



**SPIRAL OF SILENCE THROUGH THE HASHTAG
#TOLAKPOLITIKBUSUK: OPINION RESEARCH ON LIMITING
THE POLITICAL RIGHTS OF EX-CORRUPTORS AS
LEGISLATIVE CANDIDATES.**

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ABSTRACT

General Elections are important moments in the democratic life of a country, where the people have the opportunity to choose their leaders and representatives. The General Election Commission as a General Election institution stipulates General Election Commission Regulations Number 14 of 2018 and Number 20 of 2018 which regulate the prohibition of former corruption convicts from becoming legislative candidates. Because many parties oppose and support this, the 2019 election law stipulates that ex-corruputors can nominate themselves as members of the legislature on condition that they must be fair and honest, admitting to the public that the person concerned is an ex-corruputor. This research method uses descriptive qualitative, using the spiral of silence theory, namely a media theory that pays more attention to majority views and suppresses minority views. The results of the research are: The results of this research, people tend to assess the pros and cons before people write opinions via their Twitter accounts with the hashtag #tolakpolitikbusuk as an expression of how they want leaders who are 'clean', clean in the sense here are those who have never been involved in cases that harm many people. Indonesia is a democratic country, but voicing the voice of the people is quite difficult. The reality is that it confronts the expectations that occur in society.

Keywords: Spiral of Silence, Public Opinion, Political Rights, Twitter

INTRODUCTION

The Indonesian state is a state of law and the purpose of the state of law itself is to avoid arbitrary power. So that in the State of law the principle of democracy must be

upheld. Because the principle of the supremacy of law and legal sovereignty itself basically comes from the sovereignty of the people. One of the implementations of sovereignty fully in the hands of the people is a democratic party, namely general elections, commonly known as elections. Elections are essentially a process when the people as holders of sovereignty give mandates to prospective leaders to become their leaders.

Often the blame for the lack of quality election results is often placed on the KPU as the election organizer. This is because the KPU is considered unable to select the candidates properly, thus passing unqualified candidates. Ahead of the 2019 elections for the Legislative elections, the KPU issued a new regulation, namely the general election commission regulation number 20 of 2018 concerning the nomination of members of the DPR, Provincial DPRD, and Regency / City DPRD in the 2019 elections, hereinafter referred to as PKPU No. 20/2018. In this regulation there is one rule that raises support and rejection. Article 4 paragraph (3) of PKPU No. 20/2018 states that former convicts, drug dealers, sexual crimes against children, or corruption are prohibited from participating in the 2019 legislative candidate elections. Of course, the existence of a condition precludes the former convicts who have been mentioned can no longer apply for legislative elections.

There were pros and cons in the community, some appreciated the ban as a manifestation of the spirit of eradicating corruption in organizing the 2019 elections, but there were also rejections from interested parties. The PKPU is seen as contradicting higher legal rules, namely the Election Law. Whereas three months before the promulgation of PKPU No. 20/2018, the KPU had already prohibited the nomination as stipulated in PKPU No. 14/2018, at that time there were no problems and debates questioning the constitutionality of PKPU No. 14/2018.

Substantively, the Election Law does not limit the political rights of ex-convicts to register as legislative candidates, namely "as long as it is not interpreted as excluded for ex-convicts who openly and honestly disclose to the public that they are ex-convicts." However, there are limits to the political rights that are normatively attached to ex-convicts of corruption to become legislative candidates. The process that ensued quickly

shaped public opinion, most of which was opposed to ex-convicts of corruption running as legislative candidates.

Twitter is a social and microblogging platform that allows users to send and read text messages of up to 140 characters, referred to as "tweets". Founded in March 2006 by Jack Dorsey, the social networking site was launched in July. Since its launch, Twitter has become one of the ten most popular sites on the Internet and is known as the "short message of the Internet". Unregistered users can only read tweets, while registered users can send tweets via the website, short message service (SMS), or various mobile applications.

Dennis McQuail (1987) has several key assumptions about the important role of mass media: 1) Mass media is a constantly changing and evolving industry, creating jobs, products, and services, and supporting other related industries. It is also an industry governed by rules and norms that link it to society and other social institutions, while also being subject to regulation by society. 2) Mass media management has a role as a source of power in society, serving as a tool of control, management, and innovation that can be used as a substitute for other resources or power. 3) The mass media is an important place to display the events of people's lives, both national and international, and serves as a norm in presenting news and events. 4) The media often plays a role in developing culture, not only in terms of art and symbols, but also in developing manners, fashions, lifestyles, and societal norms. 5) The media becomes a primary source not only for individuals to understand social reality, but also for society and groups collectively. It also conveys values and normative judgments associated with news and entertainment information.

