

The Use of Social Media (Twitter) in The Winning of East Java Province Election in 2018

Ajeng Widya Prakasita, Vierra Mayasari Sri Rengganis

Abstract

This study aims to look at the use of social media (Twitter) in winning the 2018 East Java Provincial Election. Social media and online media are currently being used by pairs of candidates for the 2018 East Java Pilkada to attract public sympathy. Based on a survey conducted by Indonesia Indicator as of April 2018, media exposure is still dominated by Saifullah Yusuf (Gus Ipul) as a top influencer compared to other candidates. In the 2018 East Java Pilkada, the media also has a big role in shaping public opinion. The author uses the concept of media framing to see how the use of social media (Twitter) in winning the 2018 East Java Pilkada. The method used is a case study as a method that aims to explain how the use of Twitter social media in winning the 2018 East Java Pilkada. We limit this research to see how social media (Twitter) can shape public opinion in the 2018 East Java Regional Head Election. Data collection is done by document analysis and online observation. Document analysis was carried out by looking at the results of the report that had been released by Indonesia Indicator (I2) regarding the media monitoring they carried out during the 2018 East Java Pilkada.

Keywords: media social, Twitter, *framing* media

Introduction

This article discusses the use of social media, especially Twitter as a means of campaigning that is quite effective and efficient in winning candidates in the 2018 East Java Regional Election. Twitter is a new microblog service that was first launched in 2006 with more than 20 million visitors each month (Tumasjan et al 2010).). Everyone who visits a Twitter page and creates a

Ajeng Widya Prakasita, adalah akademisi dari Universitas Islam Negeri Sunan Ampel Surabaya, Indonesia

Vierra Mayasari Sri Rengganis adalah komisioner komisi pemilihan umum daerah istimewa Yogyakarta, Indonesia

Corresponding Author :

Ajeng Widya Prakasita is a academic staff from Universitas Islam Negeri Sunan Ampel Surabaya, Indonesia

Vierra Mayasari Sri Rengganis is a committee of general election for special region Yogyakarta, Indonesia

Email : ajeng.widya.prakasita@uinsby.ac.id

short 140-character public message is called a “tweets.” Twitter also has a public timeline that contains information in real time, updated and can be enjoyed by the public with more than one million messages every hour. The idea behind microblogging activities carried out by twitter users is to publish the personal status of each user. This makes it easier for people to write down information and get information easily via Twitter.

Twitter is also considered to be one of the most efficient political tools to gain additional votes. Politicians also take advantage of the existence of Twitter to get closer to the public through interactions on Twitter (Tumasjan et al 2010). Developments that occur in the world of information and communication technology have triggered the growth of communication in cyberspace, and have occurred in the government, socio-political institutions and society. This development is marked by the emergence of the use of new media (new media) as a means to communicate (Breakenridge 2008). Communication, which was initially limited to face-to-face interaction, is now growing and developing online via the internet. One of the fastest growing new media is social media. Social media has an effective role in bringing its users to participate actively by providing feedback openly, either by providing information or by responding quickly (Putri et al 2016).

Social media has become a source of political information because all candidate activities published on social media can affect a candidate's political electability. In addition, social media can encourage political participation by reading news and reviews related to certain candidates (Salman et al., 2018). In addition, social media according to Verweij (2012) has two main roles of social media. First, as a disseminator of information and the second as a form of relationship. Facebook is a social media that functions as a form of relationship, while Twitter is a means of disseminating information. One of the reasons why Twitter is considered a medium of information dissemination is the fact that half of the trending topics on Twitter make headlines in conventional media such as CNN. Twitter has the power to spread conventional media news, many parties then take advantage of it, especially in the political field (Susanto 2017).

Many circles in the political world use Twitter as an effective communication and organizing platform because it does not have to incur high costs. Apart from being a medium for politicians to disseminate agendas, Twitter is also an ideal means for these politicians to monitor growing sentiments in society. Frame & Brachotte (2015), states that 60% of French

parliamentarians have a Twitter account, and this percentage occurred in the last three months of 2013, or ahead of parliamentary elections held in 2014. Frame & Brachotte (2015) also stated that in the current political context, a term called "we are what we tweet about", so that if you want to win in political battles, then Twitter is the most effective tool to show yourself to your constituents. Another study conducted by Wibowo and Mirawati (2013) shows that more than half of the respondents who use Twitter in Indonesia follow accounts that specifically discuss political issues in Indonesia, be it politicians or celebrities' accounts. This indicates an attempt to gather political information from alternative sources to satisfy the curiosity of a particular candidate.

Touching on the local political context in Indonesia, after the fall of the Suharto regime in 1998, the Indonesian government carried out a number of reforms and democratization in the field of governance to prevent the accumulation of power in the hands of a number of elites (Marijan, 2010). In particular, there are two policies implemented, namely decentralization and changes to the party system. The demand for transfer of authority to the regions was then responded to by the Habibie Government by issuing Law Number 22 of 1999 concerning Regional Government and Law Number 25 of 1999 concerning Financial Balance between the Center and the Regions. It is hoped that with the transfer of authority, the local government will be more sensitive to the aspirations of the citizens so that they are able to produce public policies that accommodate the needs of the citizens. The second objective is to prevent regional separatist movements, and regional ethno sentiments can be transferred to economic issues. (Aspinall et al. 2010; Buehler 2010).

