Post-truth and echo chamber phenomena in the facebook of Jokowi and Prabowo

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Abstract

This study aims at investigating how far the post-truth and echo chamber phenomena penetrate into Indonesian social media via comparative qualitative research methods. The data were taken from the messages related to the political contestation of Jokowi and Prabowo's supporters on Facebook. The results show that Indonesian social media has been penetrated by the post-truth and echo chamber phenomena. In conclusion, when the sample was taken from the group with the highest number of members, it is known that there are many posts with the topics of propaganda, criticism, hate speech, mockery, logical fallacy, and fake information in it.

Keywords: Echo Chamber, Facebook, Hate Speech.

Fenómenos de la cámara de la verdad y el eco en el facebook de Jokowi y Prabowo

Resumen

Este estudio tiene como objetivo investigar hasta qué punto los fenómenos posteriores a la verdad y la cámara de eco penetran en las redes sociales indonesias a través de métodos comparativos de investigación cualitativa. Los datos se tomaron de los mensajes relacionados con la disputa política de los partidarios de Jokowi y Prabowo en Facebook. Los resultados muestran que los medios sociales indonesios han sido penetrados por los fenómenos posteriores a la verdad y la cámara de eco. En conclusión, cuando se tomó la muestra del grupo con el mayor número de miembros, se sabe que hay muchos mensajes con los temas de

propaganda, crítica, discurso de odio, burla, falacia lógica e información falsa.

Palabras clave: Echo Chamber, Facebook, Hate Speech.

1. INTRODUCTION

The emergence of the internet has significantly changed the communication pattern of modern society. The Internet has altered the traditional communication that is restricted to the communication that is broad (even hyper), variation, multi-interactive, and rapid. If in two or three decades ago the communication pattern only had one-to-many-audiences or one-to-one-audience patterns, the modern communication pattern has exceeded them all, that is a many-audience-to-many-audience pattern. Even further, modern communication can combine them all to a mode which is often known as communication via social media. Currently, social media have changed beyond the expectation of its creators. Social media is not only utilized to communicate, but it has also been transformed into a replica of public space in the real world. The public space in the real world, such as a park, street, and school, is the shared chatting place. Everyone can come in, enjoy, and even voice their expression or protest, or even only to have a casual conversation. Social media unconsciously replaces public space in the real world. The weaknesses of the public space in the real world are limited by space and time, the conveyed speech/ information in the real public space is hard to store and to reproduce in a large quantity.

The public space in the cyberspace or social media far grown vastly and exceeded the initial expectations of its creators. Through the power of information technology, media, and digital, social media has become more fluid, egalitarian, and not limited by space and time. Social media is also efficient and inexpensive since everything conveyed there, such as speech, verbal, and visual, can be stored, reproduced repeatedly in unlimited quantity, and delivered instantly. These are the positive sides of social media in the cyberspace. However, like a double-edged knife, social media also brings negative impacts, that is potential to be a fertile field for the reproduction of information, speech, statement, verbal, visual, and motion picture that are false, manipulative (hoax/fake news), logically fallacious (logical fallacy), full of hatred (hate speech), and violent (bullying). Unfortunately, the fake or logically fallacious information is now even more trusted and regarded as the truth. Not because it is objectively true, but it is true because the reproduced wrong/fake fact can be regarded as true since it is able to touch the emotional-psychological side of a person compared to the information that is based on the objective facts yet monotone. This becomes an irony when this kind of information is recently alleged to greatly contribute to shaping public opinion.

