



SOCIAL MEDIA AND POLITICAL PARTICIPATION IN INDONESIA: RESTRICTIONS ACCESS AT ANNOUNCEMENT RESULTS OF 2019 PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION

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ABSTRACT

The penetration of technology as a driving force for movement and a hub between humans and machines fundamentally shifts the way humans think, interact and move. One of the benchmarks for highly increasing digital activity in Indonesia nowadays is the massive use of the internet, including social media. On the other hand, the increasing use of social media also becomes a challenge in popularizing the political participation of the public. One example of a case that illustrates this phenomenon is the limitation of access to social media in the 2019 Presidential Election (Pilpres). The public experienced difficulties in accessing social media, after the announcement of the vote recapitulation of the 2019 Presidential Election. It can be seen as a challenge to the freedom of speech in Indonesia or the other hand could be seen as a preventive measure to prevent the escalation of riots. As library research,

this paper discusses in more detail the relationship between the role of social media, and government policies, in the framework of political participation. The concept of social media's role in political participation, especially in creating online public opinion by Robles-Moralez & Cordoba-Hernandez, is used to help analyze social media as a catalyst in increasing public engagement in elections. It can be concluded that social media plays a role as "dismediation" agent and disrupt power plays between conventional elite media in delivering information from government to citizen vice versa.

INTRODUCTION

The development of the era of digitalization of information and technological developments makes it possible for Indonesians to access information easily. According to a survey report by the Indonesian Internet Service Providers Association (APJII), there was an increase in the number of internet users in Indonesia, increasing by 10.12 percent in 2018 compared to the previous year, and if collected cumulatively, internet users reached 171.17 million users out of a total population of 264, 16 million inhabitants (Salleh et al., 2018).

The polemic of announcing the results of the 2019 Presidential Election recapitulation sparked a lot of debate from supporters of the two presidential candidates, Joko Widodo (Jokowi) and Prabowo Subianto. Distrust over the results of the recapitulation result, mainly expressed by Subianto's supporters by pointing to irregularities and fraud that occurred in the process of voting and counting votes by the General Election Commissions (in Indonesian called: Komisi Pemilihan Umum as an abbreviation of KPU). The allegation of fraud also led to mass protests and massive demonstrations that took place in front of the KPU building in May 2019. Anarchist actions by riots occurred along with the protests that were staged in front of the KPU building, causing public chaos and damaging public facilities in Jakarta. Several police battalions were also being stationed to protect the protest for a few days.

The ongoing protest also seized the government's attention to take decisive action in stopping the potential chaos. Before this incident happens many scholars and prominent figure often warns society of the side effect of polarization, following the

intense political situation during the presidential election. The government also took necessary measurements preventing the emergence of hoaxes and disinformation that are feared to provoke the masses and other publics into anarchistic action. (Safenet.or.id, 2019). Threats to national security are echoed to accelerate the resolution of conflicts that occur in society. Unfortunately, the solution offered by the government triggered another conflict among the public.

Through the role of social media in its involvement in the mass conflict on 22 May 2019, the government has decided to limit access to social media nationally, on the pretext of preventing the spread of conflict by spreading misinformation or fake news issues. This restriction is also carried out as an effort to minimize people's emotions and preventing public distrust towards the government. (Former) Minister of Communication and Informatics Rudiantara, on May, 22nd explained that this policy applies to social media portals such as Facebook, Instagram, and WhatsApp, where the public could not upload photos and videos on these social media platforms (CNN, 2019).

President's election of 2019 has been proven to be a tough homework for Indonesia's government. Tinarbuko strengthens this statement by his analysis discovery on visual metaphor and designs on political campaigns in order to improve the coalition's standings towards the community, or to demolish their opposition (Tinarbuko, 2019). This campaign caused internal conflicts within the nation and worsens the ethnicity tolerance within the people. A lot of policies had to be done in order to mitigate the damages of the chaotic situation (Anggraini et al., 2019). Diversity in culture is one of such factors of existing conflicts. Therefore a thorough urgency of unifying differing cultures is at utmost importance (Lumampauw et al., 2021).

Even though the access restriction was temporary, public response towards this policy was diverse, some people felt that they were treated unfairly by the government's decision since not all of them were involved in the May 22 2019 protest and instead used social media access for other purposes. (Idris, 2019) This

disappointment strengthens the opinion that the government has deliberately limited the freedom of expression and opinion of the people through social media, which in turn challenges freedom of speech as one of the main pillars in ensuring democratic practices in Indonesia.

