The Interplay Between Populism and Social Fragmentation: Insights from the Indonesian Context

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Abstract. This paper examines populism in Indonesia as a possible danger to social polarization. It was developed in reaction to the blossoming populism in Indonesia's political and social systems. Although populism is still not a common term in society, it is necessary for society to comprehend these phenomena since populism has evolved into a political weapon and maneuver used by political actors to leverage their names and the organizations they have organized, particularly during elections. However, populism has a problem. On the one hand, it has been shown that using the names of certain political figures to acquire greater support is successful. However, populism as a political approach has the potential to polarize and divide society, reducing unity and increasing tensions long after the election has gone. That is why it is important to ponder on and comprehend these phenomena. This article employs a literature review to gather facts and information as a reference for the conclusion and discussion. The author believes that everybody who reads this document will find it useful and will get a fresh perspective on society.

Keywords: Populism; Polarization; Society; Indonesia.

1 Introduction

After the 2014 general election phenomena featuring two populist candidates, namely Joko Widodo and Prabowo Subianto (will be covered in depth in the third section of this article), populism has been more investigated in Indonesia. Despite the fact that the concept, notion, or phenomenon of populism has been studied for a long time, relatively few people have heard of it, particularly in Indonesia. This is because the general public is less interested in discussing or debating the dynamics of Indonesian politics, because most Indonesians still believe that politics is just a struggle for power by elites that ordinary people cannot understand, and there is no interest in making it a topic of conversation. Thus, populism is only a study or debate subject in scholarly papers that investigate social and political events, and it is seldom a problem or topic of conversation among the general population. In reality, the existence of populism can be felt and affects a country's social and political order, making this issue very important. It is intended that by covering the issue of populism in an essay, more and more people would be interested in reading about and comprehending these phenomena.

Previous research papers and books have produced arguments and hypotheses concerning populism. First, populism may be seen as a natural phase of a country's democratic processes.

This is due to a representative system that is becoming more corrupt and dominated by political elites, allowing populist movements to arise as the people's direct representation of it. On the other hand, due to the lack of institutionalization of democracy in Indonesia, populism might potentially impede the evolution of democracy (Eby Hara, 2018). Similarly, a critical examination of populism has developed, questioning if populism is a means of achieving governance with popular sovereignty or just a new technique of competing for power (Mustabsyirotul Ummah Mustofa, 2019). Then, in his book Populism in Southeast Asia, Kenny said that populism is defined differently by two groups. The first group describes populism as an ideology, while the second defines populism as a political weapon or tactic aimed at mobilizing the public in order to obtain support by closing the gap between populist individuals (charismatic leaders) and their supporters (Kenny, 2018). Furthermore, political players use five important beliefs in order to become populist leaders. These five key ideologies are expanding the meaning of popular sovereignty, developing advocacy for oppressed people, developing strategies for attacking corrupt elites, excluding other groups in the same horizontal position, and restoring conditions or spaces that have been lost in the current situation (Sven Engesser Nicole Ernst & Büchel, 2017). Finally, Wirajuda characterizes populism as a protest voice and a transient phenomenon that must be assessed and addressed by democracy (Tjandraningsih et al., 2019).

2 Literature review

The populist movement arises as a direct reaction from "ordinary people" to a social, political, bureaucratic, and representational system that is becoming more corrupt and dominated by political elites and oligarchs (Eby Hara, 2018). According to several experts, the development of democratic processes in a nation is one of the most important variables influencing the growth of populism. The dynamics of democracy are now at a high level of public representation (Rascão, 2020). Because of this, general elections are often referred to as the primary source of political involvement or the people's right to influence the destiny of a nation by choosing people's representatives (Mustabsyirotul Ummah Mustofa, 2019). Populism and democracy, on the other hand, have a conflicting connection that has sparked significant controversy among social science academics. This is due to the fact that the terms and parameters of these two notions are still unknown at the time of their discovery (Tjandraningsih et al., 2019). A problem also arises because populism generates intense competition on a country's political aren (Suraya, 2023). In certain cases, this competition may devolve into prejudice between groups, which can lead to war. However, according to Robert Dahl's old ideas, as outlined in the book Polyarchy: Participation and Opposition, one of the eight dimensions of democracy is high contestation, which allows for balance and an attitude of monitoring each other by providing alternative ideas so that no one group can dominate other groups (Kenny, 2018).

