassar/190797014310975
Herman Handoko- Latif Bafadhal	n/a	n/a	Twitter: n/a Facebook: https://www.facebook.com/
Erwin Kallo- Hasbi Ali	Individual campaigners	n/a	Twitter: @erwinkallo Facebook: https://www.facebook.com/erwinkallo.9
Tamsil Linrung-Das'ad Latief	Media Survey National (Median), Serum Institute, winwise communication	www.tamsil-dasad.com	Twitter: @tamsil-dasad Facebook: https://www.facebook.com/tamsillinrung-dasad https://www.facebook.com/pilih.tamsil.dasad
St. Muhyina Muin-Syaiful Saleh	PolMark, Script Survey Indonesia, individual campaigners	n/a	Twitter: @MuhyinaMuin Facebook: https://www.facebook.com/pages/Makassar-Bergerak/546026052095957
M. Ramdhan Pomanto- Syamsu Rizal	Batu Putih Syndicate, SMRC,	www.pilihdia.com	Twitter: @DP_dannypomanto @DengIcaL_di Facebook:

	Lingkaran Survey Indonesia, Lingkaran Citra Komunikasi		https://www.facebook.com/dia.dannypomanto
Irman Yasin Limpo-Busrah Abdullah	Adhyaksa Research & Consulting, individual campaigners	Irmanyasinlimpo.com	Twitter @Irman_yl Facebook https://www.facebook.com/IrmanYasinLimpo
Apiaty Amin Syam- Zulkifli Gani Otto	Individual campaigners	n/a	Twitter: n/a Facebook: n/a

Source: Author

As in the 2012 Jakarta election, the main driver for the political campaign industry to develop social media campaigning into a profitable service to offer to political clients was the lack of regulation of social media electoral campaigning.¹²⁶ The 2013 Makassar mayoral election was conducted under Law No. 22 Year 2007 on General Elections; the same law that regulated the Jakarta election. This law requires media to provide free and balanced coverage to all candidates in electoral campaigns. However, the law only applies to conventional media, not the Internet or other Internet-based platforms. In addition, the visibility of the use of social media in the 2012 Jakarta election had increased the incentives for local political campaign professionals in Makassar to employ social media campaigning.

However, as described, social media were not favoured by the candidates and their campaign teams, mainly because of the new media's limited reach.

¹²⁶ Electoral campaigning in local elections is regulated in 2015 following the issuance of *Undang-undang No. 8 Tahun 2015 tentang Pemilihan Gubernur dan Wakil Gubernur, Bupati dan Wakil Bupati serta Walikota dan Wakil Walikota*, known as the Law on Local Elections. Online electoral campaigning is regulated in 2015 following the issuance of KPU Regulation No 7/2015 on Local Election Campaigns.

Candidates and their teams tended to prefer mass media, particularly newspapers and television, for campaigning. The adoption of media campaigning in the Makassar electoral process was facilitated by the emergence of the political campaign industry in Makassar after the issuance of the direct local election law in 2008. The law changed the rules of the game for local political contestation. Not only does the law accommodate independent candidates, it also requires candidates to get the most popular votes to win the election. Such a new form of election created promising market opportunities for the political campaign industry.

The political campaign industry's growth in Makassar was evident in the increase of local opinion polling and political consultancy agencies.¹²⁷ The emergence of local campaign industry firms appeared to respond to the behaviour of candidates and political parties in post-authoritarian elections in Makassar, and South Sulawesi in general, to hire Jakarta-based professional campaigners to support their campaigning (Tribunnews.com, 2013).

Media campaigning services gained ground in part due to the increase in local media outlets after the post authoritarian liberalisation of the media (Morell, 2003). Such proliferation of local media outlets "...is a clear indicator that there

¹²⁷ By 2013, there were an estimated 40 local opinion polling and political consultancy agencies (Firdaus Muhammad, personal communication, September 2013). The flourishing industry was partly fuelled by increasing demand, as one campaigner (organisation or individual) could only handle one client. Moreover, the business opportunities was not restricted to Makassar, but extended to other electorates in South Sulawesi province and other provinces of Sulawesi, and even across eastern Indonesia (Herman Heizer, personal communication, September 2013).

is an increasing demand for information on local politics and society” (Tomsa, 2008a, p. 136).¹²⁸ The emergence of media campaigning in local elections was paralleled by the argument that “elections have become to a far greater extent than before exercises in communication and public relations” (Sussman, 2005, p. 5).¹²⁹

Massive political advertisements through conventional media such as local newspapers and, particularly, television during the two-week campaign period in Makassar suggested not only the instrumentality of conventional media in local campaigning but, more importantly, the reliance of the candidates on the media to reach voters. The use of conventional media, which have broader audience reach, in local elections had been something of a regular campaigning practice since the end of the Suharto government (Hill, 2009).

Interviews with members of political parties who were involved in the electoral campaigning showed that media campaigning was always allocated a specific budget by the campaign teams. According to a member of PAN and Irman’ spokesperson,

“Campaigning through television and newspapers is a must. These media reached many voters whom we cannot reach through door-to-

¹²⁸ As with elsewhere in the country, some new media outlets in Makassar, which were set up shortly after the end of the authoritarian government, did not survive the strict competition (Morell, 2003). However, Makassar continues to be a vibrant centre of media activity (Tomsa, 2008b). Established media groups in Makassar were successful in adapting to the new situation, and even took the lead in competition against new media outlets and local-edition of national newspapers. They included Media Fajar Group and Bosowa Media Grafika, both of which were closely linked to the Kalla family. The Yasin Limpo family invested in *Harian Cakrawala*, which was a new daily paper.

¹²⁹ Such elections require politicians to “learn how to deal in a more skilled way with the media...” (Negrine & Lilleker, 2002, p. 312).

door or mass campaigning. They are not cheap, but we always have a budget for media campaigning.” (Henny Handayani, personal communication, September 2013).

In contrast to well-budgeted media campaigning, the majority of the campaign teams did not allocate a budget specifically for social media campaigning in the 2013 Makassar election. Therefore, while the political party’s concerns over the control of the production and distribution of campaign messages were absent, unlike in Jakarta very few political campaign industry professionals could manoeuvre to employ social media campaigning. Without a specific budget for social media campaigning, the Jakarta-based industry professionals in the Makassar election could do little to employ social media campaigning. The majority of local industry professionals opted to employ social media campaigning as a supplement to their profitable mass media campaigning services.

5.4.1. Generating Content

As in the 2012 Jakarta election, the political campaign industry in Makassar built social campaigning services through organising campaign issues to generate content. However, in contrast to the 2012 Jakarta election, in the 2013 Makassar election there were no substantial issues that could potentially unite users. The incumbent mayor, who was not allowed to contest as he had been in the office for

two terms, largely held positive rapport with the public.¹³⁰ In addition, as has been discussed in the previous section, none of the candidates were able to present themselves as a reformer, or at least, none were unconnected to the local political and economic elite.

Regardless, as with Jakarta, professional campaigners in Makassar employed positive and negative campaign strategies for social media campaigning. As noted in the previous chapter, positive and negative campaigning refers to messages that highlight the strengths of the candidates, and its converse, their weaknesses. This underlined the argument that social media do not provide space for civil discourse only; but also for political persuasion strategies, which often can be offensive.

The professional and personal life of the candidates became the main subjects for positive and negative campaigning. It is particularly necessary to determine the candidates' campaigning positions. Each campaign team determines the candidate's position, based on issues deemed the most appealing to voters. Supomo's and Danny's campaigning, for example, highlighted the candidates' contributions in the Mayor Ilham Arief Sirajuddin's administration. The industry professionals highlighted Supomo's experience in the Makassar administration (Akbar Abu Thalib, personal communication, September 2013), while Danny's campaign team opted to focus on his achievements in building and renovating

¹³⁰ *Tempo* Magazine named him as one of 10 Best Local Leaders (*10 Kepala Daerah Terbaik*) in 2008. He gained acknowledgement for renovating Lapangan Karebosi, a neglected public space that had become a scene for prostitution and social disturbances. Throughout his tenure, he gained 168 awards from national and international bodies (Sumardi, 2013).

several major locations in Makassar, such as the Floating Mosque and the Rotterdam museum (Irwan Ade Saputra, personal communication, September 2013).

Social media were mainly used to distribute negative or ‘black campaign’ messages, which were restricted in both conventional media campaigning and canvassing, prior to the election campaign period from September 1 to 14, 2013 and during the ‘quiet week’ (when no campaigning is permitted) before election day on September 18, 2013. Most industry professionals felt the need to highlight the negative sides of opposing candidates (as had been the tactic of their colleagues in the 2012 Jakarta election). Therefore, industry professionals in Makassar tended to organise and curate negative issues against other candidates, in the hope of boosting the popularity of their clients. One of the industry professionals considered that

“Negative campaigning is best channelled through social media. It is not regulated and users are always attracted to such things. Besides, negative campaigning is actually useful for voters to get to know the shady sides of the candidates. For example, we highlighted that None (the nickname of Irman Yasin Limpo) became a candidate simply because he is a part of the political dynasty in Makassar. It’s a fact that was rarely addressed on newspapers.” (Irwan Ade Saputra, personal communication, September 2013).

Another notable difference from the situation in Jakarta was that the professional campaigners in Makassar engaged directly in the production and distribution of

campaign *messages* through social media. The professional campaigners in Jakarta mainly worked on campaign *issues*; to generate campaign content through the participation of social media users in the production and distribution of such content. Makassar campaigners engaged with campaign message production, mainly in the form of texts, messages and video. Most of this content was in the form of straightforward campaign messages, appealing to social media users to join the campaign on behalf of the candidates. Such strategies, which aimed to get social media users to *consume* (rather than to *produce and distribute*) campaign content, impeded the mobilisation of voters and the generation of viral campaign messages.¹³¹

5.4.2. Mobilising Audience

Unlike the 2012 Jakarta election, when the campaigners mobilised common social media users to engage in the production and distribution of campaign messages, the professional campaigners working in the 2013 Makassar election employed conventional mobilisation methods to support their social media campaigning. This partly confirmed that,

“Political actors are increasingly attempting to use the Internet to enhance their presence and legitimize their activities in ways that are genuinely new but which still have affinities with older media strategies long ago designed for traditional print and broadcast media” (Chadwick, 2009, p. 2).

¹³¹ Political campaigners commonly target specific groups of voters as a strategy to divide voters into “ours” and “theirs”. The target voters may be defined by geographical location, ethnicity, demography (such as age, sex, religion, social class), life styles, values or attitudes.

The online users' mobilisation method focused on *offline* avenues, such as political party membership and getting paid supporters to mobilise candidates' supporters to support social media campaigning. To disseminate campaign issues, for example, the campaign team supporting Tamsil engaged PKS members from outside Makassar to support its social media campaigning. For this purpose, PKS Makassar's communication department formally requested its headquarters in Jakarta to support its social media campaigning, which contributed to the trending Twitter topic of the PKS #Nassami campaign. The hashtag recorded 102,000 posts, thus becoming the topic that garnered the most content during the 2013 Makassar election (wwcomm, 2013).

Another avenue to mobilise social media users was by persuading some prominent Makassar bloggers to buzz for the candidates, in return for financial incentives. However, unlike in Jakarta, the campaign industry was not able to persuade many of them (to which we return in the next section). Moreover, while in Jakarta the campaign industry professionals recruited, trained and organised a number of paid buzzers to generate the systematic production and distribution of campaign messages, such practices were uncommon in Makassar. On the contrary, the work of the paid buzzers in Makassar was largely disorganised, without particular strategies to generate campaign messages on social media. Therefore, unlike in Jakarta, exchanges of social media texts involving ordinary social media users with different voting preferences, dubbed 'cyber wars' as discussed earlier, were not employed to increase the proliferation of campaign

messages online.

5.4.3. Managing Labour

As in Jakarta, social media campaigning in the Makassar election facilitated the penetration of local ICT professionals and buzzers into the political campaign industry. It reached out to technologists capable of providing not only infrastructure but also data for Internet-based media strategies. This was not surprising, as post-authoritarian local elections increased the desire of local politicians to employ media practitioners to support their electoral campaigning (see Hill, 2009, p. 251).

However, Makassar lacked sufficient local ICT professionals wishing to become involved in the political campaign industry. As a consequence, Jakarta-based professional campaigners, including IT professionals, encroached on the 2013 Makassar election. Several campaign teams, such as that of Irman Yasin Limpo and Danny, employed Jakarta-based IT professional to assist their campaign. The Jakarta-based IT professionals were hired to help with the social media campaigning (text campaign messages spread through mobile devices) and vote counting. The tasks of these professionals also included conducting training for local campaign team members to operate the software (Aswandi, personal communication, September 2013).