The formation and rapprochement of public opinion that has traditionally been shaped by mainstream media, yet it is no longer that way in the internet era. The mainstream media (journalism), that is fulfilled with the strict rules to produce information, has the arch-rival from the individual or society (read: netizens) who are able to produce information, manipulate it as freely as possible, then spread it with the dissemination power that is no less than the mainstream media. The true information that is packed correctly based on the true objective facts can

lose from the false information that touches emotionally. Here, the truth eventually becomes bias, distorted, and relative, thus it is hard to tell which one is right or wrong, which one is fact or fiction, and which one is honest or deceitful. This phenomenon is recently called as the post-truth phenomenon. The term post-truth has become more popular in 2016 and it has become the Word of the Year of 2016 of Oxford Dictionaries. Based on its dictionary entry, post-truth is defined as a condition where the objective facts are less influential in shaping opinions compared to the emotion and personal belief. Meanwhile, Zarzalejos (2017) emphasized that post-truth consists of the relativization of truth, in the objectivity of data becoming commonplace and in the supremacy of emotional speech.

The objective facts that are not appreciated and the false facts that are more believed yet considered true emotionally is actually not a new thing. The information reproduction like this actually has been commonly done by humans since a long time ago. However, the huge potential in shaping public opinion just happened recently. In the post-truth era, people nowadays can influence public opinion through cyber path with the potential and speed that are no less than the mainstream media. The false facts that touch emotionally that are more believed than the objective facts happen not without cause. Many factors affect it, and one of them is due to the social media users' own behaviors which are selfish when using social media, tend to like or be fanatic toward the things they believe, and do not want to open their mind toward things out of their favor. They seem to wear sunglasses while consuming information and do not want to see the information they dislike regardless of whether the information is true or false. If the information is wrong, they will look for the right sides no matter how small it is, and if it is true, they will immediately take it up.

Such behaviors of social media users are apparently accommodated by the used social media. Through the engine algorithm, social media provides the peer-group for the users to gain information in accordance with their favor. The engine algorithm of certain social media will detect the digital history of its members, then it will provide all information that is in accordance with the members' likes, starting from peer-group, information, advertisement, and picture, as well as sorting the information that is not in accordance to the members' preferences (Geovanie, 2013).

In the real world, such peer-group is similar to the communities of fellow fans of something. However, in the real world, the choice of such peer-group is limited, while in the cyberspace, the choice of the peer-group is boundless, very fluid, and egalitarian. When the social media penetrates into space merely filled with what a person likes or with other members with a similar perspective, a person is actually trapped in the space called echo chamber. Echo chamber is a phenomenon in which a person enters a room filled only with the things he likes. It means that in the room, the social media user solely hears, feels, and sees the information he likes or in accordance with his preference. He indeed hears various voices, information, opinions, and arguments, yet the substance is the same. Consequently, when a social media user is included in an echo chamber, the engine algorithm will fill up this member with the preferred information. This is a phenomenon which is identical with homophily, that is a pattern in which a person will be connected more closely to the people who own similarities instead of differences (Mcperson et al., 2001; Shabbir et al., 2018). On one side, the information can please the user, yet on the other side, it will blunt criticality. The user will be difficult to distinguish the rights and the wrongs since all of them are the same. The

user has previously built a kind of a priori since the emotional side plays more role than the logic. This is allegedly to cause the users to tend to accept and believe in what he likes all the time, regardless of whether the information is false, full of hatred, logically fallacious, exaggerated with propaganda, provocative, and full of violence. Here, the signs of post-truth and echo chamber phenomena have entered the social media users.

These phenomena are what lately have been used by the political actors to achieve the political goals in a political contestation in the world. Let us remember Donald Trump's campaign in the US presidential election in 2016. Donald Trump exploited Facebook by making approximately 50,000 different advertisements for his campaign which are assumed that not all advertisements were made based on true and objective facts. In England, the Brexit referendum also did a similar thing with Trump by making thousands of advertisements on Facebook. This fact is confirmed by PolitiFact, an independent fact examiner agency in the USA, which assessed that 70% of Donald Trump's statements were false or hoax during the presidential campaign in 2016. Meanwhile, his opponent Hillary Clinton is much lower, that is only 26%, although this percentage was actually pretty high either (Lewandowsky, 2017; Ahmad & Ahmad, 2018).

