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## Social Media and the Emerging of People's Participation into the Political and Democratic Process of Indonesia: The Case of Act for Regional Leaders Election

**ABSTRACT:** This article describes on the people's criticism participation through social media to eject the UU PILKADA (Undang-Undang Pemilihan Langsung Kepala Daerah or Act for Regional Leaders Election) in Indonesia, which has been changed the electoral system from "direct" by people to "indirect" by the DPR (Dewan Perwakilan Rakyat or People's Representative Council); and considered as a violent to their rights, sovereignty, and duties in politics and democratic processes. By using a qualitative content analysis, this study shows that social media has important roles for building of new people's participatory cultures; and effective for defending and performing of their rights and duties in political and democratic processes in Indonesia. Although this study not elaborates a special relationship between social media and citizenship education, it may be enlarged circuit for people to express an "ethics political culture" than a "streets political culture"; and employed as a powerful platform for those to construct a citizenship culture and identity within the context of citizenship education. So, it is very important for widening student's horizons of citizenship education, and very meaningful for a student in building democratic attitudes. In other words, social media can expand possibilities for citizenship education to bring a classroom to life, no longer limited by four walls.

**KEY WORDS:** Social Media; People's Participation; Political and Democratic Process; Elections in Indonesia.

### INTRODUCTION

During the "months of politics", on June – October 2014, the dynamics of Indonesian politics and democracies were very frenzy with a number of important national political agendas loaded with competitions. The first competition begins from the Presidential Election, a democratic celebration and a

political excitement of the people for every five years. Unlike previously, this time, the Presidential Election was full competitions seemed have been "divided" of Indonesian people into two polarities of great powers, that were the KMP (*Koalisi Merah Putih* or White-Red Coalition) was a coalition of five parties supporting the candidates of

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**Suggested Citation:** Farisi, Mohammad Imam. (2019). "Social Media and the Emerging of People's Participation into the Political and Democratic Process of Indonesia: The Case of Act for Regional Leaders Election" in *TAWARIKH: Journal of Historical Studies*, Volume 11(1), October, pp.43-64. Bandung, Indonesia: Minda Masagi Press owned by ASPENSI, with ISSN 2085-0980 (print) and ISSN 2685-2284 (online).

**Article Timeline:** Accepted (June 22, 2019); Revised (August 24, 2019); and Published (October 30, 2019).

Prabowo-Hatta; and KIH (*Koalisi Indonesia Hebat* or Great Indonesian Coalition), a coalition of four parties supporting the candidates of Jokowi-Jusuf Kalla (Aspinall & Mietzner, 2014; Mietzner, 2014; Thatcher & Kapoor, 2014; Heriyanto, 2018; and Bland, 2019).

After Jokowi-Jusuf Kalla of KIH declared by the KPU (*Komisi Pemilihan Umum* or General Election Commission) as the winners, fierce competitions between two coalitions were not receded, even more heat. Now, the competitions' arena has moved to the DPR (*Dewan Perwakilan Rakyat* or People's Representative Council); the MPR (*Majelis Permusyawaratan Rakyat* or People's Consultative Assembly); and the DPD (*Dewan Perwakilan Daerah* or Regional Representative Council) related with the changes the Act of MPR, DPR, DPRD (*Dewan Perwakilan Rakyat Daerah* or Regional People's Representative Councils), and DPD, known as UU MD3 (*Undang-Undang tentang MPR, DPR, DPD, dan DPRD*) and the UU PILKADA (*Undang-Undang Pemilihan Langsung Kepala Daerah* or Act for Regional Leaders Election). Competitions are addressed on the political choices between "direct" or "indirect" electoral system of the Regional Leaders, and struggling to get the position of MPR/DPR leaders (Thatcher & Kapoor, 2014; Andres, 2016; and Sukmana, 2018).

Very interesting to be studied during the months of politics is the fierce competitions not only happening at the level of party elites, but also spreading to the level of grassroots, involve their interest, mind, even emotions deepen. In the history of politics and democracy in Indonesia, this is a new and the first phenomena; and an important momentum for the emerging of people's criticism participation within a political and democratic process in Indonesia that expressed through social media, such as Facebook, Twitter, YouTube, or Path.

Recently, studies of the use of social media within the context of people's participatory in politics and democratic processes were carried out. For example, W. Zhang *et al.* (2010)'s study, and other scholars, focused on *the influence of social networking to civic political attitudes and behaviors based on*

*demographic variables* (Zhang *et al.*, 2010); *their influence to encourage civic engagement* (Bennett, Wells & Freelon, 2011; and Freelon, Wells & Bennett, 2013); *their role to produce people's participatory more democratic in the electoral campaign in post transitional countries* (Myzeqari, 2013); *people's participation dynamics and collective action within European digital rights campaigning* (Breindl, 2012); *social change and strengthen democracy* (Harlow, 2012); or *to positive force for democratization* (Best & Wade, 2009).

The citizens and social movements from across the globe studied by D. Boyd (2014), and other scholars, have reported of networked teens' engagement of socio-economic and ethnic communities. All studies conclude that social media has created an alternative people sphere, opening dialogue, safe, global, and digital spaces that promote people discourse and participation, both of which are foundational for democracy (Boyd, 2014; Swist *et al.*, 2015; and Masip, Ruiz-Caballero & Suau, 2019).

This article describes on the people's criticism participation through social media to eject the UU PILKADA, which has been changed from "direct election by people" to "indirect election by the DPR". Through this will be examined the roles of social media for: (1) emerging new people's participatory cultures that challenge traditional understandings of citizenship and democracy; and (2) defending and performing the people's rights and duties in politics and democracy processes.

Data consists of, firstly, netizen's tweets through hastags: *#ShameOnYouSBY*; *#ShamedByYou*; *#ShamedByYouAgainSBY*; and *#TerimaKasihSBY* addressed to the President SBY (Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono) and his party, PD (*Partai Demokrat* or Democratic Party) in handling the change of UU PILKADA; secondly, netizen's responses to five video streams were collected from <https://plus.google.com/+SBYudhoyono/posts> during period September 28 to Oktober 3, 2014, and contained the political agendas and actions of SBY to reject of UU PILKADA; and thirdly, SBY's tweets were collected from *@SBYudhoyono* account during

period September 26 to October 7, 2014, and contained of his responses to netizen's criticism.<sup>1</sup>

Data, then, analyzed using a qualitative content analysis technique (Zhang & Wildemuth, 2009; Stemler, 2012; and Mayring, 2014) based on "reflective-interpretive documentations", such as "written reflective exercises and notes"; and "interpretive memos" (Burton *al. eds.*, 2009; Zhang & Wildemuth, 2009; and Giles, 2010).

## FINDINGS AND DISCUSSION

**Emerging People's Participation in Social Media.** Social media, such as Facebook, Twitter, MySpace, Path, YouTube, and the like, began to be used in Indonesia since the first decade of the 2000s. According to data from 2014, the largest social media used are Facebook (69 million or 27% users) and Twitter (more than 30 million or 12% users). These realities are placed Indonesia in the first rank in Asia, or the fifth rank after the USA (United States of America), Brazil, Japan, and the UK (United Kingdom). Therefore, the Internet Survey Agency Brand24, at <http://brand24.co.id>, stated that Indonesia as a "capital of social media in the world" (*cf* Albarran, 2010; Lestari, 2014; and Noonan & Piatt, 2014).

At the beginning, social media only used to share personal information and experiences or build social relations between users. Since the Election of Jakarta Governor, in 2012, it was massively used by people who participate actively to express of thinking, attitudes, and actions for every political and democratic process occurred. Social media accounts are growing and developing as an option and a vehicle for people to gain political contents and build networks of people's political power (Haryanto, 2014; Husein, 2015; and Syahputra, 2019).

During Election of Indonesian President, on July-August 2014, the use of social media,

especially Facebook and Twitter, increased significantly. Each candidate of the President/ Vice President and their campaign teams or volunteers compete to create accounts, such as Prabowo Substation, Prabowo Volunteers, and Prabowo Comrade to support Prabowo Subianto; and Jokowi for President, National Secretary of Women Supporting Jokowi, Jokowi Comrade, and Jokowi Goes to Ground (*Jokowi Blusukan*) to support Joko Widodo (Haryanto, 2014; Husein, 2015; and Gunia, 2019).

