

'The Groundswell' Political Campaign Strategy of Anies-Sandi in the 2017 DKI Jakarta Governor Election

¹ NOVITA DAMAYANTI, ² RADJA ERLAND HAMZAH

^{1,2}Universitas Prof. Dr. Moestopo (Beragama), Jl. Hang Lekir I No. 8 Jakarta Pusat, Indonesia
email: ¹novita.damayanti@dsn.moestopo.ac.id; ² radjaerland@gmail.com;

Abstract. *The election of Governor of DKI Jakarta in 2017 has drawn the most public attention nationwide and even international. This research aims to analyze the political campaign strategy of Anies-Sandi in the election of Jakarta's governor and the process of the groundswell. Political campaign and groundswell are the framework concepts of this research. A qualitative research method used is single case study. The data collection is carried out through participant observation, in-depth interview, and documentation. This phenomenal event of election showed us the role and contribution of voters based on their social technographic profiles: creators, conversationalists, critics, collectors, joiners, and spectators. "Viral" and "collaborative concepts" are widely implemented and become the goals of social media political campaign of Anies-Sandi. The groundswell process that effectively affects the behaviour of eligible voters and the success of the 212 social movements has led to the winning of Anies-Sandi won in the election.*

Keywords: Groundswell, Political Campaign, Governor election

Introduction

Based on the data released by APJII (Asosiasi Penyelenggara Jasa Internet Indonesia, 2017) or Indonesian Internet Service Providers Association, as many as 143.26 million people or 54.68% are active internet users from a total population of 262 million people. The type of social media widely used in Indonesia is Facebook which occupied the first rank with an active user number of 71.6 million; the second rank is Instagram with an active user number of 19.9 million, and the third one is Youtube with 14.5 million active users. It coupled with the results of the Digital Landscape survey in Indonesia which showed that a number of traffic users of Google Indonesia have reached 2,915.9000 million users and made Google Indonesia the first rank in search engine. The active users in Indonesia spend about 9 minutes 2 seconds on the internet. Meanwhile, Facebook is still the most favorite social media for active internal users followed by other social media networks such as Line, Blogspot.com, Youtube, Detik.com, Wordpress.com, and Yahoo.com (Indonesia Digital Landscape,

2018).

A high number of internet users in Indonesia makes social media being utilized as a medium of interaction with prospective voters, a tool of political campaign and promotion aimed at capturing millennials, and also political branding in the DKI Jakarta gubernatorial election for the pair of Ahok-Djarot and Anies-Sandi. Social media has the power to influence society exclusively on social aspects. Social media opens up space for interaction, the delivery of opinions, and participation that impacts on good consolidation or is used to undermine the opinions of other political candidates (Suomen, 2010). This trend is supported by the evolution of internet 2.0 created by (O'Reilly, 2010). The viral political campaign with the evolution of internet web 2.0 allows an internet user who is also a prospective voter to get information on both pairs of candidates from other internet users who have experience in relevant political participation without geographical constraints (Cheung, Lee, & Rabjohn, 2008). The example of a first viral political campaign took place in Barack

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Obama's 2008 presidential campaign in the United States. A web based viral political campaign was well designed, flexible, and dynamic (Ardha, 2014).

Social media changes the attitudes and behavior of individuals when they are participating in politics in cyberspace. First, according to (Simangunsong, 2016), internet users became increasingly massive during the election of political campaigns and many times the assessment of individuals led to the individuals' degradation. In the virtual world, many internet users attack, accuse, do stereotyping, and even consider their ethnicity and religions as the superior ones. Second, (Tabroni, 2012) suggests that individuals often ignore the ethics of political communication when delivering messages in cyberspace. Third, a study by (Arofah, 2015) states that political actors in social media do a lot of imaging and persuade their supporters in a way that many political statements or hate appear in the virtual world and become viral. Imaging is not always seen as a positive thing but can also be negative. Fourth, a research by (Hasfi, Usmand, & Santoso, 2017) show that in the 2014 presidential campaign, the users of Twitter exchanged their opinions and expressions by debating their chosen presidential candidates and yet caused the degradation in democracy. From the above explanation, we can draw a conclusion that social media in Indonesia is particularly used as a tool for the formation of public opinion and political agendas setting (Woolley, Limperos, & Oliver, 2010) which can trigger movements to the supporters of Ahok-Djarot and Anies-Sandi pairs. The progress of the internet 4.0 evolution and information technology has changed the mindset of the people in political participation. Face-to-face communication as conventional communication becomes *mediated communication* by utilizing social media as a powerful tool to change attitudes and behavior and accelerate the goals of interests of each prospective leader. In addition, the presence of social media makes the practice of political communication which originally top-down to be *bottom-up* dan decentralized (Simarmata, 2014).

