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**PUBLIC POLICY IN THE DIGITAL ERA: TRANSFORMATION OF POLITICAL COMMUNICATION**

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| **ABSTRACT**Communication is a basic human activity in everyday life, communication is an important component for the survival of humans or community groups. The current development of information technology is able to change social, cultural and even political communication patterns in Indonesia and even the world so that in practice political communication has now begun to shift from conventional to social media. The massive use of the internet among the public is an indication of the digital era which is giving rise to unpredictable changes in the direction of the pace. This research aimed to find out what kind of public policies are made in the current digital era. The research uses a qualitative research method with a library study method as the data collection method. This literature study aims to enrich the author's information as well as enrich data or research materials in the field. The results of this research are that public policy in the digital era has had a positive impact or influence on the transformation of political communication in Indonesia, and social media is also able to change political communication patterns from conventional to social media by utilizing applications such as Facebook and Instagram to reach its target audience. and gain a political voice.**Keywords:** Public Polic; Digital Era; Transformation; Political Communication |

**Introduction**

One of the basic activities of humans or society is communication. In everyday life, people can establish relationships with one another both at home, in the market, at work, in the office and in society. Humans will not avoid communication with other people. The ability to communicate is an important component for the continuation of human life or society, the development of human knowledge is none other than through interaction or communication itself. Communication is part of the social system, therefore communication cannot be separated from social groups (Lubis et al., 2022).

The message conveyed by a person or communicator using certain media is a communication process that has the function of developing a sense of mutual understanding. Information that is distributed throughout the process may have a special impact on the person who receives the information. Information is distributed from one place to another through communication, using symbols such as images, words, ideas and persuasive writing as a way of conveying information. Communication is human contact and interaction between individuals and groups (Lubis et al., 2022).

The development of global communications, in government groups, socio-political institutions, or community groups, is triggered by comprehensive developments in the world of information and communication technology. The use of new media for communication media is one indicator of communication development. Initially communication was formed only through individual interaction face to face, but now it is developing online with the internet. Social media is the result of the formation of new media from developments in communication technology (Tosepu, 2018).

Social media is a fundamental form of internet communication that is widely used. Social media itself is online media or mass media, which makes it easier for users to participate with each other, share information in the form of writing, videos and images and social networks. There are several applications that are popular with social media users, such as the Facebook application, Twitter which has now changed to X, WhatsApp, Instagram and YouTube. Print and broadcast media are traditional media that were previously used to publish news, but nowadays social media uses the internet (Tosepu, 2018).

The expansion of social media users and having a large range of users is carried out by several different or different groups, both from businesses, organizations, institutions and human individuals themselves in general. Also important people, such as public figures, politicians and influencers also use social media. Many social gaps in people's daily lives, as well as politics, have been overlooked due to rapid technological developments. Currently, social media is no longer useful as a communication medium, but has become a political arena that can be accessed by all elements of society, starting from socializing government work programs, increasing the popularity of politicians and political parties, to even civil society becoming social media users, to get information (Lubis et al., 2022).

Politics is given space for communication and participation by increasing the possibility of interaction between important groups, namely political parties and state institutions. This is based on an internet that has a new character that traditional mass media does not have, namely mutual action or interactive, creative and networked. As something new, the internet has had an impact on the continuity of political discussion practices in the real world as well as communication aided by cyberspace. For example, political activities that are now supported by the internet are called cyber politics, such as email and voting (N. Hasfi, 2019).

The massive use of the internet among the public is an indication of the digital era which is giving rise to unpredictable changes in direction. A change does not arise by chance, but the process of change requires time and many influencing factors (Wasistiono, 2019).

This is in line with the opinion in Wasistiono's journal (2019) which states that in the current digital era, the massive use of the internet has given rise to unknown or unpredictable changes. (Wasistiono, 2019). Initially political communication took the form of orations for prospective state or regional leaders which were carried out openly and directly, but in the current digital era political speeches or practices can also use social media such as Facebook, Twitter or X, YouTube and Instagram (N. Hasfi, 2019).