In addition to the ICT engineers, the practices of social media campaigning in Makassar also led to the emergence of paid buzzers. The paid buzzers comprised

university students, fresh graduates or former student activists (Selle K. Dalle, personal communication, September 2013). They were commonly recruited through personal relations with the professional campaigners, who were often their seniors in the university or the student associations attended by the buzzers.¹³² This is different from the situation in Jakarta, where the university students or office workers who were recruited did not share a personal connection to the campaign professionals (from advertising and public relations companies).

a. Social Media Monitoring

Similar to the 2012 Jakarta election, the involvement of social media monitoring companies in the 2013 Makassar election was limited. The campaign team supporting Tamsil Linrung was the only team to employ a social media monitoring service. This was conducted by win and wise communication, otherwise known as wwcomm, a company whose chairman Anwar Abugaza was a PKS cadre. Similar to the Jakarta social media monitoring companies, wwcomm was concerned mainly with observing and analysing social media users' behaviour during the electoral campaign period.

In 2010, electrical engineer and former student activist Anwar Abugaza and local journalist Burhanuddin Moenta established the only social media monitoring company involved in the 2013 Makassar election. It has 10 employees, including

¹³² Several opinion survey organisations in Makassar were founded by former employees of Jakarta based pollsters. They were assumed to have sufficient knowledge of conducting opinion polling. Local opinion pollsters in Makassar were often accused of manipulating the polls to shape public opinion, aimed at garnering public support for their preferred candidates (Pinardi, 2013).

four programmers. They bought monitoring application software from a foreign-based IT company and customized it for the purpose of crawling through social media conversations in Indonesian language (Bahasa Indonesia). The company started to promote its services by conducting social media conversations around the monitoring of the 2012 South Sulawesi gubernatorial election. It was a long process to convince potential clients because “social media monitoring work was new in Indonesia” (Anwar Abugaza, personal communication, April 2015).

The software employed by wwcomm was able to monitor, among other things, the popularity and presumed electability of the candidates as well as social media users’ sentiment toward the candidates. Such results were deemed important by the campaigners, to support a social media campaign strategy and to give solid evidence to the candidates and the campaign teams regarding the necessity of the social media campaign service (Anwar Abugaza, personal communication, April 2015).

5.4.1. Assessing the Impacts of Social Media Campaigning

This section focuses on the significance of social media to the development of the political campaign industry, and the extent to which social media contribute to the local electoral process. Social media did not drive the transformation of electoral campaigning in the light of technological change or modernization (Norris, 2000). The economic forces facilitated the use of social media in electoral campaigning (Sussman, 2005). However, the control of political economy elites in the electoral

process provided limited opportunities for the political campaign industry to exploit social media as a new campaigning service in Makassar.

In comparison to Jakarta, social media campaigning in Makassar was built mainly to serve the interests of the candidates in winning the election. It did not serve the business interests embedded in the political campaign industry in Makassar. Such social media campaigning services were not part of bigger strategy by the industry to get wider access to the economic resources available in Makassar, which were under the control of a few members of the political and economic elite.

Moreover, in comparison to Jakarta, social media campaigning services were not able to accommodate an expanding scope for the political campaign industry to play more *strategic* roles in electoral campaigning. Industry professionals in Makassar were not able to employ social media campaigning strategically to raise funds and mobilise middle class social media activists.

Unlike in Jakarta, there was no incentive for the political campaign industry to reach out to middle-level donors to fund social media campaigning, because of the domination of the elites in the candidates' campaign team. In addition, social media campaigning failed to attract the middle class social media activists to volunteer for any candidates in Makassar. This is demonstrated by the refusal of some prominent Makassar bloggers to buzz for the candidates in the 2013 election, despite the financial compensation offered by some campaign

professionals (M. Rachman, personal communication, September 2013). The lack of candidates who were able present themselves as figures who were able to develop Makassar was cited as a reason for their refusal; indicating the complexity faced by the Makassar political campaign industry in engaging influential buzzers to support their clients. In addition, social media were not the only avenue for the middle class in Makassar, especially students, to express their political expression.¹³³ This finding confirmed, once again, the idea that the use of social media in electoral campaigning was dependent on the middle class; which tends to form alliances with capital owners or other social groups which share common interests with them, instead of joining a political movement (Robison & Goodman, 1996, p. 8).

5.5. Conclusion

The case study in this chapter has painted a complex picture of the political campaign industry's mediation of social media campaigning in Makassar; an election environment with a history of domination by predatory political elites who were able to seize the decentralization mechanism. It has shown that, in addition to money politics and political violence (Hadiz, 2010), consent from voters was equally as important for the local elites to form power. The use of social media electoral campaigning suggested the elites' attempts to capture social media as a new arena to generate such consent, which calls for the political campaign industry's mediation.

¹³³ University students in Makassar were known for their engagement in street rallies or demonstrations, often marred by violence, to express their views over various issues, including local and national politics (Prawista, 2011).

Similar to the situation in Jakarta, social media electoral campaigning during the 2013 Makassar election was driven mainly by the political campaign industry. It signified the expansion of the political campaign business, which was in fact groomed by decentralization reforms. The new mode of campaigning, however, reflected the stable relations pertaining to local political and economic sphere. Problems within the political sphere, as suggested by the massive internal conflict within Golkar, did not open up opportunities for non-elites or peripheral elites to compete in the election, due to strong web of relations between local political economy elites.

It is within this context that social media campaigning functions mainly for its persuasive purposes. This condition restricted the opportunities for industry professionals to seek alternative financing from campaign donors for social media campaigning as a new campaigning service. The limited stakes at the Makassar election, in combination with the limited expertise of local campaign industry professionals, eventually failed to attract leading social media users, who had little incentive to participate in social media campaigns. Eventually, the political campaign industry professionals were not able to align the interests of the candidates, new campaign donors, and social media users through social media campaigning.

Chapter 6

The Use of Social Media in the 2014 Presidential Election

6.1. Introduction

This chapter examines social media use during the 2014 Indonesian Presidential Election, the country's most competitive arena of political contestation. Social media campaigning was a distinct feature of the 2014 Indonesian presidential election campaign (Heryanto, 2014; Mietzner, 2014). It contributed to intense, dramatic and, at times, hostile electoral campaigning throughout the election campaign period, pitting two presidential candidates, Prabowo Subianto and Joko Widodo (known as Jokowi), against each other in a contest visible on every campaign channel.

In this particular election, the electoral players unanimously accepted social media campaigning as a mode of campaigning. Members of the political campaign industry were able to penetrate the candidates' campaign teams and gain strategic positions to mediate the extensive use of social media throughout the electoral process. However, evidence demonstrates that while the political campaign industry drove viral social media campaigning, the massive popularity of social media campaign both on air (on mass media) and offline was in fact facilitated by the continuation of Jokowi' relations with the other elites. The evidence gathered

here confirmed Gramsci's hegemony over the dynamic relationship within the elites, or in other words, that the elite is not a solid block.

Similar to the situation during the 2014 Jakarta election, Jokowi had not developed stable relations with the political elite; although he had no problem securing campaign donations from high-profile campaign donors. His campaign team remained decentralized, in stark contrast to Prabowo's highly centralized, almost militarised team. While Jokowi's victory was influenced by many factors, this chapter focuses on his social media campaign against Prabowo, and how the political campaign industry manoeuvred in different ways as campaign teams ran their social media campaigns. Some studies have suggested that Jokowi's victory against Prabowo was a consequence of the enormous support the former received from pro-democracy and progressive civil-society organisations; which was expressed, among other ways, through social media (Aspinall & Mietzner, 2014; Mietzner, 2014). The use of social media was seen as organic and spontaneously generated by Indonesian volunteers, who voiced their demand for a change in a country plagued by wide-spread corruption, incompetent bureaucracy, low living standards and so forth, despite more than a decade of political and economic reform after the fall of the authoritarian government of Suharto.

Both Jokowi's and Prabowo's campaign teams employed a number of industry professionals to support their campaigning, including their social media campaigning. In fact, the significance of the political campaign industry in

assisting social media campaigning became more prominent during such intense competition. Therefore, this chapter reiterates the dissertation's argument that the use of social media in an electoral context, including in the 2014 Indonesian presidential election, is not organic or spontaneous. Rather, this chapter seeks to analyse how the political campaign industry penetrated the candidates' campaign teams, enabling industry professionals to promote and employ social media campaigning as a part of a business strategy; and in so doing, shape the electoral process.

To this end, this chapter starts with a short overview of the social media landscape in Indonesia. This is followed by an examination of the political campaign industry's penetration of both Jokowi's and Prabowo's campaign teams. Central to this discussion is the relationship between the candidates, political parties, campaign donors and voters. The chapter's third section examines the ways in which the political campaign industry employed social media campaigning. This includes examining the issues of social media content, users, and the labour which constitutes the social media campaigning services. The chapter's final section assesses the impact of such processes and services on the overall electoral process at the presidential level.

6.2. The Internet Landscape in Indonesia and Social Media Campaigning

The expanding reach of the Internet and increasing numbers of social media users in Indonesia became crucial factors in the employment of social media in

Indonesia's electoral campaigns. The number of Internet users – and consequently social media users -- in Indonesia grew steadily following the end of Suharto government. From 2010 to 2014, Internet users increased from 42.2 million to 74.6 million (Markplus, 2014). Internet penetration was partly a consequence of the post-authoritarian government's efforts to improve Internet infrastructure in the regions. Internet users in Indonesia mainly accessed the service via mobile devices. One study showed that most users are young, educated residents of the western part of Indonesia (APJII, 2014).

Most Indonesian Internet users were either employed or university students, with 87 percent of frequent social media users accessing the platforms via their mobile device. The most popular social media platforms in Indonesia as of 2014 were Facebook and Twitter. In 2014, there were 69 million active Facebook users, making Indonesia home to the fourth largest Facebook user population in the world. In early 2013, Indonesia was ranked first worldwide in terms of growth of Twitter accounts. Jakarta contributed 2.4% of the global total of 10.6 billion Twitter posts, making it the city that generated the most tweets in the world in early 2014. Its highly active online social community has gained Jakarta its nickname as “the social media capital of the world” (Semiocast, 2014). This high level of social media activity represents a huge opportunity not only for global and regional brands with commercial goals, but also for politicians and political

parties seeking to engage with their electorates; and for the political campaign industry offering services to assist politicians with such engagement.¹³⁴

The use of social media during the Jakarta election in 2012, however, was a push factor which stimulated the use of social media during the presidential election two years later. The candidates and political parties, as well as the political campaign industry, were not only aware of the potential for social media to mobilize popular support; they also had direct experience running social media campaigning during election campaign periods in the recent past.

6.3. The Candidates and Their Relations to Other Electoral Players

This section argues that social media were acknowledged as a central mode of electoral campaigning during the 2014 presidential election – in contrast to the situation during the 2012 Jakarta election and 2013 Makassar election. To understand that transition, it is crucial to trace the ways in which political campaign industry professionals inserted themselves into the candidates' campaign teams and initiated social media campaigning. This section underscores the argument of this study that relational campaigning determined the ways in which social media were employed in the electoral campaigns.

Central to this discussion are the candidates and their relations to other electoral players. The 2014 Indonesian presidential election initially attracted many

¹³⁴ The discussions about the 2014 presidential election also attracted Indonesians living abroad, whether or not they had the right to vote.

interested members of the country's elite.¹³⁵ Most of them were at the heart of the political elite, with many serving in the top positions of the country's various political parties. The exceptions were Jokowi and top *dangdut* singer Rhoma Irama.¹³⁶ However, most of these members of the elite were unable to proceed because of their low electability (Nurdin, 2015).¹³⁷

Eventually, Jokowi and Prabowo Subianto firmed up as the candidates running in the election. Despite his strong electability, Jokowi was only able to secure support from a coalition of political parties which represented 36.9 % of the total seats in DPR, while Prabowo's support base included some 63 % of the total seats in DPR, as shown in Table 6.1.

Table 6.1.
Presidential candidates and political support

Candidates	Political Supporter*	Total Campaign Budget**
Joko Widodo- Jusuf Kalla	PDIP, PKB, Nasdem, Hanura, PKPI (not represented), equivalent to 207 seats or 36.9 % of the total seats in the DPR	Rp 312,376,119823

¹³⁵ Indonesia's presidential election is held every five years. Incumbent President Yudhoyono was not allowed to participate in the 2014 presidential election as he had served in the position for the maximum two terms.

¹³⁶ Capitalising on his position as the central figure of *dangdut*, Rhoma was able to insert himself in the political arena (Frederick, 1982; Sen & Hill, 2000). He was a DPR member in 1993, representing a group (*golongan*) of artists. During the New Order period he was associated with PPP, however he then moved between different political parties, finally founding a party by the name of Idaman, a shortened version of the Islam *damai aman* or peaceful and safe Islam, which also literally means hope or desire, in 2016.

