

# Intercandidate Agenda-Setting and Social Media in Indonesia

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**Abstract.** This research aims to examine the Intercandidate Agenda-Setting in the elections of DKI Jakarta province 2017 during the first and second round campaign. The underlying theory of research is the agenda-setting theory and the agenda building. This research is quantitative research with content analysis method. The data collection is done by downloading the Tweets from Twitter account @AhokDjarot (n = 1013) and @JktMajuBersama (n = 1613) during the campaign period on both rounds. Tweets is divided into four month periods for the entire campaign period, three month periods for the first round campaign period, and four weeks period for the second round of campaigning. By using Spearman and Rozelle-Campbell Baseline correlations, the results obtained show that intercandidate agenda-setting relationships are found in the first round although the correlation is not as strong as in the second round.

**Keywords:** Intercandidate, agenda-setting, social media, internet, election.

## 1. Introduction

The role of social media in political campaigns has become increasingly popular since Barack Obama successfully used Facebook as one of the main communication media to campaign during the presidential election in the United States in 2008 and proved by his victory he was elected President of the United States in 2008. General election candidates and politicians also began using various other social media platforms outside of Facebook, such as Twitter, Instagram, and Youtube.

In Indonesia, in the 2012 DKI Regional elections, according to Andriadi [1] social media has a very significant role in building participatory communication and political branding of the Jokowi - Basuki pair, by seeing the high traffic of conversations about Jokowi - Basuki in social media, especially Twitter and Facebook. [1]Andriadi then added some interesting facts that social media is able to become a catalyst that amplifies the Jokowi - Basuki campaign into various social pockets. Social media becomes a new public sphere for the public to discuss politics. In addition, the marriage between offline activism and online supporters and volunteers of Jokowi - Basuki representing actual participatory democracy.

With the election of Jokowi - Basuki as the Governor and Deputy Governor of DKI Jakarta in 2012, defeating the incumbent, and bringing a new face to Jakarta, it is no exaggeration if there are many opinions that the social media they use has a major impact on the success of election candidates. It can be concluded from a number of explanations above that the use of social media has become a very important element in political campaigns, especially at this time that the level of use is increasingly high and more and more forms of social media.

Furthermore, the 2017 DKI Regional elections is present amidst the high level of social media activities by the community, of which 132 million internet users are in Indonesia, 40% of whom are social media users (www.detik.com, 2017). Then the question arises as to how the campaign conditions for the 2017 DKI Jakarta Regional Election are followed by three pairs of candidates amid the high internet usage and social media by the

public. Kompas in December 2016 showed that 38.6 percent of respondents received information about the election through social media. The report also shows that Facebook is the most widely used social media for respondents to obtain information regarding the election.

In the DKI Jakarta Regional elections in 2017, there were three candidate pairs in the DKI Election, namely Agus Harimurti Yudhoyono - Sylviana Murni (supported by the Democratic Party, the National Mandate Party, the National Awakening Party and the United Development Party), Basuki Tjahaja Purnama - Djarot Saiful Hidayat (supported by the Indonesian Democratic Party of Struggle, Hanura Party and National Democratic Party), and Anies Baswedan - Sandiaga Uno (supported by the Gerindra Party and the Prosperous Justice Party). Then the 2017 DKI Jakarta Governor General Election resulted in two rounds, with the second round leaving only Basuki - Djarot and Anies Baswedan - Sandiaga Uno.

The use of social media as a media campaign by the pairs of candidates in the DKI Jakarta Governor General Election 2017 was recognized directly by one of the candidates, namely the Deputy Governor candidate from the Gerindra Party, Sandiaga Uno. Sandiaga said that 10 to 15 percent of the total voters in DKI Jakarta were first-time voters who were the first to take part in the election, which is why the Anies-Sandi pair used social media to get closer to the first-time voters in DKI Jakarta who were young people who acted as users active social media. In addition to focusing on beginner voters, in fact according to a survey conducted by the LSI (Indonesian Survey Circle), 58.9% of voters in DKI Jakarta are known to be active on social media ([www.detik.com](http://www.detik.com)). This fact encourages each Jakarta DKI 2017 candidate pair along with his campaign team to be more active in campaigning through social media and winning the hearts of voters through social media.

