

GROUPTHINK IN POLITICAL PARTICIPATION IN THE 2019 PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION

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Abstract

The 2019 Presidential election divided voters into two strongholds, namely the strongholds of Jokowi-Ma'ruf supporters and the stronghold of Prabowo-Sandi supporters. There has been an increase in political participation caused by the high cohesiveness of the group in supporting both candidates. The two sides attack each other even in some cases can damage family relationships and friendships due to differences in choice. The cohesiveness is evident from the swearing used to attack each group, Kampret is a swearing-in aimed at supporters of Prabowo- Sandi, and Cebong is a swearing-in aimed at supporters of Jokowi -Ma'ruf. The purpose of this paper is to see groupthink in political participants in the 2019 Presidential Election. The methodology used is descriptive qualitative. The results of this study show that groupthink occurred in the 2019 presidential election seen from several symptoms, namely each side shows the illusion of inconsistency, belief in ingrained morality, the existence of stereotypes of opposing groups, collective rationalization, self-censorship, pressure on opponents, mind guards and the illusion of unanimity.

Keywords: *Political Participation; Groupthink; Group Cohesiveness*

Introduction

General Election (PEMILU) is a democratic party held every five years to elect people's representatives. In the Law of the Republic of Indonesia number 8 of 2012 it is defined that elections are a means of exercising people's sovereignty carried out directly, publicly, freely, secretly, honestly, and fairly within the Republic of Indonesia based on Pancasila and the 1945 Constitutions. The institution in charge of the Indonesian Election is the KPU (the General Election Commission), an election management institution that is rational, permanent, and independent in nature and has the task of conducting elections.

The 2019 election was attended by two pairs of presidential candidates, namely Prabowo-Sandi as candidate number 01, and Joko Widodo Ma'ruf Amin as candidate number 02. It was also attended by six National parties and four Acehese local parties, as well as followed by a permanent voter list of 190,779,969 domestic permanent voters and 2,086,285 foreign permanent voters so that a total voter list is 192,866,254. The election was held in 810,329 polling stations (TPS) throughout Indonesia. Not only electing presidential candidates, the Legislative Assembly candidates of regency, provincial, and national (DPR), as well as DPD (Regional Representative Council), are elected simultaneously in the 2019 election. Each presidential candidate competes for the people's vote to achieve the highest government power. In each region, each legislative candidate also competes for a seat in government.

There is an increase in political participation in these elections. This can be seen from the low level of Golput or Golongan Putih, namely the group that did not vote in the 2019 presidential election. The level of Golput in 2019 was 19.24%, the lowest level of Golput in the direct presidential elections since post-reformation. A News published by the BBC with the title Survey: Number of golput in 2019 presidential election lowest since 2004, The General Election Commission (KPU) states that the level of Golput in the 2004 presidential election was 23.30%, 27.45% in the 2009 presidential election, and 30.42% in the presedential election. Amid a wave of distrust with government, the interesting thing is that political participation in the presidential election has increased.

Uniquely, each group competed to defend their candidates, resulting in the appearance of the terms "Kampret" and "Cebong" in the 2019 presidential election. Kampret is the title pinned to supporters of the presidential candidate Prabowo-Sandi, while Cebong is the name given to supporters of the Jokowi-Ma'ruf presidential candidate. In the 2019 election, the cohesiveness of each group was felt, some groups strongly defended and supported each camp. In addition, many friendships were fractured due to differences in political support.

In his interview with the BBC, Fenny Listiana stated that this difference in political support was influenced by many things, from poor political education to the selfishness of the elite in defending values. It causes social fragmentation in society, as well as the emergence of new fanatical groups because they hold on to the truth one-sided. Apart from that, there was a grudge and a mutual suspicion narrative between the peoples of the nation. According to Listiana, it is called the hypertrophy or inflammation of the point of view, according to sociological terms. Wayan Suyadnya said we are used to seeing things from a point of view. For instance, a hoax can function as a tool to hypnotize and brainwash someone when it is continuously promoted. If it has happened then we tend to be irrational, such as using a "horse-eye" point of view with no regard for more objective information.

