

## *Social Media and the Threat of National Disintegration in Indonesia*

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### **Abstract**

Indonesia is a multicultural country with various differences aspects. In the era of internet, the government's duty to maintain the harmony of the nation faced a big challenge. The research question of the article : how is the pattern of using social media in a political context that triggers conflict and threatens national integration? Researchers use qualitative methods to answer research problems. The theoretical approach used is the political economic theory of new media which has a critical meaning, focusing on ownership and control of media and other factors that unite the media industry with political, economic and elite society. Political conflict and polarizations based on political choice have actually started in the 2014 presidential election and show escalation in toward the 2019 election. The results show that the fragmentation in social media also has correlation with real-world conflict. Freedom of speech from netizens who have low digital literacy met with practical political interests make social media look like a battle field of opinion. Hoaxes and fake accounts is a strong mark of the low netizen's responsibility. This study concludes 4 main findings related to the use of social media in the context of politics in Indonesia which is the threat of national disintegration, namely: (1) the occurrence of sharp polarization in the use of social media, (2) the spread of hoaxes and fake news on social media, (3 ) the spread of hate speech on social media, (4) the use of social media in triggering horizontal conflicts in the community.

Keywords: social media, hoax, national disintegration

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## **Introduction**

Indonesia is a multicultural country with a variety of religions, ethnicities, regions, groups and languages. National integration of all components of the nation in the Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia (NKRI) became the agreement of the founding fathers of this nation and has been maintained until now.

Threats to national integration in Indonesia's history have occurred in various forms, including: ideological conflict, rebellion, separatist movements, and the emergence of horizontal conflicts.

The development of internet technology, especially with the presence of social media, in addition to its various benefits in life, also brings new problems in the community. Community polarization that occurs on social media is a source of new conflicts, which if not managed properly can become a new threat to national integration. Internet users in Indonesia have increased from year to year. In 2018 there are 132.7 million internet users (52% of Indonesia's total population). Almost all internet users in Indonesia have social media accounts. The amount is around 129.2 million. (<https://inet.detik.com/cyberlife/d-3912429/130-juta-orang-indonesia-tercatat-aktif-di-medsos>).

In Indonesia, the development of social media influences political, social, cultural and economic changes. Social media shifts and penetrates the boundaries of hierarchical interaction patterns to become egalitarian, both in political and cultural spaces. Social media provides space for someone to voice their thoughts that may never be heard before. For example, an ordinary citizen can directly criticize and communicate with the President just by sending a mention to the President's account on twitter, facebook, instagram or youtube. Then the government provides a quick response to the problems conveyed by citizens through social media. This certainly has a positive impact on the quality of public services and democracy.

Social media has 7 characteristics that are advantages, namely: network, information, archives, interaction, simulation of society, user-generated content, and share. This causes social media to become a medium that accommodates cooperation between users who produce content (Nasrullah, 2016: 11). Therefore, everybody publishes whatever they want, with various benefits that can be achieved including disseminating knowledge and inspiration, extending friendship, spreads the values of solidarity, tolerance and optimism.

On the other hand, social media currently not only functions as a medium for social interaction, but also shifts to becoming a arena for the battle. Fighting among social media users occurs because of differences of opinion, aspirations or beliefs in an issue. This led to the emergence of sharp polarization followed by a tendency to attack, blaspheme and slander each other. The battle is increasing in coincidence with political momentum, such as the General Elections for Legislative Members, Regents, Mayors, Governors, and President.

The use of social media in political activities including political communication activities began to be felt in the 2009 elections. Awareness of candidates and political parties towards the use of the internet as a media campaign has begun to emerge

through websites that are present as a means of communication between candidates or political parties to constituents.

The rise of the use of social media also made the General Election Commission regulate its use in the General Election Commission Regulation No. 7 of 2015 concerning the Election Campaign stated that the success team must register an official account on social media to the regional KPU no later than the day before the campaign (<http://national.kompas.com>, access 5/6/2017). This also shows that in addition to the quantity of the use of social media is increasing, it also shows how this platform becomes an important element so it must be regulated.

