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DAFTAR ISI (TABLE OF CONTENT)

Political Agonism for Indonesian Cyberpolitic: Critical Cyberculture to Political Campaign of 2019 Indonesian Presidential Election in Twitter

Henni Gusfa[1], Fransiskus Emilus D. Kadjuand[2]
[1,2] Faculty of Communications Science of Post-Graduated Program of Mercubuana University
Jl. Meruya Selatan, Kebun Jeruk, Jakarta Barat
Email: henni.gusfa@mercubuana.ac.id[1], yumildfranz280917@gmail.com[2]

ABSTRACT

In this era of third-generation media, political battles not only occur in the real world but also occur in cyberspace. Various strategies and products of political campaigns using social media have become commonplace in political communication. This happens because along with the disruption of public communication media, conventional campaign ideas and models have also expanded into cyber channels and shaped cyber politics reality. The uniqueness of this research is antagonistic narratives such as hoax, ethnicity, religion, race, intergroup, and provocation in the 2019 Presidential Election political campaign on Twitter from January 1st, 2019 to April 13th, 2019. This research intends to critically analyze the narrative of political campaigns on Twitter using the Agonism Cyber-politic approach. The method used in this research is Multimodal Critical Cyberculture Analysis to analyze the multimodality text (text and image components), Using hashtags to amplificated a political narration, and the antagonism narrations that develops on Twitter by supporting accounts of Jokowi and Prabowo. The results showed that the @jokowi and @prabowo accounts were the accounts with the highest engagement in spreading political campaign narratives on Twitter. The @jokowi account uses optimistic narratives, while @prabowo tends to use pessimistic narratives. Nevertheless, there are so many antagonism narratives like hoax, fake news, propaganda, and politicization of SARA which are specified by anonymous accounts. These antagonistic narratives are more developed in cyber politics discourse on Twitter. The result is horizontal conflict among Indonesian people. The community represented by netizens experienced division and formed two clusters. This fact certainly reduces the meaning of Indonesian democracy which should be substantive to mere procedural. It was found out that the concept of agonistic politics becomes practice of Indonesian democracy, based on the philosophy of the Indonesian nation

Keywords: *Jokowi, Prabowo, 2019 Presidential Election, political campaign, twitter, cyber politic, Indonesian cyber-democracy*

ABSTRAK

Di era media generasi ketiga sekarang ini, pertarungan politik tidak hanya terjadi di dunia nyata, tetapi juga terjadi di dunia maya. Berbagai strategi dan produk kampanye politik menggunakan media sosial menjadi hal yang lumrah dalam komunikasi politik. Hal ini terjadi karena seiring dengan terganggunya media komunikasi publik, ide dan model kampanye konvensional juga merambah ke saluran siber dan membentuk realitas politik siber. Keunikan dari penelitian ini adalah narasi antagonis seperti *hoax*, etnisitas, agama, ras, antargolongan, dan provokasi dalam kampanye politik Pilpres 2019 di Twitter dari 1 Januari hingga 13 April 2019. Penelitian ini ingin menganalisis secara kritis narasi kampanye politik di Twitter dengan pendekatan Agonism Cyber-politic. Metode yang digunakan dalam penelitian ini adalah Multimodal Critical Cyberculture Analysis, bertujuan untuk menganalisis teks multimodal (komponen teks dan gambar), penggunaan *hashtag* untuk memperkuat narasi politik, dan narasi antagonisme yang berkembang di Twitter dengan mendukung akun Jokowi dan Prabowo. Hasil penelitian menunjukkan bahwa akun @jokowi dan @prabowo merupakan akun yang paling banyak terlibat dalam menyebarkan narasi kampanye politik di Twitter. Akun @jokowi menggunakan narasi optimis, sedangkan @prabowo cenderung menggunakan narasi pesimistis. Namun demikian, banyak ditemukan narasi antagonisme, seperti *hoax*, *fake news*, propaganda,

dan politisasi SARA yang dibocorkan oleh akun anonim. Narasi antagonis ini lebih berkembang dalam wacana politik dunia maya di Twitter. Akibatnya terjadi konflik horizontal dalam kehidupan (politik) masyarakat Indonesia. Komunitas yang diwakili oleh netizen mengalami perpecahan dan membentuk dua kluster. Fakta ini tentu mereduksi makna demokrasi Indonesia yang semestinya substantif menjadi sekadar prosedural. Konsep politik agonistik sendiri sudah menjadi bagian dari praktik demokrasi di Indonesia yang berlandaskan pada falsafah bangsa Indonesia.

Kata Kunci: Jokowi, Prabowo, Pilpres 2019, kampanye politik, Twitter, politik siber, demokrasi siber Indonesia

INTRODUCTION

Disruption of public communication media in Indonesia has formed a new socio-political reality known as cyber politics. This momentum makes political practitioners must use conventional campaign strategies to campaign strategies based on media convergence (Aspinall, 2014). As a result, conventional political narratives full of black campaigns have also expanded into social media channels (Vergeer & Hermans, Campaigning on Twitter: Microblogging and Online Social Networking as Campaign Tools in the 2010 General Elections in the Netherlands, 2013). The politics of constructive ideas for the good of Indonesia is the umpteenth order because virality takes precedence (Mardhiah, Hidayat, Rahmat, & Sjafirah, 2019).

