

Contesting Reality: How Indonesia's New Media and the Elite Shape Our Political Choice

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Introduction: Media and Democracy

- Mass media has long been assumed to hold a special place in democracy.
 - The fourth estate: refers to the watchdog role of the press, one that is important to a functioning democracy.
 - Media as an open forum for debate and discussion
 - Media can promote democracy by among other things, educating voters, protecting human rights, promoting tolerance among various social groups, and ensuring that governments are transparent and accountable.
 - With accurate picture of political reality in the form of news, media can help voters make sound political judgments and decision
 - Etc ...

New Media and Democracy

- Do the digital platforms serve those democratic functions similar to traditional media?
- Does the abundance of information on the internet help provide an accurate picture of reality?
- Does this improve the Indonesian citizens' political decision-making?

ARE WE TALKING ABOUT POLITICAL REALITY,
MEDIA REALITY OR THE REAL REALITY?



Unpacking the Indonesian Digital Media



Legacy Media



Reality 1



"Muslim Media"



Reality 2



Social Media



Reality 3



Unmediated



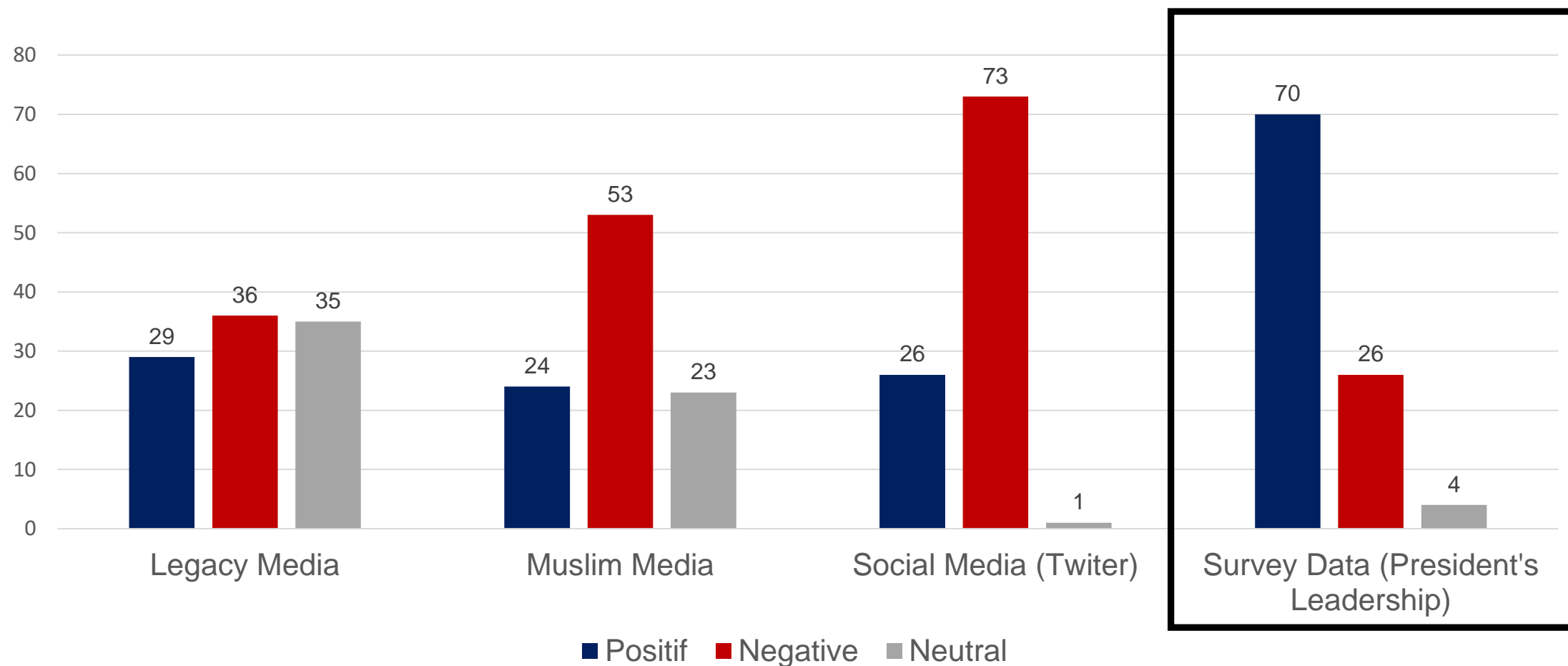
Reality 4

The Data

- 1) Digital data extracted from 3000 online news media and Twitter, using AI machine specifically designed for mapping the sentiment embedded in news and information. Period of data collection: July-September 2017.
- 2) Multiple survey data drawn from representatives samples. The size of samples vary from 1200-1500 respondents. Period of data collection: May-September 2017.
- 3) Media journalistic reports on political cyberwars

