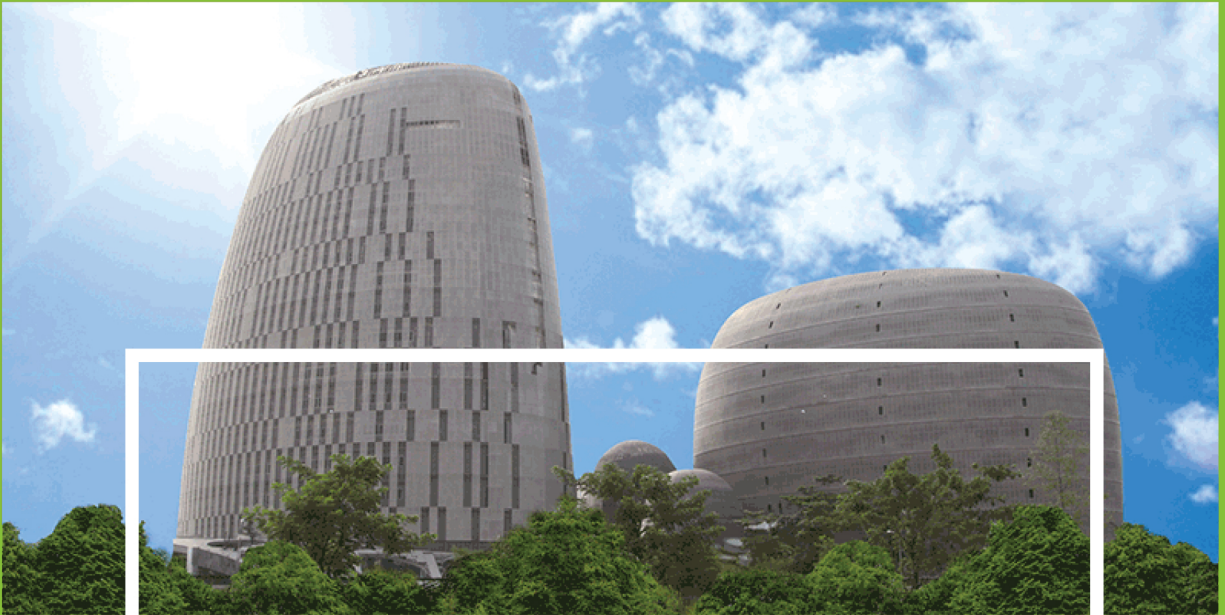


Vol. 13, No. 2, Dec 2021



JURNAL ILMU KOMUNIKASI
ULTIMACOMM

Jurnal Ilmu Komunikasi

ULTIMACOMM

E-ISSN 2656-0208 | ISSN 2085-4609

Vol. 13 No. 2, Dec 2021

Jurnal Ilmu Komunikasi diterbitkan dua kali setahun sebagai media informasi karya ilmiah untuk bidang kajian jurnalisme digital dan studi komunikasi strategis.

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DAFTAR ISI

Social Media as Sources of Information on Covid-19 Among Students in Tertiary Institutions in Kenyan Paul Waititu	187
Personalisation and User Engagement: A Content Analysis of Anies Baswedan's Facebook Posts Shafira Annisa Putri, Kunto Adi Wibowo, Ikhsan Fuady	197
Health Versus Economy: Lockdown Controversy Coverage In Indonesian Online News Platform Ardhanareswari Avianti Handoko	214
Public Attention Formation in the "Diet Kantong Plastik" Social Movement Swiny Adestika	235
The Dynamic of News Production in Online Media: Case Study of <i>TvOneNews.com</i> Tiara Rosana Nurul Fajri & Ririt Yuniar	253
The Public Relations Strategy of Salatiga City Secretariat in Managing the Covid-19 Hoax Evelyn Friscilla Christy & Lina Sinatra Wijaya	273
Instagram as One of Generation Z's Choice of Health Information Sources in Indonesia Siti Nursanti	290
Symbolic Violence against Persons with Disabilities in the Trans TV Official Program Ngobrol Asal on Youtube Ferdi Gultom & Farid Pribadi	301
Effect of Instagram Post on Legitimacy and Reputation of Indonesian National Police Tyan Ludiana Prabowo	318
When Politics and Religion Become Disaster: An Annual Mapping of Hoax in Indonesia Priska Nur Safitri, Santi Indra Astuti, Nuril Hidayah, Cahya Suryani, Mizati Dewi Wasdiana, Anita Wahid	343

Social media as sources of information on COVID-19 among students in tertiary institutions in Kenya

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Received Jul. 19, 2021; Revised on Dec. 12, 2021, Accepted Dec. 30, 2021

Abstract

The outbreak of COVID-19 in December of 2019 and its relentless spread across the globe has led to an upsurge of information on the pandemic, as scholars, health experts and other authorities rush to publish information meant to enlighten the public on this novel virus. Thanks to social media and its various platforms, most of this information is shared online. However, this rapid spread of information has also given rise to panic and trepidation brought about by generally unverified information on social media. This study sought to assess the student's level of social media use in tertiary institutions, its influence on them, and whether they consider social media a credible source of information on COVID-19. An online questionnaire was administered to a sample of 250 students. Collected data were verified and analysed using SPSS software. The study has found that social media plays a significant role in sharing information on COVID-19 among students in tertiary institutions, with WhatsApps being the most widely used platform. However, despite being greatly influential, many students do not view social media as an accurate or credible source of information on the pandemic.

Keywords: *COVID-19, Kenya, pandemic, social media, students*

INTRODUCTION

The invention of Web 2.0 on the Internet has allowed the integration of online multimedia tools and enabled users to interact online (Choudhury, 2013; Doung-In, 2018; Palkova, 2015; Shrivastav & John, 2014). Consequently, social media, which incorporates various tools and platforms, has emerged as a major communication channel for disseminating and obtaining all kinds of information in the online environment (Ahmad & Murad, 2020; Bicen & Cavus, 2010; O'Brien, Moore & McNicholas, 2020). The large penetration of the Internet and proliferation of web-enabled devices have resulted in the exponential growth in the use of social media in many countries (Wamuyu, Ireri & Mulwo, 2019). This has changed the field of communication at all levels and more so in the area of health communication. Due to its popularity, social media has become an ideal channel for distributing a myriad of information to millions of users around the globe within a short time and especially to students in tertiary education who need to learn more about the pandemic. This has occasioned immense use of various social media platforms by

students, including Facebook, Twitter, WhatsApp, Instagram and TicToc (Bicen & Cavus, 2010; Bicen & Cavus, 2011; Mese & Aydin, 2019; O'Brien et al., 2020; Wamuyu, 2020) as sources of information. A recent study (see Wamuyu et al., 2019) indicates that Internet users in Kenya rely on social media for various needs such as information acquisition (31%), entertainment (28%) and 24% for online social interactions.

The outbreak of novel coronavirus (COVID-19) in December 2019 in China's city of Wuhan, Hubei province, occurred when online communication had virtually connected the world into one digital village. With this connectivity, bolstered by the efficient worldwide travels, the spread was rapid, affecting almost all nations of the globe and making it the first-ever digital-era pandemic (O'Brien et al., 2020). Coronavirus, commonly referred to as COVID-19, is a severe acute respiratory disease caused by Corona Virus 2 (SARS-CoV-2). The infection has a very high caseload worldwide (Brindha, Jayaseelan & Kadeswara, 2020). By the middle of July 2021, over 190,000 Kenyans had tested positive, with close to 3,700 succumbing to the virus (Worldometer, 2021).

Indeed, the pandemic has caused an unprecedented disruption, affecting all facets of life (Yum, 2020). Due to various restrictions such as lockdown, curfew and the closing down of institutions like schools and universities, students have resorted to social media as a major means of communication and entertainment as they stay holed up in their homes. Thanks to the pandemic, the recent months have experienced an unmatched surge in the use of social media, more so for commercial and learning purposes (Wamuyu, 2020). Social media platforms, such as video and web conferencing, have become the norm for official interaction both in the corporate and education arena, as people struggle to comply with the health protocols to prevent the spread of COVID-19. Moreover, the pandemic has created a demand for information as students attempt to understand the disease and cope with the accompanying regulations and protocols, such as travel restrictions, curtailed social interactions, sanitation measures, curfew and lockdown.

Previous studies (Abbasi & Liu, 2013; Grabner-Kräuter & Sofie, 2015) show that when users visit a social media site, their first perceptions of the information credibility are highly influenced by the source's trustworthiness. Moreover, a recent study by Limaye, Sauer, Ali, Bernstein, Wahl, Barnhill and Labrique (2020) indicates that expert knowledge on those propagating a particular health message enhances the credibility of the message. Another study by Goodyear, Armour and Wood (2018) focused on the effects of social media on young people's perceptions of health and wellbeing. It concluded that online health-related information is perceived positively by young people. However, while several people depend on social media for information and facts about COVID-19 (Bicen & Cavus, 2010; Brindha et al., 2020; Mourad, Srour, Harmanani, Jenainatiy & Arafah, 2020), some of this information may not be factual. It might have been filtered, distorted, adulterated or fabricated, thus affecting its credibility. The unbridled use of social media has, to a considerable extent, had a negative effect on its various platforms, with some users branding it a veritable avenue for spreading rumours and unverified information (O'Brien et al., 2020; Pennycook, McPhetres, Zhang, Lu & Rand, 2020), what is being referred as infodemic (Brindha et al., 2020).

This study is anchored on the Elaboration Likelihood Model (ELM), whose seminal authors are Petty and Cacioppo (1986). ELM, a persuasion theory, is used to evaluate social media users' perceptions of information credibility based on the source expertise (Petty & Cacioppo, 1986; Li & Suh, 2015). The theory explains that users requiring high cognitive ability on certain information are likely to evaluate social media content more cautiously (central route). On the other hand, users with a low level of thinking of certain information would make simple interpretations when considering social media's credibility (peripheral route).

While studies have documented the impact of social media on the management of COVID-19 in some regions (Ahmad & Murad, 2020), little has been written on the Kenyan scenario, creating a dearth of knowledge. So far, there is little scholarly evaluation in Kenya of social media users' perception of it as a credible source of information, particularly with respect to the COVID-19 pandemic. In view of the above, little evidence exists on the users' perceptions of social media credibility during this pandemic, particularly within the students' communities in tertiary institutions in Kenya. This study has attempted to understand students' use and perceptions of social media as a credible source of information on COVID-19 from the Kenyan perspective by addressing the following research questions:

- Which social media platforms are commonly used by students in tertiary institutions in Kenya to obtain information on COVID 19?
- What perceptions do students in tertiary institutions in Kenya hold about social media as a source of credible information on COVID-19?

Hence, this study sought to establish the use and perceptions of social media among students in tertiary institutions as a credible source of information on COVID-19.

METHOD

Non-probability (purposive and snowball sampling) methods were used in this study. A sample of 250 individuals, comprising students between the ages of 18 and 35 years, was used as the accessible population of students in tertiary institutions in Kenya. It proved difficult to get a larger sample since the tertiary institutions in Kenya were closed down due to the COVID- 19 restriction measures. Getting the students to participate in the study under the COVID-19 restriction was challenging. The study was carried out in Nakuru County, one of the five counties considered as Disease Infected Zone (DIZ) and placed under strict partial lockdown regulations. Firstly, eight individuals from eight different tertiary institutions in Nakuru County were purposively selected. They were then briefed on the intended study. Snowball sampling was also used, where each of the selected students was requested to identify and recommend potential respondents from their institutions that they considered suitable as participants of the study. These individuals formed the study's unit of analysis. However, despite its use, snowball sampling had some drawbacks. This method gave the researcher little control over the

process and would have presented some bias if individuals nominated their friends. Thus, they were instructed to guard against this.

The researcher contacted those referred to ascertain whether they met the above age criteria and were students of the eight selected tertiary institutions. Those selected were asked to give their informed consent to take part in the study and further requested to provide their email address, WhatsApp or Telegram contacts. An online self-administered questionnaire with a 5-point Likert scale created on the Google forms platform was sent through a link to the prospective respondents via email address, WhatsApp or Telegram accounts. However, before the study commenced, a pre-test of the questionnaire was carried out, and necessary amendments were made. Statistical Package for the Social Science (SPSS version 25.0) computer software was used to verify, analyse and generate descriptive statistics from the collected quantitative data.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSIONS

Results

Data analysis and presentation of findings on the use and credibility of information on COVID-19 were guided by the research questions as detailed below.

Quantitative data

The study had a response rate of 75%, as 188 online self-administered questionnaires were completed and returned out of a total of 250, which were electronically dispatched. The key findings of the online self-administered questionnaire are presented and discussed below.

Demographic factors

The findings of the demographic survey show that 56.9% of the respondents were male and 43.1% were female. On the respondents' ages, the findings show that 18.1% were 20 years and below, 67.7% were between 21 and 25 years, 8.5 % were between 26 and 30 years and 3.7% between 31 and 35 years. With regard to education levels, 3.5 % of the respondents had secondary school education waiting to join tertiary institutions, 11.1% were in middle level colleges while 77.7% were undergraduate students, and 5.5 % were undertaking post graduate courses. Overall, the variable gender had a total of 2 unique values, females being more, with a mode of 107. The age category with the highest number was 21-25 with a frequency of 131. The level of education with the highest representation was university undergraduate, with a frequency of 146 as shown in Table 1 below.

Table 1: Descriptive statistics output on demographic information

	Gender	Age	Level of Education
Count	188	188	188
Unique	2	4	4
Top	Female	21-25	University undergraduate
Frequency	107	131	146

Source: Research Data, 2021

Use of social media as a source of information

Out of the 188 respondents, 72.3% (n=136) had experience of five years and above in the use of social media, where they were registered in various social media platforms (see Table 2). Most of the respondents indicated that they were registered in Facebook, Twitter, WhatsApp, Instagram and Telegram. It emerged from the findings that, out of the five platforms for obtaining information, WhatsApp was the most preferred. It is evident that WhatsApp was the most frequently used social media platform with 38.8% (n=73) respondents saying they always used it and 21.8% (n=41) saying they used it very often to obtain information.

The views that most information on COVID-19 is obtained from social media and that the platforms contribute significantly to creating awareness on COVID-19 were strongly supported by most of the respondents (78.2%, n=147 and 90.9%, n=171 respectively). Majority, (72.4%, n=136) were also of the views that social media platforms were widely used for sharing information on COVID-19. Based on the findings, it is justified to deduce that students' frequent online presences affected their perceptions on the need to use social media for obtaining information on COVID-19 as outlined by ELM. As indicated by O'Brien et al. (2020) and Pennycook et al. (2020), unrestricted use of social media to a larger extent, negatively affect users' perceptions due to mass dissemination of information, some of which is not verified.

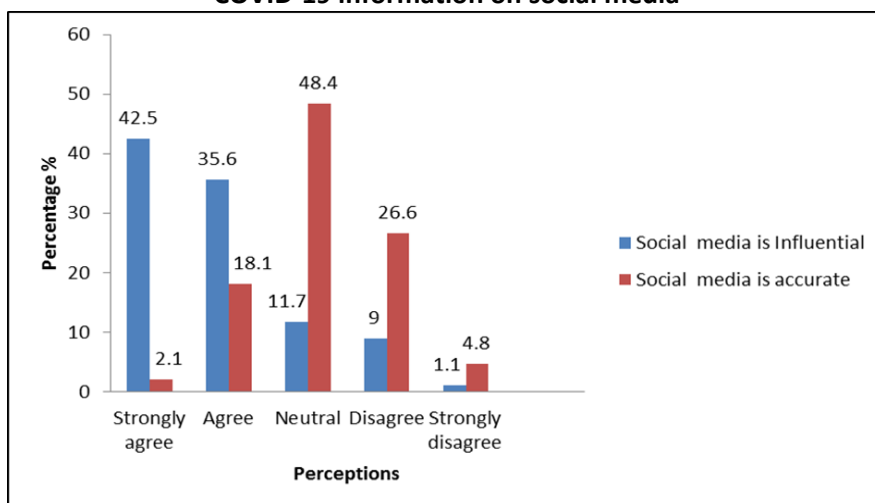
Table 2: Descriptive statistics output on social media use

	Experience in the use of social media	Social media platforms registered in	Preferred social media platform
Count	188	188	188
Unique	3	40	7
Top	5 years and above	Facebook, Twitter, Instagram, Telegram	WhatsApp
Frequency	136	56	70

Source: Research Data, 2021

Credibility of information on social media

On the question of whether social media had influence on the users, 72.9 % (n=137) of the respondents strongly agreed, as shown in Fig. 1. This indicates that social media is a powerful tool that many students use to disseminate and share COVID-19 information. However, the nature of information being shared is likely to influence users' perceptions on the credibility of this information. On the contrary, a sizable number of the respondents, at 31.4 % (n=59), revealed that they did not consider information on social media regarding COVID-19 accurate, while another 48.4% (n= 91) indicated being neutral on the issue. Thus, non-factual and unverified information posted on social media platforms is likely to affect the users' perception on credibility and erode trust in information on COVID-19. This finding is supported by earlier views (Ahmad & Murad, 2020; O'Brien et al., 2020), that social media platforms play a key role in the dissemination and acquiring of information, hence the need to ensure their integrity.

Fig. 1: Students' perceptions on the influence and accuracy of COVID-19 information on social media

Source: Research Data, 2021

Discussion

This study set out to assess the use of social media among students in tertiary institutions, and their perception of it as a source of information on the COVID-19 pandemic. It revolved around two research questions, namely what social media platforms they use, and whether they consider them as credible sources of information on the COVID-19 pandemic.

The study shows that the majority of the respondents have used social media as a source of information for up to five years, meaning that they started using it before they commenced their tertiary education. This finding is congruent with those of another study (Bicen & Cavus, 2010) on the use of social media by undergraduate students in Nicosia, Cypress, which found that up to 92% of them had used various platforms for over five years, with the remaining years, “less than one year”, “one year”, “two years” and “three years” equally sharing the remaining eight percent.

Regarding specific platforms, the findings show that most students are registered on Facebook, Twitter, WhatsApp, Instagram. On preferences and use, a large majority of the respondents are using WhatsApp followed by Instagram. This finding is consistent with the study by Mese and Aydin (2019), which ranked WhatsApp as the leading social media platform among university students in terms of preference. Conversely, some studies (Bicen & Cavus, 2010; Mese & Aydin, 2019; Wamuyu, 2020; Wamuyu et al. 2019) posit that Facebook and Google+ are the most widely used social networking sites among students, but this may differ, depending on their interest, purpose, environment and time.

The views that most information on COVID-19 is obtained from social media and that it contributes significantly to creating awareness on COVID-19 were strongly supported by most of the respondents (90.9%). Majority also agreed with the view that social media platforms are usually used for sharing information on COVID-19 (72.4%). This shows that the individuals’ actual beliefs on COVID-19 are influenced by the source of information as suggested by ELM. The findings concur with those of an early study (Mourad et al., 2020), that most people depend on social media for information on COVID-19 and that any distortion is likely to seriously affect their perceptions on its credibility as a source of information.

Another salient finding was that social media has a significant influence on users, with a large majority of the respondents (72.9%) strongly agreeing that they are influenced by the different platforms they are subscribed to. This reveals that the use of social media as a useful resource for disseminating and sharing of important information on COVID-19 is influenced by users’ preference for its various platforms. The finding supports the study by Goodyear, et al. (2018) on the effects of social media on young people’s perceptions on health and wellbeing, which concluded that online health-related information, is perceived positively by young people

However, when the study sought to determine whether the use of social media affect the credibility of information, it was found that despite the high use of social media platforms as a source of information, a large majority of the respondents did not consider it trustworthy. A number of them pointed out that they did not consider information regarding COVID-19 on social media accurate and reputable due to source credibility. The fact that many respondents did not consider social media credible as a source of information on COVID-19 can be attributed to their awareness that the bulk of those posting the information lack expert knowledge on the pandemic. This can easily persuade them to disregard factual information and instead propagate the spreading of rumours or giving unrealistic views on covid-19 through the same media. It can be presumed that students' actual beliefs about COVID-19 (accurate or inaccurate) are influenced by the source of information. This finding concurs with a study by Limaye, et al. (2020), that expert knowledge plays a big role in enhancing the credibility of the message when disseminating particular information.