The phenomenon of the Presidential Election (Pilpres) in the simultaneous general election on April 17, 2019, too. The fight between the incumbent (Joko Widodo and Ma'ruf Amin) and the opposition (Prabowo Subianto and Sandiaga Uno) appeared to be very viral on social media. The successful team and supporters of both camps competed to increase engagement to make their political narratives become trending topics (Ritonga & Syahputra, 2019). Not even a few antagonistic narratives such as hoax, SARA, and provocation are spread to influence public opinion and receive electoral incentives (Karppi & Crawford, May 4, 2015). This then made the Indonesian public polarized into two camps. One is called a tadpole, the other is called shucks (Ritonga & Syahputra, 2019).

This of course not only alienates the politics of ideas from virtual public spaces but even triggers vertical and horizontal tensions (Peters & al., 2018; Wardani, 2019; Wibowo, 2019). Various utterances of hatred (hate speech) are blown into the public sphere, causing marginalization and dehumanization to the grassroots community through social media (Zebracki & Luger, 2018). Starting from the issue of radical Islam, infidels, until the rise of the PKI was used as a political weapon. If no immediate solution is found, then this split of political orientation will trigger nation disintegration. There was a political division in the practice of legislative and executive power, presidential and vice-presidential elections, moreover the practice of democracy is presented with online forum. So, the urgency of this

research is to deconstruct social media narratives which contains presidential election campaigns on Twitter in order to find the essence or concept of agonist politics in Indonesian cyber politics. Democratic practices are carried out based on Twitter narratives, which is aimed to campaign and to attack political opponents as democratic practice during the president and vice-presidential election. So, the urgency of this research is to reform the political system which is carried out by civilizing political campaigns through Twitter narratives based on agonistic politics, which created smart campaign messages creatively and strengthened Indonesia's diverse identity.

Literature Review and Research Questions

The phenomenon of birth and the development of new media are always interesting to be used as a research locus. In the context of communication, especially political communication, there are already many researchers both domestically and abroad making theoretical studies on new media communication patterns, both in the sender, process and receiver sections.

Some researchers from developed countries over the last decade have used the media to examine patterns of new media political communication. They never miss an opportunity to examine the phenomenon of the use of social media in various contexts of human life, especially politics. The results of Andreas Jungherr's research published in the Journal of Information Technology and Politics (Jungherr, Twitter Use in Election Campaigns: A Systematic Literature Review, 2016) show how hashtags are used on Twitter as an amplification of narratives of political campaigns in almost all over the world.

Results of General Elections (Elections) that took place in the United Kingdom in 2010 (O'Loughlin, 1 March 2015), Elections in the Netherlands in 2010 (Vergeer & Hermans, Campaigning on Twitter: Microblogging and Online Social Networking as Campaign Tools in the 2010 General Elections in the Netherlands, 2013), Presidential Elections in America in 2008 and 2012 (Boulianne, 2015) prove that political narratives spread through social media succeed in bringing political support to certain figures and camps. In his research, Shelley Boulianne took the example of Obama's victory in the 2012 presidential election. It is known that President Obama is very active in using social media to campaign for political ideas compared to his political opponents (Boulianne, 2015).

However, several other studies suggest that social media channels are not utilized properly by citizens as a public space where the politics of ideas grows and develops, where humanist-based social movements are born. Many public discourses on social media are

used to influence people's minds with anti-political thoughts. In other words, public discourse does exist, but the agenda setting in social media discourse including Twitter is mostly intended to influence public opinion. The greater and higher the hashtag trend raised, the higher the potential for defeating political contestation, because they view Twitter as an informal barometer for public opinion. Not surprisingly, this social media space is then used to spread hoaxes and propaganda to influence public opinion (Salam, October 2018).

This fact shows that innovation in public communication channels always leaves a dilemma (Christensen, 1997). On the one hand it brings goodness to human civilization, on the other hand it can bring disaster. Atsushi Akine and Shumpei Iwao in their research on disruption stated that large-scale changes that occur in any context, including communication media must be utilized and adjusted properly. If not, then the disruption will turn into destruction (Akine & Iwao, Oktober 2015).

Social media itself has become a new phenomenon of the life of the world community. A study said that in Ou town itself, as a rural area, the phenomenon of the use of social media has become a trend and this. Not surprisingly, political campaigns through social media have become a new habitus that is used even to reach rural areas. Furthermore, the political model that is used is identity politics and family politics (Guan, Tang, & Wang, 2019).

So, where do you want to go under Indonesian democracy in the future if vertical and horizontal tensions caused by hoaxes, SARA, political identity, and provocation are maintained? Will the Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia experience disintegration if antagonistic narratives are maintained in the era of cyber politics in Indonesia? Will the political division in the 2019 presidential election make Indonesian democracy lose its substance as a means of achieving Bonum commune? Starting from this critical question, the author was interested in making new media-based research, especially about political campaign on Twitter. So, a new theory was founded through this research by using textual research. Textual research found and deconstructed antagonistic text in Twitter.