The presence of social media in the open Indonesian political system has the consequence of making social media present as a battle room for various actors with various interests. In this context, social media is like a 'boxing ring' in which all elements of society are no longer spectators, but allow them to participate in the ring. The actors are not only ordinary people, but also various interest groups such as political parties, political elites, religious leaders, community organizations, business people and so on.

The 2014 presidential election and the 2017 Jakarta regional election became a clear example to illustrate the phenomenon of using social media in a political context. In the presidential election that presented the pair Joko Widodo - Jusuf Kalla and Prabowo Subianto - Hatta Rajasa the discussion about the election was very widespread on social media. (<https://pemilu.tempo.co>, access 5/6/2017).

During 2014 the 10 ranking topics on the most popular conversations on Twitter were among them about elections. Data shows Indonesia has been the country sending the tweets of 95 million tweets since the beginning of 2014 with the theme of the election (<https://id.techinasia.com>, access 5/6/2017).

Black campaign in an election that used to only appear by word of mouth or an unofficial document, is now an easily discussed material on social media. According to data, Community Care Media (MPM) of 1,541 conversations on Twitter supporters of presidential candidates, about 1,300 of them, or 86.4%, were negative or made a mate not a choice. Only 13.6% of the contents of the Twitter conversation are positive. (<https://www.voaindonesia.com>, access 5/6/2017).

This made the community polarized into two groups, namely the pro and contra of the candidate. This polarization continues to grow and sharpen in the 2017 gubernatorial election in Jakarta, which was attended by 2 candidates for governor-deputy governor: Ahok-Djarot and Anies-Sandi. PoliticaWave released the monitoring of the 2017 DKI Jakarta regional elections in cyberspace for the period 1-14 April 2017 (as published on <http://megapolitan.kompas.com>, access 5/6/2017). Data shows that the polarization of positive and negative sentiments for each candidate pair is almost the same number. The positive sentiment of the Ahok-Djarot pair was 54.92% while the negative was 45.08%. While the Anies-Sandi pair received 44.54% positive sentiment while the negative was 55.46%. Negative sentiment on potential incumbents, according to the PoliticaWave came from the issue of blasphemy and the trial process, the insistence of the non-active governor, the actions of 212 and 313 and their defeat in several surveys. Whereas the Anies-Sandi pair was negatively explained on matters

relating to criticism of the work program, alleged several legal cases and alleged SARA campaigns.

Actually what is the trend of using social media in the context of politics in Indonesia? Do negative trends in the use of social media have an impact on the emergence of horizontal conflicts that contribute to the possibility of widespread national disintegration? This study wants to answer the research question: How is the pattern of using social media in a political context that triggers conflict and threatens national integration?

The study was conducted using a descriptive qualitative approach. Data is obtained through in-depth interviews and focus group discussion. Research data is carried out within a period of one year, from July 2017 to July 2018. In-depth interviews with informants were conducted to find out how trends in the use of social media in a political context.

In-depth interviews were conducted with social media activities, namely: Ulin Yusron (Pro Government), and: Jonru Ginting (contra government). On his twitter account Ulin (@ulinyusron) has 118,000 followers and on his Instagram account (ulinyusron) followed by 134,000 followers. While Jonru Ginting's Facebook page was followed by 1,479,247 followers. Both speakers were chosen because they were in the polarization and actively used their social media accounts to express their opinions.

The researcher also interviewed the Ministry of Communication and Information Expert Staff Prof. Dr. Drs. Henri Subiakto, SH. M.Sc as a representation of the government. In addition, Fathul Wahid, PhD was also interviewed as an observer of social media.