¹³⁷ Electability refers to the capability of the candidates to get elected. Adapted from political science, this method of predicting the chances of the candidates winning the elections based on opinion polling has become an influential service of the opinion polling industry. The political parties' endorsement of a candidate to run in elections after 1998 was increasingly shaped by the candidate's electability, which defined the significance of the opinion polling industry in Indonesia. It indicates not only the significance of opinion polling services but also the entrenchment of the political campaign industry in Indonesia's electoral process (see Trihartono, 2011).

Prabowo Subianto Hatta Rajasa	Gerindra, PAN, Golkar, PKS, PPP, PBB, equivalent to 353 seats or 63% of the total seats in the DPR	Rp 166,559,466,941
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Source: KPU, (2014).

* As many as 0.1% of the votes went to political parties that were not represented.

** Data on campaign funds for the second round are not available, as the campaign teams were not required to declare this information, unlike in the first round.

6.3.1. Joko Widodo

In the 2014 presidential election, Jokowi's campaigning was characterised by its decentralized, if not chaotic, nature. The decentralized nature of his campaigning opened up wider opportunities for professionals from the political campaign industry to join in his campaign team, but also for such professionals to employ social media more strategically in his campaign. This character mirrors that of his campaign teams during the 2012 Jakarta election, which was shaped by his relations to the political parties and his subsequent relations to campaign donors and voters.

On the one hand, Jokowi was not a part of the country's web of national political elites. Indonesian political elites were initially rather reluctant about the idea of having Jokowi as the president. Among the most visibly hesitant were the PDIP elite, exemplified by Puan Maharani Sukarnoputri, Megawati's daughter, who did not fully support Jokowi's nomination. She even blamed him for the PDIP's poor performance in the legislative election, and challenged his nomination (The Jakarta Post, April 2014).¹³⁸ Even after the PDIP's official endorsement of

¹³⁸ Due to his popularity and electability, the PDIP elite expected Jokowi to bring the party to victory in the legislative election in April 2014. However, the PDIP only announced its

Jokowi, which was enabled by its coalition with PKB, Nasdem and Hanura, Puan reportedly challenged Megawati's decision to pair Jokowi with Jusuf Kalla as his vice presidential candidate (Tampubolon, 2014). News reports about an internal PDIP rift did not cease until the end of the campaign period on July 5, 2014 (The Jakarta Post, 2014)¹³⁹.

In addition to the PDIP's apparent hesitation, Jokowi also faced similar reservations from Kalla, who had helped him during the 2012 Jakarta election. Kalla was widely known for his opposition to Jokowi's potential nomination in the presidential campaign: During an interview with *Bisnis Indonesia.com*, a website version of *Bisnis Indonesia* newspaper, for example, he reportedly stated:

“Who said that Jokowi is inexperienced? He became a Jakarta Governor (because) he had experiences as a Solo mayor. But, this country may be destroyed and in trouble if he is nominated as a president simply because he is famous in Jakarta. But if (he is) successful in (governing) Jakarta, then go ahead.” (Jusuf Kalla, 2012).

The footage of the interview was made public (both through conventional media as well as the Internet news sites and social media) after he ran as a vice presidential candidate alongside Jokowi in 2014.¹⁴⁰ Kalla was forced to retract his

endorsement for Jokowi in March 2014, several weeks before the legislative elections. PDIP eventually won the legislative election, but it could only garner less than 20 percent of votes; which was less than required to permit the party to nominate a presidential candidate without having to form a coalition with other parties.

¹³⁹ PDIP's internal rift in supporting Jokowi mirrored that of the 2012 election, when he ran for the Jakarta governorship.

¹⁴⁰ *Bisnis Indonesia* television is not a terrestrial television station. It is a part of the *Bisnis.com* website, owned by PT Jurnalindo Aksara Grafika. The company was founded in 1985 by high-profile Indonesian oligarchs Sukamdani Sahid Gito Sardjono, Ciputra, Anthony Salim and Eric Samola.

statement, saying instead that Jokowi was fit to run for president, as he had obtained sufficient leadership experience after being the Jakarta governor for nearly two years.

Despite Kalla's initial reservations, Jokowi eventually selected him as his vice presidential candidate.¹⁴¹ Kalla was a seasoned politician and entrepreneur, who had been groomed by Golkar during the Suharto government.¹⁴² After the end of the Suharto government, he became President Abdurrahman Wahid's minister of industry and trade in 1999 (although he was sacked six months later for a corruption, collusion and nepotism allegation he strongly denied) (n.n., 2001). Megawati, who succeeded Wahid, made him coordinating minister of people's welfare in 2001. In 2004, Kalla ran as a vice presidential candidate to Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono in the first direct presidential election in the country, and the pair won.¹⁴³ After his defeat in the 2009 presidential election against

¹⁴¹ Jokowi had earlier considered having KPK Chairman Abraham Samad (who, like Kalla, came from Makassar), as his vice presidential candidate. Samad was instead charged by the National Police with a document forgery in 2015; not long after KPK declared Gen. Budi Gunawan, a confidante of Megawati, as a suspect in a graft case, blocking his installment as National Police Chief. Jokowi opted to install him only as the deputy national police chief, despite Megawati's endorsement. KPK and the National Police headquarters engaged in an open, bitter conflict – until Jokowi installed Gunawan as deputy chief of the National Police and ordered the Attorney General's Office to suspend the charges against Samad and KPK deputy chairman Bambang Widjojanto.

¹⁴² While in university, Kalla chaired KAMI, a student organisation supporting the New Order government, in South Sulawesi. After graduating, he chaired Sekber Golkar, and became a councillor of DPRD South Sulawesi representing Golkar. He became a DPR member representing Golkar in 1987.

¹⁴³ Before running in the election as Yudhoyono's vice presidential candidate, Kalla attempted to seek Golkar's endorsement as a presidential candidate through the Golkar convention. In the middle of the convention, he withdrew and ran instead as Yudhoyono's vice presidential candidate. After winning the election, Kalla became Golkar chairman, serving until 2009.

Yudhoyono and Megawati, he continued to stay in Jakarta where most of the national elite reside.¹⁴⁴

Given this background, Jokowi's ascension to national politics was not only autonomous of the political elite, but, quoting a title from *The Jakarta Post* newspaper, it was elite engineering that gave birth to Jokowi's ascension (Dewi & Aritonang, 2013).¹⁴⁵ As shown in Chapter 4, Jokowi's political passage to the centre of the national elite was related directly to his connections to established members of the elite such as Kalla and Prabowo, who convinced Megawati to nominate him in the 2012 Jakarta election. Jokowi is an example of a middle level elite reaching the epicentre of the national elite (Hadiz, 2010), instead of a challenger of the elite (Aspinall & Mietzner, 2014).

In comparison with the 2012 Jakarta election, Jokowi's campaigning in the 2014 presidential election was much better funded. Notable donors included Surya Paloh (\$US387 million), Kalla's brother in law Aksa Mahmud (\$US1.1 billion), and Kalla himself (\$US550 million) (150 richest Indonesians, 2013).¹⁴⁶ There were also the likes of cosmetics conglomerate owner Mooryati Sudibyoy, and Luhut Panjaitan, a former Army general-turned-entrepreneur who became one of

¹⁴⁴ Following his vice presidency appointment, he used his position as the chairman of the Indonesian Red Cross to maintain his connections with local elites across the country.

¹⁴⁵ Jokowi disclosed that Kalla represented the support of PDIP, Nasdem, Hanura and PKB (Prasetya, 2014). Kalla has maintain his personal relations with PDIP's Megawati, Nasdem's chairman Surya Paloh, and Hanura's chairman Wiranto, who was his vice presidential candidate in 2009.

¹⁴⁶ Surya's net worth was \$US387 million, Aksa's \$US1.1 billion and Kalla's \$US550 million (150 richest Indonesians, 2013).

Jokowi's main advisers. In addition, many Chinese Indonesian oligarchs supported his campaigning; because as an entrepreneur Jokowi was perceived not to pose a threat to their businesses, while Prabowo with his nationalistic rhetoric failed to appeal them (Anonymous campaign donors, personal personal communication, January 2015).

The majority of Indonesian campaign donors, particularly high-profile ones, rarely made their donations public. Most such donations were made in the form of money. However, some donors provided campaign donations in the form of free use of vehicles (cars to private jets) crucial for the candidates, who had to campaign across the archipelago during the limited campaign period; free use of their premises for campaigning purposes (offices or hotels); or campaign gimmicks (promotional shirts, hats and the like) (Anonymous campaign donor, personal communication, June 2014). Jokowi, however, continued to maintain some middle level donors amongst his new base of campaign contributors.

While Jokowi's campaign was well funded, the lack of full support from PDIP influenced his attempts to mobilize voters. PDIP owned the most effective machinery for reaching most parts of the archipelago, in comparison to PKB, Nasdem, Hanura and PKPI. Such party machineries were crucial for the mobilization of voters, particularly in the context of an electoral process that occurred across a vast archipelago like Indonesia.

These relations shaped the penetration of the political campaign industry in Jokowi's campaigning. In comparison to the 2012 Jakarta election, his campaigning in 2014 appeared slightly better organised, with PDIP coordinating his campaign team. However, Jokowi also developed some campaign teams organised by members of the political campaign industry.

Jokowi's social media campaigning was mostly entrusted to the political campaign industry professionals who helped him in the 2012 Jakarta election, such as Sonny Subrata (PT CDA/Arwuda, a marketing and advertising agency), Kartika Jumadi (Spin Doctors Indonesia, a lobbying company), and Jose Rizal (PT Politicawave, a social media monitoring company). Not all of the industry professionals who supported Jokowi's electoral campaigning in the 2012 Jakarta election were recruited again in the 2014 presidential election. Katapedia no longer supported Jokowi in 2014, due to increasing competition; with the emergence of many agencies offering similar services (Deddy Rachman, personal communication, June 2014). Another social media monitoring company, Provetic, replaced Katapedia in Jokowi's campaign team.

These professionals engaged some of their colleagues to support Jokowi's social media campaign teams. The PDIP-led campaign team, which focused mainly on handling mass media campaigning, recruited Romanus Sumaryo (Narrada Communication, a digital communication agency), to oversee its social media campaigning division.

6.3.2. Prabowo Subianto

In contrast to Jokowi, Prabowo's campaigning was far more centralized and better organised, if not militarised. Prabowo's background in the military led to him incorporating hundreds of former generals and military officers into his support team in addition to civilians. Some of these military officers held important positions and significant influence in his campaign team (Ambarita, 2014).¹⁴⁷ Prabowo's highly centralized campaign teams defined the ways in which media and social media were used for his media campaigning.

Prabowo has been a long time member of the national political elite. He is a son of former Suharto's minister Sumitro Djojohadikusumo, and former son-in-law of Suharto. He had a rapidly rising military career before he was sacked as the chief of the Indonesian Army Special Forces Command during the upheaval in 1998 that accompanied Suharto's resignation.¹⁴⁸ Prabowo then had a period of self-imposed exile in Jordan under the protection of his long-time friend, Crown Prince (now King) Abdullah. After a couple of years, he returned to Jakarta as a businessman. His ambition to become president had been evident since 2004 when he sought Golkar's endorsement as a presidential candidate, which he failed to secure. In the 2009 presidential election, he ran as Megawati's vice presidential candidate, after founding the Gerindra Party in 2008 (Aspinall, 2014).

¹⁴⁷ Prabowo's campaign teams engaged more than 200 former military general and officials (Ambarita, 2014). Among them were Gen. (ret) George Toisutta, who was the vice chairman of his national campaign team, and former Gen (ret) Johannes Suryo Prabowo, who was his spokesperson. In comparison, Jokowi's campaign teams also engaged former military officers, however, they did not play visible roles in the operation of his campaign teams.

¹⁴⁸ The military headquarters considered him responsible for the unlawful kidnapping of some pro-democracy activists, and for direct responsibility in a number of other human rights cases.

Unlike Prabowo, his vice presidential candidate, Hatta Rajasa, was not born into the elite.¹⁴⁹ Rather, he was a businessman in the oil and mining sector before starting his political career through PAN, which was founded by Amien Rais in 1999. After being elected a DPR member in the 1999 election, Hatta assumed various ministerial posts in the cabinets of Presidents Wahid, Megawati and Yudhoyono respectively. Hatta also chaired PAN in 2010 and became the father-in-law of Yudhoyono's son, Edhie Baskoro Yudhoyono.

The pair of Prabowo and Hatta gained the support of the political parties Gerindra, PAN, Golkar, PKS, PPP, PD and PBB.¹⁵⁰ This coalition brought together party machineries that were both large and with substantial connections into the electorates, such as in the case of PKS. These party machineries, which were important to mobilize voters, were also able to work effectively because of the strong financial donations that Prabowo accumulated.