This research uses Agonism Cyberpolitics theory. Agonism Cyberpolitcs is a concept that was born from the foremost concepts, namely the Agonistic political concept and the concept of cyberculture. Political agonism is a concept that criticizes antipolitical narratives in public space. Because Agonistic political focal points are narratives, this concept falls within the intrinsic domain of critical cyberpolitics. While cyberculture is a concept that dissects the habits and communication patterns of netizens in virtual space (Holla, 2016).

Agonism Cyber politics is that political narratives exist in the cyber world because there are intrinsic elements, namely textual and extrinsic elements, namely virtual public spaces where the narratives are born, live, and develop. Agonism Cyber politics is a modification of

the concept of political agonism that is put into cyberspace with the culture of cyber community in it (Dwityas, Briandana, & Aulia, 2020).

The critical cyberculture study phase is characterized by continued growth and development of online life characterized by diversification. This phenomenon of diversification then leads to online marginalization and various social responsibilities as part of expanding into cyberspace. When discussing the studio about "online marginalization", Silver emphasized the importance of "issues of race, ethnicity, and sexuality" (Silver, 2006b, hal. 70). Silver characterizes critical cyber culture studies as (Silver, 2006b, hal. 67-73): (1) Social, cultural and economic interactions that occur online; (2) Analysis of the discourse that became a conversation in cyberspace and analysis of access to the internet; and (3) Participatory Design in the cyber world.

Political agonism was introduced by Chantal Mouffe and Ernesto Laclau in 1994. Because it bases the concept of democracy on agonistic (Laclau & Mouffe, 1994, hal. 31-45). *First*, agonistic. Mouffe (Mouffe, 2000, hal. 80-107) explains agonistic as a conceptual elaboration of political agonism which has a spirit of dissensus and difference. The idea of agonism-based democracy was written by introducing the concept of enemies as opposed to conversion according to antagonism. Approved enemies are opponents who should be considered friends. When using the word enemy, it is interpreted as the opposite party that must be destroyed. Then the enemy is the party who is also the opponent but must continue to live in a shared world as an inherent dimension of democracy (Mouffe, 2000, hal. 101). Here it appears that the relation of antagonism in a democracy is deconstructed by Mouffe into a relation of agonism. In antagonism, hostile parties are allies (friends) and enemies (enemies), whereas, in agonism, hostile parties are friends (friends) and opponents (enemies). Mouffe agreed with the concept of the enemy as a substitute for the enemy in accessing the politics of agonism. Based on the explanation above, the research question is How to expand and sharpen the concept of agonistic politics for Indonesian cyber politics?

METHOD

This research uses Multimodal Critical Cyberculture Analysis (MCCA). MCCA consists of three domains of analysis: *First,* cyber-multimodality texts consisting of text, images, videos, and sounds uploaded on social media (microelements) (Kress & Leeuwen, 2001). *Second*, Intertextuality. Intertextuality is used to analyze the engagement and amplification of the narratives built by each camp, whether incumbent or opposite. From here, we can comprehensively understand the issues to be led to the public. In this section, hashtag analysis and Social Networking Discourse are important.

Political Agonism for Indonesian Cyberpolitic: Critical Cyberculture
to Political Campaign of 2019 Indonesian Presidential Election in Twitte

215

Hashtags Analysis that uses to analyze the discourse building and spreading out on social media related to posting accounts about a theme of conversation on social media. If the text and image are spread by anonymous accounts on social media, then to answer this question, a researcher can analyze the building using custom analysis by crawling the post-analysis of the accounts that produce the text. At this stage, the researcher mapped the topic of citizen conversation and visualized a discourse collected and distributed in cyberspace, both image and textual in the form of networking to see publishing schemes, be it political, social, cultural, etc. that can be accessed when talking about on social media. In analyzing the mapping of discourse network patterns built by supporters of camps 01 and 02 on social media Twitter, researchers will find out the social cognition of cyberculture in a text (Campbell, 2014). Socio-cyberculture can be known by hashtags analysis.

Furthermore, social network discourse is an analysis of discourse networks. This part is used to analyze the discourses that develop on social media, especially the discourse of antagonism. MCCA prefer how post themes influence and become involved in social media discussions. This method is also effective for mapping the topic of citizen conversation and visualizing a discourse, both image and textual in the form of a network to see the mapping of complete issues, be they political, social, cultural, etc. discussed on social media. The MCCA method is very effective for analyzing discourse network patterns built by supporters of camps 01 and 02 on Twitter.

To get data from Twitter about the 2019 Presidential Election campaign, researchers used a crawling technique with the help of Artificial Intelligence called Drone Emprit. Drone Emprit is a big data system with ability to crawl, capture, and make a Social Network Analyze of netizen conversations on social media like Twitter, Facebook, and Instagram (Ritonga & Syahputra, 2019, hal. 81). By using Drone Emprit, we can know well about everyone's conversations on Twitter, particularly the narratives of the political camps 01 and 02 during the period January 13, 2019, at 00.00 to April 13, 2019, at 23:59 local time. The purpose of Social Network Discourse is: to detect, find, and analyze the political antagonism that spread on twitter or other kinds of social media.

