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Social media and election under covid-19 pandemic in Malang regency Indonesia

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ABSTRACT

Since COVID-19 is a global epidemic that threatens the safety of mankind, reducing the risk of transmitting the virus is an important issue in the implementation of elections in Indonesia. The purpose of this study is to describe the impact of the use of social and mass media on the implementation of elections. This research was conducted in Malang Regency using a qualitative descriptive approach. Data collection was carried out through limited interviews, observation, and document analysis gathered from books, journals, and election documents. The results of the study show that (1) election information and campaigns are mostly done through social and mass media; (2) most of the public can receive information and campaign issues conveyed through the mass media; (3) elections can run well and smoothly. These findings indicate that the use of social and mass media for socialization and campaigning during a pandemic is quite effective. This finding is very important to reduce the spread of COVID-19, as well as to encourage the implementation of a more modern election.

1. Introduction

Covid-19 is a pandemic that has plagued nearly all countries around the world [1], [2], [3], and has affected all aspects of life such as social, economic, and even political sectors [4]. The pandemic has also created an unprecedented global problems in holding elections [9], [12]. Decision-makers and election authorities face difficult choices on whether to postpone elections or implement them with the security measures necessary to protect voters, election officials, and other participants [9], [10]. Lots of policies carried out in many countries to prevent the spread of this disease have transformed people's lives on various fronts [3], [5]. One of the most visible, and more reliable [11] actions is the government's encouragement with various regulations that promote changes in the practice of social activities in which people prefer to use media in communicating and interacting [12] in order to avoid risks [6].

Moreover, the pandemic has disrupted the various aspects of human life [13] in Indonesia, the government has imposed lockdowns (or other serious restrictions on citizen mobility) or where serious health threats have been identified [14]. On the other hands the Indonesian governments and electoral authorities may need to consider whether there is a possibility of delaying election processes. The choice will depend on the legal or constitutional framework and whether there are provisions that take into account the postponement of elections in crisis/emergency situations [15].

By considering various aspects, Indonesia had ever postponed the implementation of the election, nevertheless, the government decided that the election was still held on December 9, 2020 [15], [16], therefore, the government issued Government Regulation in Lieu of Law (Perpu) No. 2 Th. 2020 as a solution in an election emergency. An election emergency refers to an unforeseen, rapidly evolving external event that could substantially disrupt normal voting, election administration, or campaigning. These electoral emergencies can include ongoing natural disasters, disease outbreaks [18].

Research related to elections during the COVID-19 pandemic shows that: election organizers in countries holding general elections during the COVID-19 pandemic face various emerging challenges [19], therefore the elections during the pandemic are carried out by implementing strict health protocols and campaigns are prohibited from gathering large numbers of people [21], [22]; during the covid-19 pandemic campaigns involving large masses are limited and must comply with health protocols [17], [18], [19]; the politician or candidates using social and mass media in conveying information and campaigns [31]; using newspapers, radio, and television to carry out campaigns or outreach to the public [17], [20], [23], [24]; webinars or online seminars are less attractive to the public in the context of regional elections in the midst of a pandemic [20]; elections must be held in a conducive socio-political environment, [10], [12]; the impact of the pandemic can worsen the democratic situation in countries that have experienced democratic erosion [8], even though the disaster had no impact on the incumbent's popularity [29]; furthermore, the general election in Indonesia after the New Order was colored by money politics due to the high competition between candidates[30], [31].

The results of the literature review show that there is quite a lot of research on general elections during the pandemic; however, there is no research on elections during the pandemic that specifically involves social media as a variable. Therefore, the purpose of the study is to examine the impact of mass and social media on the implementation of elections. The systematics of writing begins by discussing the use of mass media, followed by the impact of the use of social media on election results. This research is importance because it can provide information about election organizers during a pandemic, and is useful for increasing knowledge about holding elections during a pandemic. In addition, it can encourage the use of technology [32], [33] in the implementation of future elections in Indonesia. Furthermore, the findings obtained can be used as the basis for the development of research conducted related to the use of election technology. We realize that there are several weaknesses in this study: first, the lack of local data, especially data on social media users in Malang Regency. We were supposed to do a survey, but this couldn't be done due to the lockdown during the Covid-19 Pandemic; second, this research was only conducted in Malang Regency, it did not cover all regions holding simultaneous regional elections.