The accounts used to promote visions, missions, programs, and activities of each candidate, including creative, negative, even black campaigns (Adhi, 2014; and Schonhardt, 2014). A survey agency record, at that time, there are 5,977,879 conversations and 1,592,323 netizens discuss actively about it. Therefore, social media data are also used as an indicator to predict who will the winner in the contestation of the Presidential Election (Lestari 2014; and Gunia, 2019).

In addition, the use of social media is also expected to increase people political literacy and "swing voters" participation, in particular, from the beginner and young voters (age 18-34 years); and reduce the number of white voters—not use their right to vote—are very high, about 8-40%, since the 1955 Election. This is very important, because if the amounts are more significant and not managed by governmental performance with an exemplary attitude and behavior of dignity, it would be a potential threat to the democratization process, and can paralyze democracy itself (*cf* Lestari 2014; Mietzner, 2014; and Thorsen, Jackson & Lilleker eds., 2017).<sup>2</sup>

One thing that is very interesting to be studied about the phenomenon of social media during the months of politics is the emergence of hastag (#) with political topics that since it is also become one of important issues in the news, beyond entertainment, social or humanitarian topics. Hashtags

<sup>1</sup>See, for example, "Be a Trending Topic, #ShamedByYou Replaced by #ShamedByYouAgainSBY" in [www.tribunnews.com](http://www.tribunnews.com), on September 29, 2014. Available online also at: <http://www.tribunnews.com/nasional/2014/09/29/menjadi-trending-topik-shamedbyyou-berganti-shamedbyyouagainshy> [accessed in Surabaya, East Java, Indonesia: September 19, 2016].

<sup>2</sup>See also, for example, "White Voters" in *Wikipedia*. Available online also at: [http://id.wikipedia.org/wiki/Golongan\\_putih](http://id.wikipedia.org/wiki/Golongan_putih) [accessed in Surabaya, East Java, Indonesia: April 9, 2014]; and News on "2014 Indonesian Legislative Election" in *Wikiwand*, on 9<sup>th</sup> April 2014. Available online also at: [https://www.wikiwand.com/en/2014\\_Indonesian\\_legislative\\_election](https://www.wikiwand.com/en/2014_Indonesian_legislative_election) [accessed in Surabaya, East Java, Indonesia: April 21, 2018].

like #akhirnyamemilihjokowi related to the President Election; #saveceupopong related to riots at the inauguration of DPR (*Dewan Perwakilan Rakyat* or People's Representative Council)'s members as well as at the election of Chairman of DPR for period 2014-2019; and #ShameOnYouSBY, #ShamedByYou, #ShamedByYouAgainSBY or #TerimaKasihSBY related to the change of UU PILKADA (*Undang-Undang Pemilihan Langsung Kepala Daerah* or Act for Regional Leaders Election), has become a *wwtt* (world wide trending topic). This suggests that the hastag(s) not only used as a complement to the issues are discussed, but it also used as a new symbol and strategy for people in the struggle of politics and democracy (Melati, 2014; Johansson, 2016; Irawanto, 2019; and *ibidem* with footnote 1).

**UU PILKADA: Trigger of the People's Criticism Participation.** The 1945 Constitution of the Republic of Indonesia, or UUD (*Undang-Undang Dasar*) 1945, suggested that "Sovereignty is in the people's hand and implemented according to the Constitution" (art.1, para.2). One of the implementations of these is the right and authority of the people to elect "democratically" the Regional Leaders: Governor, Regent, Mayor, and the Vices (art.18, para.4). In Act No.32/2004; Act No.22/2007, and Act No.15/2011, word "democratic" interpreted as "directly chosen by the people" based on "the principles of direct election" (Setneg RI, 2004 and 2011; Stockmann, 2007; and Darmono, 2008).

However, these regulations have been amended by DPR (*Dewan Perwakilan Rakyat* or People's Representative Council) through Act No.22/2014 about Regional Leaders Election or UU PILKADA (*Undang-Undang Pemilihan Langsung Kepala Daerah*) and Act No.23/2014 about Regional Governments Act or UU PEMDA (*Undang-Undang Pemerintah Daerah*), in which the Regional Leaders not again directly elected by the people, but indirectly elected by the Regional People's Representative Councils or DPRD (*Dewan Perwakilan Rakyat Daerah*). An electoral system implemented during 50 years, since the Old Order government of 1955 until early period of the "Reformation Order" of 2004

(Setneg RI, 2014a and 2014b; Hutapea, 2015; and Ulum, 2018).

During SBY (Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono)'s government, it has declared that incompatible with the development of the state, political subdivision, and the regional autonomy needs, based on the Act No.32/2004. At the last times of the SBY's government, it has also changed again to the indirect electoral system (Setneg RI, 2004; Tahyar, 2012; and Ulum, 2018).

These changes have become a main trigger for the emerging of people's critical participation, and open conflicts in social media are fierce and massive against the President SBY and the DPR/DPRD. This is the first phenomenon in the history of politics and democracy in Indonesia; and in this context and background the study on the people's critical participation is placed. Following is the discussions of the study.

**Hastag: Symbol of People's Criticism Participation.** Symbols used by people to express of their critical participation or struggles are the hastags, such as: #ShameOnYouSBY, #ShamedByYou, and #ShamedByYouAgainSBY. All hastags have initial "SBY" (Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono) and used orderly. The #ShameOnYouSBY introduced, firstly, by @titagloria on September 26, 2014, at 2:44 AM (*Ante Meridiem*), shortly after Act No.22/2014 be appointed by the DPR (*Dewan Perwakilan Rakyat* or People's Representative Council) at 1:40 AM.<sup>3</sup>

Through the tweet, @titagloria expresses her anxieties, fatigues, and griefs on phenomena that happened in the DPR during discussions on the Draft of UU PILKADA (*Undang-Undang Pemilihan Langsung Kepala Daerah* or Act for Regional Leaders Election). She hopes also netizens can share opinions and fulfill obligations actively and critically to reject indirect election of the Regional Leaders by DPRD (*Dewan Perwakilan Rakyat Daerah* or Regional People's Representative Councils). She considers this all caused by SBY. According to her, SBY is a person who are

<sup>3</sup>See, for example, the Hastags of #ShameOnYouSBY; #ShamedByYou; and #ShamedByYouAgainSBY, on September 26, 2014; and Tweeter of @titagloria, on September 26, 2014, at 2:44 AM [*Ante Meridiem*].

very thirsty for popularity, happy to make a sensation, and the killer of democracy. In the end of tweet, she wrote #ShameOnYouSBY and #DemocracyDied on the picture of a red-white national flag to mark that, at this time, “Indonesian Democracy is Dead”. This hashtag wwtt (world wide trending topic) until September 28, 2014, at 06:40 AM with 336,530 tweets.<sup>4</sup>

On September 27<sup>th</sup> night, the first hashtag, #ShameOnYouSBY, was lost/deleted from wwtt and replaced by second hashtag, #ShamedByYou, which is, firstly, introduced by @abdillamalig and @jonathanend, on 27<sup>th</sup> September 2014, at 10:37 AM. He states, “*Soeharto Berwajah Yudhoyono*” (Suharto who has the face of Yudhoyono), which also contains the initials “SBY”. This hashtag popular at 22:28 PM, after @kurawa posts a tweet that reminds netizens to look more closely at the initials SBY, so it “could be banned”. This hashtag became the wwtt, on 28<sup>th</sup> September 2014, at 06:40 AM, with 40,025 tweets; and increase until 182,772 tweets with average 4,500-7,500 tweets/hour, as cited also by www.tribunnews.com, an online newspaper based in Jakarta.<sup>5</sup>

Second hashtag is also missing from the wwtt list, on 28<sup>th</sup> September 2014, at 10:27 night, after surviving 22 hours; and substituted by third hashtag, #ShamedByYouAgainSBY, introduced by @BertoTukan, on 28<sup>th</sup> September 2014, at 10:37 AM. He uses the cynicism words and painting showing SBY as a person “who like out of crocodile tears”. This hashtag became the wwtt with over 25 thousand tweets on 29<sup>th</sup> September 2014, at 7:27 AM, and predicted will get more than 300,000 tweets.<sup>6</sup>

Some observers consider this hashtag in the early time operated by “bot”, a software

application that runs automated tasks over the Internet. However, this is disputed by netizens, even they ensure hashtag #ShamedByYouAgainSBY rose to fifth rank of wwtt not on the robot, but on the people’s fingers and the hearts themselves (Haryanto, 2014; Mietzner, 2014; and Syahputra, 2019).