Third, the ideological dimension. In this section, the researcher unpacks the ideology behind the text and the intertextuality of conflicting narratives. In-depth and holistic analysis is needed to unpack and provide a critical note of the ideology behind textual and visual narrative.
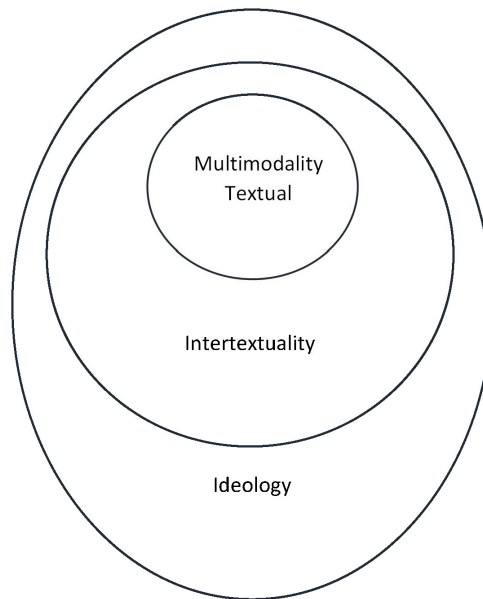
Figure 1. The model of MCCA

RESULTS AND DISCUSSIONS

Political Campaign of 2019 Presidential Election between Jokowi and Prabowo

In Indonesia Cyber-politic, using social media to campaign the political agenda of president election has growing up since 2014, even though the international world has used social media in political campaigns for more than a decade ago (Jungherr, 2016). When at the time, Jokowi and Prabowo using sentimen strategic to get acceptability and electability. Nowdays, the both fight back using social media, especially twitter (Budiharto & Meiliana, 2018).

Textual

Identity politics is very visible in the narratives that are built by both the incumbent camp and the opposition camp. Each claimed that they were part of the Muslim community and had received support from many Muslim scholars. Several accounts of Prabowo-Sandi supporters actively amplify religious-related issues.

Political Agonism for Indonesian Cyberpolitic: Critical Cyberculture
to Political Campaign of 2019 Indonesian Presidential Election in Twitte

217

1

Accounts of supporters of the opposition use propaganda testimonials that Prabowo definitely won the 2019 Presidential Election because Ustadz Abdul Somad supports Prabowo

Figure 2. Political campaign of opposite

2

Accounts of supporters of the opposition use plain folk propaganda that Prabowo is part of Muslims who share the government's injustice.

Figure 3. Political campaign of opposite

The chanting of religious politicization shows that the issue of religion has been used as a political tool to win the 2019 Presidential Election. The support of Ustadz Abdul Somad (UAS), Ustadz Adi Hidayat (UAH), AA Gym, and other scholars to Prabowo was used by account supporters of the camp opposition to attract sympathy from majority of Indonesian people who are Muslims. Even these accounts also did not hesitate to campaign that Prabowo was the President of the Ulama's choice and was a president who had been determined by God. Here it appears that Prabowo's supporting account uses a testimonial propaganda strategy, namely using religious figures as a weapon to grade support for Prabowo and simultaneously downgrade support for Jokowi (Nimmo, 1993, hal. 47).

Meanwhile, the @Jokowi account replies that God's will is above all. Through his account, Jokowi wanted to say that he could become the Mayor of Solo, then the Governor of DKI Jakarta, and become President in 2014 because of God's plan and will. Without God's will, he would not have been able to achieve this, considering he was an ordinary person, not from an elite group, and only an ordinary village boy.

Figure 4. Political campaign of incumbent

In addition, Jokowi in some of his chats shows his closeness with religious leaders and Muslim organizations. Jokowi wants to refram the accusations from the accounts supporting supporters of the opposition that he is anti-Ulama and anti-Muslim by showing his closeness to the ulama and the Muslims. He also wants to present himself as a devout Muslim.

Political Agonism for Indonesian Cyberpolitic: Critical Cyberculture
to Political Campaign of 2019 Indonesian Presidential Election in Twitte

219

Figure 5. Political campaign of incumbent

However, the counter narrative came from the accounts of supporters of the opposition said that Jokowi was a religious manipulator and "Jokowi is not an Islamic ". This account wants to framing that Jokowi is actually using religion for political purposes.

Figure 6. Political campaign of opposite

Intertextuality of Incumbent and Opposite Campaign

This multimodal text was made and posted by Jokowi in the 2019 Presidential Election campaign situation in which Jokowi as incumbent against Prabowo as opposition. The socio-cyberculture condition of this multimodal text is when the virtual universe, especially Twitter, is hit by various negative issues surrounding Indonesia's economic trends which are said to be alarming. Many Twitter accounts affiliated with the opposition camp attacked the

Jokowi government by saying that during Jokowi's leadership the Indonesian economy became worse and worse. Many anonymous accounts state that Jokowi's policy is more oriented to the interests of a few people who are, in fact, capital or corporate owners (Woolley & Howard, 2016). In terms of political opponents, the BPN (national winning agency) of Prabowo-Sandi camp is aggressively campaigning that the ordinary people are currently suffering and experiencing a variety of multidimensional injustices

Accounts of Jokowi's supporters amplify optimistic narratives that show that Jokowi is concerned with remote areas and always sided with the small people. Jokowi's supporters amplified the narrative of optimism through various hashtags to build public opinion through social media Twitter that Jokowi cares about the fate of the little people. The following hashtags were used from January 1 St, 2019 to April 13 Th, 2019 as crawled from Drone Emprit:

Figure 7. Visualization of hashtags on Jokowi's political campaign project

Amplification of support for Jokowi was carried out by campaigning the hashtag **#JokowiMembangunDesa** to show that while leading Indonesia, Jokowi was very pro-aligned to the small people in remote villages.