Previous research has not yet studied this phenomenon. Some of them saw the phenomenon of "Cebong" and "Kampret", such as a research of M. Tazri on the politics of blasphemy in the Indonesian political communication system with the phenomenological study of Cebong-Kampret. The results of his research show that with phenomenological studies, blasphemy politics is an expression of excessive political cynicism and the use of Cebong-Kampret is a decrease in the language quality of political communication in Indonesia (Tazri, 2019). Meanwhile, research focused on groupthink is conducted by Sari Monik Agustin who examined peer-group communication on the concept of violence and bullying (study groupthink theory and socialization of anti-violence and bullying to students of SMA Negeri 70, Bulungan-Jakarta). The results of his research indicate that the violence and bullying concepts are related to the cohesiveness of groups formed in a tradition. Cohesiveness is formed by naming the force with a militaristic

approach. The military tradition resulted in acts of violence and bullying among senior and junior groups (Agustin, 2014).

This paper aims to prove that political participants from the Jokowi-Ma'ruf support group and the Prabowo-Sandi support group show symptoms of groupthink in it. One of these symptoms is the existence of stereotypes towards other groups which can be seen from the curses that emerge from both, namely "Cebong" dan "Kampret." This section discusses the purposes of the study or research problems, the contribution to knowledge, reason researched, formulating the problem, novelty, research gap. and hypothesis (option). Length of articles writing between 5000 to 6000 words using space of 1.15 and justify. Page size B5 with margin Left 3 cm, Up 3 cm, Right 3 cm and Bottom 3 cm.

Research Method

This paper will discuss groupthink phenomena in the 2019 Presidential Election. Groupthink is a negative result of relationships within a negative group that arises when a group builds a very strong cohesiveness intended as a reaction to suppress the environment outside their group. The form of groupthink that emerged was the ridicule of each volunteer camp. They consider their group to be the best, so they ridicule each other with the terms "Kampret" and "Cebong". Groupthink is also the result of wrong political participation. The questions in this paper can be formulated in two forms, first, how groupthink is formed in group communication. Second, what factors influence the groupthink formulation in group communication in the 2019 presidential election? These volunteers are a form of political participation.

This paper uses a qualitative descriptive method based on the groupthink theory introduced by Irving Janis. The author uses the observation technique in collecting research data. The data used in the study are taken from the cohesiveness and political communication among volunteer camps spread in mass media and social media related to the politics of the 2019 presidential election. Qualitative methods are used to obtain in-depth data that contains meaning, namely actual data and is definite data behind the visible data (Sugiono, 2013).

Results and Discussion

For political science, participation is the effort of the community both individually and in groups to participate in the formation of public policies in the country. It can be done directly or indirectly. The direct one is by making contact with officials who determine public policymaking. Meanwhile, an indirect form of public participation is to write opinions in newspapers and magazines about the public agenda. Apart from direct and indirect ways, there are conventional and unconventional forms of public participation (Ardial, 2009).

The KPU stated that there was an increase in voter participation in the 2019 elections and reached 81 percent. According to KPU commissioner, Viryan Aziz, participation increased by almost 10 percent and exceeded the national target of 77.5 percent. Arfianto Purbolaksono analyzes this phenomenon with the opinion of Ramlan Subakti (1992) in article Increased Voter Participation in the 2019 Elections that two important variables influence political participation, namely political awareness of rights and obligations of citizens and the citizens' assessment of government policies and implementation. It means that higher political awareness is implemented by participating in elections. Based on the second variable regarding the government's performance, for Jokowi supporters, the voters assess the current government's performance as good. Meanwhile, supporters of the Prabowo see that the performance of the government is bad and needs to be replaced.

Gaffar said that conventional political participation is political participation carried out by common ways known in certain political systems, for example by becoming members of certain political parties, and political participation in unconventional ways is carried out using demonstrations. Volunteers of political parties which we will discuss in this paper are quite interesting because not all of them are party members but have high cohesiveness with their parties. What motivates them in their group communication? Why does groupthink occur which is a negative impact on group communication?

Political participation is either independent or driven by other people or groups, which is mobilized political participation. Gaffar in

“demythologizing Indonesian politics” divides political participation into several forms:

Firstly, Electoral Activity: all forms of activities that are directly or indirectly related to elections such as making contributions to party campaigns, volunteering in party campaign activities, taking part in political campaigns, inviting people to support and vote for political parties on behalf of parties, casting votes in elections, supervising the implementation, casting and counting of votes, assessing the nominated candidates, etc. Second, Lobbying: Actions taken by a person or group of people to contact government officials or political figures to influence them. Third, Organizational Activity: Community involvement in various social and political organizations. Fourth, Contacting: Participation is carried out by citizens directly. Fifth, Violence: a way of violence to influence the government (Ardial, 2009).

This paper discusses more the Electoral Activity carried out by volunteers of each camp. Volunteers who are members of the group influence each other to achieve common goals, namely how to win the pair of candidates supported, and various strategies are carried out to achieve their goals.