Developing information and communication technology, especially the internet, has had a significant influence on social, political and cultural change or transformation throughout the world. The internet forms a suitable place to channel ideas, reach social networks of friends, and public participate on various important issues. (Fairuza et al., 2023). This research aimed to find out what kind of public policies are made in the current digital era so that they are able to change conventional forms of political communication through new media that are emerging and developing as they are today.

**Research Method**

This research uses a qualitative research method, this qualitative research method is a research method used to analyze situations and conditions of natural objects, in this research method the key instrument is the researcher and the emphasis of the results of this qualitative research is more towards meaning than generalization (Lubis et al., 2022). The data collection method is carried out through literature study and documentation sourced from documents, books, journals, articles / other online media (Sidiq, Umar & Choiri, 2019).

The aim of this literature study is to enrich the author's information and also to enrich the data or materials needed in writing and researching research objects or targets in the field. According to Koenjaraningrat in his journal Lubis et al (2019) stated that the nature of this literature study is important because it can help the writer obtain signs in the object or target of the research. This literature study was carried out by the author in order to obtain correct information and data regarding the manifestation of political communication in the current digital era (Lubis et al., 2022)

**Result And Discussion**

Public policy is understood as something that cannot be separated from the political system that a government believes in. The government issues public policies, which are found in the government's political methods. Public policy can be generated from each political system. Public policy is a product of the political system. According to Carl Friedrich in his journal Waluyo and Syarifuddin (2020) emphasizes that policy is the direction of behavior recommended by a person, group and government in a certain scope which provides resistors or obstacles or time periods in achieving a goal in a certain target or direction. Meanwhile, according to Thomas R. Dye, public policy is whatever is issued by the government to be done or not done, which has formed a policy, for example in a city there are several parts of the road that are in a damaged condition and have not been repaired. Meanwhile, people feel disturbed and feel uncomfortable when passing through this damaged road. Therefore, repairing damaged roads has become a temporary policy that has not been repaired by the local government (Waluyo & Syarifuddin, 2022). Meanwhile, according to Dunn in his journal Wardana (2021) the term public policy is a complex method or framework of interconnected collective choices, including decisions not to act, which are created or shaped by institutions or the government. (Wardana, 2021)

**Public Policy Objectives**

Basically, according to Riant Nugroho in his journal Waluyo and Syarifuddin (2022) that the objectives of a public policy can be divided into four parts. First, channeling state resources to the community, including rationing, re-allotting and redistributing resistance to seeping resources into the state. Two, set up opposition to take off. Three, Changing or not remains a balancing act. Four, Defending the state as opposed to maintaining a market society. Public policy is a decision by a state government that has a direction or goal to manage life together. In this case, the government actually formulates activity programs that cover various fields, in fact all areas of community life have been formulated or determined. (Waluyo & Syarifuddin, 2022).

**Communication Concept**

Implementation of socialization about public policy is in fact a communication procedure. In the procedure, communication can be carried out through mass media, direct or face-to-face communication or using social media. In general, communication can be defined as the activity or activity of channeling messages from one person or group to another person or group. The communication process can be done directly or through other communication media. According to Fiske in their journal, Waluyo and Syarifuddin (2022) stated that there are two communication points of view, namely the process point of view and the semiotic point of view. From a process point of view, communication is seen as a method of distributing communication messages from the communicator or party who acts as the sender or distributor of the message to the communicant or a recipient of the message or information through the same procedures. The meaning of the message transmitted to the communicant or recipient of the message must be the same and has no other message meaning, the communicant will receive it as distributed by the communicator (Waluyo & Syarifuddin, 2022).

The second point of view is that the communication procedure is a semiotic procedure. This point of view assumes that the communication procedure is not a parallel process, the party who acts as a message distributor or communicator and the party who receives the message or communicant are in unequal positions and have a lot of power in directing a medium. The message or information transmitted also does not have the same meaning but contains many meanings depending on the situation and conditions of the communicant in the process of understanding it. Which means that the meaning of the communication content is complex, there is more power in this point of view (Waluyo & Syarifuddin, 2022).

