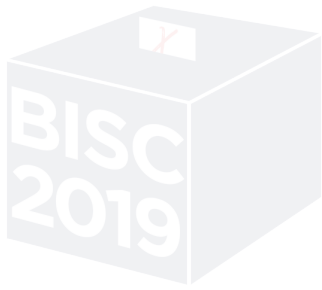Bangkok International Student Conference 2019
21 - 22 January 2019 ,
Faculty of Political Science,
Thammasat University, Bangkok, Thailand

REDEFINING DEMOCRACY:

THE NEW BATTLE-GROUND

PROCEEDINGS

Welcome Letter

from the Dean of
Faculty of Political Science

As the Dean of the Faculty of Political Science, Thammasat University, I would like to welcome all of you to the 6th Bangkok International Student Conference.

Thammasat University has long been a symbol that promotes the principles of liberty and democracy in Thailand. Also, it is regarded as one of the forefront academic institutions in Thailand. This year, the conference is held under the theme of **"Redefining Democracy: The New Battleground".** The theme has responded to the current global situation including that of Thailand where its democracy is a challenging issue.

Therefore, in this conference, the participants are strongly encouraged to question, discuss and exchange ideas about the terms and issues related to democracy such as populism and economic development. Moreover, the democratic situation nowadays is the completely different from the past. This is because of the emergence of new platform called "social media" which has tremendous impact on our daily life. Furthermore, social media is considered as a free space where users can enjoy sharing their ideas publicly. This grants political institutions and stakeholders to project their messages to attract the mass and raise their popularity. Therefore, the social media can be defined as the "new battleground" for the current political competition aligning with the theme of the conference.

Besides the academic part, I hope that all participants enjoy the surrounding environment around the campus. The university is surrounded by many well-known historic places which attract travelers from around the world. I recommend you to grab this chance while you are staying in Bangkok to visit those places.

Most importantly, this conference will provide the attention and effort from the BISC staff members in order to convene the conference to the paramount. The organizing committee is prepared to give undivided participation to our utmost important individual participants.

I wish you the very best of luck, learn from each other and enjoy the conference.

Asst.Prof. Dr.Tavida Kamolvej
Dean of Faculty of Political Science
Thammasat University

A Warm Welcome to All Delegates and Observers!

It is our greatest pleasure to welcome you all to the 2019 Bangkok International Student Conference (BISC) here in Bangkok, Thailand.

BISC aims to construct a platform for youth engagement while broadening boundaries of knowledge and enhancing youth partnership through academic collaboration. We provide a space where differences in opinion are encouraged and respected, a space where everyone is welcome. This year, we have returned with the theme "Redefining Democracy: A New Battleground." With varieties of activities prepared, we hope to make your experience at BISC not only an educational one, but also a memorable one.

We hope you enjoy your time here and if there is anything you need, feel free to let any of us know at any time.

Sincerely,

Bangkok International Student
Conference Committee

WHAT IS BISC ?

Constructing a platform for youth engagement, the broadened boundary of knowledge and enhanced youth partnership through academic collaboration.

Since 2011, the Bangkok International Student Conference (BISC) has been launched by the Bachelor of Political Science Programme in Politics and International Relations (BIR Programme) at the Thammasat University.

The Faculty of Political Science, Thammasat University, is one of Thailand's foremost providers of research and higher education. It is also regarded as a well-renowned venue for Thai and international scholars.

The Bangkok International Student Conference (BISC) performs as an international platform providing exceptional academic opportunities for young enthusiastic students regardless of their fields of studies and nationalities:

> To present their academic paper and exchange new perspectives
> To develop outstanding leadership, communication, and teamwork skills
> To establish a network with students around the world

"An annual academic activities that gathering student from various universities, regions, and nationalities around the world"

In the previous year, the BISC 2018 successfully portrayed the theme of *"One Belt One Road: Path to Comprehensive Regional Development (?)"* creating a venue for almost 100 students to present their papers, to discuss and to share their thoughts among each other and distinguished scholars in the panel discussion.

In this year, the Bangkok International Student Conference (BISC) 2019 will be held under the theme of *"Redefining Democracy: The New Battleground ?"* since there have been numerous phenomena in the democratic world in which it leads to the importance of "Redefining Democracy" in this modern globalized world. The discussion will be under these 4 topics as follow:

1. Democracy and Economic Development
2. Social Media Influences on Electoral Campaign
3. Democracy and Populism
4. Voter Education: Stakes over the First Time Voters

WHY REDEFINING DEMOCRACY?

Tracing back in the 5th Century BC, the term of ***dēmokratía*** or ***democracy*** in the modern time emerged Athens. It literally means "rule by people," though, in fact, only the elite class had the right to rule and participate. The term of democracy eventually had reached its core value in the 19th and 20th centuries through the suffrage movement in which achieved the full enfranchisement.

Up to now, there is still no consensus exists on how to define democracy. There is merely the identification of the core elements which are legal equality, political freedom, and rule of law. Hence, the lack of a unanimous definition of "democracy" leads to the diversified interpretation, implementation, and gaps.

In many countries, the definition of democracy has been contested and interpreted differently. Numerous people also have different values towards the term "democracy". Some believe that having merely an election is enough to be democratic while some believe that there are many more democratic values such as respect the minority, rule of law, political freedom, and so forth in order to be considered as democratic. This, therefore, has also led to the masquerade for ones to act under the name of legitimacy, such as the term "Thai-Style Democracy" in which had been espoused during the Field Marshall Sarit Thanarat in 1957 and later was revived by General Prayut Chan-o-cha whom both committed the coup.

While, in the United States, Donald Trump won the election but now he is condemned by many people as a threat to democracy.

"Thailand at this moment does not have elections and no permanent constitution, but we are a democracy".
— Field Marshall Sarit Thanarat

"Our country cannot afford any more conflicts. We certainly need to have a democracy. But it must be a 'Thai-niyom democracy' -that is, a Thai-style democracy".
— General Prayut Chan-o-cha

Therefore, it has led to doubts about what actually is democracy, should there be a consensual definition, and do we all understand the values of democracy? Hence, it is extremely crucial for "Redefining Democracy" in this new battleground which is the technologically globalized modern world. There are many questions that are left to be answered.

Does democracy truly relate to the economic development while China in which is ruled by the communist party is now rising and become the world major power through economic growth?
Does populism harm democracy? Is it necessary to educate the voters about the elections and democratic values?
Does social media can shape the future of electoral campaigns and could be utilized as a tool to enhance direct democracy in the future.

AGENDA & PANEL SETTINGS

Monday, 21 January 2019
Venue: Faculty of Political Science,
Thammasat University, Tha Prachan Campus

09.00 – 09.30	Registration
09.30 – 10.30	Warm up and ice-breaking activities
10.30 – 12.00	Campus tour
12.00 – 13.00	Lunch break
13.00 – 17.00	Paper presentation and discussion
17.00 – 17.20	Wrap up

Tuesday, 22 January 2019
Venue: Faculty of Political Science,
Thammasat University, Tha Prachan Campus

08.30 – 09.00	Registration
09.00 – 12.00	Public forum "Youth Engagement in Election"
12.00 – 13.00	Lunch break
13.00 – 16.30	Workshop
16.30 – 17.00	Wrap up
17.00 – 18.00	Networking
18.00 – 22.00	Closing ceremony and farewell party

TOPIC DESCRIPTION

SOCIAL MEDIA INFLUENCES ON ELECTORAL CAMPAIGN

Social media, nowadays, have a great influence on our lives. This is because the social media are served as platforms for presenting content by each of individual groups in our society.

Moreover, the people also use social media as a means for communication not just among themselves, but also to the public. In other words, people use social media as a channel to broadcast their arguments or ideas that are controversial in the society including politics. Therefore, political parties and institutions began to collect these shared ideas on social media regarding political issues to contract their policies that would attract the public and raise popularity turning the social media to become the new political battleground. In turn, as the social media can penetrate into various social groups, it is used by the political parties as channel to project their political campaign.

VOTER EDUCATION

Election is considered one of the important factors indicating the democratic situation in one particular country. The election is also the time that the political power rest in the citizens' hands which is very important as it will lead the country in the way the majority desires. Therefore, education regarding tovoting and election is very crucial.

Voter education generally refers to informing and providing the citizen with information and materials about participating in election and democracy. All voters should get all appropriate education and basic information regarding political system and electoral process especially when, where and how they vote.
The role of educating voter is mainly the responsibility of the state. However, the government may use this opportunity to maintain their power instead of promoting democracy. So, delegates choosing this topic will discuss the importance of voter education especially in the case of first-time voters.

DEMOCRACY AND ECONONOMIC DEVELOPMENT

It is often claimed that democracy contributes to economic development as it instrumentally guarantees political stability, freedom, and participation. The free and fair election is thought to be a precondition for economic growth. However, it is argued that development can be achieved without democracy and the election is unnecessary. An authoritarian regime could also be effective in enhancing prosperity.

In general, democracy provides better opportunities for economic growth for states in a stable and long-term growth proven in the United States and South Korea. Nonetheless, some democratic states, like those in Latin America, Eastern Europe, and most of Asia, are still struggling with its economic conditions. Economic can also be developed in absence of democratization such as China. In this topic, delegates will discuss why democracy, in one country, leads to economic development while not in another. Or does democracy still matter in economic development?

DEMOCRACY AND POPULISM

Democracy is notably regarded as a political system in which prioritizes the "rule of people". Nevertheless, it is noticeable that when democracy has reached the point that one can represent the people, the regime would be ironically undemocratic. This is when populism jumps in.

Populism can also be used to justify the government to carry out authoritative action. So, the populism and the notion of 'representing people' are needed to be revisited. A nexus between democracy and populism should be juxtaposed to relieve the political confusion to the democratic nature of democracy. Whether it is a threat, a supporter, or just a response to the democratic system, populism has increasingly become more popular among various countries. Hence, in this topic, the delegates will discuss on whether the rise of populism could best serve or threaten democracy and in what ways such rise will develop in the near future.

BISC 2019

Student Papers
(In alphabetical order)

Post-modernism on E-Democracy: A Strategical Leap to Prevail the Election through Young Adult Voters and Political Digital Marketing on Instagram, A Study Case in Indonesia

Andreas Brian Bagaskoro Bayuseno[1]

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Abstract

Instagram or also popularly known as IG is a photo and video-sharing social networking service owned by Facebook. Indonesia has specifically the biggest Instagram users in the southeast Asia region. With that big database, Instagram can be a strategical influence on the electoral campaign, especially in Indonesia. But there are many Indonesian people still do not understand about this electoral campaign on the election and the abstain presentation is still high in the general or national election. To analyze this case, this research paper uses the Post-modernism perspective and *Foucault* concept which has the main claim that knowledge is strongly related with politics and power. With Postmodernism perspective, mainly Foucault concept, this research analyzes that whoever has the knowledge to use Instagram as Electoral Campaign in Indonesia, they will prevail the election. Those who have the knowledge of political digital marketing through Instagram can make a lot of money for the campaign. The reality of politics in Indonesia can be changed with social media on the electoral campaign.

Keywords : *Instagram, Indonesia, Post-modernism, knowledge, power, electoral campaign*

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Introduction

We live in the world without border since social media and communications took a significant part of our society. Political parties across the globe are learning that, along with advertising on traditional mediums such as television and newspapers, they must invest in digital marketing if they want to compete with their rival parties.[2] In this modern era, there are many social media that are popular and attract people in all society. We are all familiar with Facebook, Twitter, Instagram, and other social media. One of the social media discussed in this research is Instagram. Instagram has been chosen to be the social media research focus in the research because, for most people, visuals carry an even more powerful impact than words on a page.[3]

"Visual communication research has shown that images, especially of political candidates, convey emotions, actions, realism, and credibility, these images form a lasting impression in the mind of the voting public," said Assistant Professor Nicole Dahmen UO School of Journalism and Communication, who researches and blogs about visual communication and social media in politics.[4]

Instagram or also popularly known as IG is a photo and video-sharing social networking service owned by Facebook, Inc. It was created by Kevin Systrom&Mike Krieger and launched in October 2010.[5] On June 2018, Instagram had reached 1 billion monthly active users from all devices, up from 800 million in September 2017.[6] That made Instragam one of the most popular social network worldwide (6th in the world). In politics, many politicians use Instagram to share their daily life, their works, their ideas and other important things for their followers and for the public agenda. This social media can also be an effective tool to share and spread their electoral campaign. From Instagram, the government can also promote democracy. It is often referred to e-democracy, a form of government in which all adult citizens are presumed to be eligible to participate equally in the proposal,

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[2] Caoimhe Gaskin, "How Social Media Can Enhance Political Campaigns," Digital Marketing Institute, last modified February 15, 2018, https://digitalmarketinginstitute.com/blog/15-02-2018-how-social-media-can-enhance-political-campaigns.

[3] Andra Brichacek, "Journalism and Communication," Journalism and Communication, accessed December 31, 2018, https://journalism.uoregon.edu/news/six-ways-media-influences-elections-users.

[4] *Ibid*.

[5] CBBC newsrounds, "Do YOU know what social media rules you've signed up to?," BBC News, Last updated at September 1,2018 , https://www.bbc.co.uk/newsround/41426106.

[6] "Instagram: Active Users 2018." Statista. Accessed December 29, 2018. https://www.statista.com/statistics/253577/number-of-monthly-active-Instagram-users/.

development, and creation of laws.[7] Using social media for electoral campaign and political digital marketing are also a part of the e-democracy.

Speaking of Indonesia, the biggest democratic country in Southeast Asia,[8] this maritime country has specifically the biggest Instagram users in the southeast Asia region. With that big database, Instagram can be a strategical influence on the electoral campaign, especially in Indonesia. But there are many Indonesian people still don't understand about this electoral campaign on the election and the abstain presentation is still high in the general or presidential election.

Another research and journals have already discussed social media influence on the electoral campaign before. Sebastien Stier in his journal "Election Campaigning on Social Media: Politicians, Audiences, and the Mediation of Political Communication on Facebook and Twitter," has examined how social media (Facebook and Twitter) can be effective tools or media to prevail the election with political communication perspective. The study case in his journal is about the German federal election campaign in 2013. Diana Owen, in her book "New Media and Political Campaigns," also argues how media can enhance political campaign in the U.S.A. It discusses the ways in which new media differ from traditional media in terms of their form, function, and content; identifies the audiences for new election media; and examines the effects on the voter interest, knowledge, engagement, and turnout. The differences of this research paper among the others are that this research paper focuses on the influence of electoral campaign in Indonesia with Post-modernism theory on international relations as a tool to analyze and to give more explanations on that. Moreover, this research focuses on social media, Instagram, which make differences from other researches.

This research paper examines more about the influence of Instagram on the electoral campaign in Indonesia, especially for young and adults voters. How Instagram can enhance political campaigns. This research paper will also give evidence how the Instagram will affect the electoral campaign in Indonesia, facing the general election and the presidential election in Indonesia that will be held on April 2019 with two strong nominees which are Mr. Joko Widodo and Mr. Prabowo Subiyanto. This research paper uses a qualitative method with

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[7] Hosein Jafarkarimi et al., "The Impact of ICT on Reinforcing Citizens' Role in Government Decision Making," International Journal of Emerging Technology and Advanced Engineering 4, no. 1 (January 2014): , accessed December 29, 2018, https://ijetae.com/files/Volume4Issue1/IJETAE_0114_109.pdf.

[8] Mantel, Barbara. "Democracy in Southeast Asia." CQ Global Researcher 4, no. 6 (June 1, 2010): 131-56. http://library.cqpress.com/cqresearcher/cqrglobal2010060000.

literature studies for strategical data collection from some journals, website, e-books, online articles, statistical data, and other literature data.[9] For analysis data method, the congruence method is used in this research. Congruence method is an analysis data method that searches for compatibility variable between independent variable from theory and the data from literature studies.[10]

Theoretical Framework

The postmodernism theory is a broad movement that developed in the mid- to late-20th century across philosophy, arts, architecture, and criticism and that marked a departure from modernism.[11] Postmodern critical approaches gained purchase in the 1980s and 1990s, and have been adopted in a variety of academic studies and theoretical disciplines, including cultural studies, politics, economics, international relations, linguistics, architecture, and literary criticism, as well as art movements in fields such as literature, music, and art. On international relations theory, postmodernism also called post-structuralism or post-positivism. Moreover, postmodernism is often associated with schools of thought such as deconstruction and post-structuralism, as well as philosophers such as Jacques Derrida, Fredric Jameson, and Jean-François Lyotard.[12]

This perspective was taken from the same source with critical theory, which is Enlightenment Project. Enlightenment Project is a project idea from Immanuel Kant. The objective of this project was to attain the human emancipation which means to liberate the way of thinking and logical from handcuff of ideas. From this enlightenment project, arise two main perspective that adopted to international relations studies which is critical theory and postmodernist theory. The difference between critical theory and postmodernism theory is there is a "deconstruction" in the postmodernism theory, but not happened in critical theory.[13] Post-modernism perspective has the main claim on it, which is knowledge is

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[9] Mohammad Rosyidin, "BAB 3 SISTEMATIKA PENULISAN SKRIPSI: BAGIAN INTI," in *Pedoman Skripsi Mahasiswa* (SEMARANG: Hubungan Internasional Fakultas Ilmu Sosial dan Ilmu Politik Universitas Diponegoro, 2017), PDF e-book, 20.

[10] Mohammad Rosyidin, "BAB 3 SISTEMATIKA PENULISAN SKRIPSI: BAGIAN INTI," in *Pedoman Skripsi Mahasiswa* (SEMARANG: Hubungan Internasional Fakultas Ilmu Sosial dan Ilmu Politik Universitas Diponegoro, 2017), PDF e-book, 21.

[11] John Baylis, *The Globalization of World Politics 3rd edition.* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005), 285-287.

[12] *Ibid*.

[13] Wardhani, Baiq Lekar Sinayang Wahyu. 2015. *Postmodernism.* Power Point Presentation. Universitas Airlangga, Surabaya, Indonesia. 30 April 2015.

strongly related with politic and power.[14] There are two main concepts on postmodernism theory, these two main concepts are *Foucault* and *Genealogy*. Knowledge and power have influence and strengthen each other. Peoples who have strong knowledge, they will dominate a great power. The concept on that statement in Post-modernism is called *Foucault*. The knowledge and power will be related with the reality on the field. Those who reproduce, take, and dominate the knowledge, have the power to control the reality. It does not rule out that the reality and fact on democracy and the e-democracy can be controlled by those who have the knowledge to do that. This research paper focuses on that concept to find the explanation about the effect on the electoral campaign in Indonesia.

Post-modernism, Indonesia E-Democracy, and Instagram

The total population of Indonesia amounted to approximately 261.99 million inhabitants in 2017. 104.96 million people were accessing the internet in Indonesia every day. This figure is projected to grow up to 133.39 million in 2021. With over 104 million internet users, and 59 millions of Instagram users, Indonesia is one of the biggest online markets worldwide. Mass pieces of information in Indonesia connect rapidly to us anytime and everywhere with social media in the devices.[15] Instagram also helps the government or the political party to spread democracy (e-democracy), their notion, public policy, and political movement every day. That is not surprising if every day they post especially in 2019 because, in 2019, there will be the local and national election. The political parties such as Partai Gerinda, Partai Amanat Nasional, Partai Demokrat have a lot of followers on Instagram. Public figures and political figures such as Mr. Joko Widodo (the president of Indonesia), Mr. Prabowo Subianto (presidential candidate) Mr. Sandiaga Uno (vice presidential candidate) also have a bunch of followers on Instagram. President Mr. Joko Widodo is the majority of followed political figures on Instagram worldwide as of November 2018 in the ASEAN region with 13.849.432 followers.[16]

Many people know that every candidate in the election needs money to run the political movement or political campaign. For example, the presidential candidate in Indonesia at least must prepare US$ 600 to fight on the general electoral. It includes the campaign, the party,

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[14] Devetak, Richard. Postmodernism in Scott Burchill, et al, *Theories of International Relations*. (Palgrave, 2001), 181-208.

[15]"Instagram: Active Users 2018." Statista. Accessed December 29, 2018. https://www.statista.com/statistics/253577/number-of-monthly-active-Instagram-users/.

[16] "Instagram: Most-followed Political Figures Influencers Worldwide 2018 | Statistic," Statista, last modified January 2018, https://www.statista.com/statistics/788920/most-followers-Instagram-politicians-world/.

political decoration. One candidate of the house of representative has to prepare at least 2 billion rupiahs to join the election. In 2017, the house of representative of the Republic of Indonesia (DPR RI) has 575 delegates. Imagine how much money from 575 delegates to participate in the election. There are many ways how politicians can get money for the election. One of the examples of political digital marketing that makes money is commercial on Instagram. A selebgram can make money at least US$100 up to US$1000 for 1 photo. If every politician or the political party use Instagram to promote democracy (e-democracy) and their future policy, how much money that they can get from Instagram with zero rupiahs on the modal.

Indonesia has the biggest population in the Southeast Asia. Over 65 % of the Indonesian populations are at young and adult age.[17] The majority of the internet in Indonesia are being used by the young and adult people in their device, from 15 years old until 64 years old. Therefore, it is a strategical leap for the politicians or president nominees to use Instagram. Postmodernism theory, mainly *Foucault* concept, believes that those who have the knowledge will have more power because power and knowledge strengthen each other. In the electoral campaign such as in Indonesia, every delegate in the political campaign who have the knowledge to use Instagram can attract the voters with their work programs for the country. With a huge database of Instagram users in Indonesia, we can conclude that whoever has the knowledge to use Instagram as Electoral Campaign in Indonesia will get the target at least 65% votes and they will prevail the election. Moreover, those who have the knowledge of political digital marketing through Instagram commercial can make a lot of money for the election.

Conclusion

The general election will be held in April 2019 in Indonesia. Instagram has a big influence on the electoral campaign in Indonesia especially in 2019. With Postmodernism perspective, mainly *Foucault* concept, this research analyzes and concludes that whoever has the knowledge to use Instagram as Electoral Campaign in Indonesia and they will prevail the election. Those who have the knowledge of political digital marketing through Instagram commercial can make a lot of money for the campaign. By all means, we have to continue this research in the future to get more variant explanation.

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[17] "Indonesia - Total Population 2012-2022 | Statistic," Statista, accessed December 29, 2018, https://www.statista.com/statistics/294100/total-population-of-indonesia/.

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Populism: A Justification of the Failure of Democracy

Astiani Hayan Pramesti[1]

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Abstact

The contemporary form of populism has found its way in the midst of the democratic society. Populism do not emerge from nothing, its rise was triggered by the unsatisfied masses whose demands were ignored by the democratic system. Bringing up the ideas of a charismatic leader with a simple & quick solution, populism successfully mobilizing the masses. Populism do not necessarily a bad or a good thing, this concept actually does not directly violating the democracy, rather somehow it is emphasizing the masses' voice. But then, at the same time, populism also limiting the minority for raising their rights which also not in line with the basic concept of democracy. Thus, the rise of populism issued a serious question about the sustainability of the ongoing democratic system. Whether it is a challenge, threat, or even only a justification of those who disappointed by the current government system.

Keywords : *populism, democracy, justification, masses, minority*

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[1] Astiani Hayan Pramesti is an undergraduate student at Universitas Muhammadiyah Yogyakarta, Indonesia.

I. Introduction

Populism and democracy are two concepts that often being compared or overlapped. Democracy comes from the Greek words, "demos" means people and "kratia" means power or rule, and simply translated as the rule of the people[2]. Meanwhile, populism originates from Latin word "populous" which means "the people". At glance those two words derived from the same basic ideas, "the people". However, both have a very different approach, and their relations are usually deemed to be antithetical[3].

Populism is a wide complex phenomenon, thus there are much varieties on describing what populism is. Populism can be both, right or left wing, and even neither. It also can be a movement, ideology, regime, policy, state structure, and modes of incorporation[4]. Populism does not sustain by a single consistent label. As Cas Mudde, a leading populism scholar stated, it is *"a thin-centered ideology that considers society to be ultimately separated into two homogenous and antagonistic camps, 'the pure people' versus 'the corrupt elite'"*[5]. Among all the differences approach towards populism, there is one thing certain; populism is about "us" versus "them"–it is what it stands against, it stands against the establishment and political parties. Here, we see the opposite factor between populism and democracy. Populism emphasizes the role of charismatics leaders who do not need any institutional intermediaries that bridge between the people and the leader. It supposed to be a direct control and communication from the people[6]. As Donald Trump said in one of his speech, *"what truly matters is not which party controls our government, but whether our government is controlled by the people"*. Long story short, populism claimed they represent the will of the people as a whole. Up until this description, populism might sound promising, however, because populism takes government by the people, it also rejects all checks and balance on the popular will. Populism also denied other constitutive elements of democracy such as the rule of law, the division of power, and respect for the rights of minorities. Populism ruled out those things because they believe it confined the people's sovereignty[7].

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[2] *Concepts And Principles Of Democratic Governance And Accountability*. Kampala: Konrad Adenauer-Stiftung, 2011.

[3] Braun, Carlos Rodríguez. "The Values of Free Enterprise versus the New Populism in Latin America."*The Independent Review, Vol. 17, No. 1* , 2012: 23.

[4] Jansen, Robert S. "Populist Mobilization: A New Theoretical Approach to Populism." *Sociological Theory, Vol. 29, No. 2* , 2011: 76.

[5] Rice-Oxley, Mark, and Ammar Kalia. *How to spot a populist* . December 3, 2018. https://www.theguardian.com/news/2018/dec/03/what-is-populism-trump-farage-orban-bolsonaro (accessed January 8, 2019).

[6] Braun, Carlos Rodríguez. "The Values of Free Enterprise versus the New Populism in Latin America."*The Independent Review, Vol. 17, No. 1* , 2012: 23.

[7] Jagers, Jan, and Stefaan Walgrave. "Populism as Political Communication Style: An EmpiricalStudy

Populism and democracy are like two long lost friends that meet up in the crossroads of chaotic masses. One might bring harm or benefit, and one might rise and the other loses. Democracy will eventually encounter and embrace the populism, as Decker said, where democracy, there is populism[8]. So here's the question, is the populism threatened the existence of democracy or just a challenge that needs to be faced? Or populism just only a long lost friend that will be forgotten the next day? The writer will dig deeper on the rise of populism and how it will affect democracy in the near future.

II.   The Rise of Populism

Nowadays, populism is widespread. There are bunch of rising populist leaders and movement going on in recent decades. US President Donald Trump's victory is one of the examples of the new wave of populism. The referendum of Brexit also the actual proof that populism has found its way in the midst of the democratic society. But how and why populism can become such a popular term? One can say that populism is easy to be liked. They make an appeal to the people and pointed out the mistakes of the despised elite. Populist also use crises to justify their revolt. They used the people's frustration with bureaucrats and their distrust towards the government. This is why populism can emerge amidst the democratic society; populism offers a promise to correct the democracy that seems to have lost their representative.

Another attraction of populism is their leader. Populist politics are characterized by personalism and identification with a powerful charismatic leader: "*The leader symbolizes the people; he expresses the 'general will*"[9]. The people is the populist leader's weapon. Therefore, populist leaders tend to seek a particularly intense connection to their followers. Such intensity requires charisma, thus populist leaders constantly demonstrate their closeness to common people and stimulate popular identification with their leadership[10]. Populist leaders often used face to face and heart to heart approach, they know that there are some people who felt left behind by the current government and those populist leaders tap into that anger and use it as their way to the victory.

of Political Parties' Discourse in Belgium." *European Journal of Political Research 4 no 3*, 2007: 323.

[8] Decker, Frank. *The Populist Challenge to Liberal Democracy*. 2003. http://www.fes.de/ipg/ONLINE3_2003/ARTDECKER.PDF (accessed January 8, 2019).

[9] Torre, Carlos de la. "Populism and Democracy: Political Discourses and Cultures in Contemporary Ecuador." *Latin American Perspectives, Vol. 24, No. 3, Ecuador, Part 1: Politics and Rural Issues*, 1997: 15.

[10] Weyland, Kurt. "Clarifying a Contested Concept: Populism in the Study of Latin Americanpolitics." Comparative Politics, Vol. 34, No. 1, 2001: 13.

Populism also chooses the popular enemy that caused the instability, this common enemy refers to a group of people that might bring harm to the masses like the immigrants, criminals, the establishment, wall street, drug dealer, and many other minorities groups. But this also means that populism put aside those minorities groups from the society, even when they actually didn't make any mistakes. Populism is against pluralism and adores the homogenous masses. In order to overcome the complex issue, populism tends to provide a simple and quick solution. Let's use the Brexit as the example. In 2016 the British people voted a referendum to leave the EU, the main reason is that Britain feels that EU had too much control on the internal migration and economic regulation. Using a convincing slogan, populist people speak up their mind to support the Brexit. They used clear words, and the action also simple, leave the EU and they will be freer. It's quite similar to what Donald Trump did with the immigrants. In order to cut down the number of immigrants as well as the number of crimes, Trump easily makes a speech and action about building a wall. It's a very simple and easy to digest action that many people found appealing.

III.   The Future of Populism

Populism does not necessarily a bad or a good thing. Each political system has its own advantages and disadvantages. Those people who've labeled themselves as a populist are not inherently biased or racist, they are just a bunch of people who've lost something, that they wanted to be a good citizen but the system does not provide them the place to improve their own self, instead, there are many other groups of people that stand in their way, let's say the refugees or immigrants. Even though populism didn't seem to support the multiculturalism and stuff which contradictive with the basic idea of democracy, populism actually give a more option on the democratic experience. It gives the voters of more policy options, more choices, and more candidates and a sense of these parties being able to keep the governments more accountable.

However, populism is not something that has a grand and solid foundation. Populism is very strong in rhetoric, rather than in real action. Populism appealed to many people by its simple, easy, and quick solution, yet the result is not as perfect as it might seem to be. Many populist leaders concerned on the migration as the problem that needs to be fixed. Brexit, Donald Trump, Geert Wilders, Pauline Hanson are just some of the figures that successfully exploiting people's nascent concerns about migrants. Their concerns eventually lead to sovereignty, that the local feel intimidated and threatened by the existence of the migrants, that the migrants might take over their job. These individuals feel like they have been on the

losing end of globalization, either in terms of trade competition or in terms of competition from new immigrants[11]. However, for the long run, immigrants are not that bad. Actually accepting the migrants is one of the strategies for getting the economy's going and bringing new ideas. According to Dr. Niranjan Casinader, a culture, globalization, and educations specialist, populism is only temporary and ephemeral. So anything based on populism in the long term is going to be destructive rather than constructive[12].

IV.   Conclusion

At the end of the day, democracy will encounter and embrace the populism. Populism is part of the democracy, it is one of the way of the people voices their will, demands, and asking for a better system that could accommodate them better than the current government. This is not definitely wrong, that's actually what democracy's all about, democracy gives the people space for delivering what they wanted to say, and these days people choose the populism. I myself agree that populism is a challenge that needs to be faced by the democratic society, it will always appear somehow, and that's the task of the democratic government to accommodate all the will of the people. Populism indeed can be a threat, but only in a short term, as Dr. Casinader said, it is temporary, populism will not remain last. There will be another better solution, better way to communicate the masses rather than populism.

Here, I believe that populism emerges when the people realize there is something wrong in the democratic system. There is something to be fixed so the people can have their voices in the government. Populism emerge when democracy started to show their failure and flaws, when democracy is slowly becoming undemocratic and the representative does not exactly represent the people's will. This is the point when the populism found its way, as a justification of the failure of democracy. Populism offers the correction for the democratic system, populism pointed out the mistakes that should've been overcome by the establishment. Populism appears with many simple and quick solutions that the people wanted to hear. Yet, the society is not that simple. We live in a diverse world with many interests, views, and perspectives. We cannot only take the masses' interest into account. There are many other minorities group that need to be taken care of. The world is a bigger space, it is a global community, and we are made up of differences that don't actually matter,

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[11] Alden, Edward, interview by James McBride. *What Brexit Reveals About Rising Populism* (June 29, 2016).
[12] *The Rise of Populism - A Different Lens*. Directed by Monash University. 2018.

because we are as one. And such justification will not remain last when it is not accompanied by a solid and clear foundation or decades of experiences.

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Indonesia's Political Rhetoric: A Wave of Democratic Setbacks and The Emergence of Right-Wing Populism in Indonesia

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Abstract

The presidential election 2014 has been derived the new phase on the Indonesian political contestation since both candidates prefer to practicing the populism as a political agenda. Joko Widodo known as polite-populist which characterized as a humble candidate with pro-people slogans, on the other side Prabowo portrayed as a populist-nationalist which anti-establishment within campaigning against the corruption vehemently. The populist strategy considered to be recurrence in the 2019 election by the fact of a re-match candidate. The populism time-line had been stained with the surprising rise of Islamic-Populism by 2016 in the Jakarta governor election, that's might understandably reshape political strategy on the 2019 presidential election. The inclusion of Islamic conservatism in political agenda and restlessness about the emersion of authoritarianism might be considered as a threat of democracy. However, mass mobilization of people to appeal the majority is huge setbacks derive by a populist strategy. This research aimed to analyze the emergence of right-wing populism as a political strategy in relation to the rising of democratic setbacks in Indonesia. The study is important to understand the current political agenda towards presidential election since the counterproductive narrative overarching by the populists incurring social fragmentation for only the sake of gaining the electoral vote.

Keywords: *Democratic Setback, Populism, Islamic Conservatism, 2019 Presidential Election.*

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Introduction

The popularity of populism approaches crawling as a manifestation of a global movement on the disappointment within liberal democratic institution. The Donald Trump and Marine Le Pen is a good instance of it, prospecting peoples sovereignty militancy to its citizens unilaterally are the main concern of populism movement in such United States and France. Regardless of whether populism is good or bad, emergence of populism indicates dissatisfaction symptom of liberal democratic system. In order to get more comprehension about populism, scholars are trying to identify character and contextual definition of the so-called 'populism'.

Based on Cas Mudde perception, populism categorized as an ideology that considers society to be separated into two homogeneous and antagonistic groups as "the pure people" and "the corrupt elite".[3] Populism in Cas Mudde's viewpoint has two opposites which elitism and pluralism. In essence, Cas Mudde defined that the core concept of populism is 'the people' in the feeling to take a credit on 'the elite' who defined as its opposite or nemesis.[4] The appearance term of 'the people' and 'the elite' generally attached by the trait for both groups: 'the people' used to defined as moral, genuine and sometimes wronged by the elite. Otherwise, 'the elite' mostly defined as immoral, greedy and culturally strange for the people.

Nevertheless, Jan-Werner Muller challenging the classical populism definition of anti-elites by assuming that not everybody who criticizes elite will be a populist automatically, it was a job of democracy to providing a platform to criticize the elite. Other than that, Muller indicates that the populist characteristic always using some rhetoric narrative that "they and only they who can be a real representative of the people". He added that there are two important consequences of this rhetoric. First, populist said that all the other parties are illegitimate and second, in the level of 'the people', they said whoever who doesn't support their agenda has the status as a part of 'other'.[5]

Meanwhile, the rise of right-wing populism seems to be dominating the political sphere in Indonesia, moreover, Vedi Hadiz describes that right-wing politics in Indonesia is highly

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[3] Cas, Mudde, "The Problem with Populism", The Guardian,February 2015,
https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2015/feb/17/problem-populism-syriza-podemos-dark-side-europe
[4] Cas, Mudde, " The Populist Zeitgeist." Goverment and Oposition, 2004: p.541-546
[5] Muller, Jan-Werner," Why are populist so popular?", Philadelphia:University of Pennysylvania Press, 2016

associated with the Islamic populist ideas.[6] This regard shows that the emergence of right-wing populism derived by the rise of Islamic movement in Indonesia. Mass mobilization of *ummah* in 2016 governor election against the Chinese and Christian figure 'Basuki' seems to be an ultimate Islamic populism movement. Apprehend the means of populism depends on the context of the problem, it is casuistic and differentiates by a hinge on the particular nation's characteristic. A key theme to this issue is to elaborate the emergence of right-wing populism which derived by Islamic populist in relation with the wave of democratic setbacks in Indonesia's political sphere.

Measuring Indonesia's Populism Landscape

The political system in Indonesia adopted the existence of a multi-party system in the political sphere. In general of political party narrative, most of them didn't have a concrete ideological basis engine, usually either its nationalist or religious, or even to some instance they used both as nationalist-religious party. An article by Edward Aspinall et. al published a survey from LSI collaborating with ANU to found a fundamental difference of political party ideology in Indonesia. The survey composed of a various question and the result were not astonishing due to the most party constantly around the center of the spectrum.[7]

Nationalist or Religious (more specify 'Islam') as a mainstream ideological party in Indonesia considered to be one of the fundamental reason on the appearance of right-wing populism in Indonesia. The dramatic rise of Islamic populist movement in 2016 has triggered the domino effect of populism epidemic dissemination to the upcoming election in 2019. Those situations aggravated by a strategic mobilization of multi-class people who indicates organized by political means. In this case, 'the people' referred to the Islamic (majority) who resist as people power. As what Vedi Hadiz writes in his book about Oxhorn insights on populism and social mobilization in Latin America, Oxhorn stated that the new Islamic populism constitutes a specific form of 'social mobilization based on asymmetrical multi-class coalitions'.[8]

Another key finding of Hadiz article exhibits the Islamic populism characteristic which he defined that Indonesian Islamic populism developed as anti-pluralist and illiberal

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[6] Vedi R. Hadiz, "Imagine all the people? Mobilising Islamic Populism for Right-Wing Politics in Indonesia, Journal of Contemporary,(2018) p.2-3
[7] Edward,Diego,Burhanudin, Eve, "Mapping the Indonesian Political Spectrum.", April 24 2018, https://www.newmandala.org/mapping-indonesian-political-spectrum/
[8] Vedi R. Hadiz, "Islamic Populism in Indonesia and The Middle East" Cambrige University Press

characteristic.[9] Binary construction of 'us' against 'them' increasingly developed during the time. In this case, *ummah* represents as an 'us' while 'them' consider as other parties who didn't affiliate with *ummah*. The use of *ummah* as political language considered as an effort to homogenization 'the people'. Collective enmity rhetoric tends to push the political-economic concern as a main issue, a systemic distribution of fear such as Chinese or foreign domination in economic and non-Moslem authorization In politics raised to provoke the conflict. As most experts believe, populism usually has a charismatic figure of politics who good at influencing 'the peoples'.

Prabowo's Political Rhetoric

Prabowo's journey as president candidate starts in the 2014 election after dramatic secede with PDIP and contested against them (Jokowi candidacy) while he lost by only able to gain 46,85%.[10] During his candidacy of presidential election, Prabowo developed increasingly the use of populism rhetoric as his political strategy. His main concern mostly uttering the Indonesia economic failure which he defined as leakage of Indonesian wealth and debt problem referred to his rhetoric of anti-foreign campaign. Issuing a copy-paste Trump's slogan,[11] Prabowo launched "Make Indonesia Great Again" and "Indonesia First" as his ultranationalist slogans[12]

Besides the ultranationalist and economic failure rhetoric, Prabowo has capitalized the mass mobilization of Islamic Populist movement begun in 2016. In line with Vedi Hadiz arguments that Islam and nationalism are a main cultural resources in Indonesia, two decades ago Prabowo recognized that Islam has a huge power in Indonesia while he said that Islam, military and Suharto were the only three existence path to gain power, and he had all of them.[13] Specify to Islamic context, Prabowo progressively using Islamic rhetoric as a main discourse. Jakarta governor election in 2016 is a specific instance of 'us' against 'them' Prabowo's populist

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[9] Vedi R. Hadiz, "Imagine all the people? Mobilising Islamic Populism for Right-Wing Politics in Indonesia, Journal of Contemporary,(2018)

[10] Maharani Aritonang,"Hasil Resmi Rekapitulasi Suara Pilpres." July 22 2014, https://nasional.kompas.com/read/2014/07/22/20574751/Ini.Hasil.Resmi.Rekapitulasi.Suara.Pilpres.2014

[11] Kristian Erdianto, "Prabowo: Bangsa Kita Terhormat, tapi Kenapa Impor dan Utang Terus?",Kompas, https://nasional.kompas.com/read/2018/11/17/19290261/prabowo-bangsa-kita-terhormat-tapi-kenapa-impor-dan-utang-terus

[12] James Massola, "*Prabowo Wants to 'Make Indonesia Great Again." October 20, 2018,* https://www.smh.com.au/world/asia/prabowo-wants-to-make-indonesia-great-again-20181020-p50awr.html

[13] Aboepriadji Santoso, " Gerindra and Greater Indonesia" November 29, 2009, www.insideindonesia.org: https://www.insideindonesia.org/gerindra-and-greater-indonesia

rhetoric. Prabowo speech during Gerindra National Conference in Bogor clearly describes his partisanship to Islamic populist movement.

Tempo launched a manuscript of Prabowo's speech which stated that "Jakarta governor election was a hard job since there was a contested upon a power who defend justice and truths (his coalition, alternately: *ummah*) against a power who willing to prolonged injustice and chaotic circumstances,[14] and now we are heading the same situation". Muller was right to describing the populist as they patriotically confident that they and always them who can be a true representative of people and its country, during the same event in Bogor Prabowo also admitted that Indonesia will be extinct if he were not going to be the president of Indonesia. [15] Portraying himself as a savior in the dilapidated and shoddy elite is a political setting to build heroical image to frustrated and 'marginalized people'. Seizing Imelda definition on populism variant, Prabowo categorized as an irrational populism.[16]

Assigning pact of integrity launched by *ijtima ulama* reinforces the argument that Prabowo likely to mobilize mass Islamic populace for his political agenda towards 2019 presidential election.[17]

A Neo-New Order?

Regarding a massive challenge of what Cas Mudde said as volente generale (general will) of 'the people' which capitalized by political means, a long run debate uprising on the question whether populism threatening Indonesian democracy? Vedi Hadiz once stated that populism not necessarily views as a threat to democracy or *status quo*. In line with Hadiz, Nic Cheesman et. al believe that there are plenty of examples on possible contribution of populism on democracy.[18] Meanwhile, those who form populism as a threat aren't entirely wrong, appealing to 'majority'

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[14] Tempo, " Poin Pakta Intergritas Ijtima Ulama II yang disetujui Prabowo", September 16, 2018, https://nasional.tempo.co/read/1127048/17-poin-pakta-integritas-ijtima-ulama-ii-yang-disetujui-prabowo

[15] Tempo, "Pidato Lengkap Prabowo Soal Indonesia Punah Jika Kalah Pilpres" December 18, 2018, https://nasional.tempo.co/read/1156386/pidato-lengkap-prabowo-soal-indonesia-punah-jika-kalah-pilpres/full&view=ok

[16] Imelda Sianipar, "Strategi Pemimpin Populis Baru Indonesia Mencapai Kekuasaan"Sociae Polites, (2015), p.18-19

[17] Tempo, Semptember, 2018, *ibid*.

[18] Cheeseman Nic, F.C. "How populism can be turned into an opportunity, not a threat" The Conversation, Mei 24, 2018, https://theconversation.com/how-populism-can-be-turned-into-an-opportunity-not-a-threat-96934

as a way of political strategy and ultranationalist engagement undoubtedly has been created an illiberal democratic situation.

Measuring on Indonesian cases, Jokowi as an incumbent has been adopt populist approaches since he was a mayor of Solo. Unlike using some bombastic and demagogic rhetoric, Jokowi raised with what Mietzner defined as a technocratic or polite-populism approach .[19] He refused to against the elites or foreign actors. However, he used to apply his populist agenda moderately. Nevertheless, this facts doesn't necessarily mean that Jokowi are able to stabilize democracy in the populism disruption era.

Authoritarian Turn?

Tim Lindsey from University of Melbourne analyzed that there are huge democratic setbacks during Jokowi presidency by monitoring some of his repressive policy.[20] In line with Lindsey analyzes, EIU democracy index 2017 had shown the Asia year of democratic regression. On its assessment, Indonesia has suffered a significant decline in scores (Economist Intelligence Unit, 2017).[21] The Jakarta Post highlight the prosecution of former Jakarta governor 'Basuki' by Islamic populist movement had been a chief impulse of Indonesia democratic setbacks.[22]

The HTI dissolution might be the result of post-Basuki cases.[23] Unfortunately, Jokowi under pressure policy was embodied of what Mietzner said as 'fighting illiberalism with illiberalism',[24] then herding public opinion to heading back on repressive symbol of Suharto's New Order. Furthermore, Islamic historical sentiments about communism raised around Jokowi's administration, the pressure underpins Jokowi to justify his action on communism eradication by repeated illiberal ways.[25] In result, his action pictured as a restraint of individuals

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[19] Marcus Meitzer, "Fighting Illiberalism with Iliberalism:Islamic Populism and Democratic Deconsolidation in Indonesia" 2018, Passific Affair

[20] Tim Lindsey, "Jokowi in Indonesia 'Neo-New Era', November 7, 2017, www.eastasiaforum.org: http://www.eastasiaforum.org/2017/11/07/jokowi-in-indonesias-neo-new-order/

[21] Economist Intelligence Unit, Democracy Index 2017 , Free Speech Under Attack, (2017)

[22] The Jakarta Post, " Democracy in Retreat", February 5, 2018, https://www.thejakartapost.com/academia/2018/02/05/editorial-democracy-in-retreat.html

[23] Ambaranie Movanita, "Kasus Ahok hingga HTI Dinilai Jadi Bukti Ketundukan pada Tekanan Massa" Mei 10, 2017, https://nasional.kompas.com/read/2017/05/10/09084711/kasus.ahok.hingga.hti.dinilai.jadi.bukti.ketundukan.pada.te kanan.massa

[24] Mietzener, *ibid*.

[25] BBC, " Polisi dan Ormas Cegah Seminar 1965 di LBH Jakarta", September 16, 2018, www.bbc.com: https://www.bbc.com/indonesia/indonesia-41290897

freedom. Other than that, lack of political support in the parliament drives Jokowi to be careful on maintaining popular policy in order to preserve public support while he was subsequently repressed democratic paths.

