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DIGITAL DEMOCRACY IN THE WEST JAVA GUBERNATORIAL ELECTION 2018: PARTICIPATION, PARTY CAMPAIGN, AND POWER RELATIONS

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Abstract

The logic of digital democracy is often parallel with freedom and openness which offer improvement. The interplay between democracy and technology has formed the dialectic interaction among political party, government and society. Democracy itself depends on participation of citizens which requires space, time and place. The presence of citizens' participation has transformed from conventional to the virtual form through social media. Penetration of social media has reshaped the political realities which influenced by digital communication of the users. Thus this research attempts to examine how digital democracy shapes and influence participation, party campaign, and power relations in the West Java gubernatorial elections 2018. This research employs a qualitative approach based on case study analysis which provides an in-depth understanding of a case or cases. The case study research is one of the qualitative traditions of inquiry. Data are collected through interviews and literatures. As a tool of analysis, the researcher uses Manuel Castells idea with social network approach to explain participation, party campaign, and power relations in the West Java gubernatorial election 2018 which was held on 27 June 2018. This study found that social network through social media has shaped and influenced participation, party campaign and power relations in the West Java gubernatorial elections 2018.

Keywords: Digital democracy, West Java, gubernatorial election 2018.

I.   INTRODUCTION

Penetration of digital technology in human life aspects is a necessity. Political, economic, social, and cultural characteristics then shifted from the conventional to the digital form. At the level of political praxis, direct elections that had been implemented in 2005 experienced a phase of shifting digital communication patterns. The public space of democracy in the digital era is characterized by the use of social media to socialize programs, campaigns, and greet netizens in the digital level. Freedom and openness are determinant factors in the concept of digital democracy. Therefore, current political contestation is difficult to be released from a democratic process that is supported by digital technology where it successfully shapes and influences the public mind.

In 2018, West Java Province has carried out the election of the Governor and Deputy Governor, as well as regional elections in 16 districts / cities. Referring to the population projection carried out by the West Java Provincial BPS in 2015, there are at least 12.2 million people who are in that age range, or 28.3% of the total population or 37.2% compared to the number of 2014 Presidential Election DPS in West Java (BPS West Java 2015). While official data from the Provincial KPU states that the number of young voters in West Java is around 30 percent where the prediction of the number of Permanent Voters List (DPT) reaches 32.8 million voters as reported by the official website (http://jabar.kpu.go.id). The amount is vastly large and significant and can determine the victory of the candidate pairs who contested in the 2018 West Java gubernatorial election.

At the same time, the use of the internet in the public sphere of Indonesian society experiences an annual increase in intensity. As Chadwick describes (2009) because it is a platform for political discourse regarding an idea that refers to the shift of communication patterns from static models into network services are commonly called web 2.0 (Fayakhun: 2016, O'Reilly's: 2005). The presence of the internet as well as the development of the World Wide Web technology that is increasingly developing presents new types of communication media, namely social media. The data reported by Wijaya (2014) notes that the number of internet users, which is around 72.7 million, is an active internet user. In 2016 the Indonesian Internet Network Operator Association (APJII) had survey data that there were 132.7 million Indonesians connected to the internet, up 51.8 percent compared to the number of internet users in 2014, which were only 88 million internet users (Kompas, 2016). Therefore, this paper attempts to examine how digital democracy shapes and influences aspects of public participation, party campaigns, and power relations within it. The interaction between democracy and technology shifts political tendencies from political parties, the government and society.

The election of the Governor of West Java in 2018 presents four pairs of candidates including (according to the candidates number) Ridwan Kamil - Uu Ruzhanul Ulum (Rindu), TB. Hasanudin - Anton Charliyan (Hasanah), Sudrajat - Akhmad Syaikhu (Asyik), Deddy Mizwar - Dedi Mulyadi (Duo DM). Of the four candidate pairs the real count calculations carried out by the KPU of West Java Province had announced victory over the pair candidates of Ridwan Kamil - Uu (Rindu). In this plenary session there were

21,979,995 valid votes, while the invalid vote reached 744,338 voters. The total number of valid and invalid votes reached 22,724,333 voters. Table 1 describes information on candidates, bearer parties and vote acquisition based on the results of the vote recapitulation of the KPU of West Java Province on July 8, 2018.

