When Politics and Religion Become Disaster: An Annual Mapping of Hoax in Indonesia

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Abstract

Since 2016, hoax has been massively circulated in Indonesia, due to low literacy rates and poor detection habit of disinformation among the people. Approaching general elections in April 2019, political hoax dominated in the scene. A content analysis toward 997 hoaxes in 2018 has found that half of hoaxes circulated among society was political hoaxes (49.94%), followed by hoaxes on religious themes (11.94%). Political hoaxes mixed with religion, racism, and any other topic has been creating multiplying effect that threaten democracy. The mapping toward hoaxes during 2018 showed how such possibility might appear due to political hoaxes that framed the issue or candidates of presidential election based on fictitious data or made-up stories. Both candidates were subjected to hoax. But deeper investigation revealed that hoaxes targeted Jokowi as the incumbent candidate surpassed the number of hoaxes toward Prabowo as Jokowi's counterpart. Hoax to Jokowi was associated with Communist Party, and the arrival of ten thousands Chinese migrant work to replace native workers. Hoax toward Prabowo mainly concerned of gay-lesbian movement. Both candidates presidential election also became the target of religion hoax. Hoax to Jokowi concerned with the abolition of Islamic Boarding School, whereas hoax toward Prabowo targeted his manner that deemed inappropriate for religious community. Overall, serious disinformation was detected. This mapping also showed that over time, hoaxes become more sophisticated, complex and dfficult to encounter. Neither accident nor prank, hoax is an effort by design to disturb harmony and stability in the country.

Keywords: hoax, political, religion, mapping 2018

INTRODUCTION

Discussions about hoaxes or hoaxes have become public conversations in many countries. One of the most interesting case was the United States election campaign in 2016, where a lot of disinformation was distributed massively without verification. The 2016 Media Association report mentioned some examples of the disinformation such as Hillary Clinton's deal in selling weapons to ISIS, or The Pope's support toward Donald Trump as the President of the United States (Manalu, 2018).

In Indonesian context, hoaxes also colored the use politics of identity within the course of political contest. The accusation of blasphemy towards Basuki Tjahja Purnama, one of the candidates of DKI Jakarta governors in 2017 is a perfect example of the politics of identity. It is assumed that this was initiated by his political opponents to build a positive image of themselves. But on the other hand, observers also said that it was a form of solidarity in responding to the blasphemy (Mayopu, 2019). Netizens have also started chirping in cyberspace, there were pros and cons. There are mutual claims of opinion about justification. But post truth is blurring the difference between truth and lies (Kalpokas, 2019).

CSIS estimated that in the 2019 presidential election, politics of identity would not have much influence because the electability of Jokowi and Prabowo as presidential candidates has not changed significantly after the massive use of politics of identity in the 2017 Jakarta gubernatorial election (Fernandes, 2018). However, a number of studies showed that politics of identity was still used in campaigns before the voting in 2019 and also in post truth (Saputro, 2018; Juditha, 2019; Ardipandanto 2020) and did have an impact in the process of voters, decision making (Ardipandanto, 2020).

Hoax is an important part of post truth (Haryatmoko, 2017). Political hoaxes were spread extensively during the 2019 presidential election. Hoax can influence individuals due to their low level of literacy. According to the report of National Leadership Conference on Media Education, literacy is defined as the ability to evaluate, and communicate to access messages in various forms (Aufderheide, 1992). Hoax is a serious problem because it disintegrates people and weaken the national unity. When someone is contaminated with hoax, he/she will easily believe on certain information as ultimate truth. This, in consequence, also allows for 'sharing'. It creates further conflict resulted from the lack of verification and the low level of fact checking (Allcot & Gentzkow, 2017). Therefore, to help prevent disintegration, a study is needed to obtain an understanding about political hoaxes composition, especially those that circulated in 2018 before the voting in early 2019.