The activeness of the participants of the DKI Jakarta Pilgub 2017 campaign on the use of social media is an interesting thing for communication practitioners. Every upload of news and information carried out by the candidate pairs implies the meaning to be conveyed. This makes every upload from each candidate pair unique and its own issues to be discussed. However, it does not rule out the possibility of interrelationships between issues and information discussed by the first candidate pairs and other candidates in their respective social media platforms. This then underlies this research, namely that researchers feel the need for research and verification of the relevance of the issues raised on social media between the 2017 DKI Jakarta Pilgub candidates.

The problems formulated in this study are whether the intercandidate agenda setting concept applies in the stone media medium, namely social media accounts between candidates during the 2017 DKI Jakarta Pilgub campaign period in two rounds.

Based on the formulation of the problem, the purpose of this study is to prove that there is a process of intercandidate the agenda - settings between social media and who has the most influence during the campaign period in the first round. To prove that there is an intercandidate agenda - settings between social media and who is most influential during the campaign period in the second round, and to find out which social media agenda is the most influential candidate in the second round of the campaign period.

## 2. Theoretical Review

Weimann & Brosius[2] proposed the dynamics of agenda-setting in the context of new media. They argue that along with the development of social media, sources where we can obtain and receive news, information, and opinions also continue to grow. At the intersection of new communication technology and the flow of the agenda there is a shift towards a more dynamic user-producer media environment. The emergence of "producer" according to Bruns in Vowe and Henn[2], has changed the conception in which the media agenda begins and ends in relation to the public agenda. Given the wide variety of choices for online media consumers to engage, share and create with varying levels of commitment and intensity, it is clear that the agenda-setting process can now regularly intersect and cross amateur and professional boundaries.[3]

In addition, technology transformation not only allows audiences, but also editors and journalists, to easily and quickly monitor other media outputs, including private chat on online platforms[2]. The dynamic nature of the current agenda-setting process can also be explained by the reduced impact of traditional gatekeepers. Unlike traditional media that must rely on routine processing procedures in an effort to produce reliable, credible, and accurate reports, independent bloggers are not bound by the code Bruns in Vowe & Henn [2] conceptualizes gatekeeping as "gate watching" to take into account the increasing power of decentralization "producer." The dynamic nature of the flow of the agenda is also driven by the "hybrid media system" proposed by Chadwick and Howard[4] who argues that the political process is increasingly determined by organizations, groups and individuals who combine older and newer media in the hybrid media system.

Traditional conceptualization suggests that setting an agenda requires a certain amount of time so that the media agenda is absorbed into the public agenda. But in a world that is increasingly dominated by fast new media, the important lag time needed to "setting" may not exist or may be too short to measure. For the offline world, McCombs[5] sets a range of four to eight weeks for agenda setting to apply. Decay of the impact of agenda setting is believed to be between eight and 26 weeks. However, Roberts, Wanta, and Dzwo in McCombs[5] compared online media sensitivity (major news sites) and important public online topics (bulletin board discussions) and found immediate effects in just one day. The impact of the agenda also decomposes quickly, only after two or three days. Online communication speeds have shortened the timeframe: Online information is processed and exchanged continuously in 24-hour cycles, often in real time.

Since McCombs and Shaw[6] formally produced axioms regarding agenda-setting research. There are three main focuses in research that have been traced namely public agendas, policy setting agendas, and studies on media agenda-settings. Intermedia agenda-setting is one component in the study of media agenda-settings [7]. Media agendas try to investigate who made the media agenda and how to make it. Various factors have been identified such as personal characteristics, news values, organizational norms, politics and external sources are considered capable of influencing decisions that then form a story. One example is that the New York Times, the White House, scientific journals, and public opinion polls play an important role in giving the issue on the media agenda in the United States[8]

When the study of the setting agenda generally revolves around diffusion, selection and emphasis in news, the study of agenda-setting intermedia seeks to examine the relationships of several different media and try to find out how they affect each other. As quoted by Qian[7], the preliminary study of the intermedia agenda-setting process focused on the relationships between traditional media such as newspapers, television and news agency offices.

