

# Differences in Campaign Strategy Between “Indonesian Work” and “Indonesia Adil Makmur” Via Twitter in The 2019 Election

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## ABSTRACT

Social media as a popular media is currently being used by political parties in maximizing political campaign strategies. Since the 2014 and 2019 elections, the use of social media Twitter has become one of the most influential platforms in building or manipulating public opinion. The opinion that is built aims to mobilize public support during the campaign period. This study analyzes the strategy of political party news campaigns in the 2019 election. The data source comes from Twitter social media and is analyzed with a qualitative content approach. The unit of analysis is Tweets posted from January to April 2019 by political party accounts. The analysis tool used utilizes Nvivo 12Plus Software. The results of this study indicate that the news strategy of the "Indonesia Work" coalition is closely related to the success of the Joko Widodo government's program, while the news strategy of the "Indonesia Adil Makmur" coalition tends to highlight the failure of the Jokowi government. This study also found a typology based on political campaign strategies and packaging for the issues used.

**Keywords:** Twitter; political parties; campaign strategy; news (Tweet); election

## 1. INTRODUCTION

The development of technology and the current information has been exploited by political parties in formulating the strategy of political campaigns, as well as using social media in elections 2019 [32]. The implementation of the general election which was held simultaneously for the first time had an influence on the strategy to be carried out by each political party (Rifky et al., 2019). The experience of the 2014 elections that have been carried out by political parties in formulating political campaign strategies will certainly be more different than those that will be carried out in the 2019 elections [6].

In its development, the presence of social media is an effective tool for political campaigns [1] as if it is a tool that can influence, mobilize and determine political choices [14]. In some countries the use of social media that is widely used is especially Facebook and Twitter, where these two social media play an important role in

shaping public opinion [31]. As in Sweden and Norway, use of social media the popular, namely Facebook and Twitter, in addition to the relatively low costs associated with operating social media accounts, especially when compared to using website operations. In addition, Facebook and Twitter users can also directly introduce their profiles on social media and this is widely used by politicians [19]. Meanwhile, in Poland, the use of the Internet has only begun to be widely used in 2011, parties and candidates have adapted to the use of social media as a media campaign [18]. While in the United States, the 2016 Presidential election campaign used social media, one of which was *Twitter* as the leading political campaign media used by Hillary Clinton and Trump during the presidential election [11].

In Indonesia, the use of social media, including Facebook and Twitter began to be actively used in the 2014 General Election [5] and now it has become a new tool for political parties to be used as a political campaign strategy [11]. This makes the function of social media very helpful for political parties than through other

electronic media such as television and radio advertisements which have limitations in being able to interact directly with supporters or the public. If used effectively, social media as a whole has the potential to create strong support for political parties and candidates for political figures at the grassroots or voters [36]

This study aims to determine the campaign strategies used by two political parties in using Twitter, which are members of the party coalition, namely "Indonesia Work" and "Indonesia Adil Makmur". In this study there are two questions; First, how is the campaign strategy on Twitter social media used by the coalition of political parties "Indonesia Work" and the coalition "Indonesia Adil Makmur". Second, how is the typology of political parties based on the campaign strategy used.

## 2. LITERATURE REVIEW

### 1.1. Social Media

Interest in the study of social media has greatly influenced the development of literature [20]. Several relevant topics have been linked between the study of social media with aspects of social, economic, cultural, and political life [20] [28]. This trend has also influenced the emergence of various notions of social media. At least, there are some general understandings of social media where social media is seen as a medium that is able to accommodate individual interests in communicating [10] [39]. In addition, social media also makes it easier for individuals to obtain information more quickly in their social lives, and this tends to influence the attitudes of social media users in determining attitudes [16].

Social media platforms continue to develop and quite popular platforms include Facebook, Instagram, and Twitter. Facebook is a platform that is quite popular today and allows each user to connect with friends, family members, acquaintances, and at the same time gives users the opportunity to share content such as photos and status updates. Instagram also allows users to share photos and videos [4]. Although Facebook and Instagram have basic similarities, there are advantages that distinguish the two, namely Instagram allows its users to take pictures, apply filters, and edit or in another sense that Instagram visualization is more dominant [37] [4]. Meanwhile, Twitter is a microblogging platform that facilitates increased interaction through the distribution of information [13].

