NEGATIVE CAMPAIGNS IN SOCIAL MEDIA : A CASE OF #UnInstallTempo IN TWITTER PLATFORM

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ABSTRACT

Polarization on social media as a remain of the presidential election contestation at 2019 is still felt its impact. The supporters of both sides are confined in an algorithmic enclave. When the cover of Tempo magazine was seen as criticizing of President Jokowi, his supporters on social media were campaigned to attack Tempo. They mobilized the masses through the hashtag #UnInstallTempo.

This emotional mobilization dropped the Tempo app's rating on the Google Play Store from 4.8 (scale 1-5) to 1.1 within 3 days. The Tempo attackers sought justification from fellow supporters without listening to Tempo's arguments. Finally, this condition actually gets a place in the eyes of citizens and Indonesian policy is not impossible nuanced mobocracy.

Keywords: Negative campaign, Tempo Magazine, Twitter.

INTRODUCTION

The impact remain of the Republic of Indonesia Presidential Election contestation are still exists. Polarization between supporters continues even to the point of being displayed and carried out by the mass media. Supporters in both camps always react to the news of the mainstream media. If it is considered attacking its leader, then its supporters simultaneously attack the mass media. There have been a number of mass media that were attacked by these political supporters. However, this study only examines the attack of citizens against Tempo with its campaign #UnInstallTempo. In this campaign, they, Jokowi's supporters, tried to boycott Tempo by attacking Tempo's economic interests, in this case the Tempo app on the Google Play Store. Attacks on iOS-based applications are not discussed in this study because there aren't as many iOS users on Android (Google Play Store). These supporters of Jokowi also invited other citizens not to read Tempo and not to trust reports submitted by Tempo.

This #UnInstallTempo movement makes the digital business world increasingly worried because citizens are able to degrade the digital reputation of a product or company. Previously, BukaLapak was also invaded by citizens related to the #UnInstallBukalapak campaign because it was considered that the founder of BukaLapak attacked the policies of the Jokowi government. Political polarization also always appears coloring national politics. In fact, for things that should not need to differ in view, it still raises the polarization.

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

Media Commodification

Commodification may arise from a range of social needs, including satisfying physical hunger and meeting or contradicting the status codes of certain social groups. In addition,

contrary to some interpretations, the use value is not limited to meeting survival needs but extends to a range of socially established uses. In short, the use value is also the result of social construction. (Akhmad, 2014).

Vincent Mosco explained commodification as an entry point to understand specific communication practices and institutions. In general there are three types of commodification in communication, namely, content commodification, public commodification, and content commodification. First, the commodification of content is when messages or communication content are treated as commodities, political economy tends to focus on the study of media content that is lacking in media audiences and the workforce involved in media production. This emphasis on the structure and content of media can be understood especially when viewed from the interests of global media companies and growth in the value of media content. (Mosco, 2009) The ideological hypothesis is visualized on the content of media capital and its relationship with the recipient. Media content that creates false awareness is considered as ideological content. Media content itself depends on the acceptance of the world in which ideology is reproduced and potentially challenged. Alternative media is the medium that challenges the capitalist media industry. The alternative media hypothesis is the organization and production of media whose purpose is to create important content that challenges capitalism. (Mosco C. F., 2013)

Polarization and Echo Chamber

The phenomenon of political and social polarization in Indonesia is common in various countries, which occur in cyberspace and in the real world. Communication experts give the term filter bubble, which is the bubbles formed by the interference of technology company algorithms, especially social media such as Facebook, Twitter, and Instagram. The phenomenon of filter bubble surfaced when internet activist Eli Pariser revealed, among others through the book The Filter Bubble: What the Internet is Hiding from You, which was launched in 2011. Pariser highlights the dominance of algorithms that direct internet users in accessing information following the relativity of content relevance based on machine readings on the data preferences and behavior of users themselves in the internet.

On behalf of personalized services for users, the algorithms behind social media and search engines tend to only offer information that suits the tastes, preferences, and / or "guesses" of the user's tendency to refer to data that has been recorded from user input and behavior. The phenomenon of a filter bubble is similar to the echo chamber, or echo chamber. It's just that, according to communication expert Robert Parry (2006), echo space is a general term to describe all the phenomena of polarization, not just related to algorithms. The echo chamber illustrates the phenomenon when trust is strengthened by communication and repetition in a closed system.

By being in the "echo chamber", people can find information that reinforces their existing views. This can increase social and political polarization and extremism. In an extreme "echo chamber", said Parry, an information provider will make a claim, which is then repeated, heard, and repeated by many people who think the same. Usually, often in excessive or distorted form until most people assume that some extreme variations of the story are true.