In Germany, the right-wing party obtained the escalation of seats in the parliament for spreading fear in the social media that the Syrian refugees gained more privileges than the genuine German people. In Egypt, social media played a significant role in overthrowing Husni Mubarak's regime and became one of the initial triggers of Arab Spring 2011. Indonesia is also penetrated by the post-truth and echo chamber

phenomena. In Tanjung Balai, North Sumatera, in July 2016, riots occurred due to the provocation in social media. Then, in 2017, the police arrested a syndicate called Saracen due to their action of spreading provocative hate speech in social media. In 2017 DKI governor election, the victory of Anies Baswedan and Sandiaga Uno was also assumed to be the result of the success in playing identity politics in social media. The latest big issue in Indonesia which is potential to become the social conflict because of the vulnerability to what happens in social media is the contestation between the supporters affiliated with the political figures President Joko Widodo and the former presidential candidate Prabowo Subianto. The contestation which should be receding after 2014 presidential election is apparently dragged out, wildly developed, and heated up ahead of 2019 presidential election. Therefore, this study attempts to investigate further on how the post-truth and echo chamber phenomena enter the contestation of two supporters that are politically affiliated with Prabowo and Joko Widodo in social media. The employed method is the qualitative approach by analyzing in depth the utterances, visual images, and news conveyed by each supporting group in Facebook using critical discourse analysis method.

2. THE BACKGROUND OF THE POLITICAL CONTESTATION BETWEEN JOKOWI AND PRABOWO

Before going into the analysis of the supporters' Facebook messages, it is necessary to provide an overview of the political contestation between Joko Widodo, or Jokowi, and Prabowo Subianto, or Prabowo. They were the two presidential candidates who contested in

Indonesia's 2014 presidential election. What makes Indonesia's 2014 presidential election special compared to the previous presidential elections was first, there was no third presidential candidate which made the two candidates seemed doing a head to head competition, where one of them should win and the other should lose. Second, Jokowi was not the candidate to be reckoned with previously. Jokowi, when he was a presidential candidate, actually still officially served as DKI Jakarta Governor Period 2012-2017 and just became the presidential candidate several months before the election. Jokowi's unforeseen nomination, of course, made Prabowo as another presidential candidate and his supporters upset and giddy. Prabowo had long wanted the position, yet unexpectedly, there was a candidate who had similar electability as him just a year before the presidential election, that is Jokowi. The great hope that had burst in his heart finally vanished. Meanwhile, Jokowi's supporter's experienced great euphoria in knowing their candidate had the great electability. His political party, PDI-P (Partai Demokrasi Indonesia Perjuangan – Indonesian Democratic Party of Struggle), did not waste this opportunity, although Jokowi still had many responsibilities in Jakarta (Garrett, 2017).

This situation eventually placed both supporters in the position of fierce competition. There was no choice for them except winning the election. For such purpose, any means of the campaign were utilized by both supporters, and social media became one of the essential means chosen for the campaign. Social media became the arena to propagandize their own support candidates and to campaign the potential opponent negatively at once. Hundreds to thousands of news, speech, visuals, and motion picture were produced every single day to campaign the candidates. Social media had become the proxy war that lasted until

Election Day. The 2014 presidential election was eventually won by Jokowi. Jokowi's supporters felt the euphoria of victory, while Prabowo's supporters were disappointed. However, what is worth noting was that the contestation that has been running fierce and heated during the campaign period apparently continued after the election of Jokowi as President of the Republic of Indonesia in 2017, even up to now when approaching 2019 presidential election (Garrett, 2017).

3. RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

3.1 The Echo Chamber Effects and Post-Truth Phenomena

Facebook, instead of Twitter and Instagram, is the main social media that is employed for the contestation between Jokowi and Prabowo's supporters. Facebook provides various features to engage in social media, that is the main account or profile, fan page, and group. In a main account or profile, an individual is free of expressing their speech then being responded by the members who become his friends. Meanwhile, fan page and group have an almost similar function that becomes a place for the members who have similar favorite and preference toward something. Yet, a fan page is a group which functions to obtain fans and it tends to be a place to promote, advertise, or propagandize. Anyone can create a fan page and anyone who has a similar preference can be the members. However, its weakness is that only the owner of the fan page who can throw in information and the members can only respond, thus it tends to be one-way communication. Meanwhile, a group tends to be a discussion place for the members who own similar interest and

preference. Its strength is that anyone can give information, and anyone is free of responding to it. The profile, fan page, and group are the places called the peer-group or echo chambers. Facebook inserts our profile into an echo chamber, but it also provides choices for anyone to follow. It also makes people be able to create their own echo chambers through fan pages and groups that can be followed by anyone. If our profile becomes a certain fan page or group at the same time, then we will get into the situation shown in Figure 1.