CONCLUSION

Based on its findings, this study concludes that social media plays an important role in the sharing of information on COVID-19 and on other topical issues. Moreover, it is clear that social media is mostly used by the younger generation to seek information on COVID-19; 69.6% (n=131) of the respondents were between the age of 21-25 years. Hence, it can be concluded that students in tertiary institutions in Kenya are likely to search or share information on COVID-19 through social media platforms. However, despite its popularity among them, the students consider information from social media on COVID-19 largely inaccurate and, thus, not credible. Some even believe that information from social media on COVID-19 causes more panic than they quell their anxiety. This panic among receivers of information emanating from social media is likely to cause negative effects in the fight against COVID-19.

In view of its popularity among the students, who form a significant part of Kenya's population, it would be greatly useful if health experts and authorities intensified their use of social media with accurate information on COVID-19. To enhance credibility, such information should bear the mark and brand of known health experts whose opinions are authoritative and authentic.

However, the study had its limitations. A small non-probability sample, which was not representative of the study population, was used making the findings not entirely appropriate for generalisation. It is, therefore, suggested that a larger sample be used in subsequent research to support final conclusions on this important issue. Besides, a comparative study is recommended to evaluate the use of social media versus other traditional media on obtaining information on COVID-19 by different segments of the society.

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Personalisation and User Engagement: A Content Analysis of Anies Baswedan's Facebook Posts

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Received Aug. 5, 2021; Revised on Dec. 11, 2021, Accepted Dec. 30, 2021

Abstract

The development of web 2.0 of social media has caused many changes in the implementation and approach of a political campaign. Nowadays, political campaigns are more personal and can be carried out at any time. Politicians can share personal information directly through social media, even outside a particular electoral or media agenda. The public can also directly communicate with politicians through social features in likes, comments, and shares. Therefore, it becomes interesting to analyse these changes. This study applied a quantitative content analysis method to explore further the concept of personalisation in Facebook contents of one of the famous politicians in Indonesia, Anies Baswedan. The concept of personalisation used in this study is Van Santen and Van Zoonen's typology of self-personalisation. The results show Anies Baswedan Facebook contents commonly utilised the typology of self-personalisation, a correlation between text visual post type with the use of self-personalisation typology, and a strong and positive correlation between the use of self-personalisation typology with the level of user engagement obtained.

Keywords: campaign strategy, Facebook, political communication, self-personalisation, social media

INTRODUCTION

As a new form of media, social media has become an essential part of democracy, especially in campaigning and political communication. *Social media* itself is defined as a collection of web-based content creation and exchange applications founded on the ideological and technical foundations of the web 2.0 paradigm (Kaplan & Haenlein, 2010). Web 2.0 has some unique properties, namely decentralised content production also distribution, user-generated content, and many-to-many interactions (Stoycheff et al., 2017). As proposed by Perloff, the media, in general, have become essential in political campaigns and communication because most people obtain political information through the media (Perloff, 2014). Social media, in this case, has become a new place for

politicians and the public to discuss, debate, obtain, and disseminate information about politics and government. Nowadays, social media has become so embedded in political campaigns that factors such as proficiency in using the internet of a politician (Bimber, 2014) no longer affect whether or not social media is used as a channel for political campaigns.

The characteristics of social media have brought about changes in the norms of how political campaigns are being implemented outside the election period. Specifically, the characteristics of social media have facilitated the development from the web 1.0 paradigm to the web 2.0 paradigm (Hermans & Vergeer, 2013). The web 1.0 paradigm emphasises one-way communication while the 2.0 paradigm emphasises 'two-way', 'top-down', 'shareable', 'social', and 'collaborative' communication (Hermans & Vergeer, 2013). According to Larsson (2015), the two-way communication nature of social media then creates the impression that there will be an ongoing effort by politicians to always appeal to the people outside of the election campaign period. This continued effort is often also referred to as a permanent campaign effort. Vaccari (2008) also reveals that political actors need to always mobilise resources even outside the election period. In view of Larsson (2015) and Vaccari's (2008) explanations, one may suppose that social media further facilitates the efforts of politicians to mobilise resources outside the election period through the dissemination of content about themselves to their supporters at any time, directly and independently from mass media agenda.

More than just bringing about changes in the implementation of permanent campaign efforts, the characteristics of social media also impact changing the political campaign approach to a more personal one. This change in the campaign's approach is often associated with the self-personalisation typology. In general, *personalisation* is defined as a personal narrative, both told by politicians and others (Van Santen & Van Zoonen, 2010). In particular, narratives in which the weight of an individual political actor trumps the narrative weight assigned to his political group (Rahat & Sheafer, 2007). Personalisation is not a new concept in the realm of political communication. However, only recently, personalisation typology has been recognised as a political communication strategy widely used in social media (Metz et al., 2019).

How, in particular, the characteristics of social media can facilitate a more personal campaign approach can be traced back to the basis of its web 2.0 paradigm. The purpose of social media is to build a direct relationship between

the sender of the message (politicians) and the recipient (voters) and vice versa. Politicians' campaign style on social media (Hermans & Vergeer, 2013). One-way communication will be contrary to the paradigm-based web 2.0 of social media itself. In other words, the characteristics of social media that have facilitated the occurrence of permanent campaign efforts from politicians will also encourage these campaign efforts to be carried out with a more personal approach. Personalisation as a concept consists of several dimensions. Van Santen and Van Zoonen (2010) divide self-personalisation typology into three dimensions: privatisation, professionalisation, and emotionalisation. The privatisation dimension is described as a narrative about politicians' lives and personal interests (Van Santen & Van Zoonen, 2010). The dimension of professionalisation is described as a narrative about the competence of politicians (Van Santen & Van Zoonen, 2010). Meanwhile, the emotionalisation dimension is defined as an emotional statement or self-reflection of events and political experiences of politicians (Van Santen & Van Zoonen, 2010). On the other hand, Van Elst and colleagues (2012) proposed dividing self-personalisation typology into two dimensions: individualisation and privatisation. However, the self-personalisation typology that Van Elst et al. (2012) proposed is not suitable for reference in social media studies because it ignores the emotional dimension, which is essential given the collaborative characteristics of social media (Metz et al., 2019).

Previous studies have delved into how the characteristics of social media can encourage a more personal approach in the implementation of permanent campaigns in various countries. In his research, Gerodimo and Justinussen (2015) found that Obama appears in more than half of all images uploaded to his Facebook page. Similarly, Small's (2010) study also found that 63% of Canadian politicians' tweets contain personal aspects. In their research, McGregor and colleagues (2017) found some data regarding the personalisation of politicians on social media. First, it was found that male candidates used more personal communication styles than female candidates (McGregor et al., 2017). Second, it was found that in more competitive elections, politicians will tend to use personalisation more in their social media posts (McGregor et al., 2017).

Furthermore, several studies also found that there were differences in the frequency of use of the three personalisation dimensions in politicians' social media. Hermans and Vergeer (2013) found that political candidates primarily

disclose information about their competence, followed by family life and personal interests. On Twitter, Kruikemeir (2014) found that the leading candidates primarily expressed their emotions, followed by competency information and personal information. Meanwhile, Metz and colleagues (2019) found that most politicians mainly share posts containing the dimensions of professionalisation and emotionalisation on Facebook. Only a few politicians are found to share information on the privatisation dimension. Although the results vary and may depend on context (Metz et al., 2019), the professionalisation dimension never ranks last on the frequency of use out of the three self-personalisation dimensions.

While it may sound cliché, the expression that a picture is worth a thousand words may apply to politicians self-personalisation on social media. In many studies conducted, visual elements are used more than text elements to communicate the personalisation of politicians. According to Gerodimos and Justinussen's (2015) research, more than half of Barack Obama's Facebook posts show a photo of Obama himself, while another 13% of posts show pictures of his wife and daughter. Parry (2015) argued that in a digital world montage, juxtaposition, continuous repetition, and distortion, visual elements could develop more rapidly than text. Another study found that self-personalisation has been used as part of a campaign by Swedish political parties on Instagram, a visual-based social media application (Filimonov et al., 2016).

Similarly, Metz et al. (2019) found that self-personalisation can be seen more in visual text posts than text-only posts. How self-personalisation is more visible in a visual post also applies to each of the three dimensions of self-personalisation (Metz et al., 2019). Thus, we expect that there is a correlation between the use of self-personalisation typology with visual text-type posts (Hypothesis 1).

Compared to other social media platforms, Facebook still dominates the market for social media users in Indonesia, making it an accessible arena for political campaigning. As of March 2021, Facebook still ranks first in the number of ownership of social media users in Indonesia (Napoleoncat., 2021a). Facebook has as many as 175.3 million users in Indonesia, mainly aged 25-34 years (Napoleoncat., 2021a). Štětka and colleagues (2014) comparative study on the perceived importance of media platforms by campaign managers across Europe reveals that Facebook ranks third following two traditional media platforms: television and face-to-face communication. Additionally, research on the use of

various social media platforms in the 2014 Jakarta legislative election campaign has proven that a candidate's popularity on Facebook is positively correlated to the number of votes obtained at the time of election (Ramadhan et al., 2014). Considering the massive number of Facebook users in Indonesia, findings of the perceived importance of Facebook and its correlation to the vote received at an election, it is reasonable to think that politicians will carry out their permanent campaign efforts on this particular social media platform.

Moreover, in several studies, self-personalisation typology was found to correlate with the level of engagement a post obtained positively. On Facebook itself, the level of user engagement is reflected and driven by feedback features in the form of comments, likes, emojis, and shares (Gerlitz & Helmond, 2013; Metz et al., 2019). It was found that personalisation on Obama's Facebook was significantly correlated with the level of user engagement obtained (Gerodimos & Justinussen, 2015). The appearance of Obama in a photo has a statistically significant positive impact on the number of likes, comments, and shares (Gerodimos & Justinussen, 2015). Bene (2017) supports this view, who writes that politicians elicit more audience engagement. This finding still seems applicable in the Indonesian political context. During the 2019 presidential election, Jokowi's posts about his government's policies received only about 15,000 likes on Twitter, while posts about activities with his family received more than 30,000 likes on Twitter and more than 1.3 million likes on Instagram (Irawanto, 2019). Meanwhile, there is a difference in the level of effect of the three self-personalisation dimensions on the level of user engagement. It was found that the dimensions of emotionalisation and privatisation have a more positive influence on the level of user engagement in comparison to professionalisation (Metz et al., 2019). Thus, we expect that there is a correlation between the use of self-personalisation typology with the level of user engagement obtained (Hypothesis 2).

Studies have been conducted about self-personalisation typology in Indonesian politicians social media contents. However, most of the research tend to be descriptive and have not explored the depth of the three dimensions. This study aims to remedy these research gaps by exploring the changes in the implementation and approach of a political campaign that has become more personal based on Van Santen and Van Zoonen's (2010) self-personalisation typology. Specifically, the study will explore the changes on Indonesia's famous politicians Facebook contents, Anies Baswedan. Hopefully, this study could

strengthen the theoretical foundation of self-personalisation typology and provide key insights for practitioners of political campaigns in Indonesia.

Based on the background information, these research questions and hypotheses are proposed:

RQ1: Does Anies Baswedan's Facebook post utilise self-personalisation typology?

RQ2: What dimensions of self-personalisation typology are most frequently utilised in Anies Baswedan's Facebook posts?

H1: There is a correlation between the use of self-personalisation typology with visual text-type posts.

H2: There is a correlation between the use of self-personalisation typology with the level of user engagement obtained.

METHOD

The method applied in this study is a quantitative content analysis method with descriptive and correlational research types. Specifically, whether or not Anies Baswedan's Facebook posts utilise self-personalisation typology and the dimensions of self-personalisation most frequently used will be explored descriptively. Meanwhile, the researchers will associatively explore the correlation between self-personalisation typology with visual text post type and between the self-personalisation typology with user engagement.

This study uses variables and indicators taken directly from the coding book in previous research (Metz et al., 2019). The coding book was adjusted to the Indonesian political context to help analyse the overall self-personalisation typology variable, and its three dimensions are in Anies Baswedan's Facebook posts. The following are the clear indicators and operationalisation of each variable:

Table 1. Indicators and Operationalisation of Study Variables

Variables	Indicators	Indicators Operationalisation
Self-personalisation	The presence of politicians	Post depicts or describes politicians explicitly.
Privatisation Dimension	Personal Perspective	Post utilises a selfie perspective. A close-up photo or video was taken using a turned-around camera is also considered a selfie perspective.
	Personal Thought	Post utilises the first-person point of view writing by using words such as saya, aku, kami & kita.
	Personal Information	Post contains information unrelated to the politician's job—dealing with 'who is the politician' behind his work. E.g., Marital status, children, family background, childhood, pets, or politicians wishes and hopes.
Professionalisation Dimension	Direct Appeal to The Audience	Post directly speaks to the audience using words such as teman-teman, bapak, ibu, etc., or post utilises imperative sentences.
	Reference to Professional Qualities	The post displayed professional qualities of politicians relating to their work. E.g., honesty, work experience, education, integrity, achievement, self-confidence, etc.
	Reference to Professional Activities	Post displayed professional activities of the politician that are separate from party activities.
Emotionalization Dimension	Emotional Appeal	Post presents an emotional appeal to the audience, encouraging the audience to experience a particular feeling or react emotionally. Emotions can be positive or negative.
	Emotionally Loaded Content	Post contains content that is emotionally charged. Emotional content can include the usage of emoticons, memes, etc. Emotions can be positive or negative.
	Personal Emotions	Post displayed the politician's emotions either verbally or visually. Emotions can be positive or negative.

The population in this study is Anies Baswedan's Facebook posts in the period of 1 February-31 March 2021, with a total of 150 posts. The period was selected after

considering several things related to the purpose of the study itself. The first thing being considered is Anies Baswedan as one of the famous politicians in Indonesia, as proven by having his name ranked 3rd in the survey for the Indonesian presidential candidates (Lembaga Survei Indonesia, 2021). In line with Van Aelst et al. (2017) research, it was found that popular political candidates received almost all the attention of the mass media, which then made them effective in making an impact and attracting public engagement on social media. Furthermore, politicians in more competitive elections will tend to use personalisation more in their social media posts, thus selecting the presidential candidate's top-of-mind survey (McGregor et al., 2017). The second thing being considered is the period that is not close to an election period, especially an election period related to Anies Baswedan. This period is chosen to give a fair representation of the permanent campaigning efforts.

This study utilises the simple random sampling technique, and all elements contained in Anies Baswedan's Facebook posts become the unit of analysis in the study. The simple random sampling technique was chosen due to the availability of a sampling frame in the form of a list of posts and to ensure that the study could draw valid research conclusions in a short time. Considering the reasonably homogeneous nature of the study population, it is assumed periodicity or oversampling will not be a problem. After the researcher entered the population data, a sample size of 109 posts was obtained.

The measurement tool in the form of a coding book in this study has concurrent validity because this study took the used coding book from the previous research on the same topic (Metz et al., 2019). All indicators of the self-personalisation typology as well as the three dimensions of self-personalisation variable in the coding book are built based on previous studies (Filimonov et al., 2016; Gerodimos & Justinussen, 2015; Kruikemeier, 2014; Kruikemeier et al., 2013; Otto & Maier, 2016; Russmann & Svensson, 2016).

Two coders analysed the study samples chosen at the sampling stage, examining the exact posts. The first coder acts as a coder and a supervisor for the second coder. Before conducting the analysis process, the coder training process was first carried out. The coder training process was carried out in two sessions, each lasting three hours.

Based on the coder training process results, the researcher decided to make several revisions to the coding book from Metz et al.'s (2019) research. First, the

text element indicator was removed because the indicator got undefined results at the coder training reliability test. Second, the definition of each indicator in the three dimensions of self-personalisation is made more detailed and given examples that match Indonesia's political context. After the researcher made revisions to the coding book, all indicators obtained initial reliability test results with the lowest Krippendorff's alpha coefficient ($\alpha = .806$) for the variable of personal thoughts on the dimension of privatisation. All other variables reached Krippendorff's alpha higher than .806. The initial reliability test results prove that the measuring instrument is sufficient to use the final reliability test using the real post being studied.

The researcher then carried out the final reliability test for each indicator. The result for each variable indicator exceeds .8 for the Krippendorff Alpha (Kalpha) coefficient and Scott's Pi coefficient, indicate the coding book is indeed reliable. The number of posts used for the reliability test was calculated using a formula with a 95% confidence interval and a 90% population coding agreement (Riffe et al., 2014). A total of 61 posts were randomly selected from the sample frame. On the self-personalization variable, the test results on the presence of a politician indicator (Scott's Pi = 1, Kalpha = 1, Percentage of Agreement = 100%) can be considered reliable. In the privatization dimension variable, the test results on indicator of personal perspective (Scott's Pi = 0.934, Kalpha = 0.934, Percentage of Agreement = 96.7%), personal thoughts (Scott's Pi = 0.868, Kalpha = 0.869, Percentage of Agreement = 93.4%) and personal information (Scott's Pi = 0.913, Kalpha = 0.914, Percentage of Agreement = 98.3%) can be considered reliable. On the professionalization dimension variable, the test results on the indicator of direct appeal to the audience (Scott's Pi = 0.899, Kalpha = 0.900, Percentage of Agreement = 95%), reference to professional qualities (Scott's Pi = 1, Kalpha = 1, Percentage of Agreement = 100%) and reference to professional activities (Scott's Pi = 0.900, Kalpha = 0.899, Percentage of Agreement = 95%) can be considered reliable. On the emotionalization dimension variable, the test results on the indicator of emotional appeal (Scott's Pi = 1, Kalpha = 1, Percentage of Agreement = 100%), emotionally loaded content (Scott's Pi = 1, Kalpha = 1, Percentage of Agreement = 100%) and personal emotions (Scott's Pi = 0.895, Kalpha = 0.896, Percentage of Agreement = 94.9%) can be considered reliable.

Several descriptive and inferential statistical tests were performed to answer RQs and hypotheses. Descriptive analysis was employed to answer RQ1 and RQ2 with frequency tabulation. A chi-square test was used to confirm H1, and for H2,

Kendall's Tau test was performed. The hypothesis can be accepted if the significance value does not exceed 5% or 0.05.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSIONS

First, this study answers RQ1 through a descriptive statistics frequencies test. The results of the descriptive test showed that there were 55% (N= 60) of Anies Baswedan's Facebook posts that contain self-personalisation. This study also found the frequency of posts containing self-personalisation typology to be higher than posts that didn't contain self-personalisation typology (45%, N=49).

For RQ2, this study found that Anies Baswedan's Facebook posts utilised the privatisation dimension quite often. Moreover, the privatization dimension (53.2%, N= 58) and professionalization dimension (53.2%, N=58) obtained the same frequency calculation results. However, in line with Metz et al. (2019) research, this study found that the emotionalisation dimension was utilised less frequently (38.5%, N=42) compared to other dimensions.

Third, to answer whether there is an association between self-personalisation typology with visual type posts, this study employed chi-square tests. The first test was carried out to examine the association between overall self-personalisation and the type of posting, whether visual or not. The result confirmed H1, $\chi^2(1, N = 109) = 89.73, p < .001$ that the self-personalization posts occurred more in the form of visuals (96.6%, N = 58) compared to other types of posts (3.3%, N=2).