Twitter, a social media platform that falls under the category of new media or alternative media, is a communication network consisting of messages limited to 140 characters called "tweets". It is an innovative way to easily get up-to-date information or keep up with the latest developments, especially those related to your personal interests. Twitter founder Jack Dorsey started the platform in March 2006, and the social networking site was officially launched in July. The name "Twitter" actually refers to the activity of "tweeting", and the platform is conceptualized as a form of micro-blogging that is unique in its use.

Seen in context, allowing ex-corruption convicts to run for the legislature is inappropriate. It is like trying to erase ballpoint pen ink from printed paper, although it may be erased, it will always leave a noticeable mark. This is a nod to the public trust that has been damaged by the corruption case, as the credibility of the candidate will be questioned.

From an ethical perspective, it can be considered that these ex-corrupt legislator candidates lack ethics, shame and integrity in carrying out the tasks entrusted to them. This is due to their negligence in carrying out their responsibilities and making mistakes, but they confidently accepted the proposal to run for re-election as legislators, rather than rejecting it.

From this research on public opinion regarding the news of former corruptors' political rights as legislative candidates, the author takes the spiral of silence theory of public opinion. Observations made in one context spread to others and encourage people to voice their views or swallow them and remain silent, until in a spiraling process, one view is perceived to dominate the public sphere while the other is lost from the public consciousness and its supporters no longer speak out.

The exposure of this background raises the importance of conducting research on the Spiral of Silence Theory on public opinion on restrictions on the political rights of former corruptors as legislators on Twitter social media using the literature study method.

In the era of social media development, public opinion is often represented and expressed through platforms such as Twitter. In this context, it is important to examine public views on a sensitive issue, namely the restriction of political rights for ex-convicts running for legislative candidates. What is the public opinion on the restriction of political rights of ex-convicts as legislative candidates on social media Twitter? The purpose of this study is to understand and analyze the public opinion expressed on the social media Twitter regarding restrictions on the political rights of ex-convicts who run for legislative candidates. This will provide insight into how the public views this issue within the scope of digital communication.

Public Opinion

Opinion in a communication perspective is seen as an active response to stimulus, namely a response that is constructed through personal interpretation that develops from

images and contributes to images. Then Public Opinion can be used to signify any collection of opinions expressed by individuals. According to Santoso Sastropetro, the term public opinion is often used to refer to the collective opinions of a large number of people.

Etymologically, public opinion is a translation of the English language, namely public opinion. While public opinion comes from Latin, namely *opinari* & *publicus*. *Opinari* means thinking or guessing while *publicus* means belonging to the wider community. Simply put, opinion means opinion. But at least there is an expression of that opinion both verbally and non-verbally. As long as the opinion has not been expressed, it is a private opinion. According to Leonard W. Dood, an issue is only said to be public opinion after the public expresses it.

Meanwhile, the public is more of a group that is not a unit. Interaction occurs indirectly through communication tools. In this case, why does public opinion need to be expressed, because as long as it is not expressed, there will be no communication and forever the opinion will exist within.

Opinions are divided into many types, namely: individual opinion, private opinion, group opinion, majority opinion, minority opinion, mass opinion, public opinion. Bernard Hennessy (1990) in the book public opinion, suggests five factors for the emergence of public opinion (public opinion), namely:

- ✓ There is an issue; because public opinion gathers around a particular issue.
- ✓ Public characteristics; (there must be a recognized and interested group).
- ✓ Hard choices; this factor refers to the totality of the opinions of members of the public on an issue,
- ✓ Opinion statements; statements are usually conveyed through spoken or printed words and at times through gestures, fists, waves, and deep breaths,
- ✓ Number of people visible; public opinion requires a large number of people who are interested in a particular issue.

The process of opinion formation in each case may be fast, slow or deferred. Certain factors limit and influence the set of facts, experiences and judgments on which opinions are formulated. There may be a number of combinations of factors that end up with varying intensities and various outcomes. There are a number of factors that reinforce a

common opinion, but there are other factors that reinforce a diversity of opinions. In some cases, one or more factors exert more influence than others on the opinions held by a particular group. In other cases, a number of factors exert a debilitating influence on opinion formation. Finally, the opinion formation process may be suspended due to lack of information, or due to lack of a strong resolution. There are only conflicting influences. In such cases, it is said that no opinion formation occurs.