Figure 1. Echo Chamber in Social Media

This study focuses on the echo chamber of Facebook group since this chamber is more fluid, egalitarian, and not one way. However, it should be noted that not all groups in Facebook are accessible. The

Facebook groups fall into two types, that is the public or open group, and secret group. The open group is the ones that can be found through the search engine and people can enter as a member. Meanwhile, the secret group cannot be encountered through the search engine and the admin will invite the people who want to join the group as a member. Without the invitation, people cannot access the group. Thus, this study analyzes only the open group and forsake the secret group. In the political contestation of Jokowi vs. Prabowo, the echo chambers in social media, particularly Facebook groups, is also divided into two; the supporters affiliated with Jokowi and the supporters affiliated with Prabowo. If the keywords Jokowi and Prabowo are searched and group is clicked, dozens of open groups of the two supporters appear with various number of members, starting from dozens to hundreds of thousands. The groups affiliated with Jokowi are 94 groups and the ones affiliated with Prabowo are 101 groups. Not all groups that utilize Jokowi or Prabowo's names are affiliated with the figures. Some are affiliated with the opponent, but the number is not many. Table 1 presents three Facebook groups with the highest number of members from each figure's supporters.

Table 1. Groups Affiliated with Jokowi and Prabowo with the Highest Members

Jokowi Affiliates			Prabowo Affiliates		
Group Name	Number of Members	Number of Posts in 30 Days	Group Name	Number of Members	Number of Posts in 30 Days
Loyalis Jokowi-Ahok	222.639	6.923	Prabowo for NKRI	736.076	7.720
Pengawal setia Jokowi-BTP dan NKRI	221.283	2.190	Harga Mati 2019 Dukung Prabowo Presiden	375.060	533

I Love Jokowi Presidenku	213,111	422	Prabowo Harapan Terakhir Rakyat Indonesia (PTHRI)	271.940	344

The groups shown in Table 1 are the echo chambers as the place for the individuals with the favorite, preference, and support to each figure. Jokowi's fans and lovers are assumed to enter one of the groups affiliated with him. The similar condition also applies to Prabowo's fans who will enter the groups affiliated with him. The total number of members when all group members are summed has yet been known. It is predicted to reach millions of members, which means that there will be at least one million Indonesians has entered the echo chambers who will inevitably be exposed to post-truth phenomenon in the political contestation affiliated with Jokowi and Prabowo. In the table above, if it is seen from the group with the highest number of members of each affiliation, that is Loyalis Jokowi-Ahok and Prabowo for NKRI groups, it can be seen that the number of members entering Prabowo affiliates is three times (300%) higher than the number of the same group affiliated with Jokowi. It means that Prabowo's supporters who enter the echo chamber are a lot more than Jokowi's supporters, which is potential to be exposed to the post-truth phenomenon (Pentina & Tarafdar, 2014).

Before analyzing it further, the form of messages conveyed in each group with the highest members will be examined. The message form or medium plays an important role in touching the readers' emotional side. The readers' emotion generally will be easy to touch, and it is easier to convey when they consume the information that is supplemented with

visual aids. These visuals can be in the form of pictures, images, sounds, or videos instead of only monotonous writings like texts or discourse. In general, any form of messages is potential to be penetrated by the post-truth phenomenon. Only the level of vulnerability is different. The easier a message to be manipulated to touch the emotional side, the more vulnerable it is to be penetrated by the phenomenon. For example, the message in the form of memes, photos, voices, or motion pictures is easier to touch the emotion instead of the monotonous verbal text messages. The medium is the message, said Marshall McLuhan in his book published in 1964, Understanding Media: The Extensions of Man. The form of medium is also a message and it is highly impactful in constructing the meaning. Moreover, this is the era where information is abundant, and it makes people have an enormous selection of information, yet they solely have limited time to consume it all. The simple assimilation form of visual, verbal, and motion picture will be more preferred or seen by the communicants instead of the discourse with longer verbal and less visual (Pang et al., 2016).