The second test was performed to examine further the association between each dimension of self-personalisation and the type of posting. The result further confirmed H1, with a significant statistical result of the association between the privatisation dimension with a visual type of posting ($\chi^2(1, N = 109) = 90.05, p < .001$). The professionalisation dimension is more visible in the visual text post type compared to other types of posting ($\chi^2(1, N = 109) = 82.87, p < .001$). For the emotionalisation dimension, the association was significant with the visual for of posting ($\chi^2(1, N = 109) = 53.77, p < .001$). These results further strengthen the confirmation of H1.

To answer H2 about the association between self-personalisation and the type of engagements, this study employed Kendall tau-b test. The value of the type of engagements was obtained from likes and emojis and the number of shares and comments on the Facebook posts. Each of the self-personalisation dimensions

was tested with each type of engagement (see Table.2). The results confirmed H2 with all correlations between all types of engagement and all types of self-personalisation dimensions have a positive and significant correlation.

Based on the result in the Table.2, all self-personalization dimension Facebook posts are more likely to get likes and emojis from the followers compared to other type of engagements. The privatization dimension ($r_t = .688$, $p < .001$), the professionalization dimension ($r_t = .627$, $p < .001$), and the emotionalization dimension ($r_t = .584$, $p < .001$) have the strongest correlations with sentiments engagement.

However, all self-personalization dimensions have weakest association with sharing type of engagements despite they still have positive and significant correlations. The privatization has the weakest correlation with shares ($r_t = .583$, $p < .001$), also the professionalization ($r_t = .535$, $p < .001$), and emotionalization dimension ($r_t = .546$, $p < .001$).

Table 2. Kendall's tau-b test results

	Privatization Dimension	Professionalizat ion Dimension	Emotionalization Dimension
Sentiments	.688**	.627**	.584**
Shares	.583**	.535**	.546**
Comments	.624**	.592**	.568**

Note: N = 109, **. Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).

DISCUSSIONS

Social media has brought many changes in the implementation and approach of a political campaign. The web 2.0 paradigm base of social media has facilitated politicians to conduct a permanent campaign effort with a more personal approach. In general, personalisation is defined as a personal narrative, both told by politicians and others (Van Santen & Van Zoonen, 2010). There are three dimensions in the self-personalisation typology of Van Santen and Van Zoonen (2010): privatisation, professionalisation, and emotionalisation.

Based on the result of the descriptive test, this study finds that Anies Baswedan's Facebook posts do utilise the self-personalisation typology. The majority of the studied posts, as many as 55%, contain a self-personalisation typology in the sense that the posts depict or explicitly describe Anies Baswedan. Theoretically, this finding supports the claim that politicians can further personalise their

campaign-style through social media applications (Hermans & Vergeer, 2013). Apart from that, this finding also supports the statement that self-personalisation typology has been recognised as a political communication strategy widely used in social media (Metz et al., 2019).

This study finds through the descriptive test that Anies Baswedan Facebook posts quite often utilised the privatisation dimension. The privatisation dimensions get the same frequency calculation results as the professionalisation dimensions, which is 53.2%. Considering the high frequency of the privatisation dimensions in the Facebook posts, Anies Baswedan seems relatively comfortable sharing his personal side on social media for society's consumption at large. This finding is in agreement with Budiatri's explanation that states in the domain of Indonesian politics, politicians self-personalisation often gets the main stage (Budiatri et al., 2018). As a result, voters may have stronger levels of social presence, desire to vote, and parasocial interaction with the politicians (McGregor, 2018). These findings differ from Metz's previous study, which found that politicians less utilised the privatisation dimensions on their Facebook posts (Metz et al., 2019). Theoretically, this again supports Metz's statement that the level of self-personalisation seen in politicians, social media is highly dependent on the context of the country in which the politician is located (Metz et al., 2019). Likewise, in Uba's study about how the public uses social media as a channel for a political campaign, specifically how trade unions use YouTube for influencing policymaking, it was found that the intensity of online political mobilisation and online election campaigning differ across regimes in Europe (Uba & Jansson, 2021). Taken together, these findings might suggest the importance of the context of the country or area in which the online political campaign is conducted.

Based on the chi-square test results, this study finds a correlation between the use of self-personalisation typology with visual text type posts in Anies Baswedan's Facebook contents. This finding applies to the overall self-personalisation variable and each of the three self-personalisation dimensions variables. Theoretically, this finding supports the idea that visual elements are used more than text elements to communicate the self-personalisation of the politicians (Metz et al., 2019). Practically speaking, this finding shows that if political marketers want to use self-personalisation as a communication strategy, they should pay more attention to how politicians are visually displayed on social media accounts.

The dimensions of privatisation, professionalisation, and emotionalisation strongly correlate with the level of user engagement. The engagement is reflected through feedback features in sentiments (likes+emojis), shares, and comments. This study finds that the emotionalisation dimension strongly correlates with sentiments (likes+emojis), shares, and comments. Meanwhile, the privatisation dimension has a powerful and positive correlation with sentiments and comments. The strongest correlation with sentiments is also supported by Kim that points out "likes" take less commitment and cognitive work than "comments" and "shares" on Facebook (Kim & Yang, 2017). Theoretically, this finding supports the results of Metz's research, which stated that politicians who are willing to display their emotional and private side on social media would get positive feedback from the public (Metz et al., 2019). However, in contrast to Metz's research (Metz et al., 2019), this study found in Anies Baswedan's Facebook contents that the privatisation dimension has a stronger correlation than the emotionalisation dimension with sentiments. This finding again shows that self-personalisation typology is highly dependent on the factor of the region or country where the politician is located (Metz et al., 2019). Its relationship with the level of user engagement obtained is also very context-dependent. Practically, this finding shows an effective strategy for political marketers or politicians in Indonesia who wish to get positive feedback from the public on their social media accounts.

CONCLUSION

The findings from this study demonstrated that, first, self-personalisation is well utilised by politicians in Indonesia. The self-personalisation is dominating Anies Baswedan's Facebook content. Second, the Facebook posts with self-personalisation are more likely in privatisation and emotionalisation and less likely in the form of professionalisation. Third, the self-personalisation contents in the politicians Facebook are more likely to be visual compared to other types of content. Finally, self-personalisation has a strong and positive association with engagements type, and particularly, all dimensions of self-personalisation are more likely to get likes and emojis for followers.

Overall, this study supports the results of previous self-personalisation studies and has depicted the use of self-personalisation typology in the Indonesian political context. This study particularly supports the result of prior research by Metz et al. (2019) on the Facebook contents of German parliamentarians.

One suggestion can be made from the politicians or political marketers in Indonesia from the results. They should pay more attention to how the private domain of politicians is visually displayed on social media accounts if they want to utilise self-personalisation typology as a political campaign strategy. Additionally, the finding that Anies Baswedan's Facebook contents, as well as other Indonesian politician's social media platforms, quite often utilise the self-personalisation typology (Darwin & Haryanto, 2021; Fatanti, 2014; Nadzir & Rastati, 2020; Widyanty et al., 2014) can also be linked to how the context of the Indonesian political domain is very personal (Budi, 2017; Budiatri et al., 2018).

This study certainly has limitations. Due to limited time and human resources, this study only explores one of the social media contents of a famous Indonesian politician who now serves as the governor of DKI Jakarta, namely Anies Baswedan. Future studies can explore the use of self-personalisation typology in the social media contents of other politicians, such as members of the legislature who serve in areas other than DKI Jakarta, especially in areas where the public less frequently uses social media. Furthermore, although Facebook is still one of the most widely used social media by Indonesians, future studies can explore self-personalisation typology on social media platforms such as Instagram, YouTube, or even TikTok. Considering the difference in the age of the majority of users on each social media (Napoleoncat., 2021a, 2021b), it is assumed that there are also differences in the way politicians present themselves to the public and the feedback they get when using self-personalisation typology as a political campaign strategy. Another limitation of this study is the periods. We did not analyse the politicians' Facebook content in the election campaign period assumed to have a different pattern of self-personalisation. Future studies should examine Indonesian politicians' social media content on the campaign trail to get a strong association between self-personalization and the vote they will get in the election.

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Health Versus Economy: Lockdown Controversy Coverage in Indonesian Online News Platforms

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Received Sept. 30, 2021; Revised on Dec. 25, 2021; Accepted Dec. 31, 2021

Abstrak

Coronavirus Disease 2019 (COVID-19) pandemic has urged several countries to take an extreme measurement by imposing a lockdown policy to control the spread of the virus. Generally approved, the action might have several negative effects, primarily on economic aspects. Utilizing qualitative framing analysis, the study investigates how three national online economic and business media platforms, namely Kontan.co.id, Bisnis.com, and CNBCIndonesia.com, apply news frames to cater the lockdown-related issues to the public. The study identified four news frames: conflict, attribution of responsibility, economic consequences, and human interest. It appears that the 'conflict frame' is heavily used to portray lockdown policy as an 'arena of war' between health and economic interest.

Keywords: *COVID-19 Impacts, Economic and Business Media, Lockdown, Qualitative Framing Analysis*

INTRODUCTION

Coronavirus Disease 2019 (COVID-19) was first reported in Wuhan, China, around the last quarter of 2019. In a relatively short period, the virus has spread rapidly throughout the globe. The scale of the outbreak urged several governments to impose strict lockdown in order to flatten the curve of the case. At the end of March 2020, at least more than 100 countries applied the lockdown approach (Illmer et al., 2021). Despite the apparent popularity of the policy, the lockdown measurement had sparked disputes. The debates was also depicted in the media coverage on the lockdown-related issues (Hubner, 2021; Zhang, 2021).

In the event of an emergency, as such is the case with the pandemic outbreak, media indeed play a monumental role specifically in shaping the public understanding and reactions to the outbreak per se (Gantiva et al., 2021; Hubner, 2021; Jo & Chang, 2020; Ogbodo et al., 2020; Ophir, 2018; Ophir et al., 2021). News framing is implied to portray the issues around the pandemic to accentuate a specific side of the story and lead public opinion in a certain direction

accordingly (Entmant, 1993 in Linström & Marais, 2012). Hypothetically, this is also the case in lockdown-related issues.

The media's debate about lockdown was primarily on its side effects on economic and societal aspects (Singer & Plant, 2020; Zhang, 2021). The lockdown was presented as a dilemma between health and other important aspects of the public. As such is the case in Indonesia, the government was pressured to impose lockdown as a measurement to tackle the rapid spread of the outbreak (Tim Detikcom, 2020). During the mid to the end of March 2020, the lockdown-themed information dominated the news. Public discussion centred on how bad the economic fall down would have been if the government had decided to imply lockdown. Others were concerned about the risk of worsening outbreaks if the strict measurement was not taken into account. Institute for Development of Economics and Finance (INDEF), for instance, claimed that 68% of their respondents agree to lockdown (Bangsa, 2020), while CNN Indonesia pointed out that only 35,5% of the respondents are pro-lockdown (CNN Indonesia, 2020)

Meanwhile, the framing analysis studies on coronavirus coverage have been, indeed, flourishing. Several studies analyze how international news organizations framed the COVID-19 issues during the initial stage of the outbreak (Mutua & Ong'ong'a, 2020; Ogbodo et al., 2020), while others focused on a particular country such as Nigeria (Nwakpu et al., 2020), Canada (Poirier et al., 2020), Italy (Ophir et al., 2021), Columbia (Gantiva et al., 2021), China (Zhang, 2021), and Korea (Jo & Chang, 2020). Scholars also carried several specific research on lockdown issues. Most of the research in this area are comparative, such as Zhang (2021). Zhang's study investigates how *The New York Times* depicts the lockdown-related issues in Wuhan and Italy. Jo & Chang (2020) explore how the national media present South Korean quarantine policy and compare it with similar policies in other countries. The majority of the studies also mention the media practice of contrasting health and economic in COVID-19 news framing (Gantiva et al., 2021; Hubner, 2021; Poirier et al., 2020).

In Indonesia, numerous research on COVID-19 framing analysis has also been carried out. A relatively huge number of investigations focus on how the government tackles this health crisis in general (Azmi Sitorus & Firdaus Rahmadi, 2021; Permata, 2020; Sofian & Lestari, 2021; Sofyan, 2021). Several studies highlight particular policies for a specific area, such as manpower and labour policy (Palupi & Irawan, 2020), corruption themed-news related to the COVID-19 outbreak (Anzari & Fariza, 2021; Yusniar & Retnasary, 2020; Launa & Lusinawati, 2021), and youth dealing with the pandemic (Boer et al., 2020). However, it came to my knowledge that framing analysis on lockdown-related issues in Indonesia has not been explored yet.

In order to fill the gap, this study aims to add the covid-19 framing analysis based-research. Thus, this research focuses on how the frame is *implied* in news coverage. In addition, this article also proposes a new perspective by reviewing the news coverage in business and economic media. The business and economy media selection was also based on the lack of exposure in this specified area. A relatively small amount of framing analysis research has been focused on this cluster. The majority of the study is still centralized in the general mainstream media outlet such as *Tempo* (Sofian & Lestari, 2021), *Kompas.com* (Boer et al., 2020; Palupi & Irawan, 2020; Hayati & Yoedtadi, 2020), *Tribunnews.com* (Hayati & Yoedtadi, 2020), *Detik.com* (Permata, 2020), *Liputan6.com* (Boer et al., 2020), *CNN Indonesia.com* (Boer et al., 2020; Naqqiyah, 2020), and *Tirto.id* (Naqqiyah, 2020).

On further consideration, the tendency of media organizations to contrast health and economic aspects (Gantiva et al., 2021; Hubner, 2021; Poirier et al., 2020) also propel the curiosity on how the business and economy media portray the COVID-19 outbreak, specifically in the sensitive issue such as lockdown policy. Hypothetically, the media might use the appropriate news frames to depict the lockdown controversy as a dilemmatic decision between health and the economy. The study reviews articles featured in three online businesses and economy media platforms, namely *Kontan.co.id*, *CNBCIndonesia.com*, and *Bisnis.com*, to answer the two following questions:

1. What frame(s) do the online business and economy media cover Indonesia lockdown polemic-related issues?
2. What is the editorial standpoint of each business and economy media on the lockdown issue in Indonesia?

This study uses two main concepts as theoretical approaches; 'news framing' and 'news.' Those two concepts are relatively close. Together they establish the key notion of the research where the assumption of frame-based constructed news manages to direct how people see and make sense of reality. In doing so, the media drives the public opinion of an issue, an event, or other news objects.

News Framing in Epidemic Outbreak

The majority of the scholars define 'framing' from its functional point of view. In that sense, framing is a way to direct the public on seeing and judging an issue or an event (Jasperson *et al.*, 1998 in Linström & Marais, 2012). This particular function is also valid during a crisis, as such is the case with disease outbreaks. Framing, specifically in the news, plays a pivotal role. Gislason (2013) concludes that the news frames used by the news outlets during a public health emergency

heavily influence the process of how the societal understanding is constructed, which define the reactions to the outbreak accordingly.

The premise was proven in several related research. News media significant function is accentuated in Ebola, SARS, MERS, and now, Coronavirus (Mutua & Ong'ong'a, 2020). In the initial stage of the COVID-19 outbreak, four news frames were heavily found in international news outlets coverage of the pandemic, namely 'economic consequences,' 'human interest,' 'attribution of responsibility,' and 'health severity' (Mutua & Ong'ong'a, 2020). The first three frames were developed by Semetko & Valkenburg (2000). Along with the three frames, long with the three frames, Semetko and Valkenburg (2000) also identified two other frames; 'conflict' and 'morality.'

They argue that the conflict frame is used to point out the conflict among individuals, groups, institutions, or states. Meanwhile, the human interest frame highlights an issue's human interest side by telling personal stories to accentuate the emotional dimension of a particular issue or event. Attribution of responsibility' aims to show the audiences who should take responsibility for the problem or the issue, whereas morality frame refers to the dimension of morality. Last, the *'economic consequences frame'* is the main focus of the economic impact.

The same frameset was also identified in other framing analysis studies (Ogbodo et al., 2020). Ogbodo and his fellow researchers conclude from a quantitative approach that human interest, attribution of responsibility, and economic consequences were among the most popular frames used by global media outlets in reporting COVID-19 news. Zhang (2021) investigated lockdown-related issued reportage in *The New York Times*. It emerged that the lockdown policy was heavily politicized using human interest and conflict frames.

The majority of the research used generic frames as the conceptual approach. Due to the generic nature of the frames, it is easier to carry a comparative study and conduct a generalization accordingly (Linström and Marais, 2012). Although sometimes, the generic frames are not relevant for several issues.

Practically, it is also common to find several frames in the particular news. In doing so, the news could apply the dominant and secondary frames. The dominant frame is the main theme used to tell the story of an issue or an event to the audience. Meanwhile, the second frame is the supplementary thematic narration to support the main or dominant theme (Linström and Marais, 2012).

News as Mass Media Content

In a book entitled "Mediating the Message: Theories of Influences on Mass Media Content," (Shoemaker & Reese, 1996, p. 251) pointed out that news, as mass media content, is a product constructed through a social process. Shoemaker and Reese proposed five-level of interfering factors in the construction of news; individual level (journalist's background), media routine level (chain of news production daily), media organization level (company structure), extra media level (external), and ideology level.

METHODS

This study adopted the qualitative framing analysis method (Linström & Marais, 2012) to generate an in-depth understanding of how media served a particular issue or event to the public. The method of qualitative framing analysis by systematically close reading is deemed adequate to reveal all elements within the text (Teutsch & Niemann, 2016), both implicit and explicit.

This article investigated three business and economic online media platforms published in Bahasa Indonesia, namely *Kontan.co.id*, *CNBCIndonesia.com*, dan *Bisnis.com*. Those three media have secured their places in the 50 top sites based on Alexa rank in Indonesia. As of early April 2021, *Kontan* is 27th, *CNBCIndonesia.com* is 28th, and *Bisnis.com* is 49th. Besides, they have a similar target audience. Based on Alexa data (Alexa, 2021), the three platforms have audience overlap scores of 70%. This means the users visiting all three sites most likely come from the same or similar groups and apply similar keywords.

The time spans for this particular study were from March 15th to 31st, 2020. This specified timeline was determined by data derived from Google Trends, which shows the keywords' trend fluctuation used in the search engine. According to the data from Google Trends, the keywords 'lockdown Indonesia' reached a peak within that time. The highest peaks appeared multiple times along March 15th-April 4th, 2020. However, the government ended the polemic upon lockdown decision by announcing a restriction scheme, 'Pembatasan Sosial Berskala Besar (PSBB)' on March 31st, 2020. Therefore, the date marked the end of the data collection.

The study used news articles published on the three media platforms from March 15th to 31st, 2020. The articles were collected through the search menu on each site using 'lockdown Indonesia' and 'karantina wilayah Indonesia' as the keywords. The articles with unrelated content to the situation in Indonesia were

excluded. Out of all the lockdown articles collected in each media, 75% were picked. The articles were randomly chosen to represent every date between the specified time. At the end of the process, there were 101 samples; *Kontan.co.id* (11 articles), *CNBCIndonesia.com* (43 articles), and *Bisnis.com* (47 articles).

The articles were analyzed using technical and rhetorical devices in order to identify the frame approach in each article. In doing so, the articles were investigated based on several elements such as headline, subheading, sources, and quotation. Consecutively, the samples are analyzed using the rhetorical device. This device includes diction, metaphor, exemplar, keyword, and concluding. A similar method strategic was also used in Mutua and Ong'ong'a (2020) and Perkins (2005).

RESULT AND DISCUSSION

Lockdown News Framing in Indonesia

At least four news frames dominate the news; *conflict*, *attribution of responsibility*, *economic consequences*, and *human interest*. In the next part of this article, the application of each frame will be discussed thoroughly.