Political communication experts (Lilleker, 2006: 204) define virtual politics as a political activity placed on the internet in a virtual time-space where communities share a number of specific issues to support specific political ideas or increase political awareness. He also emphasized that actors or political campaign successful teams must be

creative in utilizing social media as a means to win potential leaders chosen by individuals and the internet user community.

Meanwhile, (Howard, 2006) argues that viral political campaigns (viral politics) are campaigns that adapt digital technology to express the political goals of a candidate. Furthermore, in his work entitled *New Campaign and Managed Citizen*, Howard (2006) said that this form of campaign allows people to exchange information quickly and spread widely like a (viral) virus. The concept of *getok tular* (word of mouth) and *mutual cooperation* in Indonesia were transformed in such a way as *viral* and *collaborative*. These two concepts are widely implemented and are the goals of social media campaigns including the political campaign. The general election of the governor of DKI Jakarta in 2017 became a public concern of the national and international. The political campaign of the two pair of gubernatorial candidate used social media systematically to win the election. (Mayfield, 2008) said that social media is a medium easy to use for participating, sharing, and presenting the content. Everything that uses the internet to conduct conversations can be called social media (Solis & Breakenridge, 2009). Mayfield further states that social media is an online media that has characteristics of participation, openness, conversation, community, and connectedness. Mayfield also classifies social media into social networks, blogs, wikis, podcasts, forums, content communities, and microblogging. The term *Groundswell* can be understood as "a social trend in which people use technologies to get the things they need from each other, rather than from traditional institutions like corporations" (Mayfield, 2008:47). Based on the above explanation, the purpose and formulation of this study would be how is the viral political campaign strategy of the candidate governor of Anies-Sandi being conducted? and what is the occurrence process of a groundswell in the viral political campaign of Anies-Sandi?

In the aspect of problem formulation regarding the viral political communication strategy of the candidate governor of Anies-Sandi, the researchers will dissect the matter using the concept of viral communication strategy according to Li and Bernoff (2011: 67) which consists of four planning processes that are synchronous with POST. POST stands for People, Objectives, Strategy, and Technology. Before dissecting with the POST concept, the researchers will first

identify the two candidate pairs through four concepts of political marketing as stated by Niffenegger 1989 in (Firmanzah 2007 : 204), namely products (personal branding of the candidates), price (campaign costs and political lobbies), place (mass base and successful team), and promotion (advertising, publicity, and social media campaign). After that, the researchers begin to analyze the strategy of viral political campaigns through the social media of two candidates stepwise. The analysis starts from people, that is, the target customer audience through social technology profiles ranging from age, demographic, and psychographic levels. The target audience is carried out from the technical social profiles of groups, creators, conversationalists, critics, collectors, joiners, spectators, and inactives, nonparticipants that are still permanent (Li & Bernoff, 2011: 136).

The objective aspect discusses the purpose of the campaign and this objective has a crucial role in making any strategy. There are five strongest phases in the objective aspect, namely listening, talking, energizing, supporting, and embracing (Li & Bernoff, 2011: 68). The listening aspect becomes very important when the business is transformed. This phase will bring up groundswell which can help someone see customer insight to be used in developing marketing (Li & Bernoff, 2011: 68). The phase of talking becomes the second objective that allows companies to bring up groundswell. In connection with this research, the pattern of communication with voters on social media triggered the process of the occurrence of a groundswell. Talking creates a two way communication pattern with customers so that they can participate in groundswell and disseminate messages about the company. This research analyzes groundswell in the perspective of political communication, namely the successful team and political parties that support the governor candidates. The phase of strategy discuss changes in the relationship of voters and pairs of candidates that can be started with simple and small things but can grow (Li & Bernoff, 2011: 72). The final phase is a technology that discusses the applications used in political campaigns to viral both pairs of candidates. At this phase, political campaign teams choose applications suitable for campaign goals such as blogs, wikis, social networks, and others. The use of a combination of technologies will help achieve better goals because the target audience is likely to use different technology.