Prabowo secured a list of well-known high-profile donors, including his younger brother Hasyim Djojohadikusumo whose net worth reached \$US 1.05 billion; Golkar's Aburizal Bakrie with \$US 2.45 billion; Harry Tanoesudibjo with \$US 1.70 billion; and Hatta's ally, M. Riza Chalid, with \$US 415 million (150 richest Indonesians, 2013). Prabowo's personal net worth was estimated at around

¹⁴⁹ Hatta became Prabowo's running mate following his failure to get the PDIP's endorsement to run with Jokowi in the 2014 election. His efforts to pair with Jokowi were rebuffed by Megawati, mainly because of his personal connection with Yudhoyono (Anonymous senior PDIP member, personal communication, 2014).

¹⁵⁰ PBB had no seat in the DPR.

USD140 million, while Hatta reported his net worth to be slightly less at USD2.5 million. Behind them there were also the likes of the Suharto family and President Yudhoyono, who still held control over both the finances and the networks necessary to support the pair.

Table 6.1. shows, based on their campaign teams' official reports to KPU, that Jokowi's campaign funds were nearly double those of Prabowo. However, these figures did not reflect the true resources received (and spent), because some donations were not in the form of money or goods, and because often donations were not channelled through political parties or campaign teams' treasurers.

The centralized nature of Prabowo's campaigning defined the penetration of the political campaign industry professionals into his campaign teams. Industry professionals were hired to handle his media and social media campaigning. Among them were Juke Sutaram (Think Big Indonesia, a public relations and business development company), Budi Purnomo Karjodiharjo (Kelompok Media Peluang, a media publishing and consultancy company), and a number of individual professional campaigners.¹⁵¹

6.4. Social Media and The Political Campaign Industry

Extending the argument made in Chapters 4 and 5, this section discusses the mechanisms by which the political campaign industry developed social media campaigning services during the 2014 presidential election, identifying three areas

¹⁵¹ Prabowo also recruited Rob Allyn, the director of US-based Margate House. Allyn previously worked on George W Bush's gubernatorial election in the U.S. through his previous consultancy company, Allyn & Co.

for examination: content, users and labour. The Jakarta-based campaign industry professionals, most of whom managed and operated social media campaigning in the 2012 Jakarta election, played a crucial role in the process. This is not surprising, given the fact that Jakarta is the centre of the national campaign industry. The findings show that the political campaign industry was able to develop and market social media campaigning as a new campaigning service, because the professionals had developed the requisite skills to operate social media campaigning and because the political actors appreciated its value and impact (see Table 6.2.).

Table 6.2.
Presidential candidates & mode of campaign

Candidates	Consultants	Offline Campaign	Websites	Social media accounts
Prabowo Subianto-Hatta Rajasa	Budi Purnomo Karjodiharjo (Karjodiharjo Corp.), Rob Allyn (Allyn & Co)*, Juke Sutaram (TBI), individual campaigners	Canvassing Conventional media	http://prabowo-subianto.info , http://hatta-rajasa.info	Twitter @prabowo08 @hattarajasa Facebook https://www.facebook.com/prabowosubianto
Joko Widodo-Jusuf Kalla	Cirrus Surveyors Group, Lingkaran Survey Indonesia, PolMark, Politcawave, Cyrus Network, individual campaigners	Canvassing Conventional media	http://www.jokowidodo.org , http://www.jokowicenter.org , http://jusufkalla.info	Twitter @Pak_JK, @jokowi_do2 Facebook: https://www.facebook.com/jkwofficial https://www.facebook.com/IrHJokoWidodo https://www.facebook.com/jusufkalla.info

Source: Author

There were no data available about the presidential candidates' budgets for mass media and social media campaigning.¹⁵² However, Table 6.3. shows that the campaign teams of both candidates spent substantial funds on television campaigning. If the total campaign budget they reported to KPU was declared honestly and accurately, this suggests the significance of television campaigning in their campaign strategies.¹⁵³ Prabowo's campaign team spent more than half of their total campaign budget on television advertisements alone, while Jokowi's team allocated nearly one third of their total budget on this.

Table 6.3.
Estimated TV ads spending during campaign period 2014

Candidates	Estimated TV ads spending	Total campaign budget
Prabowo Subianto Hatta Rajasa	Rp. 93 billion	Rp 166,559,466,941
Joko Widodo Jusuf Kalla	Rp. 92 billion	Rp 312,376,119,823

Source: Sigi Kaca Pariwara, 2014; KPU, 2014

6.4.1. Social Media Content

This section found that the involvement of the political campaign professionals in the production and distribution of social media content during the presidential campaign period. This finding does not contradict studies suggesting that social media users expressed their true political preferences (Ibrahim et al., 2015).

¹⁵² The Bank of Indonesia estimated that the total costs of running elections in 2014, involving around 200,000 DPD, DPR and DPRD legislative candidates across the country, plus the campaigns of the two presidential candidates and the cost of operating the KPU, reached Rp 44.1 trillion.

¹⁵³ Candidates are required by law to submit their campaign financial reports to KPU. However, the campaign financial reports may not reflect the true amount of the candidates' campaign budget.

However, it indicates that the political preferences of social media users were *not* autonomous of the engineering of the political campaign industry that developed social media campaign services out of content.

In the 2014 presidential election, the political campaign industry employed the same strategy to generate content as it had employed during the 2012 Jakarta election and the 2013 Makassar election. The strategy centred on the development of positive and negative campaign issues aimed at maximising social media content. There was a stark contrast between the campaign strategies of the two candidates. Prabowo's team tended to employ negative and smear campaigning, while Jokowi's emphasised the positive. One of the industry professionals on Prabowo's team explained that the negative campaigning against Jokowi was inevitable,

“An election campaign is nothing different to a football match. In this match, we certainly couldn't play a defensive strategy. Everybody knows that Prabowo's popularity was far below Jokowi. We have to be offensive in all fields (of campaigning) to ensure that all eyes (of the voters) are on us. Jokowi is not a saint. (He has) plenty of (negative) issues. Our business is to ensure our client's victory.”
(Budi Purnomo Karjodihardjo, personal communication, June 2014).

Prabowo's offensive strategy was aimed at reducing the gap in popularity between the two candidates (see Table 6.4.). This strategy partly contributed to the plummeting popularity of Jokowi between the end of 2013 and the close of the campaign period.

Table 6.4.
Candidates' popularity over time

Time Period	Joko Widodo	Prabowo Subianto
December 2013	62.0 %	23.0 %
March 2013	56.0 %	27.0 %
April 2014	52.0 %	36.0 %
June 2–9, 2014	47.8 %	41.5 %
June 16–19, 2014	46.5 %	44.9 %
June 30–July 3, 2014	47.6 %	44.9 %

Source: SMRC in Mietzner (2015).

It is possible to interpret the social media campaign during this period as indicating that social media did not always facilitate civil discussions; in contrast to the suggestion of some scholars, such as Shirky (2011). Instead, during the 2014 presidential campaign, the content of social media and the very negative tone to the rival campaigns indicated that social media might be employed effectiely to foster uncivil conversations, and to produce, distribute, reproduce and redistribute negative and slanderous campaign messages – facilitated strongly by the fact that campaigning through the new media was not regulated in Indonesia at all. One striking and well-known example of the production and distribution of such uncivil social media content was the case of M. Arsyad Assegaf in Jakarta, who posted a meme of Jokowi and Megawati in a sexually compromising position on his Facebook page that openly declared Anti Jokowi.¹⁵⁴

The smear campaigns on social media against Jokowi were similar to those in the 2012 Jakarta election, which focussed mainly on personal issues and his

¹⁵⁴ Arsyad was reported to the police by Jokowi's lawyers during the presidential campaign period in July 2014. The police arrested him ten days after Jokowi was inaugurated as a president in October 2014. However, Jokowi decided to pardon him after finding out that the junior high school graduate was a helper to a satay vendor living with his poor family. Arsyad admitted that he sourced the meme from an online group he followed during the height of the presidential campaign period (Rachman, 2014).

connection to PDIP. The first type of smear involved a number of rumours that reflected poorly upon Jokowi. Among them were the accusation that Jokowi was a son of a PKI leader, a son of a Chinese-Singaporean man, and that he was a devotee of Javanese customs (*Kejawen*) and a fake Muslim, who was unable to pray properly. At one point, Jokowi was accused of fabricating the story of his modest upbringing as a son of a carpenter in Surakarta. Such issues were mainly produced in the form of news-like articles by the campaigners, and distributed through both blogs and paid websites. Such blogs and websites become sources for the proliferation of content on social media.

The second common type of accusation against Jokowi revolved around the claim that he was not independent. Unlike the baseless rumours about his biographical background or religious beliefs, accusations of him lacking independence did have truth to them, as demonstrated in a speech by Megawati declaring Jokowi was a *petugas partai* (party official) and therefore not non-party or independent (n.n., 2014). The proliferation of social media content about this issue was based on online articles of conventional news which carried not only news stories about the facts of Megawati's speech, but also pictures and videos depicting Jokowi kissing the hands of Megawati, symbolizing his obeisance to the party chairperson (see figure 6.1).

Figure 6.1.
Pictures of Jokowi's submissive gestures towards Megawati Sukarnoputri



Source: Kelana (2014).



Source: Jusuf (2014).

Such smear campaigns on social media become the main sources for subsequent articles published in a free tabloid by the name of *Obor Rakyat* (People's Torch). The tabloid, which was in fact campaign material produced by the Prabowo camp rather than non-aligned commercial *mass* media per se, was distributed to Islamic boarding schools, mainly in Java. The first publication of the tabloid during the campaign period in June 2014 captured public attention because it clearly discredited Jokowi. Under the front page headline entitled *Capres Boneka* (Puppet Presidential Candidate) was the infamous picture of Jokowi paying obeisance by kissing the hand of PDIP Chairperson Megawati (Rochman, 2014). It also carried articles with provocative titles such as “The puppet candidate likes to break promises, Held hostage by Chinese bosses and missionaries”, “From Solo to Jakarta de-Islamisation a la Jokowi”, and “Chinese bosses behind Jokowi”.¹⁵⁵ These headlines summed up the range of negative issues mobilised against Jokowi, which were produced and distributed offline to reach offline voters.

The tabloid's articles were written mainly by Darmawan Sepriyossa, a former *Tempo* Magazine reporter who had become an editor of the Inilah.com news website¹⁵⁶, and published by Setiyadi Budiono. The latter was also a former *Tempo* Magazine journalist who worked as an assistant to President Susilo

¹⁵⁵ The original titles in Indonesian are *Capres Boneka Suka Ingkar Janji, Disandera Cukong dan Misionaris, Dari Solo Sampai Jakarta De Islamisasi Ala Jokowi*, and *Cukong-cukong di Belakang Jokowi*. Such provocative titles are clear evidence of negative campaigning against Jokowi.

¹⁵⁶ Inilah.com is part of the Inilah group, which is owned by Muchlis Hasyim Jahja, a former journalist-turned-press officer of Vice President Jusuf Kalla. Kalla accused Jahja of being a financier of *Obor Rakyat* (Trianita, 2014), while media reported that the group was funded by businessman Muhammad Riza Chalid, a close friend of Rajasa (Tobing, 2014), *The Jakarta Post* noted that he was “widely alleged as the country's largest broker of subsidized fuel and oil imports” (Jong, 2014). Rajasa has denied that Chalid was one of his campaign financiers (Jong, 2014).

Bambang Yudhoyono' special staffer Andi Arief. Setiyardi served as a commissioner of the state plantation company PT Perkebunan Nusantara XII. He claimed to fund the publication – which had a print-run of 100,000– with the help of undisclosed donors. In a press conference, Setiyardi claimed that the tabloid was a form of (what in Indonesia is called) 'citizen journalism', as many of the articles were sourced from social media and written by amateurs with no professional training or experience as journalists.¹⁵⁷

Therefore, through both positive and negative campaigning, social media become an important avenue for the industry to cultivate and distribute campaign issues that went beyond the restrictions of the Internet. Such negative campaigning enhanced the industry's profit-making capacity, quite apart from whether this form of campaigning was good or bad for the electoral process (Aspinall & Mietzner, 2014; Brooks, 2006; Kaid & Johnston, 1991; Mayer, 1996).