1. *Conflict*

In all three news outlets, the conflict frame becomes the most dominant frame in news coverage of lockdown (Zhang, 2021). The frame is used to highlight several clashes that occurred. This study identified five conflict topics: *health vs economy*, *central government vs local government*, *Indonesian policy vs other countries' policy*, *Indonesian government vs international organization*, and *lockdown vs no lockdown*.

Health vs Economy

The conflict frame was mainly applied to protrude the dilemma between health and economy. The three news outlets presented the pre-lockdown as a dilemmatic situation. In that sense, the government should choose health over the economy or vice versa. To strengthen the conflict narration between economy and health, the media also used the economic consequences as the secondary frame. This particular frame was implied to highlight the economic side effects once the lockdown was imposed.

The narration structure was built by the technical and rhetorical elements. The headline was found to be the focal point and is deemed to be the most prominent technical tool (Pan and Kosicki, 1993 in Linström & Marais, 2012). Thus, the news title becomes a powerful clue to identify how the media represent an issue and, in many cases, reflect the editorial position on a particular issue.

Table 1. Keywords in Conflict Frame

Media	English (Translated)	Bahasa (Original)
<i>CNBCIndonesia.com</i> , 17/3/2020	Under corona lockdown , growth may shrink down to - 4%!	Ramai Lockdown Karena Corona, Pertumbuhan Ekonomi Bisa -4%!
<i>Bisnis.com</i> , 18/3/2020	CSIS: 2 weeks lockdown may cut growth by 0,5 percent	CSIS: Lockdown 2 Minggu Ekonomi Bisa Susut 0,5 Persen
<i>Kontan.co.id</i> , 17/3/2020	Economist: Indonesian economy to face death if lockdown imposed	Ekonom: Jika Lockdown Diterapkan Perekonomian Indonesia Bakal Mati

Source: Data analysis

The headlines in the table contain keywords 'lockdown' and 'economy.' Furthermore, other keywords such as 'minus (-),' 'decrease,' and 'die' were also included in the headlines. These words were used to construct a negative relationship between lockdown and the economy in Indonesia. By doing so, the media led the audiences to see the reality construct where lockdown and economy would switch one another off (Singer & Plant, 2020). The conflict relation construct between health and economy was also protruded by the selection of quotations from news sources. Below is the sample of direct quotes found in the news:

Table 2. Quote Selection

Media	Language	Quotation
<i>Kontan.co.id</i> 17/3/2020	English (translated)	"The anticipation plan should also be considered if the lockdown is going to be imposed. The impact is definitely significant . The economy would be switched off ." -- Economist from Center of Reform on Economics Indonesia Pieter Abdullah.
	Bahasa (original)	"Termasuk juga merencanakan antisipasi apabila dilakukan lockdown dampaknya bisa dipastikan akan signifikan, perekonomian seperti dimatikan . Semua ini harus diantisipasi dan disiapkan solusinya."
<i>CNBCIndonesia.com</i> , 18/3/2020	English (translated)	"But if it is so (lockdown is imposed) , the impact towards the economy would be extremely huge . We have to prepare if we want to get there. Mainly how the impact on the food logistic, health, and also the people in informal sector."--Economist Bank Central Asia David Sumual.
	Bahasa (original)	"Tapi kalau seperti itu (lockdown) kan, dampak ke ekonominya besar sekali . Kita harusnya ada persiapan dulu kalau ke arah sana. Sejauh ini, terutama soal logistik pangan, kesehatan terus juga yang terdampak masalah-masalah masyarakat yang sektor informal itu."
<i>Kontan.co.id</i> , 17/3/2020	English (translated)	"The economic impact could be fixed as we get along and the virus is eliminated , but if the virus is not being taken care of then the people would also scared to be involve in activity ."-- Indonesian Employers Association (Apindo) Hariyadi Sukamdani.
	Bahasa (original)	"Kalau masalah dampak ekonominya nanti bisa sambil berjalan apabila virusnya tereliminir , tapi jika virus tidak teratasi maka masyarakat juga tidak berani untuk beraktivitas."

Source: Data analysis

The presence of the direct quote from professionally competent sources also strengthened the narration. At least, there are two levels of public understanding that the media want to pursue. *First*, to create the perception of whether locking

down an economy is a conflicting matter. *Second*, to determine the public's attitude and choice on the issue; to lockdown or not? Economy or health?

Central Government Versus Local Government

Within this particular issue of lockdown dilemma, the conflict frame was also used to highlight the clash between the local government and central government in Indonesia. In this topic group, the narration was focused on the asynchronous policy between the central and local governments in tackling the pandemic. Several local governments decided to imply local lockdown. On the other hand, the central government emphasized that the decision whether to impose lockdown or not, both locally and nationally, was the domain authority of the central government. The highlight of conflict between these two parties is reflected in the news's technical and rhetorical devices.

Table 4. Figures in Headlines

Media	Language	Headline
CNBCIndonesia.com, 16/3/2020	English (translated)	To Anies and Emil , Jokowi : Regions are not allowed lockdown.
	Bahasa (original)	Untuk Anies Hingga Emil , Jokowi : Daerah Tak Boleh Lockdown.

Source: Data analysis

The names in the headline above refer to the well-known governors. Both Anies Baswedan (Governor of DKI Jakarta) and Ridwan Kamil (Governor of West Java) have prominent news value. The headlines also include an indirect quotation from President Joko Widodo, which said that the regions could not take their own decision upon the lockdown matter. Further, it explicitly shows the clash among the parties. The use of imperative sentences in Jokowi's quotation also symbolizes the president's superior position over the two governors. Therefore, the governors must have obeyed the president.

Table 5. Jokowi's Quotation

Media	Language	Quote
Kontan.co.id, 19/3/2020	English (translated)	"The lockdown policy, both at the national and regional level, is central government's policy."--President Joko Widodo
		"This policy could not be decided by the local government, and we do not think to take the lockdown policy into account."--President Joko Widodo
	Bahasa (original)	"Kebijakan lockdown , baik di tingkat nasional dan tingkat daerah , adalah kebijakan pemerintah pusat ."
		"Kebijakan ini tak boleh diambil oleh pemda , dan tak ada kita berpikiran untuk kebijakan lockdown ."

Source: Kontan.co.id

National Versus International Policy

This study identifies that the frame was used to contrast the current national situation with the condition abroad, specifically the countries where the lockdown was adopted.

Table 6. Headline Analysis

Media	Language	Headline
Bisnis.com, 16/3/2020	English (translated)	Malaysia imposes national lockdown, when will Indonesia?
	Bahasa (original)	Malaysia Putuskan Lockdown Nasional, Indonesia Kapan?

Source: *Bisnis.com*

The headline justifies the comparison between the Malaysian and Indonesian policies. By inserting the question 'when,' the news aims to convey the message that Indonesia is already behind Malaysia. This headline sentence also puts pressure on the government to accelerate the decision-making process upon the lockdown issue. Besides the diction, the exemplar is implied as well to provide examples of several countries which have decided to apply the lockdown measurement, such as the Philippines, Vietnam, and China. The exemplars, in this case, emphasize the contrast between national and international policy.

Table 6. Achmad Yurianto Quotes

Media	Language	Quote
<i>Bisnis.com</i> , 16/3/2020	English (translated)	"Does lockdown solve the problem or create a new problem, instead? We have to be really careful not just follow others."--Covid Task Force, Achmad Yurianto.
	Bahasa (original)	"Apakah dengan lockdown menyelesaikan masalah atau malah bikin masalah baru. Kita harus hati-hati betul dengan ini, kita enggak latah-latahan kok ya," Satgas Covid, Achmad Yurianto

Source: *Bisnis.com*

The direct quote from Achmad Yurianto shows the task force's point of view that lockdown may generate a new problem instead of fixing the problem. This is, indeed, in contradiction with the advice from WHO.

2. Attribution of Responsibility

Attribution of responsibility frames also dominated the news coverage on COVID-19 (Mutua & Ong'ong'a, 2020; Ogbodo et al., 2020). It further emerged that the particular frame was also heavily used in lockdown polemic issues (Zhang, 2021). In order to accentuate the responsibility theme in the narration, direct and indirect quotations from prominent sources were also implied. The majority of the samples urge the government to make a significant decision as a form of responsibility to tackle the outbreak.

Table 7. Figures in Framing

Language	Headline
English (translated)	1. The board of FKUI professors on corona: from local lockdown to expert involvement (<i>Bisnis.com</i> , 27/3/2020)
	2. MUI requires the government to impose total lockdown immediately (<i>Bisnis.com</i> , 29/3/2020)
	3. PPP : the government could take lockdown option (<i>Bisnis.com</i> , 29/3/2020)
	4. Ilham Habibie ask the government to lockdown Jakarta immediately (<i>Bisnis.com</i> , 29/3/2020)
	5. Jusuf Kalla: Lockdown is needed if we do not want to be the next Iran, Korea, Italia (<i>CNBCIndonesia.com</i> , 15/3/2020)
	6. Jusuf Kalla once urged the government to impose lockdown, now it is up to Jokowi (<i>CNBCIndonesia.com</i> , 17/3/2020)
	7. To prevent corona, Sandiaga supports partial lockdown (<i>CNBCIndonesia.com</i> , 26/3/2020)
	8. Mr Jokowi , Indonesia covid-19 death ratio is the 4th worst in the world

	<p>(CNBCIndonesia.com, 15/3/2020)</p> <p>9. Mr Jokowi, please listen to the 7 recommendations from these doctors (CNBCIndonesia.com, 27/3/2020)</p> <p>10. Jokowi is not considering lockdown, do not be late to make a decision, Sir! (CNBCIndonesia.com, 18/3/2020)</p>
Bahasa (original)	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Imbauan Dewan Guru Besar FKUI Soal Corona: Dari Lokal Lockdown Hingga Keterlibatan Ahli 2. MUI Minta Pemerintah Segera Lockdown Total 3. PPP Menilai Pemerintah Bisa Mengambil Opsi Karantina Wilayah 4. Ilham Habibie Minta Pemerintah Segera Karantina Jakarta 5. JK: Perlu Lockdown Jika Tak Ingin Seperti Iran, Korea, Italia 6. JK Sempat Dorong Lockdown Kini Serahkan Keputusan ke Jokowi 7. Cegah Corona, Sandiaga Dukung Partial Lockdown 8. Pak Jokowi, Rasio Kematian Covid 19 RI Terburuk Keempat di Dunia 9. Pak Jokowi Tolong Dengar 7 Rekomendasi dari Para Dokter Ini 10. Jokowi Tak Berpikir Lockdown, Awas Telat Ambil Keputusan Pak!

Source: Data analysis

Here, the study identifies that the sources are all well-known elites and powerful figures. Their speech is attached within the news as headlines and quotes to increase the credibility of the articles. Thus, the media intend to show that it is not the journalist urging the government to take a particular action. Instead, these figures demand responsibility from the stakeholders to save the people from the pandemic. The presence of a prominent and competent figure in the area of a particular issue may also be beneficial for the framing process.

It is important to note that the article's quote selection also plays a substantial role. In the headlines highlighting President Joko Widodo as the decision-maker (see table 7), there are several phrases such as 'please listen' and 'watch out for being late.' Those phrases signify the urgency of a specific policy to deal with the pandemic. In this case, 'Mr. Jokowi' is the strong symbol representing the executive institution authorized to make the decision. Generally, the media also use the strong words; 'should,' 'immediately,' 'urgent,' 'could,' 'need' in the sentences to corroborate the government's responsibility to impose the right policy.

Another point worthy of attention is the choice of news source in this health crisis-related issues. The majority of the sources cited in the articles are dominated by economists, business people, and other figures with qualified business and economic backgrounds. Meanwhile, the sources with health and scientific backgrounds are rare, even in the articles underlining the conflict

between health and economy. Zhang (2021) also found identical findings, the lockdown-related news in *The New York Times* was heavily politicized and, therefore, marginalized the health and scientific elements of the story. Instead of presenting comprehensive information by discussing the aspects of the outbreak, the journalists tend to omit other information outside the frame theme they use in a particular article (Ophir, 2018).

3. Economic Consequences

This study identified that in the lockdown polemic coverage, the economic consequences frame was primarily used as the secondary frame. There are at least three groups of news underlining the loss and profit side of the story. The first is the newsgroup related to the lockdown polemic and the fluctuation of investment instruments, mainly the stock market and foreign exchange. *Second*, the newsgroup covers the real sectors such as industry and logistics. *Third*, the news covers macroeconomic matters.

Table 8. Headlines on Economy Issues

Group	Language	Headline
<i>Investment</i>	English (translated)	1. If the lockdown to be imposed, here is the impact on the stock market . (CNBCIndonesia.com, 30/3/2020) 2. The impact of lockdown scenario for the insurance industry (Bisnis.com, 30/3/2020)
	Bahasa (original)	1. Jika Karantina Wilayah Berlaku, Ini Dampaknya ke Pasar Saham 2. Dampak Skenario Lockdown bagi Industri Asuransi
<i>Real sector</i>	English (translated)	1. This is what logistic businessmen say on the lockdown issue (Kontan.co.id, 29/3/2020)
	Bahasa (original)	1. Ini Kata Pengusaha Logistik Soal Wacana Karantina Wilayah
<i>Macro economy</i>	English (translated)	1. Corona pandemic , Indonesia export to China drops! (CNBCIndonesia.com, 16/3/2020) 2. Ouch! This is the worst scenario covid may have on economy (Bisnis.com, 20/3/2020)
	Bahasa (original)	1. Wabah Corona , Ekspor RI ke China Anjlok! 2. Aduh! Ini Skenario Terburuk Covid-19 Terhadap Ekonomi

Source: Data analysis

In order to build the theme of the economic consequences, keywords were heavily used. In this particular case, the keywords include economic terms, 'stock,' export,' and 'market' (see table 8). The keywords were also supported by the quantitative data put into the narration. Furthermore, most of the sources cited were economists, stock market and financial analysts, industrial associations, and related stakeholders such as the ministry of finance, the ministry of trade, and the statistical bureau. Thus, the sources have qualified expertise, which increases the credibility and validity of the message (Linström & Marais, 2012).

4. Human Interest

The human interest frame was used the least to cover the issue compared to other frames discussed previously. The study also found that the human interest theme was not used solely. The secondary frame supported the frame, mainly economic consequences, specifically stories about the struggle of vulnerable groups and how the lockdown policy may cost their lives. It is important to note that the presence of these vulnerable groups in three of the media is relatively rare.

Table 9. Human Interest Frame

Object	Language	Quote
Online drivers	English (translated)	Corona pandemic, online drivers refuse lockdown policy in Jakarta (<i>Bisnis.com</i> , 18/3/2020)
	Bahasa (original)	Pandemi Corona, Driver Ojol Tolak Opsi Jakarta Lockdown
Labourers	English (translated)	Thousands of labourers may be laid off due to corona (<i>CNBCIndonesia.com</i> , 26/3/2020)
	Bahasa (original)	Deg-degan, Corona Bisa Makan Korban Ratusan Ribu PHK
Migrant workers	English (translated)	Malaysian lockdown , what about the migrant workers from Indonesia? (<i>Bisnis.com</i> , 17/3/2020)
	Bahasa (original)	Malaysia Lockdown , Bagaimana Nasib Pekerja Migran Indonesia?

Source: Data analysis

Editorial Standpoint on Lockdown Issue

There are various influential factors on how the media convey an issue or an event to the public. One of the main factors is the ideology of each organization which then manifests in many aspects, including the editorial policy (Castilla et al., 2013). Undoubtedly, the premise is also valid in health crisis coverage. Journalists do not simply cater the information to the public. In fact, they tailor it based on their needs and routines (Ophir, 2018). As such is the case with the lockdown-related reportage, *Kontan.co.id*, *Bisnis.com*, and *CNBCIndonesia.com* articulated their editorial position, both explicitly and implicitly in the news they produced.

Table 10. Editorial Standpoint

Language	<i>Kontan.co.id</i>	<i>Bisnis.com</i>	<i>CNBCIndonesia.com</i>
	Contra-lockdown	Pro-lockdown	Neutral
English (translated)	Economist: If lockdown is imposed, the Indonesian economy will die	Local quarantine immediately to end the corona chain	Lockdown or not, here are the pros and cons
Bahasa (original)	Ekonom: Jika Lockdown Diterapkan Perekonomian Indonesia Bakal Mati	Memutus Mata Rantai Corona, Karantina Lokal Sekarang	<i>Lockdown</i> Enggak, Lockdown Enggak, Simak Dulu Plus Minusnya
English (translated)	The Pandemic outbreak, Luhut claims lockdown is unnecessary in Indonesia	Social restriction optimization: do not be afraid of lockdown	Do we need lockdown? Check how scary if Jokowi imposes lockdown
Bahasa (original)	Wabah Corona Merebak, Luhut Tegaskan Indonesia Tak Perlu Lockdown	Optimalisasi Pembatasan Sosial, Jangan Takut Lockdown	Perlu Enggak Sih? Ini Ngerinya Jika Jokowi Putuskan Lockdown
English (translated)			Lockdown is inevitable in Indonesia, how far is the preparation?
Bahasa (original)			Lockdown Jadi Keniscayaan di RI, Bagaimana Persiapannya?

Source: Data analysis

The headlines samples (Table 10) reflect the editorial slant of each media. Editorial slant is defined as the tone uttered by the news as influenced by the editorial position (Druckman & Parkin, 2005). It shows that *Kontan.co.id* was on the opposing side on the lockdown issue, whereas *Bisnis.com* explicitly expressed its support to the policy. Meanwhile, *CNBCIndonesia.com* were more neutral compared to the others. In *CNBCIndonesia.com*, both the tones, pro, and contra, were presented in the reporting. Interestingly, there seemed to be a shift in the *CNBCIndonesia.com* editorial position. When the polemic first occurred, the news in *CNBCIndonesia.com* tended to be anti-lockdown, although it did not state clearly its position. Yet, the editorial standpoint of *CNBCIndonesia.com* changed, as reflected in the last headline in the table (see table 10).

Therefore, the shifting positioning of the media is also mirrored in the editorial slant (Druckman & Parkin, 2005). At the same time, it confirms that the editorial position creeps into the reportage to shape how the public sees the issue (Druckman & Parkin, 2005). The fact that editorial writing (including opinion articles) has a relatively low reading rate (Gil González, 2007 in Blanco Castilla et al., 2013) has made it more important to infiltrate the news with the editorial standpoint.

This practice is undoubtedly related to the concept of media bias. D'Alessio and Allen (2000) identified three types of bias; 'gatekeeping bias,' 'coverage bias,' and 'statement bias.' In this case, the media heavily played the coverage and statement bias. In doing so, the news outlets accentuate one side of the story while omitting another to ensure that the side being consumed by the public is their favoured side (D'Alessio & Allen, 2000).

The news sources' statement was also selected carefully to support the editorial stance. Although journalists interview the same source on the same occasion, they may use different quotations from that particular source. The selection is based on the agenda of each organization (table 11 and 12).

Table 11. Same Source, Different Angle

	Language	<i>Kontan.co.id</i>	<i>Bisnis.com</i>
Luhut Binsar Pandjaitan as the main source of the news	English (translated)	Coordinating Minister Luhut: Certainty on lockdown, to be decided this week	Luhut to propose local quarantine to Jokowi this afternoon
	Bahasa (original)	Menko Luhut: Kepastian Karantina Wilayah Diputuskan Pekan Ini	Luhut Usul Karantina Wilayah Kepada Jokowi Siang Ini

Source: Data analysis

Table 12. Same Source, Different Quote

	Language	<i>Kontan.co.id</i>	<i>Bisnis.com</i>
Quote selection from the same source (Shinta Kamdani)	English (translated)	"We do not know whether Indonesia may grow 1-2% if the lockdown is imposed in Jakarta since the economy in Indonesia is too centralized in Jakarta."	"How we handle the virus is important so that the virus does not spread widely."
	Bahasa (original)	"Kita tidak tahu apakah Indonesia bisa memiliki pertumbuhan 1-2% bila karantina terhadap Jakarta dilakukan karena ekonomi Indonesia secara keseluruhan terlalu tersentral di Jakarta."	"Yang penting penanggulangannya (virus) dulu biar tidak menyebar luas." (Shinta Kamdani, Apindo)

Source: Data analysis

CONCLUSION

This study concludes that the business and economy online media imply several frames in covering the lockdown polemic issue in Indonesia. This research identifies four frames; *conflict*, *attribution of responsibility*, *economic consequences*, and *human interest*. Based on the analysis, the most used frame is the conflict frame. Using this frame, the media aims to signify the clash between health and the economy. The media have constructed a narrative in which the government is facing a dilemmatic choice; health over the economy or vice versa.