### 1.2. Social media: Political campaign

Popularity of social media has gained ground in recent years, particularly since the events of the 2011 Arab Spring of political turmoil and the 2008 and 2012 Obama campaign models at the time of the election. These two events are considered to have sparked the

interest of other researchers in the study of social media [8]. These two events also initiated other research to be involved in understanding the relationship between the use of social media and existing socio-political issues. The trend of research results in general has produced several important findings where social media is considered to be sufficient to contribute in initiating the emergence of participatory attitudes and encouraging public awareness to engage in developing socio-political discourse [15] [22]

The opportunity to influence the level of participation then influences the emergence of new campaign models by maximizing the use of social media. This tendency brings opportunities for activists or socio-political actors to spread ideas and ideas with the aim of influencing the interests and attitudes of other social media users [27]. Utilization of social media as a media campaign can be maximized by disseminating information through creative content such as narratives, photos, memes, videos, hashtags or others with the aim of influencing public awareness to engage in collective action [15] [3]. Based on this, in addition to influencing the diffusion of information and the intensity of communication, social media is also seen as a medium that also influences new forms of campaigns in initiating the emergence of public participation

### 13. Social media and electoral competition

Since the idea of using social media has emerged which is considered to have potential capacity to initiate a more open campaign model, it also has an impact on electoral competitions such as democratic elections [31]. There are various discussions that assess that the use of social media during the general election will affect the political situation and outcome, and this is highly dependent on the users [9]. In an electoral competition that involves several participants or political actors in it, it also ultimately influences the emergence of political competition. This finally triggered the strategy of each participant or political actor in the competition, especially in maximizing the use of social media during the election period [7] [34].

The use of social media by political actors in general elections as an effort to legitimize their political dominance is characterized by the level of popularity gained by maximizing content and information diffusion in online social networks [38]. This has an impact on competition between political actors involved during democratization. Political actors are required to disseminate information that is able to influence public awareness, and this aims to obtain maximum vote results [24]. Based on the above trends, it is known that social media has the potential to legitimize opportunities in a political arena and this is very dependent on how political actors maximize the use of social media.

### 3. METHODOLOGY

Based on the approach used, this study uses a qualitative content analysis approach which is a content analysis that the analysis method is in the form of data and text interpretation methods [2] [17]. In this research, collect data by using document study technique (*document research*) that is using social media Twitter. The data collected is in the form of all news from each Twitter account the second political parties including the National Mandate Party (PAN) and National Awakening Party (PKB) for four months starting from January 1 to April 17 2019. The Twitter accounts of the two political parties that will be analyzed @official PAN and @DPP PKB.

This study uses two different analyzes: Chart analysis, and Cluster analysis. Nvivo 12Plus is used as a tool to analyze data and collect data from twitter. There are 3 steps of research analysis, for example: Data collection, in this case through N- capture from the Twitter social media network. Once the data is coded, it is analyzed in Nvivo 12Plus using two different types of analysis: chart analysis, cluster analysis. When presenting the data in this section, descriptive language is used to convey the data and its values.

### 4. RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

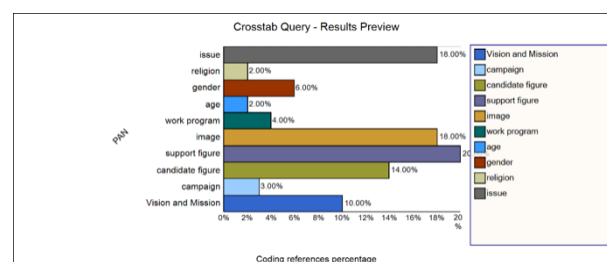
1. The campaign strategy on Twitter social media used by the coalition of political parties "Indonesia Work" and the coalition "Indonesia Adil Makmur".

Twitter has become one of the most influential social media platforms for elections at the national level, while the most popular political communication is discussed on Twitter as happened in the 2014 election regarding the presidential election. In the 2019 Election, political communication through Twitter did not only explore the presidential election, but among others first, for the first time simultaneous elections will be held in the 2019 Election. Second, building coalitions is something that cannot be avoided so that political parties and elites who are members of the coalition is trying to win the competition to gain power in the government (executive) through the presidential election (Pilpres). In the 2019 presidential election, there was a re-competition or rematch of the 2014 presidential election between Joko Widodo and Prabowo Subianto. Third, political parties also focus on legislative elections, because the parliamentary threshold requirement is 4% to qualify for Parliament. Several things that can be explored in the 2019 election will have an influence on the news strategy that leads to political propaganda through campaigns using

Twitter that will be carried out by each political party.