Based on the explanation above, which describing several motives behind the government agenda to limit internet access after the announcement result of 2019 Presidential Elections, this paper will focus to define how far social media itself has a role in shaping citizen political participation. The Internet makes it possible for every citizen to access information related to political events such as a general election. But it also increases the amount of disinformation, online public debate, and potentially political distrust for the government. Social media is not only seen as a useful and conventional agent for the government to spread news and agenda but also act as a mediator for the citizen. How far social media can play a role between government and citizen's interests will be explored further in this article.

CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK

Writings about how far social media affected political participation in global level are found in the writings of Robin van Hillegersberg, J., & Huibers, T who describing on how far the internet changes our political participation from the "old web" World Wide Web, Web 2.0 into the current trends in social media (Effing et al., 2011). Besides, Cristian Vaccari & Augusto Valeriani's article with the title of "*Digital Political Talk and Political Participation: Comparing Established and Third Wave Democracies*", discuss digital political conversations as a form of political participation in seven Western European countries that adhere to democratic values in their political systems (Vaccari & Valeriani, 2018). By exploring political talk in two popular digital mediums i.e. social networking sites (SNS) and mobile instant messaging platforms (MIMS) such as WhatsApps and Facebook Messenger, it can be concluded that political conversations on instant messaging services and social networks are closely related to conventional (institutional and extra-institutional)

political participation (Gandakusumah & Marta, 2021). According to Vaccari & Valeriani's writing, the development of political participation through digital media also looks as strong as conventional participation patterns in countries that have a long democratic history such as Britain, Denmark, and the United States, compared to countries that are currently or are just treading a democratic climate such as Spain, Poland, and Greece.

An interesting finding from this research is: although the comparison between conventional and digital participation is largely determined by a country's history of democratization, the strength of the relationship between political talks on mobile instant messaging platforms in these countries does not differ significantly. Align with these findings, online political participation in social media also positively increasing democratization. Research conducted by Shin Haeng Lee shows data from Asian Barometer Survey in East Asia and Southeast Asia through interpersonal discussion and self-efficacy among youth, comparing to traditional agents of the political institution (Lee, 2017). Thus, it can support the researcher argument that that informal political talks on digital platforms can contribute to the political participation of citizens, although another determining factor such as affordability of access to technology penetration to society should also be taking as consideration. In more elaborate writing related to the similar topic in developing countries, Taufik Ahmad et. al provides a quantitative approach on how social media stimulate online and offline political participation among university students in Pakistan (Ahmad et al., 2019).

Conceptual Framework is not only implemented within quantitative methods, but also applicable in the qualitative research system as proven by Tang's previous research. Through China's documentary from BBC, Tang was able to frame the image of China being constructed in multimodality perspective (Tang et al., 2020). Hong was also able to map Sichuan's image from documentary "Aerial China". During the research, Hong discovered narrative, representative and interactive semiotics within documentary scenes in order to display the dynamics of Sichuan's area image (Hong & Duan, 2020). Through a strong image of destination, more tourists are

driven to visit the respective destination. As the amount of tourists increases in the area, brand loyalty is constructed and continuous benefit is achieved this way (Sari et al., 2021).

The second theme focuses on political participation in the digital era in Indonesia. In this section, we understand that social media takes a pivotal role in delivering information dissemination. The first paper highlighted the use of social media as a tool for political participation in the 2014 General Election, by pointing the emergence of social media such as Twitter, Facebook, and YouTube for spreading political party ideas, and the different functions of each platform (Ardha, 2015). After the 2014 General Election, 2017 Governor Election in Greater Jakarta also being marked as one of the significant roles of social media when observing political participation in Indonesia with a low level of online participation in the strategic level. It means even though the engagement in using social media is high, the capability to use it as a tool to develop political knowledge is still low (Halim & Jauhari, 2019). Besides, the advanced role of social media for political purposes also found, especially as a tool for disseminating information (Yusriyah et al., 2020), In this research paper, Sudaryanto et al. tried to identify the dominant actors especially in the discourse of the moving of capital city from Jakarta to East Kalimantan in Twitter, especially in hashtag #IbuKotaBaru during period August 2019- 2 September 2019.

The next articles outlined the online media, social media, and chat applications are more often used as sources of political information compared to print media, radio, and magazines in the 2017 Greater Jakarta Governor Election. This election alongside with 2019 Presidential election is believed by many scholars to increase political polarization, between the incumbent and the challengers. The following papers focus on the differences between classical political communication and online political communication and how the different patterns of the two provide new space in political communication research (Hasfi, 2019). The writer describes the elements of traditional political communication, i.e.: political organization, media, and society. These three elements depend on elites, such as parties, interest groups, and

government; as well as using traditional media to convey political programs to society in one direction. The writer also quoted McNair's statement which stated that there were barriers form of power practices among these elements in the process of delivering news. The interests of each of these elements have a control function that influences the effect of messages built into political communication. (Hasfi, 2019). This barrier is no longer present in communication patterns in the digital era, where the Internet offers new characteristics and patterns of communication, namely direct, decentralized, two-way, interactive, and networked communication.