Conclusion

The emergence of Islamic populism gets its moment on the Jakarta governor election in 2016. Muller, Cas Mudde and Hadiz precisely defined the character of populism, capitalized mass mobilization of the people are the main strategy on behalf of political means. These situations aggravated by frustrated Islamic populist on political-economic sphere in Indonesia. Its main concern is in line with Prabowo's rhetoric to consolidating mass people to 'fix' the situation by replacing current dilapidated and shoddy elite in Indonesia.

Examining the appearance of populism in Indonesia is critical since the ultranationalist and demagogic rhetoric had a chance to threatening democratic institution, although Nic Cheesemen and Hadiz argued that populism to some extent has its contribution to democracy itself. Even though, by looking of what Jokowi administration has done, populism is apparently threatening Indonesian democracy indirectly. The government responds to illiberalism by using illiberalism had been contributed to the downfall of Indonesian democracy climate.

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Democracy and Populism: The Transformation from Straight Populism to Paradoxical Populism in Democratic Society

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Abstract

In the present the world "Populism" is widely used in many parts of the world especially with the rise of the Right-wing parties. Even though the concept of populism is agreeable by many scholars in many aspects, populism had been changed a lot since it had been introduced during Juan Peron presidency. In the present day, the schemes used by populist and the outcome aimed by the traditional populist is widely differed. From the beginning, the expected outcome for populist is that they can empowered the mass or gained popularity by improving people's livelihood. However, in the present, the schemes still exist but the expected outcome is different. The paradox is that many political figures claimed that they are populist and employed populist schemes but for the different outcomes from traditional populism while many others even employed populist scheme to accused their opposition as populist and deteriorate the democratic procedures. Some leaders as well, claiming that they are not the populist but using its schemes to maintain his power. Populism became something haunting certain groups to not to use it while encouraging another group to use it. In either way, it had been changed a lot from its origin.

Keywords: *Populism, Radical Right, Political Schemes, Street Politics, Juan Peron's Presidency, Donald Trump's Presidency, Shinawatra Family, Name Calling Logical Fallacy and Thailand*

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Democracy and Populism: The Transformation from Straight Populism to Paradoxical Populism in Democratic Society

The definition of Populism is highly controversial in every academic discussion. The word was popular during 1950s and 1980s. Its popularity reemerge during the recent years. The word also used in many occasions both for own themselves and labeled others. Many academia already study and theorize the populism and its phenomenon. The most understand and easiest feature of populism is that it appeals to the people[2]. It also believed that populism is the opposite of democracy as we can observe from the sayings that democracy is not democracy when it is too democracy[3]. The first populism movement was the People's party in the United States and the Narodnik in the Imperial Russia[4]. However, such movements only focuses in the agrarian society and often among a small intellectual groups. The rise of the real populist government was in Argentina by Juan Peron[5]. His populist scheme became the fundamental characteristics of the populism. The populism emerge across the South America. It reemerge again during the late 1980s in South America which Alberto Fujimori of Peru and Hugo Chavez of Chile emerge. The third wave was the rise of populism in Europe especially in the eastern part or the old Soviet bloc. The Populist Parties was formed in Western Europe countries. The recent wave which still continue emerge after the economic crisis in 2008 in Italy. The most prominent figure of this wave is Donald Trump who proudly present himself as populism. However, the recent scheme of populist figure became contradiction to the word populist itself. All of these figures rose from the democratically election which lead to the belief that the populism will emerged in the time of societal crisis[6].

Populism per se, apart from appeal to the people, also contain various characteristics[7]. None of them alone are sufficient to empower the movement while some of them are necessary. First of all, it has an elites or morally inferior group to be against. Secondly, it try to empower

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[2] Federico Finchelstein. In *From Fascism to Populism in History* (Oakland, California: University of California Press, 2017) 175.

[3] Jan-Werner Müller. *What Is Populism?* (Philadelphia : University of Pennsylvania Press, 2016), 93.

[4] Ibid

[5] Dwayne Woods, Barbara Wejnert , *"The many faces of populism : Current perspectives"*, *Research in political sociology* ; Volume 22, Bingley, WA : Emerald, 2014.

[6] Federico, Finchelstein. In *From Fascism to Populism in History* (Oakland, California: University of California Press, 2017) 183.

[7] Cas Mudde and Cristóbal Rovira Kaltwasser. Kasian Tejapeera Translated., (Bangkok : Bookscape, 2019), 164.

the people by using any phrase equivalent to "We, the people"[8]. And thus, when the populist have the majority, the majority become the consensus. Therefore, it against pluralism and the establishment. In more radical case, populist movement may labeled the opposition as the enemy of the people. Thirdly, the populist leader or someone associate to the leader tend to be a charismatic one or a strongman and received emphasis than any of its policy. Forth, it often exploit the sentiments or discontent from the people especially the mass. When it comes into the power, it often enacts the discriminatory law against their opposition and also try to ensure that they will maintain their power as long as possible by disqualify or modify the law for their cause[9]. Later, it tends to creates clienteism which is that the government distribute wealth-welfare to the people to improve their livelihood. Moreover, they will fill in their subordinate in the bureaucratic organ including the judicial as soon as possible to maintain their influence[10]. The justification of most of the actions is that they are the people and they are legally elected. When they are not in power, they are tend to claim their legitimation from the "Silenced majority"[11]. Lastly, since populist government usually fill the position with their associate member, they are prone to be less efficient and more corrupt than those who they accuse of being inefficient and corrupt[12].

For most of the time, populist leader emerge in the time of social crisis which frequently occurred after the economic crisis. The people are in need of someone who can make their life better. In such crisis, the sharp contrast of the wealth of the rich and the poor is visible and therefore create the discontent[13]. In some case, people also categorize politician and the establishment into those the rich. Therefore, most of the populist leader portrayed themselves as someone who are also live like the majority or at least understanding and connected or approachable to them[14]. If the leader come from the establishment, they usually portrayed as the rebels who know what the ordinary feels or live[15]. In addition, since it gives much emphasize on the leader, it cannot escape from the trap of the cult of personality. The cult of personality can be

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[8] Jan-Werner, Müller. *What Is Populism?* (Philadelphia : University of Pennsylvania Press, 2016), 47.
[9] Ibid, 89
[10] Ibid, 52
[11] Ibid. 54
[12] Ibid, 55
[13] Jon Beasley-Murray. "Argentina 1972: Cultural Studies and Populism." In *Posthegemony: Political Theory and Latin America*, (Minneapolis; London: University of Minnesota Press, 2010), 22 .
[14] Federico, Finchelstein. In *From Fascism to Populism in History* (Oakland, California: University of California Press, 2017), 188.
[15] Ibid, 189

the leader himself or anyone associated to the leader[16]. It gives the leader more command to his people to rally or demonstrate for his cause. However, the backfire is that the ruling party will be extremely weak after the depart or death of such figures[17].

It can be said that Juan Peron's government is the real populism. Even though Juan Peron is the establishment but Eva Peron is not. Eva Peron rallied the people for Juan's cause. After Juan being released from the prison, he won the election by representing the "Shirtless mass"[18]. His policies include many welfare programs and the nationalization of infrastructure. He also blamed the elites and the foreign influence like the UK for any hindrance in his projects[19]. Many times, the generalization like "if you love your country, you are Peron, if not, you are the traitor"[20]. The downfall happened after the death of Eva Peron, the saint figure of Peronism. Two years after that, Peron was ousted by a coup. During his time in exile, he became the empty signifier where the left and the right both worship him and interpret his movement for their cause[21]. Unfortunately, he cannot maintain the balance between both sides and brutally crack down the resistance along with labeled them as associated to foreign influence[22]. His third wife serve as president after his death but unable to maintain the situation and ousted by another coup.

Hugo Chavez also won the election in 1999 after led a failed coup in 1992. He employed various populist schemes. Thanks for the oil price his subsidy program is great success[23]. He wrote the new constitution. Any action he failed, he accused the perpetrator as an American spies[24]. After his death, along with the downturn of oil price, Nicolas Maduro success him. The economic crisis proved that the regime is not efficient as well as the lack of charisma in Maduro.

The rise of Donald J. Trump shocked most people of the world. Even though he won his presidency through the Electoral College without the majority in the popular vote, he claims

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[16] Jon Beasley-Murray. "Argentina 1972: Cultural Studies and Populism." In *Posthegemony: Political Theory and Latin America*, (Minneapolis; London: University of Minnesota Press, 2010), 25

[17] Ibid, 55

[18] Dwayne Woods, Barbara Wejnert, *"The many faces of populism : Current perspectives"*, *Research in political sociology* ; Volume 22, Bingley, WA : Emerald, 2014

[19] Ibid

[20] Ibid

[21] ibid

[22] ibid

[23] Ryan Brading. *Populism in Venezuela*. Routledge Studies in Latin American Politics. (London : Routledge, 2013), 13.

[24] Ibid, 23

himself as he represent the whole Americans[25]. He gained his popularity from the central part of the country who feel abandoned by Obama's administration and low educated working class who feel the thread from the immigrants[26]. Trump claimed that he fight against the establishment and the deep state and even claimed that there is a conspiracy against him[27]. He emphasize the importance of his policies to the real American who is in need of the mercantilism. These people feel that the country have to look after them first than helping other countries. However, with his populist political scheme, he never act populist economically. He cut down the tax for the elites and the rich while cut down the Obama care policy which empower the poor which is totally against any believe in populism[28]. Anyhow, with his unpredictable policy, more company move back to the United States and the employment in certain industry rise[29].

One of the more unique phenomenon of populism occurred in Thailand. From the rise of Thaksin Shinawatra. Thaksin Shinawatra schemes was populism in the term of economics but less radical in the term of political movement. His spending on the policy like the Universal health care is definitely the populism by create the clienteism even though it proclaims a great success[30]. Surprisingly, the corruption rate during his time was lower than before[31]. He also addressed to the people in many occasion that he will fight against "those who make the country slowed down the development" and that "The people voice is his voice". In the campaign, more emphasize given to him than given to the candidates in each area as we can observe that he address on the stage as if it is presidential debate[32]. Moreover, he also have a program in government owned television to address his thoughts to the people[33]. However, none of these are radical. Thanksin was ousted before his second term end. Therefore, we can never know about

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[25] Paul Krugman. "Stop Calling Trump a Populist" The New York Times, last modified August 2, 2018
https://www.nytimes.com/2018/08/02/opinion/stop-calling-trump-a-populist.html
[26] Henry Olsen. "What liberals (still) get wrong about Trump's support" The Guardian, last modified July 23, 2018.
https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2018/jul/23/liberals-donald-trump-support.
[27] Joe Sommerlad. "Deep state: Is there really a secretive 'shadow government' working to undermine Donald Trump?" The Independent, last modified September 7, 2018
https://www.independent.co.uk/news/world/americas/us-politics/deep-state-donald-trump-conspiracy-theory-alex-jones-steve-bannon-alt-right-a8525521.html
[28] Paul Krugman. "Stop Calling Trump a Populist" The New York Times, last modified August 2, 2018
https://www.nytimes.com/2018/08/02/opinion/stop-calling-trump-a-populist.html
[29] Harriet Torry. "U.S. Workers Get Biggest Pay Increase in Nearly a Decade" The Wall Street Journal, last modified Julu 31, 2018 https://www.wsj.com/articles/u-s-employment-costs-rose-in-the-second-quarter-1533040473
[30] Pasuk Phongpaichit & Chris Baker Thaksin's populism, Journal of Contemporary Asia, 38:1 (2008) DOI: 10.1080/00472330701651960, 63
[31] Ibid, 65
[32] Ibid, 67
[33] Ibid, 68

his idea on prolonging his presidency. Yingluck Shinawatra was elected in 2011. The shadow of her brother also gave her huge popularity. Yet, she was couped in 2014.

The paradox that both Thaksin and Yingluck Shinawatra face is that they are the populist but their opposition who claim that they are not populist are populist per se. Thus, the anti-populist populist movement emerge. The movement in later stage became more radical. They claimed that they are the people, the majority even if they were not. Their justification is that they are the educated one and therefore should be more voiced which threaten to the basis of the democracy itself. Also, they believe that among the educated people, they are the majority. These groups of people emerge as the foreshadow to the transitional period. In each group, the charismatic leader emerged, Sondhi Limthongkul and Suthep Thaugsuban. However, these leaders emerge and lose their popularity quite fast. They demonize Thaksin Shinawatra similar to other countries demonize the foreign influence. Many times, they call these people as "those who wish bad things for the country" With more demonization of Shinawatra family, the more Shinawatra family became an empty signifier. Recently, some group of people claimed that Yingluck Shinawatra represent those who care for democracy and was abused by the military regime.

The government after the 2014 coup also claimed that it is not a populist government and it is totally against populism. However, its action contradict to its claims. It filled up the important positions with those associated to them. Later, it also employs a mastermind from Thaksin's cabinet, Somkid Jatusripitak to work for them. In their constitution, many special power including the state of exception resides with the National Council for Peace and Order leader, Prayuth Chan-o-cha and the loop hole for him being nominated to be a Prime Minister in order to prolong his presidency[34]. Prayuth also employed the use of television to be connected with his people but with more intensity by having a short program every day and a long one every Friday. The program is mandatory for every free television channel. He also trying to be a charismatic leader but faced many resistance. Prayuth's cabinet also lead create a clienteism state by create a "Pracharat" policy and the government's benefits for the poor card[35]. His spending on

[34] Kitti Prasirtsuk. "Thailand in 2014: Another Coup, a Different Coup?" *Asian Survey* 55, no. 1 (2015): 200-06. doi:10.1525/as.2015.55.1.200.
[35] Ibid

the budget lead to deficit than the last government. At the same time, the corruption rate risen. He also always claimed that Thailand is democratic country.

All in all, it can be seen that the way that populism act different from age to age. In the past, the populist mobilized people for the people even though many times it failed due to many reasons. However, as time pass by, mare people employed populist schemes but to undermine populist cause. In Thailand, the populist movements has sprung up and used by both sides of the politics. The populist government was ousted by the coup that the anti-populist populist invite. The leader of the populist government became the spectre haunting the other side ever since. The populist government reemerge yet was couped again. Surprisingly, the junta who claimed to be against populist became populist itself.

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Mudde, Cas and Cristóbal Rovira Kaltwasser. Kasian Tejapeera Translated. *Populism : a very short introduction*, Bangkok : Bookscape, 2019., viewed 12 January 2019, http://ezproxy.car.chula.ac.th/login?url=https://search.ebscohost.com/login.aspx?direct=true&db=cat05085a&AN=chu.b2206529&site=eds-live

The Problem of Voter Education: Challenges Youth Have to Face

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Abstract

In many countries, young citizens are playing an increasingly assertive and vocal role in their political process which could contribute into the construction on the course of a country's developments in various aspects. And, by saying political process, this paper will be focusing on the context of election together with its relationship with the provision of voter education among first time voters such as youth. This paper primarily discusses what the essence of voter education is, its necessity to the creation of a democratic society, how it can be employed by distinguished actors using a concrete example, and followed by an analysis on the problem discovered within it. Then, this paper proceeds to elaborate on the many definitions of youth and why their exposure to voter education is critical prior concluding with personal reflection on the kinds of complications underlying within the implementation of voter education by a top-down structure which have posed new sets of challenges on youth.

Keywords: *Youth, Voter Turnout, Voter Education, Problem, Top-Down Structure*

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I.   Introduction

As the politics of the 21st Century can be largely shaped by the bulge of aspiring youth who are capable of solving issues with the ability to face any challenge posed upon them, one of the many great challenges that these youth have to encounter should be strongly highlighted on how to encourage more youth to go cast their votes and how to lead these young generation of voters to know that their voices genuinely matter and that they can inflict changes to happen in the democratic society. Youth participation in a country's electoral process has, therefore, become one of the key indicators of a healthy democracy, so calls for responsibilities and awareness raising among numerous parties to strategically employ voter education in order to promote youth voter turnout worldwide have been made. Still, regardless of how important the provision of voter education may seem, probable underlying notion of its implementation conflicting nature should be viewed cautiously.

II.   Literature Review

The Essence of Voter Education[2]

Generally, voter education can be defined as the circulation of information revolving around the topics of election and other democratic elements. It is largely concerned with the utilization of the available tools, materials, programs, and resources to inform voters about the electoral processes wherein such information disseminated includes, but not limited to;

   a. Eligible voting age
   b. Where and how to register for an election
   c. How to check whether they have been included in the voter lists
   d. The type of elections being held
   e. Where, when and how to vote
   f. The list of candidates
   g. Steps to file complaints.
   h. Etc.

Within a democratic society, voter education is important as it is one of the many vital parts to ensure that every citizen is well-informed about and profoundly understand the rights they are entitled to, the political system they are participating in, the assessment to the choices they make, and the proper guidelines to cast ballots in the voting processes.

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[2] United Nations. "Chapter 5: Voter and Civic Education." United Nations.
http://www.un.org/womenwatch/osagi/wps/publication/Chapter5.htm.

Employment of Voter Education Creates Problem

The task of providing voter education normally falls under the capacity of a state's electoral management body (EMB) wherein such national EMB will act as the sole independent agency that has, by law, the responsibility to manage and organize the processes of elections along with other democratic instruments such as referendums or polls. [3]

Yet, the obligation towards the employment of voter education does not lie only within state actors such as that of the national government but also those organizations and distinguished international bodies who can be either state-related agencies or purely private non-state actors as well. Therefore, in order to support this paper's argument over the problem of the employment of voter education, a pertinent example from what the Election Commission of Thailand (ECT) does shall be given.

The ECT has been working closely with the International Institute for Democracy and Electoral Assistance (International IDEA), an intergovernmental organization that supports sustainable democracy worldwide, in funding and setting up the Building Resources in Democracy Governance and Election (BRIDGE) workshops to educate Thai voters from time to time. [4]

According to the case above, albeit the ECT is duly responsible to make voter education accessible to its citizens pertaining to the fact that it serves as Thailand's national EMB, such action of it has left room for the problem voter education to happen. And, by saying problem, the key question comes down to the employment of voter education according to whose standards and working upon what models as a conflict of interest can occur when the state is both educating the population on how to vote together with maintaining its position of leadership in terms of that vote. Also, oftentimes, the state that manages its own style of voter education is also the one that benefits from who gets to vote. Thus, this discovery to the problem of voter education is really worthy to take note of as it obstructs youth from believing that their voices are powerful.

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[3] The ACE Electoral Knowledge Network. "Electoral Management." ACE Project. http://aceproject.org/ace-en/topics/em/ema/ema02/default.

[4] Asplund, Erik. "BRIDGE Voter and Civic Education Module Launched." International IDEA. December 19, 2017. https://www.idea.int/news-media/news/bridge-voter-and-civic-education-module-launched.

The Many Definitions of Youth

Questions to who can be considered as youth still prevail as there has been no international consensus on a clear definition to it, and since the term is being used very broadly, youth can mean anything from a very small child to an individual in their 30s.[5] They can also be commonly referred to as individuals between the ages of 15 to 24[6] for it is the current definition of youth given by the more commonly regarded international organization like the United Nations. And, these definitions of youth are being commonly exploited in the aspects of youth-concerned documents and academic researches including other youth-related mechanisms and activities. Aside from their similarity in terms of the defined age range, however, these youth also bear great differences among them as they generally come from highly diverse backgrounds, be them in terms of ethnicity, physical capability, race, religion, gender, or socio-economic situations.

Seeing from the previously mentioned statements, it is apparent that being a youth of one country could differ greatly from another as reliance on varieties of cultural and political factors is what constitutes who to be called as youth. Thus, although the attempt to define who youth are requires rather flexible interpretation, similar perceptions of their potential can occur when they are being confronted with the same challenges from the employment of voter education by a top-down structure.

Youth and Challenges from the Problem of Voter Education

The World Bank's Atlas of Sustainable Development Goals 2017 indicates that 42 percent of the world's population is made up of youth, and such proportion of youth could even rise up to nearly 50 percent of the overall population specifically within several developing countries.[7] And, statistically, these youth are the group that can account for a particular country's 10%[8] or even more than 30%[9] of the total eligible voters. The numbers of these young eligible voters both in previous and upcoming elections across the globe

[5] Featherston, Augusta. "Developing an Active Citizenry through Civic Education." International Foundation for Electoral Systems. https://www.ifes.org/multimedia/developing-active-citizenry-through-civic-education.

[6] United Nations. "Secretary-General's Report to the General Assembly A/36/215, Para. 8 of the Annex, 1981." United Nations Official Document. http://www.un.org/en/ga/search/view_doc.asp?symbol=A/RES/36/215.

[7] Khokhar, Tariq. "Chart: How Is the World's Youth Population Changing?" The World Bank. April 17, 2017. http://blogs.worldbank.org/opendata/chart-how-worlds-youth-population-changing.

[8] Jotikasthira, Om, and Patpon Sabpaitoon. "Young Voters Find Voice." Bangkok Post. October 28, 2018. https://www.bangkokpost.com/news/special-reports/1565758/young-voters-find-voice.

[9] CIRCLE (The Center for Information & Research on Civic Learning and Engagement). "Young People Dramatically Increase Their Turnout to 31%, Shape 2018 Midterm Elections." CIRCLE RSS. November 7, 2018. https://civicyouth.org/young-people-dramatically-increase-their-turnout-31-percent-shape-2018-midterm-elections/.

communicate great significances as it depicts the ability for crucial roles to be played by these youth as major catalyst to a country's developments politically, economically, and socially if opportunities were bestowed upon them insofar that they are to be effectively engaged within the decision-making processes.

Yet, when eyeing on first time voters such as youth, some of the most controversial issues usually raised would be on how the provision of voter education should be conducted by both the state and non-state actors including what kind of information is critical for successful implementation of voter education, but these might not be enough for there is another aspect ought to be added to the package; the recognition of the problem of voter education especially when it is implemented by a top-down structure which has previously been analyzed within this paper. Hence, these issues have become the new challenges against youth rendering them to possibly believe their voices are powerless as they are being exposed to voter education in the political processes.

III.   **Conclusion**

Overall, it is undeniable that voter education is an extremely necessary issue as it has the ability to instruct and equip young voters with proper democratic knowledge on how to vote rather than who to vote for in hope of creating a free and fair electoral process whilst also empowering youth to make their own political decisions. In spite of the realization that voter education is essential to encourage the increase in youth voter turnout, challenges from the problem of voter education still endure since although an educated population is an integral part for a successful democracy, the exposure to voter education is also considered as one of the most effective ways to subvert true choice. Distinguished states still have trouble figuring out how to employ voter education fairly, so possible suggestion might be for an educated populace to be educated outside of a top-down structure such as that by state, state-owned, or state-funded agencies devoted to a particular genre of voter education. The argument is fundamentally against top-down input into voting habits and ability when that top-down input comes from sectors with direct interests in the outcomes.

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Authoritarian bureaucracy in Economic development: Thailand under the NCPO's regime.

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Abstract

This article intends to study the role of bureaucracy under NCPO government focusing on the economic dimension. The hypothesis of this article is that Thailand always uses the bureaucracy as a key driving mechanism in economic development. However, during the non-democratic period and the competition of economic major powers in the world, will Thai bureaucracy be able to cope with these challenges and if not what will the government do? I have found that bureaucratic forces are weak and unable to solve economic challenges alone and need to cooperate with the capitalist forces. These two actors, the bureaucrats and capitalists are the main economic mechanism of the NCPO government.

Keywords: *Authoritarian bureaucracy, Economic development, NCPO*

Introduction

Thai bureaucracy has been the main actor in economic development and policies especially in the development period (1958 – 1973) otherwise known as "the Sarit's regime" and during the so – called semi – democratic period in the 1980s. During that time Thai bureaucracy led all development programs and other state activities, and both expanded and improved in terms of quality and quantity. New ministries, new departments and ad hoc agencies were established to perform new functions. As a result, nowadays Thai bureaucracy is extremely large in comparison with a modernized country of comparable population has tried and yet has become less efficient in running the country. (Indonesia estimated 4.5 million (2017) civil servants, The UK 419,399 (2017) Japan over one million civil servants while Thailand estimated 2.09 million (2014), 2.16 million (2015), 2.18 million (2016).

Currently, Thailand under the NCPO's (National Council for Peace and Order) rule from 2014 until now is trying to find a solution to its economic problems especially the Middle Income Trap (MIT) by through bureaucratic means The NCPO to revive the bureaucratic polity as in the 1950s. However, after the subprime crisis in the United States and the rise of China as another major power, it is not easy to use old dysfunctional bureaucracy to steer the Thai economy. Both the changing configuration of international economic power and the domestic undemocratic rule are challenging the capacity of the Thai bureaucracy to manage and develop the economy.

The development of Thai bureaucracy

Modern Thai bureaucracy was founded during the reign of King Chulalongkorn to defend Thai sovereignty against European colonialism by modernizing the Thai state. It was King Chulalongkorn's administrative reform which built the Siamese modernizing state as an absolute monarchical one. Power was concentrated in Bangkok and the king. In centralizing state power, King Chulalongkorn carried out three major reforms i.e. the fiscal reform, the man power reform and the bureaucratic reform.

The major bureaucratic reform in 1892 transformed the traditional administration into functionally specialized ministries. (Laurence D. Sfifel, 1976, p 1184). In this new

administration the king and his relatives monopolized all the ruling power. However, in the bureaucratic reform, bureaucrats emerged as a new class in Thailand, and later turned into an opposition to the old regime. The number of Thai bureaucrats expanded as its functions multiplied while the members of the royal family decreased. Commoner in relative proportion and absolute number entered into the new education system and worked in the bureaucracy more and more. Two factors triggered the conflict between the king and his bureaucrats, i.e. the contradiction between the bureaucracy and the absolute rulers and the economic and fired crisis in the 1930's. (Kullada Mead,2004, p. 117 - 124). Finally, these conflicts led to the Siamese constitutional revolution in 1932 by the People's party, which consisted of middle ranking civil officials and military officers.

After the revolution, the absolutist regime was replaced by the new regime which was an oligarchy led by the People's party. Bureaucrats in the People's party tended to get most benefits from the regime and held most key position in the cabinet and parliament, the civil service and the Armed Forces, making political all decisions at that time. Others forces outside the bureaucracy such as the private sector, civil society and the monarchy were weak. Fred W. Riggs named this regime as a "bureaucratic polity" (Fred Riggs, 1967), the ruling cliques which came from the People's party and the bureaucracy had real power. Moreover, political competition was limited within the ruling cliques, when one lost it would be replaced by another.

The major role of bureaucracy in boosting Thai economy clearly occurred under the Sarit's regime (1958 – 1973). Especially when Sarit was the prime minister, the bureaucracy expanded in number and improved its efficiency. New policy making agencies as the Office of the National Economic and Social Development Board (NESDB), The Budget Bureau and The Board of Investment of Thailand were established to draw up and implement Sarit's economic development project. Sarit worked closely with the U.S., the bureaucrats, the technocrats, and the military to carry out his development and security plans.

The bureaucratic polity lasted till 1973 when a student – led popular uprising in October. As some scholars (Anek Laothammathas 1992, Patcharee Thanamai 1985, Apichart Sathitniramai 2013 etc.) have argued in their studies, the bureaucratic polity alone is inadequate to explain recent Thai politics. This is because Thailand has had more actors in decision making than the old bureaucratic elites such as private sector, student movement and some civil society.

However, the last three coups in Thailand (in 1992, 2006 and 2014) have disrupted the process of democratization in Thailand and revived an interest in bureaucratic polity again. From 2014 until now Thailand has been in the transitional period and faced economic downturn in the aftermath of the subprime mortgage crisis in the United States.

Authortarian bureaucracy in Economic development under NCPO's regime

P.M. Gen. Prayuth Chan-ocha, appointed his first cabinet filled with retired bureaucrats, military officers and some capitalists. In dealing with the economic downturn, NCPO launched a national plan and various economic development projects such as The 20-Year National Strategy, Pracharat and EEC (Eastern Economic Corridor). These projects are carried out through different mechanisms. The 20 – Year National Strategy, is implemented by a special committee called "The National Strategy Committee", with 34 members appointed by NCPO from active and retired military officers, high- ranking civil servants and the elite business. The committee role is to control the parliament, the cabinet and all government so as to follow the 20-Year National Strategy.

The Pracharat project is implemented by a public-private partnership mechanism called Pracharat Rak Samakkee Co., Ltd., where all sectors of society supposedly join hands to strengthen the country and boost the economy at a local level in 76 provinces. Pracharat Co. is being supported by 16 companies, for example, Kasikorn bank, Betagro, Bangkok bank and Siam Cement Groups etc. Currently, Pracharat Co., is sub - divided into 3 groups according to their respective function in reducing inequality, enhancing competency and competitiveness and developing labor.

Finally, the EEC, is managed by the EEC office. The management team is composed of six people. The Special Economic Zones initiative has relatively fail in some parts of Thailand for example in Tak and Nakhon phanom provinces (Voice TV, 2018). The NCPO realized that one of the main reason for the failure was the lack of effective supporting investment measures, such as special regulations or tax reductions for some industries. So, the NCPO used section 44 of the constitution to establish the EEC office and tried to overcome all obstacles for investment

as much as possible, including the suspension of some rights and liberty of people in the EEC area.

As we can see, the NCPO regime has tried to revive bureaucratic forces and appoint numbers of the bureaucratic elite to the cabinet, parliament and others key committees. But the bureaucratic forces are facing trouble in themselves. In the past the bureaucratic forces were the strong political actors in Thai politics. Both civil servants and military officers worked in tandem with one another to maintain political and economic stability. Moreover, they tried to expand their departments or ministries to get more budget staff and power. These agencies especially at the departmental level were responsible for similar tasks for the local and national level. These overlapping, overlaying areas of jurisdiction and responsibility are one of the most important weakness of the Thai bureaucracy. The bureaucracy is fragmented and its real power lies being with the departments, which allocate the budget of each agency office.

Moreover, in the global context, competition between the United States and China, especially in Asia more or less affects Thai politics and its economy. As both of them have been important trade partners of Thailand and noticed military good allies. Donald Trump won the presidential election in 2016 and announced that he would focus on America First while China expanded its power and challenged the "U.S. model" with "China model" in economic and political development. These global factors are challenging the NCPO and Thai bureaucratic forces especially in the economic dimension. Especially, during the current trade war between the 2 countries, what will Thai junta and their old bureaucratic forces do to deal with this situation.

Conclusion

Bureaucracy has been the main policy – making and implementation of Thai economic development from the reign of King Chulalongkorn and then gradually become the main political actor in Thai politics since 1932. However, after the rise of extra - bureaucratic forces, bureaucracy has no longer been the main political actor in Thai politics. This change could clearly be seen during the semi – democratic regime as there were elected politicians in the Prem cabinet and the private sector was able to propose some policies through Joint Public and Private

Sector Consultative Committee: JPPSCC. Later, in the democratic regime most members of the cabinet in the Chartchai, Chuan, and Thaksin, government as well as members of parliament were from extra - bureaucratic forces.

Nevertheless, after the last coup d'etat the by NCPO, the junta tried to revive the bureaucratic forces and bring the bureaucratic polity back by appointing a group of retired and active bureaucrats and military officers to the National Legislative Assembly, cabinets and others committees. Moreover, for the first economic team they chose, M.R. Pridiyathorn Devakula and some NESDB members to run the economy. Unfortunately, the exclusion of extra - bureaucratic force such as politicians, business sectors and civil society and the weakness of bureaucratic forces, distorted and misdirected economic development. At last for the Pracharat and EEC projects the NCPO needed to work with extra - bureaucratic forces especially with the big corporations and changed the head of its economic team from Pridiyathorn to Somkid Jatusripitak, the so-called Mr.China, former Deputy Prime Minister, Minister of Finance, and Minister of Commerce in Thaksin Shinawatra's government.

The hierarchical order of bureaucracy and many bureaucratic customs are obviously contrary to democracy values, but even in a democratic country such as the U.K. or Japan the bureaucracy also causes political problems. In the U.K. bureaucratic forces of the departments level also vie for more budget, position and power. Bureaucratic forces have knowledge, experiences and regulations as the source of power for bargaining with elected politicians. Thailand may be in a different situation as we are in a transitional period or authoritarian regime than democratic regime. Bureaucratic forces are the main political actors, however and face their own structural and personnel problems which increasingly weaken them i.e. The change of bureaucratic elites from cream to non-cream, restricted regulations, political divided in bureaucracy, Instability of the government and the arbitrary in using power of NCPO. The last two coups have not help the bureaucratic forces maintain political and economic stabilities and in the end they need to work with some politicians and big corporations in halting the economic downturn.

As I explored the role of bureaucracy in the NCPO period, I have found that bureaucratic forces are weak and unable to solve economic challenges alone and need to cooperate with the capitalist forces. These two actors, the bureaucrats and capitalists are the main economic

mechanism of the NCPO government. Their limited achievement in solving the economic problems could paradoxically, be a good sign for further democratization since it indicates the need to include other civil society actors into the effective and fair governance of the economy and the country.

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Analysis of the First Voter Action in Facing

Indonesia's Democracy Party 2019

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Abstract

In 2019, Indonesia will hold a five-year democratic party namely the presidential election which will be enlivened by the fight of two candidate pairs, namely Joko Widodo as incumbent and Prabowo Subianto as the challenger. The Indonesian people as one of the figures who play an important role in determining the success of a democratic party are inseparable from teenagers and students who are often referred to as beginner voters. These beginner voters are also often used as contention by the candidate pairs. Their voices are considered to call for the vote of the millennial voters. Beginner voters who are critical and participate in general elections can deliver to the best leaders to the Indonesian Nation. However, there are still some voters who do not know what to do and are even skeptical about their choices. Education is needed for beginner voters so that they are not caught in the wrong information. So this research aims to 1. Know the types of new voters in Indonesia; 2. Know the best types and strategies that can be used to educate beginner voters; 3. Analyze the obstacles that may occur in educating beginner voters. The data is taken through literature sources in the form of books, journals and news in various online newspapers relating to the condition of the voters and the political conditions in Indonesia.

Keywords: *beginner, millennial, educational, critical, skeptical, general election, campaign, information*.

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Introduction

On April 17, 2019, Indonesia will hold the first presidential and legislative elections simultaneously. This makes the leader candidates competing in getting the most votes to be able to occupy the throne of the president and the legislative seat. The Indonesian General Election Commission (*KPU: Komisi Pemilihan Umum*) has set 192,828,520[2] are the number of people who have the right to channel their voice aspirations and approximately 5,035,887 are beginner voters.[3] These beginner voters are also dominated by teenagers aged 17-20 years commonly referred to as millennials. Therefore the candidate leaders try to show that they are leaders who carry millennial aspirations.

As a beginner voter who is like a teenager still in an emotionally unstable condition makes them easy to be led into the wrong information. Their very dynamic condition towards political development caused a very fast changing view; it could be that those who were initially very interested then became apathetic when they found something that was considered contradictory. Indonesia's political environment factors are the key. Are the candidate leaders able to create a pleasant atmosphere or even make Indonesia's political atmosphere blurry. Not just within the limits of the campaign, but they must be able to realize their promise with an epic approach in this modern era. Certainly, the campaign using social media and cooperating with role models among teenagers is a great strategy to attract millennials.

Do not let the Candidates' busyness in winning the hearts of the people be used to spread irrational ideas, spread hoaxes, and do propaganda, instead of dislike beginner voters of Indonesian politics. If that happens then we will lose the votes of the millennials and this will show the failure of the Indonesian Government in the implementation of public participation.

Discussion

For this reason, in this paper the author will try to analyze behavior and education that is suitable for beginner voters. Beginner voters who are dominated by the age of 17 should be able to show a passionate spirit to determine who their leaders are. However, after observing

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[2] Putri, Zunita. "KPU Tetapkan DPT Pemilu 2019 Sebanyak 192 Juta." Detiknews. December 15, 2018. Accessed January 04, 2019. https://news.detik.com/berita/4345140/kpu-tetapkan-dpt-pemilu-2019-sebanyak-192-juta.
[3] Fachrudin, Achmad. "Menyelamatkan Pemilih Pemula." Detiknews, 3 Oct. 2018, news.detik.com/kolom/4240110/menyelamatkan-pemilih-pemula.

the situation of beginner voters in Indonesia and assisted by data in newspapers and journals, the author was able to classify several types of new voters in the 2019 Indonesian general election.

1. **Beginner Educated Voters**

   Beginner voters are around 17-21 years old, if their identification is taking high school or college education. As someone who is educated, of course they learn to analyze the situation and make decisions. At this stage, students have been taught by the teacher about the good things that can become leaders, about laws, and customs. They should be able to implement it well. According to Sonny Harry Harmadi, Head of the Demography Institute of the Faculty of Economics, University of Indonesia, this group is well educated, knows advanced technology, and gets a lot of influence from television[4]. As someone who is educated they are able to hold fast to their founding and are not affected by hoaxes. The activities they do in response to existing political developments are criticizing and channeling their aspirations, perhaps in the form of demonstrations.

   The way to educate this type of voter is to have a good campaign that really gives them an understanding of the leader's vision and mission. So that they are able to observe, analyze, and decided at their choice. I think that educated voters will not let their voting rights be wasted.

2. **Beginner Uneducated Voters**

   Beginner voters who do not have an education are very vulnerable to being led to false news or losing their voting rights. They tend to follow the surrounding environment and ingest raw information. It is possible that their ignorance made them plunge into the wrong choice. People with high social status are more active than those with low social status (Mohtar Mas'oed, 2008: 61). This type of voter can be educated by educating about legislation, political knowledge and elections. So that they will understand the basics of choosing, not just choosing.

   Broadly speaking there are two types of beginner voters as above, but here the author will describe again the branches of that type in general.

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[4] Yuliahsari, Dwi. "Pemanfaatan Twitter Buzzer Untuk Meningkatkan Partisipasi Pemilih Muda Dalam Pemilihan Umum." *Journal The Messenger* 7, no. 1 (2016): 41.doi:10.26623/themessenger.v7i1.288.

a) Conservative Beginner Voters

According to the Big Indonesian Dictionary *(Kamus Besar Bahasa Indonesia; KBBI),* Conservatives mean old-fashioned; to maintain the prevailing conditions, habits and traditions [5]. In this context what is intended is those who hold fast to their founding. His knowledge of politics is obtained from family, friends or the environment. This type of voter is very trusting of who he chooses, so that other candidate pairs will find it difficult to change the choice of this type. If other candidates want to vote from this type, they must be able to prove that the program they are carrying out will prioritize or will satisfy this type.

b) Observatory Beginner Voters

According to the Oxford Dictionary, Observative is of, relating to, consisting of, or based on observation; given to observation, observant, attentive, heedful[6]. As the name implies, this type of beginner voters tends to follow existing political developments. They see the behavior of political figures, mass media, and the surrounding environment. But this can also make them easily led by public opinion or they become hesitant about the choices available. Education that can be applied to this type is to provide clear information and tend to be persuasive so that they are able to make their choices.

c) Apathetic Beginner Vote

Apathy is a lack of emotions, motivation, or enthusiasm; apathy is a psychological term for a state of indifference, where an individual does not respond to emotional, social, or physical life stimuli (Solmitz: 2000). This type of voter does not carry out any observations about the political world and does not care at all about the situation. They only focus on their individual lives. Most white voices are dominated by apathetic voters who do not channel their aspirations. Some of the reasons that make them apathetic voters are dissatisfaction with regulations and or political, background and environmental conditions.

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[5] *Kamus Besar Bahasa Indonesia*. (n.d). Retrived from Konservatif:https://kbbi.web.id/konsevatif
[6] *Oxford Dictionaries*. (n.d.). Retrieved from Definition of Observative:
https://en.oxforddictionaries.com/definition/observative

In my perspective, there must be strong and continuous education to gain the voice of trust from the type of apathetic voter. The activeness of political parties or prospective candidates and their uniqueness must be strong to change this apathy at least to look at them. Perhaps the efforts made succeeded in getting them to go to the polling station, but they could just choose without clearly understanding who the choice was.

d) **Ordinary Beginner Voters**

Many of these types of voters may also be found in the scope of the election. They are not apathetic towards politics but also not extreme in politics. If they feel that there are candidates who are considered to be in accordance with their thoughts, they will make a choice. And if there are no candidates who match their choices, they will choose randomly without knowing their vision and mission.

Challenges

The challenges that will be faced in educating beginner voters can come from within the voters themselves as well as the environment or other external factors, are:

1. **Political changes and domestic problems**

It is undeniable that in politics the candidates often conduct political maneuvers, political visits and other things to build their branding image in front of the public. It is very possible that voters are confused in this situation, a very dynamic political change. Coupled with the conflicts and controversies raised by the candidates, these early voters were bored with Indonesian politics. They feel tired to keep abreast of the uncertainty of their future leaders. Domestic problems such as corruption, human rights violations, price increases and criminal acts that have not been completed, for some people make them lazy to contribute to the election. Even though they are beginner voters, there is a tendency to see the past and compare it with the present, if it feels that the change of leader does not change anything, it is very possible that they will leave the election.

2. Foreign party pressure

Globalization that makes information throughout the world grow rapidly and can be accessed by anyone also influences teenagers' thinking patterns. Westernization that occurs in Indonesia makes teenagers more concerned with themselves and not for their environment. The pressures of free trade, terrorism, international intervention also haunt the patterns of voters[7].

3. They not understanding the election regulations

Beginner voters still lack information and experience in elections, so it is very easy to be influenced by certain interests. coupled with the lack of interest of the beginner voters to find out about the regulations of the KPU as election organizers in Indonesia.

Conclusion

Beginner voters are considered very vulnerable in using their first voting rights because they see some types of voters who are both educated and uneducated. We can see the reactions and actions of beginner voters based on their type, educated beginner voters tend to be able to learn political conditions and decide on their support. Uneducated beginner voters tend to be carried away by their environment and are vulnerable to being used as political tools. Of the two types, the author still describes more clearly the types of conservative, observative, apathetic, and ordinary types of voters. The thing that is feared is that beginner voters can lose their votes because themselves and others can be prevented by the facilities of the KPU to actively disseminate election activities to the voter voters in a more recent way. Plus the role of highly anticipated political parties to educate voters also has an influence. And the most important thing is that candidate candidates should be able to create a real atmosphere, provide clarity of vision and mission as a whole and touch up to the basic layer of society. Political advertising on television has advantages since it becomes the most extensive coverage area up to 90% in Indonesia[8], but that is only one way. Now all of the element must be more creative in using social media to get the most votes.

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[7] Wardhani, Primandha Sukma Nur. "Partisipasi Politik Pemilih Pemula Dalam Pemilihan Umum." *Jupiis: Jurnal Pendidikan Ilmu-Ilmu Sosial*10, no. 1 (2018): 57. doi:10.24114/jupiis.v10i1.8407.
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Social Media as a Political Communication in Political Party Election Campaigns in Indonesia (2014)

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Abstract

The development of communication technology in this era has spread to all communities in Indonesia. This encourages the strength of social media that can influence society. The political world is also inseparable from containing social media. The development of relevant internet technology makes many Indonesians use the internet for social media such as Facebook, Twitter, Blogs, YouTube and others. Social media network services are very structured starting from content sharing, web and social media internet forums. Considering social media in the world of politics is very high, especially in terms of political communication in election campaigns. Social media has two very dynamic dangers. First they choose one political party to win, then this party will become a positive member. Second, choose one political party to lose, then these things can damage the image of the party itself. Thus, this paper will discuss the role of social media as political communication in the election campaign of political parties in Indonesia in 2014. It is logical by the authors in this paper that social media has played and will continue to play a very important role in political party campaigns in Indonesia.

Keywords: *Communication Technology, Social Media, Political Parties, Election Campaigns*

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Background

Indonesia is a country that adheres to the principle of democracy. The 1945 Constitution has explained in its opening in the third paragraph that Indonesia is in a life of nation and state. Election is one of the spearheads where people have the right to vote without coercion. Then, political parties are a forum that can accommodate all people's aspirations. Thus, to promote a political party, the container is needed, one of which is social media.

Access to social media has become one of the primary needs for everyone. This is because everyone needs information, education, entertainment, and access to knowledge from all over the world. Social media that was initially only used as a media tool for socializing, but now social media has penetrated communication between individuals and institutions. Technological developments have spread to everyone's life. Social media is a new media which raises a change that was originally only limited to print media and now transformed into new media or online media. For this reason, the development of social media today is very significant. This is used by political experts in the process of political communication. So that social media such as Facebook, Twitter, YouTube, and Blogs are used as a platform for political activities in the form of introducing prospective chairpersons, vision and missions, vehicles used during campaigns, and so on. (Ardha 2014).

Seeing this case, social media has become a political communication strategy that makes the world warmer for its presence. The United States is one example of a country which has implemented social media as a tool for campaigning (Anshari 2013). The success of Barack Obama and his success team in 2008 cannot be separated from the role of social media. In addition, in Ghana, it also uses social media to campaign by sending SMS to vote. In Indonesia, social media began to be widely used during the 2014 elections. The study was examined by the Indonesian Internet Service Providers Association or APJII *(Asosiasi Penyelenggara Jasa Internet Indonesia)* Study that internet users at that time had an increase of around 20-30% which could be classified by around 80 million by the end of 2013 (Ratnamulyani and Maksudi 2018).

According to Silih Agung Wasesa, social media is not only broad in nature that is able to spread throughout the world, but its distribution is very fast and can shorten the time (Anshari 2013). Finally politicians use social media for campaigns because they believe that social media is an interactive media. The general campaign is to convey a message to the community such as

related to the vision and mission which can take the form of posters, banners, billboards, advertisements, discussions, etc. (Ardha 2014).

Public communication is one of the key political parties that can win a campaign. The political party movement by utilizing social media has proven its success when Jokowi and Ahok won a victory.[2] Thus, this paper will explain how the role of social media in political communication in the campaign of political parties in Indonesia in 2014.

Literature Review

1. Political Communication

Communication and interaction are key to political parties. Political parties are very unlikely to be able to introduce their parties without any communication and interaction. Basically, communication gives meaning to interactions and interactions giving purpose to a communication (Cioffi-Revilla, Merritt and Zinnes 1985). In daily activities, there cannot be one human who does not communicate. Actually when they do a communication, they are usually trapped in an analytical mind that allows them to talk about politics, One example is the increase in fuel prices or BBM *(Bahan Bakar Minyak)* that are often discussed by farmers, traders, entrepreneurs, and even everyone.[3] Likewise with the coming of elections which makes everyone confused to choose which and finally political communication arises.