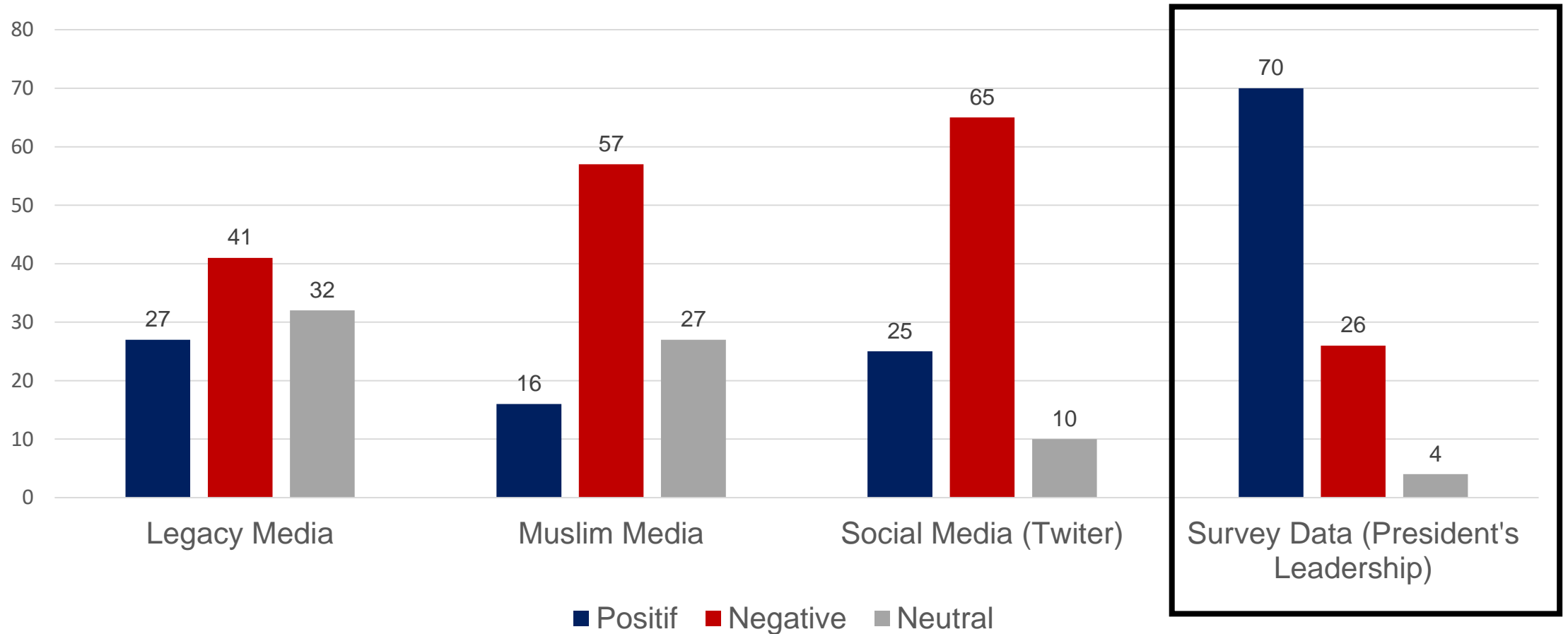
On Ulemas Criminalization:

Positive vs. negative sentiments toward the government across platforms



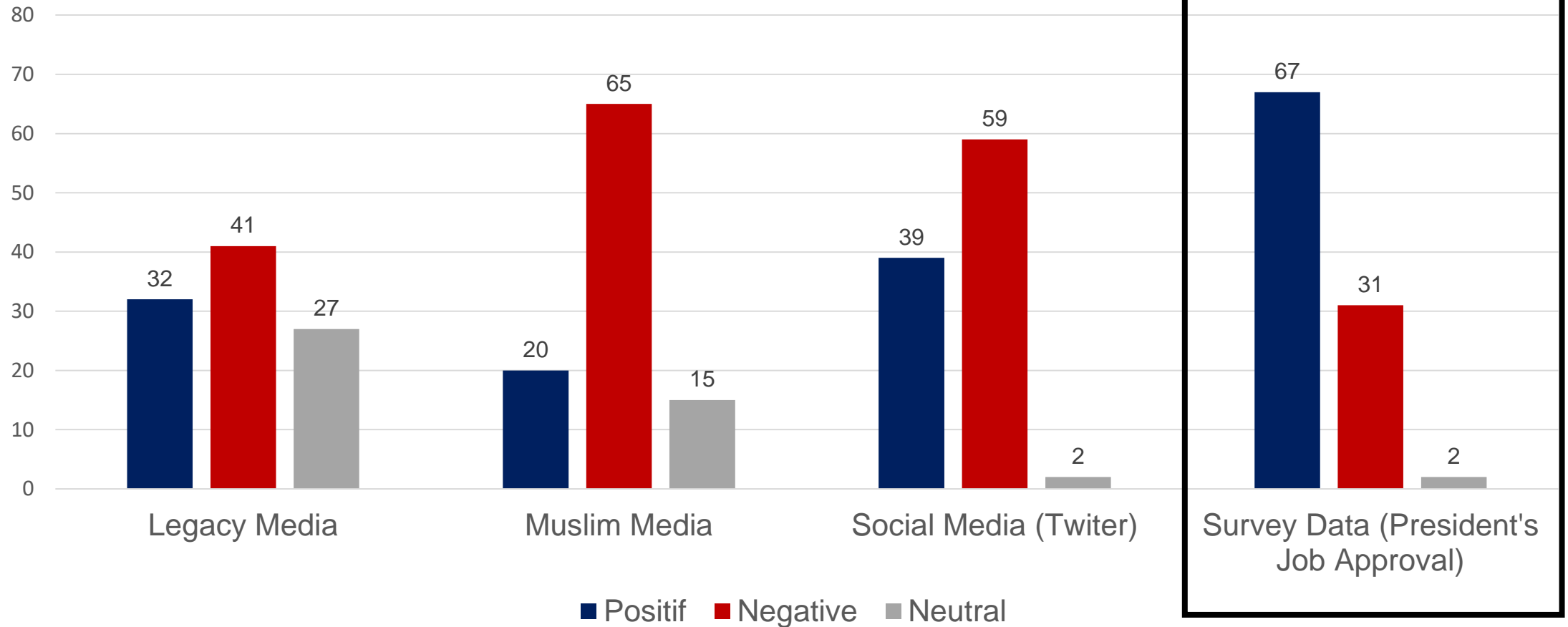
On Regulating Mass Organization:

Positive vs. negative sentiment toward the government across platforms



On Foreign Debt:

Positive vs. negative sentiment toward the government across platforms



Legacy media, Muslim media, and social media provide different accounts of reality. Which one will shape voters' perception and political preference in the next presidential election?

The Message: Claims & Evidence

The Talkshow: Siapa mau nobar film G30S PKI?



Kompas TV, 27 September 2018

Gatot Nurmantyo's Claims

- First, communists have succeeded to eliminate and modify school courses that have previously provided pupils a moral base for resisting communism in Indonesia.
- Second, the movie that gives “the standard account” of history was no longer mandatory.
- Third, he said, in the early 2000s there was an effort to revoke an Assembly Law of 1966 that bans communism and Marxism in Indonesia.
- All of these, according to him, were clear indications of the communist resurgence and conspiracy.



Nurmatyo's Claims Debunked ...

- Usman Hamid, a human right activist



- First, on the issue of education materials for pupils, it was a team under Juwono Sudarsono – then the Minister of Education and Culture– who did it. Sudarsono was not a communist.
- Second, on the annulment of the yearly rite of pupils' watching the G30S/PKI movie, Hamid said that the decision was made by the Minister of Information Yunus Yosfiah – a retired army lieutenant general who was not a communist either.
- Third, on the proposal of revoking the Assembly's Decision, it actually was proposed by Abdurrahman Wahid – then the president and used to be the chairman of the largest Islamic mass organization NU. He was not a communist either.
- In short, the evidence or the facts submitted by Hamid simply destroyed Nurmantyos' argument and debunked his claims.