Through infrastructure development such as transportation (land, sea, and air) and the telecommunications system, Jokowi managed to unite Indonesia, especially areas that had been isolated. Then there was the hashtag **#01IndonesiaMaju** which was used by citizens to campaign that through the leadership of Jokowi and Maruf Amin, Indonesia would progress. In the third place, there is the hashtag **#01JokowiLagi** that is used by the citizens to amplify the narration through Twitter that Jokowi is worthy of returning to lead Indonesia.

Political Agonism for Indonesian Cyberpolitic: Critical Cyberculture
to Political Campaign of 2019 Indonesian Presidential Election in Twitte

221

This graph of the conversation trend on Twitter shows that the conversation about Jokowi and his programs is very widely spread on Twitter social media. However, this conversation not only leads to positive engagement but also negative. This happened because many citizens who supported the opposition carried out political antagonism towards Jokowi. The following is a visualization of social network analysis:
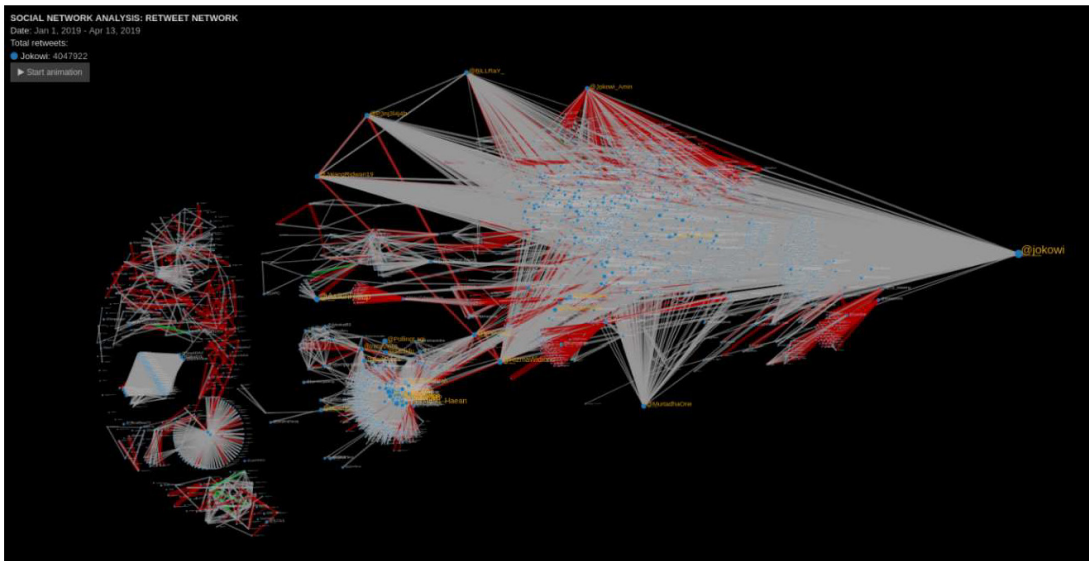

Figure 8. Visualization of social network analysis on twitter about Jokowi from January 1 St to April 13 Th 2019

The white tissue lines that dominate the SNA above are visualizations of narratives with neutral involvement. Whereas the red lines are visualizations of narratives with negative involvement. This visualization also shows that although the @Jokowi account is a high level of involvement, so many supporting accounts support the antagonistic narratives against Jokowi. This visualization shows that despite neutral engagement, the narratives of antagonism with negative involvement are quite challenging.

Many accounts amplify information through social media (Twitter) about the progress of infrastructure development and Jokowi's achievements while leading Indonesia from 2014 to early 2019. Jokowi's supporters say that Indonesia's economy is growing well. Even Jokowi also through his Twitter account often does indirect campaigns that Indonesia's economic growth is good because the inflation value is below 3.5%. Jokowi also showed his support for the small people in the corners of this country. Prabowo instead gave antithesis by showing that there are still so many poor people who suffer. Prabowo's supporters amplified