Researchers also took part in discussions related to social media and hoax, namely:

- (1) Public Discussion 'Ghost of Hoaks' organized by Jakarta Journalists Axis (3/14/2018) with the speakers : Wawan Hari Purwanto (Director of Information and Communication of National Intelligence Agency) , Brigadier General of Police. M. Iqbal (Public Relations of National Police), Nukman Lutfie (Social Media Observer), Rahadi T. Wiratama (LP3ES senior researcher) and Budiarto Shambazy (Kompas Senior Journalistr).
- (2) Seminar "Between Freedom of Opinion, Hoax and Speech of Hate" (21 / 3/2018) held by the Indonesian Police and Professional Association (ISPPPI). The speakers present at this discussion were Ismail Fahmi (Researcher and Technopreneur), Mustofa Nahrawardaya (Social Media Activist), Brig. Gen. Pol. Fadil Imran (Director of Cyber Criminal Investigation of National Police), Prof. Dr. Drs. Henri Subiakto, SH. M.Sc. (Ministry of Communication and Information Expert Staff) and Nasir Djamil (Legislative Member).

The researcher also held a Focus group discussion (FGD). FGD is a systematic process of collecting data and information on a particular problem that is very specific through group discussions. The FGD on this research involved audiences active in social media and had pro, contra and neutral tendencies towards the government. FGD informants have diverse backgrounds ranging from students, Islamic da'wah activists, and lecturers both pro and contra with the government.

## **Conclusion**

This study concludes 4 main findings related to the use of social media in the context of politics in Indonesia which is the threat of national disintegration, namely: (1) the occurrence of sharp polarization in the use of social media, (2) the spread of hoaxes and fake news on social media, (3) the spread of hate speech on social media, (4) the use of social media in triggering horizontal conflicts in the community.

### **The occurrence of sharp polarization in the use of social media**

Based on the results of the study, from the interviewees and the results of the Focus Group Discussion, similar information was obtained that in the political context there was increasingly sharp polarization among social media users. The community is divided into two major groups because of the differences of opinion and political supports : Pro and Contra. Polarization is followed by mutual sarcasm, attacking each other. It creates mutual suspicion and desire to destroy each other. Mocking and scolding each other in sarcastic language becomes a common thing, because they feel the internet is free, unlimited virtual world.

According to Fathul Wahid, PhD, the polarization of netizens is characterized by characteristics of mutual attack and mutual bullying. Polarization of netizens rose after the 2014 presidential election, and was followed by black campaigns and hoaxes. After that it continued in 2016 when there was a case of blasphemy by the Governor of Jakarta, Basuki Cahya Purnama, who was popularly called Ahok. Then it was continued with the Jakarta Governor Election which presented 2 candidate pairs of Ahok-Djarot, and Anies-Sandi. This polarization is increasingly pointed and sharp.

According to Fathul Wahid, the bad consequences of polarization is social disharmony. Netizens are divided into 2 large groups that drain energy, because time is spent on endless debate. In addition, there are fewer opportunities to benefit from social media. Social media is actually filled with verbal conflicts that are full of sarcasm, so netizens have no social empathy. The positive side of social media is covered by prejudice and hatred. Talk groups on WhatsApp and Telegram, which are increasingly being used, cannot prevent polarization. The group members tend to strengthen the echo chamber and confirmation bias. They tend to gather with members who share the same view.

### **The spread of hoaxes and fake news on social media**

Based on the results of the study, the pattern of the use of social media in Indonesia was marked by the spread of hoaxes and fake news. Hoax means plan to deceive someone, or a trick; to trick into believing or accepting genuine something false and often preposterous.

According to the Big Indonesian Dictionary Bahasa hoaks 'or ax hoax' contains 3 meanings: (1) a word that means infallibility of information, (2) Hoax also means false news, (3) False news, not sourced. From this understanding, it can be concluded that hoaxes are false news that do not have a clear source. According to Emery (in the Proceedings of the Annual Meeting of the Association of Collegiate Marketing

Educators) hoaxes are referred to as "act, document or artifact intended to deceive the public". This definition shows that hoaxes are intended to deceive the public.