The appearance of three hashtags shown a strongest indication that people will not be silent for giving critics of the political process occurring until SBY rejects of UU PILKADA. The uses of three hashtags are intentional addressed and as a symbol of people’s criticism and disappointment over the SBY’s performance in handling UU PILKADA, and a symbol of the people’s struggle to restore their democratic rights and sovereignty through the direct election which “has been deprived” by the politicians (*cf* Carr, 2012; Sukmana, 2018; and Sulistyanto, 2018).

In fact, President SBY has claimed as a President who was most bullied in political history of Indonesia. The netizens felt “shame on” or “shamed by” SBY, because he considered as the cause of “accident” of democracy and people’s sovereignty. In their perception, SBY is the President and Head of State who do not consistent to maintain and continue of direct elections as the implementation of democracy and people’s sovereignty (Lestari, 2014; Thatcher & Kapoor, 2014; Johansson, 2016; and *ibidem* with footnote 5).

Netizens said, Election of the Regional Leaders based on direct principles by people (Act No.32/2004), which has replaced by the representativeness principles by DPRD (Act No.22/2014), is a contradict or violate to the principles of democracy and people’s sovereignty acknowledged by the UUD (*Undang-Undang Dasar* or Constitution) 1945. This all are SBY failure and falsehood, which had done many times. According to the records, the same hashtag, firstly, used by netizen on 17<sup>th</sup> July 2009, in response to failure and falsehood of SBY, when he states that the bombing tragedy of the J.W. Marriott and Ritz-Carlton hotels is the terror act to thwart the announcement of the results of President Election and Inauguration of SBY as the President for the second period (Setneg

<sup>4</sup>Tweeter of @titagloria, on September 28, 2014, at at 06:40 AM [*Ante Meridiem*].

<sup>5</sup>See again, for example, “Be a Trending Topic, #ShamedByYou Replaced by #ShamedByYouAgainSBY” in www.tribunnews.com, on September 29, 2014. Available online also at: <http://www.tribunnews.com/nasional/2014/09/29/menjadi-trending-topik-shamedbyyou-berganti-shamedbyyouagainby> [accessed in Surabaya, East Java, Indonesia: September 19, 2016]; and the Tweeters of @abdillamalig and @jonathanend, on 27<sup>th</sup> September 2014, at 10:37 AM [*Ante Meridiem*].

<sup>6</sup>Tweeter of @BertoTukan, on 28<sup>th</sup> September 2014, at 10:37 AM [*Ante Meridiem*].

RI, 2004 and 2014a; Lestari, 2014; Thatcher & Kapoor, 2014; Johansson, 2016; and *ibidem* with footnote 5).

This hashtag was used by netizens in the response to failure and falsehood of SBY, when he stated in his Presidential Speech on 17<sup>th</sup> August 2010, to handle of religious conflicts and violence in Indonesia by maintaining diversity of freedom and harmony in godly live. Finally, it was used by netizens in the response to failure and falsehood of SBY, when he stated in his Presidential Speech, on 16<sup>th</sup> August 2011, to handle a murder case in Papua "by the hearth" (Paramita, 2014; and *ibidem* with footnote 4). Netizens consider all is a big falsehood of SBY.

Furthermore, netizens assume the change of the electoral system from direct by to be indirect by DPRD is a failure of SBY, and he called is the mastermind behind the democracy disaster's drama. In their arguments, there are at least two reasons "Why SBY is Guilty", formal-legal and politics (Lestari, 2014; Thatcher & Kapoor, 2014; Johansson, 2016; and *ibidem* with footnote 5).

Firstly, *Legal Formal Reason*. UUD (*Undang-Undang Dasar* or Constitution) 1945, art.20 and para.2, are given a constitutional right to SBY as the President delegates and assigns to the MENDAGRI (*Menteri Dalam Negeri* or Minister of Internal Affairs) discuss or pull back and approve or not approve together with the DPR on any Draft Act. It is based on Act No.12/2011, art.69-70 (Setneg RI, 2011; Lestari, 2014; Thatcher & Kapoor, 2014; Johansson, 2016; and *ibidem* with footnote 5).

Netizens ask, why SBY does not delegate and assign to the Minister to pull backward and/or not approve of the Draft of UU PILKADA (*Undang-Undang Pemilihan Langsung Kepala Daerah* or Act for Regional Leaders Election) during discussion and/or voting? As if this SBY done, the Draft of UU PILKADA with "indirect system" will never be appointed by DPR (*Dewan Perwakilan Rakyat* or People's Representative Council), and it cannot be raised again to DPR in the next sessions. However, a Minister is impossible to pull backward or not approve without

SBY instruction. Even, netizens state that approval on indirect election is only used by him for verification on the correctness of his Doctoral Dissertation conclusion that the direct election has a significant influence on corruption of the Regional Leaders. He considered inconsistent for maintaining and continuing the direct electoral system, criticized as the killers of people's sovereignty, and using the national destiny as a dissertation (Lestari, 2014; Thatcher & Kapoor, 2014; Johansson, 2016; and *ibidem* with footnote 5).

Secondly, *Politics Reason*. The PD (*Partai Demokrat* or Democratic Party) – a party founded by SBY, and he is also a General Chairman and Chairman of Trustees Board – actually can fail of Draft of UU PILKADA with indirect election, if they do not walk-out when voting conducted. They can be joined with the KIH (*Koalisi Indonesia Hebat* or Great Indonesian Coalition) to support the direct election option. Statistically, PD has 129 votes and KIH has 135 votes. If both parties joined, they will have of 264 (53%) votes, while the KMP (*Koalisi Merah Putih* or White-Red Coalition) has only 226 (47%) votes. However, because PD walk-out, the KMP won with 226 (62.60%) votes over the KIH with 135 (37.49%) votes; so, finally, the DPR legitimizes Draft of UU PILKADA as the Act No.22/2014; and establish the Regional Leaders are elected indirectly by DPRD (Lestari, 2014; Thatcher & Kapoor, 2014; Johansson, 2016; and *ibidem* with footnote 5).

This walk-out action of PD is very regrettable by netizens, and it all considered as SBY's failure and falsehood. SBY is failure and falsehood if as a Chairman of Trustees Board, a General Chairman, and the father of the Secretary-General of the PD cannot not control the party and can only look for scapegoats. Netizens belief that walk-out action of the PD from the DPR is on the SBY's instruction. Netizens also belief SBY committed the political scenarios and agreements for seat-sharing between PD and KMP in the DPR/MPR (*Majelis Permusyawaratan Rakyat* or People's Consultative Assembly). Next times, their

presume seem to be true, after a document contains an agreement between KMP and PD for sharing positions founded and uploaded into Twitter (Lestari, 2014; Thatcher & Kapoor, 2014; Johansson, 2016; and *ibidem* with footnote 5).

Within the document declared, that in the case of Prabowo-Hatta win in the President contestation, KMP agreed to support PD to get Chairman of MPR, and the other leader positions are determined proportionally, including for Chairman of DPD (*Dewan Perwakilan Daerah* or Regional Representative Council). These transactional politics harshly criticized by netizens and considered as SBY's failure and falsehood. Within tweets, they state that SBY and Ibas (Secretary-General of PD) are the mastermind behind the indirect election by DPRD (*Dewan Perwakilan Rakyat Daerah* or Regional People's Representative Council), and they walk-out because obtain rewards as Vice Chairman of DPR and Chairman of MPR (Lestari, 2014; Thatcher & Kapoor, 2014; Johansson, 2016; and *ibidem* with footnote 5).

**UU PILKADA: A Symbol of "the Death of Democracy in Indonesia"**: The UU PILKADA (*Undang-Undang Pemilihan Langsung Kepala Daerah* or Act for Regional Leaders Election), which has change an electoral system, be considered by the netizens as a step backwards in the development of democracy; and breaking/rob/eliminate the people's sovereignty and democratic principles: from the people, by the people and for the people. Therefore, people's criticism through social media to reject it is a symbol of the people's struggles to restore their democratic rights and sovereignty, which have been lost/stolen/breached through indirect election by the DPRD (*Dewan Perwakilan Rakyat Daerah* or Regional People's Representative Council). For netizen, UU PILKADA is depriving of the people's political right (Tahyar, 2012; Husein, 2015; and Hanafi, 2016).