2. Literature Review

2.1. Covid-19 and Election in Indonesia

This 2020 regional head election system is the third time it has been held in Indonesia, where voting is planned to be held simultaneously [34] in September 2020. The total regions that will conduct simultaneous regional head elections in 2020 are 270 regions with 9 provinces, 224 regencies, and 37 cities [21]. Even though the COVID-19 pandemic is still happening, the majority of the people agreed to hold the Pilkada on December 9, 2020, although with a note that health protocol procedures are expected to be implemented in the Pilkada [17]. The election during the COVID-19 pandemic, socializing about voting procedures is a big challenge for the election committee. For this reason, the Government Regulation in lieu of Law, (Perpu) No. 2 Th. 2020 regulates the continuation of the December 2020 Pilkada with the issue of the Covid-19 Health protocol in its implementation for the Organizing Committee, Regional Government, Election Contestants, and the Community. This is in line with the International Standards of the Principles of Democracy, the elections must be held in a conducive socio-political environment, where the freedom of human rights is upheld and political pluralism is growing [13], [10], [12].

With the new election rules in the pandemic era, the KPU and election participants are trying to maximize the digital campaign model by utilizing various digital platforms such as social media. In addition, coalition parties also take advantage of mass media channels, such as newspapers, radio, and television to carry out campaigns or outreach to the public [17], [20], [23], [24]. Through these

various social media platforms, organizers can socialize the implementation of the election and educate or provide political education to the public. Likewise, both the supporting candidates and political parties try to carried out smart, effective, and efficient digital campaigns through social or mass media. Thus, it requires approaches, strategies, and innovations from election participants in the implementation of the election campaign [26], [27], [28], [29]. This is intended to maintain safety of various parties for both organizers and participants, prospective candidates, and the supporting community can be maintained. Moreover, political messages in the form of vision, mission, and programs from regional head candidates can be conveyed effectively, and in the end, the implementation of the election was successful and the people survived.

Regarding the effects of the COVID-19 pandemic on electoral choices, the results of Leininger and Schaub's study in Germany, which was the country worst affected by the crisis, showed that the disease spread throughout the states because the election was held haphazardly [7]. This has attracted the attention of many parties, because KPU regulations still allow conventional campaign forms by referring to the provisions of Law Number 6 of 2020. Law No. 6/2020 only regulates issues related to the postponement of the implementation and voting process stages in the 2020 local elections. Therefore, the legislators must work together with various other parties to revise campaign regulations that are able to adapt to the conditions of the COVID-19 pandemic [21], [22]. In addition, election organizers must formulate an election campaign model appropriate to the conditions of the COVID-19 pandemic. This is important to prevent the spread of COVID-19 so that the implementation of regional elections does not create massive new clusters. However, in the midst of this pandemic, when the communication model shifted online, the people of Malang Regency, who in fact were rural communities, had not fully accepted it. Voters in these rural areas still claim that they still need conventional media to obtain information about Regional Head Elections (*Pemilihan Umum Kepala Daerah*, Pilkada). The most interesting finding from the series of media offered to the public is that online webinars or seminars are less attractive to the public in the context of Pilkada in the midst of a pandemic [20].

To ensure socialization of the election process, the General Election Commission (*Komisi Pemilihan Umum,* KPU) of Malang Regency used accounts on social media platforms such as Instagram and Facebook in collaboration with parties that have many followers or mass media that have accounts on social media with a large number of followers. Uniquely, in Malang Regency, some prospective voters still rely on community leaders and figures in seeking information about the elections. For this reason, in building a communication strategy, these community leaders and local leaders must be involved. Therefore, it can be concluded that the elections held under the Covid-19 Pandemic, show that free and fair elections which are one of the basic foundations of a democratic society do not exist in a vacuum because the media plays an important role for the community as a forum for disseminating information. In the covid-19 pandemic era, the role of the media takes on a special dimension during elections, the media substantially contributes to creating a free and democratic electoral climate, even though voter decisions are not yet based on good information. However, rural communities still do not have the ability to process issues due to imbalance content and duration, so there is an inequality of information which results in voters being unable to digest information properly. Furthermore, allowing candidates access to different media can also create the conditions for providing different electoral coverage.