After the viral campaign strategy phase is complete, the researcher will comprehensively describe the groundswell process in the political campaign of the candidate pairs using the thoughts of W. Lance Bennett and Robert M. Entman (2001: 362) regarding mediated electrical democracy which emphasizes that *the quality of democracy is decisively influenced by the performance of the actors engaged in the process that most centrally defines a political system as democratic campaigns and elections*. The groundswell process can be seen by first understanding the political communication model that involves the communication process of prospective candidates, the media, voters, and other parties with interests.

Research Methodology

This research uses constructivist perspective where the researchers analyze viral political campaigns through social media accounts constructed by the successful team of the governor candidate of Anies-Sandi and explain the process of the occurrence of a groundswell in viral political campaigns on social media. Based on a constructivist research perspective, this research approach is qualitative. Researchers in a qualitative research study the materials in natural conditions; try to understand or interpret, to bear meaning for a phenomenon conveyed by others (respondents) to them (researchers) (Denzin & Lincoln, 2005: 3). Based on the methodological aspects, this study uses a case study research strategy. (Yin, 2013: 13) in the book of *Case Study Design and Method* defines a case study as an empirical inquiry that investigates a contemporary phenomenon within its real life context, especially when the boundaries between phenomena and contexts are not clearly evident. In other words, Yin describes the case study as an empirical investigation that investigates a contemporary phenomenon that seems real, especially when there are boundaries between phenomena and contexts that are not clearly visible. In general, Yin identifies four types of case studies based on the number of units of analysis, namely single cases (one unit of analysis), multiple cases (more than one analysis), multiple case design, and multiple case embedded design. The type of case study in this research is a single case study since it focuses on the phenomenon of groundswell in a viral political campaign of Anies-Sandi. The primary data sources in this study were the

results of observations to and interviews with key informants, while secondary data were obtained from references to literature reviews and documents during the -Sandi campaign.

The data collection technique in this study was adjusted to Yin thinking, which are observation of participants, in-depth interviews with the successful teams of candidates and observers of political communication, and documentation of viral political campaign activities to find out Anies-Sandi's campaign strategy. In addition, information/data is also obtained from potential voters who are followers of Anies-Sandi's Facebook and Instagram to categorize technographers of social media users and events in viral political campaigns as the forerunners of the groundswell phenomenon. Data obtained from the field were analyzed by *explanation building* technique, that is a technique whose core objective is to analyze case study data by explaining the case (Glaser & Strass, 1967 in Yin, 2014: 147).

Results And Discussion

The election of the 2017 DKI Jakarta governor is the most phenomenal gubernatorial election because it felt like a presidential election. The first round candidates were 3 pairs: Ahok-Djarot, Agus-Sylviana, and Anies-Sandi; then, in the second round, it shrank into two pairs of Ahok-Djarot and Anies-Sandi. This research describes and analyzes the strategy of Anies-Sandi's political campaign on social media during the 2017 DKI Jakarta gubernatorial election. The head of successful team of Anies-Sandi said their winning strategy consisted of ground attacks, air strikes, and political operations. Anies-Sandi's political campaign through the use of online media, especially social media, was included as the air strikes winning strategy. Anies-Sandi campaign activities indirectly create people's movement that arose due to the interaction of followers on social media which was manifested in concrete actions on the streets.