Within netizen's perception, PILKADA is a matter of democracy and sovereignty of the people, in which they have the right and sovereign to elect directly of Regional Leaders who will lead the people in their Districts. Direct election is where the people

choose and recognize by themselves who the candidate leader, not represented by DPRD. Netizens, further, emphasized that there is no one/any institution has the right to represent for the people. It is a people's right to determine who will be their leaders and cannot be represented by anyone, whatever the reasons (Samadhi, 2010; Hutapea, 2015; and Hanafi, 2016).

Therefore, they consider the indirect election is a betrayal of the people's constitutional rights, of Indonesia as a democratic state, and of the people, by the people, and for the people. For those, they will not be silent to struggle and restore people's rights and sovereignty fully. The netizens deeply regretted that this change occurred in the last moments of SBY (Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono) as the President. For netizens, this phenomenon is a bad ending and an ironic. SBY is, firstly, who creates of direct democracy, but now, himself was castrated. Then, they create a symbolic comparison about the downfall of the Presidents between SBY with previous, such as Soekarno by the Army; Soeharto by the People; Abdurahman Wahid (Gus Dur) by the Politician; and Megawati Soekarnoputri by the Voters. Even, netizens regard the end of the SBY reign as a symbol of the death and the end of democracy in Indonesia; and declare "the September 25, 2014 as the Death Day of Indonesian Democracy" (Samadhi, 2010; Hutapea, 2015; and Hanafi, 2016).<sup>7</sup>

Netizen's criticism and disappointment expressed by using words and pictures with cynicism short comments and memes, such as "*Draft of UU PILKADA is identical with the death of democracy, a symbol of RIP for Indonesian democracy, mourn the death of democracy in Indonesia*".<sup>8</sup> SBY also given the appellations, such as: "*Father of People's Sovereignty Pirates*"; "*Mr. Anti-Democracy*"; "*Mr. Indonesian Indirect Election*"; "*The Cutter of Indonesian People's Tongue*"; "*Actors of Democratic Mutilation*"; and "*Snatcher of*

<sup>7</sup>See also the Tweeters of @ulinyusron; @fr4nkhs; @asfur86; and @gian591, on September 27, 2014.

<sup>8</sup>Cited in the Tweeters of @marinasteva; @faozanrizal; @negativisme; @Bang\_15; and @astronomableng, on September 27, 2014.

*People's Politics*".<sup>9</sup> Or they said that SBY was an acronym of "*SBY = (S)aya (B)eban rak(Y)at*" [I am a Burden of People]; and "*Saya Bisa lebaY*" [I am Able to be Many Styles].<sup>10</sup>

Netizens also perceive behind the death of democracy and people's sovereignty through the change of an election system, there are political efforts of parties in the KMP (*Koalisi Merah Putih* or White-Red Coalition) also PD (*Partai Demokrat* or Democratic Party) to revive the New Order dictatorship system, in which the Regional Leaders are elected by DPRD (*Dewan Perwakilan Rakyat Daerah* or Regional People's Representative Council), and the President are selected by MPR (*Majelis Permusyawaratan Rakyat* or People's Consultative Assembly). Netizens, then, said and tweeted as follows:

*Democracy is dead, let's begin of DPR-tatorship; Coming soon [...] the world at the news. Feedback effect to the New Order; Election via DPRD is clearly a setback for democracy and the beginning of the New Order Volume 2.*<sup>11</sup>

They (netizens) argued also that this was a more possible, because KMP (*Koalisi Merah Putih* or White-Red Coalition) is a member of the majority and control of key positions in DPR (*Dewan Perwakilan Rakyat* or People's Representative Council), so they can change the Act accordance with their political interests (*cf* Wanandi, 2010; Prayitno, 2015; and *ibidem* with footnote 11).<sup>12</sup>

#### **People's Criticism on Twitter Censorship.**

As noted earlier, the hastags used by netizens have been lost or deleted from *wwtt* (world wide trending topic). They consider this as a political action of SBY (Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono) government to restrict and prohibit the people's freedom for critical expression and participation on the indirect

electoral system. Experts referred to terms of the authority of Twitter on trending topic, stated as follows:

*Twitter censors certain hashtags from making it into its Trending Topics, when, in fact, this is an entirely algorithm-based system, driven mainly by news outlets, and represent topics are immediately popular, rather than topics have been popular for a while or on a daily basis (Messieh, 2012).*

The explanation is still leaving questions and warm conversations among netizens. Even, they misdoubt it, because the Twitter authority given a clarification on this case. Again, Messieh (2012) and other scholars said that twitter was not placing an automated censorship system in place, but rather will only comply with "[...] governmental requests [...] Twitter isn't Censoring You. Your Government is" (Messieh, 2012; Citron, 2018; and Syahputra, 2019).

Netizen's assumption that the SBY (Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono) government, through the MENKOMINFO (*Menteri Komunikasi dan Informasi* or Minister of Communications and Information), had removed/deleted hastags were stronger. This has resulted netizen's distrust and criticism to the SBY government were more increasing. Even, they considered that censoring Twitter was a violation of the people's right to express opinions should not be applied in Indonesia, which has been claimed by SBY as the third democratic country in the world (Al-Abrar, 2014; Sukmana, 2018; and *ibidem* with footnote 9).

They declared critically that the government will also silence of people's voice on Twitter. They also assume that censoring Twitter is an expression of fear, worry, and embarrassment of the SBY government on the possibilities of raising people's awareness on their political rights, which can be a people's political forces that could undermine the authority of the government, as happened in the New Order era (1966-1998). All those censors are considered by netizens as political actions to restore the New Order government, which has been structured, systematic, and massive. People must rise up to fight. Netizens also express

<sup>9</sup>Cited in the Tweeters of @ulinyusron; @rudolfdehu; @ulamalabe; @AGILRUMONGSO; @idetopia; @DapotMs; @Malanga; @Tobing255; and @CinditaGinting, on September 27, 2014.

<sup>10</sup>See the Tweeters of @SepriOCSAN; @rudolfdehu; and @whyyouasad, on September 27, 2014.

<sup>11</sup>Cited in the Tweeters of @astronomsablang; @ulinyusron; and @ahmadsutarno, on September 27, 2014.

<sup>12</sup>See also "Koalisi Merah Putih Kuasai DPR Pusat dan Daerah" in *KataData.Co.Id*, on 7<sup>th</sup> October 2014. Available online also at: <https://katadata.co.id/infografik/2014/10/07/koalisi-merah-putih-kuasai-dpr-pusat-dan-daerah> [accessed in Surabaya, East Java, Indonesia: 9<sup>th</sup> October 2018].

their disappointment to the SBY government actions and state that censoring the hastag as a counterproductive action, and a betraying to his country and people (Nugroho *et al.*, 2013; Amri *et al.*, 2017; Syahputra, 2019; and *ibidem* with footnote 9).

The discussions between netizens on the twitter are warmer, and various negative comments on SBY and the government, more and more. The netizens presuppose SBY as an authoritarian's figure, like China or the New Order regime (1966-1998), that usual eliminating the people's right to express their opinions and do "kidnapping" to the activists or censoring to press freedom, both to maintain the stability of the country and to keep a "self-imaging" (*cf* Al-Abrar, 2014; Syahputra, 2019; and Warburton & Muhtadi, 2019).

**Why Did People Reject to DPRD?** People's disagreements on the indirect election by DPRD (*Dewan Perwakilan Rakyat Daerah* or Regional People's Representative Council) caused by three factors are interchainable, as following here:

*Firstly*, netizens do not see the DPRD is the people's representative. For them, the people's voice is God's voice, not the DPRD members' voice. Even, netizens create an acronym of DPRD as *Dewan Perampok Rakyat Daerah* (Council of the Regional People Robbers). The hastag of #From DPRD By DPRD And To DPRD is a symbol that the election is not from, by, and for the people, but for DPRD; and in which all the phrases are addressed to DPRD. Therefore, netizens strongly reject and criticize to the indirect election system by DPRD. Netizens do not agree if regional leaders elected by DPRD.<sup>13</sup>

According to them, election by DPRD is not required by the people. They also invite the people to move against the election by DPRD using social media movement. Even, they threaten, if it is needed, all Indonesian people will be done a big demonstration like in 1998, when the student and people's movement that success to dismiss President Soeharto regime, than DPRD who chooses a leader for them. Netizen's criticism also expressed creatively through a song to inflame people's

<sup>13</sup>See the Hastag of #From DPRD By DPRD And To DPRD, on September 27, 2014.

emotions entitled "Refusing Movement Againsts *PILKADA* by DPRD" (The AF, 2014; and Gunia, 2019).<sup>14</sup>

*Secondly*, netizens view the track records of DPR/DPRD personally or institutionally are not so good and improperly given the authority to elect the Regional Leaders. Personally, netizens view DPRD members not a little involves in drugs, corruption of people's money, or sleeps during a hearing. Institutionally, the election by DPRD considered requires greater costs. Candidates will be ATM [Automated Teller Machine] of them. DPRD also would be the place of money politics practices, foster corruption practices, and create new business opportunities (Evans, 2003; Bland, 2019; Gunia, 2019; and *ibidem* with footnote 14).