The aims of the negative and smear campaigning against Jokowi through social media, the Internet and canvassing were two-fold. First, it was important to define the position of Prabowo as a decisive, thorough and nationalistic leader (Aspinall, 2014). Second, it aimed at attracting Muslim voters, who made up the

¹⁵⁷ Setiyardi was reported to the police by Jokowi's campaign team during the campaign period. The police named him and Darmawan as suspects in a libel case in July 2014. However, the police only started the investigation after Jokowi was declared the election winner. Setiyardi was later discharged from his position as a PTPN XII commissioner. Both Setiyardi and Darmawan stood trial for the charges. In 2016, Setiyardi supported the campaign of Agus Harimurti Yudhoyono, the first son of former president Yudhoyono, in the 2016 Jakarta gubernatorial election. Later in 2016, Both Setiyardi and Darmawan were sentenced to eight months in jail.

majority of the electorate (see Miichi, 2014). Accusations over Jokowi's credentials as a Muslim were particularly useful in swaying the voting preference of urban, educated and increasingly conservative Muslim voters; who were avid users of social media. According to a campaigner,

“We hope to reach out to Muslim voters, mainly PKS sympathizers and conservative urban Muslims who used Facebook and Twitter daily. They are more independent in making their choices. But, obviously, it is not targeted at NU followers (*jamaah*) in the villages.” (Anonymous campaigner working for Prabowo, personal communication, June 2014).¹⁵⁸

Responding to Prabowo's aggressive campaign strategy, Jokowi's campaign team appeared to be overwhelmed. This is significant because, in addition to his tainted professional career, Prabowo's personal life would have provided an easy source of negative campaign targets, which may have struck a chord with conservative Muslim voters. His Muslim credentials were easier to question to attract Muslim electorates. Although his father, Sumitro Djojohadikusumo, was a Muslim; his mother, Dora Sigar, was a Christian and a Chinese-German Indonesian from North Sulawesi. In addition, none of his three siblings is Muslim. Moreover, his marriage to Suharto's daughter, Titiek Hediati, broke down in 1998, which showed his failure to fulfil traditional Muslim requirements regarding being the leader of a family.

¹⁵⁸ NU followers totaled nearly 40 million. Most of them resided in small cities and rural areas in Indonesia, particularly Java. Their leaders are considered to have an important role in shaping their voting preferences.

The industry professionals were reluctant to develop such campaign issues. This was partly because Jokowi himself instructed them not to exploit Prabowo's personal life, as he feared it would have fuelled increasing campaign tensions at the grass-root level (Kartika Jumadi, personal communication, June 2014). He restricted these campaigners from launching smears against Prabowo, and instructed them to focus instead on developing positive images of Jokowi as a man-of-the-people, a humane technocrat, and countering negative rumours. Nonetheless, his campaign team was able to develop and distribute negative campaign issues against Prabowo focussed on his track records in human rights violations, his failed military career, and his connections to Suharto.

Jokowi's media campaign team appeared to be over-confident about his popularity prior to the campaign period. Quoting a remark from a LIPI political scientist that "Jokowi will win the election even if he is paired up with thongs", a leading professional campaigner working for Jokowi suggested that despite Jokowi's declining popularity, Prabowo would not be able to match it.¹⁵⁹ Such an attitude contributed to the steep decline of Jokowi's popularity, which, however, opened the door wider to a number of middle class activists to support his campaign (as will be discussed further in the later part of this chapter).

¹⁵⁹ LIPI political scientist Fachri Ali's remarks were delivered in Indonesian in a discussion in 2013 which gained wide media coverage. His original remark in Indonesian was "*Jokowi itu dipasangkan dengan sandal jepit pasti menang*". The comment was made before the PDIP decided to endorse Jokowi in the 2014 presidential election (Aritonang, 2014).

6.4.2. Mobilising Users

The 2014 presidential election showed more intense strategies employed by the political campaign industry professionals to mobilize users. The findings of this section conform to the argument of Fuchs that “the commodification of audience participation is easier to achieve [on social media] than on other mass media” during the age of the Internet (Fuchs, 2009, p. 84). The commodification converted random social media users into producers and distributors of electoral campaign messages.¹⁶⁰ This partly explains the tendency of the political campaign industry to recruit volunteers to engage in online campaigning during the electoral campaign period.

In an election campaign, issues developed by media professionals are not only useful in maximising campaign content; more importantly, the circulation of such issues mobilizes social media users to engage in the production and distribution of social media, as part of the overall campaign. In this particular case, social media campaigning had started prior to the one-month long presidential election campaign period from June 4 to July 5, 2014. Prabowo, who had run for vice president in 2009, was more prepared than Jokowi to engage in the new mode of campaigning. His team had been operating his Facebook fan page account since July 15, 2008, and his Twitter account @Prabowo08 since May 16, 2009. The team also maintained his social media accounts regularly, and intensified their use after early 2013.

¹⁶⁰ (see concepts of audience labour Manzerolle, 2010; Nixon, 2014; Prodnik, 2014; Smythe, 1995).

Prabowo appeared to be more informed about social media than Jokowi, as the latter only opened his personal twitter account @jokowi_do2 on September 3, 2011. Jokowi's and Kalla's official Facebook fan page was only set up on May 30, 2014, a few days prior to the presidential campaign period. Table 6.5. shows that Prabowo's Facebook fan page generated more supporters than that of Jokowi, but his twitter account generated fewer supporters than that of his contender.

Table 6.5.
Presidential candidates' social media performance

Candidates	Social Media Performance
Prabowo Subianto-Hatta Rajasa	http://www.facebook.com/PrabowoSubianto Facebook fan page : 5.9 million likes Twitter @prabowo08: 872,000 followers
Joko Widodo-Jusuf Kalla	http://www.facebook.com/JKWofficial Facebook fan page : 1.6 million likes Twitter @jokowi_do2: 1.5 million followers

Source: Adapted from Facebook and Twitter on June 18, 2014

While social media campaigning was done prior to the election campaign period, online conflict (or cyber wars) were designed to mobilize users throughout the campaign period. Therefore, the campaigners designed themes for cyber wars, which were commonly used to support offline campaign events. For example, some such events included the registration of candidates, the announcement of the competing candidates by KPU, the televised debates on five different days, the finale mass campaign in Jakarta, and the last day prior to election day on July 9, 2014.

Campaign issues developed by the campaigners were distributed to users with the help of both paid and unpaid buzzers or influencers. Buzzing was a main step in the development of cyber wars, as it enabled campaigners to distribute the campaign issues to a wider range of social media users. In the 2014 presidential election, pseudonymous Twitter accounts characterised social media campaigning. Some prominent accounts active in the election campaigning were @triomacan2000, @kurawa and @partaisocmed. The first account engaged in buzzing in support of Prabowo, while the last two buzzed for Jokowi. The Twitter account @triomacan2000 served as the main engine to buzz rumours against Jokowi. However, the account, which had developed a network of more than 800,000 Twitter users, was permanently suspended under mysterious circumstances on June 13, 2014.¹⁶¹ Prabowo's team denied using @TrioMacan2000 services (Tarigan, 2014).

The account of @kurawa, was set up in 2009, and @partaisocmed was opened in 2012. The account of @kurawa mainly buzzed negative issues against Prabowo to counter rumours against Jokowi. Among the issues that it raised were irregularities regarding Prabowo's campaign budget, his relations to tycoons such as Harry Tanoesudibjo, and the behaviour of @triomacan2000. The account of

¹⁶¹ The @TrioMacan2000 account was suspended temporarily twice in 2012 and 2013, but its administrators were able to recover their account. During the election period, however, the account was permanently unrecoverable. Its administrators set up another account @Ronin1946 to replace @triomacan2000 account, but it was also suspended permanently. The administrators of @triomacan2000 opened a new account with the name @TrioMacan2000Back, but it failed to attract a substantial number of followers. The account was suspended permanently with the support of a telecommunications provider upon the request of Jokowi's campaign team (Anonymous politician, personal communication, 2014).

@partaisocmed mainly buzzed about Jokowi's positive achievements and attempts to mobilize his supporters.

In addition to the pseudonymous accounts, social media campaigning was also driven by popular celebrity buzzers. Among those supporting Prabowo's social media campaigning were television presenter Raffi Ahmad, actress Pevita Pearce and rocker Ahmad Dani. Not only did they post their positive testimonies about Prabowo, they also appeared on Internet videos produced by Prabowo's campaigners for social media distribution. These celebrities were mobilized to support the campaign based on their personal and professional relations with Prabowo, Hatta, their family members and campaign team members (Noudy Valdhryano, personal communication, October 2013).

Jokowi's buzzing was also supported by celebrities such as conductor Addie M.S., pop singer Sherina Munaf – who has over 1 million followers on Twitter¹⁶² – and singer/writer Dewi Lestari, who buzzed for Jokowi for free (Sodikin, 2012). The mobilization of these celebrities was due partly to the urgings of pro-Jokowi industry professionals and volunteers, including Diaz Hendropriyono, a son of former BIN head A.M. Hendropriyono.¹⁶³

¹⁶² Sherina's father, Triawan Munaf, who owns Adwork (an advertising agency that had served PDIP for some time) and who was a Jokowi supporter, was later appointed as the chairman of the Creative Economy Body, a new institution established by President Jokowi.

¹⁶³ The elder Hendropriyono has been a key adviser of Jokowi. He was appointed a BIN head by Megawati. His track record in human rights violations was on a par with that of Prabowo. Hendropriyono was implicated in the military attack against civilians in Talangsari village in the province of Lampung in 1989, which led to torture, massacre, and the forced disappearance of some villagers. Hendropriyono was also implicated in the 1999 terror campaign in East Timor, as well as the murder of human rights activist Munir Said Thalib, who was poisoned on board a

Ultimately, the cyber wars were driven by paid buzzers attached to the campaigners. Professional campaigners working for Prabowo recruited a number of university students and fresh graduates to operate his social media campaigning. Campaigners for Jokowi were able to recruit mainly volunteers, but otherwise they engaged university students, who received small amounts of financial compensation in return of their labour. Through the creation of hashtags and a consistent supply of online material to create campaign content (texts, pictures, videos, and memes), these buzzers played critical roles in maintaining the production and distribution of social media campaign content.

To support attempts to mobilize social media users, the campaigners were required to understand users' behaviour throughout the campaign. Social media monitoring services provided data on the users' behaviour. This information was critical in assisting the campaigners to develop appropriate tactics. The campaign professionals could then monitor the distribution of campaign issues, knowing what issues attracted users and when to buzz and provoke users to engage in the production and distribution of campaign content. According to one campaigner,

“Social media monitoring is very important for our campaigning. Data from the monitoring enabled us to develop our strategy to engage users in our campaigning. I don't think we could do our campaigning effectively without it.” (Kartika Jumadi, personal communication, June 2014).

Garuda flight to the Netherlands (where he was supposed to be undertaking postgraduate study) in 2004, by a BIN agent. The identified BIN agent, Pollycarpus Budihari Priyono, was sentenced to 14 years in jail.

6.4.2. Managing Labour

Like the 2012 Jakarta election and the 2013 Makassar election, social media campaigning in the 2014 presidential election accommodated new players in the political campaign industry. However, the ways in which Jokowi's and Prabowo's political campaign professionals managed campaign workers were different, due to the different styles of their campaigning.

The main vehicle for Jokowi's social media campaigning was JASMEV, a volunteer group organised by the political campaign industry professionals, which had been used previously during Jokowi's competition and eventual victory in the 2012 Jakarta election, and then disbanded. For the presidential campaigning, JASMEV was revived in March 2014 as JASMEV2014. As in the 2012 Jakarta election, JASME2014 recruited volunteers as well as waged buzzers; mainly in Jakarta, but also in several cities in Indonesia, to engage with Jokowi's social media campaigning.

The volunteerism mode prevented the factory-like working conditions that prevailed in Prabowo's campaign (as will be discussed later in this section). Comprising mostly university students, the volunteers were compensated with a small amount of pocket money, free lunch and free seminars by respected lecturers (Kartika Jumadi, personal communication, June 2014). Working conditions were also flexible; as was reported for some of JASMEV's operation rooms in Nasdem headquarters in Menteng, Central Jakarta. According to one

buzzer, their working times were specifically not rigid, as most students also had to attend classes in their universities.

This was a stark contrast to the working conditions within the social media campaign teams working for Prabowo. The low-paid buzzers recruited by Think Big Indonesia also consisted of university students and fresh graduates.¹⁶⁴ In return for Rp. 2.5 million (AUD\$ 250) a month, they worked in three shifts for 24 hour a day, seven days a week, under strict control; to the extent that they had to record on written forms when they needed to go to the toilet (Bhawono, Rifai, Sutrisno, & Yumiyanti, 2014)¹⁶⁵. The tight control of their labour was a consequence of the highly centralized and controlled nature of Prabowo's campaign (Bhawono et al., 2014).¹⁶⁶

Similarly, the Gerindra party headquarters also recruited waged buzzers.¹⁶⁷ Their tasks included monitoring Prabowo's accounts, updating his status, and responding to queries from social media users. It was this team that was authorized to handle Prabowo's official social media accounts. This team's main

¹⁶⁴ The company had done commercial work from Prabowo's offices. Sutaram claimed that her company's campaigning for Prabowo was voluntary.