Then in 2004, the government began to introduce regional head elections (pilkada) which until now have experienced significant developments because the role of social media as a means of forming public opinion has become increasingly intensive. Various tweets that occur in the context of regional head elections always appear before the election. However, this phenomenon later changed, because social media is not only used for positive news, but also used to spread black campaigns, blasphemy, blasphemy and defamation of a candidate so that his electability will decrease. An example is the 2017 DKI Jakarta Regional Head Election, where the spread of hate speech occurred the most in the comments column on social media (Abdurrahman 2014). In fact, according to Simangunsong (2017), the existence of social media should be used to strengthen relationships or seek relationships with other people. But what is currently developing is just the

opposite, some netizens on social media even attack, harass or injure the identities of other individuals. This shows that there are individual weaknesses in social media literacy.

This is emphasized by Iswandi (2017) who stated that initially freedom of expression on social media in a democratic country was used as social control. Initially, the social control was controlled by groups with access to the internet. In its development, various freedoms in a democratic climate actually trigger the rise of hate speech. These various hate speeches became sharper when they entered the campaign period in the 2017 DKI Regional Head Elections and were used as a negative campaign effort. Various hate speech that circulated and spread quickly on social media then caused a status war on Twitter (twitwar). This tweet went on so fast that there was no time for netizens to judge the truth. This then resulted in the formation of polarization of netizens on social media who were identified as liberal and conservative groups. These two groups then produce discourses, opinions, issues and rumors through social media, mainly related to identity politics. The emergence of identity politics in the 2017 DKI Pilkada was revealed by Lestari (2019). In his research, it was found that the victory of Anies Baswedan and Sandiaga Uno with a vote of 3,240,332 (57.95%) indicates that identity politics has been successfully used as a tool to attract voter sympathy to a candidate who has the same identity background.

Then in the 2018 East Java Pilkada, it was the opposite of what happened in DKI Jakarta, because the tweets on Twitter contained very few hate speech. Indonesia Indicator (I2) released seven winning points for candidates in the regional elections, namely media exposure, distribution of candidate names in the Electoral District, sentiment (media framing), issue content, trends, influencers, and populist political directions. At first, Gus Ipul dominated as a top person and top influencer. However, in April-May, Khofifah began to dominate hashtags on Twitter. The massive role of social media, in this case Twitter, is to win candidates in the Pilkada in Indonesia, which is very interesting to study.

Therefore, this paper aims to see how the use of social media (Twitter) in determining the candidate's victory in the 2018 East Java Pilkada was chosen because of social media, in this case Twitter has an important role in building public opinion. The difference with the role of social media in the 2017 Jakarta Pilkada is that the content that dominates the coverage of the 2018 East Java Pilkada contains very few negative campaigns. The benefit obtained is that it can be used as

a study in viewing social media (Twitter) in the 2018 East Java Pilkada to win candidates in the Pilkada.

Literature Review

The presence of the internet today has a significant impact on the operation of practical politics in Indonesia. People can consume news or search for information related to political news or candidates competing in politics through the internet. Social media as a form of new media (new media) provides opportunities for people to access news or find information they like (Harris and Harrigan 2015). This sophistication to access information and data facilitates the public to obtain information more broadly, making it easier to develop one piece of information to the wider community (Flaxman, Goel, and Rao 2016).

The existence of new media in the social fabric of society has had a significant impact on the life of the state and nation. The convenience obtained by the existence of new media such as the internet makes it easy for all levels of society to access information in the shortest possible time. This turned out to have an impact on the way of being a state in Indonesia, especially in terms of general election contestation (Pemilu), both in regional and national elections. Realizing this, the KPU as a formal institution that is obliged to organize elections in Indonesia issued legislation in the 2015 Pilkada. Article 41C states that campaigns on social media are very influential in getting information about candidates involved in the General Election. The presence of social media has turned out to be an influential thing in the political field.

The use of social media becomes a very high concern when elections are held. This is because many people have started to carry out activities on social media such as tweeting on Twitter about their views regarding the candidates for Regional Head who are contesting, or they post on Facebook to express support for one of the candidates. Phenomena like this will often be encountered because through social media people can express their emotions and feelings about the election momentum. The study conducted by Samsul Rani (2018) concluded that political parties in determining candidate pairs in the 2018 Pilkada put more emphasis on the electoral dimension, electability, and the contribution of these candidate pairs in the local political space. In the context of communication, political communication is an accessibility for regional head candidates to carry out effective political communication with voters. With accessibility, it will give birth to high political electability, which will encourage the support of political parties in

carrying out candidate pairs. Political parties, in this case, do not want pairs of candidates who do not have "selling points" because they can affect the vote. Thus, political parties will usually map out candidates who have the potential to win political contestations. For this reason, a candidate figure is needed who can package a political message so that the message can be received effectively by the audience.