Other analysts say that since 13 years ago, democracy has suffered losses due to the growth of corrupt practices, inadequate law enforcement, and the advent of populism as a trend (Mustabsyirotul Ummah Mustofa, 2019). Because of a country's very complicated political processes, democracy is an abstract notion that essentially promotes freedom, particularly in politics. The loss in moral integrity in society is then influenced by this abstract freedom (Hilmy, 2020). As a result, some actors use this flexibility to excuse any methods of gaining power. Several case studies have shown how populism originated as a political

instrument for gaining power and dividing society. One example is what occurred in India, when the populist BJP party lead by Prime Minister Narendra Modi published the Citizen Amendment Bill, which reinforced the narrative about sectarianism and resulted in assaults on a number of mosques (Hilmy, 2020). The preceding scenario demonstrates that populism exists as a result of poor democratic quality, which creates a narrative in which majority rule is seen as absolute and inviolable, ignoring the backdrop of numerous identities in the nation. Another possibility is that there is a mismatch in the democratic context, such that countries with multiple identities and multiculturalism must be forced to adopt democratic values from Western countries that have demonstrated themselves to be advanced as a reference for national and state life.

As the foundation of the state, Pancasila demonstrates that Indonesia is a democratic nation, explaining in the fourth principle that the democratic system in Indonesia corresponds to the notion of deliberation/representation. In this scenario, Indonesia's democracy differs from the democracy practiced in the majority of Western nations. Democracy in the West, also known as Liberal Democracy, is founded only on logical thought, with individualism, secularism, and anthropocentrism serving as the foundation for deciding its consciousness (Pradhan & Tinus, 2021). As a result, democracy is established statistically or by majority vote (Widyatiningtyas et al., 2023). Meanwhile, Pancasila Democracy is founded on a feeling of common identity, a sense of shared destiny that is founded not only on logical concepts but also on religious or religious principles (Budiman, 2021). This explanation demonstrates that most democratic nations are believed to be countries that defend popular sovereignty and individual liberties, ranging from free speech to political involvement.

Democracy has long been associated with freedom of speech and political involvement. General elections allow society to be actively engaged in deciding a country's destiny by electing its leaders. General elections did, in fact, split society into two or more factions based on their candidate choices. Aside from that, someone who favours one candidate will implicitly "defend" that candidate, which occasionally sparks argument if they encounter others who like a different candidate. These disagreements are unavoidable since everyone wants to choose the greatest leader. However, it should be emphasized that someone should not push their will on those who have different choices in the name of "freedom" and "democracy." Because a person's freedom has boundaries, namely in terms of not interfering with the freedom of others. According to Benjamin Franklin, "only virtuous people are capable of freedom" (Moffitt & Tormey, 2014), which suggests that only individuals who are morally decent and virtuous are "worthy" or capable of being accountable for their freedom. Because freedom requires self-control. A moral imperative not to exert one's will in order to avoid stress.

3 Methodology

For the purpose of this study, a comprehensive literature review was carried out using a qualitative methodology. We have ensured that our investigation of the subject at hand is both thorough and in-depth by making use of material that was gathered from relevant literature and academic publications that were subjected to peer review (Creswell, 2007). This qualitative method provided a well-organized framework, which enabled a complete explanation of the intricate interaction between populism, democracy, and the dynamics of social life in the Indonesian environment.