Table 1. Candidates, Party Coalitions and Vote Results
Of West Java Gubernatorial Election 2018

No.	Pair Candidates	Party Coalitions	Vote Results (%)
1.	Ridwan Kamil-Uu Ruzhanul Ulum	Nasional Demokrat, PKB, PPP, Hanura, PSI	7.226.254 (32,88)
2.	TB. Hasanudin-Anton Charliyan	PDI-P	2.773.078 (12,62)
3.	Sudrajat-Akhmad Syaikhu	Gerindra, PKS, PAN	6.317.465 (28,74)
4.	Deddy Mizwar-Dedi Mulyadi	Demokrat, Golkar	5.663.198 (25,77)

Sumber: Hasil rekapitulasi suara KPU Provinsi Jawa Barat

Ridwan Kamil's victory as the elected governor of West Java was predicted along with the result of various survey polls before D Day. His figure is popular in the landscape of Pasundan land as former Mayor of Bandung for the period 2013-2018 is a factor that is not easily ignored. His success in building the City of Bandung with all his achievements is proof as well as a note that Kang Emil (popularly known) deserves to be elected. However, the contestation of the governor of West Java was uneasy for him. The trigger is a blocking or political sentiment that has been formed before the 2019 presidential election. This issue is important because West Java has a huge constituent and is contested in the Presidential Election contest. Therefore, the election of West Java governor 2018 is actually an entrance and stepping stone for political parties to test their vote before entering the simultaneous national elections in 2019 which combines presidential and legislative elections at the same time.

Numerous political experts' opinion often said, to win the presidential election, the coalition of political parties with the success team must work hard to control the votes in Java. West Java, Central Java and East Java. In short, Java is the key to winning the race. Statistically, the three regions mentioned above are densely populated areas which, in total, exceed half the number of Indonesian voters. Due to the strategic location of the region, this research is interesting to study which focuses on West Java and looks at how digital democracy shapes and influences public participation, party campaign, and power relations within it. The purpose of this research is to analyze digital democracy that is closely linked to the value of freedom and openness in line with the implementation of 2018 West Java Election.

II.   METHOD

This study uses a qualitative approach with descriptive methods relating to efforts to develop social phenomena that aim to understand the behaviors and social situations

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around them, focusing on why people behave and cultured as they do, how opinions and attitudes are formed, how people understand events that exist around it (Hancock., et. al, 2009: 7).

Qualitative research is subjective depending on the experience of the researcher and the one being studied. In exploring events during the course of research, or cutting them if they are not in accordance with the research topic (Greenhalgh and Taylor, 1997: 2). The data source used in this study uses primary data, namely through interviewing parties related to research topics such as success teams, political party administrators, voters. For secondary data, the data that the researcher obtained through literature studies such as books, journals, documents, mass media, social media and other related data.

In qualitative analysis, there are three lines of activities that occur simultaneously namely (Miles & Huberman, 2009: 19):

a. Presentation of data sources, which starts with all available data from interviews, observations, literature studies and other sources.

b. Data reduction, defined as the selection process, focuses on simplifying, abstracting and transforming crude data that arises from the results of research records in the field. Through this activity, the writer can classify, direct and organize data so that final conclusions can be drawn.

c. Drawing conclusions or verification is the last step in qualitative analysis activities. The application of this conclusion depends on the size of the collection of notes in the field.

This research focuses on the official results data of the West Java Provincial Election Commission in 2018 which was elaborated by the approach determined by the researcher. Literature and online data related to digital democracy in the election of the 2018 West Java governor regarding participation, party campaigns, and power relations. Digital democracy is a concept that elaborates on people's participation in a new public space or social media.