Another study conducted by Iwan Joko Prasetyo (2017) on the Brand Image of Tri Rismaharini in the 2015 Simultaneous Regional Head Elections in Media Jawa Pos October-December 2015 edition revealed that candidate figures must be able to create a positive image through various campaign strategies. This is because a positive self-image and the achievements of regional head candidates have a big influence on voters, especially novice voters to make their choice. The figure of Tri Rismaharini is a reflection of a positive image, for being the first woman directly elected in the history of Indonesian democracy. The results of the analysis of this study show that the Jawa Pos media in the October-December 2015 edition has depicted the image of Tri Rismaharini as a simple and honest figure, has social concerns, a controversial figure related to the Pasar Turi Baru case, as well as the original figure of Arek Suroboyo who became the winner in the competition. Surabaya Mayor Election in 2015.

The benefits of using the internet for political activities have been studied by many social and political scientists. Sassi (2001) began conducting studies on the internet in the mid-1990s with his main interest in new forms of grassroots politics and the way in which social bonds are formed through the internet. He wanted to know more about how the internet influences politics in an institutionalized way. Studies like this can be used to increase citizen involvement in political life, as a result the internet can also be used as a political tool to carry out campaigns carried out by each candidate (Sparks 2001).

Then, Fisher (2013) also conducted research on the separation of several ideal types that citizens do on the internet. In his research, he looked at the activities carried out by citizens on the internet and then divided them into several ideal types of citizen interaction on the internet. These include what they call communitarianism which emphasizes the ideals of participatory democracy and mutuality, political mobilization in which cyberspace is used by activists from interest groups to organize themselves, exchange common ideas, place for discussion to affirm group values and perceptions and reduce contact with people who hold different views from them. In contrast to a

study conducted by Fisher, Norris (2001) shows that the existence of the internet can create new communities that can increase social capital through the exchange of information that is created communally. According to Norris, the presence of the internet can help reduce the barriers to civic engagement, such as financial constraints and increase opportunities for politics to disseminate information so as to reduce inequality in the social fabric of society by providing balanced information.

Based on the explanation above, the author uses the concept of media framing to see how the use of social media (Twitter) in winning the 2018 East Java Pilkada. The concept of framing is interpreted in various ways and has different meanings. A sociologist Erving Goffman who has a focus on conducting studies in communication terms defines framing as defining the current situation and answering questions about what is currently happening. Referring to Entman (1993: 51-58) states that the frame is interpreted as a form of individual belief system. The media framing referred to in the political context is in the meso conception which is right between the individual level and the macro concept which contains ideology and life views. In line with the previous explanation, Dumitrescu and Mughan (2010), explained that the relationship between the mass media and politics is considered important for two reasons, namely as a network that connects political actors and the community to obtain the most relevant information and political communication tools so that there is an increase towards significantly better in the field of political communication. Through the mass media, it is hoped that there will be community involvement in voicing their voices in general elections (elections), thereby increasing public participation in political activities. In fact, the news released by the mass media tends to favor the government or politicians, so that the mass media are not value-free in presenting actual news.

Furthermore, Vowed and Henn (2014) even mention that the current digital era has brought a paradigm shift in the practice of political communication. It was stated that there were at least 6 changes brought about by the digital era, namely the context of the public space, the social dimension, the content dimension, the temporal dimension, the spatial dimension, and the technical dimension. In the dimension of public space, the digital era in Indonesia has changed the boundaries of political communication which were previously limited to conversations between the political elite and the government. The presence of digital media allows all citizens to participate in discussions and influence public issues. In addition, there are also changes to the

dimensions of space. Even though this Pilkada took place in East Java, the discussion regarding the issues that developed in it was not limited to this area.

In general, the media is believed to have the task of influencing the public in determining political choices and behavior. People believe that the existence of mass media can change views, public opinion, and people's behavior at the global level. The mass media plays an agenda setting role that can freely determine what news will be presented to the public. Thus, the media can be considered as political actors who can control the power of news and information in the community. In addition, there are two ways of mass media in presenting news to the public, namely priming and framing. Priming is a useful starting point to restore people's memories of something as knowledge or experience they have. Meanwhile, framing is a trick used by the mass media to frame public opinion on something such as portraying who is the good guy and the bad guy in politics (Triyono 2010).

In the same vein as the previous conceptual building, Eriyanto (2015) explains that framing is a method to see how the media tells the story of events. The way of telling the story is reflected in the way of seeing the reality that is made into news. This way of seeing has an effect on the final result of the construction of reality. Eriyanto also added that framing analysis is an analysis used to see how the media constructs a reality. Framing analysis is also used to see how events are understood and framed by the media. Based on the two purposes of using this analysis, in this study framing is used to see how the media constructs a reality. In carrying out this construction, the media use their point of view in writing news. It is intended to shape public opinion to match what the media thinks.