support for Prabowo through various hashtags to ensure an antithetical narrative to Jokowi. The following hashtags were used from 1 January 2019 to 13 April 2019 as crawled from Drone Emprit:
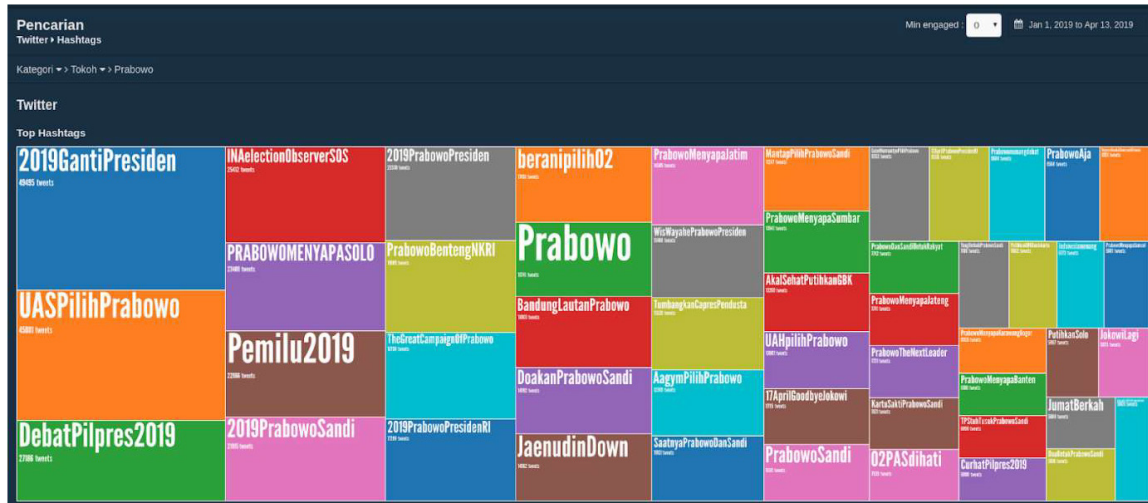

Figure 9. Visualization of hashtags on Prabowo's political campaign project

The hashtag that is most used by Prabowo's camp is **#2019GantiPresiden** to campaign when Prabowo has done Jokowi because so far there are still many people who are increasing.

Furthermore, there is also the hashtag **#UASPilihPrabowo** which is used by citizens to show that Prabowo is supported by Ustadz Abdul Somad who represents Muslim representation. The third is the hashtag **#DebatPilpres2019** which is used as Prabowo's support to support the narrative that Prabowo bear the hopes of the Indonesian people for a better Indonesian future.

This graph of the conversation trend on Twitter shows that the conversation about Prabowo and his programs is very widely spread on Twitter social media. However, this conversation not only leads to positive engagement but also negative. This happened because many citizens who supported the incumbent camp also carried out political antagonism towards Prabowo. The following is a visualization of social network analysis:
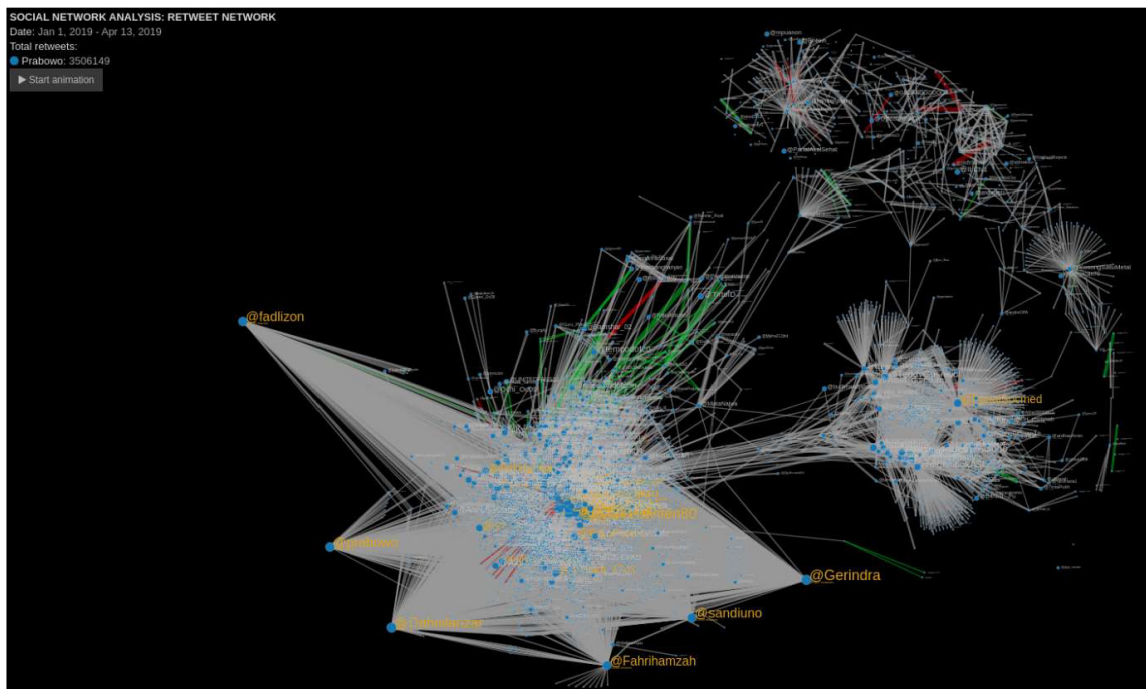
Political Agonism for Indonesian Cyberpolitic: Critical Cyberculture
to Political Campaign of 2019 Indonesian Presidential Election in Twitte

223

Figure 10. Visualization of social network analysis on twitter about Prabowo from January 1St to April 13Th 2019

The white tissue lines that dominate the SNA above are visualizations of narratives with neutral involvement. While the red lines are visualizations of narratives with negative involvement. The results of this SNA prove the conversation about Prabowo which was challenging by positive narratives by his supporting accounts. The antagonistic narrative of incumbent support accounts is not very visible and influences conversations about Prabowo.