Political communication can be referred to as organizational communication because it often occurs in communication and

interaction between superiors and subordinates, between politicians, and so on in the world of politics (Shahreza 2018). Political communication is not only in everyone's conversation, but political communication can appear in print media, mass media, social media, and so on. According to Mingkid argues that communication is a way to establish relationships with other people both in organizations and individuals as well as both oral and written. This opinion is the

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[2] Berliani Ardha, *Social Media Sebagai Media Kampanye Partai Politik 2014 di Indonesia* in Journal Visi Komunikasi Vol. 13, No. 01, (2014) page 106-108

[3] Mira Shahreza, *Pengertian Komunikasi Politik* dalam Research Gate, (2018), page 1-2.

same as stated by Harold Laswell, namely communication is who says, what channel is used, to whom it is intended, and what influence.

The phenomenon of political communication has a development after the existence of social media in realizing democratization. Social media is used to convince the public of the vision and mission that is owned by a party, legislative candidates, and so on. So that social media is considered to influence what we think.

2. Social Media

Social media is a tool that connects individuals with other individuals, individuals with groups, or groups with groups. In political action such as political party campaigns, social media is a medium that is very suitable for political activity. Social media includes four benefits including information, service, access to political power and space (Ardha 2014). This was added by Cass R. Sunstein in his book entitled #Republic: Divided Democracy In The Age of Social Media (2017) which says that there are 3 benefits in the campaign using social media that is easily accessible to prospective voters, broad reach, and involving candidates voter. From this case, it is clear that the campaign of political parties in Indonesia in 2014 is inseparable from the role of social media.

Campaigns using social media are a very good alternative to using billboards, banners, and so on. This is because in social media we can ask questions, exchange ideas, discuss, and give ideas so that the evidence that occurs will be clear (Sugiarto 2014).

Case Studies

The influence of social media in the political world is indeed very significant. Social media cannot be separated from politics. Political parties use social media as an ideal means for discussion, dialogue or forming a forum directly. In Indonesia, the use of social media as a tool for recorded political campaigns starting from the 1997 election. Election contestants at that time included Golkar *(Golongan Karya)*, PDI *(Partai Demokrasi Indonesia)*, dan PPP *(Partai Persatuan Pembangunan)* (Asih 2011). This also relates to elections in 2004 and 2009 that social media users are increasing

both in political parties, individual legislative candidates, presidential candidates or vice presidential candidates.[4]

Based on research conducted by the Dipa Pradipta National Survey Institute or LSN (Lembaga Survei Nasional) in Jakarta that everything related to the 2014 election will not be able to escape from social media (Pemilu 2014, Jangan Lupakan Media Sosial 2014). Social media has a very important role because most of its users are young people. In this context, young people aged 17 years and above are beginner voters who use social media to find out the data.

One of the results obtained came from the Katapedia survey which noted that parties were active in social media namely Gerindra *(Gerakan Indonesia Raya)*, Nasdem *(Nasional Demokrat)*, PKS (*Partai Keadilan Sejahtera*), PDIP *(Partai Demokrasi Indonesia Perjuangan)*, Golkar *(Golongan Karya)*, Hanura *(Hati Nurani Rakyat)*, PPP *(Partai Persatuan Pembangunan)*, and Demokrat (Ardha 2014). This can be classified in the table as follows:

Table 1. Popularity of Political Parties

No.	Political Parties	Popularity
1	Gerindra	19,67%
2	Nasdem	13,68%
3	PKS	12,97%
4	PDIP	12,12%
5	Golkar	11,45%
6	Hanura	10,17%
7	PPP	9,84%
8	Demokrat	9,65%

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[4] Faridhian Anshari, Komunikasi Politik di Era Media Sosial in Journal Komunikasi, Vol. 8, No. 1, (2013) page 91-94.

Political parties in Indonesia almost all have social media to interact with their people. Social media has an advantage compared to other media, which does not recognize physical limits in terms of connectivity. It can compare this with the UK that according to political observer Anisa Santoso who received a doctorate from the University of Nottingham, England said that the use of social media in general election campaigns made a factor of victory for the conservative party (Putra 2014).

In the use of social media in Indonesia, the authors classify it in media that are often used including Facebook, Twitter, Youtube and Blogs. First, Facebook is one of the social media used to influence public opinion. Facebook does not use certain restrictions such as in videos or photos. Based on data released by Internet World Stats at the end of 2012, it was written that Indonesia was ranked as the 4th largest Facebook user in the world (Ardha 2014). Political parties were not left behind to make Facebook, as the Gerindra which was recorded in Socialbakers occupied the second position from the number of Facebook fans, namely 2,086,413. In addition, other parties began to join and it was seen that the most serious were using Facebook, namely Golkar.

Second, Twitter is one of the effective social media for propaganda so that it is widely used by politicians to attract attention, usually politicians use one of the twitter features known as hastag (Gunawan 2018). The results of analysis from Socialbakers, there are 3 parties active in Twitter including Gerindra namely @gerindra with followers of 146,228, Demokrat namely @Pdemokrat with followers of 14759, and Golkar namely @golkar5 with followers of 13,900.

Third, Youtube is one of the social media used by politicians to deliver messages through video. The results of analysis from Socialbaker included 3 parties active on YouTube including the Gerindra with subscribers 3,399, 201 videos, and 2,444,587 views, Golkar with 25 subscribers, 49 videos, and 16,611 views, and PDIP with subscribers 0, video 26, and 15,414 views.

Fourth, blogs are social media that can be used for channel tools to reflect a thought. Basically, to create a blog either through blogger or WordPress requires a very high commitment. This is because the final post in the blog shows the dynamic of the owner (Ardha 2014). For example http:// icalbakrie.com/ is a form of blog Aburizal Bakrie as presidential candidate from the Golkar and http://prabowosubianto.info/blog which is the official blog of Prabowo Subianto as a Candidate for the President of the Gerindra. The use of social media is not suitable for politicians who only work once every five years, but need politicians who work all the time. Social media is not suitable when used only for empty politics, but there needs to be an understanding and understanding of developing issues. Social media is used as means that is able to strengthen the relationship

between civil society and public space. Although the use of social media is still very new in Indonesia, its use is very effective in the community. This is because most people cannot be separated from social media.

Conclusion

The use of social media is something that is very sacred. For this reason, its use requires planning and repairs to produce satisfactory results. Social media can be said as an information center for the community to access various things, both regarding political parties, legislative candidates, vision and mission, and so on. So that political communication through social media requires a lot of consideration. This is because there are two possibilities; first if the politicians succeed in using it, there will be positive nuances. Secondly if they fail to use it, negative nuances will arise. Thus, it can be concluded that social media such as Facebook, Twitter, Youtube, and Blog have played a very important role in the 2014 political party campaign. Because social media continues to change, this paper is expected to provide an overview of the role of social media in campaigning on years to come so that it will produce better results than before.

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Forming Constructive Social Media as Platform of Aspiration without Intervening Governance in Indonesia

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Abstract

This digital era, social media is one thing that cannot be separated from human life. The social presence of the media not only accompanies the daily lives of the people but also penetrates the world of politics and governance. The use of social media is also not only a means of connecting with one another, but also as a promotional tool. This situation creates a golden opportunity that can be taken by the fields of politics and governance to facilitate the spread of information about a party and make it easier to attract the masses to be closer to the government. With the easier gathering of the masses through social media, the community will more easily give their aspirations to the government. This tendency will also make quantity dominate a decision because it is easy to gather aspirations from many people with masses and ignore the role of the government as a wheel of government.

Keywords : *Social media, politics, governence, aspiration*

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1. Introduction

In today's digital era, human life cannot be separated from the use of social media in their daily lives. Various information can be accessed and found in various topics of discussion. They facilitate a scale shift makes the organization of collective action, with large numbers of participants, more efficient. The ease that can be accessed by the people today is not only being connected between one individual to another individual, but from one community group to another. The convenience provided by social media can also be a gathering place for people from various regions and various backgrounds on a large scale which can be a platform for sharing and gathering opinions. However, because of the ease of access provided by the internet and various social media, it also facilitates the spread of hoaxes and hatred within them from one individual to another.[2] Not only that, due to the ease of finding masses on a large scale, the community can conduct demonstrations that can be disseminated and accessed by social media. According to Global Statistics, Facebook ranks first as the most widely used social media in Indonesia, followed by YouTube in second place and Instagram in third place, this means that the possibility of many long-distance social interactions carried out by the community occurs in the three social media.[3] In November 2018, the CNN Indonesia news portal released news about Icha Desha's account who had become a suspect as a perpetrator who gathered the crowd to hold a demonstration in front of the Indonesian Constitutional Court building, this incident is one of many events that must be avoided from social media usage activities.[4] This paper aims to promote peace and to educate people how to use social media constructivelly and wisely towards government without intervention.

2. Case Study

Based on news received from AfricanNews (03/01) that the Sudanese authorities have blocked access to popular social media platforms nationwide used to organize and broadcast anti-government protests triggered by an economic crisis. Omar al-Bashir who took power in 1989, to step down.[5] Sudan has been rocked by near-daily demonstrations. Even

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[2] B,Victor.,E,Arthur., & K, de Densins. (2003). *Social media monitoring: Responsive governance in the shadow of surveillance?*. Retrieved from https://core.ac.uk/download/pdf/19476097.pdf

[3] Global Stats. 2018. *Social Media Stats in Indonesia*. Retrieved from http://gs.statcounter.com/social-media-stats/all/indonesia

[4] CNN Indonesia News. 2018. *Akun Media Sosial Penyebar Hoaks Demo di MK Diduga Dibajak*. Retrieved from https://www.cnnindonesia.com/nasional/20180920033848-12-331599/akun-media-sosial-penyebar-hoaks-demo-di-mk-diduga-dibajak

[5] AfricanNews. (2018). *Sudan blocks Social Media as Protest Continue*. Retrieved from http://www.africanews.com/2019/01/03/sudan-blocks-social-media-as-protests-continue/

though the Indonesian people have never carried out massive protests against the government, it does not mean that the things that happened in Sudan cannot occur in Indonesia. Reflecting on the failure and destruction that occurred in Sudan, it is necessary to prevent it in order to maintain the integrity of a countryby severals effective ways which provide by the author.

3. Constructive Social Media within the Society

The most population in the world. Maritime Coordinating Minister of Indonesia, Mr. Luhut Binsar Panjaitan said that 50 percent of Indonesia's population has elementary school education and does not graduate from elementary school, which means there are still many Indonesian people who are easily influenced by unreliable information or even hoax spreaders.[6] In this situation, social media should not only be a platform to gather masses in large numbers, nor connect old friends who do not meet, but also become a community development platform, so that it truly creates constructive social media. One way to create constructive social media that can build and educate the public is by increasing public service announcements on social media. In Indonesia, social media will be filled with more commercial advertisements and hoax sites and even pornographic sites that are very uneducating even damage people's mindsets. This can be a new homework for the government to engage more actively with the community. Based on survey data from the Global Center for ICT 2009 72 percent of government sites or social media are used as e-petitions, e-consultations, and online discussions. This proves that the government is less involved in educating its people[7]. Providing a lot of public service announcement or another community services is not necessarily able to increase one's level of intelligence, but in that way, we can warn the public to be more careful, change the mindset to be more critical, and change the character or mentality of the community. As one example is bullying, through public service advertisements that are often aired on social media, it can reduce or make someone comment badly or hated speech.

3.1 Public Service Announcement

The provision of education in today's digital era is not only through e-learning in an institution, but can also be done at a Public Service Announcement. This action can be

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[6] Tribun News. 2017. *Menteri Luhut: 50 Persen Penduduk Indonesia Berpendidikan SD dab Tidak Tamat SD*. Retrieved from http://www.tribunnews.com/nasional/2017/07/17/menteri-luhut-50-persen-penduduk-indonesia-berpendidikan-sd-dab-tidak-tamat-sd

[7] GSDRC Applied Knowledge Service. 2015. *Social Media and Governance*. Retrieved from http://www.gsdrc.org/docs/open/hdq1191.pdf

referred to as reimagining the role of education in technology, that education if joining technology must be unlimited, and easily covered by the wider community. So far, the use of Public Service Announcements as an educational platform on social media is very lacking, its use is only limited to television advertisements which are also rarely shown, radio ads that are now rarely heard by the public and etc. Several of the benefits obtained through public service announcements are inexpensive since stations are required to water them, tend to be really effective at encouraging the audience to do something and can raise awareness of your issue. Therefore, Public Service Announcements should have the same level of publishing as Commercial Advertising on social media in order to provide good education to the public.[8]

3.2 User Awareness of Using Social Media in Right Ways

The formation of contructive social media is certainly not only the work of the government but there must be awareness from the social media users, after getting various education from various platforms, one of them is the Public Service Announcement. Recognizing the benefits and negative side of using social media can be a good solution so that users can determine the right steps in using social media. For example the use of social media in society that has many impacts. In positive side social media might be a proper platform to get connectivity because in social media we can meet anyone from anywhere, be a good helper because in social media once you put your issues in the forum, people from around the world or even your friend can see you problem and can help you if they want, etc. But, social media also has a negative side such as hacking, addictive, etc.[9]

4. Intervening Aspirations in Social Media towards Governments

Aspiration is a very strong desire that is characterized by an effort to achieve something that is seen as higher and more valuable than the present situation, this desire can be individual or extreme, too brave or unnatural[10]. In this digital era, people can freely express their own aspirations so that they can be heard by broad people and find groups that have similar thinking paths to aspirators, then this situation can also dominate small groups. In this situation excessive aspirations through an opinion can turn into a protest against

[8] National Sexual Violence Resource Centre. 2018. *General PSA Informations*. Retrieved from https://www.nsvrc.org/rural-psa-general-information
[9] ReasearchGate. 2017. *A Study on Positive and Neggative Effect of Social Media on Society*. Retrieved from https://www.researchgate.net/publication/323903323_A_Study_on_Positive_and_Negative_Effects_of_Social_Media_on_Society
[10] Merriam-Webster. *Definition of Aspiration*. Retrieved from https://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/aspiration

something, especially the government. Giving excessive aspirations or tend to intervene in the government can be given in the form of protests through social media, as has happened in Moscow, Kiev, Istanbul, Cairo, and several other countries which have carried out massive protests against their government through social media.[11]

4.1 Social Protest

According to several authors Castells (2012), Bennett and Segerberg (2012, 2013), and Margetts et al. (2016), social media today can become a new means of protesting against something, because it is easier to organize, faster dissemination of information, easier to collect a lot of mass compared to other protest actions. For this reason, the author believes that social media cannot be underestimated as one of the platforms that is not impactful, the existence of social media as a platform for protest can be a threat to a government, especially in Indonesia that upholds a democracy, where the voice of the people is a major factor a program or government work performance. The protest carried out by the community can disrupt the work program that has been arranged neatly from the beginning because it has to change in the middle due to protests that sometimes occur suddenly by the community.[12]

4.2 Hate Speech on Social Media

Hate speech can be interpreted as an act of spreading hatred towards a particular person or group based on performance, characteristics, and others. It expresses discriminatory, intimidating, disapproving, antagonistic, and / or prejudicial attitudes towards them and hate speech intended to be injected, dehumanize, harras, intimidate, debase, degrade, and victimize people[13] . Therefore, giving hate speech in government performance is one of the obstacles that can intervene the government in running a government or a country, because hate speech on social media in inviting large masses and propaganda of the community to spread hatred to the government in various aspects of mistakes.

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[11] Wiley Online Library. 2018. *How Social Media Facilitates Political Protest: Information, Motivation, and Social Network*. Retrieved from https://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/doi/full/10.1111/pops.12478
[12] ResearchGate. (2017). Social Media and New Protest Movements. Retrieved from https://www.researchgate.net/publication/321781377_Social_media_and_new_protest_movements
[13] PCMLP. (2014). *Maping and Analyzing Hate Speech Online: Oppurtunities and Challenge for Ethiophia*. Retrieved from http://pcmlp.socleg.ox.ac.uk/wp-content/uploads/2014/12/Ethiopia-hate-speech.pdf

5. Social Media and Society under Control of Governance

The use of social media in large and large ways is indeed an important homework for every entity in a country, not only for its government but also its people, and all those who become active users on social media. The use of uncontrolled media can have negative impacts, one of which is the spread of pornography that can be found on social media and easily consumed by children in the present who have used gadgets and various social media. Therefore, government control of social media and society can be a good solution because the government is the only entity in a country that has all databases in that country. On the other hand, the government is also a sector with higher capacity than the community.

5.1 Capability of governence in controlling social media

The government, which is one of the entities whose existence and status are at a higher level than the community, therefore should be fully given the trust of the community to regulate and run this country, especially in democratic countries whose governments are deliberated and agreed together. Just as China in managing social media in its country, Indonesia can emulate a good policy, in which China implements a system of sponsorship requirements applied to social media users and social media providers.[14] So that the government can filter out content that can interfere with the work system and government performance.

5.2 Law of Using Social Media

Saveral countries especially Indonesia already have ITE laws or laws that regulate the circumstances of social media, and strengthening the implementation of its law in the use of social media can be an effective way of government to reduce intervention from the public. As what is written in Article 45A Paragraph 2 concerning violators for disseminating information that can cause hatred or hostility of certain individuals and / or groups based on ethnicity, religion, race, and between groups (SARA), they will get six (6) years prison punishment. [15]

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[14] Forbidden Feed. (2018). *Government Control on Social Media in China*. Retrieved from https://pen.org/wp-content/uploads/2018/03/PENAmerica_Forbidden-Feeds-3.13-3.pdf
[15] KOMINFO. (2016). *Undang-undang tentang Informasi dan Elektronik*. Retrieved from https://web.kominfo.go.id/sites/default/files/users/4761/UU%2019%20Tahun%202016.pdf

6. Conclusion

The use of social media in the digital era today is very broad and unconditional, that whoever the person is and whatever their background can use social media. Social media can be good if it can be regulated properly and correctly, and can be a threat if it becomes out of control. In running a state, the government as an entity that has the ability and knowledge to maintain the sovereignty of a country with a higher level than the community should be able to do it with jobs that already exist and without intervention, especially from people whose capabilities are not on par with the government.. Meanwhile, due to the social media is unlimited, it can be easily propagated by irresponsible individuals to intervene in the government and damage the sovereignty of a country. Through this paper the author hopes that readers can be wiser in using social media in social life.

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The Positive Effects of Vietnamese Law on Democracy
in Economic Development – Opportunities for Foreign Investors

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Abstract

The paper will focus on analyzing a number of Vietnamese legal instruments on democracy in the economy; the positive effects of these regulations on democracy and the economic development; and potential opportunities for foreign investors. This analysis would be an important reference for investors to consider starting their investment in Vietnam.

Keywords: *Vietnamese legal documents, democracy, positive effects, opportunities, and foreign investors.*

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Introduction

Currently, Vietnam is entering a period of accelerated industrialization, modernization and international integration with mixed opportunities, advantages, disadvantages and challenges. In this context, democracy has become one of the most crucial goal and driving force of reform. The issue of democracy is increasingly important in the process of socio-economic development, promoting industrialization, modernization and international integration. The achievements of the democratic process positively contribute to the cause of national construction and defense.

Noticeably, democracy in economic development is considered as the basis for democracy in other areas.[2] In addition, rule of law and democracy are both desirable attributes of a political system.[3] Thus, to demonstrate how democracy is now promoted in economy in Vietnam, this paper is going to provide and analyze a number of relevant legal instruments and then indicate opportunities for foreign investors.

Democratic legal frameworks in the Vietnamese economy

The line on building a law-governed State of the people, by the people and for the people was stated in Vietnam's 1946, 1959, 1980, 1992 and 2013 Constitutions. Based on the democratic regulations in 2013 Constitution (the latest ones in force), Vietnamese lawmakers have specified the democratic spirit in many by-law instruments.

To institutionalize the democratic policy, the State of Vietnam has promulgated many economic laws to create a legal corridor for the operation of the economy and the production – business activities. Here are the main instruments in the aspect of economy in Vietnam: Law on Commerce of Vietnam, Law on Investment, Land Law of Vietnam, Law on Access to Information, etc. To be more specific, it is worthy to take a brief for each law above:

- *Law on Commerce of Vietnam*

Under the Commercial Law 2005, "commercial activities" are broadly defined to include all activities for profit-making purposes, including purchase and sale of goods, provisions of

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[2] Hữu Nghĩa Lê, "Thực hành và phát huy dân chủ qua 30 năm đổi mới," Tạp chí Cộng sản, last modified on December 24, 2018, http://www.tapchicongsan.org.vn/Home/Nghiencuu-Traodoi/2016/37861/Thuc-hanh-va-phat-huy-dan-chu-qua-30-nam-doi-moi.aspx.

[3] John Ferejohn and Pasquale Pasquino, Chapter Ten. Rule of Democracy and Rule of Law, "Democracy and the Rule of Law", edited by Jose Maria Maravall and Adam Przeworski, (London: Cambridge Studies in the theory of Democracy, 2003), 242.

services, investment, trade promotion, commercial intermediary activities, and other activities. The Commercial Law 2005 also provides detailed regulations on each type of the commercial activities.

It is notable that this Law has shown the democratic governing when allow foreign traders can carry out commercial activities in Vietnam same as domestic traders by setting up a representative office, a branch of a foreign company, or a foreign invested enterprise ("FIE"). The establishment of a representative office or a branch of a foreign company is generally regulated by the Commercial Law 2005 and Decree 72/2006/ND-CP.[4]

- *Law on Investment*

The Investment Law 2014 prescribes business investment activities in Vietnam and offshore business investment activities from Vietnam. Business investment activities in the Vietnamese territory must comply with this Law and other relevant laws.

According to this Law, investors are entitled to carry out business investment activities in the sectors and trades that are not banned (by this Law). The Vietnamese State shall recognize and protect investors' ownership of property, investment capital, incomes and other lawful rights and interests. The State shall also treat investors equally; adopt policies to encourage and create favorable conditions for investors to carry out business investment activities for sustainable economic development.[5]

- *Land Law of Vietnam*

In Vietnam, land is not private property; land belongs to the entire people and the State is responsible to administrate land uniformly.

The Land Law 2013 prescribes the regime of land ownership, powers and responsibilities of the State in representing the entire-people owner of land and uniformly managing land, the regime of land management and use, the rights and obligations of land users involving land in the territory of the Socialist Republic of Vietnam.

Land users may be allocated land or leased land, have land use rights recognized by the State, or receive transfer of land use rights in accordance with this Law, also including "Foreign-invested enterprises, including 100% foreign-invested enterprises, joint-venture enterprises,

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[4] Decree 72/2006/ND-CP, dated 25 July 2006 provides detailed regulations to implement the Commercial Law 2005 with respect to representative offices and branches or foreign business entities in Vietnam.
[5] Article 5, the Investment Law 2014.

Vietnamese enterprises in which foreign investors purchase shares, merge or acquire in accordance with investment law".[6]

- *Law on Access to Information*

Beside the purely economic legal documents above, this paper also refers to the Law on Access to Information as another aspect that democracy helps to develop the economy.

The Law on Access to Information 2016 is now considered as a better framework for transparency and can improve openness and transparency by institutionalizing the right to information. This Law is to institutionalize the Party's guidelines and policies on "expanding democracy, ensuring citizenship and human rights", "creating a mechanism for people to fully exercise their mastery, especially direct democracy", and "guaranteeing the right to information" of citizens. Therefore, citizens can access to information in two ways: Freedom of access to information is publicly available and requires state agencies to provide information. Noticeably, foreigners residing in Vietnam will be provided with information directly related to their rights and obligations.[7]

The positive effects of Vietnamese law on democracy in economic development

In the aspect of law, there is one theory indicating that democracy requires that the people be regularly and genuinely consulted on fundamental legal change so that institutions or practices of deliberation and consultation are in place and functioning.[8] Indeed, democracy and law are institutionally embodied leads to characteristic problems of agency in so many countries in the world; it is becoming more and more approaching to the people.

By enacting the laws relevant to economic aspect as above, the Vietnamese government is now bringing more impacts on democracy for people. These regulations allow every citizen to take part in legal relationships; everyone is treated fairly by the law without any discrimination. Based on the equal rights, every citizen can freely do business and carry out economic activities that are not prohibited by law.

It is even better when the Law on Access to Information is issued, which helps democracy and the economy develop side by side. Because the right to access public information has a role to promote the national economy in many respects, including some aspects as follows:

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[6] Article 5, the Land Law 2013.
[7] Article 36, the Law on Access to Information 2016.
[8] John Ferejohn and Pasquale Pasquino, Chapter Ten. Rule of Democracy and Rule of Law, "Democracy and the Rule of Law", edited by Jose Maria Maravall and Adam Przeworski, (London: Cambridge Studies in the theory of Democracy, 2003), 242.

- If people are fully aware of the allocation and use of the national budget, public supervision will minimize the spending of budget and public resources in an arbitrary and inefficient manner;

- The right to access information helps create a transparent business environment, contributing to improving the competitiveness of businesses and the nation. Being known full information on administrative procedures related to industry such as business establishment, tax payment procedures, import and export procedures, dispute resolution and execution of court judgments, etc., will help minimize unnecessary costs and enhance business efficiency;

- Information on domestic and international markets (goods, services, labor, etc.) also helps businesses to get profitable business opportunities and to promote competitive advantages;

- Access to information on state-owned enterprises also contributes to ensuring the transparency of the national economy.[9]

Opportunities for foreign investors

When it comes to foreigners in Vietnam, especially who implement their investment in the country, the leading rule in regard to foreign individuals' ownership rights is found in section 48 of the 2013 Constitution. It states, *"[f]oreigners who reside in Vietnam must follow the Constitution and the Vietnamese law and are protected in terms of life, property, and reasonable interests, in accordance with the Vietnamese law by the state."* This section is a promise that the state of Vietnam will protect the legal property of foreigners in Vietnam.[10] The policy of foreigners' property protection is elaborated on at Article 163 the 2015 Civil Code: *"No one may be illegally restricted in or deprived of his/her ownership rights or other property-related rights to his/her property".* As this section further demonstrates, the ownership rights of foreigners in Vietnam are provided for by Vietnamese law and protected by the Vietnamese State.

To be more specific, the Vietnamese state is enacting business investment policies as follow:

"1. Investors are entitled to carry out business investment activities in the sectors and trades that are not banned by this Law.

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[9] Trung tâm Hỗ trợ giáo dục và nâng cao năng lực cho phụ nữ - CEPEW, "Giới thiệu về quyền tiếp cận thông tin", (Hanoi: Hồng Đức, 2014), 14-15.
[10] Quy Hong Mai, "Introduction to Vietnamese Law", (Ho Chi Minh City: Hong Duc Publishing House – Vietnam Lawyers Association, 2013), 320.

2. Investors may decide by themselves on business investment activities in accordance with this Law and other relevant laws; and are entitled to access and use credit capital sources and support funds and use land and other natural resources in accordance with law.

3. The State shall recognize and protect investors' ownership of property, investment capital, incomes and other lawful rights and interests.

4. The State shall treat investors equally; adopt policies to encourage and create favorable conditions for investors to carry out business investment activities for sustainable economic development.

5. The State shall respect and implement treaties related to business investment to which the Socialist Republic of Vietnam is a contracting party."[11]

Based on the property protection promulgated for foreigners in general, along with the regulations relevant to economic activities in Vietnam, the legal system is to encourage foreign organizations and individuals to invest capital and import technologies into Vietnam by assuring that their legal ownership rights of capital, property, and other interests are protected, and guarantee that no nationalization of enterprises with foreign investment capital will occur.[12]

Although in Vietnam the ownership rights to real estate are limited for foreigners[13], there are also many methods to invest in the country regards to domestic laws and international treaties, which Vietnam is a member. Foreign organizations and individuals can implement many forms of investment.[14]

Vietnam has become a more attractive business investment environment since the Law on Access to Information 2016 was enacted. While this Law has come into effect, investors will benefit more when they are empowered with the right to access information such as administrative procedures and domestic – international markets to promote their advantages.

Conclusion

In the years of innovation in Vietnam, with the way of building and developing a socialist-oriented market economy, there have been open areas for the practice and promotion of democracy. Continue to build and complete the rule of law socialist state of the people, by the

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[11] Article 5 the Investment Law 2014.
[12] The Constitution 2013 section 48 and section 51, point 3.
[13] See the Law on Dwelling house 2014, Chapter IX.
[14] See the Investment Law 2014, Chapter IV, section 1.

people and for the people is the basic guideline to promote socialist democracy, ensuring that all state power belongs the people; the State power is unified, with the assignment, coordination and control between the state bodies to exercise legislative, executive, judicial rights. Expanding democracy must go hand in hand with strengthening discipline; rights must be coupled with responsibility and obligations; democracy is institutionalized into law and democracy is exercised in the framework of law.

The Communist Party of Vietnam advocates the development of a socialist-oriented market economy with many forms of ownership, many economic sectors, forms of business organization and distribution forms. All economic sectors operating under the law are an important component of the economy, equal before the law, jointly developing, and cooperating and fair competition. Based on that, opportunities for foreign investors in Vietnam have also become more attractive to contribute to the overall economic growth.

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The Vietnamese Constitution 2013, Articles 3; Articles 6; Articles 8; Articles 9; Articles 12.

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Social Media as a Tool for Political Campaign of 2019 Indonesian Presidential Election

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Abstract

2019 will be the year of Indonesia's fourth direct presidential election since the country's democratic era began in 1998. In addition to the presidential election, the election will also be held to elect members of the People's Consultative Assembly (MPR), People's Representative Council (DPR), and the Regional People's Representative Councils (DPRD). All the elections will take place in the same day therefore they are called the general election. The General Elections Commission (KPU) has allowed participants of the 2019 election to campaign through social media as stated in the General Elections Commission Regulation Number 20 of 2018 regarding General Election. The campaign is basically a form of delivering messages from the sender to the receiver (the audience). With the development of internet-based information technology and the increasing number of social media users from Indonesia, will be one of the reasons why the campaign through social media is needed. Furthermore, it has also shown that social media has played a significant role in the political campaign of 2014. The relationship between the presidential candidate and the supporters on social media can be deeper than any other media because the delivery of vision and mission can be delivered creatively through videos, info charts and others. By using social media, the presidential candidate can see the supporters' responds and inputs so there will be two-way communication.

Keywords: *Social media, General election, Indonesia, Political*

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Social Media as a Tool for Political Campaign of 2019 Indonesian Presidential Election

Indonesia as the world's third largest democracy after India and the United States, will hold its fourth presidential election and its fifth legislative election simultaneously on Wednesday 17th of April 2019. Therefore, Indonesian voters will set off to the election polls to elect the next President and Vice-President. On the same day, at the same time, at the same polling center, each voter will also cast votes for a member of the People's Representative Council (DPR), a member of the Regional Representative Council (DPD), a member of the Provincial Legislative Council (DPRD Provinsi), and a member of the City/District Legislative Council (DPRD Kota/Kabupaten). For this reason, the election has been dubbed as the "five boxes" election.[2] But because of the complexity, this research will cover about the Presidential election only.

To win the election, a Presidential and Vice-Presidential team must secure over 50% of the votes. If there aren't any candidate that secure 50% of the vote in the first round then the top two candidate pairs will face off in a second round election. This requirement is as stated on the Article 6A Paragraph (3) of the Indonesian Constitution of 1945 (UUD 1945):

> *"The Presidential and Vice-Presidential candidate pair which polls a vote of more than fifty percent of the total number of votes during the general election and in addition polls at least twenty percent of the votes in more than half of the total number of provinces in Indonesia shall be declared elected as the President and Vice-President."*

On the final day of the nomination of the candidate for running in the 2019 Presidential election, two pairs of candidates came forward. The first pair consist of Joko Widodo as the candidate of the President with Ma'ruf Amin as the candidate of the Vice-President and the second pair is Prabowo Subianto with Sandiaga Uno.[3] Joko Widodo-Ma'ruf Amin candidacy is being supported by 9 parties consists of PDIP, Golkar, PKB, PPP,

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[2]Titi Anggraini, *Explainer: Will the 2019 Elections be Fair?*,
http://indonesiaatmelbourne.unimelb.edu.au/explainer-will-the-2019-be-fair/.
[3]Fitria Chusna Faris, *Penetapan Capres- Cawapres untuk Pilpres 2019,*
https://nasional.kompas.com/read/2018/08/13/1 3113131/20-september-penetapan-capres-cawapres-untuk-pilpres-201

NasDem, Hanura, PKPI, Perindo, and PSI. The Prabowo-Sandiaga Uno coalition is supported by Prabowo's Party (Gerindra), Demokrat, PAN, PKS, and Berkarya.[4]

After the pairs were announced, the campaign period officially began on September 22nd with both participants signing a declaration for a peaceful campaign.[5] The General Elections Commission (KPU) has allowed participants of the 2019 election to campaign through social media as stated in the General Elections Commission Regulation Number 20 of 2018 regarding General Election. Social media will be a good platform to campaign with the increasing number of social media users from Indonesia. Besides that, social media has also been proved having an important role in the Presidential election campaign in 2014. By using social media, the presidential candidate can see the supporters' responds and inputs so there will be two-way communication. Therefore, a campaign through social media for the 2019 Presidential Election is needed.

With the development of internet-based information technology, internet and social media have become a necessity for most people on the daily basis. People use social media either to communicate with someone across the world or to promote things. According to annual digital report released by We Are Social and Hootsuite, internet usage continues to grow all over the world with global users up 8% year-on-year. Report writer Simon Kemp said well over 1/3 of the world's population is now using social media every month.[6] The report also says that Indonesia is the fastest growing country in relation to the number of the internet users compared to last year and the average time an Indonesian spends on social media a day is 3 hours and 16 minutes.

The growing use of different types of social media has important implications for the political process in most countries around the world. In terms of taking in information and engaging in discussions related to the political discourse, open social platforms such as Facebook and Twitter remain popular channels. Facebook and Twitter users in Indonesia cover topics such as public policy debates, social causes, as well as campaigns and elections at the local and national levels.[7] Taking note of the increased popularity of social media, political actors themselves have become increasingly active online, using social platforms as

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[4]Adi Haryanto B, Sembilan Partai Pendukung Jokowi-Ma'ruf, https://nasional.sindonews.com/read/1340402/12/sembilan-partai-pendukung-jokowi-maruf-di-cimahi-bidik suara-milenial-1537606024
[5]Jarryd de Haan, *2019 Indonesian Election Campaign Kicks Off: What to Expect*, http://www.futuredirections.org.au/publication/2019-indonesian-election-campaign-kicks-off-what-to-expect/
[6]Han Nguyen, *Indonesia is fastest growing country for internet use-report*, https://www.rappler.com/world/regions/asia-pacific/indonesia/bahasa/englishedition/159593-internet-social-media-statistics
[7] Jennifer Epley, *Indonesia. In Kerric, Harvey & J. Geoffrey Golson (eds.), Encyklopedia of Social Media and Politics. Thousand Oaks* (California: Sage Publications, 2013)

campaigning tools in both national and local elections. Overall, with the cost of campaigning on a steady increase, limited political financing, problems with money politics and the limits of traditional media have resulted in candidates looking for alternative channels to make their voices heard. Social media has helped solve some of these challenges and has in effect altered how candidates market themselves.[8]

Social media has been a popular platform for campaigning since the 2014 Indonesia's Presidential Election. During the 2014 Presidential Elections, there were also two candidates who competed, namely Prabowo Subianto with Hatta Rajasa and Joko Widodo with Jusuf Kalla. Both candidates use social media especially Facebook and Twitter as a tool in political marketing. Base on the Facebook account of Suara Indonesia showed the result that namely 53.77% were talking about Jokowi and only 43.5% people were talking about Prabowo.[9]

Table 1. Presidential and Vice Presidential Candidates' Twitter's Tweets, Photos/Videos, Followers, and Favorites (July 2, 2014)

No	Political Party	Tweets	Photos/Videos	Followers	Favorites
1	Prabowo Subianto	8,165	347	950,658	21
2	Hatta Rajasa	1,179	14	636,968	14
3	Joko Widodo	927	24	1,676,380	12
4	Jusuf Kalla	2,710	634	929,536	15

Source: Abdillah, 2014

The table above shows that as the Presidential Candidate, Joko Widodo has the most followers. This shows that Joko Widodo's campaign was a success in using social media. On his Twitter and Youtube account, Joko Widodo's team delivered a good and down to earth image of Joko Widodo. Such as uploaded a video with his son, Kaesang, posted a picture of not so successful painting that he called it an abstract painting. Besides that Joko Widodo's account also posted some posts that promoted his upcoming programs such as "Kartu Indonesia Sehat" dan "Kartu Indonesia Pintar" intended for low income family.

On social media, Joko Widodo was the most likeable candidate who would be the President of 2014-2019 period. Based on Survey National Data, at the beginning of the campaign period in early June 2014, Joko Widodo's polls defeated Prabowo with the score 47.8% to 41.5% and during the mid-campaign period, Joko Widodo got 46.5% and

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[8] Ahmad Nyarwi & Ioan-Lucian Popa, The *Social Media Usage and the Transformation of Political Marketing and Campaigning, In Patrut, Bogdan & Monica Patrut (eds.), Social Media in Politics: Case Studies on the Political Power of Social Media* (Berlin: Springer, 2014)
[9] Business Lounge Journal, *Lebih 200 Juta Interaksi Facebook Warnai Pilpres 2014*, http://blj.co.id/2014/07/09/perang-facebook-warnai-pilpres2014/, Retrievied 11 January 2018.

Prabowo got 44.9%.[10] The positive image that Joko Widodo built on his social media had an impact on the voting because after the vote count took place from the 9th of July 2014, the Commission (KPU) finally announced the results of the real count. Commission (KPU) officially announced that the pair Joko Widodo and Jusuf Kalla is the winner of the 2014 presidential election. Therefore, it seemed the power of social media has ability to promote online campaigns for presidential election 2014.

For this year campaign through social media, Prabowo- Sandiaga's supporters made an intriguing hashtag on twitter which is the #2019GantiPresiden. 2019 Ganti Presiden is a movement to invite people to not vote for Joko Widodo-Ma'ruf Amin. According to this movement, Jokowi (and his ministers) has failed to manage Indonesia to be better, at least for the last 3 years of his presidency. The opposite of this movement is 2019 Tetap Jokowi. For now the effectiveness of this movement cannot be seen yet but a big data company, Drone Emprit found out that this movement managed to attract more attention from social media users that Joko Widodo's team's campaign. Therefore if Joko Widodo's team keep on being passive on this movement then they might lose their votes.

Social media allows for political actors to shape content the way they want without having it go through the publication process used in various forms of traditional media. Through social media, citizens (voters) are able to select content they prefer and can avoid information or sources that they disagree with.[11] The political actors and citizens can also have a two-way communication so that the political actors can get inputs and responses from the citizens easily without to face high costs.

To conclude, social media as one of internet application offers many benefits to various of social life. It has changed the way of political parties' campaigns' styles and approaches. Because of its impact as a tool for campaigning, social media is predicted that in the future it is expected to be a major media campaign. A movement through hashtags or posts on social media can affect one's choice. Although, actually when we talk about presidential election in Indonesia, we should remember the fundamental thing of election itself which is Lugas, Umum, Bersih, Rahasia, Jujur, Adil or we all know as "Luberjurdil". This fundamental thing may reflect how the candidacy or election in Indonesia should be. As

[10] Marcus Mietzner, *Reinventing Asian Populism: Jokowi's Rise, Democracy, and Political Contestation in Indonesia* (Hawai'i: The East-West Center, 2015)
[11] Gainous J & Wagner, K. M., *Tweeting to Power: The Social Media Revolution in American Politics* (New York: Oxford Universiy Press, 2014)

an educated nation, the people in Indonesia should respect this principal of election by not pushing other people to choose certain candidate(s). People may choose a candidate by things they have thought, analysed, and decided so it is not a wise thing to interfere other people's choice.

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The Tweeting Game: Social Media as Political Trend in Electoral Campaigns
(A Psychological Perspective)

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Abstract

This paper is to show the role of social media in gaining the sympathy of audience, increasing public trust and acceptance, and achieving victory during electoral campaigns. Our generation are addicted to social medias. Facebook, Twitter, Instagram are only few examples of the most commonly used social medias. We can spend hours switching between apps and exploring our feeds. Seizing this opportunity, electoral campaigns try to dominate the field by posting and sharing stories of their electoral candidates using pretentious words. Some may even try to defame opposing candidates. The aspects discussed in this paper are fallacies and biases that takes part in our decision-making process. Emotion plays a huge part in our lives. As human beings, emotion influences our individual preferences. This creates fallacies and biases. Through presenting previous examples, this paper offers an outlook of the utilization of social medias in electoral campaigns from a psychological perspective.

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I. Literature Review

Social media is defined as "the production, consumption and exchange of information through online social interactions and platforms." (Pergolino 2010). Today, to heighten what used to be conventional forms of communication such as press releases, politicians and governments utilize online services such as twitter (Chun, Shulman, Sandoval, & Hovy 2010). Building image trough social media networks in campaigning has become a trend in contemporary political systems (Dimitrova and Matthes 2018). Politicians rely heavily on apps like Twitter, Facebook, and Instagram raise their messages and candidates (Pergolino 2010). Rather than posting an enormous amount of data on public websites, the instant publication of succinct burst of information to a wider public is deemed more efficient (Fung, Graham, & Weil 2007). These online services are also utilized as a way to promote communications between the public and between bodies (Chun and Warner 2010, Chun et al. 2010, Jaeger and Bertot 2010).

Some researchers suggested that a positive relationship occurs between social media use and vote outcomes (Bright, J. et al 2017). A study conducted by Bright, J et al. taken during UK election concluded that campaigning on social media, in this case Twitter, does indeed 'make a difference'. The study also found that larger parties have the leverage in utilizing the platform and undermines that using the platform by interacting with citizens is the most efficient. The study mentioned several previous studies which support their results in which Kruikemeier (2014) noted that Dutch politicians are more likely to win by using twitter in the Dutch national elections of 2010, Bode and Epstein (2015) found that people with higher online influence ('klout' scores') have some advantage in US 2012 elections, Hermans and Sams(2011) suggests that micro-blogging does impact voters decision in 2009 european parliament elections, and Bene (2018) found that shares on the politician Facebook pages correlates with the vote outcomes in 2014 Hungarian elections. A more famous, recent, and evident example is the US Presidential Election in 2016, President Donald Trump's victory, which credited by many to the success of his social media campaigns (Halpern 2018).

What exactly is going on in our minds when we see all this political advertising? Be it direct or indirect? What is the underlying foundation that support our voting decision?

1. Base Rate Neglect and Biases

Results has shown that voting decision is made based on not only one step but two steps of communication through chatting with opinion leaders, colleague, and friends, and acquittance which may strengthen or weaken or opinion (Tank 2010). We put trust in their judgement. Sometimes we may even ignore the base rate information. Nisbett et al. (1976) suggested that information that is more vivid and concrete than base rate information is weighted much more heavily than the base rate information. This is called base rate neglect. it is the tendency to ignore information about general principles in favor of very specific but vivid information. An alternative explanation is we simply fail to see the implications of the information. (Bar-Hillel 1980, Ofir and Lynch 1984).

We also have a tendency to seek out and listen to those with the same view of our own and avoid those with different opinion (Mintz & Wayne 2016) This is called confirmation bias. Confirmation bias is the tendency to search for and use information that supports our ideas rather than refutes them (McKee & Stuckler 2016; Yousaf & Gobet 2016). For example, in 2012 during US presidential election, polling experts agreed that Prrsident Obama had the upper hand. However, Matt Romney supporters denied any opinion against Romney and they fully believe that the polls were wrong and quite shocked by the outcome (Firestone 2012).

Another bias in human decision making is loss aversion (King 2017) it is the tendency to strongly prefer to avoid losses compared to acquiring gains. We hate the idea of losing something more than idea of gaining something, even if the idea of a gain outweighs the loss. (Kahneman & Tversky 1984). This may explain why the reason we choose a candidate that seems riskier even if the other candidate promises better future.

In ' The Psychology of Voting' (2017), Jon A. Krosnick, a professor of psychology and political sciences in Ohio State University, mentioned that a political psychological research has found that people treat information about political candidates fairly. Voters are keener on unfavorable information of political candidates which is why negative advertising is more beneficial and more commonly used although subtly. 'a dollar spent criticizing your opponent will help you more than a dollar spent spreading the word of your good qualities'.

2. The use of logical fallacies and psychographics

While campaigning, most likely politicians commit logical fallacies in creating their image. For example, the viral video of Obamacare saving a person life (ad misericordiam or appeal to pity) and Donald trump committing ad hominem or personal attack against his opposition (Lou 2017). Candidates are also most likely to pick data makes them look better and leave anything else out. However, in most scenarios we wouldn't even realize it. Educated and well-informed audiences may not easy to be deceived) but are still able to be manipulated by emotion (Ardha 2014).

An Interview with a former researcher in Cambridge Analytica revealed the stolen millions of data to identify Americans subconscious biases to create personally designed political messages which will influence their voting decision (Halpern 2018). This is a type of 'psychographics' that are typically used for commercial products to attract consumers using advertisements that sway their underlying emotional being ('This product will make you feel powerful!' 'This product will make you happy!'), for example, Cambridge Analytica message those with authoritarian sympathies about Trump's gun rights and border wall while those with anxiety and insecurity with Clinton's support for sanctuary cities (Halpern 2018)

II. Conclusion

It is not only Cambridge Analytica that is on the rise. higher ground labs are funding companies to work on all aspects of electoral campaigns: fundraising, polling, research, voter persuasion, and get-out-the-vote efforts (Halpern 2018). One company has created a platform which uses website banner advertisements to qualitatively measure public opinion, another has able to analyze social media to identify content which can manipulates mind rather that those which will only be ignored, and another has also created a database for every candidate (Halpern 2018).

The trend of social media is not going away soon. If anything, it's accelerating. Politicians are competing to be benefitted from the use of psychological and any other personal information for their own personal gain. It is a fact that emotion plays a big role in our voting decision. As Robin Mook has said, 'campaigns win because they have something compelling to say.'

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Social Media Effects towards Indonisa General Election 2019: How is the Legal Framework for Democratic Elections?