III. FRAMEWORK

The theoretical guide in this research refers to the work of Manuel Castells with the network society. He explained that network society is a social structure formed by micro-electronic networks, based on communication of technology and information. The social structure is formed from the relations of human relations in production, consumption, reproduction, experience, and expression of power that is interpreted by communication. The network consists of several interconnected connections. Connection is very important for the network, because it forms and disseminates messages and information efficiently. Network communication is a pattern of relationships between communicators through messages that form through space and time.

Nick Couldry in the Handbook of Digital Politics emphasized that Castell's work entitled Communication Power constructed on three volumes of previous work entitled The Information Age offers the most advanced and comprehensive theory of digital politics. Castells rationalizes the role of the network in politics and society in general. Castells argument in Communication Power (Castells, 2009), simply, that in the last few

decades community and political organizations have changed radically: first, the emergence of networks has provided a medium that connects people, across nation-states; second, there is a transformation that comes from constructing meaning in the network, because power always needs to be legitimized and culturally translated (Couldry, 2015).

The first factor is that the internet makes it easy to maintain the network. Castells approaches the foundations of digital social politics through the concept of 'network society'. With this he translates the social structures built not determined by digital communication networks across national borders: Castells believes that global networks shape all societies (Castells, 2009: 24, 53). He completely denies the idea that today's society, if they ever existed, is based on the same values (shared values). On the contrary, it is calculated relational power, and power relations are not only based on strength but also on communicative resources that are disseminated and strengthened in the network. So Castells helps introduce cultural elements into the analysis of its social structure. In short, researcher can take the essence of digital democracy through the social media medium (and its network) that targets voters with regard to participation, party campaigns and power relations.

IV.   RESULT

This research explores how the digital technology revolution is marked by the birth of social media with all forms of platforms intertwined with democracy. An idea where freedom and openness are key words those are in line with democracy. The people have sovereignty in expressing their rights within the framework of electoral politics. Therefore, this research was wrapped up in the ideas of Manuel Castells with a social network approach.

Participation

The voting participation target in the 2018 West Java gubernatorial election proclaimed by the KPU is at 77.5%. Although it has not yet reached the intended target, data from the Provincial KPU notes that participation in the West Java gubernatorial election this time is in the range of 73%, but this figure is much higher compared to 2013 which only touched 63%. This means that there is a significant increase in terms of participation. Therefore West Java KPU chairman Yayat Hidayat expressed his gratitude due to the socialization carried out was maximized. In it there is also a large share of media, both conventional and new.

As explained in the background section, the level of community participation in the West Java Pilgub contestation rose significantly compared to the 2013 Pilgub. The factor of advanced candidates was allegedly affecting the community went to the polling stations. Head of West Java KPU, Yayat Hidayat, said that in the 2018 West Java gubernatorial election, public participation increased by around 15 percent. In the previous Pilgub in 2013, the level of community participation was only around 63 percent. While the 2018 Governor Election, community participation increased to 72 percent. Now high participation is up to 72 percent. "It can go up because of the positive news in the media and the candidates are calm too," Yayat said when met at the West Java KPU Office, Jalan Garut, Bandung, Thursday (6/28). Not too noisy, although there

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were several cases between candidates who were of public concern such as the presidential campaign during pilgub debates and black campaigns in the quiet period.

The success of the KPU to increase public participation in taking part in the general election is also none other than the organizers' strategy to create programs or activities that can attract voters. One example is the Rock the Vote Indonesia program in collaboration with the Center for Election and the Political Party of the University of Indonesia aimed at targeting young voters and young voters whose numbers are extraordinarily large in quantity. This voice niche is utilized correctly by organizers to be able to increase voter participation according to what the Provincial KPU targets. In RTVI activities the number of participants is around 100-175 people. Hopefully, for example 100 RTVI participants after participating in the event will disseminate the message and information on the results of the socialization to their friends or groups and to their social media. Thus it triggered the multiplier effect process to those who join the program. The presence of social media with all its features and platforms makes it very easy for users to socialize, communicate and receive information. The existence of socialization and communication through networked social media produces network society. The definition of the network community is the formation of online citizenship ties based on the similarity of interests, issues and certain topics that become public discourse.