¹⁶⁵ When the author visited the media room in October 2013, they resembled the media rooms of mass media companies: with several big TV screens, radios and dozens of computers manned by each of the team of campaign professionals.

¹⁶⁶ The activities of Prabowo's buzzers were not covered by conventional media; while in contrast, the work of Jokowi's volunteers, including buzzers, was widely publicized by journalists.

¹⁶⁷ Prabowo's campaign team was also supported by PKS, which is known for its intellectual-urban constituency. PKS members were among the most prolific social media users during the campaign period from June 5 to July 5, 2014. Other members of the party coalition supporting Prabowo did not become involve formally in his social media campaigning.

task was to develop a positive image for Prabowo.¹⁶⁸ For example, they distributed photos through his official accounts of Prabowo when he was young and while he was in the military, as well as photos with his only son Didit Hadiprasetyo, former wife Titiek Suharto, and with his supporters.

The 2014 presidential election was marked by an increasing number of social media monitoring companies. As of June 2014, there were nine companies offering social media monitoring services, in addition to the previously established firms Politicawave and Katapedia, as shown in Table 6.6.

Table 6.6.
Companies offering social media monitoring services

Companies
Awesometrics
Provetic
IMMC
Indo Bagus
Lembaga Indeks Digital
Digimed
Vcomm
IndexPolitica (a subsidiary of PT Global Premier Solusindo/Creative Head)
Citra Survey Indonesia – ZoomMonitoring

Source: Author

The intense nature of the presidential contest increased the demand for both ICT and communication professionals to support social media campaigning. The campaign teams of Prabowo did not hesitate to recruit ICT engineers and

¹⁶⁸ Among the issues against Prabowo were his involvement in the kidnapping of pro-democracy activists in 2008, some of whose fates remained unknown up to the election campaign period; his connections with the Suharto family; his status as a divorced man; and his company's financial problems.

communication professionals who had previously worked for Jokowi in the 2012 Jakarta election. Budi Purnomo Karjohidardjo, for example, was earlier the head of Jokowi's communication team when he was running for Jakarta governor.¹⁶⁹ Budi was a founder of Kelompok Media Peluang, which published some lesser-known media in Jakarta. Social media enabled his company to expand their business. While Budi was tasked with the mass media operations of Prabowo's campaigns, his business partner, Nanik S. Deyang, supported Prabowo's social media campaign operation.¹⁷⁰ The company also developed a volunteer group by the name of Jaringan Merah Putih, which was inspired by Koalisi Merah Putih, the party coalition supporting Prabowo (Damayanti, 2014a).

6.4.2. The Impact of Social Media Campaigning

The use of social media as part of the 2014 presidential electoral campaign showed how social media were captured by the political economy elites through the complex, commercially-focused efforts of the electoral campaign industry. The mediation of the industry (the economic forces) enabled the political economy elites to extend their influence on social media as a new site of contestation during the electoral campaign period. Thus, this chapter's finding disputes earlier suggestions that social media was "a battleground in the 2014

¹⁶⁹ Karjodihardjo was a journalist working for lesser-known print media in Jakarta. He had previously recruited a number of people to pretend to be journalists and follow Jokowi when he performed his impromptu visits to Jakartan slums; such recruitment was intended "to attract mainstream journalists [because] this guy has news value" (Budi Purnomo Karjodihardjo, personal communication, October 2013). This strategy was taken because mainstream media had been under the influence of incumbent governor Fauzi Bowo.

¹⁷⁰ A prolific Facebook writer, her Facebook posts consistently degraded Jokowi; in stark contrast to her previous posts praising Jokowi during the 2012 Jakarta election.

elections, a battleground that was largely not controlled or manipulated by oligarchs, but rather dominated by volunteer groups and individual citizens” (Tapsell, 2015, p. 41).

While it may appear that volunteers ruled social media during the cases discussed above, the involvement of volunteers in social media campaigning was in fact not entirely autonomous from the involvement of the political campaign industry professionals working for both Jokowi and Prabowo. The political campaign industry’s commodification of social media campaigning did not enable it to control the electoral campaign messages (or social media users as a main producer of such messages) in the traditional sense. Instead, the industry was able to expand the commodification of content “extending the range of opportunities to measure and monitor, package and repackage” (Mosco, 2009, p. 135) information pertaining to the elections.

More over, the use of social media in the 2014 presidential election demonstrated the increasing significance of the political campaign industry in cementing social media campaigning services as part of the electoral process. Similar to the 2012 Jakarta election, the industry professionals supporting Jokowi played a leading role, due to their use of social media campaigning strategies that were able to gain support from both campaign donors and social media activists.

Through its volunteering strategies, JASMEV2014 was able to gain campaign donations from both high profile Indonesian business people and medium-size campaign donors, to help run its social media campaigning (Kartika Jumadi, personal communication, June 2014). In addition, Nasdem's chairman Surya Paloh supported JASMEV2014's social media campaigning by providing a room for JASMEV2014 operations in Nasdem's party headquarters, in the vicinity of Cikini, Central Jakarta. Thus, JASMEV2014 not only had free use of office rooms; it also gained in-kind support in the form of payment of its electricity and Internet connection bills, dozens of networked computers, and several big screen televisions for its operation. In addition to JASMEV2014, several other professional campaigners also secured campaign donations from medium-sized donors to run social media campaigning for Jokowi (Ajianto Dwi Nugroho, personal communication, November 2013).

The industry's strategy of encouraging volunteers led to the proliferation of campaign teams. Both Jokowi's and Prabowo's campaigns were supported by volunteer groups, as shown in Table 6.7.

Table 6.7.
Volunteer groups in the 2014 presidential election

Jokowi & Jusuf Kalla	Prabowo Subianto & Hatta Rajasa
Pro Jokowi (Projo)	Gerakan Pemuda untuk Prabowo-Hatta (Gema)
Sekretariat Nasional Jokowi	Relawan Nusantara Jaya
Duta Jokowi	Aliansi Rakyat Merdeka
RPJB (Relawan Penggerak Jakarta Baru)	Geber Prabowo
Jo-Man (Jokowi Mania)	Rajawali
Pusat Informasi Relawan (PIR) Jokowi-JK	Rajasa
Kawan Jokowi	Relawan Sayap Tanah
Jasmev	Rumah Indonesia
Bara JP Barisan Relawan Jokowi Presiden	Gerakan Pemuda untuk Prabowo-Hatta (Gema)
EP for Jokowi	

JKW4P	
Sahabat Rakyat (Makassar, Sulsel)	
Relawan Papua untuk Jokowi (Lapak)	
Relawan untuk Indonesia (REDI) Dahlan	
Pos Perjuangan Rakyat (Pospera)	
Komunitas Pengusaha untuk Jokowi-Kalla	
Relawan Jaringan Nasional Aliansi Mahasiswa dan Pemuda (Aswaja)	
Gerakan Rakyat Merdeka (ARM)	
Komunitas Pengusaha untuk Jokowi-Kalla	

Source: Author

These online volunteers comprised mainly middle class people residing in large and medium-sized cities in Indonesia. Some studies have suggested that their volunteerism reflected the political demands of Indonesia voters for a change in the country (Hermawan, 2014). This study, however, found that the middle class had a different agenda in their participation in social media campaigning, and in the 2014 presidential election in general. Again, this study's findings in this regard support the views of Robison and Goodman (1996) that the middle classes tend to coalesce with the political economy elites to further their own economic and social agendas; instead of participating in political movements separate from such interests.

Jokowi's online volunteers appeared to represent pro-democracy and progressive activists. Seknas, for example, was a volunteer group with a clear, overarching political agenda that went beyond bringing their candidate to power. The agenda was to ensure that Prabowo did not come to power in Indonesia. Seknas consisted of academics, communication and IT professionals, and activists (working in various civil society organisations); such as historian Hilmar Farid and former

human rights commission chairman Ifdhal Kasim. Some of these volunteers had previously engaged in the pro-democracy movement to topple Suharto in 1998.

One Seknas volunteer, Margiyanto, a human rights and Internet activist, joined after he and a number of activists and professionals were asked to support the Jokowi campaign by Saiful Mujani, an academic and political consultant who owns Saiful Mujani Research Center (SMRC) survey company, who “panicked” at the decreasing popularity of Jokowi in a number of polls (Margiyanto, personal communication, June 2014). In a similar way, Fajrul Rachman, a political activist who chaired a small online publication, joined the Salam Dua Jari volunteer group, which consisted of popular celebrities, due to his concerns over Prabowo’s chances of winning the election. Fajrul became one of the most prolific Jokowi volunteers on Twitter.

In addition to these groups, there were other types of volunteer groups supporting Jokowi, including Kawan Jokowi (literally, Friend of Jokowi), an abbreviation of Koalisi Anak Muda dan Relawan Jokowi (the Coalition of Jokowi’s Youth and Volunteers). This group was set up by Diaz Hendropriyono, a businessman, PhD student of the United States-based Virginia Polytechnic Institute and State University, and son of former National Intelligence Body (BIN) head A.M. Hendropriyono.¹⁷¹

¹⁷¹ A close ally of Megawati, Hendropriyono’s poor record on human rights was comparable to that of Prabowo. While he was a military colonel during the New Order period, he was involved in overseeing a spate of notorious murders in a village in Lampung province in 1989, which claimed nearly 300 lives. As well, he was linked to the murder of Indonesian human rights activist

Both Seknas and Kawan Jokowi were among the volunteer groups that formed close relations with Jokowi. Both groups consisted mainly of middle class residents of Jakarta and other major Indonesian cities. These volunteers played crucial roles in producing campaign text, monitoring social media campaigns and “protecting the campaign from possible disruption such as hacking” (Margiyanto, personal communication, June 2014). This last task was necessary because Prabowo’s campaign team hired some professional campaigners, who previously worked for Jokowi in the 2012 Jakarta election. These campaigners were perceived as potential threats to Jokowi’s social media campaign as they understood not only Jokowi’s social media campaign strategies but, more importantly, technological flaws that were prone to abuse. In addition, these volunteers were tasked with seeking donations, in a public fundraising campaign that recorded nearly Rp 300 billion in donations from nearly 50,000 individuals (The Jakarta Post, 2014).¹⁷² While this fundraising may be seen as an historical achievement, Jokowi’s team did not actually use this money, and donated it instead to Palestine (Republika, 2014). The donation may be understood as Jokowi’s attempt to attract Muslim voters (due to the massive negative campaigning against him), and as a demonstration that his campaign was financially secure.¹⁷³

Munir Said Thalib, who was poisoned on board a Garuda Indonesia flight to Amsterdam in 2004. Should you provide a reference for these 2 claims. In addition to Luhut, Hendropriyono’s presence in Jokowi’s camp was crucial to confront Prabowo’s team, which was supported by many former military generals.

¹⁷² In the 2012 Jakarta election, candidate Faisal Basri had also conducted fundraising that resulted in Rp 1 billion.

¹⁷³ While this fundraising featured prominently in the media, the ultimate donation of the funds to Palestine did not attract as much media coverage. One of the few media outlets that published the story about the donation to Palestine was Republika, whose main readership was Muslim.

This chapter does not disregard the works of the volunteers in Jokowi's social media campaigns. There is no doubt regarding the contribution of the volunteers, but this study has found that these various volunteer groups worked under the coordination of the political campaign industry working for Jokowi (Kartika Jumadi, personal communication, June 2014). The domination of the industry professionals tended to edge out political party staffers from Jokowi's social media campaigning. PKB, which supported Jokowi, was not involved in Jokowi's social media campaigning; despite having already formed a team to handle its social media campaign (M. Syaifullah, personal communication, June 2014). This suggests that the party machinery staff were not important in such social media campaigning. In other words, social media campaigning enabled the political campaign industry professionals to become further entrenched in the electoral process, at the expense of the party machinery.

In the case of Prabowo's social media campaigning, the centralized nature of his campaigning limited the scope for political campaign professionals to attract social media activists as volunteers. The high financial dependence of the industry professionals upon the Gerindra-led campaign team shaped the mobilization of volunteers for Prabowo. It was not that Prabowo's campaigning lacked volunteer support, but rather, those who volunteered for him were often financially motivated. Prabowo's campaign was characterised by the emergence of people forming volunteer groups, most of which were based offline. They typically declared their support to Prabowo and Hatta during press conferences at

Rumah Polonia, Prabowo's campaign centre, in the expectation of receiving some financial benefit from Prabowo's team.

In the 2014 presidential election, the political campaign industry was able to build further social media campaigning services to serve the interests of the candidates to win elections. However, these social media campaigning services also carved their significance in serving the interests of other electoral players, quite separately from their main function of serving the candidates.