The frames found throughout this study confirm that the selection of the frames by the national media is similar to the frames used by the international media (Mutua & Ong'ong'a, 2020; Ogbodo et al., 2020; Zhang, 2021). This study concludes that news framing somehow leads to incomplete news articles. Consequently, instead of telling the comprehensive story to the public, some information about the issue is omitted to accentuate the desired frame (Ophir, 2018). This partial information may trigger inappropriate perception, attitude, and behaviour in such a critical condition, costing public safety.

Another finding worthy of attention is that this health-related issue has been heavily politicized (Hubner, 2021; Zhang, 2021). It is reflected in the choice of news frame and the news source selection. Instead of the academics and public health experts, the sources quoted in the news are dominated by politicians, business people, and other groups of interest (Hubner, 2021). Of course, the selection of the source is also dependant on the agenda and which side of the story the media support. This tendency is well-articulated in the editorial standpoint of each media.

The pivotal role of the media in such an emergency situation should be used wisely and cautiously. More importantly, the media should build a well-informed public by catering comprehensive information so that the public may act appropriately in response to pandemic outbreaks. Finally, although the generic frames used in the study allow the result to be generalized, it is worth exploring the topic further using issue-specific frames to increase the frames' sensitivity and relevancy.

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Public Attention Formation in the "Diet Kantong Plastik" Social Movement

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Received Aug. 25, 2021; Revised on Dec. 16, 2021, Accepted Dec. 30, 2021

Abstract

Indonesian Plastic Bag Diet Movement (GIDKP) was one of the initiators of the social movement to reduce plastic use. The development of technology and communication through digital media makes conversations and efforts to increase awareness about environmental issues increasingly echoed. This research uses a qualitative research approach with case study research. Data were collected through observation and documentation. They were then analysed with induction and reduction. The results show the increase in social media use made the flow of information faster. GIDKP has attracted the public's attention with its informative and consistent content and message. The use of main actors and the timing of information broadcast are also consistent. However, closing the gap between the issue and the general individual is still necessary. This research implies that the variety of actors, increasing the frequency of information on digital channels, and combining offline-online activities can be increased to attract greater public attention.

Keywords: *Public Attention, Digital Based, Social Movement, Plastic Bag Diet*

INTRODUCTION

Environmental issues have always been a concern of the public and governments of many countries. The discussion on global warming has started since there was an uproar in the United States in 1985 regarding the discovery of a hole in the ozone layer in Antarctica, as far as the signing of a climate change framework called The United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change (UNFCCC) in March 1994 (Samosir, 2015). The reduction of single-use plastic is one of the environmental issues frequently campaigned in Indonesia. As reported from *mongabay.com*, the Ministry of Environment and Forestry of the Republic of Indonesia (KLHK) stated that the waste volume in Indonesia in 2019 reached 68 million tons, of which 14 per cent or around 9.52 million tons, was plastic waste. KLHK data also shows that in 2016, Indonesia was the second-largest producer of plastic waste into the ocean. The amount of plastic bag waste has continued to increase significantly in the last ten years (Lupiyanto, 2020). The national plastic pollution policy was set to prevent plastic pollution. It also explores the potential for implementing best practices for reducing plastic pollution and promoting economically safe circular plastics. The analytical framework was developed using publicly available online resources to examine national legislation, policies, strategies, and plans relevant to plastic pollution in

individual countries (Farrelly et al., 2020). Scientists have long expressed concern over plastic waste's oceanic pollution while advocating for social policy to prevent this threat to humans and the environment (Jenks & Obringer, 2020).

Social movements of single-use plastic reduction have been initiated by communities and non-profit organisations, such as the Indonesian Plastic Bag Diet Movement association, the Bye Bye Plastic Bag community, the Zero Waste Nusantara community, the *Sustanation* platform and the Gerakan Tarik Plastic Community (CNN, 2019). Efforts to reduce single-use plastic are also supported by the Government of Indonesia that issue policies to limit the use of plastic. One of which is the Circular Letter (SE) of the Minister of Environment and Forestry No.S.71/Men LHK –II/2015 regarding the distribution of plastic bags restrictions (CNN, 2019). The Coordinating Ministry for Maritime Affairs stated a target to reduce 70% of plastic waste in Indonesia by 2025 (Pratomo, 2021).

Pollution, global warming, climate change, the decadence of biodiversity and natural resources are environmental issues that raise human consciousness to environmental sustainability. The environment is often called unity with space, power, state, and living creatures, including humans and their behaviour (Wijaya et al., 2019).

The movement leads to shaping public opinion through its participation in the debate on political and social issues and the subsequent introduction of some of the movement's ideas into the mainstream popular perception (Kusumasari & Kusumaningrum, 2019). Social movements normally exist in conflict with organisations whose objectives and views often conflict and generally arise not long after a situation has been created by social unrest (Ginanjari, 2020).

The increase in the internet and communication technology that affects social movements gives rise to a *new social movement*. A social movement itself can be understood from some perspective. First, it is a collective action of people. Secondly, the goal of its joint actions causes certain societal changes in the same way. Third, it is relatively dispersed but lower in degree than a formal organisation. The last one is the action has a relatively high degree of spontaneity, is not institutionalised, and has an unconventional form. So a social movement is a loosely organised collective action without an institutionalised way to bring change in society (Kurniadi & Hizasalsasi, 2017b).

Internet technology is changing the structure of social movements. In this case, technology is considered not only able to strengthen communication management effectively and centrally. It can also connect various opinions or views and physically move people or society (Donk, Loader, Nixon, & Rucht, in Sanjaya, 2018).

The rise in digital media use, especially social media, affects the swift flow of information. There are 300 million photos uploaded every day on Facebook. Five billion videos are watched every day on YouTube, and 95 posts are uploaded every day on Instagram (Stout, 2021). The large amount of information circulating on social media makes the users more selective. They will look for information that really attracts their attention.

Based on Facebook analytics data, users spend only 1.7 seconds viewing the content in their news feed via mobile and only 2.5 seconds via computer (Insights, 2016). With the limited time spent by users on social media content, it is essential to be able to attract public attention to social movements communicated through social media.

Hirsch (2014) explained three principles that make people willing to participate and change their behaviour in accordance with the goals of a social movement, which are 1) the proximity of the issue to themselves or their daily lives, 2) how much sacrifice is needed to act on social movement and 3) how much effort, time and money required to participate in the social movement and lead to great results. Several important factors can encourage behaviour change, which are positive messages that provide solutions on a social movement such as reuse and recycle messages communicated at the #PlasticFreeJuly campaign; actors who deliver the messages; and timing of message delivery that is the beginning of the week and the beginning of the month (Heidbreder, 2021).

The Indonesia Plastic Bag Diet Movement association is a social movement that aims to reduce single-use plastic and generate regulations that disallow free single-use plastic to consume by consumers through an online petition #Pay4Plastic on the Change.org platform. The petition, which started in 2013, was addressed to the president of the Republic of Indonesia and regional heads to form plastic bag diet regulation. As a result, there were 70,000 signatures received online and offline, then submitted to two representatives, the Ministry of Environment and Forestry as the central government representative and the Bandung City Environmental Management Agency as the regional government representative (Kurniadi & Hizasalsi, 2017a). This petition led to the publication of a Non-Free Plastic Bag Policy in modern retail as of March 1st, 2019, from the Indonesian Retail Entrepreneurs Association, known as Aprindo (Lingga, 2019). Not only the #Pay4Plastic petition, but this movement also collaborates with several organisations in the Plastic Free Parade and other activities that communicated mainly through their Instagram account, @iddkp and the Plastic Bag Diet Facebook page.

This article is focused on finding out how the Indonesian Plastic Diet Movement carries out the activities in implementing the public attention movement.

The Indonesia Plastic Bag Diet Movement Association

The Indonesia Plastic Bag Diet Movement (GIDKP) is a non-profit association. The vision of this institution is to make Indonesia free of plastic bags by asking the public to be wiser in using single-use plastic and switch to using bags that can be used repeatedly to save the environment from the dangers of plastic waste. GIDKP was initiated in 2013 by several institutions and individuals, namely Change.org, Ciliwung Institute, PT. Gregeneration Indonesia, PT. Daun Plus (Leaf Plus), Recycled Creations, PT. Monica Hijau Lestari (The Body Shop Indonesia), Earth Hour Indonesia, Tiza Mafira, Indorelawan, Si Dalang, and Joko Arif (dietkantongplastik.info).

Kurniadi & Hizasalasi (2017a) explained that GIDKP established its programs on three strategic approaches. The first one is advocacy to various government elements related to regulatory of single-use plastic limitation. The initial approach to bringing up regulations from the government was to run an online petition #Pay4Plastic on the Change.org platform in 2013, which in a few years received 70,000 online and offline supports. From this petition, government institutions responded positively by issuing an Appeal Letter No. 6/2013 regarding the Plastic Bag Diet Movement. It was announced at the Great Sale Jakarta Festival by the Jakarta Provincial Government office. This followed by several regulations issuance and activities, such as the issuance of the Governor's Letter of Appeal No.1/2014 concerning the Jakarta Plastic Bag Diet Movement; the issuance of Circular Letter No.6/PSLB3-PS/2015 concerning anticipatory measures for the implementation of paid plastic bag policy in modern retail businesses by KLHK; the commitment signing for paid plastic bags in March 2016 by 17 Head of Districts; the production and screenings of Pulau Plastik documentary film; and the non-free plastic bag policy in modern retail issued by the Indonesian Retail Entrepreneurs Association (Aprindo) in March 2019.

The second strategy is through an educational approach. The activities conducted were a combination of offline and online activities, such as presentations, environmental film screenings, group discussions and used materials recycle workshop, education for school's employees and teachers, training to volunteers and communities, initiated EnviroChallenge campaign, Jakarta beach clean-up actions, as well as the Rampok Plastik (exchanging plastic products with reusable bags) action. It also collaborated in a plastic-free march in July 2019 with eight other organisations to commemorate #PlasticFreeJuly or World No Plastic Bag Day. The online activities by GIDKP were posted on @iddkp Instagram account, Diet Plastic Bags Facebook page, and several online discussions, such as the 2021 No-Plastic Waste Regional Forum. GIDKP also collaborated with public figures to share their supporting statements on social media using #dietkantongplastik.

The third approach is facilitation to GIDKP important stakeholders, such as the private sector. The Indonesian Plastic Bag Diet Movement invites retail businesses in Indonesia to contribute more actively in campaigning single-use plastic bags reduction to their customers. To boost their participation, GIDKP conducted awards for retail entrepreneurs who participated in reducing single-use plastic bags, which were given to Superindo, Carrefour and Circle K.

In this article, the author studies further on the educational approach performed through various online channels to learn how the messages, the actors involved, and the timing of information delivery, as well as the principles of participation conveyed by Hirsch (2014), are adapted in it to attract public attention.

Social Movements and the Formation of Public Attention

Social movements are defined as collective actions taken to oppose or urge changes (Diani, 2000). Stzompka (1993) describes social movements as a form of collective actions performed in an organised but loose manner without forcing an institution's character,

intending to create behavioural changes in the surrounding society. Klandermans (1997) states that collective actions toward social movements also rely on expected costs and benefits. Simon et al., (1998) suggested several steps for social movement participation, i.e. (a) participate in the potential mobilisation activities, (b) become the target of mobilisation efforts, (c) be the motivation to participate and (d) manage the potential obstacles toward participation. These steps indicate varying degrees of involvement in social movements related to specific interventions barriers. Sari & Siahainenia (2015) indicates barriers to new social movements have many factors, one of which is the factor of actors in social movements who have lost their ability to support the movement's objectives. Therefore, actors in social movements have an essential task of framing based on social issues and injustices in the communities.

Sari & Siahainenia (2015) categorise social movements as inclusive associations led by actors and participated by the number of followers. These followers then consciously mobilise themselves to strive and create the democratisation of everyday life. Social movements have specific characteristics that need to be emphasised. The characteristics are 1) elements of a strong network with informal or unstructured interactions, (2) the existence of solidarity and belief sharing among actors, (3) joint action that voices conflictual issues, and (4) continuous action demands without specific institutions and do not follow procedures as in an organisation.

Harlow (2011) mentions that social movements connect to activism, including social movements and moments of collective action. Tarrow (1998) stated that social movements involve a continued struggle for authority between challengers and power holders with the ultimate goal of achieving social change. Tilly (in Harlow, 2012) defines collective action as pursuing a common goal, which is exemplified as a protest campaign or petition. Social movements can be long-term or become one large movement, depending on the group's level of shared interests and identity, available resources, political power, opportunities and threats, and the level of government repression.

According to Singh (in Munadhil, 2019), social movements have a strategy called social biner movements, which is new social movements that focus on reasoning, collective action, and the role of reflection. These points should align with the actors' abilities in moving resources.

According to Hirsch (2014) three principles drive people to participate and change their behaviour in accordance with the social movement's goals, i.e. 1) the proximity of the issue to themselves or their daily lives, 2) the number of sacrifices needed to run the social movement and 3) efforts, time and money from a person to participate in the social movement and generate excellent results.

Collective actions can be delivered if each involved individuals share a common attitude. Zuchdi (1995) explains that the structure in attitudes has three components; cognitive, affective, and conative. The cognitive component contains knowledge obtained from previous experience, perceptions and beliefs.

In marketing communications, the concept of AIDA describes the four stages of cognition experienced by a person after receiving new information. The four are seizing the target audience's attention, increasing the interest and desire to perform acts (action) or participate (Pashootanizadeh, 2018). Meanwhile, the affective component involves feelings (Zuchdi, 1995). Emotional reactions to an object will create a positive or negative attitude. Then the conative component is the tendency to act on the individual towards something. The tendency to behave consistently and in harmony with beliefs and feelings will shape individual attitudes.

In addition, in a commentary study in response to climate-related YouTube videos, Shapiro & Park (2018) found that a small group of elite users (mainly climate change activists) dominated the discussion. Tufekci (2013) theorises "micro-network celebrity activists" as politically motivated non-institutional actors who use social media capabilities to engage in their political and personal self-presentation to garner public attention for their cause. Because of their status on social media platforms, these activists can direct attention to an issue or online movement.

This article focuses on forming attitudes on the cognitive component, especially on public attention toward the campaign of reducing single-use plastic. Thorson & Luping (2019) stated that social movement theorists emphasise the importance of media attention for social growth and success of a social movement. Gamson & Wolfsfeld (1993) described the media and social movements as "interacting" or mutually reinforcing systems. The characteristics and strategies of a social movement shape the content of media coverage. Conversely, the content of media coverage can have a substantial impact on a social movement success. The emergence of social media platforms and digital participation has created opportunities for social movement actors to mobilise the public directly, connect with an issue, and share information (Thorson & Luping, 2019b).

Social Movements and Online Media

The development of internet technology is becoming an essential aspect of people's lives in urban areas. This affects the various strategies in communicating social movements. Before the internet, people were directly involved in social movements through face-to-face activities. Along with the emergence of new media that rely on the internet, which offers speed in providing and accessing information, social movements also take advantage of the internet and social media emergence to shift from direct and face-to-face to mediated activities. According to Kapriani et al. (2014), social movements are formed initially by virtual communities with shared interests and goals.

According to experts, the internet in social movements has two sides: the internet can facilitate traditional offline activism and increase the repertoire of existing movements by adding activities such as email blasts and online petitions. On the other hand, the internet can create new forms of activism and resistance (Harlow, 2011). With the various types of online media, according to a DigiActive survey in 2009 (in Harlow, 2012), Social Network Sites (SNS) are the most frequently used channels for social movements or activism. The use of SNS in social movements can minimise problems in traditional social movements,

such as the difficulty of gathering highly motivated individuals to initiate mobilisation and attract more participants and resources. A social movement can recruit participants and reach global audiences through one click on SNS.

Social media is considered to have six key characteristics generally possessed by online media as mentioned by Mitra and Cohen (in Galuh & Ayu, 2016): 1) intertextuality, which means that all texts are connected. Texts in social media must be interpreted together with other related texts, both in the past and the present, forming the meaning of messages in social media itself. 2) Nonlinearity, in which a site or comment page cannot be positioned as the starting or ending. The discussion that is considered as the last part can become a topic for new conversations. 3) There is an unclear boundary between the message creator and the recipient because online media users are seen as user-generated content. This means a user who accesses content can also act as a person who produces, distributes, and consumes the content. 4) Multimedia combines media, sound, images, and text on social media. 5) The global characteristic of online media allows content on social media to be accessible and widely distributed without being limited by time and space, fast and no gatekeeping processes like in mass media. 6) Ephemerality refers to the instability of the texts on social media as the texts can be omitted intentionally or not from the users themselves.

Social media benefit activism and are instrumental in guiding engagement from the users into the activism (Fuchs, 2011). On platforms like Twitter, public attention and news media attention are intertwined. A spike in attention to an issue on Twitter can spur news coverage and responses from elites (Chadwick, 2013). Contemporary feminists also use Facebook and blogs to maintain their collective feminist identity through online networks and information sharing (Crossley, 2015). Einwohner & Elle (2019) stated that individuals involved in the *Women's March* social movement in Washington, January 2017 utilised the Instagram platform to share information about protests, laws, and elections. According to them, posts on Instagram are statements of collective identity that maintain the social movement. Therefore, this research will study the @iddkp Instagram posts and other posts from the actors involved.

Online Activism

Social movements that use technology in social media or digital media are often referred to as online activism. Activism in the digital world is part of society's actualising digital political practices. On the other hand, digital politics has multi-interpretive understanding, although the central core of these understandings leads to public space formation in cyberspace (Postill, 2012). In understanding online activism, it is necessary to look at the mechanical foundations, contextual factors, values and social structures that generate the activism (Rahmawan, 2020). Joyce (in Rahmawan, 2020) mentions that the terminology and phrase of "digital activism" is still a matter of academic debate. However, "digital" in this sense is agreed upon as the potential speed, reliability, scale, and low cost that digital technology offers. It allows the reach and scope expansion compared to contemporary activism. The term digital activism can refer to a series of campaigns that use digital technology and networks comprehensively. It includes all social

or political campaigns carried out through digital network infrastructure. The term also refers exclusively, excluding other forms of activism that use technology but are not connected in digital network infrastructure.

Lim (2014) share a view that activism on social media can be flexible to adapt or encourage community involvement in mass actions or demonstrations. This happened when the contents on social media displayed straightforward, low-risk action, and the themes discussed aligned with the main narratives, such as nationality and beliefs. In addition, it is also important to note that the narratives constructed on online activism through social media do not contradict the messages conveyed by the mainstream media. Furthermore she explained that several criteria drove the success of digital activism. The criteria are simple narratives, in line with the main or dominant narratives, have small risks, and use specific symbols to capture public interest and impressions.