The level of effectiveness of social media in campaigns is not only due to the widespread use of their applications, but also the advancement of technology. Social media has integrated extensive data sources with text, video, and audio produced by Artificial Intelligence. The importance of technology-based promotion is not only related to political advertising but also company product advertisements. Thus, the rise of technology in social media has also made the public more connected on a personal and social level, and this is important for politicians because the tools they use can be used to campaign. As social media revives around the world, politicians are increasingly using social media for communication on a larger scale with minimal effort. Practitioners are trying to evaluate the upcoming relationship between politics and social media [31], including Narendra Modi's social campaigns in 2014 and Barack Obama's presidential campaigns in 2008 and 2012, and the Arab Spring in 2011 activated interest in political action and networked digital connectivity [32].

Regarding the impact of the COVID-19 pandemic on election results, it shows that the crisis is strongly and consistently in favor of the dominant regional parties and their candidates [7]. In addition, elections during disasters often result in disruption of participation, contestation,

opportunities for deliberation, and the quality of election administration. Therefore, there are strong reasons for the postponement of the election [9]. However, postponing will undermine electoral certainty, which can be a threat to democratization. Thus, the implementation of elections during the COVID-19 pandemic requires information and communication technology solutions.

3. Method

The research method we used was a descriptive qualitative approach. The study examines the impact of the new rules implemented by the general election commission in order to avoid the spread of COVID-19 and its impact on the electoral process in Malang Region, East Java, Indonesia. The data consisted of primary data and secondary data. The primary data was obtained by direct observation in the field and conducting limited interviews. The direct observation aimed to obtain data related to the situation in the field, issues and campaign programs submitted by each candidate, while limited interviews were conducted with the head of Election Supervisory Agency (Badan Pengawas Pemilu, Bawaslu), and electoral commission staffs of Malang Regency aiming at gathering data related to the compliance of election participants and the public in following the campaign rules in the field.

In addition to primary data, we also used secondary data which included the vision and mission of the candidate for Regent, election laws and regulations, and election result data. In order to obtain this secondary data, we conducted a literature study. The purpose of literature study was to analyze research reports, election policies, and articles about elections. In order to complement the literature study, we conducted a document analysis with the aim of analyzing and identifying various documents on performance election reports.

In order to complete the data shortage, we held various discussions and scientific meetings related to the 2020 election. An interactive discussion was held at the station of Indonesian Republic Radio (Radio Republik Indonesia, RRI) of Malang, this was done to get input from the public regarding the implementation of elections in the normal era. In addition, informal discussions were also held with community leaders and journalists who were concerned about the implementation of a qualified election in Malang Regency. Finally, we also followed the running of the Malang Regency election campaign debate on television and the development of discussions through Whatsapp and Facebook groups related to the 2020 election.

4. Results and Discussion

4.1. Social Media Platform and Election under Pandemic

In Malang Regency, table 1 shows that internet users continue to increase from 2018-2019. This is reinforced by the results of Budiman and Irwandi's research which states that around 35%-40% of voters in Indonesia come from the millennial generation [38]. The increase in internet users means that there are good prospects for the use of social media in elections during a pandemic. When viewed from a gender perspective, there are more female internet users than men, this has an implication for the increasing of electability of female candidates, namely Lathifah Shohib with 42.60% of the vote. In addition, the high of internet users in Malang Regency can also be a solution to reduce face-to-face meetings, the delivery of election and campaign information can be done through the mass media so that it becomes a solution created by holding elections during the COVID-19 pandemic [18]. However, the use of mass media in the conduct of elections will be able to reduce the elaboration of the candidate's vision, mission, and campaign program, and also reduce voter turnout [13]. The decline in the number of voters during this pandemic was not proven in Malang Regency, based on data there was an increase in voters from 58.5% (2015) to 60.48% (2020). This condition can be explained by the demographic situation of the Regency, the majority of which are farmers, whose information level for the COVID-19 pandemic is relatively low.