The same enthusiasm can be seen from the number of young people who actively participate in KPU officers such as socialization agents, PPS, PPK and so on and so forth. Then become participants of events which organized by KPUD, for example healthy walks, RTVI, video competitions, photo competitions, and West Java student political debate competitions in 2018. The variety of activities was aimed at increasing voter participation in general. And social media became one of the mouthpieces for informing the election of the governor of West Java. So it can be said that this is the implementation of a very friendly and attractive governor election among young voters. Therefore, the achievement of targets by the organizers can be said to be successful because the above variables, all of which are related to the information technology, are increasingly being used by constituents in general. The social media medium with all the platforms in it is very helpful for voters to participate and determine their choices.

Party Campaign

At the most general level, a party campaign can be best understood as organized efforts to inform, persuade, and mobilize the people that leads to the achievement of multiple goals, ultimately in attracting as many voters as possible (Norris, 2003). Therefore, the campaign is an integral part of the democratic process. The task of those who run campaigns is to ensure that the electorate is well-informed about the personalities and issues involved (Watts, 2010). In particular, campaign managers wish to see that there is a maximum numbers on the day of the vote. Since the televising of politics—the media at large– began to innovate their role and at present have created a new style of developed-campaigning.

The common features of Indonesian elections campaigning were mass gatherings and campaign parades popularly known as *pawai* (motorbikes convoys) where the party

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often hired the famous pop bands, or *dangdut* (local pop music) singers to entertain the people. Unfortunately, when it comes to speeches delivered by the candidates or party elites, the people do not highly appreciate what the party offered to them if they were elected. Moreover, the participants dress in the colour of their party, yell slogans, and decorate themselves and their motorbikes (trucks, buses, etc.) accordingly (Lindsay, 2007). They get free t-shirts and often so-called with "petrol money" from the party organizers. And many of them participate in *pawai* for more than one party.

In the 2018 Election Contest, political parties carried out two campaign models, conventional and digital form. In conventional way by meet the constituents face to face directly by conducting socialization and open campaigns in disseminating messages. At the same time, they also carried out a digital campaign to win the votes of millennials which had a significant electoral impact on the contestants. The use of social media is certainly very relevant to be used by political parties to absorb voters' aspirations and articulations which are very large in quantity and potentially become the key feature to winning the candidate pair. Issues that become public discourse mostly about improving the economy, education services, health and infrastructure. The most typical method used by almost all candidates is to visit places that are crowded with visitors such as traditional markets, areas that are considered to be lagging behind in development, and open spaces that mobilize the masses.

Party campaigns in the West Java gubernatorial election are also not immune from the role of digital technology and identity politics. The intersection between the two makes the party campaign of any candidates' claims to be a candidate who departs from the environment of the *santri* and the Sundanese tribe which becomes the second largest tribe after Java. Therefore, these issues became the main commodities of political contestants to gain votes. However, the real battle was with the two camps between the Jokowi coalition parties and opposition side under Prabowo. It is hard to ignore that West Java, geographically, is close to the center of power, DKI Jakarta. So that the hot issue that is being disputed in public spaces becomes the same issue in the West Java Governor Election 2018. This panorama dominates particularly the 2019 presidential change movement sentiment is a trending topic that becomes public debate.

According to many, the hardening of identity politics sentiment in the West Java governor election 2018 was triggered by the Ahok case in the Jakarta governor election a year before. These effects draw religious symbols for the sake of electability in electoral politics. Therefore the jargon of *nyantri-nyunda-nyakola* really becomes an electoral magnet in gaining public sympathy. As a region dominated by Muslim voters, West Javanese people are known as religious or known as *santri*, so it is not strange if social piety is really exploited as political campaign. Religion becomes justification tool for candidates to win the contestation. In addition, the Sundanese tribe is also a campaign material to attract voters, because sociologically the natural born sundanese becomes the ticket into the minds of voters. Consequently the candidate hopes to get voter support because he or she has the same social circle, so that the policies that will be carried out are also based on the identity itself. And the last one is *nyakola*, from the four candidates in the West Java Pilgub 2018 are well- educated figures and cadres who represent the

people of West Java. Educational background is also a determinant of candidate choice. And this third point, the researcher consider excluded from identity politics.