Political Campaign Strategy of Anies-Sandi

The era of social media, especially in urban communities such as Jakarta, has shifted a cultural communication which had previously carried out directly into communication through social media. The Next Web states that Indonesia is ranked 3 on Facebook with 140 million users and

number 4 on Instagram with 56 million users. On a city scale, Jakarta is the second largest city in the world that uses Facebook. Noted there are 20 million people using Facebook even though the population of Jakarta is only 10 million. Relationships and interactivity in communication begin to be replaced or shifted from conventional models in the form of face to face meetings or conversations to communication through media, one of which is social media networks. Social media has an interactive nature so that individuals can communicate with other individuals, with groups/communities, and literally with anyone in the world if they want to. Online media offers a wide variety of social networking so that people are given many choices to communicate directly via the media. Some of the popular social media currently in use are Facebook, Twitter, Path, Instagram, Line, and many more. One characteristic of social media of Facebook, for example, has a news feed on the home page of each profile with updates from friends — with alerts like "Anies-Sandi added a photo to their profile". People use Facebook and Instagram updates to share sites they like, places they visit, and "repost" others' posts that they find interesting. Every social media has its own advantages and distinctiveness in delivering messages according to the needs of their followers. The phenomenon of social media is the current situation in Indonesia, especially in Jakarta; and this is a consideration for the strategy of air strikes, especially on social media of Anies-Sandi's Facebook and Instagram.

In the 2017 DKI Jakarta gubernatorial election campaign, the Anies-Sandi successful team mobilized various forms of political communication. Their political campaigns are carried out in stages starting from the first step to final step before the election. The first winning strategy was a ground attack by deploying volunteers, mobilizing the masses directly at various important moments occurred in Jakarta, including religious moments. The mass media is the conveyor and formator of political opinion of Anies-Sandi. The second winning strategy, namely air strikes, is particularly carried out by utilizing mass media, online media, and social media. Conventional mass media is part of the political communication media of Anies-Sandi, side by side with online media. The flood of internet and online media users in Indonesia, especially in Jakarta, has made the successful team aware of the vitality of social media as a tool to win the election and

shape Jakarta's public opinion.

The Anies campaign team underlies the activities of their viral political campaigns using the stages of POST (People, Objective, Strategy, Technology). The steps taken are as follows:

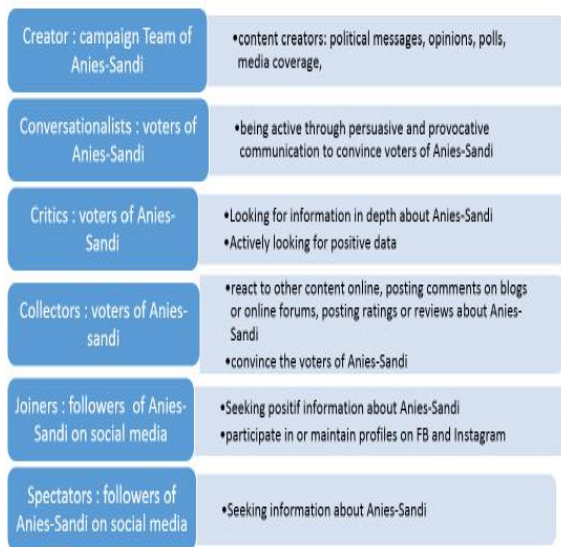
People are the voters targeted by candidate Anies-Sandi to win the DKI Jakarta 2017 gubernatorial election. DKI Jakarta as the capital city of Indonesia has a very large population of 10.3 million based on data of BPS (the central bureau of statistics) Indonesia in 2017 which can be potential votes for Anies-Sandi. According to the BPS Jakarta in 2015, the percentage of education, health, and income of South and East Jakarta residents is higher than North Jakarta, Central Jakarta, West Jakarta and the Islands of Seribu (*Kepulauan Seribu*) which are the lowest. The majority of Anies-Sandi voters are from middle class people. Based on urban geographical segments, Jakarta voters are voters who live in and have a Jakarta ID card. The age of voters ranges from 17 - 70, male and female. A varied range of age is a concern for successful team (or *timses*) to create messages according to the age level of prospective voters. Prospective voters are divided into several categories: beginner, young, adult, and senior. Beginner/young voters as millennial voters of social media users with an estimated 10-15% of Jakarta's population become potential votes for the gubernatorial election. As the largest Muslim country in the world with majority Muslim population, Muslim voters in Indonesia demographically become a priority in elections, although this does not reduce the significance of non-Muslim voters. The level of education of Anies-Sandi's prospective voters are from high school or equivalent to Ph.D. One note for *timses* in terms of segmentation is psychographics and lifestyle where the majority of people today are highly dependent on smartphones and social media. Islamic parties and groups supporting Anies-Sandi during the gubernatorial elections included Gerindra, PKS, PAN, FPI, FUI, HTI, and NU.