Moreover, regarding the used social media in 2020, YouTube was still the most popular social media in Indonesia. The number of YouTube users reached 94% with an age range between 16 and 64 years old. WhatsApp stood in second place, followed by Instagram in third. Instagram rose to third place by displacing Facebook to fourth (figure 1).

Table 1.   Percentage of Population over Accessing the Internet in Malang Region from 2017-2019

Internet Users (%)			
Year	2017	2018	2019
Male	33.05	41.01	51.38
Female	26.32	34.43	45.52

Facebook users in Indonesia in 2020 were 130 million with the percentage of female users of 44.4% while the percentage of male users was 55.6%. On the other hand, Instagram in Indonesia in 2020 accounted for 63 million users including 50.8% female users and 49.2% male Instagram users. The short video application i.e. TikTok and messaging Telegram showed the fastest increase in 2020. Meanwhile, social media from China such as WeChat or Sina Weibo were decreasing in popularity in the country. The figure below was a result of a survey conducted by GWI in the third quarter of 2020. A large number of social media users in 2020, is very relevant to the needs of elections that do not allow mass mobilization. This condition is very supportive of the successful implementation of the election during the Covid-19 pandemic such as the implementation of elections in the European Union countries [39] and South Korea [40].
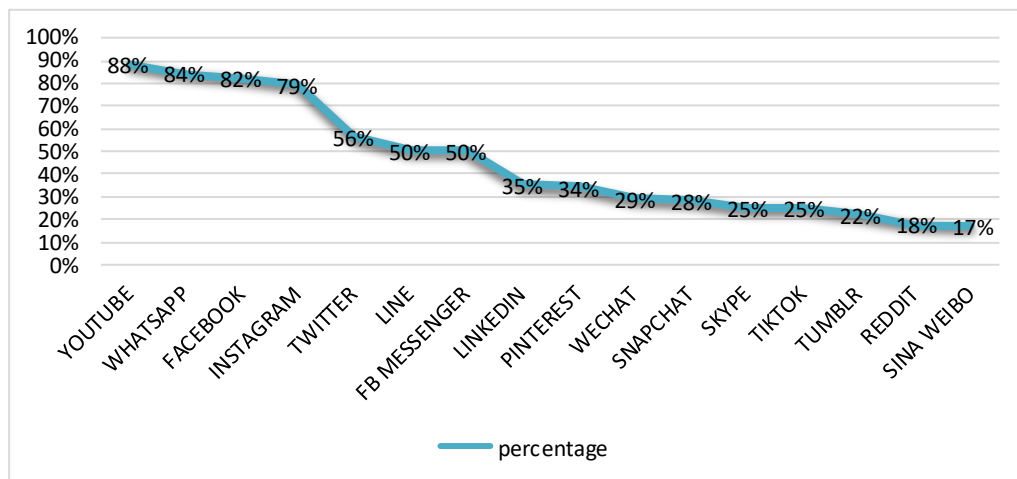

Fig. 1. Most-Used Social Media Platform in Indonesia 2020 [23].

There are several reasons underlying the widely used social media in elections during the covid-19 pandemic. One of them is because most educated people do not believe in the information conveyed through billboards or banners. They trust or have more confidence in the words of friends or colleagues on social media. The effectiveness of these social media platforms was evidenced by Obama's 2008 victory in the competition for the president of the United States. Barack Obama had made Twitter, Facebook, Myspace, and other social media an integral part of his political campaign toolbox and it had influenced users' political attitudes and behavior. Another success story was from Indonesia, Jokowi and Ahok, the Governor and Deputy Governor of DKI Jakarta who won the 2012 Jakarta gubernatorial election. This has suggested that a political marketing strategy is a key to effective success [30]. One of the media used for their political branding in the gubernatorial election campaign is the Twitter social media. Besides, political communication also uses blog hyperlinks that include political parties, activist groups, and individuals.

The data of observations show that direct campaign was still employed, although in limited conditions, both in the number of participants and in campaign props. This is in line with what Sandi and Suprayitno mentioned in their research in Palangkaraya that online and offline socialization in the simultaneous elections of 9 December 2020 is a vital need [17]. This indicates that both the societies and election participants complied with the recommendations and provisions issued by the

election management commission. The issues raised by each candidate were generally related to the regional development program of the Malang Regency in terms of both natural and human resources. The results of a limited interview with community leaders in the Malang Regency indicated that participant number two, the incumbent, was very active in taking to the field to campaign considering that his opponent was the incumbent who was supported by the majority of parties in the Regional House of Representative (DPRD). From the war on issues packaged by each election contestant, it cannot be denied that there was a black campaign by other candidates, especially the incumbents who spread propaganda on social media.