The development of the internet has transformed the conflict of interest between elites in political communication into a free medium that is open and accessible for everyone (Asrarudin et al., 2020). Social media do not only create disruption in conventional political communication but it also brings new trends of political participation especially for the younger generation. Heated discussion in Facebook, by calling "cebong" and "kampret" for example can be seen as a reflective of the political language of polarization in Indonesia democratic's landscape (Fensi, 2019). The swing voters, whom mostly took their first chances as a voter has become a quite significant and popular target among candidates in both regional and presidential election in Indonesia. (Juditha & Darmawan, 2018). Besides, these swing voters often face several obstacles in expressing their right to vote, such as infrastructure and dissemination of information. They have many unique credentials such as possessing highly enthusiasm in participating in the election, relatively being more rational, and mostly hope for new progress far from political pragmatism. (Wardhani, 2018). Hopefully, the existence of social media could mediate and help to express their political participation

Based on the explanation of the literature review above, the writer hopes to map the research position that lies between the slices of the theme between political participation and political communication as a big theme. The study of political communication in the internet era is a fairly dynamic theme in the realm of political communication. The shift in the role of the media and the pattern of people's political participation changes drastically as the use of the internet increases. If the

studies used as a literature review above discuss political participation in the digital era, in the formulation of state policies in Western countries with a strong democratic tradition, the author tries to present a point of view from Indonesian domestic politics with a relatively new case study, namely in the post-2019 presidential election period. Indonesia as a developing country, which has undergone a democratic transition after 20 years of reform, certainly has its unique pattern. Furthermore, the author will describe the major concepts used as a research framework, namely the concept of political participation and its relation to the formation of public opinion

Political Participation

Political participation as defined by Miriam Budiarjo (2008) is:

"the activity of a person or group of people to actively participate in political life, among others by electing the leadership of the state and, directly or indirectly, influencing government policy (public policy)"

Political participation in modern political analysis is an important component, even though at first it only focused on political parties as the main actors. However, the study of political participation, especially in developing countries, continues to be dynamic, since there have been many groups and actors who also have a particular interest in the state's decision-making process (Budiarjo, 2008).

As a broad range of activities. political participation includes (but is not limited only to) participating in general elections, political meetings, political discussion, and lobbying activities between officers. Besides, according to Huntington, Political Participation is aligned with political awareness, thus the level of education, democracy level among the in-charge regimes, became the main factors in determining how far political participation in a country can be flourished (Budiarjo, 2008). Furthermore, to see how to measure public political participation in a democratic country, the author refers to the framework proposed by Thomas Magstadt. Public opinion, according to Magstadt, together with polls, elections,

electoral systems, and direct democracy are indicators that can be used in seeing how public participation in a democratic country works (Magstadt, 2010).

Along with the development of digital technology, political participation, especially in the realm of political opinion, has also changed due to the widespread use of the internet and social media. Just as the marketplace has shifted into online marketplaces, the delegation of political mandates and aspirations is no longer entirely in the hands of politicians, political parties, media companies, or NGOs.

Social Media Role in Political Participation

With the advance of technology and information, the emerging of social media also shapes the trend of political participation, especially among youth. Both public and private spheres are heavily affected by social media since the political discussion is not only limited in physical space and time. Internet and social media such as Twitter, affect people to involve and participate in collective actions or political campaigns (Marta & Sierjames, 2018). For the case of Indonesia, (Sreenonchai & Arunrat, 2021) conducted quantitative research in observing youth political participation using social media and Social Networking Sites (SNSs).

Data collection from April 2019 shows 57,5% of respondents (n=400) discuss political matters via SNS regularly, with specific age of 18-22 years (55.3%). Moreover, according to Theocharis (2015:2), digital network and participation should be categorized as political participation even though digital activity is positioned as equal to physical activism since it can initiate certain kinds of activism in real life such as demonstration, sit-ins, or confrontation. In the concept of political participation, Theocharis cited Van Deth's argument that correlated online activity with political participation with four variables i.e.:" That participation is an activity, that it is done by people in their role as citizens, that it should be voluntary, and that it deals with government, politics, or the state in the broad sense of these words". By these explanations below, hopefully, the conceptualization of social media as public participation can be widely known as political participation.