**Media Baru di Era Digital**

According to Denis Mc Quail in his journal Waluyo and Syarifuddin (2022) new media is defined as different electronic technology media devices which include several technological systems, transmission, and information storage and exploration systems. Images are presented using a flexible combination of text and graphics and are controlled by computer devices. There are main characteristics of new media according to Denis Mc Quail, namely as follows:

a. Communication procedures take the form of decentralization, namely information or news that has been determined and is no longer completely carried out by the communication provider

b. Communication technology systems have high power, which are distributed via cables or satellites. This distribution can handle communication interference via other transmitters

c. Interactive communication: recipients can freely choose, change information, answer back and be linked directly with other recipients

d. Found flexibility in form, content and use (Waluyo & Syarifuddin, 2022).

This new media takes the form of the internet with a comprehensive network that has prepared a series of technologies or platforms that can be used by each person in the form of social media. Through social media, each individual can interact with other individuals virtually using codes or symbols which does not rule out the possibility of changing information in the form of images or writing. The impact is that the information or message presented can be interesting and can provide encouragement for other individuals to interact by leaving comments on their social media pages. On social media, interactions can occur between individuals, whether individually or unrelated to someone, and can be done in a short period of time and carried out by most people simultaneously. The social media that people like is Facebook, Twitter or X, Instagram and YouTube (Waluyo & Syarifuddin, 2022).

According to Jon Vivian in his journal Waluyo and Syarifuddin (2022) explain that new media such as the internet in the digital era like now are able to exceed traditional media methods of distributing messages and information because the internet is capable of interaction without geographic limitations, and can be done in real time. There are special features of new media and specifically online media has advantages compared to traditional media, the advantages are as follows:

a. Online media is able to provide information in various forms such as text, audio, images, video and graphics all at once

b. The information provided is actual because it is not difficult and the presentation process is fast

c. After the post is uploaded quickly, all social media users can access and see it

d. Updates to information created in the form of content or writing can be done quickly. Information or news can be conveyed continuously

e. It has a lot of capacity, for example on websites that can load even long texts

f. Flexible, the process of loading or revising posts can be done at any time without any time or date

g. A wide reach of social media users in various countries can reach it with internet access

h. Interactive, available chat, like and swipe up column bars

i. Saved, all information is easily and neatly stored and can be accessed using a link

j. Hyperlinked, linked to various sources and can be accessed in digital form

The emergence of the internet today has become a new media with several uniqueness and advantages in it. The existence of social media is the result of the internet as a new media with its unique characteristics, this allows social media to become a place for the socialization of public policies by stakeholders such as the government, even political leaders. Applications that are often used by internet users today are social media, not only in Indonesia but also around the world. Through survey data released by the Indonesian Internet Service Providers Association in 2017 in its journal Waluyo and Syarifuddin (2022), 89.35 percent of internet users in Indonesia like to use social media applications. A platform that functions to connect individuals and other individuals online, so that social media becomes an alternative platform used for effective distribution of news or information to the government (Waluyo & Syarifuddin, 2022).

The Ministry of State Apparatus Empowerment and Bureaucratic Reform issued Ministerial Regulation Number 83 of 2012 concerning Guidelines for the Use of Social Media for Government Agencies. The regulatory guidelines describe various types of social media which are divided into 8 groups, namely 1) Blogspot and WordPress as publication media; 2) Twitter and Plurk applications as microblog media; 3) YouTube and Slideshare as sharing media; 4) Applications of Facebook, Google and LinkedIn as social networking media; 5) Wikipedia, Wikimapia and Wikileaks as collaboration media; 6) Kaskus application as a discussion forum media; 7) Google Talk, Yahoo Messenger and Skype applications as conversation media; 8) Goodread and Yelp applications as review sites (Waluyo & Syarifuddin, 2022).

The Minister of Communication and Information of the Republic of Indonesia warned that regional governments can use social media so that the public can establish communication links with the government. On the other hand, because internet users in the country are increasing, it is important that there is communication between local governments and the community via social media (Dunan, 2020).

**Transformation of Political Communication in the Digital Era**

In the world of politics, communication has an important role in moving politics or government. Messages that create clever branding created by political party leaders have quite a strong impact. According to McNair in his journal Hidayati (2021) explains that the indication of traditional political communication is the distribution of messages with political aims, namely by distributing messages to obtain certain goals, messages being channeled from actors who are not political to political actors, as well as channeling messages from political actors through mass media (Hidayati, 2021).