Hoax is an information that intentionally fabricated and shared through social media or other media (Rubin, 2015). Hoax can be interpreted as text used as false news or deceptive attempts disseminated through cyber media to readers. In 2006, a film entitled 'The Hoax' was produced by Hollywood. Based on true story, the film depicted scandal of a fake autobiography written by Irving Clifford. Here, hoax was considered as (containing) a lot of lies.

Hoax does not only appear in the form of news or opinions, but also in the form of data, photos and images. Extensive hoaxes circulate through social media, both social networking systems (Facebook, Twitter, Instagram and YouTube) and social platforms such as WhatsApp, Line and BBM. Hoax is a series of information that is deliberately misled, but "sold" as truth (a purposefully false story) (Silverman, 2015). It is also fake news that contains intentional misleading information by carrying certain political agenda (Merwe, 2016). The character of the internet with its interactivity, makes it easy for fake

messages to be decentralized to someone. And the individual shares the information with his friends. (Duffy, 2003). Through its easily shareable characteristics, it is possible to have an echo chamber. This makes producing and reproducing fake news even more massive.

Such was the case in Indonesia during the General Election in 2019. This was a very special moment for Indonesians because the legislative and presidential election was held at the same time. Meanwhile, Indonesia's political situation was very extraordinary. On the elite level, the dynamics revolved around the bargaining power between political actors based on various interest. But, within the grass root circles, the dynamics revolved around on the campaign of candidates because the candidates had to fight for the votes of constituents as tickets to enter the formal political stage. The political polarization was also colored by messages that use religious issues (Thoiyibi & Khisbiyah, 2018). Hoaxes were rampant during the election of the President of the Republic of Indonesia, in line with what Grechyna (2015) stated that the sharper use of social media the sharper the polarization. This is proven by netizens with two camps splitting themselves up as *kecebong* (tadpoles) and *kampret* (bastards).

Bargaining power among political elite is normal. Likewise, the presidential and legislative candidates' campaign. Unfortunately, the proliferation of hoax contaminated the political campaign in presidential election 2019 in Indonesia. Even worsening was the fact that hoax has become a new business by evil perpetrators using many issues, including religious issues. As a country who hosted the largest population of Moslems, religion and religious issues is matter most in people's lives and sometimes politicized in such a way to boost certain political figures, or to discredit others.

This research is trying to explore political and religion-theme-hoax during 2018 that widely circulated in Indonesia and had been debunked by a group of fact-checkers. By mapping and analyzing political and religion-theme-hoax as found in turnbackhoax.id, a website owned by the Indonesia Anti-hoax Community (MAFINDO), it is expected that more data regarding such hoax could be revealed and the result would contribute effort to minimize hoax among society.

Research Problem
Due to massive hoaxes that maliciously spread, this research attempts to identify political and religion themed hoaxes in Indonesia in the year of 2018. Hence, the research questions are (1) how many political and religion themed hoax being debunked by Mafindo's fact checkers each month during 2018; (2) what is the target, theme, tone and impact of political hoax toward certain political actors during 2018.

METHOD

This study used a quantitative content analysis method and multiple loop analysis. The content analysis used to categorize the political and religion themed hoax based on coding instrument developed based on the theme emerged from the data. Quantitative

content analysis is a technique for mapping trends in the text (Berelson in Sukatendel, 1986). Content Analysis is a symbolic method focused on investigating material (media text) that is symbolic in nature (Stokes, 2002). Content analysis is also quantitative in nature because it involves counting and summarizing the phenomena based on certain classification, and drawing conclusions based on mathematical logic (Rachmat, 1988). MAFINDO fact checkers have debunked thousands of hoaxes that have spread in Indonesia since 2015. The debunked hoaxes were then archived in turnbackhoax.id. For this study, we selected all the hoaxes debunked from January to December 2018 as time period criteria. The entire object of research became a population (total sampling) taken from the website https://turnbackhoax.id during 2018. They were also distributed on the Anti Fitnah, Hasut and Hoax Forum sites (FAFHH) which were disseminated via Facebook (https://www.facebook.com/groups/fafhh/account).