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Abstract

Social media can be reached by all levels of society; it is now used as an effective medium for political campaigns. Indonesia will hold general elections on 17 April 2019. For the first time in Indonesian history, the president, the vice president, and members of the People's Consultative Assembly (MPR) will be elected on the same day with over 190 million eligible voters. Sixteen parties will be participating in the elections nationally. Based on data taken during the 2014 general election, social media played an important role in disseminating information and became effective promotions for candidates. But the weakness of supervision from the General Elections Commission (KPU) caused 'crowded' information and full of hoaxes news spreading widely. In the Local Elections in 2015, 2017, and 2018 cannot be separated from the issue of ethnicity, religion, race, intergroup relations which was deliberately developed by supporters of the candidates. This paper discusses how the legal framework can play a role in creating democratic election through social media campaign. The results of this study is special articles are needed to regulate sanctions for candidates who use the issue of ethnicity, religion, race, intergroup relations to conduct campaigns. The latest regulations should be established as the implementation of the Law No. 7 of 2017 about General Elections and Law No. 11 of 2008 about Electronic Information and Transactions to realize the use of social media that is good for political activities.

Keywords: *Social Media, General Election, Indonesia, Democracy.*

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Introduction

The development of information and communication technology is increasingly sophisticated in line both with innovation by humans and increasing human needs. The phenomenon of social media in society is an interesting thing to discuss. Social media has various advantages such as wider network and easy access, making it very popular. Not only that, social media also created a new stream of communication to disseminate the information in the society.

The rapid development of social media also caused by the increasing use of the internet, giving hope to many aspects such as: more participatory governance in decision making; more intense community interaction, a new social dynamic; and opportunities for entrepreneurs to increase profits. Today, social media become a basic need for the lives of people where they live in two worlds, real life and cyberspace. Even, social media used as the main media in social relations and interactions throughout the world.

Social media is a modern breakthrough in the history of human communication. It quickly gained public attention. At this time, the society was faced with a wide choice of communication tools, including social media. Diverse choices of social media depend on needs, hobbies or creating relationships. In essence, the purpose of social media is building the relationship and spreading the information. Social media develops into many variations and have their own characteristics. There are many websites that are dedicated as a forum for social networking or referred to as SNS (Social Networking Service), including Facebook, Twitter, and Instagram. Each SNS has its own features and advantages. The usage pattern also diverse and has distinctive characteristics.

Today, we know what is called digital democracy. The intense role of social media in politics makes it has strong power in the electoral process. We find the fact that our digital democracy today is still characterized by many problems and challenges. These problems and challenges also reflect the global

phenomenon of the practice of digital democracy. Indonesia will hold general elections on 17 April 2019. For the first time in Indonesian history, the president, the vice president, and members of the People's Consultative Assembly (MPR) will be elected on the same day with over 190 million eligible voters.[2] Sixteen parties will be participating in the elections nationally. What is the impact of social media in general elections in Indonesia? This paper will analyze it.

Social Media Development in Indonesia

Each year, digital developments in various countries are monitored. This year, WeAreSocial is collaborating with Hootsuite to launch the Global Digital Report in 2018.[3] In the report, it was explained that the number of internet users in Indonesia reached 132 million people. This number shows that half or more than 50 percent of Indonesia's population can access the internet.

Internet usage is dominated by socializing activities in cyberspace. This is evidenced by a large number of social media users, reaching 3,196 billion users. Social media users in Indonesia reached 49% percent of the total population. The growth of social media users in Indonesia reached 23% or 24 million users in the past year.[4] The table below shows the popular social media in Indonesia.

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[2] RSIS, *The 2019 Indonesian Presidential Election – RSIS*, https://www.rsis.edu.sg/wp-content/uploads/2018/07/CO18123.pdf, accessed on January 5th, 2019.

[3] WeAreSocial, *Global Digital Report 2018*, https://wearesocial.com/blog/2018/01/global-digital-report-2018, accessed on January 10th, 2019.

[4] Kompas.com, *Riset Ungkap Pola Pemakaian Medsos di Indonesia*, https://tekno.kompas.com/read/2018/03/01/10340027/riset-ungkap-pola-pemakaian-medsos-orang-indonesia, accessed on January 5th, 2019.
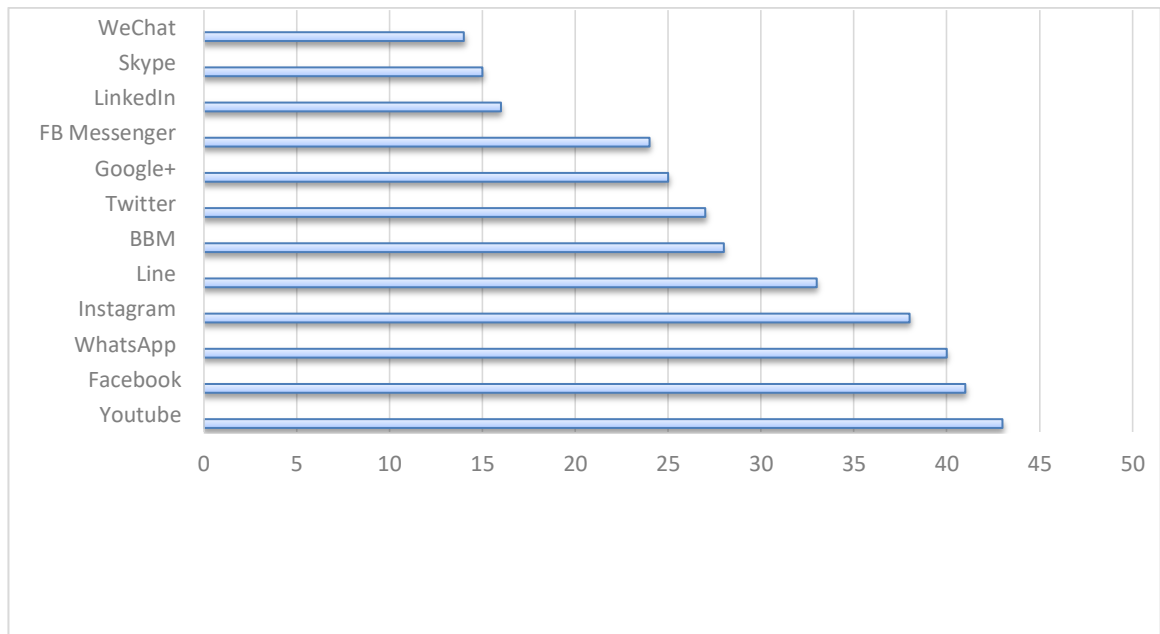
Table 1. The comparison of social media platforms in Indonesia

Indonesian Democracy in the Digital Age

Social media has a great influence on the political choice of the young generation. Surveys from the Indonesian Institute of Sciences (LIPI) showed that 60.6% of the young generation which birth from 1995 to 2005 to access news related to politics through social media.[5] LIPI said that political parties which control content through social media have great potential to win the 2019 General Election. The data refers from the Indonesia Central Bureau of Statistics (BPS) which states that the population of Gen Z is 66.94 million in 2018 and 30 million of them become beginner voters in the 2019 General Election.[6]

Digital democracy is not a new discourse in Indonesian public discussions today. What is always new in the discussion is about the opportunities and risks for improving the quality of democracy in Indonesia. In a broad context, the

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[5] LIPI, *LIPI: 60% Anak Muda Akses Berita Politik Lewat Media Sosial*, http://inspektorat.lipi.go.id/question/lipi-60-anak-muda-akses-berita-politik-lewat-media-sosial/, accessed on January 7th, 2019.

[6] Katadata.co.id, *Anak Muda Akses Berita Politik Lewat Media Sosial*, https://katadata.co.id/berita/2018/07/18/lipi-60-anak-muda-akses-berita-politik-lewat-media-sosial, accessed on January 5th, 2019.

contribution of digital democracy is increasing political awareness of citizens, strengthening self-autonomy in political decision making, and developing social ethics for multicultural life. In a special sense, digital democracy increases interaction between society and the state, between citizens and their political representatives, or between interest groups and communities of policymakers.[7]

Social media plays an important role in the democratic process in various countries and regions in the world. Arab Springs, which took place in the Middle East, tells the story of increasing political awareness among young people and the lower class of society whose long-term aspirations have been blocked by authoritarian and oligarchic political structures. Although in the end the 'digital revolution' has reached a dead end like the war in Libya and Syria, the internet has proven itself as a space for political articulation and raising alliances between groups across classes, identities, and territories. We can find a similar phenomenon in the United States with the election of Donald Trump as president and the success of the British campaign out of the European Union (Brexit). In these two important events, social media has become a space for political articulation and resistance against the neoliberal-plutocrat regimes controlled by EU bureaucrats in Brussels and the neoliberal-neoconservative regime in Washington which entirely supports Hillary Clinton. The important message is resistance to the narrative of the dominant political regime successfully won by the 'silent majority' through social media. Moreover, social media succeeded in presenting political narratives that were critical of the media industry (television and newspapers) which had long been the engine of propaganda for political oligarchs in Europe and the United States.

Lately, the internet especially social media, has emerged as a strategic and tactical arena for the discussion and political debate of various groups including young people. The president and former president, young and old politicians, governors, and mayors, use digital technology to argue or defend their opinions.

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[7] Democracy Development Security, *Tantangan Demokrasi Digital Indonesia*, http://democracydevelopmentsecurity.org/demokrasi-digital-masalah-dan-tantangan-bagi-masyarakat-politik-indonesia/, accessed on January 5th, 2019.

The Indonesian cyberspace is filled with various issues, from moral problems, corruption to the latest issues such as blasphemy and the feasibility of a non-Muslim being the head of state or leader in a Muslim-majority region. It is increasingly seen that a number of political issues which in the past were considered the affairs of officials and politicians are now discussed and debated by various groups without any profession, religious identity, ethnicity, and political ideology. At the same time, cyberspace shows a revival of class awareness, ethnic affiliation, and religion.

Realizing Democratic Election in the Digital Age

The government is mandated to hold a Presidential Election and Legislative Election simultaneously in 2019. It is stated in the ruling of the Constitutional Court number 14 / PUU-XI / 2013.[8] A number of civil society organizations urged the government to immediately prepare general election regulations so that the 2019 General Election will run well. They encouraged the legislative body (DPR) and the government to immediately fix various election-related laws by conducting codification to produce an Election Law. Democratic elections that comply with international standards can be seen from the implementation of compliance and enforcement of election law. The standard is important because the legal framework must provide an effective and good mechanism for compliance with laws and electoral rights, and provide penalties for the perpetrators of election crimes.

There are several principles in resolving disputes and election legal issues according to IDEA (Institute for Democracy and Electoral Assistance) such as transparent, clear and simple arrangements; effective and comprehensive mechanism; the timeliness of law enforcement and decisions; and consistency in

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[8] Badan Pembangunan Hukum Nasional, *Putusan MK 14/PUU-XI/2013*, https://www.bphn.go.id/data/documents/7.7._perkara_nomor_14-puu2013_23_jan_2014_pemilu_presiden_(.pdf, accessed on January 6th, 2019.

the interpretation and application of election law.[9] Election law needs to regulate violations and disputes that occur in the electoral process. Violations include codes of ethics, administration, and criminal acts.

Topo Santoso said that all states have mechanisms for resolving electoral violations and disputes. However, there is no single mechanism that can be applied to all states. Every state has its own uniqueness in holding elections. But, the violations and electoral disputes mechanism is one of the international standards to assess whether elections are held freely and fairly or not.

Importantly, if there are violations in the elections does not mean showing the weakness of the electoral system. In each election, violations must occur. Therefore, there must be a disputes resolution mechanism to create justice. Topo stated that there were three fundamental issues in resolving disputes and election violations. First, the validity of the results. Second, the settlement of administrative disputes. Third, prosecution of violators of electoral crimes.

The types of election crimes are regulated in Chapter II concerning Criminal Provisions for Article 488 to Article 554 of Election Law number 7/2017[10], including:

- giving incorrect information in filling in the personal data on the voter list (article 488);
- officials favorable or unfavorable action contesting the election (article 490);
- disrupt, obstruct or interfere with the election campaign (article 491);
- conduct election campaigns outside the schedule set by the General Elections Commission (KPU) (article 492);
- violating campaign restrictions (article 493);

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[9] The International Institute for Democracy and Electoral Assistance, *The Declaration Of Principles For International Election Observation And The Code Of Conduct*, https://www.idea.int/publications/catalogue/declaration-principles-international-election-observation-and-code-conduct, accessed on January 7th, 2019.
[10] Undang-Undang Republik Indonesia Nomor 7 Tahun 2017 Tentang Pemilihan Umum, http://peraturan.go.id/uu/nomor-7-tahun-2017.html, accessed on December 29th, 2018.

–   providing false information in his election campaign finance reports (article 496 and article 497);

–   causing other people to lose their voting rights (article 510)

–   establish the number of ballots printed exceeding the specified number (article 514);

–   gives more than one vote (article 516).

In relation to this election crime, Article 2 of the Supreme Court Regulation number 1/2018 states that the district court and the high court have the authority to adjudicate election crimes. The district court adjudicate the electoral crimes uses the Criminal Procedure Code, unless otherwise specified in Election Law number 7/2017.

Conclusion

Digital democracy in Indonesia should be discussed critically and constructively. Digital democracy in Indonesia has a similar dilemma with other countries. The challenge now is how to make cyberspace as an integral part of democratic consolidation. The whole description above showed the central position of digital democracy for Indonesia today. Cyberspace is a strategic arena for learning and realizing democratic principles, especially respecting differences, building cross-identity alliances and criticizing the political oligarchy. The experience of digital democracy from Indonesia and other regions gives a strong signal that cyberspace is a battlefield of people interests. Therefore, the issue should be the starting point to develop a policy framework for digital democracy. So, the elections will be held democratically.

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"The Role of Media in Development of Indonesian Democracy: A Study of Media in Maintaining Peace in Democratic Life"

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Abstract

Indonesia has long adhered to a democratic government system. One of democratic principles is fundamental rights. Every citizen has the right to communicate, receive information and express their opinion. In Indonesia, the right to communicate and obtain information is regulated in the 1945 Constitution. Media and press have a big role in the economic and political development of any country in the world. The information and communication stimulate citizens on various problems in their country. Media and press must be given freedom of expression to convey messages to the people without being oppressed or intimidated. On the other hand, now humans are entering a new stage in social life, we know as the information society. The citizens use information and internet technology facilities in daily life. There are cultural changes because of social media. But, the presence of social media has been becoming a boomerang and giving negative impact. We often found hoaxes and hate speech on social media. Social media analysis expert from Indonesia said that the rise of hoaxes information can occur due to public distrust of the government and the media. This paper explains about the role of media in maintaining peace of democratic and social life.

Keywords: *Democracy, media and press, social media, fundamental right*

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Introduction

The word of democracy is derived from Greeks word 'demos' which means people and 'kratein' which means to govern or to rule. Directly translated, democracy means Government of the People or rule by the people. Abraham Lincoln said that democracy is the government of the people, by the people and for the people. It means that government comes from the people, it is exercised by the people and for the people's own interests.[2]

Indonesia is one of the countries that adheres to the principle of democracy. Democracy in Indonesia has changed and been adjusted several times. Indonesia has experienced a Parliamentary democracy, Guided democracy, Pancasila democracy in the new order era and Pancasila democracy in the reform era[3].The long journey of Indonesian democracy is a process towards maturity. The implementation of Indonesia's democracy in each era also has advantages and disadvantages. In the reform era, democracy was regarded as the most democratic and accentuated the people[4].

One of democratic principles is fundamental freedom and fundamental rights. Human rights are more than just a component of democracy. They represent the main requirements to run a democratic system well[5]. Every citizen has the right to communicate and receive information. Communication and information are one of elements of democracy. The process of communication and giving information involves the people, which is from people, by people and for people. In Indonesia, the right to communicate and obtain information is regulated in the 1945 Constitution in Article 28F[6]. The process of communication and receiving information is relating to freedom of speech. Freedom of speech in Indonesia is also regulated in the 1945 Constitution Article 28E Paragraph 3 which states, "Everyone has the right to freedom of association, gathering and expressing opinion".

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[2] Paula Becker, *What is Democracy* (Antananarivo: University of Trier, 2008), 4.
[3] Widodo, *Demokrasi: Antara Harapan dan Kenyataan* (Semarang: Departemen Kebudayaan dan Pariwisata LPMP Semarang, 2009), 4.
[4] Erik Aditia Ismaya, "Merekonstruksi Demokrasi Indonesia", *Ikatan Sosiologi Indonesia Universitas Muria Kudus* (2014): 2.
[5] Paula Becker, *What is Democracy* (Antananarivo: University of Trier, 2008), 5.
[6] Indonesian Government, *UUD 1945 Indonesia* (Jakarta: Indonesian State Secretariat, 1945).

Media and press have a big role in the economic and political development of any country in the world. The information and communication from media and press stimulate citizens on various problems in their country. Media and press must be given freedom of expression to convey messages to the people without being oppressed or intimidated by state authorities or any entity who has the authority to prevent information from the public[7]. The media must be professional and objective. Indonesian media and press laws are regulated in UU RI No.40 1999 and journalistic code of ethics[8,9].

Now humans enter a new stage in social life, we know as the information society. The community uses high-intensity information technology facilities in daily life for various personal, social, educational, business activities, politics and even for leisure time. We know it as digital citizens who have cultural change because of social media[10]. Social media is a place to share information and communicate easily. But in facts, the presence of social media has been becoming a boomerang and giving negative impact for democratic system. Democracy is increasingly free and uncontrolled. We often found hoaxes, hate speech and racism against religion and ethnicity in social media. Social media analysis expert from Indonesia, Ismail Fahmi and Ferry Koto said that the rise of hoaxes information is due to public distrust of the government and the media or press

This paper explains about the role of media in maintaining peacefulness of democratic and social life. People need a public space as a neutral place to share information, communicate and express the opinions freely but still in control.

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[7] Lumona Kibore, "Role of Media In Deepening Democracy And Rule Of Law Vs Participation Of Public On Demanding Leadership Change", Linkedin, Last modified October 5, 2017, https://www.linkedin.com/pulse/role-media-deepening-democracy-rule-law-vs-public-demanding-kibore/.

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Information and communication in democracy

Information and communication have a role in democracy life. Democracy can work well if the process of providing information and communication goes well. Abraham Lincoln said that democracy is the government of the people, by the people and for the people. It means that government comes from the people, it is exercised by the people and for the people's own interests[11]. In implementing democracy, a process of information exchange and communication between citizens and the government is needed.

Information and communication determine the direction of democracy. Communication that runs openly and correctly can accelerate the process of democratization[12]. Communication can be defined as the process of delivering messages from communicators (sender) to communicants (receiver) and how the sender of the message packs and sends a message (encode) and how the recipient of the message understands it (decode). Efficiency and accuracy are the goals to be achieved in communication[13]. The ideal communication is circular communication. This means that when the communicator acts to convey the message, the people have the same opportunity to respond. The position of communicators and communicants can take turns. In government, the position of the communicator is not always held by political elites, on the contrary the people are also not only domiciled as communicants. The people able to be located as communicators when they can convey responses such as praise, criticism, or suggestions, to political elites who are positioned as communicants[14]. Giving access to information and communication is not only the right of citizens, but also a prerequisite for democracy itself [15].

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[11] Paula Becker, *What is Democracy* (Antananarivo: University of Trier, 2008), 4.
[12] Triyono Lukmantoro, "Peran Komunikasi Dalam Demokratisasi", *ejournal Universitas Diponegoro* (2012): 51.
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The role of social media

Media comes from the Latin word (singular: medium-ii) which means 'in between'. In addition, it also means something that 'appears publicly', 'public property', or 'mediation' and hence refers to a public space. Thus, the essence of the media cannot be separated from the problem between the public and private realms, which are often problematic. The purpose of the media is to provide a space where the public can interact and engage freely in matters relating to public concerns[16]. Media and its professionals play a vital role in communication that occurs in the democratization process. Media becomes an important part of the communication process between the political elite and the people. Media can be located as a mediator that allows communication participants to send and receive messages[17].

One of the most fundamental problems of the media in democracy is the accuracy of the news and the protection of sources[18]. Media are always at risk of being manipulated and used by "special groups" who are more powerful than other groups in society. This kind of manipulation clearly endangers the balance of the public[19]. Issues regarding citizens' rights to the media, especially participation in policy making or in the making of the news itself, have long been discussed both at local and global levels. This happened because citizens throughout the world gradually began to realize the idea that they had rights / parts in the media[20].

Media and press must be given freedom of expression to convey messages to the people without being oppressed or intimidated by state authorities or any entity who has the authority to prevent information from the public[21]. The media must be professional and objective. Indonesian media and press laws are regulated in UU RI No.40 1999 and journalistic code of ethics.

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[20] Centre for Innovation Policy & Governance. *Tentang Media dan Demokrasi* (CIPG, 2012), 32.

[21] Lumona Kibore, "Role of Media In Deepening Democracy And Rule Of Law Vs Participation Of Public On Demanding Leadership Change", *Linkedin*, Last modified October 5, 2017, https://www.linkedin.com/pulse/role-media-deepening-democracy-rule-law-vs-public-demanding-kibore/.

Digital citizens in social media

Development of a new and alternative media in Indonesia has provided new spaces and opportunities for citizens to express their opinion freely. The presence of the Internet and the rise of social media have been used by citizens to discuss public concerns freely where this should be provided by conventional media and press. The public interest, which was not facilitated by conventional media and press, overflowed into new media such as blogs, wikis, Twitter, Facebook and others[22]. Levinson said that information controlled by individual is better than information controlled by the central authority. It is almost impossible for ordinary people to be able to control the media, because the media is quickly controlled by capital, and works based on the profit, rather than in the public interest. Therefore, the presence and advancement of Internet technology and social media is seen as a new alternative for citizens to create their own public sphere. The internet has become a new medium. Internet and social media provide space where the public can be involved freely, expresses their opinion and speaks their rights to media, without being controlled by the state or business[23]. However, that does not mean that the public space empowered by the Internet is free from contestation

In facts, the presence of social media has been becoming a boomerang and giving negative impact for democratic system. Democracy is increasingly free and uncontrolled. We often found hoaxes, hate speech and racism against religion and ethnicity in social media. Director of Information and Communication of the State Intelligence Agency Indonesia, Wawan Purwanto said that the content in Indonesian social media turned out to be dominated by hoax information. This causes people to be easily influenced by the news. From the research, hoax information covers 60 percent of social media content in Indonesia[24].

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[22] Centre for Innovation Policy & Governance. *Tentang Media dan Demokrasi* (CIPG, 2012), 28.
[23] Centre for Innovation Policy & Governance. *Tentang Media dan Demokrasi* (CIPG, 2012), 29.
[24] Ambraine Nadia Kemala Movanita. "BIN: 60 Persen Konten Media Sosial adalah Informasi Hoaks", Kompas, last modified March 15, 2018, https://nasional.kompas.com/read/2018/03/15/06475551/bin-60-persen-konten-media-sosial-adalah-informasi-hoaks.

The influence of media in social and democratic life

Media as information provider might trigger a conflict or create a peacefulness, it depends on how media provide information correctly. Media can create peace during conflicts, but unfortunately, some journalists and media institutions consciously or unconsciously might trigger a conflict and even spread hatred [25]. Media has a role as mediator between government and citizens. When the role of mediator is not going well and being manipulated, the various information presented does not provide knowledge correctly to the public, but full of distortion and manipulation. This can disrupt the democratization process.

The presence of the Internet and the rise of social media have been used by citizens as alternative place to discuss public concerns freely where this should be provided by conventional media and press. The public interest, which was not facilitated by conventional media and press, overflowed into new media such as blogs, wikis, Twitter, Facebook and others[26]. But, that does not mean that the public space empowered by the Internet is free from contestation. Hoax and hate speech are more difficult to avoid. Currently the spread of information / hoaxes is increasing. The Mastel's survey 2017 reveals that people receive hoaxes every day more than once. Hoax news often found in social media. The hoax phenomenon in Indonesia confuses the public. This is used by irresponsible parties to instill slander and hatred[27]. Social media analysis expert from Indonesia, Ismail Fahmi and Ferry Koto said that the rise of hoaxes information is due to public distrust of the government and the media or press. People need a public space as a neutral place to express their opinions and receive information freely but still in control. Besides that, government must be able to create a critical press atmosphere which obeys data and facts. A peaceful life will be created if the people's right to express their opinions can be fulfilled.

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[25] Emir Chairullah, *Media Massa Sebagai Pemicu Konfik dan Pencipta Perdamaian* (Yogyakarta: Graha Ilmu, 2015), 1.
[26] Centre for Innovation Policy & Governance. *Tentang Media dan Demokrasi* (CIPG, 2012), 28.
[27] Christiany Juditha, *Interaksi Komunikasi Hoax di Media Sosial serta Antisipasinya Hoax Communication Interactivity in Social Media and Anticipation* (Jurnal Pekommas, 2018), 1.

Conclusion

People need a public space as a place to express their opinion, communicate and receive information. Those three things are the rights of citizens in democracy. These three rights can be fulfilled by the presence of the media as mediator that connects the government and citizens. However, when the role of media and press as mediator is not going well, it might cause public distrust of media. The presence of the Internet and the rise of social media have been used by citizens to discuss public concerns freely where this should be provided by conventional media and press. But in facts, the presence of this social media has been becoming a boomerang and giving negative impact for democratic system. Democracy is increasingly free and uncontrolled. We often found hoaxes, hate speech and racism against religion and ethnicity in social media.

A country must be able to create and maintain a neutral public space as a place for citizens exchange information, communicate and express their opinion. If media and press as public spaces are unable to be objective, citizens will prefer social media as an alternative which is a lot of uncontrolled hoax information. Social media analysis expert from Indonesia, Ismail Fahmi and Ferry Koto said that the rise of hoaxes information is due to public distrust of the government and the media or press.

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Sri Lankan Judiciary as a Guardian of Democracy

(A case study of the current Sri Lankan Constitutional and Political Crisis)

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Abstract

We are living in a nation in which the constitution declares that 'Sri Lanka is a Free, Sovereign, Independent and Democratic Socialist Republic and shall be known as the Democratic Socialist Republic of Sri Lanka. Sri Lanka enjoyed uninterrupted democracy since the 1980s and Sri Lankan democracy has gradually incorporated elements of authoritarianism into its fold. Since then politicians have become less and less accountable to their electorates. In the backdrop of patronage politics, elections have become less efficient in upholding and improving the quality of democracy. This paper particularly focus on the issue of the current Sri Lankan political crisis, which began on 26th of October by sacking legal Prime Minister from his duty and the dissolving Sri Lankan parliament unconstitutionally. It was the gravest constitutional crisis Sri Lanka has had since independence. This opened the door for dictatorial rule and It also marked the beginning of total break-down of the constitutional government and democracy in the country. The objective of this paper is critically analyses the Supreme Court Judgement of the dissolution of Parliament and whether the current Sri Lankan constitutional approach is sufficient to uphold the democracy and rule of law within the country and determine how it affects to the popular sovereignty. Interviews with the legal experts who contested the case at the Supreme Court may contribute as primary source while the judgement and the research works would be contribute as secondary sources. It is concluded with the suggestions for the importance of redefining democracy in the modern global context.

Keywords: *constitutional crisis, democracy, rule of law, popular sovereignty*

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Backgrounds:

On the night of October 26, at 8.30 pm Sri Lankan President without making any public announcement, unconstitutionally and illegally appointed former Sri Lankan president Mahinda Rajapaksa, as Prime Minister of Sri Lanka while legal prime minister still functioning his duties as the Prime minister of Sri Lanka. Further on 09th November 2018, the executive President of Sri Lanka issued a special Gazette No. 2096/70 stating that the powers vested to him by article 70(5) to be read with the article 33(2) (c) and article 62(2) of the Constitution, the executive President justified his decision of dissolution of parliament and further amid a political crisis following his attempt to replace Sri Lanka's prime minister and a parliament election was fixed for January 05, 2019.

On 12th of November, twelve Fundamental Right petitions were submitted to the Supreme Court of Sri Lanka challenging the president's decree sacking of parliament and calling a snap election, by the UNP, TNA, JVP, SLMC[2] and others demanding the restoration of status quo prevailing prior to 26 October. These were taken up for hearing on the same day by a three-member bench of the Supreme Court and issued an interim order till 7th December staying the proclamation issued by executive President to dissolve parliament and granted leave to precede with the Fundamental Rights petitions that challenged the President's dissolving parliament.

Further on 13th of November, the Supreme Court gives a stay order preventing newly appointed Prime Minister Rajapaksa and his Ministers from holding office heightening the island's political drama and drawing an immediate vow to appeal the decision by Rajapaksa. Same day the Speaker office said that Parliament would convene on 14th November as per the previous gazette issued by executive President Sirisena. 14th of November a no confidence motion passed by parliament against the newly appointed Prime Minister Rajapaksa and second no-confidence motion supported by 122 parliamentarians' passed by parliament against Rajapaksa on November 16th. Further on 13th of December the Supreme Court declares dissolution of Parliament unconstitutional and illegal. The Court ruled that President Sirisena's decision to dissolve the Parliament 20 months before the end of its term was unconstitutional. A seven- full bench unanimously ruled on that the President cannot dissolve Parliament until it

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[2] The main political Parties of the Sri Lanka who representing the people in parliament.

completes a four-and-a-half year term. The court also said the President's decision to call snap elections was illegal. On December 14ᵗʰ Mr: Rajapaksa said he would relinquish his claim to be Prime Minister and would back down after an address to the nation. On 14ᵗʰ December the Supreme Court Sri Lanka refused to issue an interim order vacating the earlier interim order of the Court of Appeal restricting the functions of the Prime Minister's office, the matter was set down for hearing in mid-January 2019. Following this decision, newly appointed Prime Minister Rajapaksa indicated his intention to resign. December 15ᵗʰ, legal prime minister Mr: Wickramasinghe re-appointed as Prime Minister thus ending the constitutional deadlock that lasted for 51 days.

Legal Analysis:

The Petitioners of this Fundamental petitions contends that the dissolution of Parliament sought to be effected by the Proclamation is **"ex facie unlawful and in violation of the Constitution and nothing flows from the same"** because the President is expressly prohibited by the Constitution from dissolving Parliament until the expiration of a period of **not less than four years and six months** from the date appointed for its first meeting and the date appointed for the first meeting of the Eighth Parliament of Sri Lanka was 1st September 2015.

In this regard, it should be mentioned here that the Petitioners are basing this contention upon Article 70 (1) of the Constitution which states that the President shall not dissolve Parliament until the expiration of a period of not less than four years and six months from the date appointed for its first meeting, unless Parliament requests the President to do so by a resolution passed by not less than two-thirds of the whole number of Members, voting in its favour and no such resolution has been passed by Parliament requesting the President to dissolve Parliament. The said Proclamation was issued on 09th November 2018 only **three years and two months and eight days** after the first meeting of the Eighth Parliament.

Thus and otherwise, the Petitioners states that the purported dissolution of Parliament dated 9th November 2018 was inter alia[3] and with regard to the Petitioners right to invoke the

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[3] a.) In violation of the express prohibition contained in the Constitution contained in the proviso to Article 70 (1) b). An unconstitutional attack on Parliament c.) Ultra vires the powers of the President; d.) Unlawful e.) An assault on the legislative power of the People f.) A violation of the sovereignty of the People g.) A violation of the rights of the Petitioner and each and every Member of Parliament h.) Arbitrary, irrational, capricious, vexatious and unreasonable

fundamental rights jurisdiction of this court, the Petitioner pleads that the impugned actions of the President constitute executive or administrative action within the meaning of Article 17 read with Article 126 of the Constitution and were done by executive President in his official capacity.

The Respondents have also pleaded, by way of a further "preliminary objection" that the President formed his opinion that Parliament should be dissolved is a "political decision" which this Court has no jurisdiction to inquire into. Further, the Respondents have stated that the Petitioners cannot invoke the fundamental rights jurisdiction of the Supreme Court since, the dissolution of Parliament does not constitute "executive or administrative action" falling within the purview of Article 126 of the Constitution.

However, the Supreme Court stated that the inalienable right of every citizen of our country to invoke the fundamental rights jurisdiction of the Supreme Court is a cornerstone of the sovereignty of the people which is the fundamental norm of our Constitution.[4] Thus, Article 4 (d)[5] declares, the fundamental rights which are by the Constitution declared and recognized shall be respected, secured and advanced by all the organs of government and shall not be restricted or denied, save in the manner and extent hereinafter provided.

The Role of the Sri Lankan judiciary as a guardian of Democracy and Rule of Law:

Sri Lanka has been governed by three constitutions within 70 years since independence. For most of Sri Lankan's Constitutional history, the promotion of the principles, institutions and procedures underlying the Rule of Law and the recognition of the need to safeguard those principles and also redefining democracy, the courts played and still plays big role as custodians of the democracy and Rule of Law. When attention is drawn to the recent Supreme court decision of the dissolution of Parliament, was a historical judgement when the protection of

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i.) Action that offends and is in breach of the principles of reasonableness and legitimate expectation and is motivated by improper objectives and j.) Null and void and of no force or effect in law."
[4]"A democratic Constitution cannot be interpreted in a narrow and pedantic sense. Constitutional provision is to be interpreted in the light of basic structure of the Constitution It lays down basic norms of community life, which on judicial interpretation, find their true reflection in every aspect of individual and collective human life. Therefore any constitutional interpretation which subverts the free social order is anti-constitutional. It is the basic and cardinal principle of interpretation of a democratic Constitution that it is to be interpreted to foster, develop and enrich democratic institutions. To interpret a democratic Constitution so as to squeeze the democratic institutions off their life is to deny the people or a section thereof the full benefit of the institutions which they have established for their benefit. [Prof Manubhai D Shah v Life Insurance Corpn (1981) 22 Guj LR 206], Bindra emphasizes at p. 1284
[5] Article 4 (d) of the Sri Lankan Constitution, 1978

democratic state fallen upon the shoulders of the judges of the Supreme Court which is under attack by executive President.

Sri Lanka's Supreme Court had performed a profoundly historic duty of being the final bastion in the frontier Sri Lanka's democracy and the freedom of citizens, as defined in Article 4 of the Constitution[6], the executive which is supposed to embody sovereignty of the people, has chosen the path of violating the constitution and paralyzing the functioning of the legislature, which is the second organ of the state that represent the sovereignty of the people.[7]

On that time the judiciary was the only remaining organ to which the citizens can pray for the protection of their democratic future, freedoms and rights, in that troubled and uncertain times. However, Sri Lanka's Supreme Court had sent out a firm message to the country's quarrelling political leaders that constitution and democracy first and Sri Lankan citizens who fought to defend Sri Lanka's endangered democracy, the judiciary was now a reliable arbiter.[8]

The Supreme Court of Sri Lanka cited in the dissolution of Parliament case[9]

*"A Constitution is a documentation of the founding faiths of a nation and the fundamental directions for their fulfilment. So much so, an organic, not pedantic, approach to interpretation, must guide the judicial process. The healing art of harmonious construction, not the tempting game of hairsplitting **promotes the rhythm of the law***"[10]

Dealing with the interpretation of a Constitution **the Supreme court further declared that ,**

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[6] Article 5 of the Sri Lankan Constitution, 1978

[7] Thus, Amerasinghe J stated, in **SOMAWATHIE vs. WEERASINGHE** *"How should the words of this provision of the Constitution be construed? It should be construed according to the intent of the makers of the Constitution. Where, as in the Article before us, the words are in themselves precise and unambiguous and there is no absurdity, repugnance or inconsistency with the rest of the Constitution, the words themselves do best declare that intention. No more can be necessary than to expound those words in their plain, natural, ordinary, grammatical and literal sense."* [1990 2 SLR 121 at p. 124]

[8] In SHANMUGAM SIVARAJAH . OIC, TERRORIST INVESTIGATION DIVISION AND OTHERS, the Supreme Court endorsed the new doctrine that Rule of Law forms a part of Article 12 (1). The decision quotes with approval Justice Bhagawathie's observation that in order to establish discrimination or denial of equal protection it is not necessary to establish the due observance of the law in the case of others who form part of that class in previous instances. The Rule of Law, which postulates equal subjection to the law, requires the observance of the law in all cases. [SC FR 15/2010, SC Minutes 27. 07. 2017]

[9] SCFR Application No. 351/ 2018 decided on 13th December 2018

[10] Bindra [10th ed. at p. 1262], *Fatehchand Himatlal v State of Maharashtra (1977)*

"…when considering whether the exercise of a statutory power or discretion, especially one conferred by our Constitution, is subject to review by the judiciary, certain fundamental principles can never be overlooked. The first is that our Constitution and system of government are founded on the Rule of Law and to prevent the erosion of that foundation is the primary function of an independent Judiciary. In Sri Lanka, however, it is the Constitution which is supreme, and a violation of the Constitution is prima facie a matter to be remedied by the Judiciary". Thus The Constitution governs the nation. Disregarding the Constitution will cast our country into great peril and mortal danger. The Court has a duty to uphold and enforce the Constitution."[11]

Conclusion:

The democracy is directly linked to the Rule of Law, the Rule of Law focuses on limiting and independently reviewing the exercise of public powers. The Rule of Law promotes democracy by establishing accountability of those wielding public power and by safeguarding human rights, which protect minorities against arbitrary majority rules. The Rule of Law has become 'a global ideal and aspiration', with a common core valid everywhere. This does not mean that its implementation has to be identical regardless of the concrete juridical, historical, political, social context. Historically, the Rule of Law was developed as a means to restrict State power. Human rights were seen as negative rights against intrusions by holders of this power. Rule of law is important that in every State a robust political and legal culture supports particular Rule of Law mechanisms and procedures, which should be constantly checked, adapted and improved.

The concept of Rule of Law permeates all areas of democratic governance. Yes, it is true that democracy is not perfect. But it gives you a chance to shape your own destiny. Fundamental violations of human rights always lead to people feeling less human, true democracy can only come out of human dignity of all nationalities. When exercising judicial authority that justice should not only be done, but should undoubtedly be seen to be done. The Court must maintain proper balance in between the government and rights of the general public as a public duty. It is true that Justice delayed is Justice denied but yet justice hurried could be justice miscarried. However, the most important thing is that an independent judiciary is an indispensable requisite

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[11] SCFR Application No. 351/ 2018 decided on 13th December 2018

of a free society under Rule of Law. The purpose of redefining democracy should be the ***people keep a government in check.***

The Constitution of Sri Lanka, ends with the following invocation,

'Devo Vassatukalena - Sassasampattihetu ca

phitobhavatuloko ca - raja bhavatudhammiko' [12]

The conclusion is inevitably that power is never unlimited, nor absolute, it is and always has been constrained by the Rule of Law. It may be argued that it can be questioned whether the Rule of Law can be reached to a 100% in any jurisdiction at any given time. The reality and immaturity of the democratic political process may certainly cause aberrations. But that does not mean that we should not strive to achieve it and that those whose duty it is to protect the ordinary citizens' basic fundamental rights from abuse by the executive and the legislature can go to seats of higher learning and mock this concept, thus the principles of Rule of Law is entrenched into Sri Lanka's constitutional by practice and must be upheld.

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[12](May the rains be on time, may the farmers have successful harvests, may the ruler be just, and by these happenings may the people prosper.)

The New Normal: Revisiting Philippine Democracy through Duterte's Penal Populism

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Abstract:

This paper discusses the present health and status of Philippine democracy while taking into account the new political and societal landscapes brought about by the rise to power of a populist strongman like Rodrigo Duterte. The paper is anchored on the definition of democracy as a system which guarantees and safeguards human rights. The writer argues that the rise of a populist leader like Duterte contributed in the continuing degradation of democracy which is significantly due in part to the flagship program of the Duterte administration concerning the intensified suppression of illegal drugs under the so-called "Oplan Tokhang." The war on drugs under Duterte led to the erosion of the concept of human rights as well as the gradual corruption of the Philippine society's moral fabric as it aids in normalizing killings and human rights violations in the country, leading to further deterioration of the country's democratic environment. A strongman like Duterte ushered what is known as Penal Populism by means of his widespread campaign against illegal drugs further weakening Philippine democracy.

Keywords: *Philippine democracy, penal populism, Rodrigo Duterte, War on Drugs, human rights*

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Introduction

For the past decades, the world has witnessed democracy taking roots in many countries as successive waves of democratization took over. Various scholars presented different explanations for this remarkable growth and spread of democracy.[2] On the other hand, countries across the world today are now witnessing democratic reversals as democratic values weaken, economic stagnations occur, collapse of the rule of law takes place, insurgencies and terrorism abound, accompanied with political institutions becoming even more fragile.[3] These conditions yield a type of democracy susceptible to a populist and personal type of leadership. Hence, paving the way for the weakening of democratic values and institutions which support and sustain democracy. The Philippines is no exemption to this phenomenon.

This research aims to evaluate Philippine democracy by exploring how the rise to power of a populist strongman like Rodrigo Duterte instigated and reinforced what is known as "Penal Populism" through his widespread war on drugs. As exemplified in his bloody crackdown on illegal drugs with immense support from the Filipino masses, the writer argues that a populist leader like Duterte contributed to the erosion of the concept of human rights as well as the corruption of the society's moral fabric. This, in turn, further deteriorates the Philippine democratic environment grounded on the protection of human rights.

The Duterte Leadership is a Populist Leadership

Rodrigo Duterte immediately demonstrated his strong charisma to mobilize the masses and sympathize with their struggles as pre-election surveys in 2016 showed how he consistently gained immense voter support.[4] His strong remarks during the presidential debates, his up-to-date punch lines, curses, and funny comebacks while insulting his opponents captured the hearts of many Filipinos. His principal banner centered on law and order while putting emphasis on the suppression of illegal drugs. He promised that he will eradicate drugs and crime within three to

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[2]Beetham, David, Edzia Carvalho, Todd Landman, and Stuart Weir. 2008. *Assessing the Quality of Democracy: A Practical Guide*. Sweden: International Institute for Democracy and Electoral Assistance .

[3] Huntington, Samuel P. 1991. "Democracy's Third Wave." Journal of Democracy 12-34.

[4] Holmes, Ronald D. 2016. "The Dark Side of Electoralism: Opinion Polls and Voting in the 2016 Philippine Presidential Election." Journal of Current Southeast Asian Affairs 15-38.

six months if not he will step down from office.[5]As his rhetoric became even bolder speech after speech, the level of support he gained from the masses continued to intensify.

Despite his outrageous declarations and vulgar remarks, Duterte managed to get elected as president with over 16 million votes.[6]He carried over his magic until he assumed executive office. His level of public support soared at 91 percent during his initial months in office.[7] Duterte maintained his high trust ratings despite various issues thrown against him.[8]

Within his early months in office, the country witnessed an iron fist type of leadership as Duterte led the country to an all-out fight against illegal drugs. Infamously called in Filipino as the "*Oplan Tokhang*," the massive crack down on illegal drugs have launched several antidrug police operations which led to the death of over 12,000 Filipinos.[9] Labeled as a *killing spree*[10] and a *Filipino bloodbath*[11], antidrug operations in several parts of the Philippines caused the death of an average of 50 Filipinos daily since Duterte took office. To make matters worse, there is a total estimate of 23 innocent minors killed either by vigilante groups or as a collateral damage during police antidrug operations.[12]With these series of drug-related killings, the number of vigilante killings also increased.[13] This goes to show how the Philippine police framed themselves as models in validating and normalizing the killing of individuals, guilty or not guilty of committing a crime.

[5]Cook , Malcolm, and Lorraine Salazar. 2016. "The Differences Duterte Relied Upon to Win." *Perspective: ISEAS – Yusof Ishak Institute* 1-12.

[6]Casiple, Ramon C. 2016. "The Duterte Presidency as a Phenomenon." *Contemporary Southeast Asia: A Journal of International and Strategic Affairs* 179-184.

[7]Pulse Asia Research . 2016. *Nationwide Survey on the Trust Ratings of the Top 3 Philippine Government Officials and Filipinos' Expectations of the New Administration.* July 30. Accessed January 7, 2019. www.pulse asia.ph/july-2016-nationwide-survey-on-the-trust-ratings-of-the-top-3-philippine-government-officials-and-filipinos-expectations-of-the -new-administration/.

[8]Mangahas, Mahar. 2018. *Two Years of PRRD Presidency: An Assessment*. Survey Report, Quezon City: Social Weather Stations.

[9]Human Rights Watch. 2018. *Philippines' 'War on Drugs'.* Accessed January 7, 2019. https://www.hrw.org/tag/philippines-war-drugs.

[10]Kine, Phelim. 2016. *Philippine Police Killing Spree Demands Accountability*. August 22. Accessed January 8, 2019. https://www.hrw.org/news/2016/08/22/philippine-police-killing-spree-demands-accountability.

[11]Bautista, Lowell B. 2017. "Duterte and his quixotic war on drugs." *University of Wollongong Australia, Faculty of Law, Humanities and the Arts - Papers* 1-8.

[12]Human Rights Watch. 2018. *Philippines' 'War on Drugs'.* Accessed January 7, 2019. https://www.hrw.org/tag/philippines-war-drugs.

[13]Kreuzer , Peter . 2016. "*If they resist, kill them all": Police-Vigilantism in the Philippines*. Research Data Report , Germany : Peace Research Institute Frankfurt.

Penal Populism through the War on Drugs

To aggravate the scenario, the bloody war on drugs sustained through Duterte's populist rhetoric, are being strongly supported and applauded by the Filipino masses. Due to his strong charisma and appeal to the Filipino citizenry which considers him as a messianic leader, the people sees these killings as justified and normal. A survey indicated that nine out of ten Filipinos even support and felt satisfied with Duterte's war on drugs.[14] As exemplified by his crack down on illegal drugs, Duterte's populist leadership supported the emergence of penal populism. Penal populism occurs when the leader's strong appeal and charisma overpowers established laws, rules, and procedures.[15] The war on drugs illustrated how the people disregarded the law especially the notions of human rights and due process as a populist leader like Duterte portrays himself as the ultimate solution for the drug problem. This goes to show how his charisma and strong appeal to the masses overweigh the tons of human rights violations committed against the entire Filipino nation. The Filipinos share the same sentiments with Duterte as both view drug users as societal junks which should not be considered as human beings hence justifying killing them in any manner they deem appropriate. Duterte painted a picture in the people's mind depicting how intense the drug problem is and then he presents himself as the only savior of the people.[16] Well aware of his strong mass support base, he designed the war on drugs to serve as his principal foundation to convince the people that they can feel safe as long as they trust his orders, even if it meant the death of several Filipinos. As Duterte's leadership reinforced this concept of penal populism, the anti-human war on drugs became valid, normal, and acceptable in the eyes of many Filipinos who remained firm in their *Dutertard*[17] beliefs.