4 Results and Discussion

4.1 Populism as a Political Mechanism: Assessing its Role in the Evolution or Erosion of Democratic Structures

The populist movement arises as a direct reaction from "ordinary people" to a social, political, bureaucratic, and representational system that is becoming more corrupt and dominated by political elites and oligarchs (Eby Hara, 2018). The charismatic leader of the movement's founder is critical to populism's success in converting itself into a movement. How can these leaders introduce and construct narratives that depict the sentiments and situations that ordinary people are experiencing in response to a corrupt system? Populism, according to this definition, is a communication technique that addresses common people in order to acquire support. Furthermore, the populist movement will either gain acceptance or face rejection. A well recognized populist movement will have a large amount of support, allowing the movement to become a majority and hence the actual representation of the people. If this occurs, the charismatic leader of this populist movement will be elected as the country's leader and will have the chance to implement fundamental changes. In this scenario, populism might be characterized as a political technique used by some players to achieve an objective. Finally, if the populist movement can turn into a group in specific situations, even if it is not the majority, but may nevertheless produce tensions between groups that have the potential to create division, populism can be classified as a social phenomena.

When considering populism as a phenomena, a crucial issue emerges: does populism grow and find validation due to the progress of a nation's democracy, or rather as a consequence of the deterioration or weakening of that nation's democracy? Firstly, several scholars contend that a significant determinant for the rise of populism is the progression of democratic processes inside a nation. Presently, the state of popular representation in democracy is at an advanced level (Mustabsyirotul Ummah Mustofa, 2019). General elections are often seen as the primary avenue for political engagement and the citizens' prerogative to exercise their freedom in shaping the future of a nation by selecting their representatives (Mustabsyirotul Ummah Mustofa, 2019). Populism and democracy exhibit a paradoxical connection and have prompted much deliberation among scholars in the field of social science. The lack of clarity around the words and limitations of these two concepts is the reason for this (Kenny, 2018). In addition, a quandary arises due to the fact that populism leads to significant contention inside a nation's political arena(Moffitt & Tormey, 2014). Under some conditions, this dispute might escalate into bias among different groups, leading to the possibility of war. Robert Dahl, in his book "Polyarchy: Participation and Opposition," identified high contestation as one of the eight dimensions of democracy. This dimension promotes balance and encourages groups to monitor each other by offering alternative ideas, preventing any one group from dominating others (Rascão, 2020).

Contrary to the argument presented, several academics contend that democracy has encountered obstacles over the last 13 years due to the proliferation of corrupt practices, inadequate law enforcement, and the advent of populism as a prevailing trend (Hilmy, 2020). The intricate political processes of a nation render democracy an abstract notion that primarily emphasizes political freedom. The presence of abstract freedom subsequently contributes to the deterioration of moral standards within society (Hilmy, 2020). Consequently, some individuals take advantage of this freedom to rationalize using whatever methods necessary to get power. Several case studies have shown the emergence of populism as a political tool for acquiring power and its divisive influence on society. An instance of this occurred in India,

when the populist BJP party, under the leadership of Prime Minister Narendra Modi, enacted the Citizen Amendment Bill. This legislation bolstered the narrative of sectarianism and resulted in a series of assaults on many mosques in India (Hilmy, 2020). The aforementioned scenario illustrates the presence of populism, which arises due to the substandard nature of democracy. This fosters a narrative that treats majority power as absolute and unassailable, disregarding the contextual existence of diverse identities inside the nation. Another potential explanation is that there exists a disparity in the democratic framework, whereby countries with diverse identities and multicultural populations are compelled to embrace democratic principles based on the advanced Western nations that have served as benchmarks for national and state affairs.

Indonesia itself is a democratic nation as demonstrated by Pancasila as the foundation of the state wherein the fourth principle is that the democratic system in Indonesia conforms to the notion of deliberation/representation. In this scenario, the democracy embraced by Indonesia is distinct from the democracy established in most Western nations. Democracy in the West, which is also known as Liberal Democracy, is exclusively founded on a logical style of thinking, establishing individualism, secularism, and anthropocentrism as the foundation for creating its consciousness(Suraya, 2023). Thus, democracy is produced quantitatively or by majority vote (Syahid Suraya, 2021). Meanwhile, Pancasila Democracy is very much built on a knowledge of common identity, a feeling of shared destiny which is not just based on logical concepts but additionally operates on religious or religious principles (Syahid Suraya, 2021). This explanation illustrates that most democratic nations are regarded as countries that support popular sovereignty and individual liberties, from freedom of speech to political involvement.