According to Sedarmayanti in her book Budhiriantoro (2020) defines government communication as the distribution of ideas or thoughts from the government to its people in an effort to achieve the country's goals. (Budhiriantoro et al., 2020). Meanwhile, political communication is defined as a communication activity or activity that is neither simple nor complex using language and symbols, which is used by a leader, the media, citizens and groups of citizens to obtain impacts and results that are imposed on the public policies of the nation, state and society. Orations, speeches and lectures are traditional forms of communication, now changed through social media such as Facebook, Twitter, Instagram and YouTube as a form of campaign in cyberspace. Political campaigns played by political actors are very profitable because they are able to reduce the costs required for campaigns that are usually carried out traditionally (Hidayati, 2021). Campaign linguistically means a joint action to provide resistance or activities carried out by political organizations or prospective leaders competing to obtain government positions or other things. (Fahlevi & Idris, 2022).

Through optimal social media accounts, a political leader is able to reach a very wide following. The public official in Indonesia with the highest number of followers in 2021 is Jokowi Dodo, followed below by Ridwan Kamil as the Acting Governor of West Java with 13.9 million followers on Instagram, 4.4 million followers on Twitter and 3.4 million followers on Facebook.(Hidayati, 2021). In 2023, Joko Widodo's official account will have around 55.9 million followers on Instagram and the Governor of West Java with 21 million followers on Instagram. Through complete internet facilities or features, it is able to transform the way of political communication, so that the internet is able to reach its political targets because of the speed in updating the information or news it uploads. Messages that travel quickly on social media are called viral, viral is what is a message in the form of posting images or videos that contain information in it and quickly become the public's attention. (E. F. Hasfi & Siahaan, 2019).

Political science is one of the scientific disciplines that is always undergoing transformation or change with a dynamic character and adapting itself to the surrounding environment. Therefore, politics also inevitably has to adapt to new media or social media (Indrawan, 2019). The increasingly rapid progress of communication technology, the internet is also taking an important role in efforts to advance public space (Pembayun, 2017). Like the transformation of political communication from conventional to social media.

**Media Sosial dan Komunikasi Politik**

General election campaign activities are focused on the millennial generation, the impact of social media is very useful for political communication. For political stakeholders, social media can provide a basis for visionary information because popular public opinion can be known. For those who are campaigning to become candidates for people's representatives, they can form support through public opinion (Indrawan et al., 2023). Campaigns are basically a form of political communication in an effort to invite people as voters to get support or backing from society or the public. With all the various symbols used in political campaigns, they remain bankrupt from ideas. As a result, the excitement of ideas, as well as visions and missions began to shift to virtual media. Characterized by the position of information technology that can create new media that focuses on audio or video technology and the World Wide Web. As a result, social media becomes a place for discussion, arguments and mutual accusations freely (Arianto, 2015).

Social media also functions as a voice for the lower classes of society, to provide resistance to the interests of leaders who often put their own interests first. This is because involvement in the realm of social media is not difficult. Creating and sharing information or messages and creating a context for the public to see and read can be done quickly and without limits. This method can form a new resistance to corrupt leaders who do not care about their people. With that, the hope is that social media will become a platform for interactive information between leaders and the public (Indrawan et al., 2023). This is in line with the opinion in Yulianti's journal (2017) which states that the emergence of new media such as social media is seen as a new pattern that has the power to be free from the pressure of top-down politics. (Yulianti, 2017)

Without the existence of the internet, social media would not have been created. Through a combination of the internet and stable social media to channel positive influence, especially in the realm of political communication. Situations like this are what make social media the main form of new media, in the context of information dissemination, it can create a powerful communication atmosphere in the cyber field, its reach surpasses conventional media which does not depend on internet services. (Indrawan et al., 2023).

According to Blumler & Kavangh in Heryanto & Rumaru in their journal Indrawan et al (2021), according to them, in the political communication process, print media, radio and television, these media are no longer used as the main reference in the political communication process. Moreover, on social media the procedure for searching for information or news is two-way. The community can be involved directly and actively, not passively. Judging from the movement of political communication, there are three generations of political communication. The first generation in which the power of speaking has an important role because much of the information in communication is directed at this ability, this generation is called the political rhetoric generation. The second generation shows that the majority of mass media roles are codified as superior media. The third generation is the emergence of developing new media (Indrawan et al., 2023).