Algorithmic Enclave and Emotion Mobilization

Post-truth era (post-truth) makes citizens respond to information more on beliefs and emotional closeness, not based on factual considerations. This further makes hoaks and disinformations easily spread and creates strong polarization. Merlyna Lim (2017) explained, now we live in a society where irrational feelings are now more valued than information. Politicians prefer the strategy of mobilizing emotions rather than mobilizing knowledge with a

working program and delivering a good vision and mission. If Eli Pariser gives the term filter bubble, Lim gives the term algorithmic enclave.

The people involved in the conversation broke away in pockets of algorithm where they were put together because they hated the same thing. Algorithm pockets are formed when a group of individuals, driven by continuous interaction with the algorithm, seeks to form a shared online identity, to share with each other, defend their beliefs, and protect their resources from threats, both intrinsic and powerful. The algorithm itself does not determine the formation of these bags. It is not information that functions to shape and sharpen differences between bags, but rather how the information is shared, discussed, and clashed with regular opinions and beliefs between members in the bag. (Lim, 2017)

Mobocracy

If power is held by the whole people, not someone or some people is called democracy. In regards to political history, this type of power is a type of democratic power that is known to consist of two categories. The first category is direct democracy and representative democracy. While the mobocracy government system is a government organized and carried out by a mass or a group of people who do not understand the ins and outs of government. Mobocracy tends to bring government and state closer to anarchism and chaos. (Ibrahim, 2010).

Mobocracy is a democracy that is "too far" both in terms of those who express their opinions and those who do not like that opinion. In a democracy it is proper to respect and respect each other's opinions. The party that believes it should refrain from offending others with different opinions or beliefs. Exaggerated democracies are democracies that are not based on mutual respect in their views and beliefs.

RESEARCH METHODS

This research is a qualitative descriptive study. The qualitative approach aims to obtain complete information about the process of commodification of the audience in the call to uninstall tempo. Data collection techniques through interviews with the Chief Editor of Tempo, Wahyu Widyatmika, as well as conducting observations and documentation studies by collecting various data needed or collecting references and literature related to this research.

DISCUSSION

On September 16, 2019, tempo had a complicated problem after presenting a magazine edition titled "Promise Stay Promise" (16-22 September 2019) considered insulting the President of the Republic of Indonesia as a symbol of the country, by aligning the image of Joko Widodo with a long-nosed figure similar to Pinocchio. Tempo's courage became a boomerang for Tempo, when Jokowi's supporters made a bad branding by giving a bad rating on the Tempo app on the Play Store. This bad rating is accompanied by a review that is not wearing.

On Tempo's official page on the Play Store, you will find scathing comments such as: "Not neutral anymore ...", "Disappointed with your cover page. Sorry, "Just do install uninstall .. To give 1 * ... Shame of u tempo .." As a result, the Tempo app's rating on the Google Play Store immediately dropped to 2.4 so that it lags behind other media applications such as Detik (with a score of 4.4 on Play Store) and Kompas.com (4,5). Google, as the owner of the Play Store, as reported by Techcrunch last May, has its own rating count. Since the middle of this year, giving ratings takes precedence from new user reviews, not the whole review since the application was there. This makes the Tempo app's rating drop, as if it doesn't take into account the pre-review of the Jokowi cover case sticking out. (Zaenudin, 2019).

Google classifies bad ratings in three categories. First, bad content that is off-topic commentary or tends to spit hate. Second, there are fake reviews, which are each review that attempts to influence the application's position in ranking excessively, either by inflating the number of positive reviews or giving bad reviews so that the application has a good or bad rating. Third, there is an "incentivized review", a review that comes from the original user, but they have been offered money or rewards. (Zaenudin, 2019)

Responding to the cover picture of Tempo Magazine, September 16-22, 2019 entitled "Promise Stay Promise", Denny Siregar, writer and also one of the influencers from Joko Widodo's stronghold, on September 15, 2019 made a tweet. The Denny Siregar twit was considered the first tweet effect on the start of the campaign against Tempo.Furthermore, tweets from influencers and other citizens responded to each other by carrying the hashtag #UnInstallTempo. Prior to September 15, Tempo's app rating on the Google Play Store was 4.8 and then on September 16 it became 4 , 3.

Calls with hashtag #UnInstallTempo through social media, especially Twitter, have made Tempo rating on the Google Play Store continue to fall from 4.3 on September 16, 2019 to 1.1 on September 18, 2019 or only lasted 3 days. Tempo began to counter the issue by posting videos explaining the creative process of making the magazine cover. Tempo also responded to the attack with various publications in other mass media related to the explanation of the Pinocchio image. Not only that, Tempo also asked Tempo application users to give a proper rating to the Tempo application. As a result, Tempo's rating has begun to improve.