Did Nurmantyo's claim disappear from public view because it is so weak and unsubstantiated?

It has still found many ways to reach the public ...

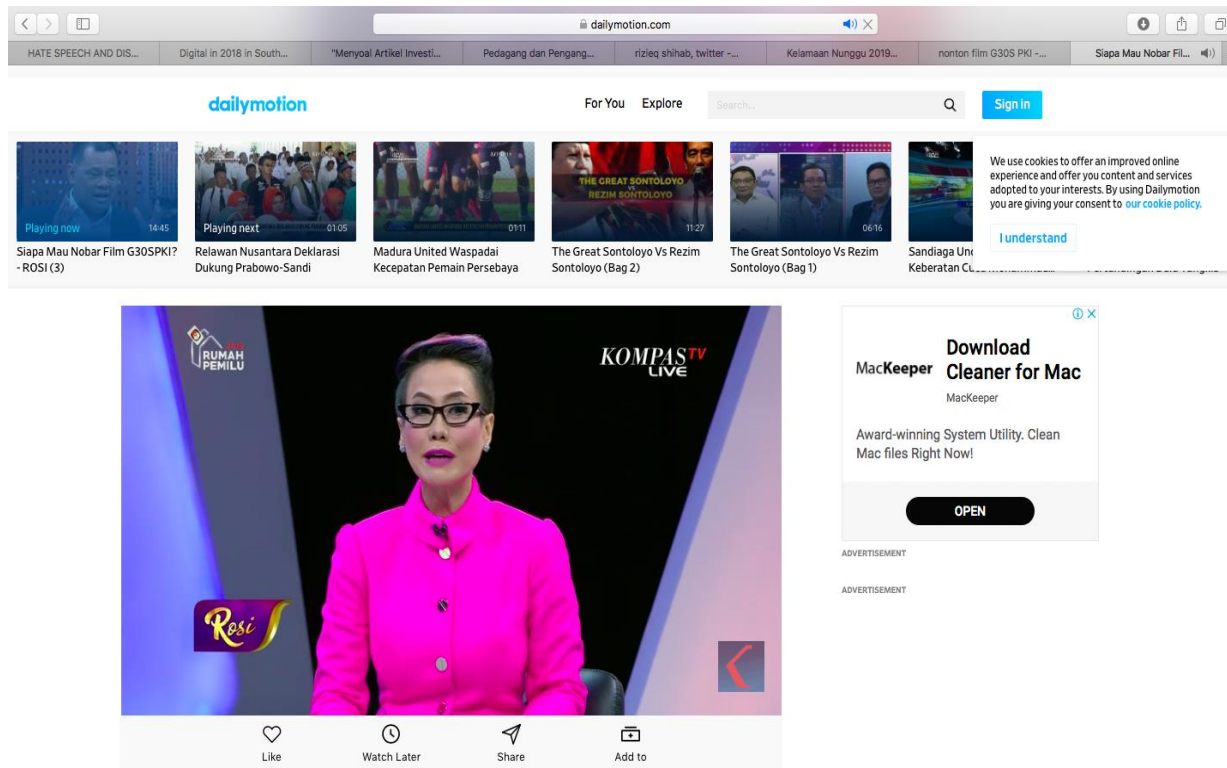


Legacy Media
29 September 2018

Digitally-born News Media

30 September 2018





News Aggregator

Twitter: @Nurmantyo_Gatot

HATE SPEECH AND DIS...

Digital in 2018 in South...

"Menyoal Artikel Investi...

Pedagang dan Pengang...

rizieq shihab, twitter - ...

Kelamaan Nunggu 2019...

nonton film G30S PKI - ...

Gatot Nurmantyo on Tw...

Home

About



Gatot Nurmantyo ✓

@Nurmantyo_Gatot

Ketua Umum PB Forki: 2014-2018 | Panglima TNI: 2015-2017 | #SatukanhatiuntukIndonesia | Instagram: @Nurmantyo_Gatot

Indonesia

facebook.com/GatotNurmantyo...

Joined January 2018



Gatot Nurmantyo ✓

@Nurmantyo_Gatot

Follow

Saya ditanya, "Apakah akan berhenti bicara tentang bahaya laten PKI?"

"Iya, tentu saya akan berhenti. Kapan saya akan berhenti?