Based on the followers of Anies-Sandi on Facebook and Instagram, it can be analyzed the technical social profiles of groups who interested and support Anies-Sandi that will unite and exchange information and socialize among them. The analysis results categorize Anies-Sandi followers on social media at several levels: conversationalist, critics, collectors, joiners, and spectators (figure 2).

The successful team are *creators* who create informative content (political messages of research results, opinions, media coverage, etc.) which then go viral. Anies-Sandi's social media followers later became their voters in the DKI Jakarta 2017 gubernatorial election. *Conversationalists* participate in the frequent back-and-forth dialogue which characterizes the status updates on Facebook, Instagram, and Twitter. The majority of followers are at the level of *conversationalists*, *critics*, and *collectors*. Voters like to express their opinions by posting them on Twitter, Instagram, and Facebook. They share their opinions and discuss everything about Anies-Sandi with each other. Every time there are new messages related to Anies-Sandi, followers with the *critics* category always comment on and give opinions about the message. *Critics* react to other content online, post comments on blogs or online forums, post ratings or reviews. *Joiners*, who participated in a social networking site like Facebook, is one of the fastest growing groups in this classification. Followers who are interested try to get information about Anies-Sandi during the campaign. Swing voters are *spectators* who consume what the rest produce — blogs, online videos, podcasts, forums, and reviews.

Figure 1 of Social Technographic Profile of Anies-Sandi Followers shows that voters communicate via social media and many of them never really face to face with each other. Their acquaintance and socialization are established through social media networks that make them friends and bond with each other. *Creator* is a number of people/figures/groups who actively convey messages continuously and influence other members/followers on social media of Facebook, Twitter, and Instagram. They provide various data, information, opinions, and form the opinions with mass mobilization through social media. *Conversationalists* are voters and members of Anies-Sandi's social media network actively engage in persuasive and provocative communication to convince other voters or potential voters. They communicate with each other to provide mutual support. *Critics* is a little bit different because they are very critical upon anything related to Anies-Sandi; they will ask in detail and find in-depth information about various things. Critics don't believe easily and always comment on many things. *Collectors*, is an individual and group in Anies-Sandi's social media network that collects various information related to Anies-Sandi and their political opponents. This type

provides various information obtained from various sources to convince other voters. *Joiners* are those who interested in Anies-Sandi pair and try to gain confidence in choosing and supporting them. They are also active in conversations on social media and provide various positive support symbols for Anies-Sandi. *Spectators* are floating followers curious about Anies-Sandi. This type is not necessarily Anies-Sandi voters, but they are their followers. Most of them participated because they were interested, some because of fad, and some because they only wanted to know Anies-Sandi as their political opponents. *Spectators* can be a voter for Anis-Sandy by disseminating information in accordance with their thoughts and expectations (figure 1).



(Source: Processed by the researchers, 2017)

Figure 1. Social Technographic Profile of Anies-Sandi Followers

The objective of the Anies-Sandi political campaign is to win the election of the Governor and Deputy Governor of DKI Jakarta for the period of 2017-2021. Based on this objective, the purpose of political communication is firstly to introduce candidate pairs of Anies-Sandi (personally and their track records) to the public, especially to DKI Jakarta residents. The impression of Muslim leader figures is carried out by neatly dressed, wearing a cap of religious symbol, speaking politely, praying diligently, being helpful, concern about the poor, and attending religious events. The image of Muslim leaders is wrapped in clothes, caps, behavior, and words. Secondly, to convey the development programs to advance DKI Jakarta which will