Until now, on January 21, 2020, Tempo is still affected by the #UnInstallTempo campaign and is currently rated at 2.0. In the Tirto.id report on 26 September 2019, the Tempo application itself disappeared from the Play Store. However, Handy Dharmawan, Head of IT of Tempo Media Group, stated last Friday that the disappearance of the Tempo application occurred because of technical problems.

Narration of #UnInstallTempo invitation

One of the narratives to attack Tempo was delivered by Denny Siregar through a Twitter account. Denny is a writer and influencer of supporters of Joko Widodo (Jokowi). Denny used the term "Tempo to insult Indonesian President Joko Widodo", then accompanied by the phrase "the most elegant resistance" to attract the emotions of citizens against Tempo.

There is also the KataKita account (@katakitatweet) which contains memes with the accusation that Tempo has been infiltrated by various interests. Jokowi's supporters responded in various ways, some used harsh words, trying to make logical arguments ranging from traditional oriental references to referring to journalistic ethical codes.

Account Notes KakiHati (@catatkakihati) wrote, "Do you remember @bukalapak? Who boastfully attacked Mr. Jokowi without facts and data? Given a one star ... had already fallen in the appstor and the googlestore, pen, finger, tongue were just as sharp ... wisely use it to attack Mr. Jokowi without facts and data? Don't use the mask of press freedom to insult the head of state! " "DESTROY THE TEMPO !!" write account @ repolusiyahooc1.

A citizen named Mukhtar PM with the account @mctarpm on September 15, 2019 said, "Thank God, I have lived and studied and worked in the West for a long time but I still deeply respect and love the ethics, customs and culture of the archipelago as a legacy that must be maintained. To embrace a democratic system is not must 100 percent abandon the ethics, customs and culture of the East. TEMPO should keep the TEMPO Doloe ethical and cultural legacy taught by the archipelago's ancestors. "

Hanung Mehendro was no less provocative to write, "Whose curiosity was TEMPO bought by? Who paid for it? What business was interrupted? Hmm ... everyone likes money and money makes you in power. corporates are created .. they are created because of the perspective of society ... "

The defense for Tempo was also carried out on the review page on the Google Play Store. Kemal wrote by giving a rating of 5, "From the beginning Tempo was a critical magazine, whatever the ruling should be like that to criticize, of course critical according to the boundaries of journalists, that's where I like it, have an attitude that is not influenced by anyone, because it is indeed harua like that balanced. "

Farid Aulia also gave a rating of 5, then commented, "Media who dare to oppose the authorities, reveal facts that do not dare to be displayed on the screen, because the media on the screen began to be abandoned by viewers, the way to stay afloat is to provide support to the authorities so that sponsors- sponsors from entrepreneurs to the media, not just the authorities. "

Tempo's Response

On September 21, 2019, the Editor in Chief of Tempo Magazine at the time, Arif Zulkifli, responded to the attack by the buzzers of Jokowi's supporters. Arif explained about Tempo's independence. According to him, a media might in practice slip to not be objective or difficult to be neutral, but overshadowing it all is independence whether his decision on the reporting policy is based on his own independence. Tempo has a very long history, from the very beginning Tempo had a very clear attitude which presented facts and truth. Over various periods of time, Tempo remained consistent in its criticism of the government and taking the position of opposition. Tempo with officials and speakers will not influence Tempo to criticize, which is often misunderstood, when Tempo criticizes A, Tempo is included in group B. Though it is not like that. Arif emphasized that the final determinant of Tempo's editorial policy was not editor in chief, owner, or main leader. But what was decisive was the outcome of a very democratic meeting. All 13 Tempo criteria are Tempo's editorial benchmarks and prioritize the public interest.

The new Editor in Chief of Tempo Magazine, Wahyu Widyatmika, explained that the Tempo uninstall campaign did not have much impact on Tempo customers because the one-star rating was not a permanent customer of Tempo, but rather a user who had just installed the Tempo application. Then after install, the user gives a one-star rating and re-install the application.

Wahyu explained that the Tempo uninstall campaign did not have a significant impact on the number of customers, but Tempo.co's branding simply dropped in the Google Play Store and became a separate report card for Tempo. The image improvement step taken by Tempo is by encouraging real social media accounts of Tempo service users to organically counter the issue by giving a five star rating. Until this research was made, January 22, 2020, Tempo's rating had not yet recovered, still at 2.0.

Why Are Citizens Easy to Mobilize?

The attack on the citizens of Tempo cannot be separated from the rest of the battle between Joko Widodo's supporters and Prabowo Subi's supporters. Both sides have been polarized at two different poles. Post-truth era (post-truth) makes citizens respond to information more on beliefs and emotional closeness, not based on factual considerations. This further makes hoaks and disinformation easily spread and increasingly creates strong polarization.