Dismediation: The role of Social Media in Political Participation

Nowadays, political participation cannot be separated from online political communication activities. If the classical political communication model emphasizes the role of source, channel, and receiver; according to Habermas, communication patterns in the internet era are increasingly fragmented into millions of irregular chatrooms (Hasfi, 2019). With the advance of information and technologies, the currently public can express their opinion as a form of direct political participation through their personal devices.

In accordance with Magstadt's writings in acknowledging public opinion as one of public participation, the new role of social media in providing a new channel to the public to exchanging information and political opinion is conceptualized by Robles-Morales, & Córdoba-Hernández, (2019) as "disintermediation". It defines as "a process of changing the political, economic, social interaction of the general public which was previously governed by certain social organizations, has now become less influential and must share roles with Web 2.0 technology".

This disintermediation process will be divided into three phases, namely (1) Agent Disintermediation (2) Message Disintermediation (3) Political Space Disintermediation. The term Web 2.0 refers to the second generation of web-based, which uses the internet as the main platform that is increasingly easy to use for its users, including social media. Slowly but sure, it will shift the role of conventional social organizations that were previously a forum for political participation. How disintermediation is formed due to the advanced internet and social media and its influence in shaping public opinion in the context of political participation, will be explained in more detail in the following sections

METHODOLOGY

This paper focuses on qualitative research methods in its discussion. The qualitative research method has several benchmarks, including examining the behaviors of the object of research explicitly, providing freedom for researchers to analyze cases

from various perspectives of research objects, and allowing external variables from the object of research to be involved in the analysis of writing studies (Yin, 2016) In other words, qualitative research methods provide more space for writers to develop a framework for writing analysis and thinking, adjusted to the findings in the field.

Therefore, this paper is based on qualitative research methods to look at a broader scope of public behavior reflected in demonstrations and the use of social media. In addition, observations of both community and government behavior in the theme of this paper are more appropriate to be studied in a qualitative scope, where there is dynamic space to be studied, depending on the behavior of participants and the internal and external variables involved in the case study. Thus, this paper is descriptive, which aims to comprehensively explain the relationship between the author's hypothesis and the findings obtained (Latukolan et al., 2021).

To support the developed analytical framework, the data collection technique used by the author is literature research. This literature study is also divided into two parts, i.e. the study of literature in the form of writing in the form of books, journals, and articles and library research on several reports related to Social network Analysis (SNA) in the following timeframe (Ilvarianto & Legowo, 2017). Social Network Analysis report is positioned as supportive literature research to providing data on dynamic trends in several political issues in social media, especially Twitter. The researchers use SNA reports from Drone Emprit Academy (Media Kernels Indonesia) that provides open access to SNA report on this topic.

Text Analysis is used by Drone Emprit to interpret several dots and connections representing online conversation in social media, especially Twitter on certain topics. Observations on online news with a related topic in the development of social media are needed to complement the empirical studies required for the purposes of this analysis framework.

FINDINGS & DISCUSSION

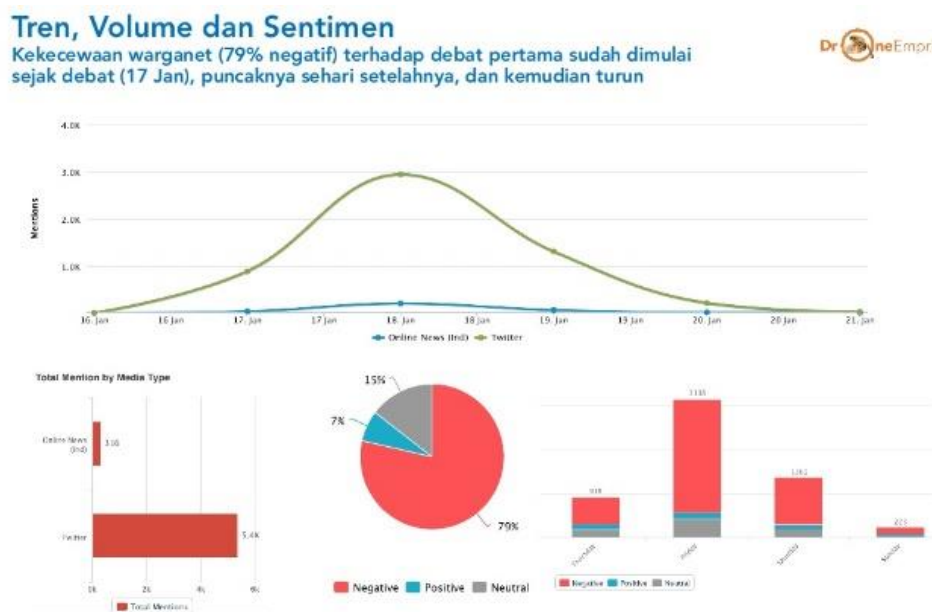
The role of the media in the realm of political communication has changed significantly since the development of digital services and the increase in internet usage. The same with the way people consume and process information. By observing the current trend people who previously used to look for information from conventional media sources such as television, newspapers, now prefer it online. This cannot be separated from the fact that Indonesian internet use is increasing. People's habits also have shifted, print media's sales turnover has continued to decline every year and only occupies the fifth position as a media preference for information (Putra, 2019).