The selected hoaxes were then treated as units of analysis. After conducting a content analysis and getting four categories from the mapping, the next step was to apply double loop analysis. The double-loop analysis aimed to explore the article (Altheide, D. L., & Schneider, 2013). As the first step, to explore the categorization of the political hoax, four categories were used for the analysis of the hoaxes collected namely theme, tools, channel, and target. Step two involved further clarifying the general principles and then applying them to the search criteria for the various political hoaxes. In this stage, the information was logically based and checked for some initial similarities which will facilitate the collection and specification of additional data.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

The high penetration of internet users in Indonesia, without being accompanied by literacy competencies, made fake news difficult to control. According to the APJII report (Association of Indonesian Internet Service Users) in 2017 and 2018 it was 10.2% to 17.17 million of the total population or 54.68% of Indonesia's total population of 262 million. This figure continued to rise to 202.6 million cpeople in 2021 or an increase of 15.5% when compared to January 2020.

Internationally, hoax are divided into three categories (Wardle, 2017). First, misinformation, namely when fake news is shared, they don't know if the information is a hoax. Second, disinformation is fake news that is intentionally shared, by covering up the real facts. Third, information malls, the news that is shared that causes harm. Theoretically a hoax content contains misinformation and disinformation. First Draft categorizes into seven items.

First, satire is content that is created to be satirical, has the potential to deceive but has no intention to harm. The second is misleading content, namely misguided information that is framed with an issue by cutting photos and videos collectively. Third, imposter content is when the original source is imitated with the aim of

harming, this content is very easy to believe by readers due to inaccuracies in finding credible sources. Fourth, fabricated content is new content that is 100% false, intentionally created by irresponsible parties. Fifth, false connection is the title is not continuous with the content. Or clickbait with a bombastic title. Sixth, False content information that is disseminated comes from real events but with different contexts so that readers do not understand the events. The seventh manipulated content is when the original content is intentionally used to deceive. Between writing, images and videos have different meanings.

In this study, the data was retrieved from the website https://turnbackhoax.id. The mapping is carried out from January to December 2018. First of all, hoaxes debunked from that period are classified under several categories, i.e. religion, politics, ethnicity, business, fraud, health, natural disasters, crime, traffic, unique phenomena and others. The amount of hoaxes in 2018 based on the mapping reached as many as 997. It means that 2 or 3 hoaxes were captured in each day. Political-themed-hoax are the highest (488 items). Religion-theme-hoax placed in the second position (119 items), followed by various theme of hoax (85 items), hoax regarding health and medicine (59 items). The complete result could be seen as follows.

Fig 1. Amount of Hoax During 2018
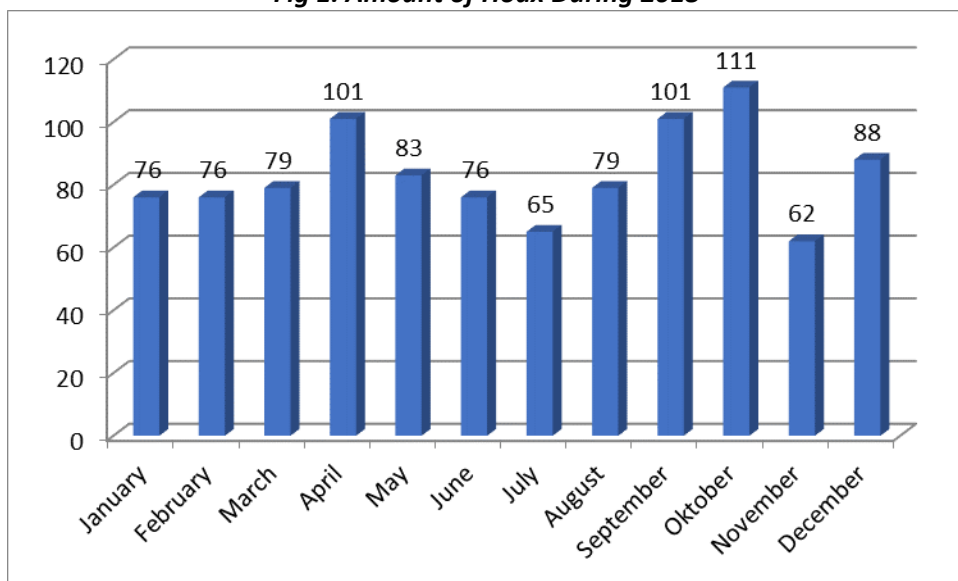
The table depicted amount of hoaxes on monthly basis. As one might see, there were certain months with highest amount of hoax, i.e. April, September and October 2018. Regarding political and religious theme, the result was displayed as follows.