What citizens Jokowi supporters did in the #UnInstallTempo campaign is an emotion mobilization technique as proposed by Merlyna Lim (2017).

Lim said, we currently live in a society where irrational feelings are now more valued than information. Politicians prefer the strategy of mobilizing emotions rather than mobilizing knowledge with a working program and delivering a good vision and mission. If Eli Pariser gives the term filter bubble, Lim gives the term enclave or algorithmic pockets. The people involved in the conversation broke away in pockets of algorithm where they were put together because they hated the same thing.

In fact, platforms such as Facebook and Google create a sorting or filtering algorithm that greatly helps business owners to target the market for their products. However, when filtering and personalization takes place in the political world, the impact becomes complex and now raises new problems. People in one camp will continue to receive information from a similar timeline. That is why, the exposure of hatred spreads faster and has a wider reach because it is continuously found in the timeline of the supporters in one camp. With a narrative that is simple and tends to be emotional, without lengthy arguments, the invitation to #UnInstallTempo easily resonates and gets a place in one enclave, Jokowi's supporters.

Lim (2013) revealed that social media activism is more likely to succeed in mobilizing mass support when the narration is simple, related to low-risk actions and in accordance with dominant meta-narratives, such as nationalism and religiosity. This condition is reflected in the Tempo uninstall movement which has attracted the emotions of citizens since the two presidential elections.

Confirmation bias

In addition to emotional factors, the massive #UnInstallTempo campaign was also caused by the phenomenon of confirmation bias. According to Peter Wason (1960), confirmation bias is cognitive errors that people make when they only want to receive new information when confirming what they already believe. People who are trapped in confirmation bias tend to deliberately look for evidence that supports established beliefs and deliberately reject evidence that conflicts with that belief.

This confirmation bias is usually used in psychological literature, connotes looking for or interpreting evidence in a way that is based on existing beliefs, expectations, or hypotheses. Confirmation bias is sometimes partly due to people's tendency to gather information from only one hypothesis at a time and even to consider the possibility that only that hypothesis is true (or only the possibility that it is wrong) and not consider other possibilities simultaneously (Tweney, 1984; Tweney & Doherty, 1983 in Nickerson, 1998).

In the case of #UnInstallTempo, Jokowi's supporters did not want to know the reason for Tempo lowering the cover of Jokowi's picture magazine with the shadow of a Pinocchio's nose. Jokowi's supporters also did not want to accept other explanations that rating issues to the Google Play Store should be related to the reliability of the application on each cell phone, not related to the contents of the magazine. Doherty and Mynatt (1986) in Nickerson (1998) argued, people are basically limited to only thinking one thing at a time. This explains why people often choose nondiagnostics over diagnostic information in decision situations. In this context, people only want to choose an invitation to #UnInstallTempo instead of having to read a logical explanation that is not from their side.

#UnInstallTempo impact

This attack on tempo makes the Tempo application long-lasting. The movement of the Tempo app's rating on the Google Play Store can be seen in the graph below. It appears that up to the time this study was made, Tuesday (1/21/2020), Tempo's rating had not yet recovered. Still in the range of 2.0 which is a bad category rating for an application.

The impact of the #UnInstallTempo campaign has also increasingly made short ways of mobilizing the masses to achieve political interests find their place rather than having to mobilize knowledge or debate. In fact, their massive actions can threaten the ways of democracy and tend to choose the ways of mobility, which is a group of people who try to control a policy and dominate the discourse. In the context of this attack on Tempo magazine, citizens supporting Jokowi tried to control and subdue Tempo by dropping the rating of the Tempo application. The goal is that Tempo's editorial policy is afraid and submissive to their groups. Ibrahim (2010) explained that the way of mobility tends to bring government and state close to anarchism and chaos.

CONCLUSION

From the discussion above, it is important that there needs to be an intermediary who is actively campaigning and reminding that the ways of violence in the world of social media can make the democratic climate increasingly down and even tend to mobility. A group of people will tend to try to appear to lead and dominate public policies and discourse. With the trap of confirmation bias, the situation becomes increasingly difficult to control because the attacking camp tends to only seek justification from the arguments in support of the group, without listening to the arguments of other groups.

In the end, intergroup enclaves are increasingly still formed. They make their own caves, entered in the trap echo chamber (echo chamber) that makes them more comfortable with their own groups without listening to the voices of other groups. The more often their group plays agitation, the stronger the echo chamber is formed. It is feared that many academics and observers of social and political issues, if citizens are still far from digital literacy, political and social polarization will continue even after the presidential election is over. Massive digital literacy is needed to campaign that the ways of violence in the world of social media such as #UnInstallTempo are ways that are not recommended in democratic life. Democracy in cyberspace requires useful content that leads to healthier dialogue and mutual respect and listening to each other.

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