A tweet is containing the results of the poll on people's satisfaction and confidence in relation with the performance and commitment of the DPR for period 2010-2014 also shown a majority of people assess "bad" in terms of: achieving the targets in finishing the Acts Draft as specified in the National Legislation Program or PROLEGNAS (*Program Legislasi Nasional*); designing and establishing the Act, controlling the government performance, and channeling the people's aspirations; and commitment of the DPR members to be free of corruption, discipline, and build democratic maturity (Bland, 2019; Gunia, 2019; and *ibidem* with footnote 14).

*Thirdly*, the netizens are also worried, if DPRD given authority to elect the regional leaders, Indonesia will be re-controlled by party elites; Indonesia will return to political democracy of the New Order government era (1966-1998). For netizens, these possibilities are very open, because UU *PILKADA* (*Undang-Undang Pemilihan Langsung Kepala Daerah* or Act for Regional Leaders Election) is the entry point back to the election in the New Order era (Samadhi, 2010; The AF, 2014; and Bland, 2019).

In a legal-formal or political perspective, these netizen's concerns are reasonable, because the KMP (*Koalisi Merah Putih* or

<sup>14</sup>See also the Website of [http://t.co/RDib\]k6Zs2?amp=1](http://t.co/RDib]k6Zs2?amp=1) [accessed in Jember, East Java, Indonesia: October 1, 2014].

White-Red Coalition) said will propose the President reelected by MPR (*Majelis Permusyawaratan Rakyat* or People's Consultative Assembly). Look at the result of voting the Chairmen MPR ago, on 7<sup>th</sup> October 2014, candidates are supported by the KMP get 347 (51%) votes, so an opportunity to change the electoral system of the President from direct by the people to be indirect by MPR can be occurred (Prayitno, 2015; Sulistyanto, 2018; and Ulum, 2018).<sup>15</sup>

**SBY's Responses and Re-Responses of the People.** People's criticism and disappointment via social media are effective and success pressing SBY (Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono) takes further political actions immediately to reject the UU PILKADA (*Undang-Undang Pemilihan Langsung Kepala Daerah* or Act for Regional Leaders Election) through video streams uploaded on YouTube and his official Twitter of @SBYudhoyono. This is taken by SBY, because if people's criticism, condemnation or disappointment, it could be a trigger for emerging a people's power movement more massive, as it is at the same time taken place in Hong Kong were also protesting to eliminate of the direct election system (*cf* Presiden RI, 2014a and 2014b; and Prihandoko, 2014).<sup>16</sup>

SBY's responses are related to two aspects, firstly, a clarification on the walk-out action of PD (*Partai Demokrat* or Democratic Party); and, secondly, makes the PERPPU (*Peraturan Pemerintah Pengganti Undang-Undang* or Governmental Regulation Substitute Act) to reject the UU PILKADA, and restore the people's rights and sovereignty to elect the regional leaders.

Firstly, *the Walk-Out Action of Democratic Party*. At that time, there are two great powers related to the electoral system of Regional Leaders. KMP (*Koalisi Merah Putih* or White-Red Coalition) support to indirect election as 1<sup>st</sup> option; and KIH

(*Koalisi Indonesia Hebat* or Great Indonesian Coalition) support to direct election as 2<sup>nd</sup> option. Meanwhile, SBY and PD support to direct election with 10 revisions, including: (1) public test for every candidate to improve integrity and ability of candidates; (2) saving or cuts of electoral budget; (3) restrictions on open campaign to save costs and prevent horizontal conflicts; (4) accountability in using campaign funds; (5) prohibition of political money and rent parties bearers as an impact on the abuses of authority; (6) prohibition of the black campaign to anticipate conflict horizontally; (7) prohibition of engagement of the bureaucratic apparatus to keep neutrality; (8) prohibition to replace of bureaucratic apparatus positions post-election; (9) completion of election results clearly, accountable, and transparent; and (10) regulation on responsibility of the candidate on the damage by supporters (*cf* Presiden RI, 2014a and 2014b; Sebastian, Chen & Priamarizki, 2014; Muhtadi, 2015; and *ibidem* with footnote 16).

Facing two great powers, SBY via PD Fraction in DPR (*Dewan Perwakilan Rakyat* or People's Representative Council) has two options of 10 revisions are proposed: separated as an independent option (3<sup>rd</sup> option); or integrated to the 2<sup>nd</sup> option of KIH (4<sup>th</sup> option). In principle, PD is more amenable to the 4<sup>th</sup> option, because direct election with 10 revisions are very important to anticipate various excesses and irregularities are occurred over the years. Therefore, for the people's voices, PD be ready to give in and join with KIH coordinated by PDI-P (*Partai Demokrasi Indonesia-Perjuangan* or Indonesian Democratic Party of Struggle) support the 4<sup>th</sup> option. This action should be done, because PD in DPR only have 129 votes (Sebastian, Chen & Priamarizki, 2014; Muhtadi, 2015; and Siregar, 2015).

However, SBY suggests that none of the two options proposed are supported and approved by two coalitions, until the voting is taken. The political process to support of 4<sup>th</sup> option is not achieved, and he has to say this means there is not so good and not have a clear view to unify. In fact, in his experience led Indonesia for 10 years, people

<sup>15</sup>See also, for example, "Koalisi Merah Putih Kuasai DPR Pusat dan Daerah" in *KataData.Co.Id*, on 7<sup>th</sup> October 2014. Available online also at: <https://katadata.co.id/infografik/2014/10/07/koalisi-merah-putih-kuasai-dpr-pusat-dan-daerah> [accessed in Surabaya, East Java, Indonesia: 9<sup>th</sup> October 2018].

<sup>16</sup>See also the Tweeter of @SBYudhoyono, during period of September 26 to October 7, 2014.

know of the excesses and lapses in direct elections without revision. SBY also said that democracy has evolved, and “*we should don’t a setback to the indirect election by DPR*” (Anjungroso, 2014; Prihandoko, 2014; Savitri, 2014; and *ibidem* with footnote 16).

According to SBY, MENKO POLHUKAM (*Menteri Koordinator Politik, Hukum, dan Keamanan* or Coordinating Minister for Political, Legal, and Security) has also been ordered to contact one of the chairpersons of PDI-P to join with the PD in the 3<sup>rd</sup> option, when DPR in the plenum. At that time, there is the number of fractions in KIH will support to 3<sup>rd</sup> option, because it is a good proposal. However, when the PD requests it included as an option in voting, there are not also accommodated. This means, SBY said, that the DPR only wants two options, namely direct election as 2<sup>nd</sup> option; and indirect election as 1<sup>st</sup> option (Anjungroso, 2014; Savitri, 2014; and *ibidem* with footnote 16).

Furthermore, recognized by SBY, that time, the political processes in the DPR are hot and fast who’s he does not fully know, due to the technical factors and information he received is often incomplete, maze, contradiction. These reasons, why PD taken walk-out actions when plenary session of DPR. Lack of supports or agreements at the 3<sup>rd</sup> or 4<sup>th</sup> option is very disappointing for SBY, because DPR only agreed on two options existing. According to SBY, PD is very heavy to choose between direct election option, but not an explicit promise to incorporate revisions into the RUU PILKADA (*Rancangan Undang-Undang Pemilihan Langsung Kepala Daerah* or Act Draft for Regional Leaders Election) as 2<sup>nd</sup> option, or the indirect election option by the DPRD (*Dewan Perwakilan Rakyat Daerah* or Regional People’s Representative Council) as 1<sup>st</sup> option (Anjungroso, 2014; Savitri, 2014; and *ibidem* with footnote 16).

In this case, however, SBY and PD do not seem to want to be blamed. Instead, SBY suspect behind the establishment of the RUU PILKADA with indirect election, there is a political game between the parties of KMP. SBY gets the message, situation at the time is deliberately conditioned to approve of the RUU PILKADA quickly, without listening

to the people’s opinions and wishes before. Clearly, this makes SBY very disappointed. To reinforce his statements, SBY explained the dynamics of the discussion and changes in options related to the RUU PILKADA during the DPR sessions, since 2012 until 2014 (Anjungroso, 2014; Savitri, 2014; and *ibidem* with footnote 16).