Vegh (2003, in Jati, 2016) classifies online activism into three main parts: organisation/mobilisation, awareness/advocacy, and action/reaction. The first part, organisation/mobilisation, is more directed towards developing a populist movement based on a particular issue. This part is seen as one of the main forms of online activism. It can describe the issues in the virtual world as the main focus in the real world. The second part is awareness/advocacy, which more inclined to persuasive actions to increase public awareness of a social issue/problem discussed in the community. Increasing the sense of social humanity and growing feelings of affection are usually the basis for online activism. However, this part of online activism tends to be impermanent because it is formed based on niche issues. The third part, action/reaction, means that online activism builds more dominant than emotional and reactive factors. The topic or problem built in online activism is more of a temporary issue that attracts more public support/attention. Similar to the second part, the actions and reactions tend to be tentative. This is due to public acceptance variations (passively and actively) on the issue. This third part focuses more on life-related and social issues.

According to Karpf (in Rahmawan et al., 2020), digital technology used in online activism can facilitate to "speak more swiftly and broadly" and to "listen carefully and deeply". However, conventional technology is still needed to disseminate information from social media to people who do not use it. Van de Donk et al. (in Harlow, 2011) argue that the internet will complement, not replace, existing social movement tactics. The simplicity of online activism can undermine the value of the movement, creating half-hearted activism known as 'slacktivism'. Gladwell (in Hartoyo & Supriadi, 2015) defines slacktivism as activism through low-risk and low-cost social media to increase awareness, generate change, or generate satisfaction for people involved or incorporated in these activities. Gladwell also describes the categories of practical online activism are direct, proactive, and often confrontational action to shape social change.

In line with the possibility of slacktivism emergence, Nugroho (in Ismail et al., 2019) introduces click-activism in his research. This becomes an input for social media movement that has less load than offline activism and is still questioned on the

relationship between virtual reality and actual reality. Although Nugroho sees the importance of online activism, it is often interpreted that movements mainly in the online area or limited to being hashtags on Twitter and Facebook have less meaning when compared to movements that are present on the street.

Therefore, this article aims to see if online activism involving technology, such as social media and online mass media coverages conducted by the Indonesian Plastic Bag Diet Movement, can form public attention that supports the movement goals.

METHOD

This article uses the case study method. According to Stake (in Creswell, 2007), a case study is a research strategy in which the researcher investigates a program, activity and event carefully. Researchers collected complete information with various data collection procedures and a predetermined time. Kriyantono (2012) explained that the case study is a research method with multiple data sources (as much data as possible) that can be used to research, define and describe comprehensively and systematically various aspects of individuals, groups, programs, organisations and events.

The researchers conducted a study of documents originating from the @iddkp Instagram contents in April – June 2021 and contents from public figures in collaboration with GIDKP also using the #dietkantongplastik hashtag search on Instagram. The indirect interviews from GIDKP officials that published in online media news related to the production and screenings of Pulau Plastik in April-June 2021 are also studied. The researchers also do observations at the 2021 Plastic-Free Regional Forum webinar, conducted by GIDKP, broadcast on the Plastic Bag Diet YouTube account. The data obtained are triangulated for data validity, then comply with the participation principle by Hirsch (2014) as well as examine the messages, the role of the Tiza Mafira involved and the timing of information delivery as previously performed by Heidbreder et al. (2020) and Chib et al. (2009).

RESULTS AND DISCUSSIONS

Messages of the Plastic Waste Challenges in Indonesia and the Solutions

In April – June 2021 the @iddkp Instagram account posted 29 contents. The Pulau Plastik film were the dominant contents which highlighted the film promotion, screenings schedule, post-screenings highlights, testimonials from public figures and the information on plastic waste challenges in Indonesia. The @iddkp Instagram account during the same period also posted other topics which were the collaborative activities with other institutions and plastic-free market programs, an open letter to President Joko Widodo, the info on implementation of plastic reduction policies, the 2021 Plastic Free Regional Forum activities and the tips to reduce single-use plastic. The challenges of plastic waste was also conveyed in a post that adapted from Tribunnews Bogor article. It stated several points; Indonesia was the target of plastic waste disposal by developed countries who

claimed successful on waste management, the false claim on plastic materials to be biodegradable in a short time, as well as the high amount of microplastics that consumed by the public from polluted marine products. The GIDKP social media channel also contains messages of plastic life-cycle and circular economy solutions, easy tips to reduce plastic use when shopping, a pocket book on easy steps of a plastic diet, and information on the 4Rs (*Refuse, Reuse, Reduce, Recycle*).

Contents and messages at @iddkp Instagram account are conveyed in photo material, infographics, animated and reel videos. Explanation on the contents is presented in the form of texts as the captioned post, which uses formal language, in 1-3 short paragraphs and uses several repetitive hashtags such as #dietkantongplastik, #breakfreefromplastic, #BergerakUntukMasaDepan, #pulauplastik, #dietplastic and #pasarbebasplastik. There are also non-recurring hashtags, such as #Indonesiabebasplastik, #BandungTanpaPlastik, #IndonesiaBebasSampahPlastik, #bukusaku, #localchampions, #HLH2021, #JagaJakarta, #JakartaBangkit, #tolaksekalignakan, #wadahgunaulang and #forumareabebassampahplastik. The posts on the @iddkp Instagram account are mirroring their Facebook account.

The researchers searched the #dietkantongplastik hashtag on Instagram. Unfortunately, no posts related to this hashtag were captured during April – June 2021 period. However, there are four contents related to the Indonesian Plastic Bag Diet Movement, posted in January 2020, June 2020 and August 2019. Two posts informed the enactment of Governor Regulation No. 142/2019 from the Jakarta Regional Government. One informed the webinar activity in which the GIDKP Executive Director participated. One post highlighted the Rampok Plastik activities carried out in 2019.

Meanwhile, mass media monitoring in April – June 2021, using the "pulau plastik" and "plastic bag diet" keywords, several news appeared. These news featured the Executive Director of GIDPK, Tiza Mafira, conveyed messages regarding the great support from both local government and general public for the plastics bag diet movement. The supports reflected on the issuance of single-use plastics banned regulations by 57 local governments as well as the large number of public who participated in the plastic-free parade held in 2019. The messages also emphasised the continuation of the plastic bag diet movement to increase public awareness and participation from various circles on environmental impacts, especially plastic waste pollution and efforts to reduce it (Simbolon, 2021).

Information of public alarmed by the dangers of microplastics and the plastic waste imported were also conveyed through educational efforts by GIDKP, which align with local government policy advocacy efforts and collaboration with industrial owners. Several solutions for plastic reduction were stated, including to create a circular economy through the prohibition of single-use plastic and straws, the plastic waste sortation by all household and communities that also regulated by the government, and to push all plastic producing companies to be responsible for their products' waste management. Moreover, the message also informs the challenges faced by the Indonesian Plastic Bag

Diet Movement from online shopping activities where e-commerce providers do not provide non-plastic packaging options (Yuliastuti, 2021).

Through observations at the 2021 Plastic-Free Regional Forum virtual discussion, the message conveyed by GIDKP Executive Director Tiza Mafira, that there were behaviour changes towards the utilisation of single-use plastics obtained from surveys conducted in Jakarta and Bali related to the prohibition of single-use plastic bags regulations. The message stated that the behaviour of styrofoam and plastic straws consumption was decreasing in Bali. People have reusable bags, and it is not difficult to get an alternative to a single-use plastic bag. However, consumers still use plastic bags when shopping at traditional markets. Meanwhile, the survey results showed that household consumption of plastic bags has decreased in Jakarta. The knowledge of alternative plastic products is increasing, but the consumption of plastic bags in traditional markets has not completely faded away. Also, people in Jakarta misunderstand free plastic when shopping at modern retails.

GIDKP Internal Figures and Local Government Leaders Become Main Actors

The Indonesia Plastic Bag Diet movement presented several figures to convey their main messages and programs. From the @iddkp Instagram account, in April – June 2021, there were four figures featured in their posts, i.e. Executive Director, Tiza Mafira; Sandiaga Uno; Nadine Chandrawinata and Devina Veronika. Sandiaga Uno, Nadine Chandrawinata and Devina Veronika gave their testimonies regarding the Pulau Plastik film. Tiza Mafira was shown in video content to reduce single-use plastic, which was created to celebrate World Environment Day.

The GIDKP Executive Director also appeared in mass media news from April to June 2021. She was featured to explain the social movements activities, programs and promotions through Pulau Plastik film as explanation toward solutions that have been implemented so far. The news regarding the Pulau Plastik film also featured many figures such as Angga Dwimas Sasongko, Executive Producer of the film, Gede Robi, vocalist of Navicula rock band as one of the movie actors, and Prigi Arisandi, a river guard from West Java as the other movie actor. Head of Tangerang District Ahmed Zaki Iskandar also appeared in the news to review the regulation for single-use plastics in Tangerang.

Other figures featured to convey their support on the movement through their participation at the 2021 Plastic-Free Regional Forum online discussion. The figures represented several industries as well as government institutions, which were Bima Arya Sugiarto, the Mayor of Bogor and the Chairman of Board Management of the Indonesian City Government Association; Ahmed Zaki Iskandar, Head of Tangerang District and Deputy General of the Indonesian Regency Governments Association; Khendra Al Asyari, from Ministry of Finance of Republic of Indonesia; Yuvlinda Susanta from the Indonesian Retail Entrepreneurs Association (APRINDO) and Astrid Kusumawardhani, VP Public Affairs of Gojek Indonesia.

Commemoration of Environmental Sector Days Becomes Preference for Information Dissemination

Accessing from @iddkp Instagram account posts, most information broadcast time is associated with the commemoration of environmental sector days. For example, the information on ecosystems restoration was published to coincide with world environment day. Other than that, the promotion and explanation about the Pulau Plastik film, was posted to commemorate Earth Day. The information on collaborative action of Totebag Painting Class, was also broadcasted to coincide with world ocean day.

Mass media coverage mainly highlighted the Pulau Plastik film. The news coverage was during April and May 2021, in conjunction with the film screening schedule, which coincides with Earth Day. Moreover, information related to the 2021 Plastic-Free Regional Forum was broadcast in connection with the world environment day in June 2021.

Attract Public Attention Through Social Media Interactions, Key Messages, Actors and Dissemination Schedules

In Instagram, according to Sari & Anggraeni (2019), public attention toward content posted was directly and significantly affected by the type of image and number of likes. During April – June 2021, there were 2964 likes and 3511 views from a total of 29 posts uploaded at the @iddkp Instagram account.

Post with the highest number of likes was about the Pulau Plastik film screening in Jakarta attended by the Governor of DKI Jakarta, Anies Baswedan. While the post with the highest number of views was showcased the trailer of Pulau Plastik movie.

In addition, public attention to the Indonesian Plastic Bag Diet Movement can also be seen from the number of followers on the @iddkp Instagram account, which until June 2021 was 16,900 followers. However, the number of likes and followers are inversely proportional to the number of comments received on the Instagram account. On April – June 2021, only 58 comments from @iddkp Instagram followers. The posts with the highest number of comments were related to the Open Letter to President Joko Widodo, the post showcased testimony from Sandiaga Uno towards the Pulau Plastik film, then the post regarding monitoring and evaluation of Bali Governor Regulation No. 98/2018.

Apart from Instagram posts, public attention also captured in comments of Pulau Plastik film, as reported by the mass media. The viewer named Putri Radiyatul said that after she watched the movie, she gained information on the dangers of plastic and microplastic in the human body caused by polluted ocean products. Putri stated that she would try to reduce the use of plastic and replace it with a tote bag. Moreover, comments from Reza suggest the Pulau Plastik film portray persons who handle imported plastic waste daily. Reza also indicates that the delivery of messages in the movie should consider viewers with low-educational backgrounds with more straightforward phrases on the dialogue so they can effortlessly understand the main concerns of the movie (Yuliastuti, 2021).

From the description above, the most communicated messages on the Indonesia Plastic Bag Diet campaign were about the problems faced by Indonesia regarding plastic waste, the dangers of microplastics and the plastic waste import from developed countries to Indonesia. These messages were conveyed in conjunction with the promotion of the Pulau Plastik film. The Executive Director of GIDKP was featured as one of the actors. The additional message that was also frequently conveyed was related to solutions, reducing the single-use plastics, straws and implementation of 4Rs (Refuse, Reuse, Reduce & Recycle) by the general public daily. Another solution presented was the creation of a circular economy that require active involvement of all parties. This campaign also highlights their collaborative actions with various parties such as local governments and traditional market managers for the Pasar Bebas Plastik program and other communities that reflected the 3 GIDKP's strategies as their messages.

Therefore, the key messages of this movement are the challenges and solutions for the reduction of single-use plastic utilisation in Indonesia. These messages are constantly disseminated through the @iddkp Instagram account, Facebook page, and the mass media, leading to mobilisation that creates the development of a populist movement based on a particular issue. This model is seen as one of the primary forms of online activism (Vegh, 2003). The existence of the main message is also in line with the results of Merlyna Lim's (2013) research, where the narrative is in line with the main message that attracts public interests and impressions. The urgency or importance of an environmental issue also affects the strength of discourse or message. Language use is important to build discourse (Sanjaya, 2017). The formal language style used in the message, contents displaying measurable impact numbers, conveying tips and easy steps in the Indonesian Plastic Diet Movement contents, intensifies the urgency of the plastic reduction issue. In addition, the easy steps as a solution to plastic use reduction communicated by GIDKP strengthen the previous researches of Heidbreder et al. (2020) and Chib, et al. (2008), which explained that positive messages and those containing solutions are important factors that can encourage changes in audience behaviour. The message conveyed through the documentary Pulau Plastik film also moved the audience to further increase their efforts of plastic use reduction. This aligns with Hirsch's (2014) concept of the proximity of issues to one's daily life becomes the principle of individuals participating and changing behaviour, following the goals of the Indonesian Plastic Bag Diet movement.

The actor on this social movement was dominated by its Executive Director, Tiza Mafira, whose statements were published in social media posts, mass media coverage, and online discussions. Tiza's figure produces knowledge through the messages she conveys, her role as a speaker in various discussions and being quoted by the mass media. The consistency of actors in this movement showcased the implementation of information control. The way actors produce knowledge and control various information are key factors of reflection in a social movement (Muqsith, et al., 2019). Together with Tiza Mafira, several other actors frequently appear in mass media coverage, online discussions and social media, such as Angga Dwimas Sasongko, Gede Robi, Prigi Arisandi, Ahmed Zaki Iskandar and Bima Arya Sugiarto. These actors were considered activists who could direct

public attention to the Indonesia Plastic Bag Diet movement issues (Tufekci, 2013). The importance of actors role in this movement to initiate behavioural changes was in line with Heidbreder et al. (2020) research that explained the actor who conveys the message is an important factor that can encourage behavioural change in the public. To expand the public reach, the actors as the network of activists also need to be expanded by inviting local governments, public figures that concern on plastic issues, academics and social media influencers.

The information dissemination schedules were coincide to the momentum of environmental days, such as Earth Day, International Ocean Day, and World Environment Day. This scheduling have created public attention to the Indonesia Plastic Bag Diet movement. Thus it has strengthening the research results of Heidbreder, et.al. (2020) which stated that the timing of message delivery is an important factor to encourage behaviour change as the goal of the campaign. However, the publish time of @iddkp Instagram posts can still be improved by determining the consistency of the post schedule. In April – June 2021, the posts were published mostly on Wednesday & Friday, but this scheduling was not consistent as the number of posts published was declining.

Although public attention towards the Indonesia Plastic Bag Diet movement was gained through many followers on their social media accounts and relatively high numbers of interactions (2,964 likes and 3,511views on April - June 2021), it still not maximised. In addition, the statement regarding the difficulty of understanding the message conveyed in the Pulau Plastik film, as one of the leading programs on this movement, indicates that there is still a gap between the public and the plastic use reduction issue GIDKP tries to convey. With this distance, Hirsch's (2014) concept of the proximity of the problems to one's daily life has not been fully proven in this movement.

Online activism has occurred in this Indonesia Plastic Bag Diet movement, based on the use of social media to convey simple messages that require low-risk actions. The narrative that conveyed was also in line with messages published in mainstream media, especially messages related to Pulau Plastik film (Lim, 2014). The message became the main concern on digital activism of this Indonesia plastic bag diet movement, while the actors and the message delivery time were still not optimal. The attention obtained through online media channels was less than from offline activities during the Pulau Plastik film screening. This reinforces the results of Harlow (2011) research that highlight the importance of offline activity and internet participation as complementing, not replacing, existing social movement tactics.

CONCLUSION

Overall, the Indonesia Plastic Bag Diet movement has attracted public attention through their contents and formation of informative, interesting, and consistent messages conveyed on various platforms. Consistency can also be seen using the leading actor, Tiza Mafira as the messenger. The timing of information distribution which refers to environmental sector days has also generated public attention. However, it is still

necessary to reduce the gap between this plastic bag diet issue and the general public of their target audiences, so they feel 'close' and relate to the issue that triggers them to participate further in the movement. The variety of actors in communicating, the consistency of information delivery timing and increasing the frequency of information sharing on social media channels can be one solution to increase attention and encourage public participation to achieve the movement goals. Not only on social media channels, it is also important to update information frequently on the GIDKP website at www.dietkantongplastik info. Offline activities are important aspects that need to be continuously conducted by GIDKP to increase public attention. We would recommend that future journals also study behavioural changes from cognitive, affective and conative aspects, as the impacts of social movements conducted both in online and offline activities. The implication of the theory that built is the perception you want to form, namely that people are starting to realise the negative impact of using plastic bags. After identifying and analysing, the plastic diet movement has followed the steps in the PR process includes defining the problem, planning the program, acting, and evaluating the program.

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The Dynamic of News Production in Online Media: Case Study of *TvOneNews.com*

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Received Nov. 16, 2021; Revised on Dec. 30, 2021, Accepted Dec. 31, 2021

Abstract

The news content in online media is loaded with "political" interests that tend to ignore the substance and mechanism of a media. This research aims to explain that there has been a politicization of the media in the production of online news content that ignores its actual functions of the media. The study relies on qualitative research with data collection through reporting with the keyword "Bakrie" as reported by *TvOneNews.com* for July - August 2021 and then analyzed using qualitative content analysis methods. A phenomenon issue that needs a mapping of this textual data is related to the news that has been reported. The production process becomes the conceptual basis for the framework of this study. The media's process and function are the contents of the dynamics that occur in a media. This then raises the question of how exactly the media's production process is faced with the ideal of media functions. The results from the study showed the existence of "malasuai" between the production process and the functions of media carried out by *TvOneNews.com* and ideals of the Indonesian nation related to the media function as the "pillar of democracy". A suggestion for the media owners is that they should prioritize the nation's interests above personal and a suggestion for the other media crew that they should comply consistently with the journalistic code of ethics. The limitations of this research are that the data used are relatively minor, in the form of news carried out during the second wave of Covid-19 in Indonesia. This study only reviewed one media, *TvOneNews.com*.

Keyword: production process, media function, reporting, tvonenews.com, malasuai

INTRODUCTION

The intensity of using the media is increasing among the people during the outbreak of the Covid-19 pandemic. Many activities must be done online. People are spending so much time staring at the computer and are no longer have time to turn on the television to get the information from news programs. They prefer utilizing online media portals for domestic and international news. This happens because online media is more practical and can be accessed anytime and anywhere. The information presented in online media is also the latest, which occurs in real-time. This is driven by the rapid penetration of the media in the digital era, making them the most productive and effective platforms for the

public to get information (Pabbajah, Jubba, Abdullah, & Pabbajah, 2021). Today, newspapers and television are also accessible online. Many conventional media companies have also turned to deliver news online (Rizqi, Madjid, Wibowo, Keamanan, & Unhan, 2019).

However, the facts show that the news production process of online media seems inconsistent with the media functions. The media are more commercially oriented rather than serving to provide information to the public. In fact, the media can offer more educational and quality content, but it has been complicated by profit-making (Widiastuti, 2016). As an industry, it is now difficult for the media to be neutral when dealing with political elites mainly because many considerations should be made. Neutrality is almost impossible because the mass media must support their own business (Muttaqin, 2011). Loyalty to capital owners has made them a tool of political propaganda that favours their owners' interests (Kusumadewi & Rusdi, 2016).