#### 1.1 National Mandate Party (PAN)

In the 2019 elections, Twitter social media has become one of the most effective and efficient media for promoting political parties to take part in political campaigns, in this case PAN through the Twitter account @official\_PAN was used as a campaign media for four months (January until April 2019) with various campaign reports. During the campaign using Twitter, the most frequently reported news regarding the target strategy was through supporting figures or figures who were inside and outside the party who helped during the four-month campaign. The phenomenon of the presence of figures or figures at the time of the election aims to increase the electability of the PAN and the candidates, namely Prabowo Subianto and Sandiaga Uno. Through reporting on the activities of figures during the campaign, it is also hoped that they can form the image or image of the party through Twitter social media related to the direction of policies or work programs offered to the public or followers, such as reporting on the PAN campaign in Figure 1.



**Figure 1** National Mandate Party (PAN) News Strategy January-February

reported on, namely Rhoma Rhythm. The strategy used by PAN involving phenomenal figures such as Rhoma Irama is currently PAN's way to attract public attention, as well as the most potential way to convey messages or information. The joining of Rhoma Irama provided several advantages for PAN, firstly, with his participation in campaigning to various regions, it further expanded the segmentation or targeting of the news to be conveyed, because Rhoma Irama's figure was so strong in various regions that it affected the party's attachment. Second, the joining of Rhoma Irama indirectly added to the number of votes for PAN, this was because all Idaman Party cadres led directly by Rhoma Irama who did not pass the 2019 General Election decided to join PAN. *Third*, the figure of Rhoma Irama is known as a dangdut music legend, and is titled as "King of Dangdut" and has a mass base known as "FORSA" (Fans of Rhoma

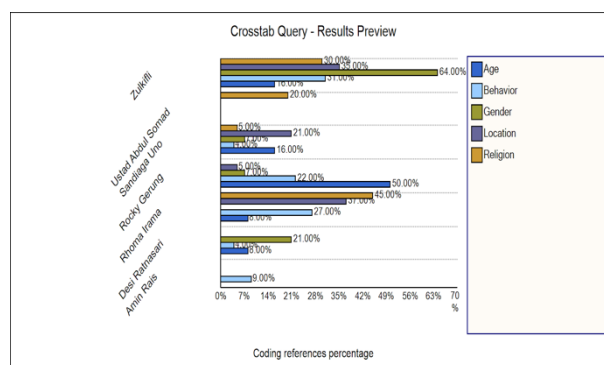
Irama and Sonnet Group) who are in all regions will support PAN in the 2019 Election.

Rhoma The rhythm of the campaign in the 2019 election became one of the weapons for the PAN campaign. This can be seen from every visit to various regions, the welcome and enthusiasm of the community is so lively with the presence of Rhoma Irama, who in every campaign in various regions always invites the public to vote for PAN in the 2019 Election. Rhoma Irama's visits to various regions are carried out with political figures such as the chairman General Zulkifli Hasan, Amin Rais, and vice presidential candidate Sandiaga Uno became the most frequently reported news on *Twitter* @official PAN.

In addition to the commitment to defend the ummah as well as the ulama, the campaign reporting strategy used by PAN in the 2019 election attempted to form a new voter group in addition to the existing group or voter base. PAN's reporting strategy is approaching voting day, which is from March to April with a lot of reporting through PAN's programs to influence public choice as well as related to gender issues. It is not without reason why PAN makes gender issues to be reported as the main issue in political campaigns on Twitter @official\_PAN, that PAN is very serious in addressing various existing problems, especially those relating to gender injustice, fighting for political and government representation, the welfare of mothers and children. -children, creating jobs for women, fighting for the cost of living and the accessibility of basic commodities, improving the quality of health services for mothers and children, these are some of the main priorities of PAN's work program during campaigns in various regions. PAN campaign strategy on gender equality can be seen from the analysis of Figure 2

and have never even voiced their political views openly. By PAN, the 2019 general election has become a momentum to awaken women's groups or "mothers" to participate in voicing their aspirations, complaints or criticisms of the current conditions they feel.