Furthermore, Louw (2005) succeeded in finding three dimensions of media in relation to politics, as illustrated in the table below:

Table 1. Dimensions of Media Production with Politics

The three dimensions of politics	(1) Policy	(2) Process Management	(3) Hype
	"Elite" Politics (geared to delivery)	"Elite" Politics (geared to planning, delivery and performance)	Mass politics (geared to image and myth making to be consumed by voters)

Driven by	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - cabinet - policy staff - bureaucrats - judiciary - intellectuals - lobbyist - diplomats 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - political party (insiders) - spin doctors - negotiators - intelligence - community - insider intellectuals 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - journalist - culture identity - pollsters - pundits and media commentators
Output	Output as substantive <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - resource - allocation - laws - violence (internal) - foreign policy (war and peace) - deal making (between interest group) - aggregating interest 	Output as planning and coordination <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - inventing beliefs and ideology - inventing identity - selecting politicians and staffers - strategizing about policy hype and the policy hype relationship 	Output as image making <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - politicians as celebrity - identities to consume - belief - ideology - articulating interest - legitimacy - distraction if needed
Site (located in)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - parlement - bureaucracy - courts - violence-making machinery 	Political elite black rooms and elite media	The culture industry and mass media
	Front stage and back stage performance	Backstage performance (hidden from political outsiders)	Front stage performance (to be consumed by political outsiders)

Source: Eric Louw. 2005. The media and political process. London.

Based on the table above, Louw describes the dimensions of political communication as shown in the table above, namely the dimensions of policy, process management and the dimensions of Hype. The policy dimension or the rule dimension is a political communication process produced by political elites with the aim of conveying political messages or policies to the public. Similarly, the dimension of process management also takes place within the political elite. It's just that this process management dimension focuses more on behind-the-scenes planning such as the formation of political strategies and so on.

If the other two dimensions take place within the scope of the political elite and are driven by insiders, political communication in this hype dimension refers more to political communication carried out by people or parties outside of insiders such as journalists, the cultural industry (media), survey institutions/ opinion polls, and so on. The output of this dimension is the problem of politicians as celebrity identities to be consumed, beliefs, ideologies, articulation of interests, legitimacy and distractions where the output will ultimately lead to the formation of a political image to be consumed by the public.

The third dimension is the dimension of hype where in the dimension of the communication process takes place within the scope of mass politics where the output produced can strive for the formation and or understanding of the political image of the government, political actors, organizations. The hype dimension here looks at how frenzied political communication takes place in the mass sphere. Referring to this dimension, one of its manifestations can be formed in buzzers because they can shape the political image that is consumed by voters.

Methods

To answer the problem formulation in this article, a case study is used as a method aimed at explaining how the use of social media, especially Twitter in winning the 2018 East Java Pilkada, is limited to seeing how social media (Twitter) can shape public opinion in the Java Pilkada. East 2018.

Data collection is done by document analysis and online observation. Document analysis was carried out by looking at the results of the report that had been released by Indonesia Indicator (I2) regarding the media monitoring they carried out during the 2018 East Java Pilkada ago. The report document released by Indonesia Indicator (I2) contains the results of monitoring big data on social media, especially Twitter. To get more comprehensive results, it is necessary to conduct online observations on social media in order to re-check the data we already have. We carried out this observation activity with the consideration that the increasing community activity on the internet became a separate consideration for the authors to use this method in data collection.

At the data analysis stage, we categorize and also reduce data on excess information. After the data unit is complete, it is continued with three analysis components, namely: a) data reduction; b) data presentation; and c) drawing conclusions. Then after carrying out these stages, we will see

the implications that have an impact on the object of study, so that the data can be processed properly and comprehensively.

Results and Discussion

The 2018 East Java Pilkada is a contestation that involves quite varied socio-demographic factors. According to BPS data in 2016, the population of East Java is 38,847,561 people, with a population density of 807 people/km² and the majority of the religion adopted is Islam. In general, the cultural distribution of the people of East Java is divided into four regions: Mataraman, Arek Java, Horseshoe and Madura. The Mataraman area is a former *vorstenlanden* area (the rule of the Mataram kingdom) which stretches from Ngawi, Kediri, Madiun, Nganjuk, Magetan, Trenggalek, Pacitan, Ponorogo, Tulungagung, Blitar to Tuban. The characteristics of Mataraman Javanese culture are very thick with nationalism, which is sometimes synonymous with the figure of Sukarno. Then the Arek area, namely the Surabaya and Greater Malang areas. Politically, in this region there are no political parties and sects that are truly dominant. The third area, is the santri base, where PKB has traditionally obtained the majority of votes. This area is known as the "Horse Foot" which stretches from Probolinggo to Banyuwangi. Furthermore, the Madura region, namely Bangkalan, Pamekasan, Sampang and Sumenep, was dominated by santri and Nahdliyin who depended on the character of a kiai. The current position of a kiai is no longer only related to religious issues, but also related to politics (Yunas, 2018).