The Ideology behind the Political Campaign of 2019 Presidential Election

Political identity narratives strongly dominate the 2019 Presidential Election campaign. Both oppositionists and incumbents want to show that they are representations of Muslims, who are the largest voters in Indonesia. No wonder various delegitimates that one is a true Muslim and the other is not a weapon that is increasingly used to win the votes of Indonesian Muslims.

However, the practice of political campaigns like this shows that Indonesian politics is still trapped in the domination of identity. this will have an impact on division and division among Indonesian people. If this practice continues, multiculturalism which is a manifestation of Indonesian Pancasila democracy will disappear and only become mere jargon.

Social identity is a "*conditio per quam*" or conditions inherent in the life of togetherness and ignorance with others. However, when this social identity is politicized for a specific purpose, even to the point of tensions between social identities, this must be avoided or in other words there cannot be "sine qua non" (Marietta & Barker, 2019, hal. 108-112).

A wave of identity politicization arises when people use certain identity issues in political events, whether religion, race, ethnicity, and class, to gain support from certain identities that are considered to be key or majority audiences. Simply put, identity politicism removes the word "we" and views things from the perspective of "we who deal with them." The basis of identity politicization is the sentiment of groups or groups who feel themselves harmed, insulted, or insulted (Magnis-Suseno, 2016, hal. iii-iv).

The wave of politicization of religious identity peaked even before the 2019 presidential election. Various tweets from accounts supporting the opposition, as the results of the MCCA above, often amplify the support of the Islamic expert) and Ustadz to Prabowo-Sandi. The aim is to attract the sympathy of Muslims who are the majority group in Indonesia. By winning acceptability from this key audience, Prabowo-Sandi will be the winner of 2019 Presidential Election.

Not only that, various hatespeech and narratives smelled of SARA were also used by each camp to attack and knock each other down. Jokowi was said to be a descendant of the PKI and not a Muslim by the opposition, and Prabowo was attacked with SARA issues that he was of Chinese-Kafir descent because his father was of Chinese descent and his mother was a Christian.

Chantal Mouffe and Ernesto Laclau have opinions about politics in the context of democracy as much as there is so that dissensus is an inherent condition due to antagonistic politics. The aim of antagonistic politics, which is reflected in the relations of "friends," is to downgrade the acceptability and electability of political opponents through narratives of deception, provocation, and SARA (Udupa, 2018). In other words, the social cognition of the antagonism narrative is "the political opponent is the enemy, so it must be dropped in any way."

If the antagonistic narratives like the one above are still used in every political campaign activity on social media, then the reasoning of the critical society will be eroded so that the Indonesian people will continue to improve the divisions that were aired at the 2014 presidential election and currently underway at the 2019 presidential election, and will also allow constantly on the momentum of the next political contestation (Aspinall, Fossati, Muhtadi, & Warburton, 2019). The contestation may be resolved, but the social cognition of the people will continue to be divided because of the political agonism that are

Political Agonism for Indonesian Cyberpolitic: Critical Cyberculture
to Political Campaign of 2019 Indonesian Presidential Election in Twitte

225

performed on social media. In other words, if political agonism is not implemented in social media, then the public will become banal in carrying out online marginalization, cyber-bullying, hate speech, and body-shamming that are used appearing on Twitter, even if placed further, they can be provoked and mobilized to do destructive actions in the offline area (Shiraz, 2013).

Politically practically it can be said that the use of identity issues is part of the winning candidate's supported strategy. However, when viewed in more depth, the tremendous explosion of identity politicization is a counter-oath movement carried out by Jong Jawa, Jong Sumatra, Jong Islam, and others in Batavia 88 years ago. At that time, they swore that although they differed in ethnicity, culture, religion, ethnicity and race, they were one in Indonesia. Indonesia, which consists of thousands of islands stretching from Sabang to Merauke, becomes a reality of the pluralist faction that underlies the diversity of the faces of different nations but remains one in the correct understanding of tolerance. Now, it cannot be denied that the wave of identity politicization wrapped in antagonistic narratives has divided Indonesian unity (Magnis-Suseno, 2016, hal. v).

Multiculturalism, which in the context of Indonesia is framed more beautifully in the slogan of *Bhineka Tunggal Ika*, is slowly fading because of the affilitive ideology of each camp towards identity politicization. In other words, *Bhineka Tunggal Ika* as the spirit of Indonesian democracy which became a common thread binding pluralist facts in Indonesia was eroded by a wave of political antagonism in the form of so much identity politicization at the 2019 Presidential Election.

Each camp should not use identity politics that is antagonistic. Narratives that should be amplified are narratives about multiculturalism and the spirit of tolerance. That is political agonism, which is that despite the different political support, as a nation's children who differ in identity "we" unite to build a better Indonesia going forward.

Agonism Cyber-politics For Indonesian Democracy

Indonesian democracy is a Pancasila democracy that accommodates pluralism, multiculturalism, and tolerance between communities, and unity in diversity. Therefore, the political concept of agonism by Chantal Mouffe and Ernesto Laclau is the right solution amid the division of Indonesian society that is difficult to achieve reconciliation and political consensus. Political agonism is a battle of narrative and constructive rational struggle. Whether it's a losing camp, also a winning camp needs to change the narratives of antagonism to agonistic, that is, the relations of friends that are marked by a battle of rational

discourse. This is urgent so that the reason for the critical community is still approved by the winner and still has a critical supervisor in every plan and application of public policy.