Table 1. Category of Hoaxes (2018)

No.	Theme of Hoax	Jan	Feb	March	April	Mey	June	July	Agt	Sept	Okt	Nov	Dec	Total
1	Religion	11	16	11	8	11	9	8	1	8	19	4	13	119
2	Politic	28	31	26	61	47	35	30	46	69	47	32	36	488
3	Health	11	3	10	3	2	5	5	5	4	6	2	3	59
4	Other	6	7	18	12	5	4	5	6	5	4	7	6	85

Political-theme-hoax is the most popular topic of hoax on social media. The political hoax at the beginning of the year tended to target Jokowi and government institutions under his leadership. Several popular hoax (which is widely spread) are regarding taxation policies, data on the list of population for voters' registration, the leaks of population data, and some issues related with the preparation of national election.

Political hoax started to peak in April 2018. Government, presidential candidates, and regional leaders became favorite targets, particularly local candidates and local institutions. Regional election was held on April 2018—this was the reason why the number of political hoaxes regarding local politics and local politicians marked high. Political hoax tones also varied from discrediting someone's image through character assassination to providing support for certain issues or political figures, such as Ridwan Kamil from West Java Province, Khofifah Indar Parawansa of East Java Province, and Nurdin Halid—a tycoon turned to be candidate for the Governor of South Sulawesi are among them.

In the middle of the year hoax began to target national elections, because it coincided with regional elections in various regions of Indonesia. Of course, several hoaxes targeting regional figures were still appearing. However, the intensity of hoax attacked Jokowi and his government began to increase. Specific themes raised in this phase are including communist infiltration and national debt issues.

Negative political hoax toward two presidential candidates, both Jokowi and Prabowo began to escalate more approaching the election and campaign period, starting from the moment of presidential and vice-presidential candidate official registration for the 2019 election. The negative tone of hoax was very detrimental. An example of this was a hoax that was successfully debunked on August 6, 2018 regarding "Twisting Context of Prabowo's Speech" and "Jokowi campaign funds" (debunked on August 17, 2018).

September was the month with highest number of political hoaxes and had a significant increase. The target of political hoax was government officer and presidential candidates. Issues being materialized as hoaxes were around support and character assassination to implant negative image. In this month, both presidential candidates in Indonesia's General Election officially registered themselves. This could be the reason behind the increasing amount of political hoax toward both candidates. Political hoax with negative tone would affect the voters—to choose or not to choose. In this case, candidate No. 01 (President Jokowi and KH Amin Makruf) received more than their counterpart (candidate

No. 02 – Prabowo Subianto and Sandiaga Uno). Hoax received by them are counted on 46% -- all are negatives.

Meanwhile, candidate No. 2 (Prabowo and Sandiaga Uno) received mixes tone of hoax. There were 7.68% of hoax that degrading them by depicting a negative image. There were also 3.84% of positive hoax that boost their image as well, for example hoax regarding Yenny Wahid's Speech which claimed to support Prabowo-Sandi (debunked on September 29, 2018). Draw from this situation, it could be inferred that the contestation of the presidential election become the main target of political hoaxes in September. The issues being raised varied from support, negative imagery, and government delegitimation. Interesting enough, the issue of Chinese was widespread during this period, from Chinese Army to Chinese Migrant Worker, from Chinese infiltration on administrative matters to other strategic facilities dedicated to Chinese. All hoaxes targeted Jokowi and government agency to give them bad image as an ally for foreign power.