Twitter, a microblogging platform, allows users to send messages of up to 140 characters, "tweets". Founded in March 2006 by Jack Dorsey, the site has gained popularity and is known as the "short message of the Internet". Registered users can send tweets via the website, SMS, or mobile apps, presenting short, real-time information.

Spiral of Silence Theory

From the perspective of the spiral of silence theory, we can interpret this situation as a change in which the initial cycle of powerlessness experienced by victims of racism throughout history has been disrupted, and the state of public opinion has become more balanced. Social factors are beginning to encourage victims to speak up and voice their opinions.

The philosophical basis of the spiral of silence theory is the belief that humans are inherently social beings who seek to avoid social isolation (Noelle-Neumann, 1974). Noelle-Neumann (1974) argues that guarding against social isolation is more important than personal considerations. Conversely, if individuals feel that sufficient integration is difficult to achieve, then Noelle-Neumann (1974) assumes they will be loud, i.e. keep speaking out despite being in the minority (Fox and Holt, 2018). These individuals become the drivers of problems that ultimately affect social change and their position from minority to majority, initiating social transformation (Littlejohn et al, 2017). These loud people can be activists, such as Natalius Pigai in the case of racism, or journalists with views that differ from the majority, resulting in polarization of opinion.

This theory was introduced by Elizabeth Noelle Neumann, a former journalist who later became a professor emeritus at one of the Institute of Publicists in Germany. Her theory talks a lot about the power of the media that can create public opinion, but behind it there is a latent opinion developed at the lower level that hides because it is not in line

with the majority public opinion that is manifest (real on the surface). hidden public opinion is called opinion that is in the circle of silence.

The spiral of silence idea has also been criticized by others. Charles salmon and F. Gerald Kline (1985) write that the effect described by the spiral of silence can easily be understood as a product of the popular effect (everyone wants to join the winner) or as projection (people's natural tendency to use their own opinions to shape the perceptions and climate of majority opinion in their environment). In addition, this critique argues that individual factors, such as one's level of ego involvement in an issue, should be considered as well (no matter the climate of opinion around you, if you feel strongly about something, you may not want to remain silent, even if the threat is ostracization). salmon and Kline also call for further research into individual demographic differences that Noelle-Neumann argues can combine to produce people who are more likely to speak out, such as men, young people, and members of the upper middle class (Stanley J. Barab & Dennis K. Davis, 2010).

METHOD

Judging from the type, this research includes library research, which is a research conducted by reading books, literature and examining the spiral of silence theory and opinions that have a relationship with the problem under study. In this case the author looks for public opinion on Twitter media and concludes research results from these various opinions.

As a discipline of political communication theory, the spiral of silence theory talks a lot about the power of the media that can create public opinion, but behind it there is a latent opinion developed at the lower level that hides because it is not in line with the majority public opinion that is manifest (real on the surface). hidden public opinion is called opinion that is in the circle of silence. In this case, researchers can find out public opinion about the political rights of ex- corruptors as legislative candidates through Twitter social media.

The research subjects that will be used by researchers are people who have opinions through accounts on Twitter social media. Since the research method to be used is a qualitative research method, the sample collection technique uses the literature study

method, which is a method of collecting data from various library sources, books, and Twitter social media.

The data collection method used in this research is the literature study method. The literature study method is a method of collecting data from various library sources, books, and observing Twitter social media to process research. The purpose of this method is to identify and disclose relevant theories and previous research with problems in research as a reference in discussing research results. In addition, this method can be used as a reference material in developing practical aspects to build a theoretical foundation and framework.

Documentation is to find data about things for variables in the form of notes, transcripts, books, newspapers, magazines and so on. In this study the authors sought data on the political rights of ex-corruptors, documents related to the problem. To analyze the data, it is done qualitatively comparative with a qualitative approach. Comparative research is research that compares the existence of one or more variables in two or more different samples. In this study, researchers used a qualitative method with a comparative approach, namely describing the problem of events through public opinion on Twitter media.

RESULT AND DISCUSSION

Restriction of Political Rights of Ex-Corruptors as Legislative Candidates.