That's why hoaxes are also often referred to as lies or fake news. In the paper entitled *Social Media and Fake News in the 2016 Election* published in the *Journal of Economic Perspective* (Vol 31, spring 2017, pages 211-236), fake news is referred to as "to be news articles that are intentionally and verifiably false and could mislead readers ". From the definition clearly illustrated that hoaxes or later also called fake news can mislead the reader.

According to the results of interviews, hoaxes are information that does not contain accuracy, and is made intentionally. The hoax is by design. In the journalistic context well known as Fake News. Hoaxes are found in the form of text, images, and videos. Hoaxes are widely distributed in terms of information related to sensitive matters in Indonesia, such as ethnic, religious, racial and ideological issues. Hoaxes are also distributed in the form of memes. Meme is Pictures and writings which are satire or satire that criticize something using a humorous approach. Speech that attacks a person or group on the basis of attributes that can be found in the social media.

The spread of hoaxes is an excess of the development of social media that has the characteristics of sharing information quickly and with high interactivity. Unfortunately the abundance of information is not accompanied by the attention and ability of social media users to sort and choose information based on quality.

Weak social media literacy among internet users has the potential to become a hoax spreader because of the spirit of sharing without filtering. Moreover, there is a tendency for people to easily trust an information without clarification in advance based on the conception, beliefs and experiences of individuals that have been built previously. On the other hand, hoax producers who can come from various backgrounds, take advantage of weak literacy among users.

Hoax makes people become unproductive. Eliminate the time and opportunity to work by spreading and responding to hoaxes. The impact after the hoax was also a common concern, in the form of a distrust, among fellow nations, including distrust of institutions that should be respected.

Hoaxes also create mutual suspicion and desire to destroy each other. Mocking and scolding each other in sarcastic language becomes a common thing, because they feel the internet world is a free, unlimited virtual world.

The hoaxes that are related to the 2017 Jakarta Regional Election, for example, are dominated by issues based on religion and race. The issue is used to reduce the positive image of each candidate pair. Hoaxes that have appeared related to the candidate pair are fake photos of handshakes between Raja Salman and Ahok, Hindun's grandmothers who were not punished and buried for choosing Ahok-Djarot, and the Islamic revolution if Anies loses also the sharia Jakarta discourse if Anies - Sandi wins. Jakarta Election Commission also does not escape from hoaxes. For example, there are those who say there are multiple voter KTPs, KPU servers that are controlled by Jokowi's supporters and are in Singapore and around the results of the voting in the KPK Detention Center. At the same time the Jokowi government also

did not escape the hoaxes. The most popular fake news is the exodus of Chinese workers to Indonesia and the inauguration of a Jokowi cross-patterned mosque. According to the Co-founder Revive Khairul Ashar Hoax there are around 1,900 reports of alleged fake news, and more than 1,000 of them have been confirmed as hoaxes (<http://www.jawapos.com>, access 5/6/2017).

Hoax is a wrong message and is modified for certain reasons easily spread. For example, hoops have circulated about the invasion of Chinese workers to Indonesia. The news that was first reported by the posmetro site (<http://www.posmetro.info/>) became viral after being discussed very intensely by netizens both on Twitter and Facebook. One of the Twitter users who also responded to this hoax was @Yusrilihza\_Mhd who had 1.3M followers. Cuitan Yusril who responded to the arrival of 10 million Chinese workers who he thought would be difficult to control was retweeted by 340 followers. The success of this hoax forced the government to conduct a series of clarifications through the RI Cabinet Secretariat website, @jokowi (Jokowi's official twitter account) and @KemnakerRI (the official twitter account of the Ministry of Manpower). This clarification is also published on several mainstream media twitter.

Coordinating Minister for Politics, Law and Security Wiranto said that the rise of hoaxes ruined the peace of the people, undermined public trust and was confusing. According to Ismail Fahmi, PhD, the impact after the hoax is also a common concern, in the form of distrust, among nations, including standards of institutions that should be respected. Hoax and fake news are spread massively on social media: distrust spread in the community. Society is divided into sharp polarization.