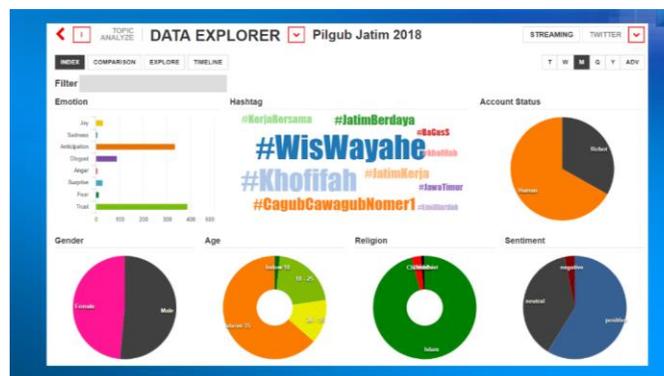
The division of the region into the 4 categories above is usually used to see the demographic distribution of East Javanese politics, where based on this condition East Java is one of the areas that has left political sects since the 1950s. Since then, every time a regional head election is held, the pair of regional heads from the *abangan* and *santri* groups is considered ideal and represents the configuration in East Java. However, in the 2018 Pilkada which was attended by two pairs of candidates, the two candidates for governor were the same representation, namely Nahdlatul Ulama (NU). However, for Deputy Governor Emil Dardak, who is the Regent of Trenggalek, it is considered a representation of the Mataraman region with an *abangan* political style. Likewise, the Candidate for Deputy Governor Puti Guntur Soekarno as one of Sukarno's descendants, has a large number of supporters and mass bases in East Java, especially the *abangan*.

This condition is in contrast to that in DKI Jakarta, where ethnic diversity is more varied. DKI Jakarta is dominated by Javanese, Betawi, Sundanese, Chinese, Batak and Minang ethnic groups. The composition of the population of DKI Jakarta is also dominated by private/professional employees, housewives, and traders/entrepreneurs. Meanwhile in East Java, the majority of the population work as fishermen, laborers, farmers, small traders, civil servants, private employees, and housewives. DKI Jakarta voters are rational voters with individual characteristics of society. This causes a candidate who is considered to better meet the expectations of voters, then he is the one who will win. In the first round of the DKI Jakarta Pilkada, Ahok-Djarot got 42.99% of the votes, and Anies-Sandiaga got 39.95% of the votes, so the two pairs of candidates then competed in the second round. The expectations of the people who were satisfied with Ahok's performance in the first round turned into defeat in the second round due to the declining sympathy of Muslim voters due to the issue of blasphemy which continued until election day. Whereas voters in East Java have more communal characteristics, where the decision to choose a candidate is based on social togetherness.

The use of social media (Twitter) as a tool that makes it easier for prospective pairs to campaign for the community. The Indonesia Indicator (I2) shows that in 60 seconds there are around 98,000 tweets circulating. Based on this data, Indonesia Indicator (I2) monitors and analyzes data so as to produce a mapping of issues, top people, top influencers, sentiments (media framing), emotions, and networks that can describe the development of public opinion in real time in the internet community netizens).

Based on this explanation, Indonesia Indicator (I2) managed to collect data obtained through Twitter related to community activities discussing the 2018 East Java Pilkada. Below is a display of the data that we can obtain, as follows:

Figure 1. Data collection on Twitter about the 2018 East Java Pilkada

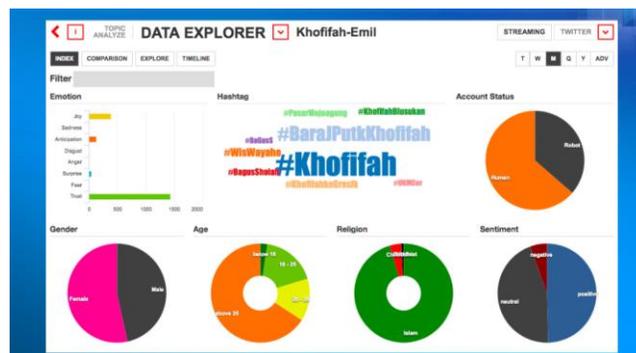


Based on the data above, it shows that at the beginning of the January 2018 campaign, the Saifullah-Puti candidate pair was ranked first. However, during the three months of the Saifullah-Puti campaign, the vote decreased slowly. This is in contrast to the Khofifah-Emil candidate pair, they seemed unsure at the beginning of the campaign. Through the picture, it can be seen that Khofifah-Emil only experienced a significant increase in votes in March, when the candidate pair Saifullah-Puti experienced a decrease in votes. Saifullah-Puti put in a lot of effort in the early days of the campaign, so they were exhausted in the middle of the trip. This moment was read as an opportunity by the opposing team, so the Khofifah-Emil team managed to gain significant votes in the middle of the campaign until the end.

Campaign activities continue to be carried out by the two candidates for the Governor of East Java 2018. Apart from conducting a land campaign, they also conduct an air campaign (online). They use Twitter as a tool to disseminate information to the public. We also have data that presents a comparison of virtual community activities discussing Saifullah-Puti and Khofifah-Emil as shown in Figure 3 and Figure 4.