Apabila tembakan salvo di telinga saya, saya sudah tidak mendengarnya lagi.. Untuk Negara dan Bangsa saya akan maju terus"



0:40 52.8K views

2:10 AM - 29 Sep 2018

2,458 Retweets 5,427 Likes

382

2.5K

5.4K

TI UNTUK

SIA

RMANTYO

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False Claims and political preference

- Despite their weaknesses, false claims may still be able to reach the public via multiple digital platforms. Therefore they have similar chances of coloring voters' perception of reality and their political preference.

The New Players in Cyber Wars

TOTAL RETWEET
TENAGA KERJA CINA: 27.345
PERIODE 19-27 DESEMBER 2016



@JOKOWI VS @NTICINA

TREN percakapan di media sosial tentang sentimen anti-Cina meningkat dalam sebulan terakhir. Mencapai puncaknya setelah Presiden Joko Widodo merespons bahwa jumlah pekerja Cina tak sampai 10 juta seperti disebut di media sosial, tapi hanya 21 ribu. Pemerintah terlihat terlambat merespons isu ini. Tanggapan serius baru disampaikan sebulan setelah informasinya berseliweran tak jelas.

NASKAH: AHMAD NURHASIM | SYAILENDRA | WAWANCARA



"BANYAK YANG BERSUARA
TENAGA KERJA DARI CINA MASUK
10 JUTA, 20 JUTA (ORANG). ITU
MENGHITUNGNYA KAPAN?"

Presiden Joko Widodo di Karawang
International Industrial City, Jawa Barat,
23 Desember 2016.

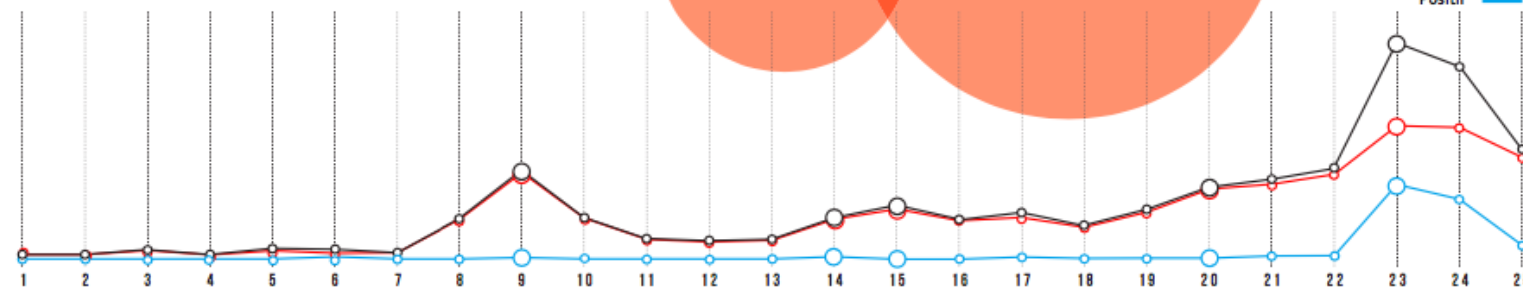


"NETIZEN UMAT ISLAM TIDAK
MENYEBARKAN BERITA BOHONG.
KAMI HANYA MEMBELA ISLAM
YANG TELAH DINISTA."

Muhammad Rizieq Syihab di Medan,
28 Desember 2016.

Jumlah percakapan
10.000
9.000
8.000
7.000
6.000
5.000
4.000
3.000
2.000
1.000
0

DESEMBER 2016
TOTAL PERCAKAPAN
TWITTER YANG
DIANALISIS: 60.936
SENTIMEN
NEGATIF: 44.546
POSITIF: 6.390



Presiden Joko Widodo mengesahkan Peraturan Pemerintah Nomor 59 Tahun 2016 tentang Organisasi Kemasyarakatan yang Didirikan oleh Warga Negara Asing. Peraturan ini memuat perizinan, personel, dan sanksi terkait dengan pendirian ormas oleh warga negara asing. Peraturan ini berlaku empat hari kemudian.

Akun Twitter @pribumibangkit(82.366 follower) me-retweet @RoninNewsID: "Panglima TNI: Ancaman Tiongkok Benar-benar Nyata". Berita ini pertama kali dimuat di suaranetizen.com pada 16 November dan dimuat lagi di bataraNews.com pada 29 November lalu. Dari penelusuran Tempo, kedua situs itu tidak mencantumkan penanggung jawab redaksi.