Political hoaxes in October were still markedly high, but religious hoaxes were increasing. As well as political hoax, it did not only discuss politics but also raised themes outside of political issues, but eventually politicized into a political issue. Hoax also dominantly targeted at Presidential Candidates 1 and Presidential Candidates 2. This fact showed how vast the potential for escalating the impact of political hoax was because it did not only disrupt the electoral process, but also the overall process of state administration. The target of political hoax in October was depicted in this table.

Table 2. Target of Hoax

No.	Target Hoax	F	%
1	Candidates 01	6	12.76
2	Candidates 02	8	17.02
3	Goverment K/L	23	48.94
4	Local Goverment	4	8.51
5	Political Party	4	8.51
6	Significant Persons	2	4.255
	Total	47	100

It is interesting to see that in this month, hoax targeted Prabowo – Sandi marked high. Presumably, this was the impact of Ratna Sarumpaet plastic surgery case which attracted controversy among public. Regarding the tone of political hoax, all candidates share negative tone. Besides hoax related to Ratna Sarumpaet's lies, political hoax still carried the same issues like previous months such as the issue of communist revival (debunk 30

October 2018), infrastructure issues (debunked on 10 October 2018), ethnic issues (debunked on 19 October 2018) and LGBT issues (debunked on October 16, 2018).

Apart from politics, religious topics, natural disasters, traffic, and crime were also quite high and led to negative sentiment, thus damaging or disturbing the target image / reputation. However, in terms of themes, the political hoax of the 01 presidential candidates was far more diverse. Political hoax toward Presidential Candidate 02 only focused on political and religious themes. The political hoax that befell Presidential Candidate 2 was the accusation that Prabowo's siblings were pro-US industrialists. This hoax framed the information with the accusation that Presidential Candidate 2 betrayed Muhammad Rizieq Shihab and FPI (debunked on October 13, 2018). Interestingly, some of the political hoaxes befallen on Presidential Candidate 01 were recycled hoax such as communist party association.

Along with the increasing number of parties being targeted by political hoaxes, the themes or issues of political hoax content were growing, i.e. political dynamics, religious issues, ethnic issues, sexual orientation/ lifestyle, natural disasters, crime, industry issues, infrastructure, events, population administration. All issues were used to attack presidential candidates 01 and 02. However political dynamics remained the target at most and then followed by religious issues.

The Composition of Hoax Attacking The Presidential Candidates

Table 3. Hoax on Presidential Candidates 01

No.	Hoax Candidates 1	f	%
1	Political	1	16.67
2	Religion	2	33.32
3	Etnic	1	16.67
4	Crime	1	16.67
5	Industry	1	16.67
	TOTAL	6	100

Table 4. Hoax on Presidential Candidates 02

No.	Hoax Candidates 02	f	%
1	Political	6	75
2	Religion	2	25
	TOTAL	8	100

Religious hoax reached its peak in October. Some religious hoax were related to incidents of burning flags which was perceived as tauhid flag while the NU Banser considered it as HTI flags. This incident reaped polemics and became the material of hoaxes. For example, the hoax stated that Erdogan was crying because of the incident (debunked on October 24, 2018). Another religious hoax talked about Jokowi who toast and drink wine, so it is worthy of being questioned for Islam.

Political hoaxes were also politicized into religion. Both attacked the presidential candidate 01 or presidential candidate 02 and were either positive and negative. Negative-pitched religious hoax also attacked Jokowi such as "Meme Jokowi Toast Using Wine" (debunk 8 October 2018). Hoax attacked 01 also claimed that if Jokowi was elected then the Ministry of Religion would be changed (debunked October 23).