Apart from shifting reading trends, increased internet users are also an important factor. According to a survey report by the APJII, Indonesian internet users experienced an increase of 10.12% in 2018 (APJII, 2019). In addition to the cumulative number of users, the APJII survey can find the type of age and motivation to use the internet by Indonesian internet users. Population with the age group of 19-34 years (49.52%), 35-54 years (29.55%), and (16.68%) are the 3 biggest categories of internet users, even the top 2 categories belong to the productive age category. Meanwhile, the majority of internet users' motivations for children and adults are friendship, entertainment, and information (Gayatri et al., 2016). Based on the APJII Survey, it is known that the increased potential pattern is consistently increasing. Meanwhile, information seeking activities will be one of the activities most affected by the development of Web 2.0 technology.

As well as the shifting trends in literacy, people's political behavior also shifted with the advanced use of the internet. This condition is seen in Indonesia's political climate which has become increasingly polarized since the 2014 presidential election. The more advance in internet services and increasing trends in using social media, the greater and the stronger this polarization in the 2019 Presidential Election. Conversations on social media, especially Twitter and Facebook and popular instant messaging services such as WhatsApp, seem to be a wild ball where ordinary people

have difficulty in obtaining and digesting valid information. Boundaries and regulations set by KPU and Panwaslu, as organizations who carried constitutional mandate to ensure that the presidential election process runs according to the law, faces serious challenges when people began to engage in heated conversation virtually via social media, even before and after the campaign period each other followers of presidential candidates took the opportunities to influence public opinion. Unrest due to polarization and the asymmetric distribution of information on social media has peaked at critical points, specifically before and after the announcement of the presidential election recapitulation by KPU on May 22, 2019.

Figure 1: Drone Emprit's SNA Feature on Volume and Sentiment in First Debate for the 2019 Presidential Election



Source: (DEA, 2019b)

The social network analysis (SNA) data after the first presidential election debate was compiled from the official release of Drone Emprit from PT. Kernells Indonesia, which provides open access data on the movement of issues surrounding the 2019 Presidential Election on Twitter (time period: 16-21 January 2020), monitors how netizens express their political view, especially from each candidates supporter who dominates the digital footprint on social media. The highest mentioned tweet, which

describes the data volume in Twitter about Presidential Debate reached out 3000 tweets, was on 18 January 2019 (the date when the debate was held). The enthusiasm captured by SNA in describing public attention in the presidential debate can help us understand more how far technologies through social media shape how we express our political participation.

Besides, by interpreting Drone Emprit's Reports that stated total mention in Twitter reached 5.4K, comparing to local online news (316 mentions), we can assume that public engagement in political activities including expressing their political opinion now rely on social media. We also understand that currently people rely on social media in exchanging information and creates preferences for their opinion since social media brings convenience and intimate proximity to them compared to any other online platforms or conventional mass media

In Figure 1, the majority of sentiment (77%) is in a negative tone because the debate format is considered unable to present the real vision and mission of the candidate pairs (DEA, Drone Emprite Academy Open Data, 2019). Data from Drone Emprit's SNA also presents how the public reacted to the 2019 Presidential Election debate, especially in the way how the debate is presented.

By interpreting the SNA data, we were able to position social media as a tool to help us predict how far certain issues shaping media coverage. Thus, it helps us predict more on what will happen in the next election agenda and could help the stakeholders calculate the potential risk when the tension is at its highest peak. For example, the public disappointment in the first presidential debate could become an early warning. Since this issue is being transformed into a headline in an online news platform, it also can be assumed that public disdain (even in the slightest tone) became the focus of discussion, carried out by mainstream online media in Indonesia (Figure2). In the Topic Map features, we can examine that several influencers from candidate no. 2 (Prabowo-Sandi) express their disappointment in the debate. However, this SNA data can be used as one of the strengths of the author's

initial argument that social media has a role in driving public opinion on certain issues.