be conducted by Anies-Sandi if they are elected, namely the concept of Kartu Jakarta Pintar Plus /KJP or Jakarta Smart Card Plus, integration of bus transportation with city transportation (*angkot*), One Kecamatan (District) One Center for Entrepreneurship (OK OCE), a housing concept program with zero percent down payment (DP), refusal of reclamation program because it has a bad impact, and improved city planning in Jakarta. Thirdly, to deliver a persuasive campaign to increase prospective voters so that they feel the emotional closeness to Anies-Sandi. That persuasive campaign with emotional message is "Jakarta Bersama Maju/ Jakarta Moving Forward Together". Muslim leaders are honest, concern about the poor, have morals, give a sense of calm and peace, and superior. Fourthly is the movement to convince prospective voters to choose Anies-Sandi. This movement spreads the message from religious leaders, Muslim leaders, opinions of religious leaders, clerics, opinions from Islamic organizations, and public opinion that developed on social media. Support was obtained from Kyai (Islamic leaders), ulama (Islamic scholar), political parties, Muslim alliances of PKS party, PAN, FPI, NU, and many more. Fifthly, to encourage voters to come to the voting booth and elect Anies-Sandi, the team remind the voters about the election time and the pictures of the ballots; volunteers of Anies-Sandi are also directly involved in the election. As a result, Anies-Sandi won the election and become the governor and vice governor of DKI Jakarta 2017-2021 with their votes exceeding Ahok's as the competitor.

The strategy was formed after going through various researches, mapping the potential voters, and various inputs from expert teams, observers, public, supporting parties, mass groups, figures, and candidates of Anies-Sandi. Anies-Sandi's successful team put forward the delivery of continuing messages which touches the needs, beliefs, togetherness, and emotional of voters. The strategy to gather votes is done through forming opinions of groups and communities via Facebook and Instagram. Anies-Sandi's political campaign strategy is viral and collaborates with Facebook and Instagram to gather opinions quickly and massively from their voters. Islamic groups become a force for Anies-Sandi in forming opinions and lead the votes. Muslim leaders became one of the taglines in the DKI Jakarta Governor 2017 election. Muslim leaders went viral by Anies-Sandi's *timeses* by displaying various posts of Anies-Sandi when they were praying and using Islamic attributes of *Peci* and *Koko*

clothes as religious symbols (figure 2).



(Source: Instagram of Anies-Sandi, 2017)

Figure 2. Anies-Sandi Social Media Posts

Facebook and Instagram facilitate the dissemination of messages, opinion formation, participation, sharing, repost, and comments for supporters of Anies-Sandi. In addition, these two social media have also contributed to the continuous and massive dissemination of Anies-Sandi’s work program after being selected which was primarily aimed at lower-middle-class voters. The increasing political temperatures during the 2017 gubernatorial election was (one of them) triggered by an incident of blasphemy by incumbents Ahok as political opponents of Anies. Anies-Sandi gained the opportunity and benefits of this condition indirectly with the increasing image of Muslim leaders. The viral strategy of various Muslim leaders’ messages continues to be a collaboration of Anies-Sandi supporters to elect Muslim leaders in line with the movement to defend Islam. The 212 movement was momentum for Anies-Sandi as a Muslim leader to gain support not only from Jakarta but also Indonesia so that they could win the 2017 DKI Jakarta gubernatorial election (figure 3).



(Source: Instagram of Anies-Sandi, 2017)

Figure 3. Anies-Sandi at 212 Movement

Technology is one of the tools used to gather many prospective voters and

determined the winning of Anies-Sandi. The technology referred to in Anies-Sandi’s political campaign is the use of media in conveying messages and forming the opinions of prospective voters. Online media is an option for *tim*ses besides conventional campaigns of roadshows and mass gathering. Jakarta is the second largest city of Facebook users in the world. There are 20 million Facebook users in Jakarta even though the population is only around 10 million. Based on the Anies-Sandi team’s internal survey, novice voters prefer to use Facebook than Twitter.