The summary of forms or media of conveyed message in the two biggest groups in which the data was taken are for two different days, that is June 24, 2018 and July 24, 2018. On June 24, 2018 (shown in Table 2), the numbers of posts taken were 256 and 269 posts. In Loyalis Jokowi-Ahok group, the highest number of posts was in the form of discourse or news, followed by speech and photo, short speech, motion picture (video), meme, and polling. Meanwhile, in Prabowo for NKRI group, the highest number of posts was meme, photo-speech, and motion picture/video (Mcquail, 1987).

Table 2. Forms of Message Posts in Loyalis Jokowi-Ahok and Prabowo
for NKRI Facebook Groups on June 24, 2018

Types of Forms	Loyalis Jokowi-Ahok	Prabowo for NKRI
News/discourse	81	17
Meme	34	80
Speech/short statement	43	45
Speech and photo	56	68
Motion picture	37	50
Polling	5	9
Total	256	269

By seeing the composition of the number of post types in both groups, it can be seen that they were extremely vulnerable to being penetrated by the post-truth phenomenon. Most of the messages were delivered in the forms that were supplemented with images, videos, and memes, which were prone to manipulation. However, Prabowo for NKRI group was more vulnerable than Loyalis Jokowi Ahok group since the forms of presented messages were dominated by memes that is prone to be manipulated. Loyalis Jokowi-Ahok group is more conducive since the presented messages were dominated by news or discourse. The high number of posts in this form created a good condition for the members to not be more severely exposed by the post-truth phenomenon. The form of long narrative text provides a clearer and more objective facts for the readers. Nevertheless, it is not a guarantee that this form of the post will contain objective, true, and logical content. It always returns to the criticality of the readers. The news or discourse posts merely provides a more objective condition (Oeldorfhirsch & Sundar, 2015).

If there is the most potent form of a message to provoke the post-truth phenomenon, it will be memes, speech and photo, and motion pictures. Meme is the most vulnerable post form to be penetrated by the

post-truth phenomenon since it can touch the emotional side and it is easy to manipulate at once. In Jokowi's supporting group, the number of meme and photo-speech was less than the news/discourse form. Yet, the posts exist, are numerous in quantity (35% if combined) and potential to create the readers' condition to be exposed by the post-truth phenomenon. Meanwhile, in Prabowo's supporting group, the posts with the highest number were meme (30%) and photo plus speech (25%) compared to other forms of posts. It indicates that in this group, the members entered the conducive chamber for the post-truth phenomenon to penetrate instead of Jokowi's supporting group. Moreover, if the numbers of both forms are summed, it reached more than 50% in total. It means that the members entering the group should be more critical, so they will not be exposed to the post-truth phenomenon (Eriyanto, 2001).

Table 3. Forms of Message Posts in Loyalis Jokowi-Ahok and
Prabowo for NKRI Facebook Groups on July 24, 2018

Types of Forms	Loyalis Jokowi-Ahok	Prabowo for NKRI
News/discourse	65 (22%)	24 (8%)
Meme	47 (16%)	45 (15%)
Speech/short statement	21 (7%)	42 (14%)
Speech and photo	50 (17%)	**102 (34%)**
Speech and news	**84 (28%)**	18 (6%)
Speech and video	28 (9%)	64 (21%)
Polling	1 (1%)	2 (1%)
Photo	1 (1%)	3 (1%)
Video/motion picture	3 (1%)	0
Total	300 (100%)	300 (100%)