Article 1 paragraph (3) of the 1945 Constitution emphasizes that Indonesia is a state of law. This means that every action of the government and its people must be based on existing laws and regulations. The second amendment to the 1945 Constitution guarantees the protection of human rights, which are regulated in a separate chapter, Chapter XA on Human Rights. The procedure for limiting the rights and freedoms of citizens is regulated in Article 28J paragraph (2) of the 1945 Constitution which reads:

"In the exercise of their rights and freedoms, every citizen shall be subject to restrictions prescribed by law for the sole purpose of securing recognition and respect for the rights and freedoms of others and of meeting just demands in accordance with moral considerations, religious values, security and public order in a democratic society."

The right to vote and to be elected is part of human rights. In its application, the impact on the convicted person and society must be considered. In particular, its

application to corruption where the perpetrators have the authority to manage the state, both the executive and legislative branches with political networks. Its function is to prevent state institutions from being led by corruptors in the future. However, its implementation remains based on applicable laws and regulations, namely the limitation of the implementation of revocation of political rights in accordance with applicable laws and regulations.

Restrictions on the political rights of ex-convicts in the Election Law are different in terms of filling public positions, for elected positions and positions filled through appointment or selected by a selection team. For elected public positions, candidates for legislative members, former convicts are allowed on the condition that they must be willing to openly and honestly disclose to the public that they are former convicts. However, for the position of president and vice president, ex-convicts are not allowed to run for office unless their conviction is due to negligence or political reasons.

Public Opinion on the Restriction of Political Rights of Ex-Corruptors as Legislative Candidates.

Issue

The issue of controversy that will be discussed for research is the restriction of the rights of ex-corruptors as legislative candidates, many people want a 'clean' leader, clean in the sense that here is one who has never been caught in a case that harms many people. Indonesia is a democratic country, but voicing the voice of the people is quite difficult, reality slaps the expectations that occur in society. People elect leaders to solve problems that are happening, not instead delegate and burden the blame to the community. That is not the purpose of people electing leaders.



Picture 1: The issue of ex-corruptors as legislative candidates

Public Characteristics

The interested public is the Indonesian people themselves, because this election is concerned with the future of the country 4-5 years ahead. So the Indonesian people have the right to express their opinions.

A Difficult Choice

The emergence of many pros and cons regarding political rights for ex-corruptors has made Indonesian netizens argue a lot on Twitter media, this is marked by a lot of tweets expressed by the Indonesian people. For example, the tweet thread below made the public angry and think about the Supreme Court's decision on political rights for ex-corruptors (Picture 2&3).



Picture 2. Thread @ ReflyHZ



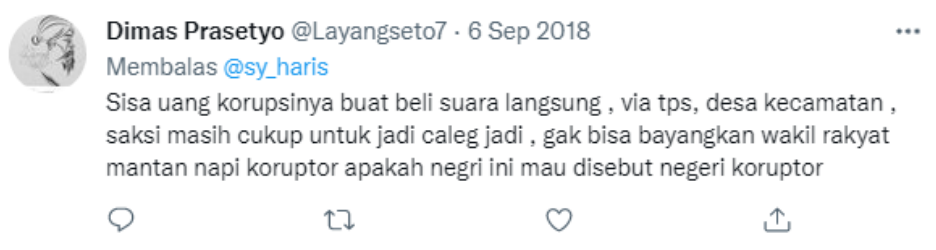
Picture 3. Thread @AgusMagelangan

Opinion Statement

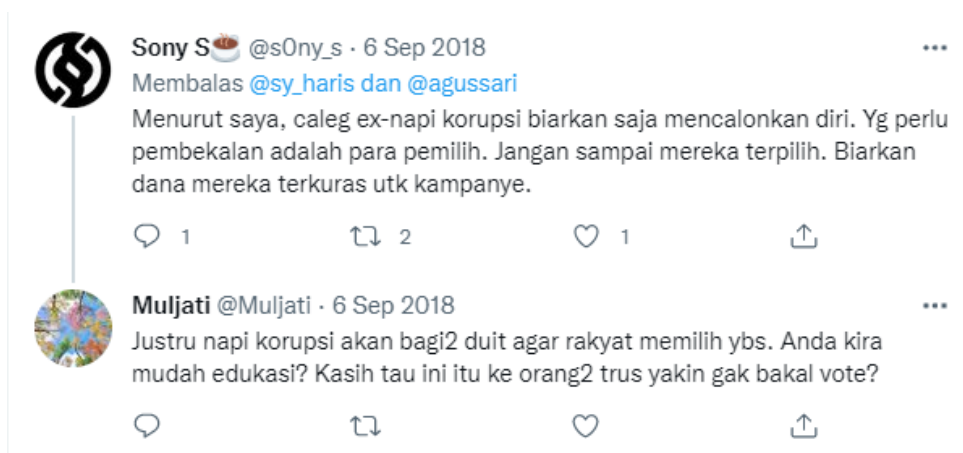
On Twitter, there are many public opinions expressed, the public can express their opinions openly and freely, they can refute a thread or support the thread. Many of them even just go with the flow, because many people refute, so the reply to the opinion also refutes (Pictures 4,5,6, and 7).