At critical moments, such as KPU's announcement of the presidential election's recapitulation results, the flow of information can potentially create chaos if the disinformation on social media channels is out of control. From SNA's data about the sentiment of negative tweets on Twitter, people's disappointment about this topic can be seen as an early warning for the government, society, or any stakeholders to minimize the potential conflict source. Besides netizen's response after the first debate, the potential of militancy of each supporter in social media in Twitter can be observed. By interpreting the SNA reports from Drone Emprit that focusing on several keywords related to this topic from December 2018 until March 2019 it can be found that the intensity of this topic is very high.

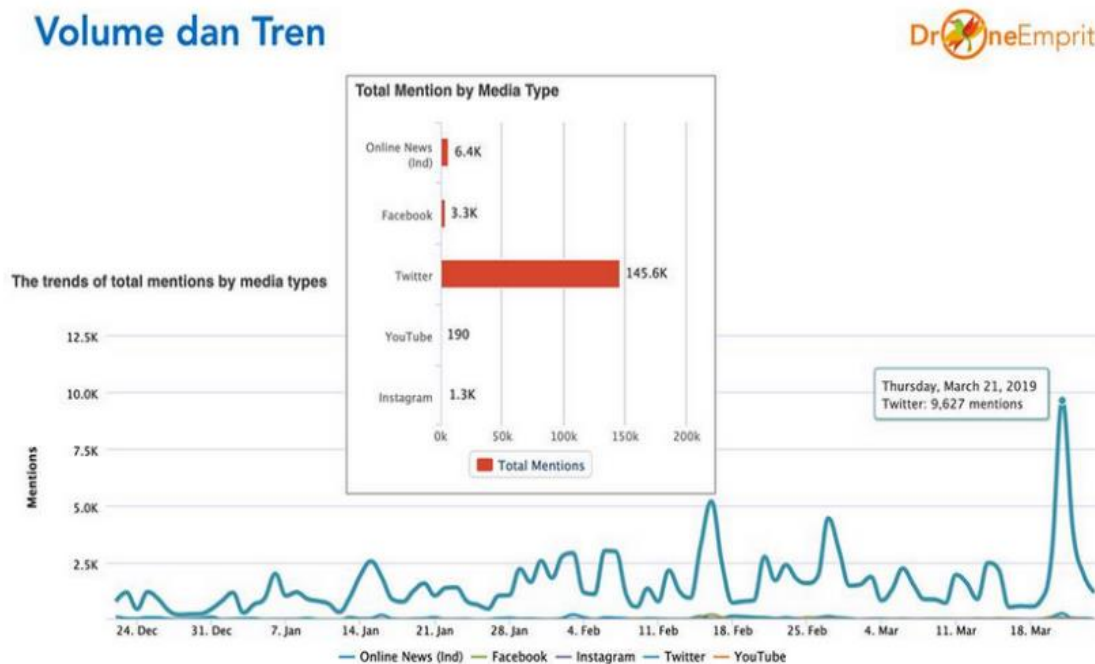
Figure2: Drone Emprit's SNA Feature on Topic Map in First Debate for the 2019



Presidential Election

Source: DEA, 2019

Figure 3: Data Volume and Trend “Militansi” in SNA Report by Drone Emprit
(Desember 2018-Maret 2019)



Source: (DEA, 2019b)

The volume data for this conversation in Twitter at that moment reached 145K mentions. (DEA, 2019a). The comparison of high data volume in each social media in those crucial months in Twitter (Figure 3), which can be further analyzed using SNA, supported the writer arguments on the shifting role of social media as a new medium for the expression of public opinion and becomes a new trend in mapping and identifying political participation in the society.

However, relying solely on news sources on social media as the main reference for validating current issues is very risky. Even though social media has a similar function to conventional mass media, it does not have “a gatekeeping mechanism process” (i.e. a process of verification and selection of information that is generally carried out by the editorial team). So the public should not use social media as the sole verification tool in absorbing information and producing opinions in the public

sphere. Then, what is the role of the media in the process of creating public opinion?

Media Disintermediation Process in Forming Public Opinions

The government stated that the goal of limiting social media access was to prevent the spread of disinformation. This was the statement from the Coordinating Minister for Political, Legal, and Security Affairs Wiranto, who stated that restrictions were made in the interests of national security, specifically for preventing provocation and spreading hoaxes, and potentially triggering wider riots (CNBC, 2019). Meanwhile, (former) Minister of Communication and Information Rudiantara based this decision on the Information and Electronic Transactions Law, especially Article 40 which mandates the government is to protect public interests and is obliged to prevent the spread of electronic content of violent acts, provocative incitement, and hate speech (Mawalia & Sanityastuti, 2020).