Recently a number of studies have expanded the scope of agenda-setting intermedia research into the realm of new media or the internet. Sweetser, Golan & Wanta in Qian [7] examine whether political advertisements and blogs from a candidate are able to influence the issue and news agenda of the headlines in the 2004 presidential election in the United States, which then results in the finding that there is a strong correlation between blogs and the media agenda while political advertising has no correlation with the media agenda. [9] analyzed the intermedia agenda-setting process in general election campaigns using 38 newspapers, online news channels, television news programs using content analysis. The research departs from the assumption that the intermedia agenda-setting is determined by the production structure of several types of media, the role of opinion leads from several news agencies, and the characteristics of certain issues. Kim[10] in their research on intermedia agenda-settings began to involve one of the social media platforms namely Twitter. They tried to investigate the first and second levels of the agenda-setting intermedia between political ads, newspapers and Twitter in the 2012 presidential election campaign in the United States between Barack Obama and Mitt Romney. While the links between press releases and media coverage have received scientific attention, later research related to agenda-setting intermedia highlights the possibility that an agenda-setting relationship can occur between political campaigns [11], which is then called the Intercandidate agenda-setting.

In Kiousis and Shields[12] it was written that in political elections in Michigan, Kaid (1976) found that press releases mention announcement of campaigns and personal information published more frequently than those emphasized by political issues that should be. Tedesco[13][11] initiated an agenda-setting intercandidate study to study the possibility of candidates being able to set an issue agenda for their opponents. As a result he found strong associations for the importance of issues in candidate news releases during the 2004 Democratic Party presidential election. The concept of intercandidate agendas was also further strengthened by an additional explanation from Roper in Tedesco[11] who said that public relations practitioners in politics must be aware of the issue position from opposing candidates, parties and groups when communicating their own issue positions.

The ideas that underlie the consistency of the agenda for all competing news sources have been supported by several previous empirical studies. Research on setting up intermedia agendas, for example, shows that a particular media is able to influence the coverage pattern of news on other news organizations. In contrast to agenda research - traditional settings that have examined the extent to which information exchange can be used to form the importance of an object of reporting, the explanation of second-level agenda setting has linked the concept to framing and implicitly shows that investigating the role of information exchange influences significance an attribute is justified. Attributes can be considered as properties, characteristics, or properties that describe an object. According to Entman in Kiousis and Shields[14], "*framing is to select some aspects of reality*

*that are considered to make them more prominent in various publications, in such a way as to promote a particular point of view, causal interpretation, moral evaluation, and behavioral recommendations”.*

In the United States presidential campaign analysis in 2000, Tedesco[13][11] found that candidates' press releases were not only correlated with media coverage or publications regarding the issue of the importance of the object being discussed, but also the meaning of the attribute in question. Using concept mapping techniques, Miller, Andsager, and Riechert in Tedesco[11] found several associations between how candidates diffamed in news publications and how they were diffamed in the Republican Party's news release in 1996. In line with the research, they also detected similarities in how certain frames presented in a news release among candidates.

### **3. Methods**

This study uses the positivist paradigm, which according to Guba[15], the positivist paradigm considers that the social world can be studied in an objective way and that reality is driven by unchanging natural laws.

The approach in this study is quantitative research in an effort to obtain a correlational relationship between the determination of the social media agenda related to the DKI Jakarta Election 2017 during the campaign period. Quantitative approaches are used because this research emphasizes the measurement of variables and proof of hypotheses relating to the explanation of a particular relationship[16] namely to measure the influence of determining the social media agenda among candidates for the 2017 DKI Jakarta Regional Election.

Judging from its nature, this research is explanatory because it tries to explain the relationship or the influence of one variable with another variable. This research uses content analysis method. Content analysis is a method used to study and analyze communication systematically, objectively and quantitatively towards the message that appears[17].