PAN's campaign strategy by including women in the 2019 General Election has opened up discussion space and has had a big influence on Twitter social media. The political image built by PAN in the 2019 election, namely the party that defends women's groups, the phenomenon of the emergence of women's groups or "mothers' groups" so that it often appears in various media "The Power Of Mothers" is a form of *euphoria* publicthat is starting to realize participation in politics. PAN's campaign strategy has succeeded in placing PAN's position as a party that is at the forefront of supporting women through PAN's campaign programs during the 2019 Election. reporting on PAN campaigns where gender segmentation is the target or goal that is reported through party figures which can be seen from Figure 3.



### Figure 3 News on National Mandate Party (PAN) Leaders

From Figure 3 it is known that the General Chair of the PAN Party, Zulkifli Hasan, is a party figure who has a major role and influence during campaign reporting on Twitter social media, with news that dominates segmentation in campaigning for party work programs, one of which is addressing various issues related to the issue of gender inequality. During the two months (March-April) of campaigning on Twitter, Zulkifli Hasan dominated the news more than other party or non-party figures. Gender segmentation is the first news item most frequently reported on Twitter by Zulkifli Hasan, because gender issues are the main program of the campaign.

### 1.2 National Awakening Party (PKB)

Vote acquisition since participating in the 1999 to 2019 elections has continued to increase, meaning that PKB is capable enough to maintain the party's vote base. Although in 2009 the Party's vote share had decreased. PKB is a party that does not include Islam as an ideology, but in its



*Figure 2 News about religion and gender segmentation*

Besides that, the purpose of PAN is to make the issue of gender equality in the 2019 election to influence the behavior of net citizens or followers with a large target of gaining votes, especially to gain sympathy from women's groups. This is because so far women have only been spectators or complements in democratic parties.

implementation the party identity cannot be separated from Islamic symbols, especially those related to traditional Islamic groups (Fata, 2019; Nurhasim, 2016). PKB whose cadres are mostly made up of Nahdlatul Ulama (NU), a socio-religious organization in which NU members are a traditional group of people in Indonesia and most of them are located on the island of Java, which has very strong characteristics and is thick with rural and familial characteristics. So this is what makes PKB the only party that has the largest claimable mass base power in Indonesia.

The 2019 election was a momentum for PKB's revival, this is because the vice presidential or vice presidential candidate who accompanied Jokowi in the 2019 presidential election was one of the Rais 'Aam of the Nahdlatul Ulama Executive Board (PBNU) and the General Chair of the Indonesian Ulema Council (MUI) (Sonny, 2019b). Through the news during the campaign using Twitter social media, PKB used the figure of KH. Ma'ruf Amin as an electoral power. This can be seen from the reports in January-February, PKB made a lot of news about the party's image by using the figure of the vice presidential candidate KH Ma'ruf Amin as in Figure 4.

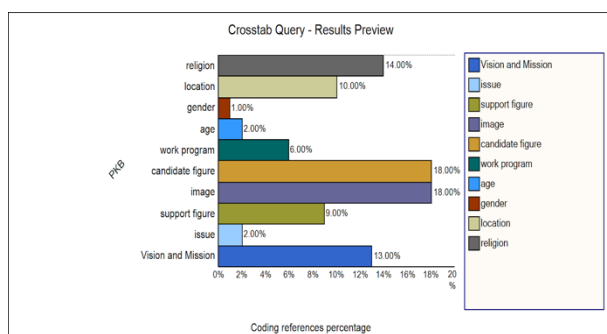


Figure 4 National Awakening Party (PKB) News Strategy January-February

Twitter @DPP\_PKB was the most widely reported about the party's image. associated with NU, in this case with the NU Ulama, namely KH Ma'ruf Amin. The news of KH Ma'ruf Amin could become a political campaign engine for PKB, because personality is a popular figure among NU so that it can represent the representation of the cultural politics of Nadhlatul Ulama (Nahdliyin) citizens who have a mass base or are part of traditional Islamic groups. News strategy by linking KH. Ma'ruf Amin as an NU cleric is expected to be able to provide benefits for PKB to gain votes and further provide confidence that NU residents will unite to unite forces to support the Jokowi-Ma'ruf Amin pair in the 2019 Election.