The phenomenon of limiting access to social media at critical times that is considered to endanger national stability has been carried out by several countries. Moreover, many countries and social media companies around the world are grappling with finding appropriate measures to tackle the spread of disinformation on social media platforms.

One of the most visible basic things, when the internet era was victorious, was the loss of a mediator. Mediator is defined as an “organization/ company that offers all services used by society” which was generally before the collaborative function of Web 2.0 became rampant (Robles-Morales & Córdoba-Hernández, 2019). In the case of the political climate’s polarization ahead of the 2019 Presidential Election, people in the previous presidential elections, before the era of social media, were accustomed to obtaining official information from print media as well as television and radio, as mediators. Each mediator certainly has its framing or interests, but in terms of numbers or variants of interests, it is not as complicated as the presidential election in 2019. This condition did not occur in the 2019 Presidential Election, technological sophistication made it easier for interactions between

individuals on social media to become uncontrollable. In this condition, the mediator whose functions as a filter of information and as a source of public opinion loses its main role. The public no longer requires authorization from the mediator when filtering information or expressing opinions (Marta et al., 2020).

The Media dismediation process in the creation of public opinion is divided into 3 phases, namely agent dismediation, message dismediation and political space dismediation. All three are aspects that can help create a more inclusive and open public opinion space (Nafie, 2020). *First*, agent-level dismediation, occurs when the internet is used as a tool to increase political participation and strengthen the government's outreach to the public or the private sector.

Government institutions can take advantage of the internet's outreach to convey their political messages and stimulate the growth of public opinion as a reciprocal response. When viewed in the 2019 Presidential Election, the form of media dismediation can be seen in the efforts from KPU and its staff to spread information related to the Presidential Election via online to maximize its reach to the public. KPU's attempt to broadcast the Presidential Election debate online, for example, can be called a form of dismediation to show the public that the public's right to obtain information related to the implementation of the vision and mission of the Presidential Candidates is fulfilled. Likewise, when KPU announced the results of the 2019 Presidential Election recapitulation on May 22, 2019, agent-level dismediation occurred when the reach of this information expanded in the realm of social media. The positive impact is that the 2019 Presidential Election's recapitulation results can be manually counted by the public. Meanwhile, the negative impact from this is that the public response to this news varies widely on social media and cannot be controlled by any institution. In contrast to the distribution of information through more conventional media such as mass media (print / online), the information presented, and the public response in the form of public opinion in this media tends to be more easily conditioned because there is a role from journalists up to editors as people in charge of news content. Agent-level

dismediation makes it easier for institutions such as KPU to increase engagement and information's reach to the public regarding the election's recapitulation results.

Second, the process of creating a public opinion on social media is message dismediation. The dismediation process' occurrence at this level is characterized by information autonomy. The internet should provide an easy way for the public to access information directly from the original source without having to go through the interpretive processes of other mediators. In the case of the KPU's announcement of the Presidential Election's recapitulation results which resulted in the decision of issuing restricting access to information policy, a message dissemination process has occurred, because the public can directly access KPU official website to verify the accuracy of the information presented. However, the spread of hoaxes, photos, and videos related to riots around KPU office in Jakarta that claimed lives and other material losses made this dismediation not work as it should be.

The message that KPU is trying to convey about the 2019 Presidential Election's recapitulation results has become distorted. On social media, there is a lot of talk about potential riots and distrust of the election counting mechanism, which has the potential to influence public opinion to distrust KPU's calculations. The potential for spreading fake news that is difficult to control is what underlies the government's decision to intervene in the existing dismediation process. The temporary restriction on access to information is one of the preventive measures by the government as the regulator in limiting the spread of biased news. The logic is: if there is no restriction in accessing social media for a while, the public will be very difficult to verify the truth since *the echo chamber effect* is laid behind algorithms in each social media user. But by choosing this option, the spread of information is no longer autonomous, since each individual found difficulties in accessing information that is easily found in each source. Thus, the debate over whether the government's decision to restrict access to social media information is a form of violating freedom of speech should be observed wisely.

Restrictions on access to information by the government can be interpreted as a form of intervention to prevent information dismediation. Dismediation refers to a condition that by-passed by the existence of social media whom previously is being dominated by conventional's elite media. In accordance with Mc Nair's conceptualization of media's role in power politics, by the existence of the internet, media no longer solely serve as an agent for the government to spread its agenda. Dismediation refers to the media's role (both conventional social media) that became an independent agent in spreading its own agenda and even persuading public opinion and eventually reshaping government agenda.