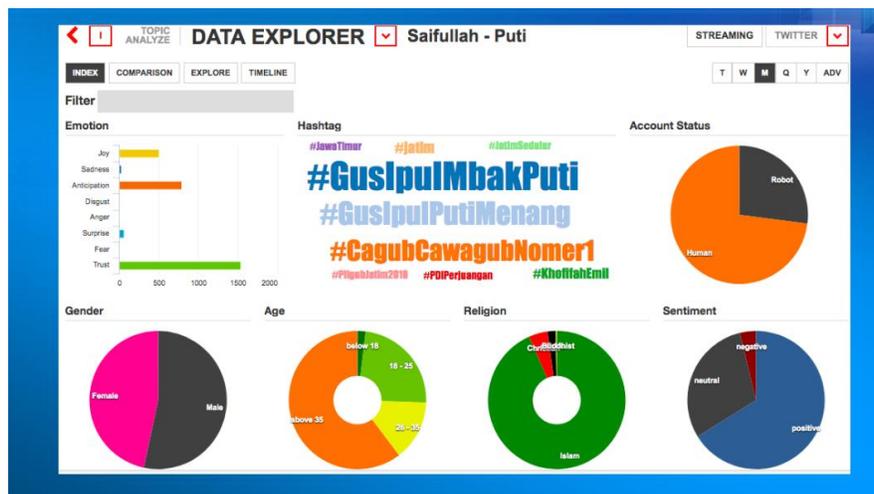
Based on this data, it aims to compare the activities of netizens' conversations on Twitter regarding the Khofifah-Emil and Saifullah-Puti candidates. Referring to the data above, the Khofifah-Emil candidate pair was colored with the emotions of trust and joy, the emotions that described anticipation were relatively small so they were not in the spotlight. Then, the sentiments framed by the Khofifah-Emil candidate pair tend to be positive. The picture also shows that the sentiment (media framing) formed by the community towards this candidate pair has a positive tone. Then followed by a more neutral sentiment, not trying to find fault or glorifying the achievements of the candidate pair, but rather to provide support or say according to the data they found. The conversations that occur in the virtual community are dominated by women's groups. This can be used as additional information for the Khofifah-Emil candidate pair that many of their supporters come from women's groups, so they can campaign according to targets.

Figure 3. Data Collection of Conversations on the Twitter of Paslon Khofifah-Emil



(Source: Indonesia Indicator, 2018)

Figure 4. Data Collection of Conversations on the Twitter of Paslon Saifullah-Puti



(Source: Indonesia Indicator, 2018)

Khofifah-Emil makes good use of data from social media (Twitter), so they can read maps in the field. They also target voters accurately, such as increasing the frequency with which they meet with recitation mothers, fatayat, and housewives in general. This is one of the benefits of using social media (Twitter) in winning Khofifah-Emil. The data and information they get becomes ammunition during their campaign to the public.

In contrast to the Saifullah-Puti pair, referring to the data above, it is explained that netizens' conversations about Saifullah-Puti are colored by the emotion of trust which is then followed by the emotion of anticipation. This indicates that apart from having confidence in the Saifullah-Puti candidate pair, they also have feelings of anxiety and tend to be cautious. Even so, the sentiments that develop in netizen activities are positive sentiments, followed by neutral sentiments and finally negative sentiments. From this data, it can also be seen that both the Khofifah-Emil and Saifullah-Puti pairs have positive media framing. There were no activities such as the use of identity politics, gender, or RAS-related issues in the 2018 East Java Pilkada. Furthermore, Saifullah-Puti also received more attention from the male group than the female group. This was also influenced by Gus Ipul as a candidate for governor who had a strong charisma, thus getting the attention of the public.

Furthermore, from the use of social media (Twitter), we can also see influential people during the 2018 East Java Pilkada. We get data showing Saifullah Yusuf (Gus Ipul) as the top person and as a top influencer in the 2018 East Java Pilkada. Then followed by by the candidate pair Khofifah-Emil and closed with Mbak Puti as the last top person and influencer in the 2018 East Java Pilkada. The following is a presentation of data related to the 2018 East Java Pilkada top person and influencer.

Figure 5. Order of Top Persons and Top Influencers in the 2018 East Java Pilkada



(Source: Indonesia Indicator, 2018)

Based on this data, it can be noted that during the 2018 East Java Pilkada, Saifullah Yusuf (Gus Ipul) was ranked first as a top person and influencer. There were 2,637 news reports that reported Gus Ipul on social media and there were 3,344 statements in the news that mentioned Saifullah Yusuf's name as a topic of discussion. When viewed based on these data, many think that Saifullah Yusuf has a second chance to be re-elected as Governor of East Java. But in fact this is not the case, the Khofifah-Emil candidate who was elected Governor and Deputy Governor of East Java 2018. Through this fact, many parties have questioned the defeat of Saifullah Yusuf and Puti providing information to the public that the fame gained on social media is not directly proportional to conversion. people's voices. This does not mean that those who are not better known on social media will not be selected, but how fame is also accompanied by real, solution-based programs.