Erosion of the Concept of Human Rights

One of the primary victims of penal populism in the Philippine context is the concept of human rights. Duterte's populist leadership signaled a new moral fabric in Philippine society.

[14]Barrera, Dan Jerome S. 2017. "Drug War Stories and the Philippine President." *Asian Journal of Criminology* 1-20.

[15]Kenny, Paul D. 2018. *Populism in Southeast Asia*. New York: Cambridge University Press.

[16]Human Rights Watch. 2017. *The Killing Squads: Inside the Philippines' 'War on Drugs'*. March 2. Accessed January 8, 2019. https://www.hrw.org/news/2017/03/02/killing-squads-inside-philippines-war-drugs.

[17]Curato, Nicole. 2016. "Politics of Anxiety, Politics of Hope: Penal Populism and Duterte's Rise to Power ." *Journal of Current Southeast Asian Affairs* 91-109.

The war on drugs corrupted, if not eliminated, the sanctity of human life as massive drug-related killings occurred, treating drug users as societal junks and not as individuals endowed with the right to life. These killings approved by the highest officer of the land himself paved the way to a culture of punishment rather than rehabilitative justice.[18] The war on drugs led the people to believe that drug users are not individuals endowed with human rights hence justifying killing them. Duterte's followers are blinded by their leader's strong populist appeal, hence being unable to see how he denies Filipinos due process, the right to life, the right to equality before the law along with the right to have fair trial.

There are other manifestations of how a populist like Duterte managed to erode the Philippine society's moral fabric. In one of his speeches, he narrated how he saw the corpse of an Australian missionary named Jacqueline Hamill who was raped during a prison siege. Duterte stated that Hamill was way too beautiful that is why he should have raped her first.[19] This was followed by immense laughter and cheering from the crowd. Even after this incident, Duterte still managed to top presidential polls.[20] In his succeeding months in office, this rape joke was followed by another vulgar and misogynist remark, one after the other. From joking that he was using Marijuana in order to keep himself awake amidst his busy schedule,[21] to vocally sharing that he once sexually abused his housemaid,[22] to threatening to abolish the Commission on Human Rights as he does not want the said institution to mingle in his war on drugs.[23] Duterte even admitted that he committed extrajudicial killings but still managed to gain popular support for his drug war campaign after his confession.[24]

[18]Jensen, Steffen, and Karl Hapal. 2018. "Police Violence and Corruption in the Philippines: Violent Exchange and the War." *Journal of Current Southeast Asian Affairs* 39–62.

[19]Curato, Nicole. 2016. "Politics of Anxiety, Politics of Hope: Penal Populism and Duterte's Rise to Power ." *Journal of Current Southeast Asian Affairs* 91-109.

[20]Vulliamy, Elsa. 2016. *Philippines presidential candidate who made rape joke widens lead in polls*. April 25. Accessed January 8, 2019. https://www.independent.co.uk/news/world/asia/filipino-presidential-candidate-philippines-rodrigo-duterte-joked-raping-australian-missionary-more-a6999431.html.

[21]Gutierrez, Jason. 2018. *Rodrigo Duterte Jokes About Marijuana Use, While Thousands Die in His Drug War*.December 3. Accessed January 8, 2019. https://www.nytimes.com/2018/12/03/world/asia/philippines-duterte-marijuana.html.

[22]Gutierrez, Jason. 2018. *Philippine President Says He Sexually Abused Housemaid as a Teenager*. December 31. Accessed January 8, 2019. https://www.nytimes.com/2018/12/31/world/asia/philippines-rodrigo-duterte-sexual-abuse.html.

[23]Smith, Tom. 2017. *Duterte's Latest Target: The Commission on Human Rights*. August 8. Accessed January 8, 2019. https://thediplomat.com/2017/08/dutertes-latest-target-the-commission-on-human-rights/.

[24]Hincks, Joseph. 2018. *'My Only Sin.' Philippine President Rodrigo Duterte Admits Extrajudicial Killings Occurred*. September 28. Accessed January 8, 2019. http://time.com/5409425/philippines-duterte-extrajudicial-killings-icc/.

What is noteworthy was the reaction of his wide populist support base to these series of degrading and offensive pronouncements. What added fuel to the firewas the silence and the absence of moral outrage from the Filipino people regarding these offensive and vulgar remarks uttered by the country's chief executive. This "*Filipino genocide*" which dehumanizes the people has been continuously ignored by the Filipino masses especially the blind supporters of the Philippine president.[25]The absence of moral outrage indicated how these views on human rights became the new normal hence eroding the country's moral fabric especially the value given to human rights.

Conclusion

This paper attempted to illustrate the Philippines' democratic environment defined in terms of the society's conception of human rights. As Duterte's populist leadership reinforced the occurrence of penal populism through his war on drugs, the erosion of the concept underpinning the protection of human rights followed. As the populist masses laugh and shrug off their shoulders on the president's outrageous statements and actions degrading human rights, they in turn contributed to the change of moral dynamics in Philippine society; a type of society which puts prime importance on a messianic leader's promise for radical change rather than on fundamental human rights. Duterte's populist persona accompanied with his strong capacity to sympathize with the struggles of ordinary Filipinos overweighs established laws and institutions hence normalizing the bloody war on drugs in the eyes of his more than 16 million voters. As the war on drugs became a war against the entire Filipino nation, the status of Philippine democracy grounded on the protection of human rights was threatened as the people themselves approve and support the populist move to sideline their fellow countrymen's right to life.

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[25]Gatmaytan, Dante . 2017. "Constitutional Deconsecration: Enforcing an Imposed Constitution in Duterte's Philippines ." *Ateneo Law Journal* 311-351. Constitutional Deconsecration: Enforcing an Imposed Constitution in Duterte's Philippines.

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"Election Campaign through Social Media: The Political Impact of Facebook, Instagram, Twitter and YouTube on Voting Decision in Lanao Del Sur, The Philippines"

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Abstract

This study adopts the descriptive research design to gather information about the impact of social media in an election campaign among voters in the province of Lanao del Sur. A survey was done through a questionnaire to assess their socio economic profile in relation to their perception. In view of social media, it now turns as the primary sources of information, e.g. Facebook, Instagram, Twitter and YouTube. Every politician wants a strong influence the public. Majority sort out that social media had turned out to be an approach to find out about selecting an aspirant on a government position. On the other hand, political candidates nowadays added social media campaign as one of their political campaign strategies. This study examines how social media have emotional impact on the decision of selected voters in the province of Lanao del Sur after surfing a social media political campaign. This investigation shows that social media political information does affect the voting conclusion of the selected respondents.

Keywords: *Social media, politician, government position, political information, Facebook, Instagram, Twitter and YouTube.*

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Introduction

Technology has developed all through the years. It has carried possessions that societies do not have several years back. One thing that has progressed with technology is the use of social media such as Facebook, Instagram, Twitter and YouTube that is delivered by the internet. In a democratic form of government, election is the means used to choose public representatives to lead the people for progress. In the Philippines, being a republican government, election is a necessary means since it permits qualified citizens to choose their representatives in the political system in order to exercise their sovereign powers.

In the Philippine jurisprudence, the election is defined as the means by which the people choose their officials for a definite and fixed period and to whom, as their representatives, they entrust, for the time being, the exercise of power of government[2]. In the case of Lanao del Sur, any election has been observed as tiring and difficult. It has been said that the behavior of election campaign over social media for the past local election contributed a positive impact on the cost of winning a political position. Also social media's election campaign is a non-expensive campaign, which the absence of machinery to check and limit sources of campaign fund become not a fertile ground to reach other people in a non-verbal communication.

Social Media has the potential in aiding the voters to choose how they will vote more conveniently. This research investigated the political impact of social media on winning an election struggle. The study tried to look deeper on what is the attentiveness of the respondents in social media, social media sites they usually logged in with; it also tried to explore the perceptions of the respondents on social media networking and most important is their view and opinion of this study.

Statement of Problem

This study attempts to find answers to the political impact of social media such as Facebook, Instagram, Twitter and YouTube in the Province of Lanao del Sur. Specifically, this study, searched for answers to the following question:

1. What is the soci-economic profile of the respondents?

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[2] De Leon, Hector. Textbook on Philippine Constitution. (Manila: Rex Book Store), 11.

2. How the respondents describe social media sites?
3. How do the respondents describe the influence of social media on selecting a candidate for a political position?
4. What is the implication of the study?

Methods

Research Design. The researcher used the descriptive research method to identify the implication of the study and possible outcome that can be used by people running for a political position. This study used a structured survey questionnaire that was prepared by the researcher in seven pages distributed personally and send a softcopy through online to the respondents and personal and online interview. The data in the questionnaires were checked, tallied and tabulated. The results provided valuable data about the problem to be studied. Ultimately, the findings served as the basis for conclusion and recommendations.

Research Locale. Lanao del sur (Maranao and Iranun: Pagabatan Ranao), officially the Province of Lanao del Sur, is a province in the Philippines located in the Autonomous Region in Muslim Mindanao (ARMM). The capital is the city of Marawi, and its border Lanao del Norte to the north, Bukidnon to the east and Maguindanao and Cotabato to the south. To the southwest lies Illana Bay, an arm of the Moro Gulf[3].

Research Respondents. The respondents of the study are Selected 200 individuals that were qualified to vote in 2013 and 2016 National and Local election in the Republic of the Philippines from the different municipalities in the province of Lanao del Sur.

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[3] (https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Lanao_del_Sur)

Results

I.   **Socio Economic Profile of the Respondents**

Age	Frequency	Percentage
18-25	41	20.5
25-35	62	31
35-45	51	25.5
45-above	46	23
Total	200	100

1. This study selected qualified voters in the 2013 and 2016 election in the Philippines as provided by its constitution. This implies that the data of this study are realistic since majorly of the respondents emanated from all qualified voters.

Sex	Frequency	Percentage
Male	111	55.5
Female	89	44.5
Total	200	100

2. The data showed that perception that was drawn was drawn from the investigation is balance since the male and female preference is different.

Occupation	Frequency	Percentage
Government Employee	85	42.5
Private Employee	88	44
Self-Employed	27	13.5
Total	200	100

3. The numbers showed that the majority of the respondents were either government or private employees, which implied that they were always attached on browsing social media.

Monthly Income	Frequency	Percentage
Below 15,000 PHP (Below 300 USD)	88	44
15,000 PHP – 30,000 PHP (300 USD – 600 USD)	81	40.5
30,000 PHP – Above (600 USD – Above)	31	15.5
Total	200	100

4. The figure implied that all the respondents can afford to buy a data to connect to use the internet even they were not in their respected offices.

Education	Frequency	Percentage
Doctoral Degree	11	5.5
Earned Doctoral Units	43	21.5
Masteral Degree	58	29
Earned Masteral Units	45	22.5
Bachelor Degrees	43	21.5
Total	200	100

5. The data showed that all the respondents can understand the concepts of using social media and can browse with full understanding and awareness. This implies that the insight of studies is coming from a degree holder which can provide an accurate reaction.

Time Spent in social Media	Frequency	Percentage
Below 3 hours per day	151	75.5
4-6 hours per day	42	21
Above 6 hours per day	7	3.5
Total	200	100

6. The figure above implies that the entire respondent's time spent in social media is enough to read an election advertisement in social media.

Gadget	Frequency	Percentage
Mobile Phones/Tablets	121	60.5
Laptop/Desktop	79	39.5
Other	0	0
Total	200	100

7. The findings showed that mobile phones and tablets were the majority gadgets used by the respondents to access the internet. This was not surprising given that this gadget it is the main source of communication such as text messaging and making a call. This implied that these gadgets were handy and user friendly with internet access.

Social Media Engaged	Frequency	Percentage
Facebook	133	66.5
Instagram	31	15.5
Twitter	11	5.5
YouTube	25	12.5
Total	200	100

8. It can be seen in the table that Facebook is the most common social media engaged in by the respondents. The finding implied that Facebook is the most popular social networking site utilized by the student users since it is the website they always engaged in.

II. Impact of Social Media on the preference of the respondents

Majority of the respondents believed that social media

1. Collaborate them with other fellow to be familiar with the manifesto of a political party's ideas and policies;

2. Through social media they can be involve in political activities posted in Facebook, Instagram, Twitter and YouTube;

3. Social media is their primary source for information;

4. Social media keep them in touch with the world of politics even outside their places;

5. Social media is used as an instrument to campaign their preferred candidates because of its capacity to reach people residing in places out of their reach;

6. Social media engaged them to the world of politics;

7. Through social media they can directly talk or give ideas to their prefer candidate;

8. Social media's political advertisement is enough to be Self-absorbed;

9. Social media gives opportunity to those occupied people to participate in a political campaign. Further, social media provides an accessible information about politics;

10. Respondents believed that the social media can easily catches attention, trust and empathy since it show pictures and videos that makes information real and true which eventually makes it believable;

11. Using social media can heal to immoral criticisms;

12. Respondents believed that through daily log-in in social they were updated on the manifesto of the politicians they love to vote;

13. Social Media have real election-related emotional affair such as citizen testimonial related to politician accomplishments;

14. Politician can be widely and easily popular in social media at this information age;

15. Social media is used as a tool to cater the supporters' questions towards the politicians;

16. The social media advertisement do not distract the usual election campaign such as; political rally and house to house campaign.

Conclusion

Based on the findings of the study, the following conclusions are formulated:

1. Relating the students' profile and their perception on the influence of social media on their voting decision, the findings revealed that there is a significant relationship in terms of their occupation, monthly income, education, time spent on social media and their gadget;

2. Social media has become a part of the lives of the majority;

3. The result of the study showed how important is social media in attaining to get the sympathy of the people;

4. This research establishes that social media is growing in position for general election campaigns;

5. The constant use of social media in general changes the role that media plays in the political process.

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"Islamic Populism and Indonesian Democracy: Case 212"

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Abstract

This paper discusses the emergence of populism movements and their influence on democracy in Indonesia. As in some democratic countries, populism is also a feature of Indonesian politics. Although not exactly the general model of populism in the West, populism in Indonesia shows the reality of the power of Islam as a majority religion. Islamic population in Indonesia has a long history root in the series of Governor of Jakarta 2017 elections. The statement from Basuki Tjahaja Purnama in his speech at the kepulauan seribu in Jakarta which was deemed to have blasphemed religion was the background for the Actions to defend Islam 212. This movement was followed by several Islamic community organizations that built solidarity together with conducting peaceful actions aimed at rejecting the blasphemy of the religion. The rise of Islamic populism in Indonesia found a moment in the Action movement to defend Islam 212 which had a major influence on the development of democracy in Indonesia.

Keywords: *islamic, populism, democracy, defend islam*

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Introduction

Indonesian is country which successfully to change politics system from authoritarianism to democracy and through the era of democratic transition with peaceful relatively. This matter make Indonesia a new power of global democracy which is counted. As country which has unique with many Islamic organizations. Start from traditional Islamic organization, moderate till modern which many adopting concept which bear in the west with liberalism concept and sekulerism. Each growing and developing in climate democratic to fight for ideal value.

Islamic populism and Indonesian Democracy

In Indonesia democratic current has been developing since the collapse of the new order regime, more space for all components in Indonesian politic system for getting an active role model. This condition certainly needs society which not just active but also to be provided skill on their contribution to push nation dreams. Pasca reformation Islamic civil role with revering to two the big Islamic organizations in Indonesia there are Nahdlatul Ulama and Muhammadiyah give optimistic democracy about moeslim role in Indonesia democratization.[1]

Democracy is not a abstract concept or mere normative, but at once is reflection of behavior which stick in people self as citizen. Democracy is a ideal concept which when reached in country life needs a specific sizes. Herry B. Mayo, example, to note there are eight dominants which must be noticed to rate a society is democratic or no, there are: (1) there is finishing the conflict with peace and volunteer; (2) there is guarantee to happened alteration with peaceful in a society which is changing. (3) there is turnover authority which occurs with discipline; (4) there is control of using minimum criminality (coercion); (5) there is confession and honor of diversity; (6) there is guarantee of enforcement in justice. (7) there is an effort to advance science. (8) there is confession and honor of freedom.[2] From variable size which stated above, is basist conceptual from developing democracy in Indonesia in part has been reached, while in other part has been seen although embodiment is still minimally. Example, Islamic defending 212 action runs away with peaceful which done middle class of Islamic society as freedom in telling aspiration.

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[1] Robert W. Hefner, *Civil Islam: Islam dan Demokratisasi di Indonesia*, (Jakarta: Institut Studi Arus Informasi, 2001).
[2] Herry B. Mayo, *An Introduction to Democratic Theory* (New York: Oxford University, 1965), 218-241.

Cas Mudde, one of political scientist which his study about populism is more enough to be referenced, to definition populism as politics position which put public and elite in antagonist position and to see politics as expression from desire general people. Various other thought, populism as political expression which has some elements. Firstly, anti-establishment, the means to represent group of expression is feel to be marginal. Secondly, there is authority of leader form charisma or personality figure or message which is an apocalyptic (afraid of).

Populism is not politics ideology with specific politics visions, nevertheless a political technique which can appear in many different political phenomenons. Populism can be manifestation in articulation form as Mussolini fascism in Italia, Nazi in Germany, and political power of Jean Marie Le Pen in France or political left Fidel Castro in Kuba. Its populism movement can be expression variety and politics ideology as a political technique all of them use massive political mobilization model. While, In Indonesian populism movement appears and develops with Islamic civil society power. With development Islamic parties and appears Islamic defending 212 action as moment for Islamic populist which understood as effort for fixing of Islamic presumption of Indonesian which intolerant in public space and at once to awaken islam as power majority religion and having bis influence of developing democracy in Indonesia.

Case Aksi Bela Islam 212

Indonesia is multiculturalism nation, from cultural, ethnic, and religious, then Islamic power from political perspective can be exciting discussion for being studied. Pasca the power of Islamic reformation can be reached with there are Islamic parties which have role of dynamism of democracy in Indonesia, especially for Jakarta's people. Generally can be said that Jakarta as capital city is form of Indonesia society, where there is multiculturalism in the diversity of tribe, race, religion, and cultural. Therefore incident in Jakarta becomes attention for people of Indonesia; include governor election which held on 2017. Rare phenomenon happened in part Indonesia Muslims approaching in the last year of 2016 is appearance Islamic defending" action which successful to move many Muslims in Jakarta which looks surprising in many circles, actions appears on the background of presumption that Islam in Indonesia is intolerant Islamic role of certain groups.

Religion blasphemy appears when Jakarta political situation is near governor election in 2017, developing isn't being driven after speech of Basuki Tjahaja Puranama in Seribu's

Island, Jakarta which says don't want to be laid with al-Maidah letter page 51, when its record speech is being entered to social media. Its videos create controversy in the society which results anger of moeslim Indonesian which assume that Basuki Tjahja Purnama has broken al-Quran. Finally identity of sentiment appears to society and bear of Islamic defending action as happened on (4th of November 2016, 2nd of December 2016, 11th February 2017. 21th February 2017, 3rd March 2017, and 5th of May 2017). 212 action is Islamic defending action that goes on 2nd December 2016 has been successful to exciting many society. Its action was being presented by million moeslim from corners Indonesia. People went by spirit to Jakarta to for being participant in that action. There are people to rent bus or even just walk by feet in hundred kilometer. People value that was so long the low process of Basuki Tjahaja Purnama and because of him people did Islamic defending action.

Governor election in Jakarta on 2017 is becoming a political turning point identity in Indonesian. Issues sectarian which represented candidate primordial identity, so appeared to public. Mapping group identity based on tribe, religion, and ethnic, becoming estimation political winning which sometimes was been being measure in many people, from observer till be public discussion. In the top, difference Muslims and non-Muslims or indigenous or non-indigenous, to strong main focus to swipe a public for seeing governor candidate Jakarta based on primordial identity. In this issue, political hitting was being strongly mapped to figure Ahol-Djarot; especially Ahok was being judged as ethnic Tinghoa and non-Muslims.

Islamic populism is showed in "Islamic defending action" movement or "ullame defending action" which especially was done by middle class of muslim in Jakarta as basis in two form of its awareness. Firstly, awareness of class appears because 1) construction narrative there is space for muslim exclusively, 2) accessibility narrative of source of power. Secondly, identity awareness appears because 1) rationalism is still strongly enough because still focusing in spirit of affiliate and affinity of the same symbolic identity, 2) identity politics is alternative effort for tactics in logistic less and material with competitors other in certain political event. Both of form of its awareness which colors Islamic populism practice in Indonesian in live or indirectly.

As one of characteristic of democracy is basic of freedom to show aspiration in public space, certainly defending action is not something strange to happen in Indonesia. Circle of rotation political in capital city was so crowded in the last year of 2016 which was viscous with using religion in election period of authority with presumption to lift Islamic defending

action in surface. Present of Islamic populism bearer defending action in a series this five years of democracy party is not as interest supporter, but forwarding that Islamic populism is not contributing self in politics practice in 2017, Islamic defending action presents for straighten that islam in Indonesia now more uphold tolerance value and caring of developing Indonesian democracy.

Conclusion

It can be concluded that Islamic populism in Indonesia is part of the efforts of islamic society in providing awareness that Indonesian Islam has a high existence and influence on the state of democracy in Indonesia. 212 wave of islamic defense action has succeeded in attracting the attention of the national and even international community in viewing democracy in Indonesia which is wide open to all circles. Of course this has a tremendous impact on the progress of Indonesian Islamic populist which has succeeded in moving to the deepest niche of Muslims society to be aware of Islamic identity as the majority religion of Indonesia which has special attention to the state and development of Indonesian democracy.

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Role and Effect of Social Media toward Political Struggle
in Indonesia: 2012 – 2019

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Abstract

Since 2012, social media has become one of the instruments that have been giving big influence to the political scope in Indonesia. Social media as an instrument can determine the triumph of a candidate of district head, president and other political elite position. Social media can also works as a tool to disseminate information that is connected to the vision and mission or as a device of virtual campaign. Along with the times, social media also give negative impact that can drive the opinion of society which has objective characteristic especially the unready and unwise society in using social media as the virtual political device that is causing to the spread of hoax news that can provoke the society. Hence, the aims of this paper are: 1) to understand the history of the development of social media as an instrument of the political campaign in Indonesia; 2) to inform the benefit and deficiency of social media in political election in Indonesia; 3) to convey on how to use social media wisely to the social and political actors. Critical discourse analysis as a theory is used to analyze this phenomenon in order to explain the power of a political actor to influence society by social media. The data will be taken and convinced from analysis of literature resources such as books, journals, and reports from newspapers related to the politic and social media problems. Suggestion: use social media wisely and comprehend the media literation.

Keywords: *Media social, presidential election, campaign, media literation, hoax*

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A. Introduction

The development of times is taking the entire society to a revolution that is closely related to technology and information, which the revolution was inevitable and increasingly becoming sophisticated that gives positive and negative impacts on all layers of the global society, and Indonesia is no exception. Indonesia holds the status of a developing country, which its traditional form is still dominating in various matters includes farming, aquaculture to political matters that tends still to use cultural values adopted by the habits of local people also affected by the flow of globalization who tend to provide convenience in several matters but also provide new problems that have never been present before. Referring about the impact of technology and information revolution, this paper will focus on political issues especially in Indonesia. As we need to know, the impact related to the revolution is in the form of social media in which almost all circles of society have been using social media as one of their life necessities, no matter young or old[2]. One of the examples is resulted in a fantastic victory by US President Barack Obama in an election by using social media as one of ways to campaign[3]. As for Indonesia in 2012, a prospective mayor of the capital city of Jakarta, Joko Widodo, received brilliant results related to the use of social media as a tool in campaigning and propaganda. Since then, the result became a pioneer to the use of social media in the political sphere in Indonesia. Many benefits could be accomplished by the use of social media such as the ease of conveying vision and mission of the political elite candidates, it will be easy for the public to obtain information and other conveniences[4]. On the other hand it will also give negative impact on the society such as the spread of hoax news, people will easily be provoked and other things. Furthermore, this paper will discuss thoroughly on how the development of social media in political matters in Indonesia, its advantages and disadvantages to society and also how it should be used wisely so that it will give good impact.

. Theoretical Framework

Critical discourse analysis as a paradigm that comes from anlaysis theory is a power factor for a political actor to influence society by social media. The paradigm of *critical*

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[2]Herawan, Didit, Indonesia Internet Usage for Businies sector 2013.Jakarta: Indonesian Internet Service Provider Association,2013.

[3]P, Utomo , ''Considering Social Media in Political Marketing in Indonesia:Learn from Jokowi-Ahok in the 2012 Jakarta Election,'' social science and political science journals 17,no. 1 (2013): 73.

[4] J, R.Situmorang, ''Use of the Internet as a New Media in the Field of Politics, Business, Education and Socio Culture,'' *jurnal of University parayangan 8*, no.1 (2013): 76.

discourse analysis is actually rose from a theory called *Discourse Analysis* that has three paradigms in analyzing a problem which are; positivists, constructivists and criticisms[5]. These three parts are used in analyzing a problem that is closely related to the use of language in providing information that *discourse analysis* believes that the use of language in the spread of information is one of many ways to provide great power to make policy and also the situation in the midst of society by the *Critical discourse analysis* is one of the paradigms that is very strong rooted in providing responses to the problem, moreover, this analysis of *critical discourse* is well suited to be juxtaposed to the media problems that are rife in Indonesia because the government as having the authority can easily control the media and can also provide information freely with the use of language that is sometimes provocative. *Critical discourse analysis* is then functioning as one of the neutralizers in terms of language use, spread of information and also how to use social media in order to make a tidings. Thus, it does not cause provocation and tend to divide society, especially in the years ahead of the presidential election.

B. Research Question

What factors that can make social media campaign to become successfully used in Indonesia?

C. Discussion

Factors that led to the successful use of social media as a means of political communication.

As history has revealed related to the effectiveness of social media where the era began as what was called 'the evolution of internet' or better known as 'web 2.0', which since then, the use of social media to become a public communication tool. Initially, social media was only used to communicate individually such as schoolmates or co-partner, etc. But over time, social media began to plunge freely into the world of politics which was marked by the victory of President Barack Obama who was not only the elected president of African descent but also one president who was very aggressively using social media as a campaigning tool[6]. This is also the same as Joko Widodo in the case of using social media in Indonesia as a political tool and campaign in order of winning the political elite candidates. This has

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[5] Ghofur, A, ''CRITICAL DISCOURSE ANALYSYS A MODEL OF CRITICAL SOCIAL ANALYSIS IN MEDIA TEXT,'' *jurnal of University surabaya*10, no.2. (2017):178.
[6] Budiyono, ''Social Media and Political Communication: Social Media as Political Communication Towards DKI Jakarta Regional Election 2017,'' *Jurnal of communication11*, no.1. (2016):49.

increasingly becoming a trend for those who want to become political elites who occupy strategic positions such as the president, governor and regent. Moreover, it could be happen by several factors that make them believe using social media such as: Facebook, Instagram, Twitter and others as a means of winning. The factors are: 1. Easily spread of information, Candidates for legislative and executive members in Indonesia believe that with the use social media, it will be easier in providing information relating to their vision and mission to the society due to the fact that almost all of the society that have been using social media as a tool of communicating in their daily life[7]. 2. Low rates for using social media, by using social media, candidates only need editing services to attract attention or to provide information because they do not have to make bulletin boards, rent announcement pages and also information leaflets that will cost a lot . 3. Social Media have a great power, the proof of earlier winning in the international scope which is also proven by a historical event, namely arab spring while in Indonesia it is marked by the '212 action' where social media plays a major role in these two big moments. It is then believed that social media is a great power in the process of winning candidates for political elites at various levels[8].

Social media has always been interpreted as a double-edged knife that can give good impact on social media users from the political elite as well as those who consume information from the political elite, but on the contrary they can give very bad impact and even provoke to a big chaos. The advantages and disadvantages of social media are as follows:

Advantages : 1. Social media can provide education to political matters by using videos on how to politic in well and right to be shared on social media. 2. Social media can easily introduce candidates for legislative or executive members that will compete during the electoral process by using advertising pages available on social media due to the (some of) Indonesian lack in recognizing the potential leaders. 3. Social media can give big influence by using interesting contents that can make other people interested and also considered rational by the society.

Disadvantages: 1. with the use of social media, Indonesian people in general are too easily provoked without using analytical knife in dealing with information. Therefore, this

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[7] Supratman,Lucy ''Use of Social Media by Digital Native,'' *Jurnal of Communication studies15*, no.1. (2018): 49.

[8] A.R, Umar, ''Social Media and the Political Revolution: Re-Understanding The "Arab Spring" phenomenon in the Public Space Perspective,'' *jurnal of social of politic UGM 18*, no. 2. (2014):118.

can lead to hoax news that can spread easily in the midst of the society. *2*. As a result of the easy information access and two-way communication, the society tends to easily leave comment on things that are political and often leave conflicts between two party in political competition. *3*. With social media, the society tends to be instant human beings, especially in Indonesia. Indonesian is slowly but surely leave the literature in the form of books and tend to be addictive towards social media that can cause lack of critical thinking in addressing political issues[9].

D. Conclusion

Many problems that occur in Indonesia are caused by people who are not smart and wise enough in using social media, such as those who enter the cell because they accuse others until they are imprisoned for making an animation for one of the political leaders in Indonesia. Therefore, it is necessary for the society and also the political elite to understand how to use well and right the social media to give positive impact and certainly do not harm any parties. The ways to use social media wisely are in the following: *1*. *Use good content*, in social media, everything returns to itself as explained that social media is like a double-edged knife. It can be good and bad, so create content that provides information that can educate especially on political issues. *2*. *Estimating risk*, sometimes there are still many people who share their posts without thinking twice about the impact and consequences after they post this and that, but when they are caught up in new legal regulations, they have to responsible for what they have been done. However, from that, they can take the important lesson to think twice before doing something. *3*. *Implementation*, by combining the two ways above, it is expected that convenience will appear on social media that contains positive content with the posts that can provide education, inspiration and certainly not in the form of hoax that can be controversial issue and also create split in the political years in Indonesia. The three ways above are very suitable to the critical discourse analysis which is very concerned about how information should be given to the society and also how should the government which has full responsibility sometimes be able to master the existing availability in Indonesia itself. Moreover, Social media is a new and big power in the realm of politics, this cannot be ignored because it has been tested and proven that social media can lead to the period and support of a head of state. However, social media also has negative impact on Indonesian

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[9] M.M, Nurhaidah, ''LOW IMPACTS OF INTEREST READING THE INSTITUTIONS OF PGSD STUDENTS LAMPEUNEURUT BANDA ACEH AND HOW TO IMPROVE IT,'' *Jurnal of University syiah kuala1*,no.1 (2016):4.

people who are still lacking in literacy and not to understand how to use the social media wisely. in consequence, it is necessary to provide ways to use the social media properly so that the society does not fall for hoax news, not to provoked easily and does not create a split between society.

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Eeconomic Development under Asian-Style Authoritarianism

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Abstract

Despite the waves of democratization, the 21st century has witnessed the renaissance and evolution of non-democratic regimes across Asia through power consolidation, electoral means, and the so-called "Asian democracy" based on Asian cultural values. Indeed, despite the widespread challenges, authoritarian regimes cross Asia have proven their resilience and endurance more than anticipated and appear to partially craft a new geopolitical shift by proving that Western liberal democracy may not be the prerequisite condition for socio-economic development. Therefore, this paper aims to illuminate on the nexus between Asian-style authoritarian governments and their economic development through comparative analysis of three case studies, namely North Korea, Vietnam, and Singapore, all of which are considered to be under the authoritarian ruling of one dominant party. However, while North Korea's economy has long been stagnant, Singapore and Vietnam have been performing impressively. From identifying similarities and differences among three countries, one noticeable finding is that despite the negative connotation of the term "authoritarianism", authoritarianism together with Asian values can be beneficial for economic prosperity. Interestingly, this paper suggests that the "political recipe" to guarantee that economic development in the Asian context may need a few more ingredients which include authoritarian capitalism, a well-timed strategy for industrialization and a cohesive state structure. On the whole, this exploratory study is hoped to provide valuable information in the field of contemporary authoritarian politics and feasible implications for further research.

Keywords: *Authoritarianism, Asian values, economic development, Asian-style authoritarian*

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I. Introduction

Since the collapse of the Soviet Union in the late 20th century, the Western liberal-democratic project, namely *"civilisade"* – a secular liberal imperialism with the aim of bringing a revolutionary restructuring of politic and economic institutions to Asian states, has largely been promoted worldwide. Surprisingly, it seems that history has not been completely on their side. Particularly, in East and Southeast Asia with the majority of countries were rated as under authoritarianism by Freedom House 2018 Report. Evidently, the global political trajectory to promote universal liberty and democ[2]racy has not lived up to the expectations of Western adherents since the 21st century seems to be a "democratic a" more in theory than in practice. Indeed, despite the widespread challenges, authoritarian regimes cross Asia have proven to their resilience and endurance more than anticipated and are partially crafting a geopolitical shift (Connors 2018).

Interestingly, the past two decades have witnessed the renaissance and evolution of authoritarianism across Asia through the redux of "Asian cultural values" which paved the way for "Asian-style democracy" to prevail. In general, the main reason why Asian-style authoritarian governments can have fertile soil to grow in political landscape is mainly because of their potentials for economic prosperity. Hence, it is worth exploring the distinct characteristics of contemporary authoritarian regimes across the region through a comparative analysis of North Korea, Singapore, and Vietnam, all of which are considered as mostly content with mimicking democracy under the authoritarian incumbent (Marquez 2017).

To begin with, a brief description of authoritarian ruling in three countries will be given to serve as the grounds to understand what the current operation of each case regarding power preservation and electoral experience. Subsequently, the section on the nexus between Asian values and economic development will illuminate on why three countries established their own Asian-style authoritarian governments and why one regime can perform better socio-economic development than another.

II. Asian-style Authoritarian Regimes and Economic Development
1. Overview of Authoritarianism in North Korea, Singapore and Vietnam

With a view to discovering different types of authoritarian regimes across Asia-Pacific arena, this essay will consider *"authoritarianism"* as a catch-all term for referring to modern non-democratic regimes whose rulers routinely use their authority illegitimately, for example by abusing their authority through strong central power and limited political freedoms (Marquez 2017). Prior to

in-depth comparative analysis, a brief overview of the authoritarian system in practice in each country will be presented to serve as the reference.

	AUTHORITARIANISM OVERVIEW		
	North Korea	**Vietnam**	**Singapore**
Dominant Party	Korean Workers' Party (KWP)	Communist Party of Vietnam (CPV)	People's Action Party (PAP)
Types of elections	Single-party		Multiparty
Political Pluralism	Zero Pluralism	Limited Pluralism	
Type	Totalitarian	Hegemonic Authoritarian	Competitive Authoritarian
Ideology	Stalinism Communism	Socialism Communism	Capitalism Anti-communism
Economy	Centrally planned economy	Socialist-oriented market economy	Free-market economy

Source: Compiled by the author according to Marquez (2017), Morgenbesser (2016)

With regard to power exercise, as can be seen from the table above, the main difference can be seen between countries that practice *"totalitarianism"* (North Korea) and those practice *"competitive/hegemonic authoritarianism"* (Singapore, Vietnam). This separation lies in the extreme level of total control and ideological nature of their rule because authoritarian regimes do not seek to totally control the individuals (Schapiro 1972). Several distinct and independent groups can share political power but there are clear boundaries on which interests can be demonstrated and take part in the political process. In other words, totalitarianism can be considered as an extreme version of authoritarianism.

Another remarkable feature of authoritarian regimes in three countries is that elections are practiced as a tool of legitimacy and management for the incumbent with different degrees and control methods. The main similarity in four countries is that they all hold elections with the same functions to build up their democratic façade, which is conducted through making use of a dominant party under their authoritarian ruling.

2. Role of Asian-style Authoritarian Regimes on Economic Development

Authoritarianism and Asian Values

The final feature that emerge as a prevailing characteristic among three cases is the role of "*Asian values*" in legitimating authoritarian regimes and provide the conditions to boost socio-economic development. Before the in-depth comparative analysis, the discussion over the prevalence of Asian values will be illuminated. By definition, Asian values was a political ideology based on Confucian communitarian perspective and based on the commonality of Asian societies. As pointed out by De Bary (1998) and Neher (1995), the main features of Asian values can be both consistent and paradoxical with democracy at the time. On one hand, Asian values can capitalize on social harmony, political stability, and collective well-being of community towards socio-economic development. On the other hand, Asian values also underline hierarchy and reverence for the authority, both of which create favorable condition for authoritarianism.

Regarding the connection between Asian values and authoritarianism in Asia, particularly four investigated countries, it can be concluded that the so-called "*Asian values*" with collectivism and communitarianism tend to be used to support Asian-style authoritarian governments (De Bary 1998) and are considered to be appropriate for the region than Western liberal democracy which emphasizes individualism (Thompson 2004). Indeed, proponents of Asian values have claimed that Western-style liberal democracy is neither suitable for nor compatible with Asian cultural context, where collective welfare, a sense of duty, and other principles of Confucian moral philosophy are deeply rooted (Zakaria and Yew 1994). According to Connors (2018), when it comes to wave of democratization, several states ideologically mobilized against Western liberal democracy promotion. Instead, they promoted Asian values and Asian forms of democracy which denounced Western interference, Western value systems, liberal versions of democracy and human rights (Christie and Roy 2001).

Another link between Asian values and Asian authoritarianism is the political formula or specific conditions that authoritarian regimes can deliver beneficial policies for the people. Particularly, economic miracles in East Asian countries have paved the way to the argument that authoritarian regimes under particular conditions can still make rational policy decisions for successful economic development. This contradicts with common belief of *Modernization Theory* which argued that the progressive transition from pre-modern to modernized nation can only be achieved through adopting the same linear development pathway of Western developed countries (Rodan, Hewison, and Robinson 2006). It means that for a country to have economic development, it must achieve a Western liberal democracy first. However, economic development in East Asian countries have provided empirical examples that democracy may not be prerequisite condition for

economic development. To illustrate, under specific cultural conditions, the more authoritarian political system would be preferable and favorable for economic development rather than the democratic government (Zakaria and Yew 1994). For example, Singapore under Lee Kuan Yew or South Korea under Park Chung Hee have witnessed growth success under authoritarianism. Despite the lack of democracy, these regimes typically have better institutions to collect and analyze information properly, to allocate resources productively, and to adjust policy as circumstances change (Marquez 2017). All in all, as the latecomer in development pathway, for Asian countries to achieve economic prosperity, they may not follow the same pattern as their Western counterparts. In fact, economic development might come first before democracy can be achieved.

The "Political Recipe" for Economic Development

All Asian-style authoritarian governments in three countries persist in their ideological democracy and collectivism of Asian values with North Korea under Kim Family, Singapore under Lee Kuan Yew, and Vietnam under CPV. The characteristics of democracy that is articulated within these regimes comprise of having a strong leader who aggressively represses pluralistic contests and forges national visions and goals that are claimed to benefit all. Indeed, the principle of collectivism – to unify people for their economic and social good were reinforced and practiced rigorously under these regimes, creating a pan-Asian identity (Connors, Davison, and Dosch 2018).

However, despite using economic growth under Asian authoritarian regime as an excuse to legitimate their governments, each country experienced different levels of socio-economic development under the authoritarian ruling. Therefore, this paragraph aims to compare different *political recipes* that differentiate the influential level of Asian values towards socio-economic development under authoritarian regimes between North Korea and Singapore, Vietnam; and between Singapore and Vietnam.

On one hand, North Korea under Kim Family exercised pure communist ideology with central planning economy through national self-reliance, self-sufficiency, and collectivization, resulting in severe poverty, widespread famine, corruption, kleptocracy, and squandered opportunity (Marquez 2017). On the other hand, Singapore under Lee Kuan Yew and Vietnam since 1986 (with the economic reforms Doi Moi) practiced capitalist system and free market economy under the authoritarian political system of the one dominant party – the PAP in Singapore and the CPV in Vietnam. This model has been conceptualized as *"authoritarian capitalism"* that outshines as a non-western-style democratic model that can produce genuine economic development. Empirically, while Singapore has lifted its position from "Third World to First", enjoying a high standard of living, peace, and prosperity (Morgenbesser 2016), Vietnam has transformed from a low-income nation to become a middle-income country, becoming one of the world's fastest-growing economies, and

lifting millions from poverty with a well-recognized averaging annual growth of 7 % (Reporter 2018). In short, the main ingredient that separates two recipes in practice of two groups is whether the authoritarian regimes adapt and alter Western market capitalism into its local Asian cultural conditions.

However, Vietnam socio-economic development is still considerably behind that of Singapore due to two main reasons: timing and state structure. Firstly, Vietnam, as a latecomer in industrialization process and under the legacy of a Stalinist central planning economy, Vietnam's state seems to be more reluctant to relinquish its control over the commanding heights of the economy (Vu 2010, Masina 2005, 2010). The state intervention in the economy was generally demonstrated since its very first days of independence and reunification in 1975. Remarkably, while Vietnam called itself a socialist state, it started to practice the model of free market capitalism since the economic reforms Doi Moi in 1986 under the authoritarian political systems of single-party regime – the Communist Party. Apparently, Vietnam's commitment towards socialist ideology by calling its economic strategy as "socialist market economy" hindered it to become as friendly toward capitalists as Singapore. Consequently, the capitalist growth rate in Vietnam were slower than that of Singapore. Besides, due to the late participation in world trade, Vietnam's promotion of trade liberalization and privatization was also slower than that of Singapore.

Secondly, the architect of Singapore's success under Lee Kuan Yew is mainly thanks to the long-term strong state structure which includes cohesive bureaucracy, centralized government, pro-growth class alliance and well-thought-out development policies (Vu 2010). Indeed, along the modernization and industrialization, Singaporean state has played an integral part in intervening in economic affairs to boost economic prosperity by providing choosing and promoting skilled bureaucrats based on merit to work for the ruling party. Singapore's system of meritocracy, which is built on principle of ethical and moral norms, has laid foundation for a social order that can navigate the talented people to work by the societal discipline (under Asian values) for the common good of the whole society. Indeed, the practice of Asian values with merit-based system helps Singapore to achieve civilian obedience to governmental guidance and raised awareness in the citizens of responsibility to contribute to national development, leading to a high collective efficiency (Neher 1995). Hence, when putting Singapore and Vietnam on the scale, Singapore would stand out as a more accountable, deliberative and institutionalized regimes in terms of practicing Asian values to navigate socio-economic development.

III. Conclusion

Through a comparative analysis of authoritarianism in North Korea, Singapore and Vietnam, there are noticeable points in the characteristics of three authoritarian countries and the proposed criteria for Asian-style authoritarian regimes to accomplish economic development.

In terms of authoritarian feature, three countries practice the same method to consolidate, legitimate, exercise and preserve their power through repress political opposition. The main difference is the extreme level of total control and ideological nature of their rule. On the other hand, with regard to electoral experience, by holding elections, three authoritarian regimes can manifest a faux democratic façade at both national and international level, particularly to collect information, pursue legitimacy, manage political elites.

Regarding economic prosperity, considering Asian values, all three countries (North Korea, Singapore, and Vietnam) established their own *Asian*-style authoritarian governments which uphold communitarianism, collectivism, and non-Western democracy. The main difference lies in the political formula that each country uses to foster their socio-economic development. Apparently, Singapore and Vietnam with authoritarian capitalism in practice has proven to be more effective and beneficial for national development than North Korea. However, Singapore is more superior than Vietnam as the pioneer in applying Western market capitalism within the region and by applying a more cohesive strong state system based on meritocracy.

In conclusion, against the backdrop of unpredicted wave against democratization in the 20th century, it appears that the contemporary authoritarian regimes in 21st century across Asia will still in operation and on the rise, probably mainly under democratically disguised dictatorship with economic development as its justification. Indeed, Brooker (2014) predicted that there is a high possibility that the future scenario would be the continuation of present authoritarian trend with probably more diverse forms of ideology, dictatorship, and competition. Therefore, in the long run, it would be worth taking into consideration that political scientists should "forever try to catch up with history, elaborating theories explaining why what has happened had to happen" (Huntington, 1991, p.26) to be able to perform an in-depth and cutting-edge analysis over the complexity of authoritarianism.

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Is Democracy Good for Peace?

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Abstract

100 years since the end of World War I (11/11/1918), humanity has gone through many ups and downs, including the brutal Second World War (1939-1945). However, the world trend seems to be becoming more peaceful and increasingly democratic. Are these two phenomena interconnected? The democratic peace theory gives us an answer. According to that, while full democratization might advance the cause of peace, limited democratization might advance the cause of war.

Keywords: *democratic, peace, selectorate theory*

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Literature review

The democratic peace theory is one of the doctrines of international relations that have an important influence on the practice of policymaking by the great leaders of the world.

The focus of the doctrine is the notion that democracies never (or almost never) engage in military confrontation. This obviously does not make democracy less or less "hawkish", but at least the corresponding democratic nations will not be too aggressive with the idea of fighting. The United States, in its history of less than 250 years of history, has almost always been involved in a war somewhere in the world, but few of them involve democracies.

Backed up by extensive statistical studies, democracy-based peace is widely acknowledged in the academic world as well as among diplomats and heads of state. A 2015 study by the International Journal of Peace International[2] published the following table.