The 2019 presidential election is different from the previous elections. Support from both sides to win the presidential election is done in various ways to get votes and support from the public. In Article 6 of Kubu Prabowo Sandi Combat Strategy A Head of the 2019 Presidential Election, The strategy used by Prabowo-Sandi's team in the final round before the election was to increase the number of safaris to East Java and Central Java, optimize the role of Erwin Aksa from South Sulawesi businessmen, organize the Grand Campaign (Kampanye Akbar) in South Sulawesi, strengthen orientation in Papua, and confirm promises in Western Indonesia. Meanwhile, the National Campaign Team of the Jokowi-Maruf pair has mapped the “center of gravity” of the campaign area for its winning strategy. This strategy maps the territory that is the strength of the opponent. The objective of this strategy is to widen the candidates' superiority and narrow the difference in votes(Kompas,2019).

Both camps use a strategy of using buzzers to gain votes from active voters in cyberspace. Social media such as Facebook and Twitter have increased the influence of both camps of volunteers to make good use of

social media. This social media is most appropriate for targeting the Indonesian people who are mostly dominated by Gen Z and Millennial. The results of the 2020 population census recorded that the total population of Indonesia reached 270.2 million, where Gen Z was 74.93 million and the millennial generation was 25.8 million. Millennials are those who were born from 1981 to 1996. Currently, they are of a productive age with They are making YouTube and the Internet a daily habit. Their working hours are not monotonous. They come to the office by not using a formal dress. Their office designs are more open and relaxed. Their world becomes more familiar with the technology. Meanwhile, the Z generations who were born in the period 1997 to early 2012 are much more familiar with the technology. Their characteristics are more comparable to that of the millennial generation, more global, open, individual, faster in entering the world of work, entrepreneurial but they are also less focused. This generation makes it more tech-savvy, more agile, and multi-tasking(Aulia,2017).

The number of millennial voters is the main target of the two camps, both Jokowi and Prabowo. According to Tagar News, the percentage of youth and the millennial generation reaches around 52% of the population. There are several problems faced by millennials ranging from human resources, creative economy, entrepreneurship, and health, while they are happy with concrete and direct things. Their political direction can be seen from several factors such as the potential for participation and stability of choice, sensitivity on social and policy issues, and interest in candidates with preferred characters.

Maman Imanulhaq in his interview with the BBC said that Jokowi's volunteers did socialization with campaigns either by air, raising social media, and door to doorway. Volunteers also provide political education and training such as witness training, so that the presidential election will produce leaders with dignity, quality, and sovereignty. There are 425 team leaders both at central and regional levels. Through the same interview, Sadar Subagyo stated that the Prabowo camp reaches out to millennials and mothers (emak-emak) in the same way as the door-to-door campaign. In addition to the millennial group, they will also target the less touched segment of voters, namely mothers (emak-emak) who experience economic stagnation directly(Adam,2017)

The selection of these mothers (emak-emak) is interesting because they are the decision-makers in the family in many ways. Their broad network and influence are quite large. The Prabowo team is working on this segment more seriously, one of which is by rocking Prabowo-Sandi's "The Power of Emak-Emak" which has been seen by 508,000 viewers. If the Jokowi supporting team targeted the millennials as their main strength, then Prabowo's supporter team will focus more on getting women's votes, namely emak-emak because this is an important and strategic segment in the campaign.

In contrast to Jokowi, to get his vote, he uses more media and YouTubers to attract the attention of his supporters. Some of his appearances in the media were through Mata Najwa, Ini Talk Show, and Liga Dangdut 2019. Jokowi also appeared on several YouTubes via vloggers Boy William, Ria Ricis, and Raffi Ahmad. In every interview with the media, Jokowi always involves his family to show the strength of the family concept that his opponent does not have.

Jokowi's success in getting votes cannot be separated from the shaping and building of his image. Jokowi has succeeded in building his image as a humble, simple, and not exaggerating figure. In addition, Jokowi's image is strengthened by his closeness to Muslims supported by cooperating with Ma'ruf Amin and Muslim scholars (Ulama) to eliminate his anti-Islamic impression (Fitri, 2020).

There is a groupthink symptom that emerged among the two support groups. It can be seen from the emergence of the phrase "Cebong" and "Kampret" which was pinned to supporters of the presidential candidate, Cebong for Jokowi's supporters and Kampret for Prabowo supporters. Groupthink occurs when there is high cohesiveness in a group. Cohesiveness is a sense of togetherness in a group, which can be positive when it is well controlled in open communication among group members. Groupthink becomes negative when it cannot be controlled. According to Bowman (1996), group members often have the same feelings and cause group members to have good relationships or high cohesiveness which causes groupthink.