In the 2018 East Java Pilkada, there were many interesting findings, such as the low number of negative campaigns, hate speech only slightly adorned the opinions formed in East Java society in the 2018 Pilkada. What happened in the East Java Pilkada was that the top influencers and the hate speech factor did not necessarily become a determining factor for a candidate's victory in the Pilkada. This is in contrast to what happened in the first round of the 2017 DKI Jakarta Pilkada, where the position of the top influencer which was originally Ahok, then changed direction in the second round of the DKI Jakarta Pilkada, which was colored by hate speech and cases of blasphemy which resulted in Anies-Sandi's victory. In the 2018 East Java Pilkada, the position as a top influencer and hate speech did not affect public opinion in making choices, because people's choices were influenced by other factors.

Reviewing what happened in the 2018 East Java Pilkada, the use of social media (Twitter) was indeed done as a way to get votes or support for each candidate pair. But in reality, the use of social media is not the only way in the strategy to win the 2018 East Java Regional Head Election. The political communication process that takes place must be with the aim of conveying political messages and policies to the public. If the messages conveyed do not go hand in hand, then the fame gained on social media will not be directly proportional to the desired results. The tendency that occurs is only as an influencer, not the people's choice as a candidate competing in the Pilkada.

Conclusion

In the 2018 East Java Pilkada, factors better known on social media did not necessarily increase the electability of a candidate. Other factors are needed, such as a solution-based work program, track record, performance and experience of the candidate concerned. In addition, in the 2018 East Java Pilkada, the Khofifah-Emil winning team also used a research institute (Poltracking) to dissect the floating mass that was used as the target audience by the winning team. By using this research institution, social mapping can be carried out according to certain demographics/psychography/sociography, knowing voting behavior, and knowing the electability of candidates and the candidate's image in the eyes of voters. So it can be concluded that this research institution has an important role in conducting mapping which ultimately provides convenience for the Khofifah-Emil winning team in formulating political communication strategies (Benigna, 2019).

Based on the determination of the vote acquisition by the East Java Provincial KPU, the Khofifah-Emil pair received 10,465,218 (53.55%) votes. Meanwhile, Gus Ipul-Puti received 9,076,014 (46.45%) of the votes. According to the Indonesian Survey Circle (LSI), there were at least three factors that caused Gus Ipul-Puti's defeat, namely the first image of the incumbent who was not attached to the figure of Gus Ipul. As a deputy governor, usually he will receive an abundance of popularity on the condition that the incumbent governor supports his deputy governor. What happened in East Java was that the incumbent governor did not support Gus Ipul, because his party supported Khofifah. Second, Khofifah's strength is considered more complete. The figure of Puti Guntur Soekarno is considered to have no experience in government like Emil Dardak. The last factor, young voters in East Java prefer Khofifah-Emil. Apart from these three things, one of the biggest weaknesses of the Gus Ipul-Puti camp is that it is still stuck with the symbols of Soekarno and NU figures. The general chairman, elites and PDIP cadres unitedly stated the same premise: "appreciate Bung Karno's services by winning his grandson in the East Java Pilkada".

The defeat of Gus Ipul-Puti is an indication of the ineffectiveness of the strategy to sell Soekarno's name to voters in East Java. The effectiveness of selling Soekarno's name is largely determined by a strategy that is relevant to the issue of voters. The relevance of the strategy to package an issue so that it is in line with the needs of voters in East Java indicates the dominance of rational voters in East Java. This is in line with the survey conducted by Poltracking Indonesia in East Java on March 6-11 2018 which indicated that rational voters dominated 49.0% compared to sociological voters (16.1%) and psychological voters (17.8%).). The closeness of voters to political parties also influences the symbols built by the party. In the context of PDIP, the symbol is Soekarno. Poltracking research results show that the closeness of voters to these political parties is getting less and less in the range of 12-13%, so it can be concluded that people vote because of the Soekarno breed factor. The packaging of Soekarno's symbols is still in the conventional version. The challenge is how to package Gus Ipul-Puti to be liked by millennials. So the main weakness found is how to brand Gus Ipul-Puti so that it can be accepted and attract voters. The process of political communication that is disseminated through social media (twitter) must go hand in hand, so that the fame gained on social media will not be directly proportional to the desired results.