There was also a negative hoax attacking Prabowo and supporting the presidential couple 01. A picture showing Muhammad Muslim as the Ministry of Jember employee "PA 212 Fed up with Prabowo: we ex 212 were invited together to support Jokowi Ma'ruf Amin because the Prabowo camp would only reduce image and destroy PA 212 (debunked on October 19, 2018). Hoax negatively attacked Presidential Candidate 02 like "Statement of Timses Prabowo-Sandiaga Regarding #PrabowobersamaHTI on Twitter" (debunked on October 27 2018).

Another religious hoax appeared on October about Tawhid flag found behind the house of M. Rizieq Shihab in Saudi Arabia. A hoax targeted the government containing a narrative that the Turkish government was furious and ordered elite forces to track down the slanderer M. Rizieq Shihab. The issue of reunion 212 also added the color to hoax configuration this month. Another example of religious hoax was the arrest of Riziq Shihab by the Saudi Arabian government in connection with a flag that reads the sentence of Tawheed installed in his house because the flag was allegedly related to ISIS. There were several hoaxes that respondedto this event, such as hoaxes about sending Turkish elite forces to hunt down Riziq Shihab (November 20, 2018) and the issue of a large demonstration against the Saudi Arabian government in front of the embassy (November 19, 2018).

In addition, Jokowi was also the target of the continuation of the previous month's hoax on "religious education will be removed" Jokowi was also attacked by religious-style hoax claiming that orders would be abolished and religious education abolished (November 4, 2018).

Some of the issues raised were still the same as in previous months. Jokowi and his support party were still attacked by hoaxes that raise communist issues and religious issues. An example of a hoax that appeared on December 11, 2018 which claimed Yusuf Kalla turned to Prabowo-Sandi because of communist issues. Other hoaxes targeted Jokowi by raising the issue of the abolition of religious education (December 13, 2018).

Not only Jokowi, Prabowo was also attacked with several hoaxes which raised the issue of religion. For example, a hoax in the form of a photo of Prabowo dressed in a priest (December 15, 2018), a meme containing a fake quote from Prabowo that "Prayers are not important" (December 24, 2018), information that Prabowo runs a service (December 25 2018).

In addition to the topic of religion, Prabowo was also attacked by a health clinic. He was reportedly suffering from a serious illness (December 19, 2018). Regarding religion such as the Saudi Arabian Embassy said that the NU organizations also provoked hoaxes. An example was the hoax about plans for a massive demonstration to be carried out by PBNU and Anshor (December 6, 2018).

Throughout 2018, hoaxes varied in terms of forms, ranging from narration, photos, videos or combinations. The following was a table of tools for producing hoax. The tools were used by hoax producers to manipulate readers, so that the hoax news seems to be true.

Table 5. Category of hoax

No.	Category	Jan	Feb	Mar	April	Mey	June	July	Agt	Sept	Okt	Nov	Des	Total
1	Naration	34	38	43	23	21	26	28	23	16	33	27	28	340
2	Image	2	0	3	3	0	3	1	2	7	0	0	7	28
3	Video	2	4	2	1	2	2	0	1	0	2	0	4	20
4	Meme	0	0	0	0	0	1	3	0	0	3	0	5	12
5	Narration +photos	35	25	23	49	47	35	21	43	53	54	25	33	443
6	Narrations + Video	3	9	8	18	11	5	12	7	25	13	8	7	126
7	Etc	0	0	0	7	2	4	0	3	0	6	2	4	28
	Total	76	76	79	101	83	76	65	79	101	111	62	88	997

Throughout 2018, most hoaxes were combinations of narration and photos (443 hoaxes, or 44.43%), followed by narration (340 hoaxes, or 34.10%), and a combination of narration and video (126 hoaxes, or 12.64%).) Hoaxes combining narration and photos were found highest in number in October 2019. Hoax in the form of narration was found highest in March 2019 (43 hoaxes), while the combination of narratives and videos reaches its peak in September 2019 (25 hoaxes). The simplest hoax only contained narrative elements, while the more sophisticated ones combined several elements such as narration, photos and videos. The fact that hoax in the form of combination dominated this category showed that hoax producer were increasingly sophisticated in creating hoaxes to convince the public.