Research on online media and reporting has drawn the attention of academics and media observers. Current studies show that the media industry has distinct features of news content to attract an audience (Anggraeny, Lestari, & Putri, 2021). Another study shows that the media's production process to produce quality news has now been intervened by the owners' political interests. Figures behind the media, the basis of each content shared, and the company's ideology affect the content (Williams, 2003, p. 71). The problem lies in the business pattern, not in the technology. Ideological change in the media must consider business aspects and company's profit when adopting new technology to their products and services (Karimi & Walter, 2016; Pabbajah, Jubba, Widyanti, Pabbajah, & Iribaram, 2020). Ideally, the production process done by a media must support its role as a mass media. In accordance with Law No. 40 of 1999 Article 6, the media's roles consist of (1) Protecting the public's right to know; (2) Upholding fundamental values of democracy, enforcing the supremacy of law and human rights, and respecting diversity; (3) Developing public opinion based on precise, accurate, and factual information; (4) Supervising, criticizing, correcting, and suggesting matters related to the public interests; (5) And advocating for justice and truth (Republik Indonesia, 1999).

The majority of the media in Indonesia are owned by conglomerates, which has led to the ownership centralization and the tug-of-war between ideals, business and political interests (Karman, 2014). It also occurs in one of the national television stations in Indonesia, namely *TvOne*. *TvOne* is owned by the Bakrie Group led by Aburizal Bakrie. It was initially called *Lativi*, founded by Abdul Latief. In 2007, the Bakrie Group purchased most of *Lativi*'s shares, and in 2008 the 'red' station officially changed its name to *tvOne*. Today, *TvOne* also has an online news portal, *TvOneNews.com*, which delivers up-to-date national and international news and can be accessed at any time. Many studies have examined *TvOne*'s reporting patterns, showing that it is not objective and tends to side with its owner's interests.

Previous studies have shown that *TvOne* forms a bad image of its owner's political opponents (Lesmana, Nugroho, & Yoanita, 2016). Other research shows *TvOne* perform

framing to beautify its owner's image (Murfianti, 2015). Subsequent research indicates that *TvOne* is not neutral in its political reporting (Kusumadewi & Rusdi, 2016). It also aired positive news about the Golkar party, supporting it during the 2014 election campaign (Wisnu, 2016). Another study shows that the political figures use their media, both in news and advertisement, as a tool to construct a good image of the owner (Prasetya, 2013). One program also shows that the owner uses the station to strengthen his image and build public opinion during the 2014 general election campaign (Guntara, 2013). Another research points out that television stations in Indonesia, including *TvOne*, are biased toward the criticism of the President, evident from the selection of sources, news narratives, and visual images (Ariffudin, 2015).

Previous studies showed that *TvOne* did not prioritize objectivity and violated the public's right to know the truth in its reporting. Some questions arise: how does *TvOne* carry out the news production process? Does *TvOneNews.com* carry out the same process even during the pandemic? How are the functions of the mass media performed in it? This paper aims to complement previous studies by focusing on discussing how the shift in the media functions from idealism to pragmatism. This article specifically seeks to examine the production process compared to the ideal media functions that *TvOneNews.com* carries out in publishing news about its owner during the Covid-19 pandemic, especially during the second wave of the outbreak in Indonesia. It was a critical period as people were struggling against the severity of the second wave pandemic.

This paper is based on the argument that online media reporting is a setup and full of commercial interests. Online media have been used to highlight their owners' personal activities. The owners heavily influence the news production process, thus neglecting ideal media functions. The owners cherry-pick news items to be broadcast on television, covering their personal and family activities. In other words, the media has now become a tool to build their owners' popularity.

Production Process

The production process is the information processing conducted in a directed and regular manner to generate a product (Hasanah, 2018). Media perform production process to generate news for the public. Previous studies showed that the process in the media newsroom is influenced by several factors, one of which is media organization (Vinanda & Ahmad, 2021). Meanwhile, other studies proved that stages in a conventional journalistic process are often skipped due to time pressure and the continuous need for content in online media newsrooms (Himma-Kadakas, 2017).

Similarly, the production process proposed by Williams begins when journalists search for news and send it to the editorial desk to be edited for publication. Along with Chibnall, William (2003) emphasized that selection decisions will be made at the editorial meeting once the news is on the editor's desk. Based on his theory, it can be concluded that the production process is influenced by three things: media content that is selected and produced; who has the power to make the content; and the nature of an organization, its

structure and management, and the relationship between social institutions and their positioning ideology (Williams, 2003).

Additionally, five things must be done to plan a program's production process: production materials, production facilities, production costs, production implementing organization, and production stages (Fanastar, 2015). The production implementation stages are commonly called Standard Operating Procedure consisting of pre-production, production, and post-production stages (Raharjo, Pane, Sapitri, & Mutiah, 2021). One of the steps in the production process is planning the television program (Wibowo, 2007).

Media Functions

Mass media have an essential role in human life because besides delivering information, it also educates, influences, and entertains the audience (Makhshun & Khalilurrahman, 2018). Wreight defines the four basic functions of mass media: supervision, correlation, socialization, and entertainment (Ruben & Stewart, 2017). In Indonesia, the media are regulated in the Law of the Republic of Indonesia No. 40 of 1999 concerning the Press. In Article 2, it is stated that the press functions as a medium of information, education, entertainment, and social control (Republik Indonesia, 1999). In addition to basic functions, the media or press is also a social control tool and performs as the fourth pillar of democracy. To fulfil these functions, the mass media must be independent, credible, and impartial in producing quality and balanced news to the public (Kemenko Polhukam RI, 2019).

Previous research shows that political figures, such as West Java Governor Ridwan Kamil and Central Java Governor Ganjar Pranowo, performs mass media functions through their Twitter accounts. According to Sholihati, the mass media's function comprises information, education, entertainment, persuasion, and social control (Harrera, 2016). Meanwhile, studies also reveal that some Indonesian online media have not fully fulfilled such functions. A study reviews three media functions by Harold Laswell and one media function by John Vivian. These functions are concerned with environmental control, correlation, social heritage function, and information. *Kompas.com* only fulfils the correlation function of the four functions, while the information function remains unfulfilled (Pratiwi, 2014).

The functions adopted in this study are functions of information, educational functions, entertainment functions, persuasion, social control (Sholihati, 2007), and the media as the fourth pillar of democracy. These functions will be used in mapping indicators to collect data related to media functions in tvOneNews.com reporting.

TvOneNews.com

TvOneNews.com is an online media owned by *TvOne*. It uploads many news headlines daily, consisting of news articles and videos. *TvOneNews* runs news, sports, and lifestyle channels, with sub-channels covering national, international, legal, economic, and investigation news. Like *TvOne*, *TvOneNews.com* also often provides news about the

Bakrie family. The content ranges from family business success to community support for the Bakrie family in politics. However, such news is not covered by other media.

Previous studies on *TvOne* showed that first, this television station used political branding of the party affiliated with the owner in the context of political interests, forming a negative image of political opponents (Lesmana et al., 2016). Other research explained that *TvOne* and *RCTI* constructed news with framing techniques to promote the owner's political-economic ideology. The framing enhances Aburizal Bakrie and Golkar Party's image (Murfianti, 2015). Another study reported that *TvOne* sided with the owner and was subjective and impartial in the reporting (Kusumadewi & Rusdi, 2016). These previous studies that proved *TvOne*'s partiality are the basis for further research on the production process and fulfilment of mass media functions.

Research Questions

Based on the background and literature review above, this study aims to discuss "How is the production process compared to the media functions in the context of reporting by *TvOneNews.com* with the keyword "Bakrie" published during July - August 2021?"

METHOD

A qualitative approach is used in this study. This approach explores and interprets the meaning displayed by an individual or some individuals regarded as a social problem (Creswell & Creswell, 2018). This research used content analysis to define the production process and media functions. Content analysis is a study of recorded human communication in the form of news and other information, books, paintings, websites, and laws. It is an appropriate technique for finding answers to the classic communication question "Who says what, to whom, why, how, and with what effect?" (Babbie, 2015).

Data mapping were performed by collecting data extensively and revealing the depth of news content pointers. The mapping contains news headlines, date of publication, the substance of news content, and the form of news. This mapping is compiled into a table to make it easy to read the results of data collection that support news content analysis conducted with a conceptual framework.

The methods used in this study are in line with previous studies, such as (1) Pattern analysis employed to collect extensive data and compare news in the use of clickbait tweets on Twitter as tabloid media promotion tips (Chakraborty, Sarkar, Mrigen, & Ganguly, 2017); (2) Content analysis that examined news articles published by media websites, aimed at exploring some changes in the classrooms of one of America's leading journalism schools (Ross, 2017); (3) Content analysis being used to examine campaign news by Irish print and online media two years ago. Besides content analysis, the research also used discourse analysis (Devereux & Power, 2019); (4) Research that used primary data on headlines and secondary data on literature studies of *Kompas.com* and *Tribunnews.com* related to news about Covid-19 (Hayati & Yoedjadi, 2020). The four previous studies inspired this research, particularly in data mapping, news content

analysis, and the use of primary and secondary data. The methods used here are relevant, improvised data types and data analysis.

The content analysis consists of three stages: preparation, organization, and reporting of results (Elo et al., 2014). The preparation stage was conducted by collecting data for analysis, interpreting the data, and selecting the units of analysis. This stage involved selecting *TvOneNews.com* news with the keyword "Bakrie" during July - August for analysis. The organization stage involved determining categorization and abstraction by setting indicators for each concept, interpreting each category, and doing representation or category reliability. The final stage reported the analysis results and described the phenomena through pre-determined categories. Content analysis is an appropriate method to discursively analyze the production process of *TvOneNews.com* by examining its published news articles compared to the media functions.

The units of analysis in this study are news contents published by *TvOneNews.com* during July - August 2021. Based on data from the Health Ministry of Indonesia's website, these two months was a period where entire Indonesia was experiencing a second wave of Covid-19, where positive cases and deaths were at the highest during 2021 (Kementerian Kesehatan RI, 2020).

Categorization or coding in this research is generated through indicators of the concept of the production process and media functions. The production process used in this study adopts the television program production process, which consists of pre-production (generating ideas, planning, and preparation), production (reporting and scriptwriting), post-production (editing and broadcasting) (Wibowo, 2007, p. 39).

RESULTS AND DISCUSSIONS

Within 62 days (1 July – 31 August 2021), there were 19 headlines with the keyword "Bakrie" discussing the family's work programs, family business success, financial and health support to the community, and the Bakrie family's positive attitude towards family issues. No news criticized Bakrie and his family. The following are results of data-mapping of *TvOneNews.com* reporting about Bakrie according to the production process and media functions indicators.

Table 1. News about "Bakrie" on *TvOneNews.com* (July - August 2021)

No.	Headline	News Content	Date of Publication	Type of Media
1.	Bakrie Amanah Holds Protection Programs for 1,000 Preachers in the Remote Areas https://www.tvonenews.com/channel/news/45167-bakrie-amanah-mengadakan-program-perlindungan-untuk-1000-dai-di-pelosok-negeri	Bakrie Amanah (Bakrie Group Charity) provides protection programs for 1,000 Preachers in the remote areas of the country.	30/8/2021	Video
2.	Bakrie Telecom Transforms into Technology and Communication Company, Revenue Increases 179% https://www.tvonenews.com/berita/4760-bakrie-telecom-bertransformasi-jadi-perusahaan-teknologi-dan-komunikasi-pendapatan-naik-179-persen	Submission of the financial statements of PT. Bakrie Telecom Tbk which shows steady growth.	26/8/2021	Article
3.	Bakrie Group Holds Vaccination for Employees and their Families https://www.tvonenews.com/channel/news/44519-bakrie-group-gelar-vaksinasi-untuk-karyawan-dan-keluarga	PT. Lativi Media Karya (<i>TvOne</i>) holds mass vaccination attended by tvOne employees and their families.	19/8/2021	Video
4.	Anindya Bakrie Hopes Vaccination Impact on Economic Recovery https://www.tvonenews.com/berita/nasional/4136-anindya-bakrie-berharap-vaksinasi-dapat-berdampak-pada-pemulihan-ekonomi	Anindya Bakrie (Viva Group's President Director) hopes vaccination program by tvOne can restore the economy.	18/8/2021	Article
5.	TvOne Holds Mass Vaccination https://www.tvonenews.com/berita/nasional/4134-tvone-gelar-vaksinasi-massal	A vaccination program organized by tvOne for its employees.	18/8/2021	Article

6.	<p>Indonesia's 76th Anniversary, Bakrie Business Group to Create Digital-Based Businesses</p> <p>https://www.tvonenews.com/berita/nasional/4060-hut-76-ri-kelompok-usaha-bakrie-akan-wujudkan-bisnis-berbasis-digital</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Bakrie business group holds independence ceremony ● Bakrie family is very concerned with and actively participates in supporting government programs of overcoming the spread of Covid-19 (implementation of 3M conducting swab & vaccination programs, making donations) ● Helping natural disaster victims ● Rebuilding damaged bridges ● Distributing basic staples to Covid-19 victims/orphans ● Assisting MSMEs to survive/rise 	17/8/2021	Article
7.	<p>Slawi & Bakrie Amanah Association Distribute one Ton of Rice for Scavengers</p> <p>https://www.tvonenews.com/berita/nasional/3930-paguyuban-slawi-bakrie-amanah-salurkan-1-ton-beras-untuk-pemulung</p>	<p>Slawi Community Association in collaboration with Bakrie Amanah Foundation, distributes one ton of rice to hundreds of scavengers in Bantar Gebang, Bekasi City.</p>	14/8/2021	Article
8.	<p>76th Anniversary of Indonesia's Independence, Bakrie Business Group Holds Virtual Ceremony</p> <p>https://www.tvonenews.com/berita/nasional/3885-hut-kemerdekaan-ri-ke-76-kelompok-usaha-bakrie-gelar-upacara-virtual</p>	<p>Bakrie Business Group holds a virtual Indonesia's Independence ceremony with the theme "Contributing to the country through sustainable digital-based businesses."</p>	14/8/2021	Article
9.	<p>Aburizal Bakrie's prayer and Apriyani's Olympic Gold</p> <p>https://www.tvonenews.com/</p>	<p>Aburizal Bakrie tells the story of his prayer for Apriyani 8 years ago</p>	6/8/2021	Article

	sport/3392-doa-aburizal-bakrie-dan-emas-olimpiade-apriyani	through his Instagram account.		
10.	Anindya Bakrie and BCF Call on Youth to Care for Environment in Campus Leaders Forum https://www.tvonenews.com/lifestyle/3270-anindya-bakrie-dan-bcf-ajak-anak-muda-peduli-sekitar-lewat-campus-leaders-forum	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Bakrie Center Foundation holds internship through Campus Leaders Program • Founder & Chairman of BCF, Anindya Bakrie, says this CLP is BCF's effort to bring young people closer to social issues and train empathetic leaders. 	3/8/2021	Article
11.	Apriyani Starts Badminton Career at Pelita Bakrie https://www.tvonenews.com/sport/3228-apriyani-awali-karir-bulutangkis-di-pelita-bakrie	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Story of Apriyani's meeting with Greysia • Apriyani's badminton journey at Bakrie Pelita Club 	2/8/2021	Article
12.	Anindya Bakrie: Competing in the Olympics is a Gift https://www.tvonenews.com/sport/2637-anindya-bakrie-bertanding-di-olimpiade-sebuah-anugerah	General Chair of PB PRSI, Anindya Bakrie, says it is a blessing from Allah that athletes can compete in Olympic Games.	17/7/2021	Article
13.	Getting to know FAN Campus, Drug Rehabilitation Center for Nia Ramadhani and Ardi Bakrie https://www.tvonenews.com/berita/nasional/2471-mengenal-fan-campus-tempat-rehabilitasi-narkotika-untuk-nia-ramadhani-dan-ardi-bakrie	Introducing the rehabilitation centre for Nia and Ardi Bakrie, FAN Campus claims the counsellors are trained and certified, it considered suitable for Nia and Ardi's rehabilitation.	13/7/2021	Article
14.	Nia Ramadhani and Ardi Bakrie Undergo Rehabilitation at FAN Campus https://www.tvonenews.com/berita/hukum/2465-nia-	Nia and Ardi Bakrie are rehabilitated at FAN Campus, not at BNN Lido, because of client restrictions due to Covid-	13/7/2021	Article

	ramadhani-dan-ardi-bakrie-jalani-rehabilitasi-di-fan-campus	19.		
15.	Nia and Ardi to undergo rehabilitation https://www.tvonenews.com/berita/hukum/2370-nia-dan-ardi-akan-menjalani-rehabilitasi	Nia and Ardi Bakrie are recommended to undergo rehabilitation. The lawyer considers Nia and Ardi to be victims and need rehabilitation.	10/7/2021	Article
16.	Aburizal Bakrie's Message of Support to Ardi and Nia https://www.tvonenews.com/berita/2328-pesan-tabah-aburizal-bakrie-dukung-ardi-dan-nia	Aburizal Bakrie says what is happening to his family is a trial, and he takes lessons from this incident. Lawyer for Nia and Ardi says that his clients are victims of drug abuse.	10/7/2021	Article
17.	Family Spokesperson: Ardi and Nia Apologize to Parents https://www.tvonenews.com/berita/2327-jubir-keluarga-ardi-dan-nia-sampaikan-permohonan-maaf-kepada-orang-tua	Nia and Ardi apologize to the family through their lawyer.	9/7/2021	Article
18.	Lawyer Wa Ode criticizes Police Carrying Guns when Handling His Clients https://www.tvonenews.com/berita/nasional/2326-penasehat-hukum-wa-ode-nilai-polisi-berlebihan-bawa-senjata-saat-tangani-klienya	Lawyer for Nia and Ardi expresses the couple's regret over the incident and criticizes the Police for carrying weapons during the arrest.	9/7/2021	Article
19.	Press release of Spokesperson for the Bakrie Family https://www.tvonenews.com/channel/news/42876-keterangan-juru-bicara-keluarga-bakrie	The spokesperson for the Bakrie family says: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Nia and Ardi's families fully support the law enforcement process • Both their families request health services because Nia and Ardi are 	9/7/2021	Video

		<p>victims of drug abuse</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Nia and Ardi have apologized to the family and accepted, they gave support ● Aburizal Bakrie says what is happening is a trial and will be endured patiently <p>Bakrie family's lawyer says:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Nia and Ardi's condition is much better, and they show deep regret ● Ardi and Nia will go through the law enforcement process without asking for special treatment ● Layer criticizes the Police for carrying weapons during arrest ● Applying that Nia and Ardi should be rehabilitated 		
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Pre-production process. First, regarding news ideas, it shows that out of 19 news items with the keyword "Bakrie" published during July - August 2021, 89% or 17 articles were ideas related to the Bakrie family's activities. The topics mostly covered the business activities of Bakrie Telecom, Bakrie Group, Bakrie Amanah, Bakrie Center Foundation, and members of Bakrie extended family. News ideas based on current events show a figure of 78%, while 42% of the articles were written because of the urgency factor. This indicates that most of the news ideas with the keyword "Bakrie" were written to support the Bakrie family's activities, and not all of the news items came from current events or urgency factors. Regarding the second pre-production process, namely publication planning in several headlines, the analysis results found that 63% or 12 headlines were repetitions of other news topics, meaning that not all news items were new information. Concerning preparation, the third pre-production process, it shows that nine or 47% of the news items were published only by *TvOneNews.com*, meaning that the nine news items were not considered information worth reporting by other online media.

Production process. This stage consists of reporting and scriptwriting. First, reporting can be done in two ways: going directly to the scene of an event or collecting information from stakeholders. The reporting process by direct visit to the scene made up 57% or 11

headlines, while headlines whose information was provided by interested parties were more dominant, namely 68% or 13 headlines. It was observed that the news items covered on the spot usually display photographs or videos of the event.