In relation to the high level of public trust in television and radio media, the candidates were also very active in utilizing these media. One concrete evidence of the candidates' enthusiasm was seen in the open debate held by the general election commission, in which all participants took advantage of this debate session to present the vision, mission, and work program and to do a campaign. The results of the debate on the television show that the incumbent (Sanusi-Didik Gatot Subroto) was very familiar with development issues, although sometimes there were data challenged by challenger number 2 (Lathifah Shohib-Didik Budi Mulyono), who was indeed the representative of the former regional secretary of Malang Regency. From the results of the campaign debate broadcast on television, observers in Malang agree that this debate is very important to be held in the pandemic era because it can function as a medium for campaign implementation.
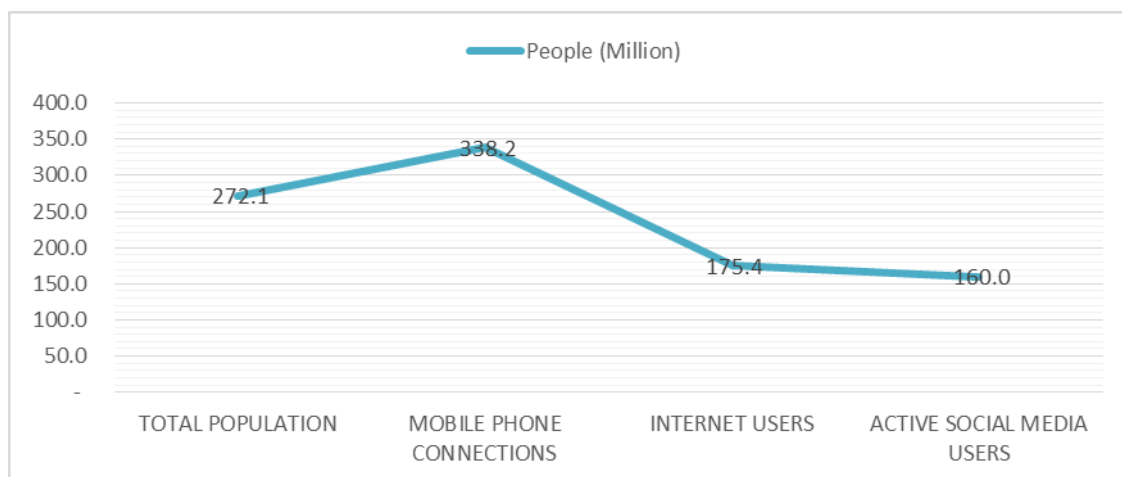

Fig. 2. The State of Mobile, Internet, and Social Media Use in Indonesia 2020 [23] .

In addition, the use of social media in campaigns in Indonesia is effective because of its large population. In 2020, among 272.1 million people of Indonesia, 175.4 million were internet users, and the number of connected cell phones reached 338.2 million, see figure 2. This means that one person used one or more active cell phones with approximately 160 million active social media users. These users spent an average of 7 hours, 59 minutes accessing media every day using the internet through any device. While the average daily time to use social media through any device was 3 hours, 26 minutes and the average daily television viewing time (broadcast, streaming, and video on demand) was 3 hours, 4 minutes. The data show the high probability of Indonesians obtaining information about elections from social media and television.

4.2. The Use of Social Media and Election Results

Since 2005, Indonesia has implemented a system of direct regional head elections (*Pemilu Kepala Daerah langsung*, Pilkadal) [15], [16], [33], [34]. Pilkadal was immediately held simultaneously starting in 2015, 2017, and 2018, and most recently on December 9, 2020. The 2019 coronavirus pandemic disease or abbreviated as Covid-19 that hit the world and Indonesia at the beginning of the year, March 2020, forced the Indonesian General Election Commission (*Komisi Pemilihan Umum*, KPU) to stop the election stages through the Republic of Indonesia's KPU Decree No. 179/2020 concerning Postponement of Elections for Governors, Regents and Mayors in Covid-19 Prevention [16].