On July 24, 2018 (shown in Table 3), the data are retaken in the form of messages posted on Loyalis Jokowi-Ahok and Prabowo for NKRI

groups were 300 posts on the respective groups. The message form was slightly more variative and different from the data taken on the previous month, yet they were still vulnerable to being penetrated by the post-truth phenomenon. The message forms that were vulnerable to be manipulated to touch the emotion were still predominating compared to the news or discourse form. In Loyalis Jokowi Ahok group, the three most posted forms were speech and news, speech and photo, as well as news and discourse. Meanwhile, in Prabowo for NKRI group, the most posted message forms were speech and photos, speech and video, and meme. The portion of the message form vulnerable to be penetrated by the post-truth phenomenon on both groups was more than 80% of the total messages posted on that day (Nasrullah, 2015).

Table 4. The Post Contents in Loyalis Jokowi-Ahok and Prabowo for NKRI Facebook Groups on June 24, 2018

Loyalis Jokowi-Ahok Group		Prabowo for NKRI Group	
Post's Content/Theme/Topic	Number of Posts	Post's Content/Theme/Topic	Number of Posts
Hate speech (bad comments, criticism, mockery)	86 (34%)	Hate speech (bad comments, criticism, mockery, negative campaign)	**135 (49%)**
Propaganda/campaign	**136 (53%)**	Propaganda/campaign	120 (44%)
Others	23 (9%)	Others	15 (6%)
News	11 (4%)		
Total	**256 (100%)**		**269 (100%)**

The contents of posts from each supporter are summarized in Table 4. By conducting deep observation toward each message content posted on June 24, 2018, the results were obtained as displayed on the table above.

In both groups, it can be seen that the majority of the content message was dominated by the hate speech and propaganda messages that are more than 70%. In Loyalis Jokowi Ahok group, the addition of hate speech and propaganda messages was 209 post in total or reached 82%, while in Prabowo for NKRI group was 241 posts or 88%. This indicates that most of the messages presented and consumed by the members of both groups were unhealthy messages. The healthy messages are, for example, the news, which the number was exceptionally small, that is only 11 messages or 4%, even none in Prabowo for NKRI group. The post-truth phenomenon strongly operates in both groups since in the respective groups, there are messages that tend to touch the emotional side that is hate speech and propaganda. However, the members joining Prabowo for NKRI group are more vulnerable in being exposed by the phenomenon since this group contains more hate speech and propaganda posts compared to Loyalis Jokowi-Ahok group (Nugroho, 2014).

Table 5. The Post Contents in Loyalis Jokowi-Ahok and Prabowo for NKRI Facebook Groups on July 24, 2018

	Loyalis Jokowi-Ahok	Prabowo for NKRI
Post's Content/Theme/Topic	Number of Posts	Number of Posts
Hate speech (bad comments and mockery)	**142 (47%)**	**153 (51%)**
True but negative news	35 (12%)	18 (6%)
Propaganda/campaign	71 (24%)	97 (32%)
Polling	1 (0.1%)	6 (2%)
News	51 (17%)	26 (9%)
Hoax	20 (7%)	28 (9%)
Total	300 (100%)	300 (100%)

The data taken after a month, on July 24, 2018, are displayed in Table 5. When the data was taken in the next month with the more data taken, that is 300 posts from the respective groups, it can be seen that there was a change, mainly in Loyalis Jokowi-Ahok group. In this group, the number of hate speech posts containing bad comments, criticism, and mockery occupied the greatest portion from all messages at the day that is 47%, followed by the propaganda posts with 24% at the second place. Meanwhile, in Prabowo for NKRI group, the highest number of posts was still similar with the data from June 24, 2018, that is hate speech posts (51%) and propaganda posts at the second place (32%). If the hate speech and propaganda posts are summed, the number exceeds 70% in both groups. It means that the post-truth phenomenon strongly operates in both groups in a span of two months. It also indicates that the political contestation of both supporters is still heating up in June and July 2018. What cannot be ignored is the hoax posts. This post is set apart to be recorded since almost all the message content, starting from news to polling, contains hoax. It took a longer time to detect the content of each message, whether it was a hoax or not. From 300 posted messages, the number of hoax posts did not exceed 10%, 7% in Loyalis Jokowi-Ahok group and 9% in Prabowo for NKRI group. The number does not look significant, yet in a discussion group, it is not permitted anyway (Mondry, 2016).