Dedy Mulyana argues that groups are people who have common goals who interact with each other to achieve those goals, get to know each other, and see them as part of the group (Mulyana, 2005).

Supporters of Jokowi Ma'ruf and Prabowo-Sandi formed a group. Those who were members of the winning team volunteering had the same goal, namely to win the candidate pair. KMP/Koalisi Merah Putih (the Red and White Coalition) have been supporters of Prabowo Subianto since the 2014 presidential election. Meanwhile, Jokowi and his supporters are the Great Indonesia Coalition (KIH/Koalisi Indonesia Hebat).

Previous research conducted by Dickens and Hefferman on group communication stated that (Goldberg & Larsens, 2006) after discussion process, an extreme opinion tends to take a middle position, an opinion tends to prioritize accuracy and truth, a person's judgment/opinion tends to be influenced by his knowledge of attitudes members, majority correct answers tended to be defended compared to minority answers, and group superiority was stronger in overcoming problems through openness to responses.

Groupthink Theory developed by Irving Janis (Miller, 2002) is a concept referring to a mode of thinking in which a group of people who are involved is in a high cohesiveness of the group. Cohesiveness is one of the important variables in seeing group effectiveness. It is the degree of similarity of interest among group members (Littlejohn & Foss, 2008). Cohesiveness can be positive or negative, having a positive impact because it can unite the group and open interpersonal relationships for each group member. Janis also said cohesiveness can be dangerous when it is high and increases the energy of its members to achieve common goals that have an impact on decision-making. For example, when we make decisions based on personal achievements such as friendship, prestige, and self-confirmation because of the need for high self-esteem and we try to create positive bonds in the group (Littlejohn & Foss, 2008). The impact is that the decisions taken are not objective and are influenced by the group. This strong desire to strengthen the group and maintain this judgment is one of the characteristics of the groupthink group. In the end, individual members prevent divisions and reduce differences of opinion and a unified whole. Academics focus on effective communication processes in group decision-making (Miller, 2002: 220). The group becomes less critical and trusts the group.

Irving Jannis (1982) describes three prominent conditions that encourage groupthink to occur. First is the spirit of togetherness that

stands out in the loyalty of the leader. It is the cohesiveness with the most identical characteristics. Groupthink appeared in the 2019 presidential election. One of the symptoms is a group that has a high level of cohesiveness and often fails to develop the actions to be taken. Being positive when it makes the group remain intact but it becomes a danger when cohesiveness is high and creates diversity in thinking and behaving vulnerable to affiliative boundaries. According to Dennis Gouran (1998), affiliative boundaries mean group members prefer to hold back rather than risk being rejected from their group (Gun, 2019). It can be seen from the Jokowi-Ma'ruf and Prabowo-Sandi volunteer groups in supporting their partners. Both have a high spirit of togetherness and loyalty to their support. It can be seen from the many supporters who are members of the Great Indonesia Coalition and the Red and White Coalition.

Apart from the spirit of togetherness, the conditions that encourage groupthink are structural factors in the form of a lack of impartial leadership and a lack of decision-making procedures. The last factor that encourages groupthink is the pressure from the group both internally and externally. Groupthink occurs when members move not because of individual awareness but because of loyalty to the leader and their actions dissolve in group collective action. For example, when an Ormas (mass organization) that goes on the road builds an affiliative boundary with its members starting with the same uniform, the same shout, to the command to move together (Gun, 2019: 29). It was also done by both camps, for example, the National Campaign Team, to support Jokowi, used the same uniform, namely a white shirt. Jokowi invited his supporters to wear white clothes when voting at the TPS (polling station). The Center for Strategic and International Studies (CSIS) researcher, Arya Fernandes, assesses that the choice of white clothes is to build a simple image and attempts to contrasting the image to political opponents who wear black suits; this is a form of satire for the opposing camp. Meanwhile, the National Campaign Team through the special spokesperson for the millennial Jokowi-Ma'ruf, Deny Giovani, saw the selection of a white shirt as a narrative form of moving towards advanced Indonesia, and white essentially symbolized holiness in the new era. This uniform was also used for campaigns during the 2019 presidential election.