Democracy has perpetually been associated with the concepts of unrestricted speech and the ability to engage in political activities. General elections provide society with a direct opportunity to participate in shaping the future of a nation by selecting its leaders. General elections inherently polarise society, causing individuals to align themselves with certain candidates and forming distinct factions. In addition, those who have a certain candidate preference can inadvertently advocate for that candidate, which can sometimes lead to debates when they encounter others with differing candidate preferences. These discussions are an inherent occurrence since individuals always possess the inclination to choose the most exceptional leader. Nevertheless, it is crucial to emphasize that one should refrain from imposing their own desires based on notions of "freedom" and "democracy" onto those with divergent interests. Essentially, an individual's freedom is constrained by the principle of not infringing upon the freedom of others. According to Benjamin Franklin, only those who possess virtuous qualities have the capacity to experience freedom. This implies that only morally upright and virtuous individuals are seen as "deserving" or capable of assuming the responsibility that comes with freedom. Freedom requires self-discipline. An ethical inclination to refrain from imposing one's desires in order to avoid conflict.

This concept is highly applicable when examining different populist movements, as they frequently generate conflicts between groups due to their reliance on narratives of animosity. Consequently, this reinforces the prevailing belief in society that politics is not concerned with promoting prosperity or maintaining order, but rather is solely a power struggle that justifies any methods employed. This is aggravated by an excessive veneration of the Western democratic system as the optimal method for promoting a country's progress. In addition, the absence of qualitative-quantitative democratic principles (prioritizing discussion before voting) in Indonesia has led to the weakening of the Pancasila Democracy system and its adoption of Western-style democracy. This is due to the impracticability of conducting a debate to choose a leader in Indonesia. Even if each delegate were able to speak the interests

of a specific group, the government's decision-making process would be significantly delayed since it would need to accommodate all the votes. The primary determinant for the present state of democracy in Indonesia is its inclination towards a quantitative democracy that prioritizes the rule of the majority. Political personalities often use this vulnerability to foster societal divisions based on identity, therefore significantly increasing the likelihood of conflicts. Undoubtedly, there is no superior or more virtuous pursuit than attaining a state of organisation, harmony, and cohesion within a country. Regardless of the many identities, the ultimate objective of a country should be the attainment of togetherness and cohesion. Hence, it is essential for individuals to maintain a consciousness that as Indonesians, we own our distinct identity, culture, and mindset, and should refrain from idolizing the West. The cultivation of this consciousness must be achieved by the implementation of Pancasila's principles, which represent the lofty aspirations of our country.

In addition to its manifestation as a movement or social phenomenon, populism fundamentally involves the rise of an individual who possesses the desire to become a charismatic figure of reform. This person relies on their effective communication skills to garner support and ignite the formation of a united populist movement based on shared ideas. Outdated or stagnant concepts or narratives that no longer align with societal growth. Hence, drawing on prior discourse on populism, democracy, and the Indonesian national identity, the author posits that populism is a political tactic or instrument used by political agents to acquire power for certain objectives.

4.2 The Phenomenon of Populism in Indonesia

Two populist presidential candidates competed in the 2014 Indonesian General Election. Joko Widodo argued at the time that Indonesia's bureaucratic structure had grown very corrupt. He also used the story of "bureaucratic reform" to assist regular people who often face barriers to accessing education, health, and other public services. Meanwhile, Prabowo Subianto is constructing a narrative in which farmers, fishermen, and workers are portrayed as the actual people. Prabowo says that an elite clique of foreign capital owners has corrupted the government system in order to gain money by draining Indonesia's resources. As a result, the constructed narrative is "anti-foreign" (Eby Hara, 2018). Voting for one of the candidates in the 2014 elections, without realizing it, makes a person a member of one of the populist organizations that will carry out system transformation. Because partisanship in elections is a kind of political behavior that may shift based on individual preferences (Suraya, 2023). According to the author, political conduct like this is heavily impacted by each candidate's story, which will be molded into an identity. For example, Prabowo's followers or voters might be classified as "nativism," which is defined as a group that prioritizes local or national values, culture, and identity above foreign identity (Eby Hara, 2018).