Content analysis is used to answer the question "what, to whom, and how" of a communication process[17]. The question "what" relates to the use of content analysis to answer questions about what is the content of a message, trends, and differences between messages from different message senders. While "to whom" is used to test the contents of messages that are shown to different audiences. And "how" is related to the use of content analysis to explain the form and techniques of making messages. The population of this study was official social media accounts, Twitter, from each candidate pair of DKI Jakarta governor and deputy governor during the 2017 DKI Jakarta Regional Election campaign in the first and second rounds. The Basuki Tjahaja Purnama-Djarot Syaiful Hidayat official twitter account, namely @AhokDjarot has 1013 uploads throughout the campaign period in the first two rounds. Anies Baswedan-Sandiaga Uno official twitter account, namely @jktmajubersama there are 1613 uploads throughout the campaign period in both periods.

Twitter account are collected manually and use the help of search engines on the Twitter page. The search is carried out using a simple programming language, for example to collect uploads from AhokDjarot's official account in the period of October 26, 2016 to October 31, 2016, can use a simple search language that is "from: AhokDjarot since: 2016-10-26 until: 2016-10 -31 ". Thus, the process of collecting uploads is easier because it is limited to a predetermined time span.

The concept used in this research is agenda-setting. Agenda-setting is one theory of the effects or effects of the media on society and culture. Agenda-setting explains the power of media influence in shaping public opinion by giving emphasis to a particular issue to be considered important by the community. But in this study will try to see the influence of the political candidate agenda that arises on other candidates, or what Tedesco[11] calls an intercandidate agenda-setting that highlights the possibility that an agenda-setting relationship can occur between political campaigns.

In this study, all the uploads from official Twitter social media accounts belonging to the DKI Jakarta Election candidates will be examined in two campaigns. Of the various issues that have been uploaded, there are issues that are discussed or uploaded with a large portion and also the tone discussed in small portions. Issues that are uploaded in large portions are considered important issues for the public, and each candidate has the possibility of having issues that are considered to be important differently.

The division of issues in this study uses a combination of two basic issues. The first is based on the theme of the debate organized by KPUD DKI Jakarta. The Regional Election Commission (KPUD) of DKI Jakarta held four debates in the first round of elections that were held on January 13, 2017, January 27, 2017, February 10, 2017 and April 12.

The first debate is divided into six themes namely social, economic, education, security, environment and transportation[18] (source: Liputan6.com). Then the second debate theme discusses bureaucratic reform and

public services and structuring urban areas[19] ). And the theme of the third debate includes population and improving the quality of life of the people of Jakarta related to disability policies (Source: Detik.com).

Issue sharing is carried out in two stages. In the first stage, it will take from the issue category in the first round of debate, because there is no significant change in issue or theme in the second round, as stated by the Chairperson of the Election Commission (source: Okezone.com) which states after discussing with experts from various universities and professional, it feels no need to lift something new in the second round. The issue category also complements the issue category from McCombs & Shaw[6] regarding the agenda of the 1968 Presidential election setting in Chapel Hill. Some of the issues raised were foreign policy, law enforcement, economy, people's welfare, and other issues. Especially for foreign policy issues in this study, it was changed to regional policy.

In this first phase, the coding process will be carried out to see if there are other issues outside the combined category of KPUD and McCombs & Shaw[6]. If there are a number of issues with a significant amount outside the predetermined category, it will become a separate issue category and proceed with the second stage coding process.

Towner & Munoz[20] has conducted the two-stage issue category in its research on the agenda-settings on Instagram, they have determined the issue categories from several previous studies and then conducted preliminary or preliminary coding to get a more detailed and new issue category. Meanwhile Conway, Kenski & Wang[21] in their research also carried out the process of identifying in advance what categories of issues contained in Twitter accounts in the US presidential election campaign.

In the first stage, using a joint issue category from KPUD and McCombs & Shaw[6] , it was found that the categories of social issues, economic policy, education, security & law enforcement, environment, transportation, bureaucratic reform and public services, structuring urban areas, population, quality improvement community life, and lastly the nature and personal character of the candidates.