3. 2. The Post-Truth Phenomenon in Messages

The messages with hate speech (bad comments, mockery, and negative criticism) and propaganda are the messages that are extremely

potential to be penetrated by the post-truth phenomenon. This occurs since the hateful messages are usually depicted as excessively and manipulatively. This kind of post should not be posted much since it contains the elements that cause people to be offended, disappointed, and angry. There is no prohibition in conveying critics, as long as it is delivered in a good and objective manner. However, in these two groups, there is more criticism with insults, bad comments, mockery, and harassment. Various issues are utilized by Loyalis Jokowi-Ahok group to attack, criticize, or mock Prabowo, starting from the issues of the request for political donations, human rights, and so on, like the memes shown in Figure 1 and Figure 2.

Figure 1. A meme about Prabowo's supporters asking for political donations contains hate speech

Figure 2. A meme about Prabowo's supporters asking for political donations contains hate speech and hoax

The meme above is the meme related to the issue of campaign fundraising conducted by Prabowo in June 2018. Campaign fundraising is legal and permitted by law. According to the regulation of Indonesia's General Elections Commission no. 13 the year 2016, campaign fund can be sourced from the candidate pair, political party, and other legal donations. But the common reality is constructed by Jokowi's supporters into negative information which not only contains criticism but also hates speech and logical fallacy. The statements bodoh maksimal (maximum stupidity) and bodoh kan (stupid, isn't it?) demonstrate the hate speech and considering fundraising equals to begging on the street is also a kind of hate speech. Thus, through verbal, visual, and graphics manipulation the same reality can be constructed into a display of meme information that provokes emotion. This kind of information is the potential to attract the post-truth phenomenon. People who are not critical and get easily emotional will believe that this meme is the truth so that they will become anti-Prabowo. Meanwhile, Prabowo's supporters who see the rude words like bodoh and the beggar asking for money will indeed be offended and furious. The accumulated offense and anger will provoke the anger that is expressed in real life.

Meanwhile, in Prabowo for NKRI group, the posted topics were contrary to the posted topics by Jokowi's supporters. What distinguishes the most from the posts in Jokowi's supporting group is the number of posts with the topics of criticism, bad comments, and hate speech toward Jokowi occupies the highest portion compared to other types of post and it even reached 51%. It is ironic since the posts that should occupy the smallest portion instead occupies the largest portion in this group. It means that this group is somewhat unhealthy to be used as a space to develop a

good way of thinking. There are various issues employed by Prabowo's group in spreading criticism, bad comments, hate speech, and negative campaign toward Jokowi, such as Indonesia's debt, toll road, infrastructure development, 2019 president replacement, Indonesian troops neutrality, and so on. Similar to Jokowi's group, not a few criticisms contain hate speech, logical fallacy, and negative campaign. For example, the issue of Indonesia's debt. This issue starts when the position of Indonesia's foreign debt reached Rp 4,000 trillion in February 2018, and almost reached Rp 5,000 trillion in June 2018 along with the strengthening of Dollar against Rupiah which reached Rp 14,000. The debt issue is used by Prabowo's supporters to criticize Jokowi because the large debts is due to the policies he takes. However, many criticisms delivered are excessive, less objective, and contain hate speech as well as a logical fallacy. Again, the form of media used most frequently is meme, like the following example.