The rise of populism in Indonesia is intimately linked to the fact that there has been inequality and unfairness in the decentralized democratic system that has been constructed from the start of the reform era (Madung, 2018).This demonstrates that populism evolved in Indonesia as a political tool used by populist individuals when democracy declined. Furthermore, populist movements, in addition to presenting an anti-elite narrative, construct a narrative in which their group is the only one who embodies the genuine desire of the people, which implicitly labels itself as anti-pluralist (Madung, 2018). This might generate issues since Indonesia is a pluralistic nation with multiple identities and goals that must be

acknowledged and accommodated. Furthermore, the 2014 General Election scenario had two populist personalities, implying that there are two big populist groupings that identify as "real people." Identity has been divided into two broad divisions in this area. So, what about other identities, such as ethnic and cultural groups, who are denied the ability to express their aspirations? What if it turns out that the populist organizations claiming to represent the "real people" do not reflect their aspirations? This has undoubtedly given rise to new oppression and will undoubtedly create opportunities for other actors to launch similar movements, resulting in the formation of many oppressed identities whose interactions between groups are extremely vulnerable to frictions that have the potential to cause polarization and conflict.

The lack of representation of certain groups' aspirations by the populist movements led by Jokowi and Prabowo during the 2014 General Elections was demonstrated by the formation of an Islamic populism movement in 2017 that was initiated by the Islamic Defenders Front (FPI). The populism propagated by the FPI asserts that the ruling elite in Indonesia has degenerated into a corrupt organization that is dominated by ethnic Chinese seeking to establish dominance over the country. Consequently, a narrative is constructed to rally the ummah in opposition to ethnic Chinese groups identified as infidels (Eby Hara, 2018). The prevalence of Islamic populism in Indonesia became more pronounced prior to the DKI Jakarta Governor Election, when one of the campaign speeches delivered by Basuki Tjahaja Purnama, an ethnic Chinese candidate, was accused of religious blasphemy for interpreting Surah Al-Maidah verse 51 of the Qur'an (Pratama, 2021).

This occurrence presented Rizieq Shihab, a populist figure affiliated with the FPI, with an opportunity to engage in religious construction through the incitement of the 212 movement, which marginalized ethnic Chinese (Pratama, 2021). The 212 movement originated from a more extensive context, which was marked by the declining Muslim presence in Indonesia's political and economic spheres and the increasing influence of the ethnic Chinese bourgeoisie, particularly in the economic domain, which alienates and dominates indigenous Muslim groups (Hilmy, 2020). The 212 movement's capacity to rally large crowds for the occupation of the National Monument area in Jakarta demonstrates that the group's Islamic populism has effectively captivated both a minority of Muslims and the general populace. It appeared that the 212 movement's mass mobilization had been effective in constructing a narrative of animosity toward ethnic Chinese, who were thought to have dominated Indonesia. This incident once more demonstrates that Indonesian society is easily divided in the name of religious and ethnic identity, in addition to political identity. This does not reflect the multicultural and multi-identity nature of the Indonesian nation, which should prioritize communication and mutual understanding in order to prevent tension.

The several populist phenomena addressed in Indonesia remind us that populism may develop and morph into a narrative of resistance at any moment and from any place if society does not have a strong grasp of populism. Although the existence of populism may remind the public that there is a corrupt system that must be promptly rectified, populist individuals should limit or even refrain from using hate narratives and hunt for a group to blame, degrade, or demonize. This must be considered because the impact of polarization is always greater than the impact of reform itself, as evidenced by the fact that there are still narratives of hatred towards Jokowi's supporters and his opponents, or hatred towards ethnic Chinese that persists to this day. become an impediment to implementing policies that were intended to bring about constructive change and prosperity.