To start with, social media campaigning enabled some medium-sized campaign donors, who had previously supported Jokowi's campaigning in the Jakarta election, to continue to contribute to his campaigning in the presidential election. When Jokowi won the election, some of these donors were rewarded generously, gaining positions not only in government enterprises but also in Cabinet.¹⁷⁴

Most of the industry players' political campaign businesses were embedded in other commercial communication business areas; such as advertising, public relations, marketing or digital communication. In the case of Jokowi, for example, industry professionals provided *pro-bono* social media campaigning services. While they appeared to be volunteers, their pro-bono services should be seen as part of the overarching strategy to get wider access to the economic resources available in Indonesia, such as in the form of work projects handed out

¹⁷⁴ At least two middle level donors of Jokowi whom I interviewed in 2014 gained seats in the Cabinet.

by a new Jokowi national administration. Some political campaign industry professionals who joined Jokowi's campaign team were subsequently granted positions as commissionaires in several state-owned enterprises. Sonny Subrata, who was a main figure in coordinating Jokowi's social media campaigns, was installed as a commissionaire of PT Semen Indonesia, while Kartika Jumadi was appointed as a commissionaire of PT Danareksa.¹⁷⁵ Their positions would enable them to expand both their political and commercial interests beyond their political campaigning businesses.¹⁷⁶

More importantly, however, leading social media users have gained a prominent role in the country's electoral and political scenes. Shortly after he was declared the winner of the presidential election even before meeting representatives of his party coalition – Jokowi personally met some 50 figures who had helped his social media campaigns; indicating his strong appreciation for those volunteers (n.n., 2014).

As well, after Jokowi's victory, several key people who had played roles in his social media campaigning were granted strategic positions in various state enterprises. Margiyanto was appointed as the commissionaire of PT Telkom, the largest telecommunications provider in Indonesia; Fadjroel Rachman was appointed as the commissionaire of PT Adhi Karya, a state infrastructure

¹⁷⁵ PT Semen Indonesia is the biggest cement producer in Indonesia, and PT Danareksa operates in the financial services.

¹⁷⁶ Andrinof Chaniago, who chaired Cirrus Surveyor opinion polling agency, was installed as a Minister of National Planning Development, which was seen as compensation for his campaigning assistance for Jokowi.

developer; and Diaz Hendropriyono was appointed as the commissioner of PT Telkomsel, the largest mobile telecommunications provider in Indonesia (Asril, 2015, 2016b). Many others, who felt left out, publically voiced their concerns over Jokowi's failure to accommodate them after the election (Kuncahyo, 2014). One such complainant, Boni Hargens, a University of Indonesia political science lecturer who claimed to lead 88 volunteers representing 15 volunteer groups, eventually gained a position as a member of the supervisory board of the state-owned Antara news agency (Asril, 2016a).

In addition, following the election, some volunteer groups which had focused on social media efforts turned their loose groups into more consolidated civil society organisations (*organisasi masyarakat*), while some others even contemplated becoming political parties (Mayasanto, 2014; Permana, 2015). Together this range of strategies and outcomes for volunteers and volunteer groups indicates that at least some volunteers and groups, although initially remote from the national political epicentre, found a way not only to contribute but also to get recognized and rewarded by the elites for their contribution. This finding confirmed Gramsci's over the possibilities of the alliances and cooperation involving the ruling class and the ruled.

6.5. Conclusion

This chapter has presented a case study of a more advanced use of social media during an election; in the biggest arena of contestation with the biggest stakes to

fight for in Indonesia, and which further expanded the scope of the campaign consulting industry in the country. The use of social media in the presidential election, which engaged two candidates only, resonated well both in mass media and offline; indicating to both the political elites and the political campaign industry that social media campaigning could be accepted as a new mode of campaigning.

The political campaign industry professionals were evidently more prepared to engage with social media campaigning during this election than during previous electoral contests. With bigger incentives and experienced manpower, they appeared to have no problem in commodifying content, social media users and labour. Their efforts resulted in, among other things, intense negative campaigns – mainly focusing on identity and personality – which often triggered users to engage in viral but uncivil conversations on social media. However, the use of social media during the presidential campaign, including the viral messages that became popular on mass media and offline, was still influenced by Jokowi's unstable relations with the elites.

Political campaign industry professionals working for Jokowi were able to seize opportunities to employ social media strategically, as a means of persuasion and to manage the interests of their candidate, his campaign donors, and the social media users who supported him. Although the industry professionals had no problems accessing funds from high-profile donors, they continued to maintain

their relations with the middle level donors (who had supported Jokowi's campaigning in the 2012 Jakarta election) and with leading social media users; due to the decentralized nature of Jokowi's campaigning. In contrast, those working for Prabowo were only able to use social media campaigning for its practical, persuasive purposes. Such relations left not much room for the mid-level campaign donors and social media users to obtain any benefit from Prabowo's social media campaign. Regardless, the industry professionals working for Prabowo helped to strengthen the significance of social media campaigning in the Indonesian electoral process. Overall, the use of social media in the 2014 presidential campaign has enabled the political campaign industry to engage in novel ways to serve the political elite's interests that eventually cemented further the industry's significance in the electoral process in Indonesia.

Chapter 7

Conclusion

This dissertation set out to examine the contribution of the political campaign industry in mediating social media use for electoral campaigning in Indonesia. It has shown how the political campaign industry mediate the use of social media in electoral campaigns by establishing social media campaigning as new mode of campaigning service. This profit-making quest took place within a broader constellation of power and interests, shaping the ways social media are used for campaigning to support the maintenance of elite rule and competition among elites themselves.

These findings highlight the presence of social media as *a new media technology* in electoral environments. The use of social media for electoral campaigning has facilitated the emergence of the political campaign industry, which includes communication and marketing, public relations, advertising and opinion polling businesses. The increasing significance of this particular industry in the application of mass media, and more recently the Internet and social media, to electioneering is shown to be dependent on the fluctuating relations between the candidates and other electoral players. In post-authoritarian Indonesia, the political campaign industry's existence has strengthened new electoral and media systems that required political candidates to reorganise their modes of campaigning in order to mobilise popular support from voters. Such mobilisation

was consequently no longer as centrally determined and operated by the elites such as party leaders, local leaders, religious leaders or the nobility as it had been during the New Order period.

Social media facilitated the exercise of new campaigning practices in recent Indonesian elections. This study has demonstrated that the use of social media as a new site of contestation is not necessarily driven by the technology. As chapter 3 has shown, the contribution of the political campaign industry in mediating the use of media technology in electoral campaigns has been present since the 1955 elections, even if only in nascent form. There is evidence that such strategy had begun to be adopted in the 1955 elections by the political elites that used newspapers, films and outdoor media to attract voters. Throughout the New Order period, the political campaign industry gradually expanded its significance in supporting the political elites in the electoral process. The strategy of using new media, most specifically television and radio, to mobilise popular support is enabled by the expansion of media industrialisation, driven primarily by the Suharto family and their cronies. While social media campaigning appeared to engage novel and ‘state of the art’ practices spurred on by the advancement of media technology in more recent post-authoritarian Indonesian elections, the use of new media is in fact a common strategy of popular support mobilisation by the political elite in Indonesian elections. This finding is in line the view that “digital media appear not as a primary lever of change but as a new field of struggle dominated by long-standing battles and combatants. The sites and terms of

engagement may shift, but the stakes remain the same” (Wasko, Murdock, & Sousa, 2014, p. 5).

Through close analysis of electoral campaign practices in the 2012 Jakarta gubernatorial election in Chapter 4, this study has analysed the roles of the Jakarta-based political campaign industry in one of the most important arenas of electoral contestation in Indonesia. In such an environment, the industry mediated not only the use of social media for electoral campaigning but more importantly the political economy elite’s capture of social media as a new field of struggle in the electoral process. At first glance, social media appeared to be a novel means for an outsider, as represented by Jokowi, who challenged members of the political elite in the Jakarta gubernatorial election. His position as an outsider was evident too in difficulties he had in attracting campaign funds from the regular high profile campaign donors, mostly owners of large enterprises who typically sought support and protection from the political elite. Jokowi’s difficulties provided opportunities for some middle level campaign donors to contribute to his campaign through his industry-driven social media campaigning, which was their strategy to gain access to the political elites. In addition, Jokowi’s nomination attracted troops of volunteers, who were willing to defend and promote him on various social media platforms for free.

This research, however, found that, although he had been presenting himself in public as such, Jokowi was not a complete outsider to the national political

economy elites in Jakarta. Although several members of the political elite were reluctant to support him in the first round of the Jakarta election, some others were more supportive of him. More importantly, these elites largely supported Jokowi in the second round after observing his enhanced prospects of winning the election. Such a fluid stance shows their pragmatic approach toward a candidate who is not a core member of the elite. The strategy of high profile campaign donors to contribute to more than one candidate in the election, while allocating the biggest portion to the candidate with the greatest chance of victory, similarly demonstrated the donors' pragmatic approach to supporting candidates. Such strategies highlighted the elasticity of the political economy elite in maintaining its power and rule through the electoral procedure. It is possible for peripheral members of the political elite to climb up to the centre and, conversely, it is not impossible for those in the centre of the political elite to be sidelined. In democracy, direct elections increasingly shape such mobility within the elite.

Chapter 4 has also highlighted how the campaign industry employs social media campaigning as a new commercial service. Through commodification of content, users and labour, political campaign industry professionals were able to exploit social media to establish new campaigning practices and methods to serve the political elite. One such practice resulted in the production and distribution of campaign content that was no longer tightly controlled by the industry. In contrast to the pattern of consumption of the mass media audience that only consumes campaign content in the form of advertisements and news, social media

users are able to engage actively in the production and distribution of content. Therefore, the political campaign industry's approach was to produce and distribute campaign issues so as to herd social media users toward re-producing and re-distributing content in the form of campaign messages on social media.

The industry's commodification of users has facilitated the engagement of the Jakartan middle class, who volunteered to work in the social media campaigns of the candidates, more prominently Jokowi. This study found that the middle class did not mobilise themselves organically on social media to support Jokowi. While this study does not dispute the genuine intent of many of the social media volunteers, who were displeased by the administration of incumbent governor Fauzi Bowo and sought therefore to support Jokowi, this thesis found evidence that the presence of the volunteer groups was led by figures close to the political elite. Despite their intention and affiliation, all volunteer groups were appropriated by the political campaign industry to engage in social media campaigning to support their clients (the candidates) during the electoral campaign period.

The development of social media campaigning services also facilitated the emergence of so-called 'buzzers', who worked to provoke social media users to engage in the production and distribution of campaign messages, as well as the engagement of ICT professionals in the electoral campaigning businesses.

In the case of the 2012 Jakarta gubernatorial elections, commodification of social media campaigning was not easy, because social media was so new that most industry professionals themselves were not yet able to make the associated opportunity profitable. In addition, in that election the political elites were also unable to recognise the persuasive capacity of social media and so they were not yet willing to pay for this new service (Rogers, 2010). Industry professionals working for Jokowi gained a particular attention due to their ability to employ social media not only for persuasive purposes but also as a new means to organise – albeit temporarily - relations between Jokowi and other political players (political parties, middle level campaign donors and social media users). Thus, social media campaigning further enabled the industry professionals to encroach not only upon the electoral process but also into the broader domain on the political economy – where political and economic opportunities and protection are available.

The analysis of the 2013 Makassar mayoral election in Chapter 5 has demonstrated the role of the local political campaign industry in a smaller arena of contestation under the control of more limited elite, competing over smaller stakes. Similar to the situation in Jakarta, the industry professionals also engaged in mediating the use of social media for electoral campaigning. However, unlike what transpired in Jakarta, this study has showed that the social media campaign in Makassar did not gain support from leading local social media users.

This dissertation has shown that M. Ramdhan Pomanto, or commonly known as ‘Danny’, the winner of the election, shared with Jokowi the fact that he was not a direct member of the local political elite. However, unlike Jokowi, Danny gained full support from a local political elite figure who supported him and who was able to garner broader support and access to campaign resources in Makassar. In contrast to Jokowi, who needed to present himself as a non-elite to the public while attempting to garner support from the national political economy elites, Danny had to capitalise on, and highlight, his close connection to Mayor Ilham Arief Sirajuddin as his patron. This strategy was adopted to gain support from the political economy elite around Mayor Ilham *and* to attract voters, many of whom still admired Mayor Ilham’s leadership. This situation limited the pressures upon Danny’s campaign team to implement a social media campaign in Makassar, where the local political economy elite relied heavily on established modes of campaigning, namely canvassing and mass media campaigning.