#### 4. Results

Based on the Spearman correlation coefficient, it is proven that AhokDjarot account has a positive significance to the JktMajuBersama account with a positive relationship direction. Thus it was proven that there was an intercandidate agenda-setting between two social media accounts belonging to the candidate pair Ahok - Djarot and Anies - Sandi in the first round. With the following details: From the results of data processing, the correlation coefficient number between the @AhokDjarot and @JktMajuBersama accounts for the issue category is 0.369. If the sig value is <0.01 then Ho is rejected and H1 is accepted. From the sig (2-tailed) value is 0,000. Thus the sig <0.01 so that H1 is accepted, so it can be concluded that there is a significant relationship between cuitan on the @AhokDjarot account and the @JktMajuBersama account in the first period.

**Table 1:** Spearman correlation coefficient

Round	Spearman correlation coefficient	Conclusion
AhokDjarot-JktMajuBersama-Round 1	0.359	Significant
AhokDjarot-JktMajuBersama-Round 2	0.690	Significant

Based on the table above it is also proven that both AhokDjarot and JktMajuBersama accounts have positive significance with a positive relationship direction. Thus, it was proven that there was an intercandidate agenda-setting between two social media accounts belonging to the candidate pair Ahok - Djarot and Anies - Sandi in the second round. With the following details: From the results of data processing, the correlation coefficient number between the @AhokDjarot and @JktMajuBersama accounts for the issue category is 0.690. If the sig value is <0.01 then Ho is rejected and H1 is accepted. From the sig (2-tailed) value is 0,000. Thus the sig <0.01 so that H1 is accepted, so it can be concluded that there is a significant relationship between cuitan on @AhokDjarot account and @JktMajuBersama account in the second period.

Significant relationships show the love contained in the @AhokDjarot and @JktMajuBersama accounts which have the same issues raised. Cuitan similarity is mainly for issues concerning the quality of life of the community. Other than that, other similarities are love about the nature, character and achievement. In this social media campaign, the candidate pairs show their achievements during their tenure in government and also in the

professional world. In addition, the two candidate pairs utilize their social media accounts to show support and testimony from the community.

It can be seen from the results of the first and second rounds that the correlation strengthened in the second round, this can be caused by the 2017 DKI Jakarta Pilgub contestant in the 3 contestants, namely the candidate pair Agus Harimurti and Sylvi. Of course the pair also has its own social media agenda and may also have a correlation or influence on the other candidate's agenda. This is the main reason why in the first round the correlation of social media agendas between @AhokDjarot and @JktMajuBersama, although significant, but the correlation strength values are weak and lower than the second round.

From the description above it can be concluded that the agenda-setting intercandidate can also occur in the scope of new media, especially social media. Tedesco's[11] previous research which became a pioneer in the agenda-setting intercandidate research still uses press releases from candidates for the US presidential election from the Democratic party. The results of this study also reinforce the explanation from Roper (2005) cited by Tedesco[11], that political practitioners must be aware of and the position of the issue of candidates, parties, or groups that are opposite when communicating positions from their own issues.

The results of this study also show that social media now has a role in political campaigns by strengthening previous research[22] which has also been proven that there is an intermedia agenda-setting between social media and traditional media in the same case namely the DKI Jakarta provincial governor election.

## 5. Conclusion

From the results of the research that has been done can be concluded as follows. First, there is a process of intercandidate the agenda-setting between each candidate's social media during the first round of the campaign which runs from 26 October 2016 to 11 February 2017, with the most influential @AhokDjarot account agenda.

Second, the process of intercandidate the agenda-setting between the social media of the calom pair during the second round campaign period which runs from March 7, 2017 to April 15, 2017. In this second round, cuitan is divided based on the week period. In this round the results were also different from the first round where the social media agenda of the candidate pair Anies Baswedana and Sandiaga Uno on his official account, @JktMajuBersama, dominated his influence on the social media agenda of the Ahok dam Djarot candidate pair on his official Twitter account @AhokDjarot.

This research supports the statement that social media has become one of the main political stages. In the future for candidates or public relations practitioners in the political field must consider the issue agenda on social media in building or designing strategies and maneuvers in politics or campaigns. From the results obtained in this study it is important to see and analyze the agenda of political opponents. Thus a strategy can be designed to be able to influence and lead the political opponents agenda according to their own agenda in order to get a chance to win a political constellation.

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