In the internet access is being restricted by the government, it will create a barrier for conventional media crews to convey accurate conditions that are happening in the field. In fact, the delivery of verified news and having a mechanism for selecting accurate information is one way to prevent the spreading of fake news. The dismediation process will take another dominant role, not only by-passed conventional media role's in providing information to citizens, but also potentially increasing the spread of fake news. The mechanisms for delivering verified information to the public in the era of social media experience many obstacles.

Since social media interaction patterns adjust the personal preferences of each individual, social media users will tend to receive information that suits their individual preferences (echo chamber effect). It shows people's tendency to consume information in line with their personal yet subjective preferences and opinions and this selective exposure strengthens their beliefs and shuns sources that challenge their beliefs. For example, the emergence of student protests at the ratification of several controversial bills in September 2019 which was followed by the existence of the hashtag #GejayanMemanggil, or the hashtag #GantiPresiden ahead of the 2019 Presidential Election shows that the movement of issues echoed on social media can generate strong solidarity in the real world (Khakim et al., 2020; Winarno, 2019). The *third* dismediation process, namely political space dismediation, can be seen from the emergence of new spaces created by human interaction in cyberspace. The

internet produces a new communication space that combines physical and virtual spaces, making it difficult to distinguish from one another. Dismediation in this sector can have a positive impact on information disclosure because an issue can be directly responded to by the public without any geographical divider.

After many surveyors showed a quick count mechanism, it was observed that the hashtag #INAelectionObserverSOS suddenly became the most popular topic in the world (CNN, 2019). This hashtag aims to lead a broad range of public opinion to describe the cyberattack that targeted KPU website and made changes to the 2019 election data results. Through the actual political space dismediation, the public can directly monitor how information flows and what decisions are taken by government institutions to respond to this situation.

The development of the hashtag #INAelectionObserverSOS on Twitter by supporters of one of the candidates aims to raise concerns about KPU 's performance, which by then was currently calculating votes. Driving public opinion on social media to produce certain opinions is quite applicable. However, if we observed closely there is an element of disinformation in the inclusion of the hashtag #INAelectionObserverSOS. The framing presented by the hashtag supporters is the alleged hacking of election data. However, the data presented is a real-time video of cyber-attacks that are monitored by companies providing cybersecurity services (Rahim et al., 2019). In addition, according to Ismail Fahmi, the trend of increasing hashtags on Twitter has increased after the quick count appeared which tends to put one of the candidate pairs ahead.

The political space dismediation process by the media should provide a more transparent decision-making process. However, if the information submitted is not appropriate, it will not be able to objectively influence public opinion. The #INAelectionObserverSOS hashtag trend is noted to have begun to emerge after the quick count process began to appear, along with the entry of manual data which was the main source of KPU's recapitulation which was announced on May 22, 2019. The public regretted the government's decision to limit their access to information,

but it has been proven that mistrust of the 2019 Presidential Election's recapitulation results has not succeeded in encouraging public opinion to fully doubt KPU's performance.

CONCLUSION

Restriction access to information on social media, after the announcement of the presidential election recapitulation results, the role of social media dismediation can shape public opinion such as: a catalyst in Increasing political participation; a medium for delivering autonomous messages; an agent in creating new communication spaces.

Social media can be seen as a catalyst in political participation and strengthen KPU's reach to spread information about the Presidential Election, and to maximize target reach to the public or the private sector. Social media is used to convey the activities around the Presidential Election and stimulate the growth of public opinion.

Social media in the election period can be seen as a supportive role in spreading autonomous information from election institutions such as KPU, and Bawaslu, as well as vice presidential candidates, supporters, and the general public without having to go through the interpretive processes by other mediators. However, this role was distorted due to the spread of false information about the riots. The potential for spreading fake news that is difficult to control is what underlies the government's decision to intervene in the dismediation process so that the spreading of biased information can be reduced. Social media effect, in the advance of internet, information and technology can cross geographic boundaries and can be accessed at any time. Social media can increase the information's reach to the audience. However, if this dismediation is not accompanied by correct information content it will not be able to produce an objective public opinion.

LIMITATION AND STUDY FORWARD

Based on the conclusion the study shows how much internet, social media's role in political participation is relatively new. The advance of big data seems to bring accurate and real-time data processing. Even if the research itself using qualitative methods by interpreting various SNA report, the data whom we rely upon, mostly used quantitative approach as it always relies on the computational algorithm as a core of data mining. Further research is needed to explain more whether the political tension in the first 2019 Presidential Election debate has had a significant effect on people's disappointment, which sparked riots on May 22, 2019. Furthermore, since there are various tools and software in data mining, (both close and open access) the differences between each data mining's margin of error, apparently will always be the major problem for this scope of research. However, it can be assumed with the advance of big data and open access software, this scope of research, that combining big data potential to social research will be more elaborated

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