Referring to the data from the recap section of the local election commission (Table 2), the preliminary results of the 2020 Malang Pilkada real count compiled according to the candidate pair serial number are as follows: (1). Sanusi-Didik Gatot Subroto; (2). Lathifah Shohib-Didik Budi Mulyono; and (3). Heri Cahyono-Gunadi Handoko. Sanusi-Didik Gatot Subroto was the running mate of PDIP, Nasdem, PPP, Gerindra, Democrat and Golkar. Meanwhile, Lathifah Shohib-Didik Budi Mulyono was promoted by PKB and Hanura. Lathifah was recorded as having occupied the seat of the DPR RI PKB fraction for 2 periods. Meanwhile, Heri Cahyono-Gunadi Handoko advanced to the Malang 2020 Pilkada from an independent route. Heri is listed as a businessman and owns at least three companies with the status of 1 PT and 2 CV, while Gunadi Handoko has a history as an advocate.

Table 2.   Name of Candidate, Parties Coalition, Parties Vote, Candidate Vote

No.	Couple of Candidate	Coalition	Party Vote (%)	Candidate Vote (%)
1.	Sanusi-Didik Gatot Subroto	PDIP, Golkar, Nasdem, PPP, Gerindra, and Demokrat	84.70	45.20
2.	Lathifah Shohib-Didik Budi Mulyono	PKB and Hanura	15.30	42.60
3.	Heri Cahyono-Gunadi Handoko	Independent	0.00	12.10

All candidates who competed in the 2020 Malang Regency election use social and mass media in their campaign. The results of interviews with the chairman of the election supervisory body (Bawaslu) and election commissioner staff (KPU) show that candidate number 2 (challenger) was the most active in conducting campaigns in the media, followed by the candidate number 1 (incumbent), and candidate number 3 as an independent candidate. This is in line with the results of Amanda and Apriani's research entitled "Communication Strategies in the 2020 Local Election Stages Socialization During the Covid-19 Pandemic" [25] and Sandi and Jaya's research entitled "Public Perception of the Implementation of Simultaneous Regional Head Election 2020 during Covid-19 Pandemic in Palangkaraya Regency" [17]. The use of social media for candidates in campaigning means reducing the intensity of direct meetings with voters. This will reduce the practice of money politics that often occurs in general elections[30]. However, the negative impact that arises from the use of this media is the occurrence of black campaigns [23]. The media attacks were mostly focused on the number one candidate as the incumbent because he was considered the strongest candidate and was likely to win the election because of the support from the majority of the party. Therefore, it is not surprising that during the campaign or debate, the first candidate who was the incumbent often received attacks related to the handling of Covid-19.

The election results showed the incumbent dominating the votes with a total of 45.2%, candidate number 2 is 42.60, and candidate number 3 is 12.10. The victory of the incumbent with a total vote of 42.5% is clearly not satisfying because they were supported by a coalition of majority parties (84.70%) (Vote of each political party can be seen in table 3). Even though candidate number 2 is not the election winner but the progress of the vote acquisition was won by number 2 due to the support of a coalition as much as 15.30%. Lathifah Shohib as candidate number 2 has sociological ties with the largest religious mass organization in Malang Regency namely the grandson of the founder of Nahdhatul Ulama (NU). The rest of the vote (12.10%) is for candidate number 3 (independent). This is also relevant to Hanan's finding which states that the 2019 elections in Indonesia are more familiar with Identity politics [41]. However, this identity politics will also have an impact on clientelistic exchanges posing considerable challenges such as buying, clientelistic clans encouraging factionalism, and fraudulent deals with corporate campaign donors undermining their popularity [36].

The significant increase in the votes of the Lathifah Shohib-Didik Budi Mulyono candidates compared to the accumulated votes of the coalition parties shows that social media is effective and widely used media employed by-election contestants in the Malang district. This finding support Saraswati (2020), which shows that social media have been widely used in political campaigns by both regional head candidates, and political parties and also a presidential election in Indonesia [20].