Unlike the situation in the Jakarta elections, both the Makassar elite and the political campaign industry understood the potential of social media to mobilise support. However, the local political campaign industry struggled to develop social media campaigning as a new campaigning service. This occurred because the support of the elite did not automatically lead to the elite’s disposition to finance social media campaigning as a new campaigning service. This explained the lack of involvement of the more-experienced Jakarta-based industry professionals in the social media campaigns during the Makassar elections. Few

Jakarta-based ICT specialists were hired, and those hired were only to provide technological assistance in the social media campaigns, insofar as they were launched. It was the less experienced local campaign industry professionals who directed and operated the social media campaigns. While such financial problems lead several local industry professionals in Jakarta to reach out to middle level campaign donors in that campaign, this did not happen in Makassar due to the local elite's centralised control to access the campaign resources. Nonetheless, there were some professionals of the local political campaign industry in Makassar, who were able to convince some financially strong candidates to operate social media campaigning.

Such conditions shaped the commodification of social media campaigning in Makassar. Unlike the situation in Jakarta, there were less incentives in Makassar for leading local social media users to engage a candidate's social media campaigns. This led to a lack of involvement by leading local social media users in the candidates' social media campaigns in Makassar. The lack of involvement of local social media users acted as a key barrier for local political campaign industry professionals to produce viral social media campaign.

As illustrated in Chapter 6, in the 2014 Indonesian presidential election the political campaign industry's mediation of the use of social media had become an acknowledged mode of campaigning. The political campaign industry, and the political economy elites' acceptance of social media campaigning, paved the way

for the industry professionals to further their businesses in the biggest electoral environment in Indonesia. Social media nurtured large inter-connected networks of users that fostered unmediated, interactive forms of communication enabling the development of users capable of not merely consuming, but of contributing to the production and distribution of political content (Steinfeld, Ellison, & Lampe, 2008). During the presidential election, some professional campaigners were more conversant in making use of the new opportunities enabled by social media to expand their campaigning business services. The extensive use of social media campaigning operated by industry professionals, the increasing involvement of social media monitoring companies and buzzers as well as more complicated social media campaigning practices have demonstrated further encroachment of the political campaign industry into the field of campaign content creation and distribution. Evidence from the elections studied in this dissertation supports the argument that “[d]igitization expands the commodification of communication content by extending the range of opportunities to measure and monitor, package and repackage, information and entertainment” (Mosco, 2009, p. 135).

Eventually, the political campaign industry’s social media works cemented the capture of social media as a site of struggle by the political economy elites in future electoral campaigns in Indonesia. Chapter 6 has demonstrated that it was the relations between Jokowi, Prabowo and the other electoral players that enabled the social media campaigns, which resonated so well in other media and offline. This chapter did not find that the largely dramatic use of social media in

the presidential election reflected the social media's ability to support a minor candidate against an established one. This dissertation's analysis of Jokowi's use of social media campaigning has shown that he was in fact closely attached to the established elite, which only endorsed him because the most powerful factions within the elite had failed to regenerate sufficiently to produce popular figures capable of garnering the votes required to ensure the maintenance of elite power in the country. The finding in this research contradicts previous studies portraying Jokowi as an outsider to the political elite circle that won the election against Prabowo, who is a member of the Indonesian elite (Aspinall & Mietzner, 2014). Such studies readily praised Jokowi as a saviour of the country's democracy. Instead, the findings support the suggestion that Jokowi is best described as a member of the elite from the periphery climbing to the centre of the national elite (Hadiz (2010).

In the 2014 presidential election, Chapter 6 has shown that it was mainly the high profile campaign donors who funded the social media campaigns of both candidates. Jokowi gained further supports from the middle level donors, who previously contributed to his gubernatorial campaign. The middle level campaign donors were still able to get an opportunity to contribute to his presidential campaigning by funding some of his social media campaigning operations. By doing so, these middle level donors were able to maintain and strengthen their attachment to Jokowi, in the hope that they would either gain

business protection and opportunities, or even direct employment opportunities, in the subsequent government.

The emergence of social media volunteers in the presidential election reflected the increasing involvement of a faction of voters from the middle class. Social media thus enabled social media users from the middle class to further their interests. As shown in Chapter 6, several Jokowi's leading social media campaign volunteers gained influential government appointments after this victory. This suggested compensation for their "voluntary labour" in his social media campaign. Most importantly, however, their appointment signified not only the importance of social media campaigning to support his quest to presidency but also his *need* to maintain support from the middle class and the political campaign industry, due to his precarious position as a novice in the centre of the established the Indonesian elite.

Overall, this dissertation has critiqued analyses of the debates about online campaigning, or the Internet and politics studies. The findings in this research showed that the pluralist's understanding of social media as a neutral mode of electoral campaigning was not supported. Instead of helping poorly resourced politicians by 'levelling the political field' dominated by established elites, social media are subject to capture by the political economy elites seeking to maintain their interests. Similarly, the pluralist vision of the establishment of a public sphere on social media that enabled users to discuss political issues online was not

also challenged by the results of this study. While there is no doubt that some users go online to express their ideas during an electoral campaign period, the economic forces (as represented by the political campaign industry) have unobtrusively appropriated the users' social media activities into social media campaigning services, which are profitable for their business and useful to the political elites expanding their influence online.

This dissertation has shown that the impact of the new media on society, as imagined by the pluralist approach, is often exaggerated (MacKenzie & Wajcman, 1985). A major issue in the debates about online electoral campaigning concerns the impact of *online* media (social media and other Internet-based media), upon political inequalities *offline*. Some studies tend to focus on the online feature of the new media technology rather than its interaction with the electoral players (politicians, campaign donors, voters, journalists or professional campaigners) in the real world offline (Abdillah, 2014; Ibrahim et al., 2015; Naradhipa & Purwarianti, 2012). Granted, technological features brought about by social media have changed mechanisms for political articulation (Hamid, 2014) or political mobilisation (Tapsell, 2015). However, social media were not the sole engine of the operation of social media campaigning. In fact, social media campaigning operations occurred within the confines of an invisible web of changing social relations in the post-authoritarian political environment, which required increasing assistance from commercial institutions such as the political campaign industry.

The constructivist approach about the power of media to define politics was not substantiated in this study. Social media have transformed the political campaigning practices in Indonesia. The candidates employed the new practice of social media campaigning, a new campaigning practice with the assistance of the political campaign industry. However, this new practice adopted by the candidates does not suggest that the political field is dictated by social media. Instead, the candidates' use of social media for electoral campaigning constitutes merely an aspect of their campaigning strategies in their struggle to win the election.

This dissertation does not deny the fact that social media can be used to manipulate voter attitudes. On the contrary, this dissertation has shown that the political economy elites have used social media to engineer the formation of opinion online to further their interests. However, such engineering does not stop at that. This dissertation underlined that manipulation through social media occurred within the web of power and interests of the electoral players. In fact, it is the constellation of power and interests that facilitated the use of the new media technology for manipulation aimed at winning popular support in elections in Indonesia.¹⁷⁷

¹⁷⁷ The manipulation of social media for electoral campaigning also occurs elsewhere. For example, the recent American elections have shown how social media were manipulated and abused as a part of a campaigning strategy (The role of technology in the presidential election., 2016).

Thus, the structuralist approach provided sounder analysis of the use of social media in the electoral campaigns. To begin with, the structuralist approach has aptly suggested that

“Rather than starting with the technology and asking what is its likely impact, critical analysis starts from the prevailing distribution of power and inequality and asks whose interests will be best served by ...new potentialities” (Wasko et al., 2014, p. 4).

The dissertation agrees that new features of social media have enabled the political campaign industry to embed itself further into the electoral process in post-authoritarian Indonesia. These economic forces, instead of the new media *per se*, have facilitated what some scholars have referred to as the professionalization or commercialization of politics and campaigning (Mietzner, 2013; Qodari, 2010; Ufen, 2010a). Such economically-driven transformation of the electoral process in Indonesia was necessary to maintain the elites in power.

However, a more detailed explanation of the involvement of the political campaign industry in the operation of social media campaigning and its further impact in the electoral process could not be achieved by analyzing the political elites or capital factors only. Established politicians could not easily dictate the impact of social media in society simply because they have the biggest resources to fund social media operations, led by an increasingly expensive political campaign industry.

This dissertation has demonstrated instead that the candidates' relations with political parties, campaign donors and social media users are crucial to understanding how social media are employed, through the mediation of the political campaign industry. The political campaign industry, however, did not define the operations of social media electoral campaigning. On the contrary, these operations were very much dependent on the candidates' relations with other electoral players. Commodification theory is useful for the insights it provides into the ways the industry packages social media campaigning services for sale (Mosco, 2009). Here, the Internet is understood as an arena "where popular uses are increasingly organised by a handful of companies who generate revenues by extending the principle of the audience as commodity, selling user data to advertisers and capitalizing on the online contributions produced by their voluntary labour on social networks and other sites" (Murdock, 2015, p. 70).

Such a process, accommodated by the Internet, is not without contradictions. Social media challenge the power of conventional media as the main space for political contestation, which facilitate the expansion of the business of the political campaign industry. The nature of conventional media, characterised by filtering and 'gate-keeping', had enabled the industry to assume an increasingly prominent role in political campaign message production and circulation. By contrast, conventional media position the audience (voters) as consumers of conventional media campaign content, such as campaign advertisements and news.

In drawing together the lines of inquiry of this dissertation, Gramsci's concept of hegemony is useful; to explain the significance of industry-driven social media campaigning and the ways it plays out in the web of social relations in Indonesia. Gramsci posited that power could not be maintained by force alone. The use of violence is not the only mechanism to maintain the elite in power. In a democracy, power-holders seek the consent of people under their rule to maintain their control.

In the context of electoral campaigning in Indonesia, money politics or political violence are not the only mechanisms to maintain the power of the political elite (Hadiz, 2010). In a democracy, candidates also encourage voters to vote willingly for them on polling day. Industrialized campaigning that has shaped the use of media for political purposes plays an important role in this regard. The direct and innovative use of media becomes stronger in a civil society where capitalism has become more established and where related social institutions and traditions are more entrenched (see Gramsci, 1971; Bates, 1975; Fontana; 2008).

The use of social media for electoral campaigning is particularly visible in democracies that adopt direct elections. While candidates may choose whether to use social media for campaigning, the new Internet platforms have the potential to encourage alternative ideas or counter-hegemony. Therefore, through the support of the campaign industry, as the Indonesian examples selected illustrate,

candidates' use of social media campaigning was aimed at *mobilising* people to engage in the election and support them, willingly and enthusiastically. This sort of everyday behaviour supports the existing power structures that allow the elites to hold on to power.

Hegemony is commonly examined through media texts. But this dissertation has shown that the ways media are used can also reveal the elite's efforts to maintain hegemony. The ways social media campaigning are arranged *offline* provide more insights into the use of the new media technologies in the maintenance of hegemony. In fact, it is the first step to examining the hegemony that supports the established political economy that favors the elite.

Central in this process is the political campaign industry whose significance is “not only to win elections, which is what makes them marketable to other politicians and corporate patrons, but also to build public interest or at least consent around specific politicians, parties and hegemonic ideas. The most important of the hegemonic ideas is that the electoral process itself is a legitimate means by which citizens engage in a meaningful exercise of democracy enfranchisement and register their political preferences” (Sussman, 2005, p. 58).

In the context of a growing political campaign industry, social media campaigning is used as a mechanism to form social alliances comprising of politicians, campaign donors and voters in the post-authoritarian electoral context. The use of

social media as a new technology brought new ways for the elite to maintain hegemony in the country's increasingly competitive political arena. Social media campaigning has changed the ways election campaigning is conducted. However, at the end of the day, in the cases examined above, it is the political economy elite that acquired the most benefit from this new mode of campaigning. This dissertation has shown that social media campaigning is essentially a new mechanism for the elite to encourage voters in their constituency, as users of social media, to consent to the prevailing power structures.

However, the dissemination of hegemonic ideas that the electoral process is the accepted mechanism for citizens to choose their leaders still runs the risk of posing a challenge to the political structures and processes. This is where the middle class may become important. When elite ideas are firmly embedded, the Indonesian ruling elite may cooperate with the middle class. Failure by the elite to do so may undermine elite political legitimacy and jeopardize their political fortunes. In short, when hegemonic ideas are transmitted to, and become firmly embedded in, the electoral process, the middle class acquires a subtle yet independent source of influence on the political process, which may be conducive to the maintenance of hegemony on a more enduring basis.

This dissertation has shed light on a new form of elite capture of social media, which relies less on the established mechanism of maintaining hegemony such as media ownership and control (Tapsell, 2015). By employing social media

campaigning, the political economy elite have gradually co-opted social media as a new arena of contestation. Social media campaigning enabled the arrangement of relations between the electoral players (as shown by the ascension of Jokowi to the centre of national politics) as well as the maintenance by the elite of established relations within the spheres of politics, economics and culture. Regardless, both mechanisms enabled the elite (as a whole) to capture a new arena of contestation during electoral periods.

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