Social media is very effective in targeting novice voters which takes up 10-15% of the total population of Jakarta, that is about 500 thousand residents, with the hope that the candidate will receive at least 7% of the vote. Based on the LSI survey, the majority of DKI Jakarta voters of 58.90% are active on social media. It also says that Anies-Sandi excelled Ahok-Djarot on Facebook and Instagram. Of the total of 57.80% Facebook users, Anies-Sandi was slightly ahead with the result of 47.58% from their opponent who received 43.93%. Of 29.30% Instagram users, Anies-Sandi received the support of 49.99% and Ahok-Djarot 40.73%. Viral political campaign strategy of Anies-Sandi is carried out by a successful team. The online media used in this political campaign is Facebook and Instagram with the reason that both are social media that have many followers, there is no need to spend a lot of money as its cost, and they can be a link of/connect one candidate to another. Social media is different from mainstream or conventional ones which are *one to many*. Social media has the characteristics of participation, openness, conversation, community, and connectedness. This media is part of a campaign able to make various political messages of Anies-Sandi go viral and at the same time, the community can directly comment or give their opinions and provide support. Facebook account: Anies-Sandi #jakartamajubersama. Instagram: *jakartamajubersama*.

The political campaign using online media is one of the strategies of the winning team for DKI Jakarta governor candidate Anies-Sandi. Various messages were published (shared) via Facebook and Instagram which later became viral. The ban on the use of props, banners, billboards, and other attributes in the second round campaign made Anies-Sandi take advantage of Facebook and Instagram as a media for broadcasting their activities. Social media is an effective campaign media

because it can make messages viral, easily reposted, share, and comment. The campaign carried out through Facebook and Instagram is divided into various themes proposed by Anies as a candidate of the governor of DKI Jakarta.

The successful team of Anies-Sandi utilizes Facebook and Instagram in forming viral communication strategies. Voters of Anies-Sandi are residents of the capital city of DKI Jakarta who are a minimum of 17 years old and have voting rights. The various economic levels and education of DKI Jakarta residents have become the target of the successful team to win Anies-Sandi in the election. The Anies-Sandi political campaign strategy is viral and collaboration through social media which targets Indonesian Muslims, especially those living in Jakarta. The case of blasphemy by Ahok as a political opponent of Anies-Sandi made Muslim voters even bigger. Various political messages are continuously launched through Facebook, Instagram, and other social media to persuade the voters to choose and win Anies-Sandi as their Muslim leaders. Various political activities and movements took place during the political campaign that made Muslim communities, especially in Jakarta, do a mass gathering. The massive movement arose as a result of communication through Facebook and Instagram. This political communication is not only from the winning team but also from supporters and mass organizations of Anies-Sandi's supporters. In the end, Anies-Sandi won the election and became the governor and deputy governor of DKI Jakarta for the period 2017-2021.

Discussion

The right political campaign made Anies-Sandi won the election and became Governor and Deputy Governor of DKI Jakarta

2017-2021. Anies-Sandi's political campaign strategy is viral and collaboration with the use of social media as a communication technology. Facebook and Instagram are used as tools to deliver messages quickly, widely, and simultaneously, which is called "viral". Viral messages form a network in Anies-Sandi Facebook and Instagram accounts where followers share, discuss, and disseminate messages. This is a political campaign strategy called "collaboration" where followers interact with each other, cooperate, and become Anies-Sandi voters. Viral is not limited to the dissemination of information and support but has also reached the stage of forming opinions and affection, in which supporters with a touch of emotion make agreements through social media to gather and defend their prospective leaders. The movement which formed due to the intensity of communication on this social media became a political groundswell. Groundswell is frequently used more for analyzing business and marketing, but this research dissects the political movement through social media as a political groundswell in Indonesia, especially Jakarta. Messages on Facebook and Instagram are quite diverse, either official messages from winning teams or supporters' messages of Anies-Sandi. Loyal supporters of Anies-Sandi who always give messages and forms opinions make them opinion formers and representations of Anies-Sandi's voter behavior.