Groupthink is the result of a negative relationship in group communication when a group feels strong cohesiveness and tries to suppress the environment outside them. There are several symptoms of groupthink that have emerged from the Jokowi and Prabowo camps. Both camps have high cohesiveness in their groups. These symptoms include the illusion of vulnerability, which is a situation when the group believes that they have the privilege to be able to overcome various problems that arise. Both camps experience this, the Jokowi supporting camp has high self-confidence because it is in the current government with the success of programs both development and welfare improvement with KIP being one of the main forces and able to defeat Prabowo's camp. Meanwhile, Prabowo's camp considered that the government was failing and, in his speech, stated that “the country was sick” (in very worrying condition).

The second symptom is the belief in morality embedded in the group: the view that the group is good and the decisions are taken will be good too. The group did not try to question the belief in morality and tended to see that the belief had provided motivation and worked well for the group. Jokowi's supporters believe that they will be able to make Indonesia progress with a narrative of optimism that after infrastructure development, it will be followed by strengthening human resources. Meanwhile, Prabowo's supporters invited him to bring New Indonesia to be clean from corruption and to work for the people.

The third symptom is the emergence of an outside group stereotype. It makes group members who are affected by groupthink seem to look down on all outside the group. It can be seen when the group feels the best so that there is cursing for opponents from each camp. Jokowi's supporters used “Kampret” for Prabowo supporters while Prabowo supporters used “Cebong” for Jokowi's supporters. According to Tagar.id, the “Cebong” refers to Jokowi's penchant for keeping frogs when he was governor. Meanwhile, the “Kampret” was taken from the “KMP” (Prabowo's supporting party) in the 2014 presidential election so that Prabowo's supporters were called “KaMPret” by their opponents.

The fourth symptom that appears in groupthink is a collective rationalization that occurs when group members ignore warnings that will encourage them to reconsider their thoughts and actions before

making the final decision. The two camps carry out collective rationalization, for example in the campaign, the Jokowi camp feels they have power because their performance in the government has made many changes. Meanwhile, the Prabowo camp considers that they are appropriate and rational to reverse what their opponents are campaigning for. For example, the tagline raised is “New Indonesia” because there is still a lot of corruption, demanding that the government work for the people, etc.

The fifth symptom occurs when a group convinces its group members that the decision made is correct and it is self-censorship. Groups then silence the opposing personal thoughts and use group rhetoric to reinforce group decisions. It is the negative side of groupthink, in which those who have different thoughts in the support camp will prefer to remain silent or refrain from arguing.

The next symptom is the pressure on opponents. When in a group some express an opinion that is contrary to the majority opinion, then they will get pressure. Each member of Jokowi's winning group will feel that he is the guardian of the group's unity, and vice versa, the Prabowo winning team member will guard his group for the sake of group unity. There will be a sense of belonging from each member. Group cohesiveness is their strength. The difference in choices in the 2019 Presidential Election has caused several conflicts both in the family and community spheres, like what happened to Edo and Hadi who are both fanatical supporters and spread support in their media status. Eko and Hadi are brothers, Eko supports Jokowi and Hadi and his family support Prabowo. Both of them are members of the big family Whatsapp group. Both of them attacked each other in the group, and in the end, Eko left the group. Even, in a direct meeting, the two were still arguing (Aditya,2017). The difference of opinion on choice resulted in Eko leaving his group because he felt being pressured by the majority opinion.

The sixth symptom of groupthink occurs when each member of the group will be a mind guard for their group. They will protect the group from information that contradicts or does not support them and will justify the decisions made.

The last symptom is when the group has the illusion of unanimity with group members assuming that what is done is approved by other groups (Janis, 1991).

Conclusion

The above condition is the groupthink symptom that has emerged from both camps of the Jokowi support group and the Prabowo support group. After the presidential election, it turns out that this symptom still occurs among political participants, even though currently both parties are conducting political reconciliation in the government. According to Gun, three solutions can be done to reduce conflict after the election, namely the delivery of peaceful messages from the two pairs of candidates, the meeting of the two parties with a tiered political public relations approach, and the role of figures to promote peace with the assistance of media delivered by religious leaders and community leaders (Gun, 2020). It has been done by Jokowi and Prabowo. Now Prabowo-Sandi joins the Indonesian Maju Cabinet. Prabowo is appointed Minister of Defense on October 23, 2019, because he is considered experienced in the military world. Meanwhile, Sandiaga Uno is inaugurated as Minister of Tourism and Creative Economy on December 23, 2020. Sandi is chosen because he has experience as a successful young entrepreneur and is expected to develop tourism and the creative economy.

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