4.3 The Nexus Between Populism and Societal Polarization: Implications of Technological Advancements, Consumer Culture, and Negative Campaigning

In general, the study findings indicate that technical improvements are well established in the contemporary modern period, and practically all Indonesians have access to this technology. According to internetworldstats.com, internet users in Indonesia reached 76.8% of the whole population in 2021 (76.8% of the total population indicates that there are around 212.35 million internet users out of the total population, meaning 276.3 million people). According to the findings of this research, Indonesia ranks 15th in Asia in terms of public internet usage (World, 2021).
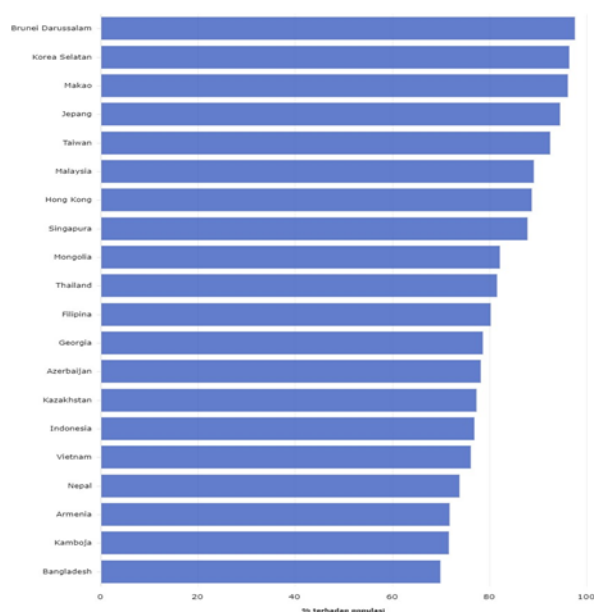

Fig. 1. 20 Asian Countries with the Highest Internet Penetration
Source: Internet World Stats (2021)

Based on this figure above, we may infer that the vast majority of Indonesians have easy access to a wide range of information. Aside from that, according to kompas.com, which based its information on data released by the British marketing agency We Are Social in a report titled Digital 2021: The Latest Insights Into The State of Digital, 61.8% of Indonesia's total population is a social media user, including Facebook, Instagram, Twitter, and other social media. According to this statistics, more than half of the Indonesian population utilizes social media, which is primarily a platform for gathering information, communicating with others, and providing enjoyment in their spare time.

The enormous number of social media users in Indonesia demonstrates that the majority of Indonesians are aware of technology and the information dissemination that it entails. People may now acquire information fast because to advances in information technology such as the internet and social media. However, whether all or most of Indonesia's technology users have utilized technology properly must be evaluated. In response, figures issued by the

technology corporation Microsoft reveal that Indonesia is rated 29th out of 32 Southeast Asian nations in terms of the Digital Civility Index (DCI), or the degree of civility of social media users (We Are Social, 2021). This data shows that, despite the large number of social media users in Indonesia, the majority of these users are still unable to use social media wisely, in the sense of interacting with each other well without being condescending and using good words. From this, it can be argued that, in terms of populism, Indonesian society might be an easy target for obtaining support from populist leaders seeking power via the use of social media strategies.

In general, Indonesian society has lived in the middle of modernity. People's capacity to think more logically, allowing them to develop more established institutions in social, economic, and political systems, is generally connected with modernity (Madung, 2018). Modernization is defined as the process of transitioning society from a traditional form to a modern form, involving massive industrialization, specialization, secularization, social differentiation, and rationalization, so that there is a change from a homogeneous traditional form of society to a society with diverse backgrounds (Budiman, 2021). Modernity, in the process, develops a new culture, notably consumerism, which implies that in today's contemporary period, a person would be assessed more on the products they consume, rather than what they can produce (Octaviana, 2020). This demonstrates that people's perceptions have evolved, with the more they consume, the higher other people's evaluations of them because they are deemed competent or have more resources.

Consumption includes not just the consumption of products, but also the consumption of non-goods, which may boost value. One of them is the consumption of information. Human requirements for current knowledge have currently been met by technological advancements. As a result, with various media outlets reporting on it, information ranging from entertainment to social, economic, and political information becomes quite accessible to acquire. However, the difficulty is that when individuals live in a consumerism culture, they ingest information without any moral filters. This has resulted in the birth of a large amount of false news or fake news that is becoming more prevalent as a result of high public consumption tendencies that are not accompanied by the capacity to filter information sensibly. Populist movements, culture, or attitudes that have proliferated in this manner will be very readily utilized by populist leaders to carry out dark campaigns. Black campaigns are often conducted in the form of propagating fake news, with the goal of polarizing society into opposing camps. Worse, false news spread by black operations often includes components of identification such as nationality, religion, race, and traditions (Budiman, 2021).