Table I. Summary statistics on the outcome of interactions from 1,000 runs of the benchmark parameterization

	Mean	Std. dev.
Democracy–democracy war (%)	2.40	0.66
Democracy–autocracy war (%)	27.91	9.90
Autocracy–autocracy war (%)	69.91	19.07
Overall war (%)	35.74	4.69
Democracy defeats autocracy (%)	62.98	5.89

Considering the differences between democracies and autocracy, statistics show that interactions and disputes between democracies are only 2.4% to war. Between democracy and tyranny, this percentage is 27.91%. The "belligerent" champion belongs to the conflict and the conflict between totally despotic governments, with 69.91%.Not only that, it is not difficult to realize that the war led by dictators and tyrant governments is likely to cause greater casualties.

The war between Iran and Iraq (1980 - 1988) lasted eight years and more than a million were taken away. Launched by Iraqi President Saddam Hussein, against a new radical Islamic state in Iran, the war is an indisputable example of the horrendous impact of wars between wars. Compared to another war in the Middle East, the "Six-Day War" in June 1967 between a democratic Israel and a

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[2] Andrew W Bausch, 2015, p.p 435-477, *Democracy, war effort, and the systemic democratic peace*, SAGE Publication.

coalition of dictatorial Arab states, with a quick victory in Israel. Death (including death and injury) is limited to 30 people. Or, with a closer battle, the "fraternal brotherhood" between two dictatorial forces, Pol Pot Cambodia and Vietnam, lasted from 1978 and ended one year later (but followed by occupation It was enough to take the lives of at least 55,000 Vietnamese soldiers, equivalent to the total number of American soldiers killed in the Vietnam War. This figure does not include casualties on the Cambodian side.

There is a clear difference in tactics and methods of military use between the two political institutions. But what makes the difference? According to Professor Bueno de Mesquita of the University of New York, the popular electoral system makes it possible for democratic politicians to carefully consider all the issues involved in launching the war. He argues that politicians who want to be popular and re-elected must win in every war, if both politicians come from democracies engaging in armed conflict, they will Do your best to win. The price to pay for such victories is not cheap to the economy, manpower and national politics. So, naturally, they would certainly prefer to negotiate with each other instead of using gunboats.[3]This also means that when the war is imperative and inevitable, the governments of democracies will do everything possible to minimize casualties. The ultimate goal of war is not to kill to the last breath, but to force the parties to continue negotiating. The United States and the Vietnam War are typical of the reservations of democracies in the war.

Contrary to these issues, we have the dictatorial mind, the totalitarian regime in the war. Uninhibited by the branches of state power, with a domestically controlled public opinion, wars are sometimes a way to maintain power and unite the people. The casualties are hidden, property losses are labeled state secrets and newspapers only provide the information they are allowed, not difficult to war as an international dispute resolution tool. It is acceptable for such countries.

Due to the above characteristics of democratic peace, the United States applied this doctrine strongly. Democracy through advocacy has a particularly strong influence on neo-classical thinkers and civil servants shaping US foreign policy following the Sept. 11 terrorist attacks. The belief that a region of turbulent, disorganized and tame Middle East-style democracies will lead to a more pro-Western tendency and that democracy-based doctrine will work. At least that is what the Bush administration expects.

Going to the origins of the theory of peace through democracy, we have the famous German philosopher Immanuel Kant introducing the concept of "perpetual peace," something that can be achieved through adjusting the relationship between republican states (See also SAGE Key Concepts in International Relations). He emphasized that the republic, with characteristics of division of powers and republican regimes, would be less inclined to wage war rather than non-republic regimes. Kant also argues that democracy and the republic not only make the republics less aggressive, they also prevent them from conflicting with non-democratic states. This view is not accurate when rich and modern

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[3] Bruce Bueno de Mesquita, James D. Morrow, et al, 1999, vol. 93, issue 04, 791-807, *An Institutional Explanation of the Democratic Peace*, American Political Science Review.

democracies in modern and modern history prefer to fight with totalitarian states.[4] Not only that, many writers suggest that the development of trade and economic interdependence at the present level is the creation and maintenance of peace, not democracy. In a study carried by Professor Erik Gartzke of the University of California-San Diego[5], he argues that economic processes, the rise of further trade ideas, Today's high economic growth is truly the source of contemporary peace. He calls this capitalist peace.

Is it true that democracy has lost its influence to world peace? Is China's and Vietnam's open economic policy (without political reform) a good policy for economic development and the maintenance of world peace? Writer does not think so.

In the end, the flow of capital, free trade, belongs to the concept of freedom, which is the foundation of every democratic country. It has been limited by the persistence of proletarian governments. Recognizing the flow of capital and the benefits of free trade is the reception of the historical achievements of democratic economies, and the driving force behind the process of democratization.

On the national level, to have peace and be more democratic, a country needs to be more tolerant. Tolerance means that countries must accept pluralism. The pluralism here is not only cultural pluralism, pluralistic linguistics, but also pluralistic ideology, pluralistic ideology. Enemies of pluralism are dogmatism, extremism, and totalitarianism which are all enemies of tolerance and therefore, the enemy of a living nation. Does anyone really want to live in a country of dogma, of extremism, of dictatorship? A tolerant nation opens to views and diversity. In a country of tolerance there is no difference because diversity makes the word "difference" meaningless. Each individual in the community is an independent, unique, and colorful entity. The color of their skin is not so important, the diversity of the culture becomes interest of the children, the difference in languages is the opportunity to learn, and the critical thinking is the contributing factor of development.

But where will be the limit of tolerance? Bertrand Russell has given a definition of the limits of tolerance: "Tolerance to thought means not punishing the existence of such thoughts until it causes a crime." Because freedom of thought is an absolute freedom, there is no excuse for any excuse. However, if the thought leads to criminal acts then it will be the limit of tolerance.

We cannot forget the famous saying of Martin Luther King that "What Hitler did in Germany was legal, and everything the Hungarian freedom fighters did in Hungary was illegal." Look at it to understand that the limits of tolerance cannot be limited to meaningless rules. Written legislation has never been a measure of tolerance, but only a spirit of democracy and a love of peace and freedom.If someone opposes the laws passed through a democratic, transparent way by prominent voters, then tolerance could not reach them. On the contrary, then, the spirit of tolerance forces us to pursue the struggle to the end against such violations. But if a law is made in a non-democratic, non-freeway, because voters have no choice in the elections, then tolerance forces us to oppose the law itself.

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[4]Thomas Diez , Ingvild Bode, et al., 2011, *Key Concepts in International Relations*, SAGE Publications Ltd.
[5] Erik Gartzke, 2007, pp. 166-191, *The Capitalist Peace*, Midwest Political Science Association.

The last core of tolerance is to help each person be proud of themselves, their identity and differences. No one can be happy if one has to live another's life, or live as another. And the law in a tolerant country goes the same way. Thus, the limit of tolerance is none other than acts against that tolerance itself. What if it was not anti-free behavior, anti-human rights, anti-democratic? No one is allowed to tolerate the contrary. A tolerant nation open to the difference but never weak against the enemy of tolerance.Imagine a country like that, a tolerant republic country. Is not that a living country? And if worldly tolerance shines, then will the earth become more alive?

Thomas More once described such a society of tolerance in his famous book "Utopia". To death, he also forced the King of England to practice tolerance in religion. What More wrote so elves, so overdone that people took the name of his book to utopianism. But that's the story of More's age, 500 years ago. The world has gone through so many events and mankind has grown a lot since More wrote Utopia. UNESCO representatives in drafting the Declaration of Tolerance in 1995 must have been really dreamy people. They dream of a world without war and peace with the throne of tolerance. That would be a real life worth living.

Conclusion

In today's world, dealing with cross-border causes of conflict requires strong institutions for the support of global peace, which can provide channels for countries to communicate with each other and address their grievances before they escalate. The United Nations stands at the center of this effort. Yet it should be obvious to everyone that the global system for maintaining peace is in dire need of a makeover.

In 2015, the world agreed to pursue a joint sustainable development agenda, with 17 ambitious goals that range from ending poverty and hunger to promoting economic growth and clean energy consumption. The whole agenda was indeed built under the premise of "leaving no one behind," and it created concrete and measurable actions to pursue inclusiveness which has been a sign of tolerance. Notably, Sustainable Development Goal 16, which advances peace, justice and strong institutions, commits countries to ensure inclusive decision-making at all levels.

In economic fields, with new free-trade agreements or new-generation free trade agreements (FTAs and IIAs), they are gradually integrating and protecting basic civil rights such as the right to form associations and unions, the right to guarantee procedures due process, environmental rights or access to information... democracy is still justified in explaining the phenomenon and shaping the world in the future.

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The Influences of Social Media on Indonesia's Electoral Campaign of 2019

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Abstract

Social Media has a huge influence on the election campaign in Indonesia. This is because social media plays an important role in the process of political communication. In addition, social media also makes it easier for election participants to more easily communicate with their potential voters. However, the current election is disrupted by the emergence of the phenomenon of identity politics by utilizing the issues of Tribe, Race and Religion in Indonesia. So that these problems cause various problems that are spread on social media such as the number of Hoax news and utterances of hatred as a form of the Black Campaign through social media as a means to campaign. Therefore, the idea in this paper is to create a concept in the form of efforts to solve the problem of using indetity politics through social media so that social media can have a positive influence on the election campaign in Indonesia in 2019.

Keywords: *Social Media, Election Campaign, Indonesia, Problems, Identity Politics, Positive Influence.*

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A. Background of Study

Social media plays an important role in the process of political communication. Its interactive nature allows the process of political communication to be carried out more intensely. This certainly needs our common concern, the extent to which the use of social media as a political tool is ahead of the 2019 general election.

The implementation of elections is currently disrupted by the emergence of the phenomenon of identity politics by utilizing the issues of Tribe, Race, and Religion in Indonesia. This indirectly affects the constituents who use their voting rights based on group interests. The idea in this paper is to create a concept in the form of efforts to solve the problem of using identity politics through social media in order to take the voice of sympathizers. This is motivated by several urgency issues.

First, the relationship between elections and identity politics. This is because there is an expression of "All politics is identity" which lately appears to describe the phenomenon of contemporary world politics, especially Indonesia (Laode Machdiani Afala, *Politik Identitas di Indonesia", 2018*). The term political identity is understood as the participation of individuals in politics on behalf of certain social groups (Liliana mason and Nicholas T Davis, "*A Broader Approach to Identity Politics socio- Partisan Sorting and the Deepening", 2015*). In the election campaign that is currently happening in Indonesia, identity politics is a method used by a particular group in gaining votes in the campaign. So that the relationship between the election campaign and the use of identity politics is very close in Indonesia.

Secondly, the issue of identity politics through social media. So far the historical aspects have shown the phenomenon of identity politics in Indonesia. This phenomenon has confirmed the existence of fundamental problems that have not been resolved in the abuse of the problems of the diversity of the Indonesian nation. Along with technological developments, the issue of identity politics began to enter the world of social media, and even this issue of identity politics was used most massively through social media. This has a very broad impact considering that there are very many social media users in Indonesia. Currently, in Indonesia there are 132.7 million internet users, of which 130 million are active social media users (Detikinet.com, 2018). So that the issue of identity politics greatly influences the course of elections in Indonesia.

Third, regarding the impact of using social media. Lately, there have been a lot of problems that are the impact of using social media. The impact of using social media under the pretext of spreading Sara issues often raises false or hoax news.

The circulation of news on social media news hoaxes has a very broad impact on society. There are many news hoaxes and also speeches of hatred directed at candidates for 2019 elections in Indonesia.

Moreover, many Indonesian people who believe in the hoax news which the news of the hoax spread and believed by most social media users in Indonesia. Based on the explanation, then these problems need to be resolved. The upcoming general election in 2019 will be a political year that needs to be watched out so that there will be no elections that can cause divisions in the community and trigger the disintegration of the nation.

B. Discussion

The implementation of the election itself is a consequence of the principle of representative democracy adopted in Indonesia. Circulation of power is determined by elections which is a concrete answer to people's participation in determining leaders and representatives in state institutions. Therefore, elections are an absolute requirement in a democratic system (Jimly Asshidqie, *Pokok-Pokok Hukum Tata Negara Indonesia Pasca Reformasi*, Cetakan Kedua, 2008). Organizing elections is a necessity in the contestation of democracy as a process of transitioning the start of a *new periodic* of a government (Khelda Ayunita, *Hukum Tata Negara Indonesia*, 2016).

As an effort to prevent and resolve the phenomenon of the use of Tribe, Race and Religion issues in the contestation of organizing especially in the upcoming elections. Then it is necessary to see it from various forms of the legal system perspective, as a consequence of the rule of law. A legal system, consisting of institutional elements, rules of instruction (instrumental), a behavior of legal subjects who carry rights and obligations which have been determined by the legal norms. A good legal system will result in a good state administration.

In the substance aspect, the Election Law has provided a prohibition on the form of humiliation, or something that is not appropriate to be carried out in the conduct of elections as a step to prevent and resolve the use of identity politics.

However, in the structural aspect, the government through the Election Supervisory Agency still has weaknesses in several matters that need to be addressed. On the other hand, there is a problem with the legal culture of the society that requires an understanding of the basic norms of the rules themselves (Jimly Asshidqie, *Konstitusi Bernegara: Praksis Kenegaraan Bermartabat dan Demokratis*, 2015).

Therefore, there must be continuous efforts to build a legal culture as well as the implementing structure of the law itself. This is what can then be used as the basis for the development of inclusive groups involved in participatory ways to determine the direction for mutual progress (Acemoglu, Daron dan James A.Robinson, *Why Nations fail: the Origins of power, prosperity, and poverty*). The implementation of the Inclusive social group is carried out through the mechanism of several important roles of the government through the following steps:

1. **Granting administrative sanctions against perpetrators of Campaign violations**

   The affirmation of the role of the government to be independent is important to guarantee democracy, otherwise, it can be misused by the ruling government solely to perpetuate its power. As the holder of policy power, the government has forced power against other parties. The role of the government, in this case, is carried out by the Election Supervisory Board, which the Election Supervisory Agency should be more responsive in regulating the rule of the game for elections. The Election Supervisory Board is expected to make a legal breakthrough by preparing a legal umbrella in the technical domain through Election Supervisory Agency Regulations.

   One of them is accommodating the investigative authority for the Election Supervisory Board which is balanced with training, and applying structured, systematic and massive administrative violation sanctions (Idntimes.com, 2018). The administration of administrative sanctions is not only limited to the candidates for the election but is extended to every individual who spreads the Hoax news and utterances of hatred on social media. So that the government can take administrative sanctions against every individual who commits campaign violations on social media. This

is because in the article 280 election regulation Law No. 7 of 2017 only regulates that sanctions will be given to eligible participants.

Whereas, currently the impact of using social media is very broad and not only election participants are spreading campaigns but all supporters and even some people campaign against their chosen campaign partner pairs.

2. **Election Supervisory Board makes a Memorandum of Understanding with the Social Media parties**

The Election Supervisory Board as an institution Government has the authority to regulate the course of democratic parties in Indonesia. One of its functions is to regulate the course of the election campaign on social media. This is unavoidable because now the campaign pattern of the election participants is not the same as the traditional method which is commonly called *Door to Door*, but now the election campaign has changed which is currently the election campaign using social media facilities. This is because social media is considered more effective and also with cheaper and easier campaign costs. But keep in mind that social media is a place without certain limitations.

So now what is happening in Indonesia is the number of Black Campaigns carried out by some people by spreading the Hoax news and utterances of hatred. Therefore, the Government through the need to make an MoU with parties from social media such as Twitter, Facebook, Instagram, which contains that parties from social media will filter and delete all posts or reviews from its users which enters into related matters with identity politics that tries to bring the Tribe, Race and Religion issues and also contains hate speech and Hoax news that are not known the real truth. This was done to prevent the emergence of things that could threaten the Integration of the Indonesian Nation.

3. **Building the principle of Humanity Paradigm and Media Setting Agenda**

Build a humanity paradigm that recognizes the existence of other people as equal human beings. This can be done by social media, the role

of social media in political power is inevitable that social media is directly involved with political events and then shapes public opinion.

Indonesian people must instill education about the humanity paradigm which aims to form a society that recognizes the existence of other people as equal human beings not by discriminating based on ethnicity, race, and religion.

This is to prevent the occurrence of adverse impacts that occur in the future. Then also social media can function as an agenda for media settings (Ibnu Hamad, *Konstruksi Realitas Politik dalam Media Massa*, 2004). Media setting agenda as a function of media to show the ability to choose and emphasize certain issues because the issue is considered important by the public and needs to be conveyed to the public (Toemy Suprapto, *Pengantar Ilmu Komunikasi*, 2006). Therefore, based on the social media function, it is hoped that it will be able to transform humanity values in social media that provide fundamental education for the Indonesian people so that they can manage social media wisely and wisely especially in the upcoming election campaign in 2019.

C. Conclusion

In conclusion from the problems that are being faced by the Indonesian Government towards the use of social media against election campaigns, we realize that social media has a very important role and also has such a large influence on the election campaign. So, in this study, the steps that need to be taken by the government are 2, namely by prevention (prevention) and repressive (repression). Both actions must be carried out simultaneously. The government must take preventive measures in the form of making regulations regarding matters that are prohibited in the election campaign, especially in social media. Then, the government must also provide sanctions as a form of repression against anyone who has violated the pattern of regularity in election campaigns through social media based on applicable legal rules because Indonesia is a legal state.

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Study of 4th Generation NPP Analysis in Providing Energy to Encourage National Economic Growth

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Abstract

Energy is one of the supporting factors for economic growth and public welfare. Electricity needs from year to year are increasing. This increase is parallel with the increasing pace of economic growth, the rate of population growth and the rapid development of the industrial sector. The aim of the study is to find out the prospect of nuclear power plants as a national energy provider in order to encourage the pace of economic growth and public welfare. The used method is literature review and refers to various studies related to the prospect of nuclear power plants and national energy policies. The results of the study indicate that to meet the increase in electricity demand it would be difficult if it relies on fossil energy as limited resources. Therefore, one of important steps that must be taken is to find other alternative resources. The selection of alternative power plants must be considered from several aspects, including aspects of energy availability, technical aspects, safety aspects, social aspects, economic aspects and environmental aspects. Those aspects are be able to be fulfilled by some renewable energy and the most competent is 4th generation NPP. Because of that consideration, the technology of 4th generation NPP is safe, capable, clean, reliable, environmentally friendly, and economical.

Keywords: *4th Generation NPP, Providing Energy, National Economy*

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Introduction

The role of energy is very important in the growth of the Indonesian economy, both as fuel for the industrialization process and as a raw material for the production process and as an export commodity which is a source of foreign exchange. Because of the importance of this role, the development process cannot be separated from the development of the energy sector. Energy demand keeps increasing along with economic growth. To meet energy demand, energy resources need to be developed, both in the form of non-renewable fossil energy (petroleum, gas) and renewable energy (nuclear energy, water energy, and geothermal energy). In managing the energy sector for the long term it is necessary to carry out integrated planning on the development of energy resources in order to guarantee long-term energy availability. Based on the plan, it needs support from the policy to be able to realize the application of energy technology to meet energy needs that are environmentally friendly and sustainable at affordable prices. Considering fossil energy resources in Indonesia, especially petroleum, are limited, it is necessary to save and optimize their used energy. The government in order to optimize the use of energy resources has released general policies in the energy sector which has include policies on diversification, intensification, conservation, energy prices, and the environment[2]. This policy continues to experience improvements in accordance with current conditions. National Energy Policy (KEN) is a general policy in the energy sector issued by the government in 2004. KEN is expected to be an integrated policy to support sustainable national development[3].

Parallel with the policy measures in the energy sector as mentioned above, important steps need to be taken in order to prepare alternative strategies in the energy sector which are a determining pattern of national energy development in the future to support Indonesia's economic growth. In this paper a discussion of nuclear options is presented as an alternative energy source by considering several important aspects related to the prospects and potential to support national electricity needs in the future.

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[2]National Energy Coordination Agency (BAKOREN), Kebijaksanaan Umum Bidang Energi (KUBE), (Jakarta, 1998), 25.

[3]The Ministry of Energy and Mineral Resources of the Republic of Indonesia, *Kebijakan Energi Nasional 2003-2020*, (Jakarta: Departement Energy and Mineral Resources, 2004), 52.

Problems

Energy and Environments

Development activities in the energy sector, from providing to utilizing has the potential to give a negative impact on changes in function living environment. Energy use can cause pollution because of waste solid, liquid waste, and emissions from burning fossil energy such as: particles, SO2, NOx, and Carbon Dioxide (CO2). The relationship between the environment and energy at first is not considered as an important thing. But along with increasing this industrialisation problem then it receive a great attention.

Energy for sustainable development can be achieved by providing universal access to a cost-effective mix of energy resources compatible with different needs and requirements of various countries and regions. This should include giving a greater share of the energy mix to renewable energies, improving energy efficiency and greater reliance on advanced energy technologies, including fossil fuel technologies. Policies relating to energy for sustainable development intended to promote these objectives will address many of the issues of economic and social development as well as facilitate the responsible management of environmental resources.

Results and Discussions

To reach sustainable development energy, it is necessary to create the policy which encourages independence resources, technology, and human resources. Financial independence can be achieved if it is be able to defray the operational provision and the use of national energy. Technology independence must be carried out through a long stage. The initial stage is to improve national technological capabilities in the supply of goods and services in the energy sector so that the national content of national technology in the goods or services is getting bigger. While the independence of human resources (HR) can be achieved by continuing to improve the capacity of domestic human resources in the energy sector that actively involve the community.

4th Generation NPP As Alternative

The 4th generation nuclear power plant is a promising solution to realize national energy independence because the 4th generation nuclear power plant is a safe and clean energy source, and is very economically valuable, with very large fuel potential even though the construction value is also large.

Potential Uranium Reserves in Indonesia[4]

The result of mapping of uranium reserves is carried out by the Nuclear Geological Development Center (PPGN) - BATAN an it is shown in Table 1, Indonesia has around 70,000 tons of U3O8 (yellow cake) uranium reserves. The distribution of uranium reserves in Indonesia is measured, indicated, inferred, hypothetically, spread fairly in several parts of Indonesia. Most of the uranium reserves are mostly in West Kalimantan, some in Papua, Bangka Belitung and West Sulawesi.

Table 1. The mapping of uranium reserves[3].

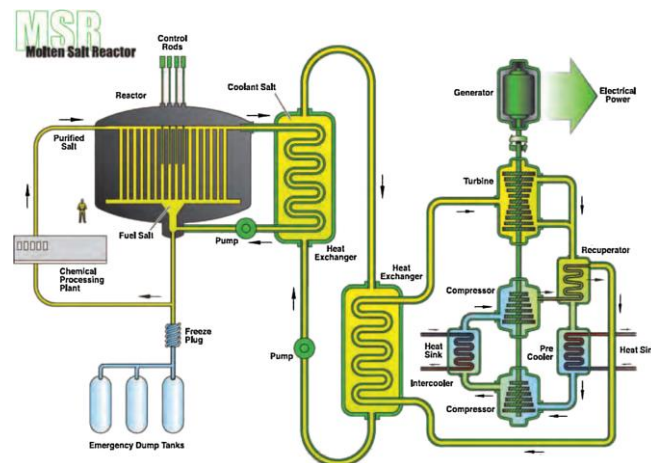| Items	Total (ton)
Measured	1.608
Indicated	6.456
Inferred	2.648
Hypothetically	59.288
Total	70.000

MSR Technology (IV-Generation NPP)

Fig 1. Schematic representation of a typical Molten Salt Reactors[5]

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[4] Magister of Physics Student, *Diktat Pengantar Sains Energi*, (Bandung: Bandung Institute of Technology, 2018), 72

[5] B.M. Elsheikh, *Safety assessment of molten salt reactors in comparison with light water reactors*, Journal of Radiation Research and Applied Sciences 6, (2013): 64, http://dx.doi.org/10.1016/j.jrras.2013.10.008

Today the development of nuclear power plant technology has reached the stage of research and development of Generation IV nuclear power plants (advanced reactor systems) which are innovative developments from previous generation nuclear power plants. There are six types of Generation IV power reactors, namely: Very High Temperature Reactor (VHTR), Sodium-cooled Fast Reactor (SFR), Fast Reactor (GFR), Lead-cooled Fast Reactor (LFR), Molten Salt Reactor (MSR) and Super Critical Water cooled Reactor (SCWR). IV-generation nuclear power plants have competitiveness that is quite competitive with other renewable energy. In preparation for technology development for Generation IV nuclear power plants, several countries incorporated in the Generation IV International Forum (GIF) and conducting research on generation IV nuclear power plants have set goals for Generation IV nuclear energy systems, as shown in Table 2.

Table 2. Purpose of the 4th Generation Nuclear Energy System[6]

No	Aspects	Goals
1	Sustainability	a. Providing sustainable energy generation to provide clean air and improve the long-term availability of the system and use of fuel effectively for energy production worldwide.
		b. Minimizing short-term and long-term management of nuclear waste, so as to improve protection for public health and the environment
2	Economics	a. Has advantages in terms of operational costs compared to other energy sources.
		b. Have a level of financial risk that is competitive with other plants.
3	Safety and Reliability	a. Has advantages in the field of security and reliability.
		b. Has a very low probability of core reactor damage.
		c. Reducing the need for emergency handling outside the location
4	Proliferation Resistance and	a. Increasing guarantees that nuclear power plants are

[6]GEN IV International Forum, "*A Technology Roadmap for Generation IV Nuclear Energy Systems*", United States Departement Of Energy – Nuclear Energy Research Advisory Committee and the Generation IV International Forum, (United States of America, 2014), 14-16

Physical Protection	safer against theft of nuclear weapons materials, and providing increased physical protection against acts of terrorism.

One type of IV-generation nuclear power plant that is being investigated to be applied in Indonesia is the MSR type, which is shown in Figure 1. MSR is a type of nuclear power plant that is different from conventional nuclear power plants because MSR has fluid fuel.

The advantages and disadvantages of MSR compared to conventional nuclear power plants are shown in table 3. MSR generation costs are lower than conventional nuclear power plants, because MSR operates almost close to atmospheric pressure so that structural materials are much simpler, higher energy efficiency, lower fuel costs and handling simpler fuel. The salt-cooled reactor also allows it to be operated at higher temperatures, so that it will produce greater efficiency [7].

Table 3. The advantages and disadvantages of MSR compared to conventional nuclear power plants[6].

Advantages	Disadvantages
Operates at lower pressure	Relatively difficult to develop on a large scale if there are no regulatory changes
Operates at higher temperature	
Higher efficiency	
Only requires 10ha of land for 1000MWe	

Energy Economics Study

- Nuclear Cost Estimate[8]

The purpose of the nuclear cost estimate study is to get an estimate of the details of the costs of nuclear power plants based on information from suppliers (vendors), the data obtained will be used to calculate the amount of electricity generation costs. The large amount of capital costs (vendors budgetary estimate) of nuclear power plants of various types and sizes (600-1000 MWe) are in the range of 1530-2200 US $ / kWe, while the

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[7] Liun E. *"Reviu Implementasi Thorcon Molten Salt Reactor di Indonesia",* Jurnal Pengembangan Energi Nuklir Vol. 20, No. 1, (2018): 53-60

[8] Adiwardoyo. "*Prospek dan potensi Energi Nuklir Dalam Pembangkitan Energi Listrik*, Prosiding Presentasi Ilmiah Daur Bahan Bakar Nuklir II, (19-20 November 1996), 11-17

estimated cost of decommissioning is around 10% of capital costs. For generation IV reactors can have prices that are relatively cheaper than the price above.

Indonesia needs a cheap, clean, safe and reliable supply of electrical energy to achieve its goals of having energy independence. These ideals will certainly participate in improving the national economy and improving people's welfare.

Diversification of various energy sources will reduce dependence on one energy source. Therefore, the implementation of the 4th generation nuclear power plant type MSR in Indonesia can ensure energy security will also reduce the impact of greenhouse gas emissions. In general, when a nuclear accident occurs in the MSR reactor, radionuclides will not quickly escape to the environment because the operational pressure is almost the same as atmospheric pressure.

Conclusion

Increasing the need for electricity will be difficult if it only relies on fossil energy because the number is increasingly limited. Therefore, one important step that must be taken is to find other alternative resources. The selection of alternative power plants must be considered from several aspects, including aspects of energy availability, technical aspects, safety aspects, economic aspects and environmental aspects. This aspect can be fulfilled by some renewable energy but the most competent is the 4th generation nuclear power plant. Because of the consideration that the technology of the IV-generation nuclear power plant type MSR has a high level of safety, is a clean and environmentally sound energy, and is relatively more economical compared to conventional nuclear power plants.

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Democracy and Economic Development: Two Contrasting Nexuses

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Abstract

On this paper, I tried to portray two contrasting nexuses between democracy and economic development. I followed qualitative methods to demonstrate my argument using South Korean Democratization as a case of how economic development works as a driving force of democratization. In contrast to that phenomenon, I used the post Arab Spring democratization on MENA region. My argument describes how "economic development-centric factors" triggered burgeoning economic inequalities that revolt conflicts in authoritarian regimes and lead to a new field of democratization. I will also use Robinson's Revolution Constraint to give impetus on my latter point. So these two contrasting nexuses between Democracy and Economic Development will give a conclusion that how the meaning and functions of democracy are gradually getting redefined via a subtle process and economic development is one of the trajectories of that process.

Keywords: *Democratization-Economy-Nexus-South Korea-Arab Spring- MENA Region*

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Rationale

In the heyday of modernization theory, it has become necessary to understand how economic development has its direct, indirect nexuses with one of the contested term of modern time Democracy. This whole process follows some different approaches. This paper tries to contrast between two vice versa approach following qualitative research methods by using several journals, articles, and books to reach a productive conclusion. So this paper bears significance on redefining democracy using economic development as a trajectory.

Introduction

Democracy and economic development are inextricably connected with each other. Or democracy itself accelerates the growth of the economy. Economic Development can never be the alternative to democracy. Rather it can be prerequisite of democracy or vice versa. Either as economic development works as a driving force of democratization, or democracy itself accelerates the growth of the economy.

To show the inextricable nexus between democracy and economic development, some authors hold that democracy and economic development have a **reciprocal effect** on each other. Regarding this, a classic example is Friedman. Friedman believes that more democratic political rights will reinforce economic rights and therefore will be beneficial to economic development; on the other hand, the assurance of the individual's economic freedom results in, and is predicted upon, the maintenance of a free-enterprise exchange economy that constitutes an ideal economic arrangement for a free society. [2] In Friedman's opinion, democracy doesn't stifle economic activities, but government interference.

So these two contrasting nexuses between South Korean and MENA region case will give impetus on this regard.

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[2] Friedman 1962.

Democracy and Economic Development:

First of all, we all should know what democracy actually is. In democracy, there will be a government in which the supreme power is vested in the people and exercised by them directly or indirectly through a system of representation usually involving periodically held free elections.

Most of the developed countries like USA, Japan, India, and South Korea follow democracy. But that's the other thing whether "The Right Kind of Democracy" is successfully prevailing there or not. Though many scholars and economists showed ambiguity that democracy promotes economic development or economic development promotes democracy, but these countries have shown their success in this aspect to the very extent. So what it takes "The right kind of economic development" before and after democratization?

- It requires growth in the productive capacity of society: growth in productivity of labor, agriculture, and capital which will lead to growth in per capita incomes and per capita assets)
- It needs development that leads to significant and continuing improvement in the quality of life for the poor and the near-poor (that is, the majority of the population in most developing societies)
- It needs development that serves to broaden the distribution of economic assets and incomes

Literature review

Democracy and Economic Development have been quite a contemporary phenomenon since the cold war era and after the implementation of modernization theory. There has been a number of debates among scholars that what the actual nexus between Democracy and Economic Development is. Many have argued that democracy is a positive catalyst for economic development; on the other hand, many regarded it as conducive to economic development. Here I am reviewing the literature of those authors for whom the nexus is contrasting whereas democracy makes the path of economic development and vice versa.

Ahmed (2014) illustrated a framework for the analysis of the recent events in Middle Eastern and North African countries (the so-called Arab Spring) by bringing into dialogue recent theoretical advances in democratization theory by reconsidering the temporalities of democratization processes. After that he focused on struggles over specific institutional arenas rather than over the regime as a whole. It allows us to consider the institutional safeguards for old elites that are likely to be included in the post-authoritarian democratic regimes emerging in the post Arab Spring and MENA region.

Johnson (1989) stated that economic development caused conditions that in social science theory are called societal disequilibrium. The demands for democracy of the 1980s constituted efforts to resynchronize the Korean value structure with its division of labor and to overcome the sense of injustice and unfairness that Koreans felt in the 1980s but not in the 1960s.' Korea's strategy of economic development, modeled after that of Japan, resulted in a pattern of markedly unbalanced development: high levels of economic development, significant levels of social development, and low levels of political development.

Cobham and Zouache (2015) analyzed the economic factors that lie behind the upheavals commonly known as the 'Arab Spring,' and the economic policy opportunities that a genuine Arab Spring might open up. The evidences stated by him suggest that the upheavals were unlikely to have been responses to economic downturns resulting from the global financial crisis, and more likely to have been influenced by the longer term performance of the Arab countries, which has been characterized by relatively slow economic growth as well as failure to move away from authoritarian political systems.

Ansani and Daniele (2012) after examining the possible relationships between the Arab riots and the global economic crisis started in 2007, the analysis focuses on some structural aspects characterizing North Africa and Middle East Countries, such as their demographic structure, the profound social inequalities and the discrepancy between the education levels, of youth in particular, and the and political rights accorded to the populations reviewed the economic motivations of the Arab Spring.

First Nexus: Democracy Accelerates Economic Growth

South Korean Case

In the first place, we will see the approach which was followed in South Korea to make a path for democracy from an authoritarian government. And after that, democracy became the boom for economic development after several ups and down. Korea had been one of those super-growth states that spawned the idea that democracy hinders economic development. This country is one of those rare countries that have jumped from a developing to a developed nation. It shows that dictators may be able to bring about economic development; but only to a point. Then political openness played a crucial factor to accelerate the growth.

Political Openness

The country was largely dominated by autocrats for 26 years since 1953, during which time it experienced a remarkable ascent from poverty to prosperity, in the process building industries in electronics, ships, steel, and cars. Park Chung Hee was the nation builder of South Korea. He ruled from 1961 to 1979. He thought that South Korea simply couldn't function as a democracy before a higher level of development was achieved. Park Chung Hee said once, "The gem without luster called democracy was meaningless to people suffering from starvation and despair".

But eventually, the dictators fell. Free elections were held after huge pro-democracy protests clogged the streets of Seoul in 1987. After that Korea took its economy to an entirely new level. And as per my point of view, Korea would have never gotten to that next level without democratization. Though the process of economic development stumbled in the '90s after an authoritarian regime, the economic repression of 1997 hit it so hard but after that made a giant leap towards development.

This giant leap could not be possible under the old dictators. It probably would have been much harder. The government ministries or corporate boardrooms cannot create innovations. Surely, one can toss more resources at R&D and branding (Korea does that, too) but one authoritarian government can't make people more innovative. That requires a change in mindset. Creativity goes on inside people's heads. The rise of the South Korean economy has been called

the Miracle on the Han River. The government worked closely with private companies called 'Chaebols' to direct the economy. Chaebol means 'wealth clan', and it's the Korean word for a family-owned conglomerate. Some of Korea's most important Chaebols are Hyundai, Samsung, and LG. The government encouraged these Chaebols to grow and take on bigger and more challenging projects. [3]It should have been much more difficult without an open political environment. In order to be innovative, people and institutions need full access to information, confidence to speak your mind and a willingness to take risks. Fear caused by political control doesn't foster an atmosphere conducive to free thinking. Censorship and limitations on information curtail the knowledge and debate necessary for the generation of new ideas. Though there was a fear of getting stuck in the "middle-income trap". Many emerging markets got stuck too. They achieved a comfortable level of development but can't make that last, difficult push into the realm of the truly advanced economies. But South Korea has managed that feat because it has become a more innovative economy. Here one and only democracy eases the path of economic development by creating the more innovative and creative atmosphere for the investor.

Second Nexus: Economic Development creates the path of Democracy

Economic trajectories of Arab spring and post democratization:

The Arab Spring was a series of pro-democracy uprisings that enveloped several largely Muslim countries, including Tunisia, Morocco, Syria, Libya, Egypt, and Bahrain. The Arab Spring and its aftermath; the flow of democratization was determined by short-term economic motives. I find two economic development centric factors that ease the whole process.

1. Social Conflict;
2. Economic Inequality;

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[3] Michael Schuman, Michael Schuman. "Is Democracy Necessary for Economic Success?" Time. November 05, 2010. Accessed January 10, 2019.http://business.time.com/2010/11/05/is-democracy-necessary-for-economic success/?fbclid=IwAR33QdmKhxwkN5vINIUkPNSrdSSYtaDUtp-ME1Imp9ZV02JYgl1uX9LQSXw

Social Conflict:

I am theorizing them into one thread via **revolution constraint**: how economic development may influence democracy. Following Kuznets (1955), development may create rising inequality, thus tightening the revolution constraint. The social conflicts that have proliferated in the wake of the Arab Spring have often been seen as further evidence of the conflictual and unstable nature of the societies in the region. Echoing this, 'reverse versions' of this interpretation have developed in the form of analyses aimed at defining the negative effects of conflict on development. From this point of view, conflict is seen as the main source of underdevelopment, or as an obstacle to the pursuit of the aims of development. Violence, especially in the form of civil wars, is then perceived as one of the main causes of poor economic performance and, even more, of the growth of poverty in the world.

Given the significant impact of the Arab Spring throughout northern Africa and the Middle East, it's easy to forget the series of large-scale political and social movements arguably began with a single act of defiance. The frustration of unemployment and economic inequality led Mohammed Bouazizi to set himself into the fire. Then the frustration had spread out in the name of revolution throughout the MENA region. And the consequence of that social conflict reached to the extent of replacing several authoritarian regimes. So here, the economic development centric factors like rising economic inequality, economic frustration, and socio-economic conflicts not only replaced authoritarian regimes but also redefined democracy via tightening the revolution constraint.

Economic Inequality

This perspective suggests that as an economy develops, capital becomes more important than land; industry becomes more important than agriculture; and opposition to, and threats against, democracy weaken. We might expect that countries with higher income per capita would also be more capital intensive, and this would generate an empirical relationship between income per capita and democracy. In addition, industrialization can change the organization of the labor force, allowing trade unions to form and to generally facilitate collective action. The framework does not, however, imply that income per capita has a causal effect on democracy.

Conclusion

       After restating aforementioned nexuses it can surely be said that democracy has started to come out of its conventional roles. And this transition has made a leap to some extent. Whether it is the case of South Korea or the post Arab Spring phenomenon, two contrasting nexuses between democracy and economic development had redefined democracy in a very subtle way. South Korean case had undoubtedly spawned the idea that democracy hinders economic development. Rather more innovative incentives by the government institutions redefined democracy. And this role is getting out of democracy's conventional role. On the other hand after global economic crisis of 2008, Arab Spring spread out like a flame in MENA region and then brings out democratic regime in Tunisia, Morocco, Syria, and Libya. Samuel P. Huntington once indicated that the 4th wave of democracy will be based on economic incentives. Are these cases put indication towards the 4th wave of democratization? Well, these cases put evidence to some extent on that point. Forthcoming time might answer this question properly.

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Democracy and Economic Development

Does Democracy Help the Economy Develop?

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Abstract

The debate about whether democracy gives impact on a nation's economic development is a topic that has been unresolved. Democracy is debatably claimed as the best governmental system. The purpose of this study was to analyse different levels and forms of democracy applied and political system differences between several countries[2], as well as its impact and contribution toward the nation's economic development and growth. This paper is written through thorough research on pieces of academic literature and literary reviews and in conclusion, it shows that democracy has a strong impact on economic progress, directly and indirectly[3]. Strong institutions, political stability, and regulatory certainty are the key factors behind it, which democracies usually can provide. Therefore, even though some countries like China, which applies a non-democratic one-party political-governmental system, Saudi Arabia, which applies absolute monarchy, and United Arab Emirates (UAE), which applies constitutional monarchy, they have strong key points of democracies.

Keywords: *Economic Development, Growth, Democracy*

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[2] "The Top 20 Emerging Markets", *Bloomberg Market Magazine*. February 1st, 2013.
https://www.bloomberg.com/news/photo-essays/2013-01-31/the-top-20-emerging-markets
[3] Acemoglu, Daron, Suresh Naidu, Pascual Restrepo, and James A. Robinson, "Democracy Does Cause Growth". May 1st, 2015.

Introduction

Democracy is claimed as the best governmental system by many. One of the reasons is because democracy is seen as the system that gives many freedoms to the people of each country. Democracy is claimed as the system that protects human rights better than other political systems. Some give solid proofs, some don't. The term Democracy is widely used in the social, political and economic realms of the contemporary era[4]. As many developed nations are applying democracy in their country, many argue that democracy does cause economic growth and even socio-cultural and educational growth, directly and indirectly. Many negate the motion by making China, one of the 'most attractive' emerging economy countries[5], which is also one of the global powerhouses, as an example. China manages to be in their position now and maintaining its status by being a non-democratic one-party socialist country. Which means the Communist Party, that has ruled China since 1949, has been the sole control of the government and every governmental matter. This paper analyses several works of academic literature and journals and investigates the matter by reviewing them and breaking down the matter to make a conclusion.

Democracy

Democracy is most known as quoted from Abraham Lincoln, the 16th President of the United States of America, "government of the people, by the people, for the people"[6]. While many out there still think of democracy as only a voting system. However, we agree that democracy is much more than that.

Democracy is a word taken from Greek, (δημοκρατία) *dēmokratía* which literally means, "Rule by People". According to the Merriam-Webster Dictionary, the top definition of democracy is a government by the people *especially*: rule of the majority. Also, "A government in which the supreme power is vested in the people and exercised by them directly or indirectly through a system of representation usually involving periodically held free elections. While according to the Oxford Dictionary, Democracy is defined as a system of government by the whole population or all the eligible members of a state, typically through elected representatives. But democracy is more than that. Democracy is offering

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[4] Hashmi, Rehana. "Modern Democracy: Issues in Theory and Practice". *Journal of Political Studies* volume 25, issue 1 (2018): 17-33.
[5] Tan, Weizhen. "China Still the 'Most Attractive' among emerging markets: UBS". September 18th, 2018. *https://www.cnbc.com/2018/09/18/china-markets-are-best-among-em-stocks--catherine-cai-of-ubs.html*
[6] Pinsker, M. *Lincoln's Writings.* Dickinson. 1858

political freedom, freedom of expressions, where every voice is deemed as equal, each voice matters and will be taken into consideration on everything related to the government and political decision.

Economic Development

Economic development is a broad term. It shouldn't solely be counted and measured through a country's GNP's rate of growth. The growth of productivity and income distribution, for example, also need to be taken into account. As well as growth in other sectors, like industrial, education, and health. Economic development also shouldn't be measured simply by result alone, but also the progress. From point A to point B. However, there are some studies that measure economic development through its real GDP per capita[7].

According to a study done by Harper College, the most commonly used measures of economic development are; GNP per capita, population growth, occupational structure of the labour force, urbanization, consumption per capita, infrastructure, and social conditions, such as; literacy rate, life expectancy, health care, caloric intake, infant mortality, *et cetera*[8].

Democracy and Economic Development

There are 3 opinions regarding whether democracy has any effect on a nation's economic development. The first one agrees that democracy impacts the economic development of a country, the second one agrees that democracy impacts the economic development of a country only temporarily or only when a certain threshold is passed or when there are other variables such as strong institutions and regulatory certainty, and the third one agrees to disagree that democracy impacts the economic development of a country. Each opinion is backed by several studies. A study done by Bozkurt, Altiner, and Toktas listed some other studies that are done by other students and researchers.

Even though many experts agree that democracy and economic development have a positive relationship between each other, it isn't as simple as it sounds. Because democracy

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[7] Dorn, James A. "Economic Development, Freedom, And Democracy" In *Asia-Pacific Democratic Cooperation Forum*, 745-747. EBSCO Publishing, 2002.
[8] Harper College, "Economic Geography: Measures of Economic Development." Harpercollege.edu. Accessed January 9th, 2019. http://www2.harpercollege.edu/mhealy/g101ilec/intro/eco/ecomea/ecomeafr.htm

alone, can't be defined simply and many countries throughout the world apply different kind of democratic rules, policy, and different outlooks.[9]

According to the same study done by Bozkurt, Altiner, Toktas using real GDP of several emerging market economies from year 1972-2016, in Argentina, China, and Indonesia, increase in democratization level has negative effects on the economic growth. It is believed that in the countries mentioned, the economic growth gives impact on democratizing the nation instead of the other-way-round. While for countries like Brazil, Chile, and Turkey, the increase of democratization level does affect positively the economic development and growth.

The economic development can also be recognized from South Korea's history. Korea shows that undemocratic, even dictatorship is able to increase the economic development level, but only to some extent. Political freedom and openness are crucial to make the growth going.[10] Economic, equality, even socio-cultural wise. The dictatorship ended in Korea in 1987 and ever since then, Korea's growth boomed including its economic and development in many sectors.

China is somehow a special case. While China is not democratic, it has one aspect that advanced democracies have, which is, strong institutions. The key factor behind economic progress is political stability and regulatory certainty, which democracies usually can provide.

While corrupt practices are found in China, there is also strong anti-corruption drive to prevent wastage and budget leaks. But at one point, its political system will be unsustainable because the richer the population, the more residents demand social and political rights.

It is certain that one-party nondemocracy has its bad sides. But when it is governed by an enlightened group of people, it might be beneficial. It is politically hard to continue that

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[9] You, Kevin "The Roles of Political Inclusion and Democracy in Economic Development: Insights from Singapore and Botswana" in The Journal of Developing Areas Special Issue on Kuala Lumpur Conference Held in November 2015, Volume 50, Number 5 (2016), 328-334

[10] Schuman, Michael "Is Democracy Necessary for Economic Success?" in TIME Magazine Online, November 5th, 2010. http://business.time.com/2010/11/05/is-democracy-necessary-for-economic-success/

way unless the people are assured and won't demand more political freedom, but if that one party create important policies, it can help the growth in the 21st century.[11]

Democracy also has a huge effect on growth during transition. Economic liberalization has a positive impact on growth, and what drives the liberalization is democracy. Therefore, indirectly, democracy has an effect on growth.[12]

Conclusion

Through this study, it is believed that if everything else assumed the same, *ceteris paribus,* democracy has a certain effect on a nation's economic growth. However, democracy isn't applied exactly the same in every country. Also for the fact that each country has different demographic profiles and different socio-cultural situations. In several countries like Korea, for example, the democratization gives an enormous impact on the country's economic development. However, in Indonesia and Argentina, it is the other way-round. The economic development democratizes the country. Because even though Indonesia and Argentina are both democratic, the both of them are also very corrupted and have weak institutions that will hold back economic progress, if not derail it. It is believed that countries like China, will need political openness if it wants to advance its economic. Even though China managed to stabilize their political and governmental matters, and they have regulatory certainty, if the people are still held unopen on the political matters, it slows down the growth even though China still has a lot of growth potential.