Even though respondents spend more time on social media looking for information, however, the news released by television or mass media such as newspapers and online news channels are more reliable [11].

Table 3. Parties and the 2019 Election Vote in Malang Region Indonesia

Party	Vote in Each District							Total	Prosentage
	1	*2*	*3*	*4*	*5*	*6*	*7*		
Nasdem	9,665	8,152	12,871	10,314	5,328	13,251	17,904	77,485	6%
PKB	36,052	26,498	34,190	22,887	32,877	12,405	24,806	189,715	15%
PKS	5,991	8,032	12,183	7,999	10,098	5,255	7,816	57,374	5%
PDI P	31,580	38,383	45,182	47,174	38,564	53,645	48,236	302,764	24%
Golkar	20,061	48,835	46,257	43,241	37,074	31,404	40,824	267,696	21%
Gerindra	18,689	23,085	14,472	19,701	15,048	22,939	21,919	135,853	11%
Demokrat	19,118	18,428	10,835	11,167	7,883	7,440	6,917	81,788	6%
PAN	9,018	5,724	3,445	8,530	7,207	3,201	5,359	42,484	3%
PPP	9,749	4,800	6,506	4,228	12,462	3,557	3,606	44,908	4%
Hanura	4,851	7,733	4,415	7,434	4,178	14,574	9,229	52,414	4%
PBB	793	1,235	2,612	631	1,329	614	1,024	8,238	1%
PKPI	313	1,165	579	864	244	1,560	759	5,484	0%
Total								**1,266,203**	**100%**

Notes: Partai Demokrasi Indonesia Perjuangan (PDIP, Indonesian Democratic Party-Struggle), Golongan Karya (Golkar, The Functional Group of Parties), Nasional Demkorat (Nasdem, National Democrat Party). Partai Persatuan Pembangunan (PPP, United Development Party), Gerakan Indonesia Raya (Gerindra, Great Indonesia Movement), Partai Demokrat (PD, Democrat Party) Partai Kebangkitan Bangsa (PKB, National Awakening Party), Partai Hati Nurani Rakyat (Hanura, People's Conscience Party) Partai Keadilan Sejahtera (PKS, Prosperity and Justice Party).

Moreover, the effects of pandemics on election equality can also vary across political systems. According to Flores and Smith (2013), in a democratic political system, disasters have little effect on the level of protest or the continuity of power [13]. On the other hand, in an autocratic system disasters can increase protests and reduce the continuity of leadership Meanwhile, the numbers of votes obtained by candidates number two and three correlate with the campaign model applying social media as a part of the new election rules in the pandemic era. Nonetheless, the incumbents cannot freely mobilize the masses in the campaign even though it has sufficient support from the majority coalition parties and the resources to mobilize the masses.

5. Conclusion

The election problem during the COVID-19 pandemic is how to reduce mass mobilization in order to protect the public from being infected with the virus. The results showed that mass media was very effective in delivering election information and campaign issues in Malang Regency. This finding can be the solution for the problem between health interests during pandemics and holding elections that involved people. Since the use of social media in the socialization of elections and campaigns, it can reduce the occurrence of face-to-face meetings and mass mobilization in campaigns so as to cut the chain of the spread of COVID-19. Furthermore, the results of a study by Rusyidi and Sulchan [28] show that elections during a pandemic will reduce voter turnout, but our finding is different, there is an increase in voters in Malang Regency. This happens because there is a closeness and similarity to the primordial base of Islam, where there are two candidates who have the largest mass organization background in Malang Regency, namely Nahdhatul Ulama (NU).

This finding is very useful to prevent the spread of covid-19 during elections. Nevertheless, we realize that there are some weaknesses in this research: first, the research was only conducted in Malang Regency; it did not cover all regions that were holding elections. In addition, in data collection such as data of social media users, actually, we should conduct a survey; however, under covid-19 Pandemic this cannot be done due to lockdown. Therefore, we suggest for further research

needs to conduct surveys related to elections during the pandemic in other areas, including survey research related to media use. For the election committee, because the use of mass media cannot explore in more detail related to the candidate's vision, mission and program, we recommend creating a special website that contains the candidate's vision, mission, and political platform. In addition, the government must make a new policy for the implementation of a more modern election namely electronic voting.

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