Furthermore, political agonism can overcome and attract totalitarianism with a single leadership without supervision and mobility in which the people are easily mobilized to carry out anarchist and marginal actions. The following agonism models found in this study to overcome political antagonism in online reality:
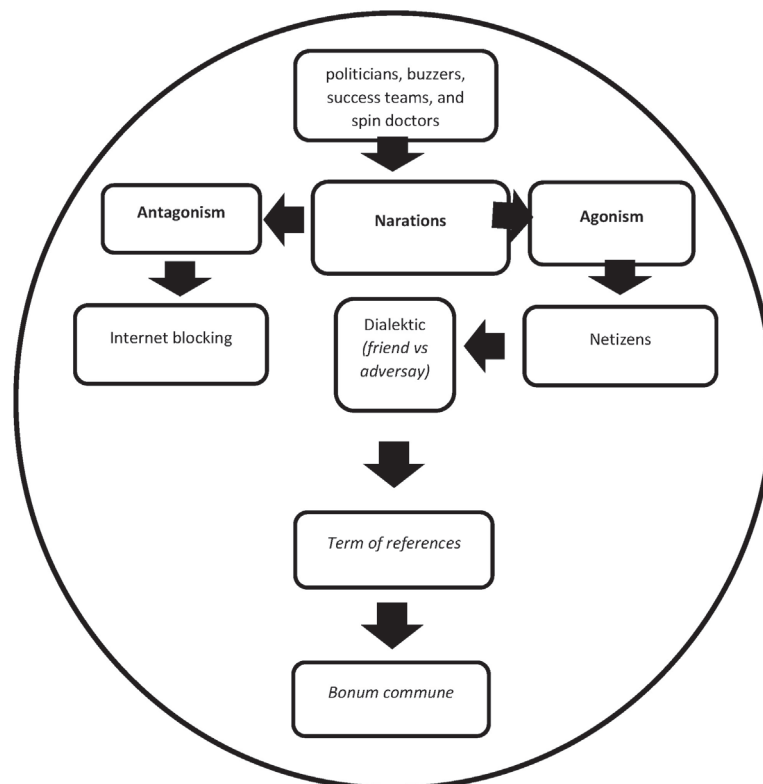

Figure 11. The model of Agonism Cyberpolitics in Indonesian

The violation of antagonism politics against Indonesian cyber-politics can be overcome by putting agonistic narratives into social media channels combined with narrative battles to benefit Indonesia on social media. to make it happen, it takes cooperation from all parties, not only the government (Couture & Toupin, 2019). Furthermore, the government needs to implement "digital sovereignty" in collaboration and synergy with the owners of social media platforms in Indonesia to create certain algorithm so that every post that contains elements of antagonism can be blocked automatically. Moreover, the government, stakeholders, and all Indonesian people also need to work together to build a constructive digital culture of education climate through digital literacy throughout Indonesia.

Political Agonism for Indonesian Cyberpolitic: Critical Cyberculture
to Political Campaign of 2019 Indonesian Presidential Election in Twitte

227

The only agonism can encourage critical public reasoning (netizens and citizens) so that the exposure to deception, provocation, SARA, and other challenges of antagonism in cyberspace can be overcome (Allcott & Gentzkow, 2017). To the extent that the public is critical and enriched by agonistic narratives, the issues of deception, racial intolerance, and provocation milling about on social media will not affect them. Through implementation of cyberpolitical agonism, cyberdemocracy and cyberpolitics in Indonesian will be better as democracy in the era of new media (Hofmann, 2019). Moreover, if agonistic can be created in online reality, offline real reality will follow it, because citizens are also citizens who are real-world people.

CONCLUSION

The results of this study indicate that both Jokowi and Prabowo supporters still use antagonistic narratives to attack political opponents. These narratives that are exhibited then create polemics among the people and draw them into the polemic fold. The community then split into two; one was Jokowi's supporter, the other was Prabowo's supporter. Even antagonistic narratives such as hoaxes, SARA, and religious provocations became the main weapons for the 2019 presidential election.

If this continues to be maintained within the scope of cyber-politics, then the reality of Indonesian society will continue to experience division and easily provoked to be mobilized destructively. Even the marginalization of certain groups of supporters can occur.

Therefore, the political concept of agonism by Chantal Mouffe and Ernesto Laclau is the right solution in midst of the division of Indonesian society that is difficult to achieve reconciliation and political consensus. Political agonism is a battle of narrative and constructive rational ideas. Both the losing camp and the winning camp need to change the narratives of antagonism into a battle of rational discourse so that Indonesian democracy is maintained. Furthermore, political agonism will be overcoming the tension and tension between totalitarianism and a single leadership without supervision and mobility in which the people are easily mobilized to carry out anarchist and marginal actions.

Disclosure Statement

The results showed that in the 2019 Indonesian presidential election, there were so many antagonistic narratives spread on Twitter and this could divide the unity of Indonesia.

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Political Agonism for Indonesian Cyberpolitic: Critical Cyberculture
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231

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