Political *groundswell* occurred during the 2017 gubernatorial election campaign when Muslims united in a movement to defend Islam and form the opinion of the need for Muslim leaders. Groundswell can be understood as "a social trend in which people use things they need from each other, rather than traditional institutions like corporations" (Mayfield, 2008: 47). In the political campaign for the 2017 election of the DKI Jakarta governor, a thread can be drawn that the mass rallying event

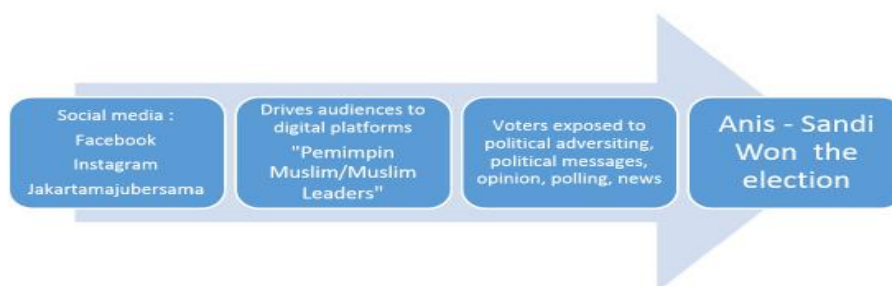


Figure 4. The Groundswell Flow Process as political campaign strategy of Anies-Sandi

(source: processed by the researchers, 2017)

of Muslims and choosing Muslim leaders is a massive movement of Muslims in expressing their opinions by gathering together in 212 movements. This movement was carried out with the power of social media where users did not know each other and have never met in person before but they interacted through Facebook and Instagram. Various Muslim figures support other Muslim leaders' statements delivered through official Facebook and Instagram accounts of Anies-Sandi. Anies-Sandi strengthened their position by inviting Muslims to defend Islam and attended the 212 movements at the National Monument (Monas). Anies has done the roadshow by visiting Kyai (Islamic leaders) in Java and powered the opinion of the need of Muslim leaders. People for social interactions use the things they need from each other, rather than from traditional institutions like parties.

In this case, Muslims gathered together to search for information through social media they have and not just followed the supporting political parties. There was a shift in the formation of opinion and mass rally through Facebook and Instagram where the majority of Muslims gathered at Monas to pray together and opposed the humiliation of Islam. This event became one point of victory for the Anies-Sandi candidate in the 2017 gubernatorial election. They were formed as a pair of Muslim leaders by their *tim*s so that Muslim leaders' opinions were increasingly viral on Facebook and Instagram and made Anies-Sandi win. Viral politics is a political campaign that adapts digital technology to express the political goals of a candidate. Furthermore, in his work entitled *New Campaign and the Managed Citizen*, Howard (2006) said that this form of campaign allows people to exchange information quickly and spread widely like a virus (viral). Viral politics in this campaign is a message to elect Muslim leaders as a governor and deputy governor of DKI Jakarta which is placed on social media in virtual time space. Islamic communities share a number of specific issues surrounding Muslim leaders to increase political awareness that Muslim voters choose Muslim leaders for the good of Muslims. Anies-Sandi's winning team were very creative in utilizing Facebook and Instagram as a medium for their political campaigns so that they managed to deliver Anies-Sandi to victory (figure 4).

Conclusion

The results of this study provide various

interesting things about the political campaign for the 2017 DKI Jakarta gubernatorial election conducted by the winning team of Anies-Sandi pair, including the high number of internet users in Indonesia who utilized social media as a medium of interaction for potential voters. Social media has the power to influence society exclusively on social aspects. It opens up a space for interaction, a forum for expressing opinions, and participation that impacts on a good consolidation or being used to weaken the opinions of other political candidates. Online media is another crucial option for Anies-Sandi in addition to conventional campaigns by way of roadshows and mass gathering. The online media used in this political campaign are Facebook and Instagram that have many followers which do not require a large amount of money as its cost and can be a media to connect opinions between one potential voter and another. The political campaign strategy of Anies-Sandi success team is viral and collaboration as groundswell through Facebook and Instagram targeting Indonesian Muslims, especially those living in Jakarta. The campaign materials raised are the issue of leaders with good character, pious, and Muslims which were the weaknesses of the opposing candidate of Ahok as a non-Muslim leader and subjected to the case of blasphemy. Groundswell occurred in the political campaign for the 2017 gubernatorial election when Muslims united in a movement defending Islam and forming Muslim leaders' opinions. Groundswell was also created when supporters of Anies-Sandi did various things to mobilize, support, and win Anies-Sandi as the Governor and Deputy Governor of DKI Jakarta 2017 through mass mobilization on Facebook and Instagram social media which later became a mass gathering and led them to choose Anies-Sandi.

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