Political campaigns with news of KH. Ma'ruf Amin also aims to socialize to net citizens

or followers that the Jokowi-Ma'ruf Amin pair who was carried along with the coalition parties was the right partner for the strengthening of identity politics sentiment (religious nuance), KH. ) (Sonny, 2019a). This is a political consensus that must be taken to reduce various negative issues regarding Jokowi such as "Jokowi PKI and Jokowi anti-Islam". With the *tagline* "solid NU citizens support 01" amid the strengthening of identity politics, it can boost the electability of parties and also 01 pairs in the 2019 election.

In addition to reporting with religious segmentation targets through KH figures. Ma'ruf Amin, in March-April the PKB campaign strategy also built the party's image by reporting on the Jokowi government's programs or successes, as shown in Figure 5. As the incumbent stronghold, using the success of government programs as news during the campaign is part of the campaign strategy to Winning the 2019 Presidential Election becomes Jokowi's second term in office. As the incumbent stronghold, PKB conducts socialization by showing the advantages of government programs or policies using social media Twitter, one of which is about the village fund program. Not without reason, the PKB strategy to socialize government programs regarding village funds is because the Minister who leads the Ministry of Villages, Development of Disadvantaged Villages and Transmigration (Kemendes PDTT) comes from PKB.

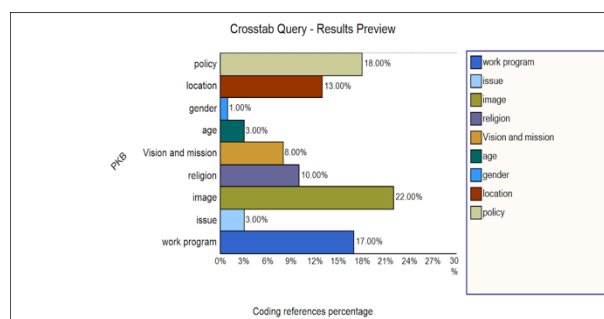


Figure 5 National Awakening Party (PKB) News Strategy March-April

Reporting on the success of the Jokowi government's program regarding the village fund program, aims to finance development and community empowerment that is useful for improving the economy, infrastructure and village welfare. This program is in accordance with Jokowi's vision and mission, which is to build Indonesia from the periphery through the village. The village fund program of 1.1 billion per village/year can be successfully implemented as evidenced by the absorption of village funds which continues to increase every year. The success of the



Jokowi government regarding the village fund program is also the success of PKB which has placed one of its best cadres to become the Minister who leads the Ministry of Villages, Development of Disadvantaged Rural Areas and Transmigration. So that in the 2019 Election this program deserves to be continued and becomes a priority for PKB policy directions and work programs in the 2019 Election, even PKB wants to increase its budget to 4 billion / village / year in order to provide more significant changes in all villages. PKB makes the village fund program a strategy for news campaigns on social media *Twitter @DPP\_PKB*, it is hoped that from the news campaign it can form a positive image of PKB and have an impact on support from net citizens or followers through voting in the legislative elections (Pileg) and presidential elections (Pilpres). As seen in figure 6



Figure 6 News about the village fund program

From Figure 6, the PKB campaign strategy for two months (March-April) on Twitter mostly illustrates the success of the Jokowi government's program related to the village fund program, which aims to finance development and community empowerment that is useful for improving the economy, infrastructure and village welfare. This program is in accordance with Jokowi's vision and mission, which is to build Indonesia from the periphery through villages.

1. Typology of the National Mandate Party (PAN) and the National Awakening Party (PKB)

The results of the 2019 General Election votes obtained for the four political parties, as well as from the results of the analysis that the researchers explained earlier about the political parties that form coalitions and also the direction of the campaign strategies used on Twitter for four years, months, researchers tried to classify political parties after the 2019 general election according to Gunter and Diamond (2001) who stated that there was a typology model of electoral parties. There are four types of electoralist parties, namely; catch-all party, programmatic type, personalistic type, match-all party. The typology of political parties after the 2019 General Election can be seen in Figure 7.