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[11] Friedman, Thomas L. "Our One-Party Democracy" The New York Times. September 8th, 2009. https://www.nytimes.com/2009/09/09/opinion/09friedman.html
[12] Fidrmuc, Jan "Economic Reform, Growth and Democracy During Post-Communism Transition" *Working Paper* No. 372, March (2001). https://core.ac.uk/download/pdf/3102644.pdf

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Is Democracy Necessary For Economic Development?
Exploring the Case of Bangladesh

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Abstract:

The relationship between democracy and economic development has been one of the most debated issues in recent times. After reviewing the existing kinds of literature, three schools of thoughts regarding the relationship between the two has been found. Bangladesh is one of the growing economies of the world. However, different indicators of democracy show that the civil and political rights of citizens are shrinking in the country. This paper analyzes if democracy really had an impact on the economic development of Bangladesh during 2009-2018. Following a qualitative analysis, this paper will also focus on the very discussion that, although economic development to some extent is possible with weakening political and economic institutions, it might not be sustainable.

Keywords: *Democracy, Economic Development, Bangladesh, Sustainability, Institutions*

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INTRODUCTION:

The debate that exists on whether democracy matters for economic development or not is centuries old. The evidence that exists on the causal relationship between the two concepts is quite inconclusive. Some argue that democracy is an inefficient luxury affordable only to the wealthy countries. They believe that democracy is not required for economic development. Again, there are some who argue that dictatorships undermine the rule of law necessary for routine economic activities.

This paper focuses on the relationship between democracy and economic development in Bangladesh from 2009 to 2018. To understand if democracy really has an impact on the economic development of Bangladesh, this paper relates the country democracy index with indicators of economic growth.

Democracy:

Democracy is a form of government which ensures the freedoms of expressions and rights of individuals to actively participate in the decision-making process of the country. The definition suggested by Menocal on democracy has emphasized three dimensions of accountability.[2] Firstly, vertical accountability, which holds the political leaders and actors accountable to the citizens through the electoral process. Secondly, horizontal accountability, which allows the institutions to have the independence and authority to govern, control and repair other state institutions.[3] Then there is societal accountability which emphasizes the role of civil society, non-governmental organizations and independent mass media over the actions of the state.[4]

Economic Development:

Economic Development is a concept which is largely linked with economic growth. It is an inclusive term which includes changes in economic growth factors along with changes in sectors such as education and health. Feng defined economic growth as the average rate of

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[2] Alina Rocha Menocal, "Analysing the relationship between democracy and development: Defining basic concepts and assessing key linkages," (London: Commonwealth Secretariat, 2012), 18.
[3] Guillermo O'Donnell, "Illusions About Consolidation," *Journal of Democracy* 7, no. 2 (1996): 44.
[4] Niraja Gopal Jayal, "New Directions in Theorising Social Accountability?" *IDS Bulletin* 38, no. 6 (2008): 107-108.

growth of real GDP per capita.[5] Furthermore, he used a number of other economic control variables as a substantial stimulant to growth including aggregate GDP, investment, inflation, and trade expansion.[6]

LITERATURE REVIEW:

This paper reviews three schools of thoughts that exist in various relevant works of literature regarding the relationship between democracy and economic development.

Three schools of thoughts:

The schools of thoughts are the conflict view, the complementary view, and the skeptical view. According to the "conflict view", democracy does not favor growth. Sirowy and Inkeles put forward three hypothesis to support this view.[7] "Complementary view", on the other hand, maintains that democracy enhances economic development growth.[8] While the "skeptical view" proposes to consider more variables before establishing a relationship.[9]

Conflict View:

Tavares and Wacziarg find that democracy impedes economic growth by decreasing the rate of physical capital accumulation. The study further finds that democracy hinders growth less robustly by increasing the expenditure of government. Consequently, the paper indicates that the overall effect of democracy on growth is reasonably negative.[10]

It is believed that non-democratic regimes are more capable of implementing growth-related policies disliked by people because they can suppress conflicts by using extreme force.

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[5] Yi Feng, "Democracy, Political Stability and Economic Growth," *British Journal of Political Science* 27, no. 3 (1997): 401.

[6] Yi Feng, "Democracy, Political Stability and Economic Growth," *British Journal of Political Science* 27, no. 3 (1997): 401-402.

[7] Larry Sirowy and Alex Inkeles, "The Effects of Democracy on Economic Growth and Inequality: A review," *Studies In Comparative International Development* 25, no. 1 (1990): 129.

[8] Yi Feng, "Democracy, Political Stability and Economic Growth," *British Journal of Political Science* 27, no. 3 (1997): 393.

[9] Debapriya Bhattacharya, Shouro Dasgupta, and Dwitiya Jawher Neethi, "Does Democracy Impact Economic Growth? Exploring the Case of Bangladesh-A Cointegrated VAR Approach," *CPD-CMI Working Paper Series*, no. 5 (2013).

[10] Jose Tavares and Romain Wacziarg, "How democracy affects growth," *European Economic Review* 45, no. 8 (2001): 1341.

On the other hand, democratic regimes are constrained and cannot use excessive force to suppress conflicts.[11]

***Complementary View*:**

Bhagwati finds that there is no tradeoff between democracy and development. Moreover, when compared to authoritarianism, democracy is more likely to create an environment that expedites innovation and entrepreneurship necessary for sustained development.[12]

Minier examines growth performances of countries that undergo significant changes in democratic structures. He finds that countries which democratize grow more rapidly than a priori similar countries. The study also reveals that countries which become less democratic grow more sluggishly than similar countries.[13]

Skeptical View:

Kurzman *et al.* examine the long run and short run direct effects of democracy on economic growth with the help of pooled annual time-series data for 30 years. The study points out that direct effect does not exist between democracy and growth. However, some positive indirect effects are found. Nevertheless, the overall result suggests that democracy does not significantly affect growth.[14]

Democracy as exercised in Bangladesh does not seem to have a considerably positive effect on economic growth. Some of the likely reasons behind this relationship are poor democratic practices, weak policy designing institutions and ineffective policy schemes.[15]

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[11] Debapriya Bhattacharya, Shouro Dasgupta, and Dwitiya Jawher Neethi, "Does Democracy Impact Economic Growth? Exploring the Case of Bangladesh-A Cointegrated VAR Approach," *CPD-CMI Working Paper Series*, no. 5 (2013).

[12] Jagdish N Bhagwati, "Democracy and Development: Cruel Dilemma or Symbiotic Relationship," *Review of Development Economics* 6, no. 2 (2002): 151.

[13] Jenny A. Minier, "Democracy and Growth: Alternative Approaches," *Journal of Economic Growth* 3, no. 3 (1998): 241.

[14] Charles Kurzman, Regina Werum, and Ross E. Burkhart, "Democracy's Effect on Economic Growth: A Pooled Time- Series Analysis, 1951-1980," *Studies in Comparative International Development* 37, no. 1 (2002): 3.

[15] Debapriya Bhattacharya, Shouro Dasgupta, and Dwitiya Jawher Neethi, "Does Democracy Impact Economic Growth? Exploring the Case of Bangladesh-A Cointegrated VAR Approach," CPD-CMI Working Paper Series, no. 5 (2013).

RELATING ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT TO DEMOCRATIC EXPERIENCE IN BANGLADESH (2009-2018):

There are several indexes to define whether a country is democratic or not. In this paper, we use the Freedom House index to define the democratic experience of Bangladesh from 2009 to 2018.

As for measuring economic growth and development, this paper uses economic indicators like per capita Gross Domestic Product (GDP) growth rate, trade expansion, and remittance flow. Along with these, Human Development Index (HDI) is also used in the paper as a measure of economic development in Bangladesh.

Democracy in Bangladesh (2009-2018):

Bangladesh is formally considered as a multi-party democracy with two major political parties, namely Bangladesh Awami League and the Bangladesh Nationalist Party. The Bangladesh Awami League has been ruling the country for the last decade after winning consecutive National Parliamentary elections in December 2008 and January 2014. However, the regime is accused of violating civil liberties and political rights of its citizens, specifically of the activists of the opposition parties.

According to Freedom in the World 2018, Bangladesh is a 'Partly Free' country.[16] Accordingly, Bangladesh has been given the status of a partly free country from 2009 to 2018 by the Freedom House.[17]

Table 1: Scores of Bangladesh in different segments as per Freedom in the World report from 2009-2018

Year	Status	Freedom Rating(1=Best, 7=Worst	Civil Liberties(1=Best, 7=Worst)	Political Rights(1=Best,	Aggregate Score(0=Least Free,

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[16] "Freedom in the World 2018- Bangladesh Profile," Freedom House, accessed on January 10, 2019, https://freedomhouse.org/report/freedom-world/2018/bangladesh.

[17] "Freedom in the World Data and Resources- Country and Territory Ratings and Statuses (1973-2018)," Freedom House, accessed on January 11, 2019, https://freedomhouse.org/content/freedom-world-data-and-resources.

|				7=Worst)	100=Most Free)
2009	Partly Free	4.0	4	4	N/A
2010	Partly Free	3.5	4	3	N/A
2011	Partly Free	3.5	4	3	N/A
2012	Partly Free	3.5	4	3	N/A
2013	Partly Free	3.5	4	3	N/A
2014	Partly Free	3.5	4	3	N/A
2015	Partly Free	4.0	4	4	N/A
2016	Partly Free	4.0	4	4	49
2017	Partly Free	4.0	4	4	47
2018	Party Free	4.0	4	4	45

Source: *Freedom in the World (2009-2018)*[18]

From the above table, it can be established that Bangladesh's democracy has been gradually declining. According to Freedom in the World, the absence of good governance, accountability, and rule of law has been evident in Bangladesh during the last decade. The report also claims that the regime has been consolidating power through the use of excessive force. The electoral process came under question after the 10th National Parliamentary election in 2014. It was boycotted by most political parties. As can be seen from the table, the aggregate score of Bangladesh declined from 49 in 2016 to 45 in 2018. It is a representation of declining democratic values in Bangladesh. Moreover, the Freedom House reports the media of Bangladesh to be not free, which is the prime characteristics of a non-democratic regime.

Economic Development in Bangladesh (2009-2018):

From the Human Development reports of UNDP, it is possible to find the Human Development Index (HDI) of Bangladesh from 2009 to 2017.

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[18] "Freedom in the World Data and Resources- Country and Territory Ratings and Statuses (1973-2018)," Freedom House, accessed on January 11, 2019, https://freedomhouse.org/content/freedom-world-data-and-resources.

**Figure 1: Bangladesh's Progress in HDI (2009-2017)**
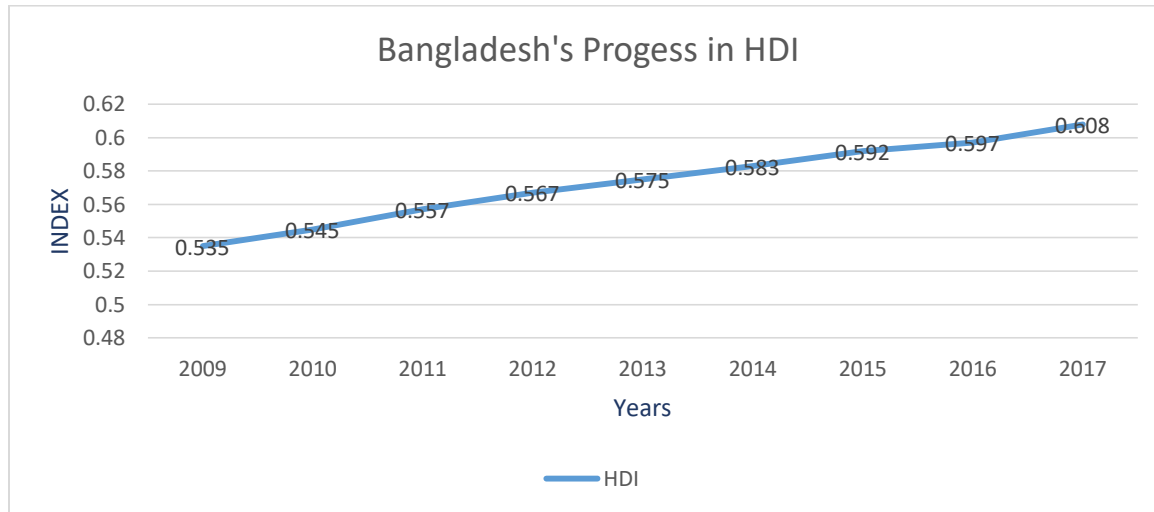
Source: *Human Development Report (2009-2017)* [19]

From the above figure, it can be concluded that Bangladesh developed gradually from 2009 to 2017. In 2009, the index value was 0.535 whereas in 2017 it increased to 0.608 showing good growth in overall development. Among 182 countries, Bangladesh ranked 146th in 2009 and among 189 countries it ranked 136th in 2017.

We use the World Bank data set to see the annual GDP growth rate of Bangladesh from 2009-2018.

Figure 2: Annual Per Capita GDP Growth (%)
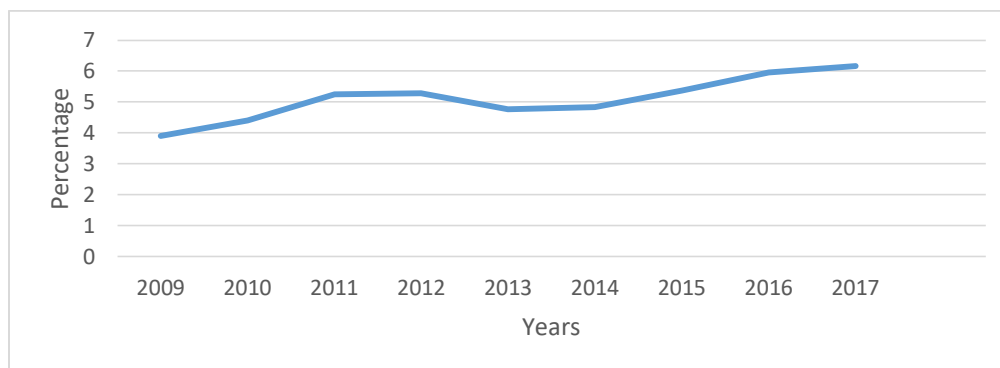
Source: *World Bank*

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[19] "Human Development Data (1990-2017)," United Nations Development Programme, accessed on January 11, 2019, http://hdr.undp.org/en/data#.

We see an upward trend in the per capita GDP growth of Bangladesh from after 2009. While in 2009 it was 3.893%, in 2017 it rose to 6.164%.[20] For 2018 it is projected to be 6.7% according to World Bank.

A major expansion in export-oriented Ready Made Garments (RMG) can be observed in Bangladesh. In FY 2009, Bangladesh's export earnings from RMG was USD 12347.80 Million, which was 79.33% of the total export.[21] Astonishingly, in FY 2018 the earnings from the RMG sector stood at USD 30,147.76 Million, which was 83.49% of the total export.[22]

Remittance, which is the second highest source of foreign currency earnings in Bangladesh, plays a significant role in the economy of Bangladesh. Based on the remittance inflow data of 2017, Bangladesh was ranked ninth in the world by the World Bank. According to the data, the inflow of remittance in 2009 was USD 10.52 billion. Furthermore, it is expected to rise to USD 15.91 billion in 2018.[23]

Increase in foreign currency earnings from both the RMG sector and remittance have been major drivers of economic development in Bangladesh. In 2018, Bangladesh has also fulfilled the eligibility criteria to be recognized as a developing country by the United Nations. It is set to graduate in 2024.[24] The observations above indicate that Bangladesh has grown rapidly from 2009 to 2018 despite being a weak democracy. It points out that democracy did not have much impact on the overall economic development of the country from 2009-2018.

IS THIS DEVELOPMENT SUSTAINABLE?

Acemoglu and Robinson in their book *Why Nations Fail: The Origins of Power, Prosperity, and Poverty* state that growth can be sustainable in the long-run only under inclusive

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[20] "GDP per capita growth (annual %)," The World Bank, last modified November 14, 2018, https://data.worldbank.org/indicator/NY.GDP.PCAP.KD.ZG.

[21] "Quarterly Review on RMG: January-March 2016," Bangladesh Bank, accessed on January 9, 2019, https://www.bb.org.bd/pub/quaterly/rmg/jan_mar2016.pdf.

[22] Ibrahim Hossain Ovi, "RMG exports saw 8.76% growth last fiscal year," Dhaka Tribune, last modified July 5, 2018, https://www.dhakatribune.com/business/2018/07/05/rmg-exports-saw-8-76-growth-last-fiscal-year.

[23] "Migration and Remittances Data," The World Bank, last updated December, 2018, http://www.worldbank.org/en/topic/migrationremittancesdiasporaissues/brief/migration-remittances-data.

[24] United News of Bangladesh, "Bangladesh meets all criteria to be a developing country," New Age Bangladesh, last modified March 17, 2018, http://www.newagebd.net/article/36954/bangladesh-meets-all-criteria-to-be-a-developing-country.

political institutions.[25] In explaining growth under extractive institutions, they argue that such growth is possible because the country has to catch up with the rest of the world and such growth does not require the process of creative destruction. They further state that extractive institutions allow only the ruling elites to extract maximum wealth for themselves.[26]

Lack of accountability and good governance in Bangladesh has led to widespread corruption. The financial institutions have become weak and fragile. Consequently, the total capital deficit of the seven state-owned banks of Bangladesh stands at a staggering Tk 23,270 crore in 2018.[27] A Global Financial Integrity report says that, during 2005 to 2014 around $61.63 billion capital was drained from Bangladesh.[28] Due to absence of inclusive institutions Bangladesh has not been able to diversify its export sector. As such, the jobs in the garments sector remain highly vulnerable to external shocks.

Furthermore, the development in Bangladesh has not been inclusive due to widening income disparity among the rich and the poor. According to 'Household Income and Expenditure Survey 2016' by Bangladesh Bureau of Statistics, the rich 10 percent of the population is now having more than 38 percent of the wealth.[29]

CONCLUSION:

Bangladesh's economic development in the past decade has undoubtedly been remarkable. But a weak democracy has made its institutions weak and fragile resulting in the violation of people's civil liberties and political rights essential for inclusive development. Although economic development under a weak democracy is possible, it might not sustain in the long-run. As such, it is essential for the country to strengthen its financial and political institutions to sustain this development. Good governance and accountability among all the

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[25] Vuk Vuković, review of *Why Nations Fail: The Origins of Power, Prosperity, and Poverty*, by Daron Acemoglu and James A. Robinson , *Financial Theory and Practice* 36, no.3 (2012): 323, https://hrcak.srce.hr/file/127914.

[26] Vuk Vuković, review of Why Nations Fail: The Origins of Power, Prosperity, and Poverty, by Daron Acemoglu and James A. Robinson , Financial Theory and Practice 36, no.3 (2012): 324.

[27] Golam Mawla, "Banking sector capital shortfall soars to Tk25143 crore," Dhaka Tribune, published on December 6, 2018, https://www.dhakatribune.com/business/banks/2018/12/06/banking-sector-capital-shortfall-soars-to-tk25-143-crore.

[28] Shariful Islam and Ibrahim Hossain Ovi, "$61.63bn capital drained from Bangladesh in a decade," Dhaka Tribune, last modified 3 May, 2017, https://www.dhakatribune.com/bangladesh/corruption/2017/05/02/illegal-capital-laundered-bangladesh.

[29] A.N.M. Nurul Haque, "Widening Income Inequality," Daily Sun, accessed date January 10, 2019, http://www.daily-sun.com/arcprint/details/263838/Widening-Income-Inequality/2017-10-25.

levels of government will allow the institutions to work independently. The country needs to promote innovation and structural transformation for the creation of more and better jobs. Diversification of exports along with the formation of human capital will allow the country to achieve its growth aspirations.

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Content Moderation and Data Protection: Prerequisites of Safeguarding Democracy in the Era of Social Media

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Abstract

The emergence of social media has created complicacy with regards to content moderation. Conventional media has always adhered to strict editorial guidelines but the social media websites are not bound to follow these because according to section 230 of the Communication Decency Act (CDA) the social media websites are platforms, not publishers. Furthermore, controversial, hateful, false contents containing "moral-emotional" words (such as: hate) get more engagement. Likeminded people tend to see these contents on their homepage enabling them to "Do What Others Do". Content moderation is also very tricky given that there is not enough manpower for this job and the existing workforce are suffering from psychological trauma vetting abhorring content. These issues are exacerbated by the Cambridge Analytica scandal and the meddling of Russian trolls in the 2016 US Presidential Election. The privacy of the users was violated and the data was used to influence voting preferences. In this scenario, this paper suggests amending the CDA to make social media websites publishers, redesigning the content moderation process to vet content effectively and providing better "choice architecture" in the updated terms and conditions for users to understand how their data is being used.

Keywords: *Content Moderation, Editorial Guideline, Data Protection, Democracy, Social Media*.

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Literature review

In Nudge, Thaler (2008) and Sunstein talk about Solomon Asch's (1995) experiment which found that when people were asked an easy question, they never erred when they answered independently. But when everyone else provided wrong answers, people erred more than one-third of the time. Later, conformity experiments such as this have been replicated and extended more than 130 times across seventeen countries where the pattern of errors show people conforming between 20 and 40 percent of the time. This can be characterized as "Following the Herd".[2] In the social media websites, this has become exacerbated due to the fact that people generally see content according to their preferences. This is problematic for a democratic society because hate speech, false information etc. get legitimized through this process.

Brady(2017) and his team's research regarding how political debate has evolved in the era of social media showed that content with moral-emotional words (such as: hate) receive much more engagement on twitter on issues such as: gun control (19% more retweet), same-sex marriage (17% more retweet) and climate change (24% more retweet).[3] This leads to people sharing more extreme opinion on social media to get noticed and the cycle of hate continues.

Isaak's (2017) paper focused on the Cambridge Analytica data breach which resulted in Facbook providing data of 87 million Facebook users to the political consulting firm. The firm later used this data to influence voters in the 2016 US Presidential election. To prevent future meddling, the authors advocated for better data protection ensuring public transparency, notifications and control of users on their personal data.[4]

In the existing toxic circumstance surrounding social media, the main goal of this paper is to identify how content moderation and data protection can safeguard democratic values.

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[2] Richard Thaler and Cass Sunstein, Nudge, (Connecticut: Yale University Press, 2008), 60-61.

[3] William J. Brady, Julian A. Wills, John T. Jost, Joshua A. Tucker, and Jay J. Van Bavel, "Emotion shapes the diffusion of moralized content in social networks", Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences of the United States of America 114, no. 28 (2017): 7314-7315.

[4] Jim Isaak, Mina J. Hanna, "User Data Privacy: Facebook, Cambridge Analytica, and Privacy Protection", Computer 51, no. 8 (2018): 57-58.

Introduction

Throughout history, conventional media has been moderated by editorial policies and guidelines. Newspapers, TV channels, news websites etc. are all liable for the content they print, air or publish. These guidelines are in place to ensure that the facts are represented correctly. It also ensures that false news, propaganda, hate speech etc. don't get exposure. Still, there are lapses and mistakes by journalists and incorrect information might be published from time to time. But again, the editorial team is liable for these errors which acts as a check and balance mechanism so that incorrect information doesn't get published.

But recently, things have changed. Conventional media is no longer the largest source of information for people. According to Pew Research Center, for 68%[5] American citizens, social media sites are one of the sources of information for them albeit 57% of the ones getting their news from social media believe the information to be inaccurate. However, 42% of the readers thinking that the information is largely accurate is still a major cause of concern given that the content moderation process of social media websites is currently very flawed.

Content Moderation and Its Limitations

Content moderation is the practice of monitoring user generated content and applying a set of rules which define what is acceptable and what is not. Unacceptable content is then removed.[6] In today's landscape, the content moderation policy of the tech giants require a massive overhaul. But the social media websites are unwilling to change their policies citing a very fundamental factor of freedom of expression. And this is why content moderation is so tricky.

Freedom of expression is one of the most important human rights held by all individuals irrespective of their nationality, race, gender, religion etc. It is one of the pillars of a democratic society. All of this is true in the case of traditional news outlets but they still have effective editorial policies. That is not the case for social media because they do not take any liability for the content posted by the users of their website. By law, they cannot be held liable. In the United

[5] Katerina Eva Matsa and Elisa Shearer, "News Use Across Social Media Platforms 2018", Pew Research Center,10 September 2018, http://www.journalism.org/2018/09/10/news-use-across-social-media-platforms-2018/

[6] Blaise Grimes-Viort, "6 types of content moderation you need to know about", Social Media Today, 7 December 2010, https://www.socialmediatoday.com/content/6-types-content-moderation-you-need-know-about

States, section 230 of the Communication Decency Act (CDA) provides immunity from liability for providers and users of an interactive computer service who publish information provided by others.[7] One of the clauses regarding immunity states that no provider or user of an interactive computer service shall be treated as the publisher or speaker of any information provided by another information content provider.[8]

So, basically, social media websites aren't acting as publishers and aren't liable for the content that the users post on these sites. However, the Good Samaritan clause of the law gives the sites the authority to remove any content they deem objectionable due to the contents being lewd, obscene, lascivious etc. as long as they are done on good faith. This also gives social media sites immense power to moderate their own content but which they aren't liable to do.

This whole scenario has created a weird predicament. Social media websites have thus far failed to moderate content efficiently which has instigated ethnic violence and affected the voting preferences of a large portion of voters influencing election results because of the rapid spread of false information. It is extremely essential for social media websites to properly vet their content because they are a primary source of news for a portion of the population as established before.

But the aspect of content moderation isn't that simple. It is complicated mainly due to two reasons:

- **<u>Controversial Content is good for business</u>:** In essence, social media websites aren't publishers. They are a platform where people share their thoughts. The users aren't paying any fees to the companies. The social media websites are more than happy to let people use their sites for free because they get vast amount of data from the billions of users who use their platform. They have enough data to know what types of books people like, what movies they watch, which restaurants they go to, which political party they support, where they stand on social issues etc. And this information is only useful if they can show users advertisements based on their preferences. The core revenue for these companies comes from advertisements. So, the more time users spend on these

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[7] "What is Section 230 of the Communication Decency Act (CDA)?", Minc Law, https://www.minclaw.com/legal-resource-center/what-is-section-230-of-the-communication-decency-act-cda/
[8] "What is Section 230 of the Communication Decency Act (CDA)?", Minc Law, https://www.minclaw.com/legal-resource-center/what-is-section-230-of-the-communication-decency-act-cda/

websites, the more revenue these websites earn. That is why these websites show users contents based on their preferences.

Now, this is conducive to the websites because it keeps people on their sites longer. But it is very dangerous because it enables people to "Do What Others Do" which is a classic "Following the Herd" behavior.[9] People's wrong beliefs and ideas get patronized and they are manipulated easily. Furthermore, the more extreme the content is, the more engagement they receive which has been illustrated by William J. Brady (2017) and his team.[10]

Therefore, the extreme contents get viral very quickly even if they are factually incorrect and the social media websites have very little incentive to take them down as a good "Samaritan".

- **<u>Inefficient Content Moderation:</u>** There are more than 7,500 content moderators on Facebook who go through content which includes videos, images and livestreamed broadcasts of child sexual abuse, rape, torture, bestiality, beheadings, suicide and murder every day to determine which contents should be on the service and which shouldn't be.[11] It is a very strenuous and traumatizing job which requires going through thousands of content every hour which deems it impossible to do the job properly. A former Facebook contract employee has filed a lawsuit in California stating that mental trauma caused by moderating disturbing content on the platform are not being properly addressed by the tech mogul thus causing irreparable psychological damage.[12]

  Given that content moderators have such little time and face mental trauma on the job, it is hard to think that they are able to do their job properly. If the situation doesn't improve, content moderation will not be done properly.

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[9] Richard Thaler and Cass Sunstein, Nudge, (Connecticut: Yale University Press, 2008), 60-61.

[10] William J. Brady, Julian A. Wills, John T. Jost, Joshua A. Tucker, and Jay J. Van Bavel, "Emotion shapes the diffusion of moralized content in social networks", Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences of the United States of America 114, no. 28 (2017): 7314-7315.

[11] Munsif Vengattil and Aakash Jagadeesh Babu, "Facebook not protecting content moderators from mental trauma: lawsuit", Reuters, 24 September 2018, https://www.reuters.com/article/us-facebook-lawsuit/facebook-not-protecting-content-moderators-from-mental-trauma-lawsuit-idUSKCN1M423Q

[12] Munsif Vengattil and Aakash Jagadeesh Babu, "Facebook not protecting content moderators from mental trauma: lawsuit", Reuters, 24 September 2018, https://www.reuters.com/article/us-facebook-lawsuit/facebook-not-protecting-content-moderators-from-mental-trauma-lawsuit-idUSKCN1M423Q

The Usage of Social Media to Influence Elections and Cause Ethnic Violence

Social media websites encourage "Following the Herd" mentality and they aren't doing enough to crack down on violent content. But the problem with social media doesn't stop here. They aren't doing enough to protect our data.

Last year, a massive scandal involving British political consulting firm Cambridge Analytica exposed that a third-party personality quiz on Facebook gathered profile information on 87 million users worldwide without their consent which was later sold to the consulting firm. [13] The consulting firm helped both Ted Cruz and Donald Trump's presidential campaigns in 2015 and 2016 respectively through running targeted ad campaigns on Facebook to gain advantage against their political rivals. [14]

Furthermore, during the 2016 presidential election, Russian trolls ran a coordinated campaign on Facebook with organic posts and boosted posts to persuade voters. The worst part is, Facebook knew about the Russian interference from 2016 but decided to hide the information from the public at that time. [15]

Facebook is facing investigation for this data breach in the United States, Europe and UK already. In October, 2018 Britain upheld a small but symbolic 500,000 pound fine for Facebook for the data breaches related to Cambridge Analytica. [16] In the US, Washington DC is suing Facebook for $1.7 billion for allegedly misleading users about how it safeguarded their personal

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[13] Lisa Lambert and Paresh Dave, "UPDATE 2-Facebook sued by Washington, D.C. over data breach accusations", CNBC,19 December 2018, https://www.cnbc.com/2018/12/19/reuters-america-update-2-facebook-sued-by-washington-d-c-over-data-breach-accusations.html

[14] Sam Meredith, "Facebook-Cambridge Analytica: A timeline of the data hijacking scandal", CNBC, Updated 9:51 AM ET Tuesday, 10 April 2018, https://www.cnbc.com/2018/04/10/facebook-cambridge-analytica-a-timeline-of-the-data-hijacking-scandal.html

[15] Sheera Frenkel, Nicholas Confessore, Cecilia Kang, Matthew Rosenberg and Jack Nicas, "Delay, Deny and Deflect: How Facebook's Leaders Fought Through Crisis", The New York Times, 14 November 2018, https://www.nytimes.com/2018/11/14/technology/facebook-data-russia-election-racism.html

[16] Noor Zainab Hussain, "UK regulator upholds Facebook fine in Cambridge Analytica row", Reuters, 25 October 2018, https://www.reuters.com/article/us-facebook-privacy-britain/uk-regulator-upholds-facebook-fine-in-cambridge-analytica-row-idUSKCN1MZ0ZC

data. [17] According to the Attorney General, "Facebook's lax oversight and confusing privacy settings put the information of millions of consumers at risk." [18]

The inability to stop the spread of hate speech also played a part in the ethnic cleansing of the Rohingyas in Myanmar. U.N. Myanmar investigator Yanghee Lee said that Facebook was used to incite hate and violence against ethnic minorities by radical Buddhist ultra-nationalists.[19] It has also been used in countries like Sri Lanka[20], Bangladesh[21] etc. to spread hatred and spread ethnic violence.

Recommendations

It has been established that social media websites now have the capability to shape election results, spread hate speech and instigate violence. Therefore, these websites need to be held accountable for their action and change their core policies to safeguard their users. This will ensure that these sites cannot be abused to infringe the democratic norms of our societies. In that regard, this paper has a few recommendations:

- *Amend the Communications Decency Act:* Section 230 of the CDA needs to be amended to ensure that social media websites are treated as publishers instead of platforms. This will make the websites liable for the contents that are posted by the users forcing them to moderate harmful content efficiently.

- *Redesign the content moderation process:* Currently, the content moderators are burdened with unbearable workload and psychological trauma. Therefore, Facebook CEO Mark Zuckerberg has already pledged to redesign the content moderation process

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[17] Lisa Lambert and Paresh Dave, "UPDATE 2-Facebook sued by Washington, D.C. over data breach accusations", CNBC,19 December 2018, https://www.cnbc.com/2018/12/19/reuters-america-update-2-facebook-sued-by-washington-d-c-over-data-breach-accusations.html

[18] Lisa Lambert and Paresh Dave, "UPDATE 2-Facebook sued by Washington, D.C. over data breach accusations", CNBC,19 December 2018, https://www.cnbc.com/2018/12/19/reuters-america-update-2-facebook-sued-by-washington-d-c-over-data-breach-accusations.html

[19]Tom Miles, "U.N. investigators cite Facebook role in Myanmar crisis", Reuters, 13 March 2018, https://www.reuters.com/article/us-myanmar-rohingya-facebook/u-n-investigators-cite-facebook-role-in-myanmar-crisis-idUSKCN1GO2PN

[20] Shihar Aneez, Ranga Sirilal, "Sri Lanka lifts ban on Facebook imposed after spasm of communal violence", Reuters, 16 March 2018, https://www.reuters.com/article/us-sri-lanka-clashes-socialmedia/sri-lanka-lifts-ban-on-facebook-imposed-after-spasm-of-communal-violence-idUSKCN1GR31R

[21] Anis Ahmed, "Bangladesh blames Muslim Rohingyas for temple attacks", Reuters, 1 October 2012, https://www.reuters.com/article/us-bangladesh-temples/bangladesh-blames-muslim-rohingyas-for-temple-attacks-idUSBRE8900CZ20121001

by involving artificial intelligence and hiring more content moderators to lessen the workload. [22] These steps need to be implemented properly. Furthermore, the content moderators must receive proper mental healthcare.

- ***Providing better choice architectures:*** When it comes to choosing the best investment portfolio, there are lots of confusing choices. The choices are confusing because important information regarding interest rate, fees, balloon payments etc. are hidden in large stacks of papers. Thaler (2008) and Sunstein offered better choice architecture by making complex choices simpler, mapping, feedback etc.[23] The terms and conditions for most websites also tend to be very complicated where important information cannot be gauged easily. It is essential for regulators to ensure that these websites are giving the users sensitive information properly. This can be done by making the terms and conditions simple citing the key points clearly, providing regular feedback about what data is actually being collected by the websites, who has access to the data and giving users the option to choose how much data they provide.

Conclusion

It is hard to think of life without the social media websites because of their huge network effect. These websites will keep on being a huge influence in people's lives. Therefore, regulating these sites to ensure proper content moderation and data protection is compulsory to safeguard democracy around the world.

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[22] Munsif Vengattil and Aakash Jagadeesh Babu, "Facebook not protecting content moderators from mental trauma: lawsuit", Reuters, 24 September 2018, https://www.reuters.com/article/us-facebook-lawsuit/facebook-not-protecting-content-moderators-from-mental-trauma-lawsuit-idUSKCN1M423Q
[23] Richard Thaler and Cass Sunstein, Nudge, (Connecticut: Yale University Press, 2008), 137-138

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Aneez, Shihar and Sirilal, Ranga. "Sri Lanka lifts ban on Facebook imposed after spasm of communal violence", Reuters, 16 March 2018, https://www.reuters.com/article/us srilanka-clashes-socialmedia/sri-lanka-lifts-ban-on-facebook-imposed-after-spasm-of communal-violence-idUSKCN1GR31R

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Populism in Power and the Disfiguration of Liberal Democracy

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Abstract

Recent years have witnessed the spread of populism in many countries causing results like the election of Donald Trump and Brexit. Contemporary populism grows within both democratizing and fully democratic societies. However, it takes its most mature profile in liberal democracies, which are more vulnerable to its challenges. Following a qualitative approach, this paper aims to explain how populist regimes seek to transform a liberal regime to an illiberal one. At first, it reviews the main interpretations on the relations between populism and democracy. Then it analyzes the main characteristics of populism in power and shows how a populist government tends to disfigure liberal democracy by driving a wedge between representative democracy and constitutional liberalism.

Keywords: *Populism, Representative Democracy, Constitutional Liberalism, Disfiguration*

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Introduction

> "We, the citizens of America, are now joined in a great national effort to rebuild our country and restore its promise for all of our people."[2]

With the end of the Cold War, following the collapse of the Soviet Union in 1991, liberal democracy emerged as the only legitimate from of government without having any viable alternatives. Today, the global political landscape is quite different. Today, the global political landscape is quite different. Liberal democracy has been facing several external challenges like the proliferation of violent extremism, and regimes having racial or religious agendas. However, liberal democracy is more vulnerable to an internal challenge – a challenge from the contemporary populism. In the established liberal democracies across Europe and North America populism has appeared as the main contender of mainstream political establishment. The unexpected results of Brexit vote and the US Presidential Election 2016 are the two most pressing manifestations of contemporary populist revolt. Populist parties have successfully seized power in Poland and Czech Republic through parliamentary elections. Traditional right-leaning parties having populist manifestos were able to mobilize significant numbers of voters in France, Germany, the Netherlands, and Austria. Hungary has experienced the most troubling development of populism with Prime Minister Viktor Orbán's self-proclaimed "illiberal democracy".[3]

Liberal democracy is a term that has become synonymous with democracy- a form of government marked not only by representative democracy, but also by the rule of law, a separation of powers, and basic civil liberties like freedom of speech, assembly, religion and property. Fareed Zakaria has termed the latter bundle of freedoms as constitutional liberalism.[4] Therefore, if we want to draw a figure of liberal democracy, we need two fundamental components- representative democracy and constitutional liberalism. This paper aims to show how populist governments tend to disfigure liberal democracy by driving a wedge between representative democracy and constitutional liberalism.

Literature Review

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[2]Donald Trump, "The Inaugural Address", The White House, Last modified 2017, https://www.whitehouse.gov/briefings-statements/the-inaugural-address/.

[3] William A. Galston, "The Populist Challenge to Liberal Democracy," *Journal of Democracy* 29, no. 2 (2018): 7.

[4] Fareed Zakaria, "The Rise of Illiberal Democracy," *Foreign Affairs* 76, no. 6 (1997): 22.

Mudde and Kaltwasser have studied populism as a "'thin' or 'thin centered' ideology" that considers people to be divided into two contesting groups – "the pure people" versus 'the corrupt Elite", and which defines politics as an expression of the *volonté générale* (general will) of the people".[5] Populist activists claim themselves as "true democrats" who try to redefine democracy by trying to establish majoritarianism.[6] They believe that the mass people should have a direct opinion on public policy decision making process so that the maximum degree of conformity between the rulers and those ruled could be achieved. This overemphasis on the majority opinion rather than considering the existence of difference in opinion creates strong polarization in the society.[7] The populists identify political opponents as the enemy of the "true" people.[8] Thus, K. Abts and S. Rummens have argued that populists undermine the symbolic framework of the political stage for democratic practices.[9] In its most radical interpretations, populism rejects all constitutional limitations to the expression of popular will like minority rights and institutional autonomy[10]. Adriana Ștefănel has argued that the over exaggerated faith on a charismatic leadership contradicts the democratic rationale of representative power and could lead to an authoritarian regime. Mark Plattner warned that populism has the potential to lead to "democratic disorder", Koen Abts and Stefan Rummens predicted that "populism can only survive if it becomes authoritarian and despotic", while Nadia Urbinati and Federico Finchelstein argued that populism is a transfiguration of democracy and once in power the populist governments become a form of majoritarianism[11]. However, Laclau has argued that populism is neither a mirror nor at the internal periphery of democratic politics but the expression of democracy itself. He argued that although populism is a symptom of decline of representative institutions, it also has the potential to rejuvenate democracy.[12] Simon Tormey has concluded that populism should be considered as the *Pharmakon* of democracy which can bring both positive and negative outcomes[13].

[5] Cas Mudde, "The Populist Zeitgeist," *Government and Opposition* 39, no. 4 (2004): 543.
[6] William A. Galston, "The Populist Challenge to Liberal Democracy," *Journal of Democracy* 29, no. 2 (2018): 11.
[7] Frank Decker, "The Populist Challenge to Liberal Democracy," *Berliner Republik* 39, no. 3 (2003): 51.
[8] Nancy Rosenblum, *On the Side of the Angels: An Appreciation of Parties and Partisanship*. (Princeton NJ: Princeton University Press, 2008), 51-53.
[9] Koen Abts, Stefan Rummens, "Populism versus Democracy," *Political Studies* 55, no. 2 (2007): 419.
[10] Cas Mudde, "The Populist Zeitgeist," *Government and Opposition* 39, no. 4 (2004): 561.
[11] Federico Finchelstein, Nadia Urbinati, "On Populism and Democracy," *Populism* 1, no. 1 (2018): 15.
[12] Ernesto Laclau, *On Populist Reason* (London: Verso, 2005), 96.
[13] Simon Tormey, "Populism: democracy's Pharmakon?." *Policy Studies* 39, no. 3 (2018): 7.

Discussions and Analysis

Populism's ideological root is developed by the two main notions - the nation and the people - that have radically interpreted the concept of popular sovereignty within the process of democratization. Populism redefines democratic principles of the majority and the people in a way that incite hatred against minorities, through a strongman-leadership championing it and the true people legitimizing it.[14] Populists parties try to convince the increasing number of voters that economic nationalism and a popular leadership are the ways to protect their countries against the perceived threats caused by globalization and bring back an imagined greatness of the past at the cost of downplaying pluralism and humiliating political and cultural minorities.[15] Populism emerged along with the process of democratization in the second half of the nineteenth century as an intellectual critique of modernization, social plutocracy, and elected oligarchy in the name of mass people.[16] What is unique today being the shift of populism from the peripheral to the center stage of politics resulting in the way of populism as a movement to populism as government in liberal democracies. [17]

To determine the contemporary threat from populist regimes, we need to consider how does a populist party while in power tend to disfigure liberal democracy by systematically undermining constitutional liberalism. A populist government recognizes the principles of popular sovereignty and democracy, but interprets them radically to exercise majoritarian power. It undermines pre-existing constitutional institutions that check majoritarianism. It shows a harsher view on constitutional protections for opposition and minority groups. From this perspective, populism in power is a radical majoritarianism, which is a threat to the liberal variant of democracy. Therefore, we also need to study populism as a strategy to transform a liberal regime to an illiberal one. Populists consider elections as the principle of identification, and not of representation. Thus, a populist government considers electoral success as its democratic credential. Populism's emphasis on electoral legitimacy prevents it from ending up to

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[14] Nadia Urbinati, "Political Theory of Populism." *Annual Review of Political Science* 22, (2019): 2.

[15] Dylan Chambers, "The Threat of Illiberal Populism," Policy Corner, accessed on January 10, 2019, https://www.policycorner.org/en/2017/06/19/the-threat-of-illiberal-populism/

[16] Federico Finchelstein, Nadia Urbinati, "On Populism and Democracy," *Populism* 1, no. 1 (2018): 16.

[17] Enrique Peruzzotti, "Populism as Democratization's Nemesis: The Politics of Regime Hybridization," *Chinese Political Science Review* 2, no. 3 (2017): 315.

open authoritarianism. This makes populism distinct from fascism, which does not need electoral credentials.

> Populists have a singular relationship with elections. They use them as a strategy to reveal a majority that, in their mind, already exists in the country and that the leader brings to the surface and makes victorious. For populists, elections are like a ritual that celebrates the authentic people, treating the opposition as not fully legitimate; the opposition is in effect tolerated as a foreign body and conspiratorial force. In the leader's discourses, his majority is not one majority among others; it is the true majority, whose validity is not merely numerical but primarily ethical (moral and cultural), autonomous from and superior to voting procedures.18

Populism as an ideological construct portrays only one part of the citizens as legitimate. Thus, a populist government undermines pluralism and the principle of a legitimate political opposition. It exploits electoral legitimacy by taking unilateral decisions without considering constitutional checks and balances. The principle of separation of powers, the role of the opposition, of a critical press are considered as obstacles to the proper implementation of the aspirations of the true people, so they become the legitimate targets. Thus, a populist regime continuously humiliates political opposition and media's critical role and propagates that any criticism of the regime is illegitimate because it is not made by the "right" people.[19]

A populist regime can try to change the rules and the existing constitution in order to strengthen its power. It extreme cases, the regime may not be satisfied with a parliamentary majority, but want a more unbounded power. Moreover, it may "seek to establish a new populist constitution—in both the sense of a new sociopolitical settlement and a new set of rules for the political game"[20]. The cases of Hugo Chávez in Venezuela and of Viktor M. Orbán in Hungary are the perfect manifestation of this approach.

Liberal democracy is a form of government that is based on a delicate balance between representative democracy and constitutional liberalism. Constitutional liberalism safeguards the appearance of electoral majoritarianism. Contemporary populism seeks to disfigure liberal democracy by driving a wedge between democracy and constitutional liberalism. A populist

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[18] Nadia Urbinati, "Political Theory of Populism." *Annual Review of Political Science* 22, (2019): 9.
[19] Nadia Urbinati, "Political Theory of Populism." *Annual Review of Political Science* 22, (2019): 10.
[20] Jan-Werner Müller, *What Is Populism?*. (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2016), 62.

leader in power, consequently targets principle elements of liberal democracy such as the principle of division of power, checks and balances, the critical role of the media, public sphere and civil society. These elements are considered as obstacles that interrupt the implementation of popular demands by the popular leader.