Fig 1. Variation of hoax channel in 2018
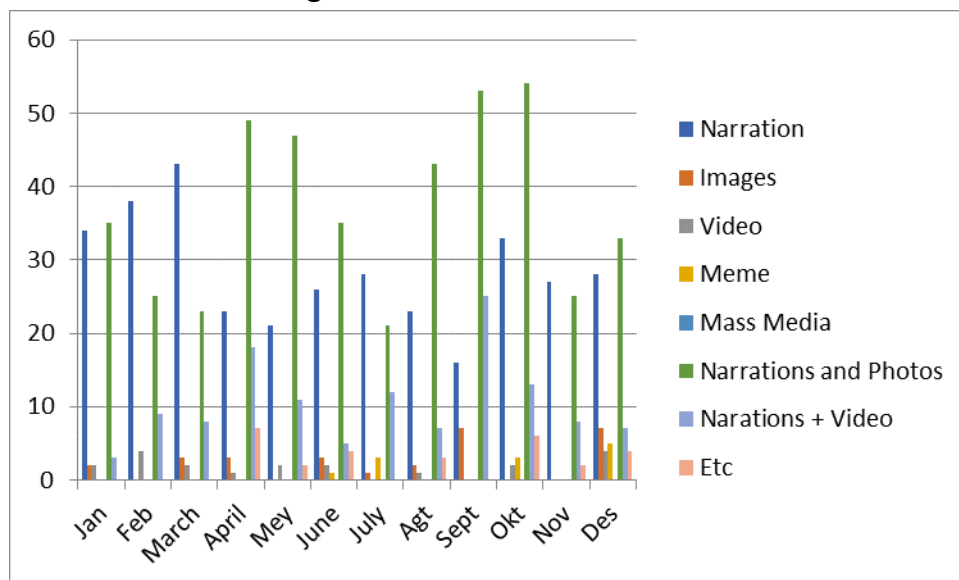
Hoax spread through channels varying as in the table below:

Table 6. The Channel of Hoax

No.	Category	Jan	Feb	Mar	April	Mey	June	July	Agt	Sept	Okt	Nov	Dec	Total
1	MM print	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
2	MM online	6	5	9	6	12	5	0	3	1	4	3	1	55
3	FB	35	32	32	40	23	27	26	41	62	43	23	45	429
4	WA	11	10	13	9	11	5	12	12	5	8	5	13	114
5	Twit	2	6	9	14	7	7	6	9	13	7	5	5	90
6	UTube	0	2	1	1	2	1	2	2	1	2	1	2	17
7	IG	1	5	5	1	3	1	6	1	2	2	2	2	31
8	Telegram	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	1
9	FB + IG	0	1	0	1	2	3	2	0	1	0	0	0	9
10	FB + Twit	3	1	1	0	1	6	6	2	5	0	0	0	25
11	FB + WA	1	6	2	4	4	2	2	4	3	10	6	1	75
12	FB+UTube	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	4	0	0	2
13	FB+Telegram	0	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2
14	Open Source	0	0	5	24	0	0	1	4	0	0	0	0	34
15	Etc	17	7	1	0	16	19	2	0	8	31	17	19	137
	Total	76	76	79	101	83	76	65	79	101	111	62	88	997

Technological developments grew in linearity with innovation. Innovation always develops from time to time so that it affects human life. Pacey (2000) stated that technology is able to move humans, thus shaping human behavior and mindset. The rapid development of technology, has two positive and negative sides. But it is also undeniable

that the presence of technology also makes messages easy to spread easily. Based on the distribution channel category, which is divided into fifteen categories: printed media, online mass media, Facebook, WhatsApp, Twitter, Youtube, Instagram, Telegram, Facebook and Instagram, Facebook and Twitter, Facebook and WhatsApp, Facebook and Youtube, Facebook and Telegram, and finally open source channels and other.