3.505 percakapan Akun @SyihabRizieq mengunggah poster terkait dengan warga negara Cina dan reklamasi Pulau G yang bisa mengundang jutaan pekerja dari Cina ke Jakarta.

Akun @SyihabRizieq menulis seruan mendata perusahaan-perusahaan yang mempekerjakan warga negara Cina. Dengan poster "Bahaya China Komunis", antara lain, akun ini menyebutkan mayoritas buruh Cina yang dikirim ke Indonesia berbadan tegap dan berperawakan militer serta warga Cina dipermudah jadi WNI melalui sistem online keimigrasian.

2.132 percakapan Intelijen.co.id menerbitkan "Ormas Asing Bebas Didirikan, Pengamat: Jokowi Biarkan Penjajahan di Indonesia?", yang mengupas Peraturan Pemerintah Nomor 59 Tahun 2016. Berita ini mengutip Muslim Arbi, yang menuding aturan itu sebagai payung hukum untuk melegalkan keberadaan ormas dari Cina di Indonesia yang kegiatan utamanya mata-mata atau bisnis ilegal.

Pernyataan beberapa tokoh, seperti anggota Komisi I DPR dari Partai Golkar, Bobby Rizaldi, dan Wakil Ketua DPR Fahri Hamzah di media *mainstream* terkait dengan tenaga kerja asing ilegal dari Cina di Indonesia, desakan mencabut kebijakan bebas visa bagi turis asing. Mereka meminta pemerintah menyajikan data yang akurat dan mengklarifikasi.

Tren percakapan
Negatif
Positif

8.680 percakapan Presiden Joko Widodo membantah rumor yang menyebutkan ada jutaan pekerja asal Cina yang masuk ke Indonesia. Padahal jumlah pekerja dari Negeri Tirai Bambu di negeri ini hanya 21 ribu.

@IWANFALS
64 RETWEET

@TRIBUNNEWS
53 RETWEET

@TRIWUL82
64 RETWEET

@KSPGOLD
54 RETWEET

@GERAK_KERAJAAN
70 RETWEET

@HALOJAKARTA
75 RETWEET

@KEMNAKERRI
132 RETWEET

@SETKABGOLD
157 RETWEET

@KOMPASCOM
321 RETWEET

@GHAZALISIL
53 RETWEET

@DETIKCOM
136 RETWEET

@KASKUS
69 RETWEET

@LIPUTANGDOTCOM
82 RETWEET

@VIVACOID
308 RETWEET

@TVONENEWS
564 RETWEET

@ZUMPIO
275 RETWEET

@DIDIENAZHAR
146 RETWEET

@PRIJANTORABBANI
620 RETWEET

@REPUBLICAONLINE
650 RETWEET

@YUDISSEJAHTERA
1.817 RETWEET

@POSTMETROINFO
492 RETWEET

@WARTAPOLITIK
446 RETWEET

@SPARDAXYZ
441 RETWEET

@ANDIARIEF_AA
316 RETWEET

The Old and New Actors

- In the digital world, empowered by their digital skills, the new political players have eclipsed the role of the traditional actors (i.e. political parties) in reaching the public voters and possibly will be molding their political preference.

The New Media & Indonesian Democracy

Conclusion

- Several legacy media continue to produce quality news and information. However, they have lost their monopoly and their special role as the sole agent of news and information producer.
- They have to compete with digitally-born media which have crowded the Indonesian digital landscape. On many occasions, they have lost in the battles to reach and persuade the citizens.
- These news platforms have flooded Indonesian digital public space with unverified claims and news. We used to see an era when we agree on facts but we differ in interpreting the facts or connecting the facts. But now, we see that facts and evidence are not as important as they used to be. As a result, different digital news platforms provide the citizens with different – and sometimes contradictory – pictures of reality.

Conclusion

- We have seen that the digital world and the social world are not connected. We do not know yet whether these two will connect as the legislative and presidential elections are approaching.
- If they do, as a section of the elite use them as a campaign tool, then the quality of voters' decision may be shaped by misleading news and information which means the quality of Indonesian democracy is on the decrease. It is the new media who has given Indonesian democracy a new face.

The future of our democracy?

		Digital and Social Worlds	
		Disconnected	Connected
Quality of News and Information	Bad	Scenario 1	Scenario 3
	Good	Scenario 2	Scenario 4