In this case the role of the audience and its interaction with information becomes very important. In cyber culture, information can be a new material, it can also be reproduced by selecting or manipulating it so that it becomes a completely new information commodity (Nasrullah, 2016: 65). In political conversations, whether related to local elections / presidential elections or not, there are at least 3 parties involved in communication activities including taking action related to that information. Namely buzzers, influencers and supporters. According to social media observer Enda Nasution on her blog (<http://enda.goblogmedia.com/?p=4477>, access 5/6/2017). The so-called buzzer is someone who can build awareness on something. While influencers are those who influence / are heard by others. Enda called it a key opinion leader. Furthermore, supporters, namely people who provide support for what is said by buzzers and influencers, for example by giving retweets and regrams. In the case of hoaxes and utterances of hatred, these 3 parties helped disseminate and interact with each other. It is at this interaction that message modification and reality occur.

Interaction on new media will form a virtual community. Virtual communities are communities that are formed in cyberspace by their users because of similarities or mutual interactions and relationships facilitated by the internet-connected computer medium (Nasrullah, 2016: 150). That is, social media has now become a new public space or even often referred to as an alternative space because its members can exchange ideas and criticize each other without any space and time constraints. This is in accordance with the concept of Juergen Habermas' public space which says that public space has at least 5 characters. Namely, first, there is a guarantee of access for

all citizens. Second, equal rights between citizens, then there is freedom to join dialogue without pressure and obstacles. Fourth, this public space is a separate flow from the state and the market and there is no dominance of both. Fifth, through the provision of knowledge and information, the public space is able to form an illiterate citizen, one thing that is important in functioning democracy (Bakti et al., 2012: 103).

If it is linked to the frame of national interest, the phenomenon of social media that is now happening in Indonesia is certainly not a good thing. The results of a survey conducted by the Indonesian Telematics Society in 2017 about the National Hoax Outbreak stated that there were 3 interesting findings related to the impact of hoaxes. First, the majority of respondents stated that the hoax really disturbed them (43.50%). Second, respondents considered hoaxes to disturb community harmony (75.90%). Furthermore, the hoax can be said to hinder development (70.20%). This survey clearly shows that hoaxes are a source of conflict in society and can disrupt harmony. Whereas in national development, harmony is an important prerequisite for national integration. Without the integration of all parties, it is impossible for a development program to be achieved.

### **The spread of hate speech on social media**

Hate speech is speech that attacks a person or group on the basis of attributes such as race, religion, ethnic origin, national origin, sex, disability, sexual orientation, or gender identity. The law of some countries describes hate speech as speech, gesture or conduct, writing, or display that incites violence or prejudicial action against a protected group or individual on the basis of their membership of the group, or because it disparages or intimidates a protected group, or individual on the basis of their membership of the group. In some countries, a victim of hate speech may seek redress under civil law, criminal law, or both.

According to data submitted by the National Police, as quoted from <https://news.detik.com/berita/d-3790973/selama-2017-polri-tangani-3325-kasus-ujaran-kebencian>, there were 5,061 cases of cyber crime throughout 2017. handled by the National Police during 2017. That number rose 3% compared to 2016, which amounted to 4,931 cases. Of these, 1,368 cases could be resolved. Cases that could be resolved increased from 2016, which amounted to 1,119.

Especially for cases of hate speech, the National Police has also handled 3,325 cases. This figure rose 44.99% from the previous year, which amounted to 1,829 cases. The number of cases of hate speech that were successfully completed were 2,018 cases. The most prevalent types of hate speech were cases of insult, namely 1,657 cases, up 73.14% compared to 2016. Then, hate speech with cases of unpleasant acts amounted to 1,224 cases, and cases of defamation were 444 cases.