However, SBY said, after the 2014 Presidential Election, the political map changed. The KMP chooses indirect election, the KIH chooses direct election, and PD chooses direct elections with 10 revisions. SBY also rejected netizen’s claims that he and PD have a hidden agenda behind the walk-out action of PD, such as the power-sharing in the DPR/MPR or in the regional government. Instead, SBY claims the other parties, especially the major parties, the play and takes advantage of indirect election (Anjungroso, 2014; Savitri, 2014; and *ibidem* with footnote 16).

Secondly, *Reject UU PILKADA and Make PERPPU*. People’s criticism and disappointment on the UU PILKADA (*Undang-Undang Pemilihan Langsung Kepala Daerah* or Act for Regional Leaders Election) were responded by SBY (Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono) positively. SBY understands and tolerates to disappointment and anger the majority of Indonesian people, who feel their basic rights to participate in electing the regional leaders directly has rejected by UU PILKADA. For SBY, their disappointment is normal, and himself also feel the same disappointment. Therefore, for SBY, UU PILKADA should be rejected for three reasons, namely: *Strengthening Democracy and People’ Sovereignty*; *Political Realities*; and *the Legality of the Act* (Indrayana, 2008; Prihandoko, 2014; and *ibidem* with footnote 16).

*Strengthening Democracy and People’ Sovereignty*. SBY (Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono) agrees that the indirect election is setback in democracy. The Act should reflect to the people’s desires, not to DPR/ DPRD (*Dewan Perwakilan Rakyat Daerah* or Regional People’s Representative Council) or the President’ desires. Therefore, according to SBY, DPR/DPRD or the President must listen to the will and aspirations of the people

were sovereign, in which more than 70% of the people agree the direct election with major revisions. DPR/DPRD or the President do not usurp their rights, and the direct electoral system with major revisions is a priority. This is believed by SBY can create a closed relationship between people and their representatives. However, the answer to this problem, SBY is not just cancel the Act but reform the system with revisions for strengthening democracy and people's sovereignty which we aspire (*cf* Rinakit, 2005; Prihandoko, 2014; Permana, 2017; and *ibidem* with footnote 16).

*Political Realities.* SBY (Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono) asserts the indirect election by DPRD (*Dewan Perwakilan Rakyat Daerah* or Regional People's Representative Council) is loaded with money and transactional politics by elites of the party; and he rejects it. Candidates of a Governor, Regent, and Mayor who elected by DPRD is determined by the chairman or elites of the party, they not necessarily appropriate to the people's will. If they, i.e. KMP (*Koalisi Merah Putih* or White-Red Coalition), still intend to elect them by the DPR (*Dewan Perwakilan Rakyat* or People's Representative Council) just for a position-sharing of Governor, Regent, and Mayor; then, according to SBY, where the rights and sovereignty of our people are placed, who benefits from the DPRD election. If that's the case, then for SBY, the election is only a big party for the party that has the most votes, and the PD (*Partai Demokrat* or Democratic Party) does not take any benefit from this with a vote of only 10% (Anjungroso, 2014; Sebastian, Chen & Priamarizki, 2014; Permana, 2017; and *ibidem* with footnote 16).<sup>17</sup>

*The Legality of the Act.* SBY (Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono) questioned on the legality of the UU PILKADA (*Undang-Undang Pemilihan Langsung Kepala Daerah* or Act for Regional Leaders Election) addressed on two aspects: (1) the materials' coherence of the UU PILKADA

comparing to materials of the other Acts; and (2) recognize and protect to the principles of democracy and people's sovereignty (Presiden RI, 2014a and 2014b; Prihandoko, 2014; and *ibidem* with footnote 16).

The UU PILKADA is illegal, due to in materials are contrary or not coherence to the rule declared on the institutional functions of DPRD (*Dewan Perwakilan Rakyat Daerah* or Regional People's Representative Council), such as "legislation, budget, and control" based on the UU (*Undang-Undang* or Act) No.17/2014, art.316 par.1. While, in the UU PILKADA declared that DPRD having authority to elect the regional leaders, based on the UU No.23/2014 (*cf* Tahyar, 2012; Karim, Hanif & Arti eds., 2014; and Setneg RI, 2014b).

The UU PILKADA is also illegal, because it is not in accordance with the principles of democracy and people's sovereignty recognized and protected by UUD (*Undang-Undang Dasar* or Constitution) of 1945. SBY said, this is a setback of the Act in governing the roles, functions, and authorities of DPRD. Explicitly and formally, the UU PILKADA also nor does give the authority or mandate to DPRD to choose a Governor, Regent or Mayor. Something is not right in the logic of Act formulation, and potentially there is a fundamental conflict with other Acts in governing the local government (Indrayana, 2008; Permana, 2017; Hendrianto, 2018; and *ibidem* with footnote 16).

Therefore, SBY and PD (*Partai Demokrat* or Democratic Party) will struggle ways to obtain justice in the state life, especially in the order of a political system. This is a fundamental problem, and there is a compelling reason to take the problem to the MK (*Mahkamah Konstitusi* or Constitutional Court) or to the MA (*Mahkamah Agung* or Supreme Court) through the judicial review. Apparently, it was canceled by SBY after consultation with the Chief of MK, because he does not have a legal standing for that. According to the state convention, SBY or DP has been involved in any discussion of the Act through a Minister appointed to represent him during discussions and give to approve; and DP is walk-out when the vote is taken (Stockmann, 2007; Tahyar, 2012; Nardi, Jr.,

<sup>17</sup>See again "Koalisi Merah Putih Kuasai DPR Pusat dan Daerah" in *KataData.Co.Id*, on 7<sup>th</sup> October 2014. Available online also at: <https://katadata.co.id/infografik/2014/10/07/koalisi-merah-putih-kuasai-dpr-pusat-dan-daerah> [accessed in Surabaya, East Java, Indonesia: 9<sup>th</sup> October 2018].

2018; and *ibidem* with footnote 16).

After SBY fails to propose of judicial review, another option taken by SBY to reject the UU PILKADA is to make two PERPPUs (*Peraturan Pemerintah Pengganti Undang-Undang* or Governmental Regulation Substitute Act), namely: (1) PERPPU No.1/2014 to reject the Act No.22/2014, and it mean that the Regional Leaders are not again elected indirectly by DPRD but elected directly by the people; and (2) PERPPU No.2/2014 remove clauses in the Act No.23/2014, which regulate the duty and authority of DPRD to elect the Regional Leaders. Two PERPPUs were signed by SBY on 2<sup>nd</sup> October 2014, and since that, the Acts were rejected and declared no longer valid. SBY hopes these regulations can restore the people's sovereignty and democracy from the people, by the people, and for the people; and ensure the people's right to elect the regional leaders directly (Setneg RI, 2014a, 2014b and 2014c; Nugroho, 2016; and *ibidem* with footnote 16).

PERPPU is a constitutional right of the President, due to there is "forces major" based on the UUD 1945, art.22, para.1. According to the MK (*Mahkamah Konstitusi* or Constitutional Court), in 2010, interpretations of forces major are depended on the President's judgments on the three requirements of constitutionality in terms "needs, vacuum, and uncertainty of the law". Based on his subjective judgments as stated in the consideration of PERPU No.1/2014 that the Act No.22/2014 regulate an electoral mechanism of the regional leaders indirectly through DPRD has strongly rejected abroad by people, and the process of decision making has also caused problems and major forces. Meanwhile, any Act should be supported by all the people, so it not facing challenges and problems in its implementation. This condition needs to be addressed to quickly so do not lead to the emergence of people power that could disrupt the national stability, and threaten the safety and sustainability of democracy and the people's sovereignty which had built up over the years (*cf* MK, 2010; Setneg RI, 2014a and 2014c; and Nugroho, 2016).