Quoting Niken Widiastuti, Director General of Communication and Informatics, UNESCO, 4 out of 10 people in Indonesia are active with Facebook , with 3,3 million users. Facebook became a website-based social media that allowed users to connect globally. The requirement to have a social media account is also very easy, only registering using an email or phone number (Kurniali, 2009).

Facebook (FB) was the most dominant hoax distribution channel. A total of 429 hoaxes circulated through Facebook (43.03%), followed by a combination of various channels (other) as many as 137 hoaxes (13.74%) and WhatsApp as many as 114 hoaxes (11.43%). This distribution channel was identified through public reports. Some hoaxes which were shared through social media platforms such as Facebook, Twitter, and Instagram can be tracked for potential distribution. However, it was difficult to know the potential distribution of hoaxes in the dark social area. This data only showed how many hoaxes were reported circulating through the platform. However, it was estimated that the hoaxes circulating on social dark channels were much greater than those reported in MAFINDO. Based on the mapping, FB as the largest hoax distribution channel was found in September with 62 hoax (61.39%). The hoax distribution channel here was based on public reports to the MAFINDO Fact Checker Team, which was then checked in the original source. The spread of hoax through Twitter were not been widely reported by the public throughout 2018.

Hoax: Threat to Democracy

Netizens as virtual community users, freely explore the virtual world. Whatever information sought is available, it becomes the most loved media (Surahman, 2016). This media also has a negative impact. One of the negative impacts is facilitating the owner participants to politicize religion in terms of politics like attacking each other on social media, to the addition of the role of the buzzer in supporting the potential contestants. Political hoaxes emerged with positive and negative tones that attacked the election contestants.

The high number of hoax circulating, makes future challenges in fighting hoax need serious handling. The use of religious issues makes it even more dangerous due to the potential conflict that may arise along with the identity politics. The hoax might be designed with the motive to undermine the candidate's image. But the effect forms polarization that makes each group easy to manipulate. If political power in social media is used symmetrically, class or group has the power to decide. Every individual who uses social media has the opportunity to make decisions. Social media is used in the current era as interpersonal communication that is mediated technology (Gushevinalti, 2019), which hence multiply the effect of hoax, while also has potential to provide political

education in the future (Yordiansyah, 2017). Consuming hoax reduces opportunity to make best decision. Therefore,efforts to manage the use of social media are needed (Fuch, 2014).

Hoaxes can lead to national disintegration that is resulted from provocation, agitation of hatred, anger, conflict, incitement, rebellion and others (Susilowati, 2017). Hoax, yesterday, today and next is something that grows following technological developments. The hoax content evolves over time following its goals. This study also show that the hoax followed the latest issues, approaching presidential election in 2019 where political theme dominated the scene. The impact of the political theme also extends to other themes, like religion where religious issues were politized to influence public opinion. Ways to design a hoax are also developing. Hoax producers take advantage of increasingly advanced technology to convince the readers of the trustworthiness of their claims.

The above explanation implied the necessity of improving public digital literacy. The findings in this study can be of help to design education curricula, particularly in terms of hoax characteristics. According to AW Van Den and Hawkins (1999), public involvement in information literacy activities is a form of cause to help others. The program can be carried out by teaching how to identify a hoax, and so on as part of efforts to improve media literacy as detailed by James W Potter (2010): analyze, evaluate, grouping, induction, deduction, synthesis, abstracting. With good media literacy skills, hoaxes will become stale, because good literacy competence has grown in the community.

CONCLUSIONS

There are 488 political-theme hoaxes (49,94%) and 119 religion-theme-hoaxes (11,94%) that had been debunked during 2018. Political theme hoaxes dominated all hoaxes that widely circulated in the year 0f 2018. September and Oktober marked the highest number of political hoaxes during that year.

Political hoaxes are mainly composed by religion issues. It targeted political figures as well, but approaching the national election, both presidential candidates were subjected to such hoax. However, hoax which targeted Jokowi is found in massive amount and multiplied percentage compared with hoax toward his counterpart.

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