Communication that is maintained consistently using a discussion framework that often grows and develops in society, the success of the branding process through social media is greatly influenced by the power of managing social media in an updated and up-to-date manner. Managing social media with updates is not easy, the goal is to provide information to the public. In doing this, consistency is really needed. When talking about politicians, they must show an identity that matches the expectations of the public as an effort to create an image through social media. The branding process by utilizing social media obtains strategic benefits, such as convenience, effectiveness, and also does not require a lot of costs. (Indrawan et al., 2023).

Barak Obama, for example, was successfully elected as president as a result of running a campaign using social media as one of the factors that supported his victory. About 30% of Obama's campaign messages were channeled through new media. In Indonesia, social media is also used as a place for political campaigns, such as the case between Joko Widodo and Basuki Tjahja Purnama. This couple used YouTube social media to brand themselves by distributing creative campaign videos during the 2012 DKI Jakarta regional head election. Apart from that, the Jokowo Ahok couple also uses online games with story themes that are similar to the Angry Brids video game played by the two couples. Data on social media users in Indonesia continues to skyrocket, making political branding through social media a practical thing if centralized with the use of social media. (Indrawan et al., 2023).

Despite the practical and easy benefits of using social media, social media is a fragile platform because it is often used as a place to channel news or information that is invalid or hoax. Indonesia, with its large number of active social media users, makes it easier for hoax spreaders to carry out their actions in distributing information or news that is not true. According to the results of a survey in the journal Wulandari (2023) regarding the spread of untrue news in Indonesia, Facebook social media was ranked highest with 92.40%, as well as chat applications with a score of 62.80% and websites with a score of 34.90%.(Wulandari et al., 2023). The use of social media by state stakeholders does not only occur in Indonesia. According to data from Public Relations Global in its seminar proceedings, Iqbal (2018) shows that all 193 UN member countries have social media accounts except for the following six countries, Laos, Mauritanis, North Korea. , Nicaragua, and Swaziland (Iqbal, 2018)

This is in line with the opinion in the journal Nada et al (2022) that the large number of internet users creates its own challenges for the public. With a level of digital literacy that is still less than comprehensive among community groups. It is no longer strange that in the digital era like now, the challenges of the public in Indonesia have become even greater, even like a double-edged sword. (Nada et al., 2022).

**Instagram dan Komunikasi Politik Genarasi Milenial**

Instagram is a digital platform and is a place for the millennial generation to share their aspirations, ideas and opinions. The millennial generation likes to edit images or videos to get good and interesting results from their point of view on Instagram. Therefore, social media like Instagram is able to attract the attention of the millennial generation and therefore future political activities will depend on this Instagram social media application. (Indrawan et al., 2023).

According to Cangara in his journal Indrawan et al (2023) that political communication is a domain or science that analyzes the behavior of communication activities that have a political spirit, have a political impact, and influence political behavior. In essence, it does not only include one person's personal interests but involves many people in political communication. It is only based on the changes made by the media that the millennial generation carries out political communication. Due to the changing political framework, a process of political communication occurs. Therefore, there is a fundamental impact obtained, namely Instagram users who participate regarding their position and influence, including the content of the rationality they present. (Indrawan et al., 2023).

Thanks to Instagram, the political communication framework has undergone significant changes on one side. A manifestation of the development of knowledge and technology is the social media Instagram. Nowadays, social media is not only a lifeline for communities or groups, but the existence of social media has now become a necessity for community groups. The use of social media as a communication tool with speech codes used as the main source for expressing and interacting with community groups. The use of social media is also a form of changing information, colluding with each other and forming friendship relationships in the form of writing, photos or images or videos. (Indrawan et al., 2023). Instagram is used to support political communication in every activity related to the millennial group. The communication takes the form of information about new work programs, how to overcome certain problems, as well as forms of collaboration carried out by millennial groups. This form of communication is carried out in an effort to organize communication between millennial groups in certain community groups or parties. The millennial generation understands multiple interpretations of the speech of political actors, so that through the known meaning of the speech, people are able to trace, believe and realize what they want or vice versa. (Indrawan et al., 2023).