From Figure 7, political parties that leads to cath-all personalistic namely PKB, from the results of the vote in the 2019 Election PKB tries to

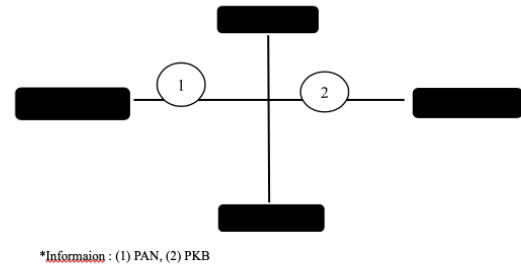


Figure 7. Typology of Electoral Parties in the 2019 Election

maintain the strength of the party's vote base through Islamic boarding schools, and the support of kiai or ulama. In the 2019 Election PKB was able to maintain the party's vote base through ulama figures by utilizing the figure of the vice presidential candidate KH Ma'ruf Amin who is one of the Rais'Aam Nahdlatul Ulama (PBNU) Executive Board (Sonny, 2019b). Putting KH. Ma'ruf Amin as a news strategy on *Twitter* can become a political campaign engine for PKB, because personally he is a popular figure among NU so that he can represent the representation of the cultural politics of Nahdlatul Ulama (Nahdliyin) citizens who have a mass base or are part of traditional Islamic groups. Together with PKB chairman Muhaimin Iskandar, Jokowi and Ma'ruf Amin, they spearheaded the party's campaign by conducting consolidation and visits to Islamic boarding schools in various regions. As the incumbent stronghold, PKB conducts socialization of government programs regarding village funds, and if it wins in the Pileg, village funds will be added to 4 billion/village, and PKB will commit to maximizing village development from village funds. This program is a PKB campaign strategy to get full support from the community, the majority of NU residents come from rural areas.

The party that is in the catch-all programmatic, namely PAN, in its campaign, involves many external party figures, such as PAN involving Rhoma Irama. Rhoma Irama is the general chairman of the Idaman Party who did not qualify for the 2019 Election and decided to join PAN, Rhoma Irama is also known as a dangdut music legend with the title "King of Dangdut", and has a mass base known as "FORSA" (Fans of Rhoma Irama and Sonnet Group). In addition, PAN also received support from the Alumni Brotherhood (PA) 212 and the National Movement to Guard Fatwa Ulama (GNPF-Ulama). As an opposition party, PAN in the campaign reporting strategy used has a party program regarding twelve basic principles regarding gender justice, this is done to form a new voter group, namely to gain sympathy from women's

groups, and PAN is committed to defending the people and ulama and being a solution. on public issues.

## 5. CONCLUSION

The campaign strategy approach used by PAN and PKB, where PKB is a member of the "Indonesia Work" coalition and then PAN is a member of the "Indonesia Adil Makmur" coalition, the campaign strategy approach used begins by adjusting the direction of the issues of each coalition in the General Election. 2019. The PKB Party uses Twitter social media to socialize Jokowi's successes during his leadership period, while the PAN Party tends to the opposite, highlighting the failures of the Jokowi government during one period, especially in the economic aspect. The two political parties also approached the campaign strategy by utilizing the figures of each candidate. This is done as an effort to form a political image and image in influencing the results of vote support.

In addition, the increasing issue of identity politics which tends to contain ethnicity, religion, and political ideology in the 2019 election has become one of the campaign strategies used by the two political parties in the Twitter social media space to fight for support with a large number of masses. As well as claims of support from the Alumni Brotherhood (PA) 212, the National Movement to Guard Fatwa Ulama (GNPF-Ulama), and mass bases or parts of traditional Islamic groups. As if to be an entry ticket (support for such a large mass of Muslims in Indonesia) in the 2019 Election. Each political party also uses Ulama or Kyai figures who have a great influence on the masses who will be contested by candidates and political parties. . This is then used by political parties as an information channel that is constructed into a news strategy so that it can be identified related to the target of the news.

The contribution of this research emphasizes that social media can be used as a media for political campaigns. As for this study, it has limitations in the research method which only takes a sample of 2 political parties from the lineage of political parties involved in the 2019 election. So the authors suggest that further research be conducted that is able to analyze all the political parties involved, so that it can be known in detail how the use of social media can support political campaign strategies.

## AUTHORS' CONTRIBUTIONS

Rossi Maunofa Widayat, S.IP., MA is a postgraduate student of the Doctoral Study Program (S3) Political Islam-Political Science, University of Muhammadiyah Yogyakarta, as well as a lecturer in the Department of Government Science, University of Muhammadiyah Mataram. And active in the Bale Democracy institution of NTB. Has research interest in social media, politics and public policy.

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