References

- Abdurrahman, Muhammad S. 2014. Twitter dan Ruang Publik Pemerintahan Lokal yang Partisipatif (Telaah Atas Komunikasi Politik Ridwan Kamil melalui Twitter). *Jurnal Penelitian Komunikasi dan Pembangunan*, Vol. 15, No. 2.
- Aspinall, E & Mietzner M. 2010. *Problems Of Democratisation in Indonesia: Elections, Institutions and Society*. Singapore: Institute of Southeast Asian Studies.
- Beakenridge, D. 2008. *PR 2.0 New Media, New Tools, New Audiences*. Pearson Education: New Jersey.
- Benigna, R., 2019. Strategi Komunikasi Politik Khofifah-Emil Dalam Pemilihan Gubernur Jawa Timur 2018. Skripsi, Universitas Airlangga.
- Buehler, M. 2009. The Rising Importance of Personal Networks in Indonesian Local Politics: An Analysis of The District Government Head Elections in South Sulawesi in 2005. In: *Deepening Democracy in Indonesia*. Singapore: ISEAS, pp. 101-124.
- Dumitrescu, D., dan Mughan, A. 2010. *Mass Media and Democratic Politics*. Springer: New York
- Eric Louw. 2005. *The media and political process*. Sage: London.
- Eriyanto, 2015. *Analisis Jaringan Komunikasi*. Pustaka Media: Jakarta.
- Entman, R.M. 1993. *Framing Toward Clarification of A Fractured Paradigm*. *Journal of Communication* 43. Pp. 51-58.
- Flaxman, S., Goel, S., dan Rao, J.M., 2016. *Filter Bubbles, Echo Chambers, and Online News Consumption*. *Public Opinion Quarterly*. Vol. 80., Pp. 298-320.
- Frame, A., dan Brachotte, G. 2015. *Le tweet strategique: Use Twitter as a PR Tool by French Politicians*. *Public Relations Review*. 41(2)., Pp. 278-287.
- Herlambang, R. 2018. *Big Data dan Politik Elektoral di Indonesia*. Laporan Indonesia Indicator.
- Hilman, Y.A. 2018. Analisis Peta Politik Kandidat Calon Gubernur dan Arah Koalisi Pada Kontestasi Pemilihan Gubernur Jawa Timur 2018. *Jurnal Wacana Politik*. Vol. 3 No. 1 Hal. 29-39.
- Isbahi, B & Yunas, N.S. 2018. Perbandingan Loyalitas Pemilih Abangan dan Santri Terhadap Khofifah dan Saifullah Yusuf Pada Pemilihan Gubernur Jawa Timur Tahun 2018. *Jurnal Sosiologi Agama*. Vol. 12 No. 1. Hal. 155-172.
- Iswandi, S. 2017. Demokrasi Virtual Dan Perang Siber Di Media Sosial: Perspektif Netizen Indonesia. *Jurnal SPIKOM*. Vol. 3 No. 3, Hal. 457-475.

- Prasetyo, I.J. 2017. Brand Image Tri Rismaharini dalam Pilkada Serentak 2015 di Media Jawa Pos Edisi Oktober-Desember 2015. *Jurnal Kajian Media*. Vol. 1 No. 1, Hal. 16-27.
- Lisa Harris & Paul Harrigan (2015) Social Media in Politics: The Ultimate Voter Engagement Tool or Simply an Echo Chamber?, *Journal of Political Marketing*, 14:3,251-283, DOI: [10.1080/15377857.2012.693059](https://doi.org/10.1080/15377857.2012.693059)
- Lestari, D., 2019. Pilkada DKI Jakarta 2017: Dinamika Politik Identitas di Indonesia. *Jurnal Pendidikan Mandala*. Vol. 4 No. 4, Hal. 12-16.
- Marijan, K. 2010. Sistem Politik Indonesia: *Konsolidasi Demokrasi Pasca Orde Baru*. Jakarta: Kencana.
- Norris, P., 2001. *Political Communications and Democratic Politics*. New York: Palgrave.
- Putri, WSR., Nurwati, R.N., dan Meilany, Budiarti. 2016. Pengaruh Media Sosial Terhadap Perilaku Remaja. *Prosiding KS: Riset dan PKM*. Vol.03, No.01, Hal. 1-154, ISSN: 2442-4480.
- Rani, S. 2018. Dinamika Komunikasi Politik Dalam Pilkada Di Indonesia. *Jurnal Ilmu Dakwah*. Vol. 17 No. 33 Januari-Juni 2018.
- Sassi, S. 2001. *The Controversies of the Internet and the Revitalization of Local Political Life*. Sage: London.
- Salman, A., Yusoff, M.A., Salleh, M.A.M., & Abdullah, M.Y.H. 2018. Penggunaan Media Sosial untuk Sokongan Politik di Malaysia. *Journal of Nusantara Studies (JONUS)*, 3 (1), 51-63.
- Simangunsong, B.A. 2017. Interaksi Antarmanusia Melalui Media Sosial Facebook Mengenai Topik Keagamaan. *Jurnal ASPIKOM*, Vol. 3, No. 1 Hal. 65-76.
- Susanto, EH. 2017. Media Sosial Sebagai Pendukung Jaringan Komunikasi Politik. *Jurnal ASPIKOM*. Vol 03, No 03. Hal. 379-398.
- Triyono, Agus. 2010. *Citra Partai Politik dalam Framing Media*. *Jurnal Komuniti*. Universitas Muhammadiyah Surakarta., Vol. 01., No. 01.
- Tumasjan, A., Sprenger, TO., Sandner, PG., dan Welpe, IM. 2010. *Predicting Elections with Twitter: What 140 Characters Reveal about Political Sentiment*. *Proceeding of the Fourth International AAAI Conference on Weblogs and Social .Media*.
- Verweij, P. 2012. Twitter Links Between Politicians and Journalists. *Journalism Practice*. 6(5-6), Pp. 680-691.

Vowe, G. & Henn, P (ed).2014. *Political Communication in the Online World: Theoretical Approaches and research Designs*. London:Routledge.

Wibowo, K.A., & Mirawati, I. 2013. Realitas Politik Indonesia Dalam “Kacamata” Pengguna Twitter. *Jurnal Kajian Komunikasi*, 1(1), 11-17.