Conclusion

There is no doubt to recognize that liberal democracy has been facing a challenge from contemporary populism. Constitutional liberalism is considered as the first line of defence against the rise of electoral majoritarianism. The end goal of a populist party is to seize power and gradually transform a liberal regime to an illiberal one. The paper sought to show how populist governments tend to disfigure liberal democracy by undermining liberal norms through exploiting electoral majority. Today's struggle between populists and liberals can be descried as a definitional struggle over the interpretation of democracy. Populism tries to redefine democracy, one that is less liberal and radically "democratic". Civil liberty activists need to come forward to prevent this from happening. Populist groups are likely to continue their effort against liberal democracy as long as the root causes of political discontents in liberal societies are not addressed accordingly.

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Democracy and Economic Development:

The recalibration of mutual development under the age of digitalization

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Abstract

The paper discusses on the mutual relations between democracy and economic development regarding to the factor and the phenomenon are in effect to their consistency. This paper would focus on how technological evolution has taken in a potential role in means of the correlation between democratic principles, and the economic development strategy in state governance. The paper also further elaborate how the digital technology have reshaped the ideology and rationality in the concept of democracy, and economic development master plan among states by challenging their conventional political economy discourse to recalibrate the notion of democracy and economic development in response to the age of digitalization.

Keywords: *Democracy, Economic Development, Digitalization,*

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Introduction

The mutual relations between democracy and economic development are taken into account on the democratic state-building. There are various studies determine the reciprocal relationship between the level of democratic tendency in each states is varied with the rate of economic growth where the liberal democracy would provide the accountability and predictability in the state governance, such as economic openness, human capital development, economic institutional distortion, and rule of law in which pursue the economic creditability from private sector to contribute in economic growth.[2]

Despite of the conventional studies, there are some states where it is arguably as illiberal democratic regime or even authoritarian regime have accomplished the economic development on their own political ruling course. The Asian Miracle and the rise of People's Republic of China after Deng Xiaoping reformation 1980s have assured the inconsistence of conventional democracy and economic development. The author have acknowledged the rapidly technological changes since 1970s as the outcome of digital revolution in which have transformed the socioeconomic pattern via the information means.[3] The following change have impact to the political discourse on whether the democracy is an essential philosophy for the national prosperity that advanced technology have predominately influence the socioeconomic means. The conventional democracy and economic development have been questioned, and express in different outcomes to respond such trend.

Literature Review

Heshmati, Almas, and Nam-Seok Kim. *The Relationship between Economic Growth and Democracy: Alternative Representations of Technological Change*. No. 10880. IZA Discussion Papers, 2017.

The author select this research paper to figure out the technological change affect to the correlation of democracy and economic growth from 144 states, time period from 1980 to 2014 with various types of state regime, including democratic states in developing countries to developed countries, and undemocratic states in developing countries to developed countries.

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[2] Begović, Boris. *How Democracy Influences Growth*, (Washington DC, Center for International Private Enterprise, 2013).

[3] Ustyuzhanina, Elena Vladimirovna, Aleksandr Viktorovich Sigarev, Irina Pavlovna Komarova, and Ekaterina Sergeevna Novikova. *The Impact of the Digital Revolution on the Paradigm Shift in the Economic Development*, (Revista ESPACIOS, 2017).

The research methodology is conducted by quantitative method, which applied by econometrics models. The varieties of econometrics models have been applied for suitability in the data analysis from various types of data in each nations in the sample. The time variation have been considered in order to understand the production function varying in each states in each particular time that affect to the economic growth and democracy. The computation of production function, and demanded-side economic activities interpret the technological changes and total factor productivity in further generating the information about the relationship between economic growth and democracy through technological change.[4] The detailed models are including, the technology shifters model that is the Combination of time-series models, the general index model, and the dynamic model to figure out the effect on technological change toward the relations of democracy and economic growth.

The research result is derived from the coefficient determining the significance variables. They describe democracy make positive to the economic growth stimulating by the technological change, but not every elements in itself have contributed positive outcome. The credit guarantee, and FDI inflows do positive outcome. However, trade openness, and government consumption would make the negative outcome to the result.

The result discussion is democratic states have greater economic growth by the credit guarantee relating to the transparency have taken into account for governance system that could enhance the firms' efficiency and foreign direct investment attraction in economic performance through technological changes in responding the competitive market[5]. Apart from the backlash of trade openness where it had negative effects to the domestic firms, the government spending found negative relationship between democracy and economic development by having technological change in effect, because the spending could be varied on the majority voting, and the government policies toward budget balance in which have veritably different outcome toward economic growth and the degree of democracy.[6]

The research limitation, and further study discussion on this study is still lack of qualitative study on varieties of democratic principles, and their institutional frameworks could promote the economic development through technological changes in recent political circumstances. This quantitative study have conducted through the econometric model in

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[4] Heshmati, Almas, and Nam-Seok Kim. *The Relationship between Economic Growth and Democracy: Alternative Representations of Technological Change*, (IZA Institute of Labor Economics), 4.

[5] Heshmati and Kim, *The Relationship,* 15.

[6] Ibid., 16

which classify factors by using numerical means. The study also only could determine the relationship between democracy and economic growth within the statically econometrics models, but insufficient conceptual information when apply the dynamic model.[7] There are required to elaborate more on the correlation on democracy and economic development in broader aspects, not only the neoclassical economic explanation, but also the mixed establishment both subjectivism and empiricism on political economy.

Discussion

<u>The Digital Evolution with Democracy and Economic Development</u>

The revolution of digitalisation era toward the correlation of democracy and economic development have emerged new political economy paradigm where it evolves new means of production and economic concept. The economic idea have revived the current neoclassical economic principle along with neoliberal economic order to a new form of economic fundamental by recalling of traditional idea of "common wealth" in classical economy to subtly develop in its new course that is restructured the common wealth in practice accordingly with the digital technology evolution. The new division of labour have been changed from unit specialization to the multi-tasking with joint technological advancement. The change have shaken the role of socioeconomic in each countries where this would affect to the allocation of labor markets, and the economic relations between group of people in the society. The means of economic system change to be sharing economy where it is the economic interaction have transformed to peer-to-peer mode by having the digital system as the platform to operate the economic transaction[8]. The sharing economy would be the issue challenging former wealth accumulation mode in which concern to the political economy structure in each states have to respond with such changes.

The new economic paradigm is varied with the incoming digital technology evolution cause to the change in various sectors, and they have potentially addressed the correlation of democracy and economic development into different shape. The electronic governance (E-governance) is one of the platforms that the state authority establishes to provide the public service through the online platform. The adoption of electronic governance (E-governance) would increase the government accountability, efficiency in the service provision, and

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[7] Ibid., 26
[8] Kenton, Will, *Sharing Economy*, (Investopedia, 2018).

interaction between government and citizens.[9] The e-commerce is another online business platform that sellers and buyers have business transaction without the middle-person. This emerging platform would adopt to change the means of economy that challenge the status of middle-person in offline market they used to have. Financially, the financial technology (FinTech) have transformed the finance system where it could change the means of financial transaction and financial markets flipping from the conventional financing to be digital-based financing in the economy[10].

The data science and artificial intelligence (AI) are also contributed to the incoming digital evolution into various sectors where they have socioeconomic and sociopolitical impact in regards to the further assessment in mutual development between democracy and economic growth. For instance, People's Republic of China have applied the AI for substantially improving efficiency in various purpose, including healthcare, education, economic, and security surveillance by having data science for precision analysis in their system.[11] Chinese government invest this such advanced technology in purposing the socioeconomic empowerment have to trade-off with citizen privacy monitoring, and intensely manipulated over the receiving information.[12]

These following trends hence become the challenge in role of government adjustment to comply with the digitalization era, which include the political economy aspect concerning on the interaction issue between politics and economic, and the socioeconomic aspect relating to the society issues with economic activities. In consequence, the following challenges are mandatorily recalled for recalibrating the democratic and economic development principle in accordance with the state strategies toward the evolution of recent age of digitalization.

The Recalibration of Democracy and Economic Development

The international context has dramatically changed where they are stimulated by globalization through rapid digital transformation. The recalibration of principle of democracy and economic development paradigm have notified in the state strategic adjustment to correspond with the era of digitalization.

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[9] Radhikaashree, M., C. Balakrishnan, and Sinduja. *E – Governance: A Successful Implementation of Government Policies Using Cloud Computing*, (International Journal of Applied Environmental Science, 2015).

[10] Lin, Tom CW, *Infinite financial intermediation*. (Wake Forest L. Rev. 50, 2015), 643-654.

[11] Williams, Greg, *Why China Will Win the Global Race for Complete AI Dominance*, (Wired UK, 2018).

[12] LarsonFeb, Christina, Jeffrey MervisJan, Dennis NormileJan, Sanjay KumarJan, and Paul VoosenDec, *China's Massive Investment in Artificial Intelligence Has an Insidious Downside*, (American Association for the Advancement of Science, 2018).

The principle of democracy and principle of economic development have been questioned on the suitability in existing context. Politically, the liberal democracy, whether it is functional in the state authorization for achieving the common good in the current situation. There are arguments on concept of liberal democracy could attain the common good, while the state authority found it is required to have some sort of controlling to achieve the common good.[13] Economically, the conventional neoliberalism economic order in the state is whether it could optimize country's economic benefits. The neoliberal economic order has increased economic disparity, and impede national economic upward in many developing states.[14] Consequently, there are necessary to have alternative economic order through monetary policy and fiscal policy responding socioeconomics and sociopolitical concerns, plus with the change of globalization context. Therefore, it is necessary to reshape state strategies correlating with the recalibration of democracy and economic development under the incoming digitalization trend.

The state manipulation on own styles of democratic values relating with the economic strategies for achieving the development would be the crucial core ideal for pursing the mutual development under the digital influence. The social engineering is the potential instrument to manage in common good by interpreting in details on political norms, social norms, and economic norms differently regarding to each states' political context. Politically, the social engineering in social structures have to be instructed by whom to control means of politics, highly encouraged by people's power, which would different forms regarding to each states' political context, in order to ensure the stability and responsiveness approach to the incoming trend. Socially, the state governance concept, and its system have to respond accordingly with social demand and compatible with social norms, where these social force would accelerate the state capacities in various sectors. Economically, the economic system has to be consistence, and equilibrant in terms of resource allocation respecting to the socioeconomic issues, and the strategic plan responding with the incoming digital economy context.

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[13] Hussain, Waheed. *The Common Good*. (Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy, 2018).
[14] Jon Stone. *Neoliberalism Is Increasing Inequality and Stunting Economic Growth, the IMF Says*. (The Independent, 2016).

Conclusion

The democracy and economic development have mutual relations in which both have reciprocal effects to each other. The study of mutual correlation is crucially important to understand the process of state development. The author points out the age of digitalization and its effects to the paradigm in regarding democracy and economic development. The study review show that democracy offer positive effect to the economic growth, which the technological change have contributed in mutual development. Nevertheless, the study review still lacks qualitative research on the difference democratic values and economic plan in era of digitalization that each states would have varied in different ways to become successful states in terms of development. Consequently, the further discussion is to mention about digital evolution with the mutual development of democracy and economic development in which the evolution have gradually changed the means of socioeconomic and political economy in shifting a new paradigm. Furthermore, the recalibration of the mutual development to comply with the age of digitalization also discuss the democratic principle and economic development plan have been examined for applying the political, economic, and social adjustment through social engineering in order to achieve common interest in the midst of incoming digital era.

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Economic Development without Democratization:

A Case Study of Vietnam

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Abstract

After the Vietnam War ended in 1975, Vietnam was one of the world's poorest nations, due to state mismanagement as well as its military engagements with Cambodia and China. However, the introduction of the Communist Party of Vietnam (CPV)'s reform policy "Đổi Mới" in 1986, which called for economic and political reforms, has dramatically reduced the country's poverty rate and helped achieve remarkable economic growth (Vietnam Investment Review 2016), making Vietnam one of the "success stories" of Asia. Despite considerable achievements in the economic sector, political reforms have not seen similar progress, as the country is still widely considered as a one-party authoritarian regime. This paper aims to explore the relationship between democracy and economic development through a case study of Vietnam. In this study, the reasons for Vietnam's lack of progress toward democracy will be given, which will help uncover deeper insights regarding the nexus between economic development and democracy. It is concluded that socio-economic development is not a direct causal factor to democracy. Rather, it plays a conducive role toward the emergence of democratic institutions, which serve as the seeds for possible future democratic transition.

Literature review

It is often assumed that with developments in the socio-economic landscape, democracy would soon follow. As the economy grows, the middle class of the society is effectively expanded, with greater wealth and higher level of education. As the population becomes more economically secured and well-educated, they will start showing "syndromes of self-expression values" (Inglehart and Welzel 2009), such as priority for freedom and desire for political involvements. This is also true according to the Maslow's hierarchy of needs, which implies that when people's basic needs and psychological needs are satisfied, they will ultimately seek for self-actualization needs. Democracy is the only form of government that allows for a "free society", which entails freedom of speech, press, information, elections, etc. and can thus satisfy the growing needs of the population. Lipset, in his 1959 work, also concurred with that notion: "the more well-to-do a nation, the greater the chances that it will sustain democracy" (Lipset 1959).

According to Lipset (1959), wealth, industrialization, urbanizations and education are the four main indicators for a country's economic growth. Adopting this view, this paragraph shall scrutinize Vietnam's outstanding performance in economy based on these four aspects respectively. First of all, there has been a surge approximately 4.8 times in the real GDP per capita. It moved from 382 thousands USD in 1985 to 1834.7 thousands USD in 2017 (World Bank Organization, 2018). The number of physicians per 1000 people in Vietnam also increases up to 3.3 times from 1981 (0.247) to 2016 (0.821) (World Bank Organization, 2018). With this growth, Vietnam changed from a poor country which was still recovering from war to a low middle income one and yet to grow further. In addition, an increment in wealth brought about a higher living condition for Vietnamese such as healthcare with a higher number of doctors. Secondly, the rate of industrialization is demonstrated by the distribution of GDP across economic sectors and the unemployment rate. Agriculture contributed 34 percent to the GDP in 1986 (McCaig & Pavcnik, 2013), yet it declined to 15.3 percent in 2017 (Statista, 2017). In contrast, the industry sector has surged up to 33.34 percent of GDP (Statista, 2017). With this difference, it is proven that Vietnam has shifted gradually from an agricultural economy to a more industrial economy within 31 years. Moreover, as the industrialization happens, it creates more job opportunities in urban area leading to "an available industrial labour supply" (Morawetz, p.499, 1974). As a result of industrialization, the unemployment rate of a country is

decreased. Vietnam's unemployment rate has dropped drastically from 12.3 percent (1990) to 2.2 percent (2017) (International Monetary Fund, 2018). This result indicates that Vietnam has undergone the process of industrialization. Thirdly, industrialization inevitably leads to urbanization. Vietnam has transferred from the "incipient to intermediate stage of urbanization" (World Bank Organization, p.xvii, 2012). Up until 2017, Ho Chi Minh City and Hanoi are the two metropolitan areas with population over 1 million which accounts for 5 percent of the country's population (97 millions) (World Population Review, 2018). There are 52 cities with population between 10 000 to 100 000 people and 33 cities whose population are over 100 000 people (World Population Review, 2018). Besides, the rural population in Vietnam reduced significantly from 80.4 percent in 1985 to 64.8 percent in 2017 (World Bank Organization, 2018). These movements have clearly proved that Vietnam has been urbanized with a fast speed

Last but not least, the education aspect also contributes to the economic growth in Vietnam. The adult literacy rate which measures the ability to read and write among adults aged over 15 (Unicef, 2018) has risen from 87.6 percent in 1989 (Knoema, n.d) to 97.3 percent in 2016 (Dti news, 2016). This shows an improvement in cutting down the number of illiterate people. Moreover, the school enrolment in primary education has also increased from 91 percent in 1985 (World Bank Organization, 2018) to 98 percent in 2017 (Unicef, n.d). With a rise in literacy, Vietnamese population has also changed from doing manual labor work to intellectual work. Therefore, it helps to boost the economic development in Vietnam. With the drastic improvement in all four aspects, it can be concluded that Vietnam has achieved considerable socio-economic development.

As previously stated, Vietnam has managed to achieve considerable improvements in the country's economy, with increases in various aspects of socio-economic development indicated by Lipset. However, Vietnam is by no means considered a "democratic country". Western theories of democracy defines three inherent elements of a democracy as having a free market economy, free and fair multiparty elections, and a functioning civil society. Vietnam's market economy status is still an ongoing debate, as the status has been recognized by important partners such as Australia and Japan, but the US Department of Commerce still categorize this country as a non-market economy. Vietnam is a one-party state, with the Communist Party of Vietnam (CPV) stated as the country's rightful and highest leader of the Government and its society, according to Vietnam Constitution. Finally, Vietnam's civil society is in its nascent stage and is largely directed

by the government and the CPV. The country scored 3.08 on The Economist Intelligence Unit's Democracy Index[1] in 2017, and is thus categorized as an "authoritarian regime". Furthermore, Vietnam's performance on the Index from 2006 - 2017 indicates that the country's progress toward democracy has been insignificant, compared to its economic growth. The lack of progress toward democracy despite impressive economic growth makes Vietnam a compelling case in discovering the nexus between economic development and democracy. We think that Vietnam's current condition is a result of both the legitimacy granted to the ruling party by its "effectiveness" as well as the CPV's "responsive-repressive" style of leadership, as classified by Kervkliet in 2010.

The government's effectiveness, in the modern world, is largely associated with constant economic development. If a government is able to generate economic development consistently over its ruling course, and thus sustain and improve the citizen's well-being, as well as maintain social security, then the government can be deemed "effective" in the eyes of the general public. Prolonged effectiveness, in turn, gives or enhances the current political regime's legitimacy (Lipset 1959). Legitimacy for the CPV's leadership in Vietnam was initially based upon "nationalism" and "socialist ideas". However, after the socio-economic crisis in the post-Vietnam War era, the CPV experienced a serious legitimacy crisis and had to switch to performance-based legitimacy, in which the government was determined to promote socio- economic development in the society as an essential measure to maintain regime survival (Hiep 2012). The "Đổi Mới" policy has undoubtedly helped the CPV renewed and strengthened its legitimacy to the people. For instance, until now the CPV has seen little opposition to its leadership in the country that can seriously challenge its authority. Furthermore, the rise in living standards has led the Vietnamese people to be unsupportive of any attempt to overthrow the current political system, for fear of disrupting social security. It can be seen that for Vietnam, socio-economic development not only has not led to democracy, but also appears to be hindering democratic transition. Socio-economic development, it seems, gives legitimacy to any political regime that can create and maintain it. Therefore, we can conclude that socio-economic development cannot be considered as a direct causal factor to democracy.

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[1] The Economist Intelligence Unit's Democracy Index is based on five categories: electoral process and pluralism; civil liberties; the functioning of government; political participation; and political culture. Based on their scores on 60 indicators within these categories, each country is then itself classified as one of four types of regime: full democracy; flawed democracy; hybrid regime; and authoritarian regime.

However, as previously stated, it is inevitable that a newly wealthy, highly educated middle class will eventually demand more social and political rights – the seeds for democratic institution. This also holds truth with the Vietnamese society. In the post-Đổi Mới era, Vietnam has seen an increase in the number of demonstrations and civic protests over the years. Most of them were not due to economic downturns, but rather due to restraints in political rights and inequality (Hong 2016). The 1997 peasant protest in Thai Binh province against the local government is one example, as the wealth arriving with Đổi Mới had created tremendous inequality between the local people and the local authorities, and the CPV's system did not allow the people to speak out. The CPV response to this predicament is demonstrative of how the CPV is coping with the rising demands for rights within society. Instead of utilizing harsh measures to quell social unrest, the CPV had displayed a willingness to communicate and empathize with the people's demands, and to seek peaceful solutions toward these problems. The Thai Binh protest also drove the government to put forward its most notable reform: grassroots democracy, which provides a mutually empowering mechanism for both the CPV and the peasants (Hong 2006).

With this reform, the peasants were given a CPV-controlled political forum to raise their concerns on grassroots level. Albeit often criticized as "window-dressing", the reform was effective in mitigating the people's anger toward the government. However, with protests that the authorities consider as actually trying to disrupt the social order and weaken national security, they have shown little tolerance. The pro-democracy groups in Vietnam often suffer from harassment and intimidations, or even expulsion, from state authorities, as they are deemed a real threat to the leadership of CPV (Hong 2016). One notable example is Mr. Cu Huy Ha Vu. He was a famous activist in Vietnam during 2009-2010, calling for the government to adopt democratic policy and a multiparty system. He was apprehended in 2010 and allegedly "exiled" from the country in 2014 (BBC Vietnamese 2014). The combination of both leniency and oppression has effectively helped the CPV to maintain the social and political security needed to stay in power, amidst the growing demands for democratic rights from the general public.

Conclusion

It is clear that socio-economic development is not by itself a causal factor to democracy. Industrialization, urbanization, wealth and high education serve only as the foundation for the establishment and sustainability of stable democracy in a country. Without these pre-established

conditions, democracy is likely to be fragile and can even lead to "de-democratization". However, the conditions are not to be seen as decisive factors leading to democratic transition. We also argue that despite democracy not being directly consequential from socio-economic development, it would still likely act as the inevitable outcome for society. As Maslow has stated, as human's basic needs are met, they are inclined to seek for self-expression values, which thus create demands that make it difficult to avoid eventual democratization, as argued by Ronald Inglehart and Christian Welzel (Inglehart and Welzel 2009). In the case of Vietnam, the ruling party has been successful in maneuvering itself from democratic transition, by effectively compromising with the people's demand, as long as it does not affect the CPV's power position.

However, with an increasingly connected world, the CPV is facing both domestic pressure from its own system faults, such as high sovereign debt and corruption, as well as international pressure, especially with its decision to join the EVFTA and CPTPP. It remains to be seen the extent to which the CPV is willing to compromise its power holding position in order to alleviate these pressures, and whether the CPV can find the most satisfactory solution without turning itself into a democracy. Or will democracy wins out in the end.

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Role of Social Media in Indonesian Democracy: The Success Ridwan Kamil in Using Social Media in the Campaigning for the 2018 Governor of West Java Governor Election

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Abstract

In this paper, the author will explain the phenomenon of social media as a tools of democracy in Indonesia by taking a case study of "the success of Ridwan Kamil using Twitter as a campaign tools for the Governor election of West Java in 2018." During the new order the freedom of opinion was limited by the government. So that many mass media were closed by the government due to criticizing government policies in the New Order era. Then after reform Indonesia began to experience freedom of expression which have been a increase movement in democracy where public aspirations and opinions began to open. Then as the progress of democracy in Indonesia, information technology began to enter Indonesia and changing the democracy pattern in Indonesia. Social media as part of the technology and information development provides a contribution in advancing the democratic system that occurs in Indonesia. In 2018 Ridwan Kamil who was a former Mayor of Bandung used social media through Twitter for West Java Governor election campaign. So in this paper author analyze The Role of Social Media in Indonesia Democracy:The Success Ridwan Kamil in using Social Media in the campaigning for the 2018 governor of West Java Governor Election

Keywords: *Campaign, Ridwan Kamil , Twitter, West Java Governor Election.*

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After the Reformation era took place in Indonesia, Indonesia moved to the period of modernization which began into the digital information technology era such as the development of internet, computers and mobile phones. In the early 2000s, Indonesians started using the internet. Nowdays, the development of information technology more innovating, therefore the internet create a new forum for people to communicate to get information each other or we called it social media. Social media originated from the discovery of internet networks in the 1960s by the American security department, ARPANET (*Advanced Research Projects Agency Network*).[2] Afterwards internet development increasing and create a new style to communicate such as fecebook, twitter, e-mail dan the other social media. This new style, create a new forum to discuss about his opinion through social media. [3]

Then after the 32 years dictatorship order end in 1998, Indonesians have the authority to freedom of expression. Thus reformation of mass media increased therefore Indonesian freely to use social media. Users of social media produced something, both writing on the Blog, photos on Instagram, or uploading videos on Youtube.[4] Therefore, not only to express the daily activities in social media but also society began to use his individual rights in prescribing his opinion on criticizing government policies on social media. Consequently, Democracy and modernization began Indonesian people after the reform took place.

In 2013, around 63 million Indonesians using the interne, 95 percent using social media. Fo facebook user itself, therea are total of users around 65 million with 33 million active users per month, 55 million active users via mobile devices per month. While for Twitter users, based on PT Bakrie Telecom data, there was 19.5 million users than total of 500 million global users.

[2] Evan Andrews, "Who Invited The Internet," December 13, 2018, https://www.history.com/news/who-invented-the-internet.

[3] Aliona Trancova, "The History & Future of Social Media Growth,"Novermber 9, 2016, https://curatti.com/social-media-growth/.

[4] Ministry of Communication and Information of the Republic of Indonesia, "Pengguna Internet di Indonesia ada 63 Juta Orang,"Jule 11, 2013, https://kominfo.go.id/index.php/content/detail/3415/Kominfo+%3A+Pengguna+Internet+di+Indonesia+63+Juta+Orang/0/berita_satker.

Twitter has become one of the largest social networks in the world so that it can reach profits of USD 145 million only from Indonesia itself.

The frequency of social media users is increasingly massive, therefore Indonesia politicians using social media to obtaining voting support in general election. Political actors using social media with aims of shaping public opinion and good image-branding towards himself.

In 2018 the governor's general election took place simultaneously in Indonesia, whom legislative candidates in each province in made create a image-branding in battle. For example was Ridwan Kamil as one of legislative candidates in West Java Province and also the former Mayor of Bandung city, capital of West Java.

Ridwan Kamil use Twitter by using Tweet that are suitable to get youth attention as we know that we know social media user are from youth domination. Then on the campaign in 2018, Ridwan Kamil shared his tweet in the @ridwankamil account wrote his tweet "Choose the trusted, hard-working and many achievements. # RINDUJabarJu11 on June 27, 2018 for the Governor of West Java Check Number 1. # Missing Changes ". Then under the tweet, Ridwan Kamil also attached a video massage for hir followers, the video is there is a video about a woman who is cutting his hair in a salon. Furthermore, the woman hopes that the salon will give good results for her hairstyle. However, it turns out he was wrong in choosing the place to arrange his hair, which in the Video a woman advised.[5]

"*Do not choose your expectations will be much different from reality, which said a lot of promises just kept going and made a mess. Just choose what is certain, which in fact is clearly outstanding! Like the governor candidate Ridwan Kamil who can cut down on the complexity of the bureaucracy and make infrastructure such as smoorth roads. This is what made Ridwan Kamil crowned an accomplished mayor not only recognized nationally, but also internationally.*"

This video, Ridwan Kamil shaping the public by analogizing the salon as a leader and customer as a community. This means that salons are tested, hard-working, therefore customer's get the her wishes. This analogy, we can interpret by choosing leaders who are tested, hard-

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[5] Ridwan Kamil, "#RINDUJabarJuara1," May 23, 2018,
https://twitter.com/ridwankamil/status/999990372154593281.

working and achievers so that people can live in prosperity according to the expectations of society. Of course, after reviewing the video, it will direct the public's opinion that we must choose leaders such as Ridwan Kamil because they are tested, hard-working and achievers because if not, otherwise the results will be bad, like the video analogy of customers who get bad results by choosing the bad saloon.

To complete his tweet, the end of video Ridwan Kamil present his achievements when he was a Mayor of Bandung City. This measures to gain the voting support by share a evidence that Ridwan Kamil as a tested, hard-working and achievers leader.

Beside the saloon video, Ridwan Kamil used public opinion by sending a video tweet about the community development programs that have to be done in his Mayor era, such as "Program one village one business to eradicated unemployment village ". Then the "One Pesantren (Islamic Boarding School) One Product for economic independence". As a former Mayor of Bandung, Ridwan Kamil gave a video about the innovations for Bandung City public facilities such as building Thematic parks, Bandung Smart City, Creative Hub. Hastag # Rindu1 is the slogan used by Ridwan Kamil on his Twitter Tweet.

In the June 2018 General Election which was simultaneously held in several provinces in Indonesia, Ridwan Kamil and Uu Ruhzanul Umul were superior with 32.88% of votes or around 7,226,245 votes. Ridwan Kamil and Uu Ruhzanul excelled in the cities where the largest population such as Bandung city in the first section, total votes are 656,090 votes. In the Bekasi city was second highest with 353,556 votes and third in Tasikmalaya city 363,470 votes. [6]

From the Ridwan Kamil election, social media become a more effective forum for democracy in the modernization era in Indonesia. Because the choice of campaign basically depends on communication with the community. During the last decade, communication environment in politics in a democratic country like Indonesia, it began to change due to increasingly modern innovations in digital technology. So that political elites began to shift from traditional campaigns to digital campaigns such as social media. Through social media democratic governance can be increased significantly through openness and equal consideration

[6] Akbar Bhayu Tantomo, "Peta Kemanang Pilkada Jawa Barat 2018," Kompas.Com, June 12, 2018, https://nasional.kompas.com/read/2018/07/12/15072511/infografik-peta-kemenangan-pilkada-jawa-barat-2018.

between citizens, representatives and policy makers, provided by new information and communication technologies on social media.[7]

There are three main components of a social media political campaign: marketing, which includes sending messages and sharing personal information; mobilization which includes an invitation to act such as request or choose; and dialogue, which holds reciprocal conversations with other users. The first is most similar to traditional campaigns, the second is an effort to turn social media into the real action and the third is a more unique aspect of social media campaigns.[8]

In terms of marketing, social media function is connecting people through various formats and platforms so they can share ideas and information about the political canditates to be chosen. On social media like Facebook and Twitter it allows users to add details about their hobbies, interests, political views, and vision from the political canditates. As such, they enable to campaigns to be more centered on "the personality of the canditates who will acknowledge to the people who will choose them.[9]

Mobilization in terms of social media campaigns can also be an attempt to turn web-based support into real-world actions such as organizational action, fundraising, or organizational events. So not only support through social media but also society will give their concrete actions towards social actions such as concern action to the environment, poverty and development.[10]

In In democracy, social media can be a forum for spciety to check and recheck the government's policies and behaviors, such as regulation, supervision, propaganda and censorship, and how social media can be used to circumvent policies for access to government-

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[7] Kaitlin Vonderschmit,"The Growing Use of Social Media in Political Campaigns: How to use Facebook, Twitter and YouTube to Create an Effective Social Media Campaign,"Journal of Communication Technology and New Media Commons, Marketing Commons, Political Science Commons, and the Social Influence and Political Communication Commons, No. 66 (2012) : 33.

[8] Wellman, "Physical pace and cyber place: The rise of networked individualism", International Journal of Urban and Regional Research, vol. 25, no. 2 (2001) : 227–252.

[9] Bimber, B, Information and American Democracy: Technology in the Evolution of Political Power, Cambridge University Press, 2003, pp. 233.

[10] Brian D. Loader & Dan Mercea, "Network Democracy," Information, Communication & Society Journal, No. 14 (2011) : 756.

driven information and monitoring. Therefore society can directly to ask about responsibility for the programs they have done or not via elected candidates's social media account.[11]

Conclusion

Social media is a information and communication development in the modernization era. Along with the development of an increasingly innovative era has made the political elite use social media as a place to channel their political interests such as "campaign". Indonesia as a developing country has 63 million users accessing the internet, where the majority of these numbers use the internet to access social media In 2013 there were around 67 million active Facebook users. Then 19.5 million Indonesians use Twitter. So that in 2018 politicians from West Java or Ridwal Kamil using Twitter to campaign in the West Java election. Through twitter, Ridwan Kamil's can captivate the aspirations of the society by sharing various forms of accomplishment or achievers when he served as mayor in Bandung city. This phenomenon author conclude that Ridwan Kamil succes to create his own image as an tested, hard-working and achievers leader.

Then a more contemporary message deliver by Ridwan Kamil more familiar to the young people of Bandung. Campaigning through social media is a form of a technology-based democratic process in which people can better understand the various achievements of a leader they will choose. As well as the community, it can be easier to convey their aspirations on Ridwan Kamil's Twitter account. On July 9, 2018, Ridwan Kamil also successfully won the general election of the governor of West Java Province with a total of 7,226,254 votes. Therefore social media has a role in democracy in Indonesia, for example Twitter, which can become a platform for political elites such as Ridwan Kamil to campaign in the governor election of West Java Province in 2018.

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"The Media and Democracy: The Political Hashtag Phenomenon in the 2019 Indonesian Presidential Election Campaign"

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Abstract

April 17, 2019 will be the culmination of a democratic party for the people of Indonesia. However, long before the predetermined campaign period, the campaign process has taken place on social media. According to some views, the phenomenon of war of hashtags like #2019GantiPresiden and #2019TetapJokowi is a symbolic expression of people's choice and part of the implementation of freedom of speech. However, this phenomenon raises problems of political propaganda through the media, where each party strives to disseminate their political views and information to influence public opinion and overthrow the political opponent. The war of hashtags polemic created by the political elite can affect the public emotionally, following the political flow in the media, making the public no longer focused on the president's program but instead on the negative side of each candidate, weak political rules in the media making war of hashtags can cause conflict both to the political elite and to the community. Therefore, this paper will explain the political phenomena of political hashtags in the presidential election campaign in 2019 by using use the Public sphere theory.

Keywords: *Political Hastag, campaign, presidential election, democracy value*

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Introduction

Social media in recent years has a central role in various aspects of social life. Media, including social media basically has the purpose to provide a space where the public can interact and engage freely in matters relating to public concerns. So that through media, information, views, ideas and ideologies are exchanged. It can even be said that there are no current social conditions that do not involve the media. It also includes democracy. Some experts argue that the media have contributed significantly to the development of politics and democracy. [3]

In Indonesia, media freedom has become part of democratic success, where individuals can deliver their aspirations through the media. Currently social media has fulfilled the community's need in obtaining information or aspirations in the current democracy. In terms of politics, the role of the media today is an opportunity for political players to spread their ideology or their political understanding to society. 2019 political campaigns show significant use of media, the media is the main means of influencing public opinion on the establishment of a party and maintaining a position in the public eye. The campaign is a forum for candidates to promote and socialize their vision and mission, work program, and future direction for Indonesia. In political campaigns, media contributes as a platform to form public opinion and maintain the position of a party in the public eye and contribute to the nationalization of the campaign[4].

Clay Shirky in his article entitled *"The Political Power of Social Media: technology, the Public Sphare, and Political Change"* explained in depth about the influence of internet social media on the political world. Clay said that the media is always a liaison that is able to bring ideas closer to a broad audience[5]. The power that social media can create cannot be underestimated. This has been proven through a movement that took place in Egypt in 2011, when the #jan25, #cairo, #suez hashtags were able to paralyze the leadership of Husni Mubarak.[6] The phenomenon of hashtags on social media has emerged in the Indonesian political environment even before the 2019 election. The phenomenon of #2019GantiPresiden has been present since the beginning of the week of April 2018 long

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[3] Ignant, Chanelle, "How Does Social Media Shape Our Political Views?", KOED Education, Last modified 02 January 2018, https://ww2.kqed.org/education/2016/10/21/how-does-social-media-shape-our-political-views/

[4] Andreas Ufen, "Electoral Campaigning in Indonesia: The Professionalization and Commercialization after 1998", Journal of Current Southeast Asian Affairs, 29, 4, 11-37. (2010): 5

[5] Clay Shirky, "The Political Power of Social Media: Technology, the Public Sphere, and Political Change", Foreign Affairs, Vol. 90, No. 1 (2011)

[6] Shearlaw, Meave. Edypt years on: was it ever a social media revolution?", The Guardian, LAST MODIFIED 03 january 2019, https://www.theguardian.com/world/2016/jan/25/egypt-5-years-on-was-it-ever-a-social-media-revolution.

before the campaign period was determined by the Indonesian KPU. Mardani Ali Sera, a politician from one of the Indonesian political parties who is also the originator of the hashtag, stated that #2019GantiPresiden was the counter action to the attitude of a number of parties who wanted President Joko Widodo to extend his presidency term until 2024. [7]

The phenomenon of hashtag is able to influence the masses on social media, according to data on 30 April 2018 the #2019GantiPresiden hashtag has reached 96,054 Twitter accounts and has been seen 114,917 times while the #DiaSibukKerja hashtag has spread to 93,644 Twitter accounts and has been seen 122,771 times. This then continues to take the form of t-shirts which are then distributed on the market. Even on May 6, 2018, the campaign movement was officially declared not only in writing but also in songs. The phenomenon of hashtag is increasingly widespread with the involvement of several major figures and public figures when carrying out the declaration of #2019GantiPresiden in one of the cities in Indonesia. Although it still raises debate about whether the hashtag is a campaign or not on the other side, the hashtag has indirectly presented the candidates of the parties who will run for the 2019 elections.[8]

As a country that interprets democratic values in life, the phenomenon of hashtag on social media is a natural thing. Hashtags like #2019GantiPresiden, #DiaSibukKerja and #2019TetapJokowi are considered as a symbolic expression of people's choice references and part of the implementation of freedom of speech. As a democratic country, differences in perspectives are considered reasonable and worthy of respect. Even the political phenomenon of hashtags before the presidential and vice-presidential elections was stated to be able to increase political participation from community involvement in the election.

As the Commissioner of the General Election Commission (KPU), Ferry Kurnia Rizkyansyah mentioned that the level of public participation in the election continued to decline. The 2009 election decreased by 5% from the 2004 election. Then it declined again to 5% in the 2014 election[9]. Whereas political participation is an important aspect in a democratic state order, which is at the same time as the characteristic of political modernization. In relation to democracy, political participation has an influence on the

[7] Hamik, Rahmat Nur, "Alasan Mardani Ali Sera Gunakan #2019GantiPresiden",NasionalKompas, Last Modified 2 January 2019, https://nasional.kompas.com/read/2018/08/28/16371641/alasan-mardani-ali-sera-gunakan-2019gantipresiden-bukan-2019prabowopresiden

[8] Kurniawan Frendy, "Perang Tagar Menjelang Pilpres 2019 Sudah Dimulai",Tirto.id, Last modified 31 December 2018, https://tirto.id/perang-tagar-menjelang-pilpres-2019-sudah-dimulai-cPUW

[9] Arief Maulana, "Tingkat Partisipasi Masyarakat dalam Pemilu Terus Menurun," Unpad.ac.id, last modified March 28, 2014, http://www.unpad.ac.id/2014/03/tingkat-partisipasi-masyarakat-dalam-pemilu-terus-menurun/.html.

legitimacy of society on the way a government. Political Communication Analyst at the State Islamic University of Jakarta Gun Gun Heryanto said that the phenomenon of hashtag in the 2019 election campaign can have a positive impact on increasing political participation. This can be explained through the number of Indonesian internet users who reached 132 million out of 185 million voters in the upcoming 2019 election. The emergence of the hashtags war phenomenon on several social media can turn on people's sensitivity regarding the upcoming elections in 2019. Hashtags war does not only reaches teenagers and students but has reaches the bureaucratic leadership groups and even the general public. So indirectly the hashtag can be used as a media for socializing the implementation of 2019 elections that can increase political participation. However, this does not mean without problems.

Political hashtags war illustrates the spirit of political parties but also describes the polemics that occur in political campaigns. Negative hashtags war often triggers campaign filled with hate speech or reveals weaknesses and mistakes of each candidate, as well as debates with less fact data[10], which has an impact on nullifying rationality where the supporters of #2019GantiPresiden and #2019TetapJokowi assessing each other only through negative judgment, because the statements offered through the media always show the negative side of the opponent thus creates bad environment between the supporters for each hashtag. Negative statements spread on social media massively considering that social media is easily accessible to every Indonesian society, these negative statements will lead to negative campaigns, because if each party focuses on the negative side to campaign, this negative campaign will lead to Black campaign, which is more dangerous. For example, the debate of each of the supporters of elected candidates on a national TV program (Mata Najwa) showed a debate that sought to overthrow each candidate and several arguments were delivered with very minimal data to support their candidates, this hashtags war caused them to neglect the programs of each candidate, which should be the main point of the debate.

The worst possibility of the hashtags war is the potential of the emergence of public apathy in the 2019 election, especially the people who lack awareness in the political world and feel the lack of change in each government era. This apathy will have a negative impact on the fulfillment of people's voting rights and will have the potential to increase non-voters or abstainers number in the 2019 election. Political education in this case has been neglected, this has become a bias in political campaigns. The dilemmatic phenomenon of hashtags forms

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[10] Glery Lazuardi, "Kampanye Pemilu 2019 Lebih Tonjolkan Narasi Negatif daripada Pendidikan Politik," Tribunnews, last modified December 30, 2018, http://www.tribunnews.com/pilpres-2019/2018/12/30/kampanye-pemilu-2019-lebih-tonjolkan-narasi-negatif-daripada-pendidikan-politik.

a group polarization in Indonesian society that can erode the value of unity only because of differences in political views.

Analysis of the Public Sphere Theory in the Political Hashtag Phenomenon in the Indonesia Election Campaign of 2019

Referring to the discussion above, the writer will use the Public sphere theory by Jergen Hebermas to support the analysis of the phenomenon of political hashtags prior to the 2019 election in Indonesia. Jurgen Hebernas revealed that each individual has the the same right to enter into a Public Sphere. The concept of the public sphere is a part of social life where citizens can exchange views on important issues, and then shape public opinion. Such discussions are only possible in social areas free of censorship and domination. This region is then called the public sphere[11]. In the political sense, public sphere is seen in the context of political representation. Hebermas called it a "political function of public sphere" which means that public sphere can be an arena for certain political subjects to articulate the interests of a group. The existence of public sphere makes protests or aspirations can be channeled and mass movements can be consolidated. Therefore, public sphere needs to be interpreted in relation to the articulation of political interests. [12]

Public sphere has a large role in a democratic process, because in it people are free to express their arguments and statements without any limitations and differences. The existence of public sphere will greatly help the community to express their opinions more freely. The development of the internet that occurred in the 21st century has made the internet including social media become one of the new public sphere in society. The internet is said to be a new public sphere because it has been considered to meet the criteria for the emergence of public sphere described by Jergen Hebermas. The criteria include, first, the absence of status, marked by the absence of restrictions for individuals who want to enter and discuss on the internet. The second criterion is the aspect of mutual interest, it is characterized by many issues discussed by the public on the internet. As for the third criterion, it is inclusiveness, this criterion is applied to the internet because it is very inclusive and open to everyone. With the elimination of restrictions on the internet, the number of people who are indulged on the internet is unlimited. [13]

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[11]Hebermes,Jurgen, "The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere: An Inquiry into a Category of Bourgeois Society",Terjemahan Indonesia(Yogyakarta:Kreasi Wacan,2010) pp 41
[12] Ibid, 81
[13]Jati, Wasisto Rharjo, "Cyberspace, Internet, Dan Ruang Publik Baru:Aktivisme Online Politik Kelas Menengah Indonesia" Journal of Pemikiran Sosiologi Vol.3No. (1 Januari 2016): pp 28-29

For Hebermas the function of the media has been changed, from facilitating discourse and rational debate in the public sphere, to forming, constructing and limiting public discourse to themes that are approved by the media. In terms of the hashtags war that has occurred in social media and has hampered the 2019 election, we can see that the internet as a public sphere has been able to become an arena for certain political subjects in delivering their interests. this can be seen from the hashtags that are widespread on the Internet where the hashtag of #2019GantiPresiden has expressed the interest of community groups who want a change of leadership. While other expressions are shown through #2019TetapJokowi or #DiaSibukKerja. In fact, the hashtags have also constructed the political views of the Indonesian people.

In the context of democracy, the public sphere, in this case the internet, has provided space for people to freely express their arguments and statements regarding their expressions and perspectives concerning the pairs of candidates for president and vice president through the hashtags on social media. Even movements formed by several hashtags such as #2019GantiPresiden may be considered as a first step to reap the full support of the voters. The mass media as a form of public sphere has influenced the aspirations of the community through several hashtags on social media channeled, even the declaration of #2019GantiPresiden can be consolidated[14].

However, this movement can have a negative impact and is considered a negative campaign that leads to black campaigns[15]. The movement became a black campaign because it sometimes contained things that spread ugliness or the negative side of the opposite candidate by spreading bad stories and hoaxes massively in the public sphere, the media[16]. When these negative campaigns continue to occur, the focus of the campaign becomes dispersed, where the campaign should reflect about who has the superior development program. The emergence of hashtags, there is a discourse shift in which the public should

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[14] Ali Mansur, "Tokoh Gerakan #2019GantiPresiden Berjumlah Ratusan Orang," Republika, last modified May 06, 2018, https://www.republika.co.id/berita/nasional/politik/18/05/06/p8azuv257-tokoh-gerakan-2019gantipresiden-berjumlah-ratusan-orang.

[15] Bbc, "Kampanye negatif 'boleh asal sesuai fakta' untuk 'ungkap kelemahan lawan," BBC, Last modified October 16, 2018, https://www.bbc.com/indonesia/indonesia-45868908.

[16] Fitria Chusna Farisa, " Mengapa Kampanye Negatif Boleh, Kampanye Hitam Tak Boleh?", Last modified October 15, 2018, https://nasional.kompas.com/read/2018/10/15/14305051/mengapa-kampanye-negatif-boleh-kampanye-hitam-tak-boleh.

discuss the ideas and future of the nation which are more substantial and instead focus on the problem of hashtar war by bringing less substantive statements[17].

Conclusion

Media as a public sphere has become an arena for political subjects to deliver their interests, views, ideas and even ideology to be exchanged and even debated. This can be seen from the phenomenon of hashtags war that spreads on Indonesian social media prior to the 2019 election. As a country that implements a democratic system, the phenomenon of hashtags war that occurs on social media is natural because this is a form of expression of Indonesian society towards its political situation. However, this can be a boomerang because a hashtag is able to provoke conflict between groups of people based on the subject of the hashtag they created, even turned into a negative campaign.

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[17] Imam Hamdi, "#2019GantiPresiden Vs #2019TetapJokowi, Pengamat: Harus Substansi," Tempo, Last Modified April 21, 2018, https://nasional.tempo.co/read/1081873/2019gantipresiden-vs-2019tetapjokowi-pengamat-harus-substansi.

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