The millennial generation tends to vote via the social media Instagram regarding their political views, making Instagram one of the most effective social media and having a significant impact on political communication. The updated information provided by Instagram can also be accessed or visited by millennial groups. So that the formulation of political imagery will be effective by using the social media Instagram. We are aware that Instagram has a user generated content base. This means that, whatever image is desired by politicians, political stakeholders can be formed through Instagram social media (Indrawan et al., 2023).

***E-goverment to Citizen***

E-Government is political communication which currently tends to use new media, the internet is used as a place for campaigns, online political communication between communities, and horizontal relations between community groups and other communities, either in virtual form or in an inter-community political background. The existence of e-government refers to the use of information technology, such as wide area networks, and mobile computing by government institutions which can change or transform the relationship between institutions or bodies with state society, trade and other institutional factors that have similar interests. There are three categories of e-government grouping, namely government to government (government to government), government to business (government to business), government to citizen (government to citizens). (Simarmata, 2014).

The transformative aspect of e-government is that people can channel their ideas directly and not limited to various government agencies. Likewise, government agencies are more focused on distributing information or news needed by the public through technological developments, namely social media. Actual communication between the government and the community can occur 24 hours a day. The following are examples of community service websites created by the government of the Special Capital Region of Jakarta (www.jakarta.go.id), the government of Bandung (https://bandung.go.id) and the government of West Sumatra (www.riau.go.id), With this website service, the community is facilitated with communication services using email, document downloads, official activities and permits. One thing that is quite unique is the existence of an aspiration column or column for criticism and suggestions as well as complaints from residents or the public. On the other hand, the creation of e-government can create a government culture that is transparent and trustworthy (Simarmata, 2014).

**Process of Engaging Political Buzzers on Social Media**

The emergence of new media, such as social media, is particularly closely linked to the buzzer phenomenon. The rapid progress of social media has made it easier for buzzers to carry out their actions with various tasks. For example, uploading a Story, Tweet or just text, comments, images, videos or memes that are interesting to the public. In essence, buzzer activities or events on social media are planned. For example, on Twitter social media, for example, in a search carried out by Maulana in his research, he found the keyword "Support Anies Baswedan" on December 6 2021. He found around 1156 tweets regarding support for Anies Baswedan. (Maualana & Hastuti, 2022).

In their efforts to search for data, Maulana & Hastuti (2022) as researchers used the help of Netlytic.org to obtain data from social media Twitter, Hastuti and Maulana (2022) also obtained data that there were around 150 buzzer accounts created in 2021 right at the time of the declaration. There is a difference between reliable buzzers and those who are just free, but their direction remains the same and has not changed, namely to campaign for certain candidate pairs. In its implementation, a passive role is played by reliable political buzzers (Maualana & Hastuti, 2022).

The emergence of social media has now become a new place for the study of democracy. This form of democracy is called digital democracy using digital communication technology which functions for the development of society in democracy. In digital democracy, the internet functions to change the system or method or framework of democratic activities that have been running before. The term digital democracy indicates how democracy exists in cyberspace. (Wahyudi, 2019).

**Conclusion**

Through the research above, it can be concluded that public policy in the digital era has had a significant impact on the transformation of political communication in Indonesia. The change in communication patterns from conventional to social media provides an easy connection that can be accessed virtually and is not limited by time and geography. The existence of social media also provides a new place in the study of democracy in Indonesia and even the world which is usually called digital democracy. Many local governments in Indonesia also use social media to communicate with their communities, such as DKI Jakarta, Bandung and West Sumatra. By using website services, the community is facilitated with communication services using email, downloading documents, official activities and permits. Social media is also used as a new space for campaigning for some leadership candidates such as Anies Baswedan who uses social media Twitter for his campaign media and Jokowi Ahok's partner who uses social media YouTube to brand himself by channeling creative campaign videos in the DKI Jakarta regional head election in 2018. 2012 ago. This is done as a form of their image or branding and in an effort to reach the audience to get the most votes during the next general election.

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