Furthermore, it is worth noting that some populist politicians now own media enterprises, therefore facilitating their ability to manipulate the flow of information inside a nation. Indonesia is a nation where political conflicts are more conspicuous as a result of extensive media use. The influence of major media outlets in the Presidential elections of 2014 and 2019 is evident, as they were responsible for branding certain media organizations as being connected to certain Presidential candidates. Utilizing media to attain political supremacy involves persuading others to embrace a certain belief, especially in the absence of tangible proof (McIntyre, 2018). The media has also emerged as a tool for populist groups to distribute information in order to enhance group cohesion. Populist propaganda may be disseminated effectively via visually appealing media presentations, such as by delivering biased news coverage. The use of media in populist political arrangements will inevitably lead to disintegration, which is the residual consequence of using populist techniques. The populist movement use the media as a means to personalize and evoke emotions in order to get support

from people. The media serves as a platform to achieve this objective on a large scale (Mudde, 2007).

The participation of both domestic and international media corporations in political affairs is a significant deviation from the democratic process. The press is often seen as the fourth institution, apart from the *Trias Politica*, that oversees the functioning of the government with independence and objectivity (Hilmy, 2020). The involvement of the news media in political events would undermine the progress of democracy. If the press is not really impartial, it may easily lead to the manipulation and bias of media content for strictly political purposes. Such conduct hinders the production of unbiased and transparent journalistic content, hence limiting the public's access to information that has been filtered by individuals with malicious political motives.

Undoubtedly, the media serves as a catalyst for promoting populist movements, as shown in several nations, including Indonesia. The accessibility of material without any indication of its veracity would inevitably mislead those who do not examine it attentively and extensively. Furthermore, this occurrence often takes place in emerging nations like Indonesia, the Philippines, and India, where literacy rates remain very low. Hence, the dissemination of misinformation and biased information via information media has emerged as the primary catalyst in shaping public opinion and garnering support for the populist movement.

Within some limitations, populism will always utilize smear campaigns to garner support. The phrase "black campaign" refers to conducting a campaign in a negative manner, namely by circulating negative information about a candidate in order to destroy the politician's good reputation, resulting in decreased support (Octaviana, 2020). One instance of mass distribution of black campaigns occurred during the 2014 General Election, when both candidates, Jokowi and Prabowo, got negative storylines as a result of black campaigns made against one other. This black campaign method is completely inconsistent with normative rules as written in Law Number 42 of 2008 concerning the Election of President and Vice President, which should be carried out by convincing voters through candidate pairs' vision, mission, and work programs in realizing development (Court, 2019). Aside from that, the effect of carrying out dark campaigns is quite damaging to the general people. Let's simply say that today's culture has been brainwashed with the idea that someone will be noticed more because of what they eat, thus when someone consumes information without screening it, what occurs is that person spreads the news even before reading it entirely. Meanwhile, receivers of the material may respond and react inappropriately, and in some circumstances include parts of identity by vilifying other identities, which can lead to conflicts and friction between groups. Based on this logic, populism may be considered as one of the reasons of societal division.

5   Conclusion

Populism may engender social division within society due to its foundation on a narrative of animosity from one group against the ruling group, therefore often garnering support. The rise of populism may be attributed to the deterioration or erosion of democratic standards in a nation that no longer places importance on maintaining social order, but rather focuses only on the idea that democracy is synonymous with freedom. It is imperative to rectify this kind of perspective, particularly within the framework of the Indonesian nation's diverse and unified character. Therefore, embracing technology should enhance our wisdom in online communication, particularly on social media platforms, given the persistently low Digital

Civility Index of Indonesian society. This index serves as evidence that Indonesian individuals are still lacking wisdom in their use of social media. The frictions that arise may readily be exposed to the public sphere outside online platforms, manifesting as the initiation of social movements, the construction of unfavourable narratives, and confrontations stemming from populist ideologies.

Acknowledgment

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