Figure 3. The meme of criticism on debt stated by Prabowo's supporters contains hoax

Figure 4. The reply from Joko Widodo's supporters. The content is more logical

Figure 3 is the criticism on Indonesia's debt stated in the form of a meme. Through the verbal, visual, and logical game, the information that was originally manipulated becomes logical, true, and objective. Whereas, if criticized further, the information is not entirely true. Indonesia indeed owns the debt, yet the debt was not made entirely in his reign, but the debt existed far from the period he served. However, by saying Jokowi's Debt, it is seen as the efforts of manipulating facts and presenting hoax. The readers will assume that the debt is made by Jokowi, which is not true. Moreover, with the debt that size, the ones who should bear it indeed are Indonesian people, but it does not mean that Indonesian people are obliged to directly pay every month or every year like an individual owing to a bank. The country becomes the one who will pay it through its income. The information which seems true yet illogical is compounded with Joko Widodo's additional statement who stated that the reason that I dare to increase the debt is because I AM NOT THE ONE WHO PAYS. This statement is a lie since Joko Widodo himself never stated as such. But with the combination of the last statement and various construction of facts above, it causes the entire information in the meme seems true.

For Prabowo's supporters who are anti-Jokowi and enter the echo chamber which provides such information, it will be psychologically pleasing, and the meme will be emotionally potential to be believed. Meanwhile, for Jokowi's supporters who are anti-Prabowo who enter the echo chamber of anti-Prabowo, they will be furious and emotionally hate to see the discrediting meme like this. Thus, this meme causes the situation of hating and mocking each other, whereas the information is objectively not completely true. The memes like the one above will be preferred by Prabowo's supporting group but hated by Jokowi's supporting group.

Thus, this kind of situation is not a healthy discussion, but the emotional situation of liking and disliking that emerges. Here, the post-truth phenomenon re-operates since the inclination of the emergence of the emotional atmosphere is stronger than the healthy discussion atmosphere that is caused by the content of unhealthy information/message (Tarnoto et al., 2019). When Jokowi's supporters see the meme above, they indeed will not remain silent. They usually will create an informative reply. The problem is that the information reply also contains the things that are not completely logical and filled with hate speech, fake news, and kinds. As in Figure 3, it can be seen that the informed facts are indeed true and logical, yet inappropriate to answer the criticism of the debt amount.

Answering Jokowi's debt amount by comparing it with the debt in the reigns of former presidents is inappropriate, remembering that Jokowi's debt amount is the smallest. But this kind of reply is not healthy in building the right critical thinking culture. The one which plays more role is the emotional side instead of the logic. The matter of debt should be replied by asking for what matter the debt is utilized. What it means by the small debt if it is only used for useless matters. Similar to Prabowo's supporters, Jokowi's supporters have also experienced the post-truth phenomenon. If not being careful and critical, the members who enter the group will easily believe the facts emotionally and it will be difficult for them to differentiate which one is true objectively.

4. CONCLUSION

Nowadays, the post-truth and echo chamber phenomena are two things that have become harder to avoid when modern society utilize social media. Social media is the fertile field for the development of the post-truth and echo chamber phenomena since it uses engine algorithm to select the information preferred by the users. As a result, social media users will live in the space filled merely with the things they like or prefer. In this internet era, almost all countries in the world have been penetrated by the post-truth and echo chamber phenomena, and Indonesia is no exception. In the issue of political contestation between Jokowi and Prabowo's supporters on Facebook, there are dozens of groups found that are affiliated with each figure. Each of the figures has hundreds of support groups, which means each supporting team has approximately a hundred echo chambers on Facebook. It also means that there will be hundred-thousands of followers who enter the echo chamber and are automatically affected by the post-truth phenomenon in Indonesia. This study has shown that when the sample was taken from the group with the highest number of members, it is known that there are many posts with the topics of propaganda, criticism, hate speech, mockery, logical fallacy, and fake information in it. However, there are several small notes, the sample of Jokowi's supporting group is filled mostly with propaganda, while Prabowo's supporting group is filled mostly with criticism, hate speech, mockery, and negative campaign toward Jokowi. Both propaganda and criticism are the posts that are vulnerable to be penetrated by the post-truth phenomenon. In other words, the Facebook groups affiliated with each figure are vulnerable to being penetrated by post-truth. Critical thinking

and broad insight are required when people want to be members of the groups.

NOTES

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