PERPPU No.1/2014 to reject the Act No.22/2014 are SBY's legal action to fill "need of the law", and restore the people's sovereignty, democracy, trust, and their support to the government. Its implication, it created a "vacuum and uncertainty of the law" related to the duty and authority of DPRD to elect the Regional Leaders as regulated in articles of the Act No.23/2014. Therefore, SBY then creates PERPPU No.2/2014 to remove these articles to guarantee the existence and certainty of the law. Another forces major is the fact that there will be approximately 204 scheduled elections in several areas of the country in 2015. Changes in the electoral system from direct to indirect, of course, will make it difficulties for the KPU (*Komisi Pemilihan Umum* or General Election Commission), and the KPUD (*Komisi Pemilihan Umum Daerah* or Regional General Election Commission) is having an authority to hold elections to prepare in sufficient time. This will not happen if the election is directly, because this is usually done over the years (Presiden RI, 2014a; Setneg RI, 2014a, 2014b, 2014c and 2014d; Hendrianto, 2016 and 2018; and Nugroho, 2016).

SBY be aware, PERPPU has political risks, because it requires the DPR approval. However, he is optimistic the two PERPPUs will be approved by DPR, because more than 70% of all Indonesian people given supports, also between SBY-DP and KMP have signed an agreement to a joint in DPR and MPR. SBY also reminded that DPR to listen seriously to the people's aspirations and desires, and committed to the direct election system with revisions for the next five years (Hendrianto, 2016 and 2018; Nugroho, 2016; Nardi, Jr., 2018; and *ibidem* with footnote 16).

For all Indonesian people, SBY also invites to unite [#kawalperpupilkada](#) [guard the regional election] as a manifestation of the people's aspirations and desires. According to SBY, with the support of the entire community, the DPR will approve the PERPPU and optimistic the DPR having a commitment to the nation.<sup>18</sup>

Thirdly, *Re-Responses of the People*. SBY

<sup>18</sup>See the Hastag of [#kawalperpupilkada](#), during period of September 26 to October 7, 2014.

(Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono)'s clarifications obtain favorable and good appreciations of the people, although most of the people are still in questions and doubts. The hastag of [#TerimaKasihSBY](#) is a symbol of people appreciations to all political and legal struggles and commitments of SBY for restoring the people's democratic rights and their political sovereignty. The hastag published, firstly, on 2<sup>nd</sup> October 2014, at 21:40 PM (*Post Meridiem*), by tweeter of [@his\\_alone\\_account](#) or [@SBYudhoyono](#). In his tweet, he states:

*SBY be allowed to receive piques [of the people] on his imperfection; however, he also has the right to be truly respected for his dedication at #TerimakasihSBY.<sup>19</sup>*

This hastag also included into the Indonesian Trending Topics with 34,499 tweets on October 3, 2014, at 23:45 PM (*Post Meridiem*). Through the account, he hopes to be enlightening to all people in order to tribute to the leaders. As a human, SBY (Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono) as President, certainly not perfect. However, he has a lot to give everything to the people (Yudhoyono, 2014; Alfani, 2015; and *ibidem* with footnote 19).

People's appreciations are especially addressed to PERPPU (*Peraturan Pemerintah Pengganti Undang-Undang* or Governmental Regulation Substitute Act) has rejected to UU PILKADA (*Undang-Undang Pemilihan Langsung Kepala Daerah* or Act for Regional Leaders Election). They perceive this indicates an SBY's good will to accommodate and listen of people's complaints, criticism, and disappointments. The people's appreciation also responded well by SBY, by expressing thanks for the people's responses on the two PERPPUs with direct election. They tweet, for example, as following here:

*#TerimakasihSBY [...]. Finally the people back won! Steady Mr. [...]. Thank you Mr. BY, love you [...]. Way to go sir [...]. Continue to struggle Mr. [...]. Good Mr. can take decisions quickly, if not this dangerous [...]. Keep the spirit Mr! [...]. You've got my respect this morning brother [...]. I truly goose bumps to hear the announcement of PERPPU*

<sup>19</sup>The Tweeter of [@his\\_alone\\_account](#) or [@SBYudhoyono](#), on 2<sup>nd</sup> October 2014, at 21:40 PM (*Post Meridiem*).

*with direct election [...]. Thank you Mr. had heard our voice; Very proud to see my President is on the frontline for the direct election [...]. I hope, everyone is satisfied now, win-win solutions [...]. Yihaaa, Mr. SBY is a really very democratic, which has fulfilled of the people's complaints. Thank you Mr. [...]. Thanks SBY had signed PERPPU, the people so relieved [...]. Initially we hesitated, but now Mr. SBYudhoyono still hears the people [...]. This is the real father of democracy; I respect SBYudhoyono, who signed PERPPU, and I hope the DPRD approved. Good job my President [...]. Thank you Mr. President SBYudhoyono on your struggle for the direct election by your PERPPU. Forgive those who provoked.<sup>20</sup>*

Issue on the legality of the UU PILKADA (*Undang-Undang Pemilihan Langsung Kepala Daerah* or Act for Regional Leaders Election) as questioned by SBY (Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono) also appreciated by netizens. Besides that, they questioned on the legality of the Act addressed on aspect of the decision-making process. Netizens view the UU PILKADA is illegal, due contrary to the Rules of DPR (*Dewan Perwakilan Rakyat* or People's Representative Council)'s Discipline, which are regulated that decision making by vote's majority is legal if it approved by more than half of the members present (at least 249), based on art.284, para.1. While, that time, voting is only approved by 226 (45%) of the 496 members present (Prihandoko, 2014; Yudhoyono, 2014; and *ibidem* with footnote 20).

However, the most people still criticize to the walk-out action of PD (*Partai Demokrat* or Democratic Party), revisions are proposed, and PERPPU (*Peraturan Pemerintah Pengganti Undang-Undang* or Governmental Regulation Substitute Act) is made. The netizens still in doubt. They consider the proposed revisions are halfhearted, not seriously, and as a coward action through the politics of "hit and run". For them, if is true they seriously to fight, why the revisions are not proposed since the beginning, but at the last times of plenary session?; and why PD no coalition with KIH (*Koalisi Indonesia Hebat*

<sup>20</sup>As cited in the Tweeters of [@rosyanifajriah](#); [@strawbaekay](#); [@JsDeyz](#); [@Wawann WW](#); [@Tammy thamar](#); [@sandisamitra](#); [@AllanSteventEdy](#); [@adittyajulmi](#); [@Nisarezkii](#); [@isnuhan78](#); [@RashikaDyah](#); [@Zulfiansyah UF](#); [@AshrarYuri](#); and [@secahrum19](#), on 2<sup>nd</sup> and 3<sup>rd</sup> October 2014.

or Great Indonesian Coalition) to support direct electoral system, meanwhile as well as a stepping stone to revise the Act of Election next time? They also consider of SBY's actions are merely an attitude inconsistent, indecisive, and just do a political game or stunt; or for building a self-imaging and hand washings action. If so, why netizen should thank to SBY for a problem that he created from the first place?<sup>21</sup>

Netizens also do not believe to SBY and to the two PERPPUs will be approved by the parties in KMP (*Koalisi Merah Putih* or White-Red Coalition), because their number in the DPR is majority (52.14%). As stated by netizens, through hastag of [#ShameOnYouSBY](#), as following here:

*Because the current President of Indonesia, SBY with his party leaving the congress and let the right to choosing our own leader taken away from the people. The first President to be elected by direct election is betraying his country and people. The greatest "achievement" of his 10 years legacy. Note: He was the first directly elected President.*<sup>22</sup>

*After KMP dominates in the DPR, are we still believe to SBY?; SBY makes PERPPU solely for building a "self-imaging"; People know, SBY currently playing soap operas, jokes, and hand washings on election; I think, SBY does not have a standing position. If he really supports the direct election why his cadres taken walk-out?; SBY makes PERPPU seems like slapstick and washes your hands; Thank you for trying to fix the blunders of PD cadres that walkout when the plenary session. However, whether it be the President can override DPR's decision.*<sup>23</sup>

SBY (Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono) responded by stating that there are a common desire and consensus between PD (*Partai Demokrat* or Democratic Party) and KMP (*Koalisi Merah Putih* or White-Red Coalition) to cooperate in the DPR (*Dewan Perwakilan*

*Rakyat* or People's Representative Council) and MPR (*Majelis Permusyawaratan Rakyat* or People's Consultative Assembly) support and approve two PERPPUs (*Peraturan Pemerintah Pengganti Undang-Undang* or Governmental Regulation Substitute Act). SBY's response by the people was seen as a political agreement to share positions in the DPR/MPR. In fact, PD finally has obtained two positions of the Vice Chairman in both DPR and MPR (Sebastian, Chen & Priamarizki, 2014; Yudhoyono, 2014; and Siregar, 2015).