### **The use of social media in triggering horizontal conflicts in the community**

Sharp polarization, hoaxes, fake news, and hate speech, together tend to bring the horizontal potential of conflicts in the real world. National disintegration is something that is feared to occur, because the threat of horizontal conflict is increasingly intense on social media. An example is Riots on Tanjung Balai Medan, July 29, 2018. This case was caused by a call to prayer in a mosque. This is also influenced by the spread

of various false information through social media and horizontal conflicts between races and religions.

There are 2 factors that have caused the optimal efforts of various parties to prevent polarization, the spread of hoaxes and hate speeches, and the triggering of horizontal conflicts in society, namely: The Problem of Law Enforcement and weak social media literacy.

### **The Problem of Law Enforcement**

Indonesia has a Revised Law on Information and Electronic Transactions Act Number 11 of 2008, which has been effective since November 28, 2016. It could be an effort to prevent the hoaxes and hate speech. In addition, law enforcement in dealing with the problem of spreading hoaxes is still a matter of concern. The public often criticizes law enforcement in handling hoax issues, because they are considered not yet fully fair, and are still selective. A good law must be followed by law enforcement that is impartially indiscriminate. Law enforcement of hoax issues should not be a tool of power to restrict those who oppose the government. Social criticism and control are not necessarily regarded as defamation, as in legal cases of social media activists accused of defaming someone's reputation.

### **The Weak of Media Literacy**

The Weak social media literacy among the internet users because of the spirit of sharing without filtering. Moreover, there is a tendency for people to easily trust information without clarification in advance based on conception, beliefs and experiences of individuals that have been built previously. The culture for selecting, clarifying information about the information and information about the easy and fast dissemination of information. Social media users due to weak literacy, preferably to consumers who share or forward information, without filtering it first, with various motives, rather than being a truly credible information producer. Polarization, hoax and hate speech spreading, and the emergence of symptoms of social conflict in the reality of society are the negative pattern of using social media in a political context that triggers conflict and threatens national integration.

Based on the results of the study, we provide recommendations on the following points, namely:

1. Law enforcement in dealing with the problem of spreading hoaxes is still a matter of concern. The public often criticizes handling issues, because they are not fully fair, and are still selective. The revision of the ITE Law No. 11 of 2008 could be an effort to prevent hoaxes from spreading. The hoax spreaders will think again to carry out the action. However, a good law must be followed by law that is impartially indiscriminate. Law enforcement should also be carried out firmly and fairly. There are no selective cuts and political and economic motives in law enforcement. This will make the authoritative law in the public's view, and become a strong factor to prevent the spread of hoaxes.
2. The government should place itself as a real role model in the dissemination of correct information. Blurring or even the actual concealment of information is not

appropriate, because it is a form of hoax. The principle is simple, anyone can be a source and spreader of hoaxes. Individuals, organizations, government institutions and law enforcement can potentially become producers and spreaders of hoaxes in various types.

3. Public awareness and education regarding legislation related to hoaxes and healthy internet use should be carried out continuously by the government. Including building an intelligent communication strategy to fight hoax by cooperating with all elements of social media activists to carry out joint actions. Not only are social media activists who seem to be pro-government heard their voices, but also give the opposition the space to contribute together to create a healthy communication climate.

4. The community is supposed to be wiser and improve the literacy of social media, making the most of the advantages of the internet and social media for more productive things. Get information and selecting information, clarifying information on consumer-to-credible information producers. Sharing knowledge, inspiration and information will be more beneficial and noble, rather than participating in disseminating information that is not necessarily true, or has been indicated as a hoax. The more understanding, living and practicing religious teachings that prohibit lies, encourage clarification and information production that contains truth and benefits, will be a true guide to avoiding hoaxes.

5. The media are expected to be more creative in presenting credible, trustworthy information. Public journalism that credible carries presentation of facts and precision data support, not just a surface that requires important sensations to continue to be developed.

6. Continue to campaign for the anti-hoax movement and educate the public to be smart in utilizing social media and not involved in producing or spreading hoaxes. On the other hand, media institutions are also obliged to work for independence and objectivity in order to protect public interest in address issues. Don't let the media producers and distributors participate in economic and political interests.

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