Power Relations

All Foucault's works can be divided into three main themes, explicitly knowledge (truth), power, and subject or ethics. The second axis or theme discussed by Foucault is power. Through the genealogy method, Foucault talked a lot about human relations and how that power was practiced in human culture and communication. This power can be used repressively and dominatively in the sense that people can control others, but what Foucault means is power in terms of strategy and human relations. Power assumes that there are people who become rulers and others are ruled, while mainly the understanding of power by Foucault is very neutral. Foucault also acknowledges that the word power can lead people to an understanding of domination in the sense that there are people who control others and controlled. The use of power like this is very one-sided, in the sense that there are weak parties who are always pressured and there are strong and influential parties who always dominate the others. In fact, the meaning of power according to

Foucault is very neutral and such power is inside one and all.

From the explanation above, the researcher has elaborated the idea of power relations in the context of this study are contestant and voter. Contestant refers to political parties in coalition to compete for the seat of the West Java Governor for the period 2018-2023. Meanwhile voter represents the constituents who have the right to vote. Both parties share mutual relationships, especially participant (candidate) due to the fact that legitimacy is marked through ballot papers was chosen by the constituents. Then this construction is reinforced with Castells' idea in a network society that is intertwined with electoral politics in the 2018 West Java Governor Election. According to survey data from APJII in 2017, penetration of internet users in Indonesia is around 143.26 million out of a total population of 262 million. For regional composition of users, Java Island dominated with a total of 54.08% compared to other regions. This data is expected to continue to grow every year considering that the internet infrastructure as supporting system is almost complete, namely the West and Central Palapa Ring. Although it continues to grow, Java is the largest contributor to the Indonesian internet user, with West Java province being the biggest contributor. It is worth to note that up to 16.6 percent of the total population who are internet literate in Indonesia are residents of West Java.

From the data above, it can be seen that social media users in West Java have a significant amount. With such a large percentage, the candidates must be able to optimize social media. Moreover, social media users are dominated by educated and middle class groups. This group has the ability to vastly influence both online and offline. In online side, they are able to influence the network of friends on social media in all platforms and shapes. On the offline side, they can affect the closest environment, such as family, friends, school, campus and work environment. Based on research from Nielsen, oral or mouth-to-mouth recommendations have the greatest level of trust beyond advertisements on TV, magazines, newspapers, billboards and radio. Social media can be a network of communication that is effective enough for candidates to convince them, because on social media it is possible to have two-way interactions. Candidates can explain and

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answer all questions from the public through social media. Social media users are critical group, however, if they already set their choice, they are not reluctant to share their views through their network. Traditionally, there is common axiom that in a ballot widely known 'one man is one vote', whereas on social media, digitally, 'one man can be multiple votes', because their expressions can affect the choices of others. Winning in battle on social media, means winning in the battle of public or voter perceptions and at the same time the battle of perceptions greatly determines the outcome of the choice in the ballot.

In the electoral politics context, voters are user of the various candidates offered. Because the relations between them are interrelated and intertwined, thus there is an effort to provide information, mobilization and influence from the participants to vote their candidates and gain the contestation in the 2018 West Java Governor Election with triumph. To reach that victory, political parties and success team have to circulate the information through new media such as; infographics, short videos, and other creative way to persuade voters to choose. The ability of social media to convey messages generate opinions and shape public perceptions is reasonably strong. To support the virtual work, coalitions of political parties are regularly equipped by social media teams that are engaged in cyberspace. Not only to frequently promote prospective programs and policies offered, social media is also useful to counteract black campaigns and negative campaigns that often appear to attack candidates for every political event.

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