This reality criticized by netizens as "two-face politics" of SBY. Moreover, a survey shows of 72.24% public agree that approval of DPR on PERPPU is a problem or an unpaid debt and is still watching by people at the next time. If SBY-PD failure, Indonesian people will give SBY a title as "the Main Actor" of indirect election by DPRD (*Dewan Perwakilan Rakyat Daerah* or Regional People's Representative Council) and a setback in democracy; and the people remember him as "the Father of Indirect Election of Indonesia" (cf Al-Abbar, 2014; Anjungroso, 2014; and Syahputra, 2019).

**Social Media and Democratization Process.** Phenomena of the criticism participation above not only reflects the emergences of new public's awareness and participation cultures to control of the government and institutions of the state commitments for building national politics and democracy. It was also given a meaningful and important learning for politics and democracy for all Indonesian people. These phenomena are very crucial, because the major constraints are facing Indonesian government for building a good politic and democracy are a weakness of recruitment, regeneration; institutional leadership and climate, official's mentality; and increasing personal and group interests, and corruption practices (vote buying) within the party as well as governmental agencies, central and local (Haryanto, 2014; Bland, 2019; and Muhtadi, 2019).

People view this all are not conducive for strengthening a political and democratic system. Therefore, this condition has inspired them to make social media as a creative solution and change citizenship political

<sup>21</sup>See, for example, the Tweeters of @ShafiqPontoh; @andreOPA; @blontankpoer; @mangglenk; @giewahyudi; @vivi\_vd129; and @JakartaToday, on September 24-28, 2014; and the Tweeters of @ShafiqPontoh; @ibenkda; @parparjalangan; @HernandoAndrian; @dens\_chand; and @Bang\_Kimung, on September 27-30, 2014.

<sup>22</sup>As cited in the Tweeters of @ShafiqPontoh; @andreOPA; @blontankpoer; @mangglenk; @giewahyudi; @vivi\_vd129; and @JakartaToday, on September 24-28, 2014.

<sup>23</sup>As cited also in the Tweeters of @ShafiqPontoh; @ibenkda; @parparjalangan; @HernandoAndrian; @dens\_chand; and @Bang\_Kimung, on September 27-30, 2014.

paradigm in the digital age (Freelon, Wells & Bennett, 2013). It is commonly assumed that social media play a key role in diffusing information and the claims of political groups (Chadwick, 2013). Social media is an important channel of communication for the netizen as simple members of the public can provide information about their activities, connect people, allow their constant interaction and cooperation, publicize their positions on specific topics, share information coming from multiple sources, report about issues surrounding them at a specific time, as well as bring their voices to a broader public (Baruah, 2012; Haryanto, 2014; and Calderaro, 2018).

In this context, the existing of social media is a key instrument for providing a whole new social realm for people to connect with others and allow them openly to participate within. Specifically, it is new forms of media literacy and changes in the modes of media participation, and part of the redefining and broadening of existing boundaries of practice and our understanding of what learning means (Swist *et al.*, 2015; Ifigeneia & Dimitrios, 2018; and Irawanto, 2019).

So, social media has more important roles to create new places of assembly that will generate of meaningful opportunities for people's participation in political and democratic processes to educate, promote democracy, and save lives (Calderaro, 2018; and Jamil, 2018). Therefore, it is more rational when netizens state that public's criticism participation on social media is more effective than on the streets. In UU (*Undang-Undang* or Act) No.12/2011 also declared that the public participation is their rights; and social media is the first public space for participating in the Acts formation (Setneg RI, 2011; Haryanto, 2014; and Perbawani, Rahayu & Anshari, 2018).

Indonesian people's participation, through social media, is a new paradigm of democracy and citizenship education in the digital age for restoring a sense that participation makes a difference. It also reflects a more SA (Self-Actualizing)' style of civic participation common among recent generations of people, who have been termed digital natives.

Besides that, this is the most prominent response to most school-based approaches reflect traditional paradigms of DC (Dutiful Citizenship) oriented to government through parties and voting. Furthermore, this is also a response to the civic engagement crisis has spread through academic, government, and education policy circles in many post-industrial democracies (Freelon, Wells & Bennett, 2013; No, Brennan & Schugurensky eds., 2017; and Ifigeneia & Dimitrios, 2018).

As describe above, volunteering citizens to be involved in the political and democratic processes since the months of politics are growing and developing significantly that indicated by creating of volunteer group accounts, such as Facebook or Twitter without affiliation into a specific party. This is occurred because social media able to provide options and a vehicle for Indonesian people to gain and share political contents needed; participate actively in a political and democracy process; and build networks of people's political power without affiliation into a specific party (Gibson, 2013; Andres, 2016; and Gunia, 2019).

This fact shows that social media itself by nature is "a democratizing force" and "a positive force for democratization" (Best & Wade, 2009); or a "communicating democracy and democratizing communication" (Elmas & Kurban, 2011). This is a new phenomenon of democracy calls as a "digital democracy" or "digital citizenship" (Simsek & Simsek, 2013).

A new digital culture of democracy and citizenship is characterized by the needs of people to gain skills, such as reaching, interpreting, understanding, reconstructing, and sharing information has become fundamental responsibilities of citizens for a democratic society; and forging a new set of cultural practices that intersect of practice and policy. So that, Indonesian people's participation through social media reflected, according to R. Campos & J.A. Simoes (2014), as follows:

*[...] not only in distinct ways of digital participation as well as in cultural engagement [...] which ultimately reflect a new logic of cultural participation* (Campos & Simoes, 2014:88 and 101).

The use of social media in Indonesia and around the globe can also be considered as public rejection of traditional mass media (press) to a certain extent is captured by vested interests that are closely related to key political actors (Johansson, 2016). Digital democracy or citizenship is also a form of online participatory activity that can give youth civic and political engagement a much-needed boost and vitally important that educators and policymakers in both school and out-of-school settings seize these opportunities to more fully tap this potential (Kahne, Ullman & Middaugh, 2012; Johansson, 2016; and Rebell, 2017).

It is also important for developing critical-reflective and transformative citizenship in social science education that concern for reconstructing society by developing a critical understanding of and engagement with social and political issues and institutions in both school and out-of-school settings. The use of social media seems to be central to the creation of citizenship education in Indonesia is multicultural and lead to civic empowerment and courage; and may be employed as a powerful educational platform for supporting and building citizenship identities, experiences, and engagements in the process of politics and democracy more self-actualizing (Johansson, 2016; Rebell, 2017; and Filho *et al.*, 2018).

## CONCLUSION

This study shows that people's criticism participation through social media has significant roles for the emerging of new people participatory cultures in the political and democracy process until level of grassroots or marginalized people. Social media has also provided an enlarged circuit for people to express an "ethics political culture" than a "streets political culture". It was also can defend people's sovereignty and rights to elect the regional leaders more open and free. People's criticism participation, at previously was very limited only through parties and votes, now to be one of the extra parliamentary forces can influence the forces and policies of party or government.

Performing of people's duties by using hastags to symbolize their criticism participation to warn and control of the government and/or the state's institutions are also more possible and effective. As stated by netizens, this is a "*people's power revolt their rights that were castrated cannot be fooled, and may a biggest people's power in the world*". UU PILKADA (*Undang-Undang Pemilihan Langsung Kepala Daerah* or Act for Regional Leaders Election) that people view as a symbol of party forces in DPR (*Dewan Perwakilan Rakyat* or People's Representative Council) and of the New Order regime successfully rejected.

Although this study not elaborates a relationship between social media and citizenship education, it may be employed as a powerful educational platform for supporting and building student's citizenship identities, experiences, and engagements in the controversial issues on politics and democracy more authentic, creative, open, high-involvement, and more self-actualizing. By creating and including a variety of citizenship education-related hastags in tweets, e.g., #politics democracy; #people's sovereignty; #freedom of opinion and expression; #Constitution; #Acts; and the like, educators craft digital spaces where those interested in a particular content area or general issues can come together around their interest (Kurtka & Milton, 2013:23).

It is very important for widening student's horizons of citizenship education, and very meaningful for a student in building democratic attitudes. In other words, social media can expand possibilities for citizenship education to bring a classroom to life, no longer limited by four walls.<sup>24</sup>

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<sup>24</sup>**Statement:** I, undersigned below, state that my paper is not product of plagiarism, not to be submitted to the other journal(s), reviewed as well as published by other scholarly journals; and finally having received, it will also not to be withdrawn by the Author from this journal. This statement letter was made to be used by the Editor as an appropriate.

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