Picture 4. Thread @sy_haris



Picture 5. Thread reply @sy_haris



Picture 6. Thread reply @sy_haris 13



Picture 7. Thread reply @sy_haris

The Twitter thread of @sy_haris invites a lot of public opinion, what is tweeted by this account is very real with what is happening in society, therefore many public opinions support his arguments and blame the government, except for the account @s0ny_s (Picture 6) when he did not fully blame the government and tried to make public opinion change, the account was attacked by the opinion of the majority of Twitter users.

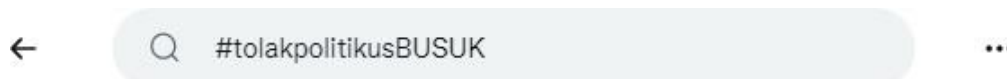
Number of People Seen

The enactment of PKPU Number 14 & 20 of 2018 has caused disagreement among the candidates and is considered unfair to the candidates. This has been discussed by the wider community both directly and indirectly (social media). Various kinds of related issues continue to be discussed on social media Twitter, such as the example of a thread from @Dandhi_Laksono which received 1,016 retweets and 1,892 likes, for Twitter this is a large enough number to make a trending topic in Indonesia, this account likens the current government to being not okay, such as having underestimated things that smell of 'corruption' and not thinking about the interests of the people, even though legislative members are elected for the welfare of the people, not just individual welfare.



Picture 8. Thread @Dandhy_Laksono

People discussed the topic of political rights for corruptors on social media Twitter with the hashtag #tolakpolitikBUSUK, which was a trending topic in Indonesia for some time.



Picture 9. Hashtags on Twitter about Political Rights of Ex-Corruptors

Spiral of Silence Public Opinion on the Restriction of Political Rights of Ex-Corruptors as Legislative Candidates.

Based on observations made, an opinion conveyed by the public on Twitter social media is very open to the public and anyone can freely give another opinion or the same opinion as what is conveyed. However, it is possible that there are groups of people who choose to remain silent or only give a neutral reaction to prevent "mistakes" in opinion (Pictures 2 & 6).

If observed carefully, it can be seen that people who give a neutral response are in accordance with the basic assumptions of the spiral of silence theory where according to Moy, Domke & Stamm when it comes to controversial issues, individuals who have different opinions from others tend to refrain from expressing their opinions. In addition, individuals tend to try to assess the climate of opinion that exists among the public to

avoid the threat of isolation. By assessing the existing climate of public opinion, people tend to be more careful to express their opinions.

CONCLUSIONS

Indonesia is a state of law with a democratic system. Because the principle of the supremacy of law and legal sovereignty itself basically comes from the sovereignty of the people. One of the implementations of sovereignty fully in the hands of the people is a democratic party, namely general elections, commonly known as elections. The General Election Commission as the Election institution stipulates General Election Commission Regulations Number 14/2018 and Number 20/2018 which regulate the prohibition of former corruption convicts from becoming legislative candidates.

Because there are many people who oppose and support this, the 2019 Election Law stipulates that ex-corruption convicts can run for the legislature on the condition that they are fair and honest, admitting to the public that they are ex-corruption convicts.

The emergence of the event, the author examines and observes how public opinion about the political rights of ex-corruptors as legislative candidates using the literature method and the spiral of silence theory using Twitter social media. Various posts and comments discussed such as threads submitted by @ ReflyHZ, @AgungMagelangan @sy_haris (Pictures 2, 3, & 4), various kinds of opinions conveyed by the public through Twitter media, some of which support, reject, and some are even neutral towards the policy.

Based on the research conducted, the difference in the climate of public opinion contained in the Twitter @ReflyHZ social media account thread (Picture 2) is a form of spiral of silence theory, where people tend to assess the existing climate of public opinion before giving an opinion. Assessment of public opinion certainly affects public behavior in opinion.

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