Meanwhile, news items based on information submitted by informants containing the sentence "That's the official press release we received" shows that the journalist did not go to the scene for coverage. The second stage of production, namely writing news scripts, must meet the 5W + 1H rules (what, who, where, when, why + how). Most of the "Bakrie" news items covered by *TvOneNews.com* for two months met the requirements of 5W + 1H, which are 15 news items or 78%.

Furthermore, out of 19 news items, 63% highlighted the Bakrie family's positive side. The exact figure of 12 news items also carried headlines that favour Bakrie and his family. The Bakrie family's positive side was highlighted in the reporting through the use of sentences that enhance the Bakrie family's image. For example, the sentence "Aburizal keeps their spirits up by praying for them to succeed, become big players, and make the nation proud on the international stage," which was written in one of the news articles, is a clear example of how *TvOneNews.com* sought to boost Bakrie's image.

The post-production process. This consists of editing and broadcasting. First, six headlines or 31% used photographs or videos that favour the owner regarding editing. The news items edited using photographs or videos from *tvOne* television programs were used in 6 headlines. Second, regarding broadcasting or publication, 12 headlines were topics covered several times a week. Out of 19 news items, three were videos ranging from 1 to 7 minutes. The videos were taken from news aired by *TvOne* television programs, namely Morning News, Afternoon News, and Main News. News articles published by *TvOneNews.com* related to Bakrie usually consist of 2-5 pages or around 190 to 700 words. Not a single news item related to Bakrie during July - August 2021 was written on only one page or around 180 words.

The results of data mapping from the second concept show that the media functions have six dimensions, namely: information, education, entertainment, persuasion, social control, and as the fourth pillar of democracy. The first indicator in the media function as information is that news articles contain information people need. About 63% of headlines meet this function. Meanwhile, 89% or 17 news items have information about activities or businesses run by the Bakrie family. This proves that almost all news items with the keyword "Bakrie" inform the public about the owner's interests. However, not all of this information is needed by the public. Furthermore, the education function has two indicators: articles containing insights that educate the public and the content beneficial for the reader. The analysis results show that only about 26% or five articles from each indicator meet the criteria of the media function as education.

The media function as entertainment is indicated by news content that entertains and is good news for the public. The results show that the entertainment function of *TvOneNews.com* for the first category is 0%, where all the news content related to Bakrie

during the two months did not entertain the public. However, about 36% or seven articles brought good news to the public. The fourth function— persuasion, also has two indicators: the first indicator, news content that encourages the public to do positive activities, meets only 36% of the total news items; the second indicator shows the exact figure, namely news content affects people's lifestyles. This figure shows that less than half of Bakrie's news articles serve a persuasion function. The function of persuasion can be identified from the presence or absence of words of encouragement to the public to do something, either implicitly or explicitly.

Regarding the media function as social control, it has two indicators: first, news content affects behaviour patterns in society. Only four news items, or about 21% of the total, met this criterion. While articles containing criticism or supervision of the public interests, which is the second indicator of this function, were found in seven articles of the total or 36%. The last function, namely the media as the fourth pillar of democracy, has three indicators: first, news content promoting the supremacy of law or democratic values, was only 36% of all news articles. The second indicator, news content promoting diversity, was found only in five headlines or 26% of the total. The same figure was also the analysis result of the three indicators of the media function as the fourth pillar of democracy, namely news content advocates for justice and truth. This function can be seen in content promoting law enforcement and collaboration in the community and news stories written to uphold justice.

Discussion

The production process carried out by *TvOneNews.com* in its reporting with the keyword "Bakrie" was examined using 14 indicators of each dimension in the production process. The pre-production stage, generating ideas, has the following indicators (1) News ideas originate from the owner's interests (Bakrie family's activities), (2) News ideas are related to current events, and (3) News ideas are due to the urgency factor; pre-production, planning, has the following indicators (4) Topics for news are covered in several news headlines; pre-production, preparation, has the following indicators (5) Topics for news are covered only by *TvOne* or *TvOneNews.com*. The production process, reporting, has the following indicators (6) Reporting is conducted by going to the scene, and (7) Information is provided by interested parties; production process, scriptwriting, has the following indicators: (8) Meeting the 5W + 1H requirement, (9) Highlighting the Bakrie family's positive side with the use of sentences, (10) Using headlines that favour Bakrie or highlight his good side. Post-production stage, editing, has the following indicators (11) Using photographs or videos that favour the owner, (12) Videos are taken from *TvOne* television programs; post-production, broadcasting, has the following indicators (13) The same topic is covered more than once a week, and (14) The number of words or the duration of the video in each news item about Bakrie.

This can be seen from the news items dominated by the reporting of the Bakrie family's activities. Interested parties provide information to highlight the object's positive side, namely Bakrie and his family, and the topic is covered only by *TvOne* and

TvOneNews.com. The evidence from the results of the content analysis is in accordance with what was proposed by Williams (2003) that the production process is influenced by (1) the content media being selected and produced; (2) who has the power to shape the content; (3) nature of the organization, its structure and management, and the relationship between social institutions, and its positioning ideology.

Content published in the media must go through a selection process in the production stage. In the production process, the content to be published is determined by the owner and manager; they can decide which people, which facts, which versions of the facts and ideas should be made public (Parenti, 1986, p. 32). This quote was also used by Williams (2003, p. 83). In other words, the information we receive daily is determined by company policy. From here, we can see the selection made by the news editorial team at *TvOneNews.com* for the keyword "Bakrie". The owner and the editor of *TvOneNews.com* choose to make the Bakrie family the news subject. The content selection also occurs in the news. All news related to "Bakrie" is presented only with positive information, as in the news about Nia and Ardi Bakrie, who were arrested for drug offences. The news content was selected, and it covered only the positive side, the apology from the two offenders and the family's support, which aimed to defuse the situation. There was no news about the offence chronology, let alone expressing disapproval. This proves that the content is selected and produced based on the actors' interests in branding. To educate the audience, they should publish more constructive content to increase public awareness of the danger of drugs. The arrest of the drug offenders can be used to remind the public of the issues that endanger human life and the community's mentality as a nation's asset.

There is a reporting mechanism that can shape media content. It consists of political issues, practitioners, managers, and capital (Yuniar, 2019). Practitioners here can be journalists and editorial staff, while managers, including the editor-in-chief, determine the content's shape; capital refers to capital owners. However, the leaders in media organizations as an industry, including the capital owners, play a role in determining what should be published. Media companies only serve as a medium for disseminating the rulers' ideas, while the journalists and workers cannot resist (Williams, 2003, p. 84). In other words, the owners can intervene in favour of their interests, resulting in the ideals of journalistic ethics being neglected.

Another example is the news item entitled "Bakrie Telecom Transforms into Technology and Communication Company, Revenue Increases by 179%" about Bakrie and his family. Such information is approved by the media leader and oriented towards the branding of the family business. A media leader can choose what to publish, as in the case of news topics covered only by *TvOne* and *TvOneNews.com*, with photographs and videos highlighting the owner's positive image and the information provided by interested parties. What does the news about "company's revenue rising 179%" contribute to the nation and state?

Williams (2003) argued that communication also occurs in the relationship between organizational structure and media work culture. It means that media workers work to produce content and build good relationships between employees, leaders, capital owners, and other social institutions involved. Therefore, content produced by the media depends on the relationship between media owners and their employees and is also affected by organizational factors, operational systems within the company, and supportive managerial management. As Minning said (in William, 2003), social structures and organizational practices influence autonomy in media production. This is related to the position of *TvOne* and *TvOneNews.com*, which are often used as political propaganda tools for their owner. Editorial workers may produce news, but they no longer work 100% for the public's information needs but for building the image of the company owner. Previous studies have found that *tvOne* operates in the owner's favour. The analysis results of this study showed that 17 out of 19 news articles about "Bakrie" highlighted Bakrie and his family. For example, the news "Paguyuban Slawi & Bakrie Amanah Distribute 1 Ton Rice to Scavengers" manifests the above theory, which involves social institutions in the process.

Regarding the 5W + 1H rule, the audience does not know when the event occurred despite being a real-time news feed. It can be concluded that news about Bakrie on *TvOneNews.com* aims solely to promote Bakrie's popularity. Here, the public will see Bakrie as a successful ruler with the potential to change people's lives for the better.

The analysis of 19 news items about "Bakrie" by *TvOneNews.com* shows that this online media has not served the media functions properly. None out of six media functions is fulfilled. The media functions in this study have 13 indicators, information function: (1) News articles provide information the public needs, (2) The information concerns only Bakrie and his family activities/businesses; educational function: (3) News articles contain insights that educate the public, (4) News content is useful for readers; entertainment function: (5) News content entertains the public, (6) News content brings good things to the public; persuasion function: (7) News content encourages people to do the positives, (8) News content affects people's lifestyle; social control function: (9) News content shapes behaviour patterns in society, (10) News content criticize or supervise public interests. Finally, regarding the media function as the fourth pillar of democracy, the indicators refer to Law No. 40 of 1999 Article 6, namely (11) News content upholds the supremacy of law/democratic values, (12) News content promotes diversity, (13) News content advocates for justice and truth.

The indicators above show that the information function does not optimize the conceptual implementation in its practice. The majority of news on "Bakrie" is about family activities. It provides little insight for the public neglecting the educational function. In the wake of Covid-19, the content should educate the public about the handling of the disease, health protocols, government programs, the importance of vaccines, etc. The entertainment function is even non-existent. Only a few reports

brought good news to the public, such as the Bakrie Amanah program for Indonesian preachers and donating a ton of rice for the needy. Only 36% of the persuasion is fulfilled. Seven news items call on the public to do positive activities or influence people's lifestyles better, such as the news about vaccine programs. The fifth function, social control, is also unfulfilled. Only a handful of articles serves a supervisory function. It affects social behaviour, as in the news on mass vaccines, the Anniversary of Indonesia's Independence, Ardi and Nia's apology, and the statement from Bakrie's spokesperson. The media control function appears to be "conditioning" for the current issues for the Bakrie family's image. The last and most crucial function, the media as the fourth pillar of democracy, is not fulfilled either. News about Bakrie also rarely upholds the supremacy of law, promotes diversity, or advocates for justice for the public.

The analysis results show that *TvOneNews.com*'s news production process does not serve the media functions. There is an inconsistency between the production process and ideal media functions. The reporting with the keyword "Bakrie" can be observed, indicating the capital owner's intervention in the news production process. It is evident that the news on "Bakrie" has not contributed to the role of mass media, especially regarding social control and the fourth pillar of democracy stipulated in the Law of the Republic of Indonesia.

The results in this study support previous findings on how *TvOne* works. The first study shows that *TvOneNews.com*'s reporting tends to enhance the owner's image (Murfianti, 2015). This study is also in line with the second study's findings that most Indonesian media favour the capital owners (Kusumadewi & Rusdi, 2016). However, the results of this study are contrary to what Lesmana et al. (2016) stated in their paper. The news on Bakrie during July - August 2021 on *TvOneNews.com* did not discredit other parties but merely focused on highlighting Bakrie and his businesses.

In this respect, the media in Indonesia should remain impartial and objective in their reporting. The media, especially *TvOne* and *TvOneNews.com*, are expected to comply with the media functions and Law Number 40 of 1999 in serving their duties as the primary sources of public information and a pillar of democracy. Media owners should not intervene in the reporting process. This would make journalism ethics applicable, and news topics can be independently determined to serve the public interests. Only then can the media functions be fulfilled, and media crews in Indonesia implement the ideal journalistic code of ethics.

The production process concept is theoretically divided into pre-production, production, and post-production. Meanwhile, the media theoretically confirms its functions: information, education, entertainment, persuasion, social control, and the fourth pillar of democracy. However, in reality, this has not been done ideally. The combination of the two concepts has not been properly implemented.

CONCLUSION

The media functions tend to be overshadowed by capital owners during the news production process. This study shows that the media owners' interests heavily influence online media production under television station companies. News broadcast on television is dominated by positives about the owner and his family. It also occurs to *TvOneNews.com* and *TvOne* under the Bakrie Group's ownership. The news published on *TvOneNews.com* also represents *TvOne*, where the production process regarding reporting on the two media is still under the same editors. News items tend to be repetitious and cause the audience to get bored. Viewers seeking up-to-date, creative, and varied news could abandon this news portal.

The production process concept used in this research consists of pre-production, production, and post-production stages. The stages of the news production process begin with pre-production, which consists of finding ideas, planning, and preparation. The following process is the production, comprising of news reporting and scriptwriting. The last is the post-production process, namely editing and broadcasting. As an organization, media practitioners or media crews re-produce the ideology underlying the establishment of the media and affiliate to certain political parties that affect the capital owners and actors' policymaking. As an industry and a profitable business enterprise from an economic point of view, the media need to consider market demands or consumer trends. They also should consider the values or rules of the professional code of ethics in producing news content. Therefore, the news production process involves media crews and requires the owners to build good relations with the management and employees and comply with the organizational structure and work procedure. Media crews must also follow the rules and values prevailing in the media organization.

The findings reveal that the owner's intervention is inevitable in every production stage. For example, in the pre-production process of generating ideas, some of the contents of the news report came from the activities of Bakrie and his family and their work programs. Moreover, such news items were published exclusively by *TvOneNews.com*, and no other media reported on the topic. On top of that, the news materials obtained by the *TvOne* team came from interested parties. The production process intervened by the owner's interests, then led to the divergence of media functions by *TvOneNews.com*.

The functions of the media in this study consist of information, education, entertainment, persuasion, social control, and the fourth pillar of democracy. Content analysis to examine the functions of the media was also carried out on every news item about Bakrie. The results show that the news reporting with the keyword "Bakrie" has not fully fulfilled the six functions of the mass media. This situation is caused by the fact that *TvOneNews.com* did not focus on the public in its reporting. The owner's interests were involved during the production process. Ideally, media owners should prioritize the nation's interests and state above personal and group interests. In addition, the media should have a system that ensures that the work is done in accordance with the

procedures applicable in Indonesia, namely, to channel the people's aspirations impartially to the stakeholders who run the government in accordance with the state administration in this country. Only then can the functions of the media as the fourth pillar of democracy be achieved.

This study reveals how the news production process occurs at *TvOneNews.com* and the factors that affect it. This study also proves that there has been an inconsistency regarding the media functions because of production process patterns. This study also provides a new perspective on the production process and media functions applicable in online media. This research potentially enriches academic knowledge in journalism and communication for future reference. The study implies that the media can implement the processes and functions of the media optimally. Therefore, the idealism of the production process and the functions of the media enable neutrality and objectivity.

The limitation of this study lies in the use of relatively insufficient data from only one online media, which is also a private television station, considering that there are still several other family-owned media companies. Therefore, further research is needed with a broader range of data from other media by comparing the interests of the media based on ownership. In addition, the analysis used in this study is still limited to the second wave of Covid-19 pandemic in Indonesia. Therefore, a more contextual analysis approach is needed to map issues of the media as a whole.

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The Public Relations Strategy of Salatiga City Secretariat in Managing the Covid 19 Hoax

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Received Aug. 4, 2021; Revised on Dec. 12, 2021, Accepted Dec. 30, 2021

Abstract

The development of science and technology today and the amount of information greatly facilitates public access to information anytime and anywhere. However, during the Covid 19 pandemic, not all disseminated information was correct, and its authenticity has also been verified. For public authorities, especially the Public Relations of Salatiga City Secretariat, this is very important to prevent news development. If this fake news is spread widely, it will cause confusion, concern, misunderstanding, and even public distrust of the local government due to not providing essential and accurate information. This study will look at how the Public Relations strategy of the Salatiga City Secretariat in managing the Covid 19 hoax and knowing about the obstacles and solutions made by the Public Relations of Salatiga City Secretariat. This study uses a qualitative approach with interviews as the primary method in collecting the data. This study shows that the most dominant strategies used are searching for data, establishing collaboration, providing socialization, making videos, educating knowledge about Covid 19, conducting online discussions with the community, and conducting monitoring and evaluation. In carrying out its strategy, the Public Relations of the Salatiga City Secretariat also has obstacles that have been overcome by creating a group so that information is conveyed more quickly and always maintain good and effective communication to resolve the Covid 19 hoax.

Keywords: *Public Relations, Strategy, Covid 19 Hoax*

INTRODUCTION

Today's technological advances make it easier for people to communicate and interact with each other. By using cyber media or online media such as Twitter, Instagram, Facebook, YouTube, and others, anyone can quickly and easily know information anytime and anywhere without disregarding distance and time.

Public relations can convey government policies, duties, and obligations through mass media and online media. Guided by Salatiga Mayor Regulation No. 53 of 2011 article 50

paragraph 1 mentions that the Public Relations Section has the task of preparing a program approach, particular strategy, and planning for the implementation of regional relations, and doing the nearest government strategy (Muljana, 2017).

The World Health Organization (WHO) declared Covid 19 on March 12, 2020, as the world pandemic for Covid 2019 disease or so-called "Coronavirus Disease" (Covid 19). PHOEC Kemenkes RI (2020) in Putri (2020) explained that the number of cases in Indonesia increased rapidly until June 2020. There were 31,186 positive cases, and 1,851 cases died.

Many media make it easier for the public to collect information about Covid 19, but technology developments can also lead to crime. The spread of false information or hoaxes related to covid 19 news in the digital era is very high. This condition is exacerbated by irresponsible individuals deliberately making and spreading hoaxes for personal gain to lead public opinion to untrue information. It certainly creates anxiety and confusion in the broader community, especially in Salatiga. Sometimes, it can make the scarcity of an item, causing panic buying in some areas.

Katadata.co.id reported that some essential cooking ingredients, including rice, sugar, cooking oil, eggs, and instant noodles in the supermarket, were suddenly sold out. A similar scene also appears on a row of shop shelves containing personal hygiene products and household goods. This panic buying phenomenon can cause scarcity of goods due to a surge in demand in a short time. This condition is undoubtedly aggravated by a massive number of hoaxes that significantly trigger anxiety in the community and encourage panic buying practices.

Chairman of the Indonesian Retail Entrepreneurs Association (Aprindo) Roy N. Mandey appealed to Indonesian people not to do panic buying due to the phobia of the corona outbreak in Indonesia and the circulation of fake news in the community. This extreme action creates panic when all the community's needs cannot be fulfilled (Aria, 2020).

Among the hoaxes circulating through messages and a personal experiment was about the ability of salt (NaCl) to cure coronavirus. The false information suggested people take some salt into the mouth, dissolve it, and swallow it slowly. As the throat gets hurt and dry, the coronavirus is cured. In fact, according to the covid.go.id website, cleaning the nose regularly with saline solution can help recover from common cold, but not to cure respiratory infections such as Covid 19.

Minister of Communication and Informatics (Menkominfo) Johnny G. Plate said that the ministry had found 163 hoaxes related to the coronavirus or Covid 19 phenomenon in the

country. On that basis, Plate called for the irresponsible party to no longer produce hoax that would harm many parties. The distribution of information can change people's perceptions and reduce trust in the government due to hoax information circulating in the community (Julistian, 2020).

On December 29, 2020, the Protocol and Communication Section of the Salatiga City government conducted a simple online survey to find out more about the information needed by Salatiga citizens related to Covid 19 information. Based on the study, there are four pieces of information most needed by most respondents (which are presented sequentially according to the number of voters). Of 64 respondents, 41 people (64,1%) chose a type of information related to what should be done if they experience the symptoms of Covid 19. Thirty-seven people (57.8%) asked for information related to places of health service which handle the Covid 19, 24 people (37.5%) chose information about the symptoms of Covid 19, and 24 people (37.5%) chose information about the new health protocol. The data obtained from the survey was processed and presented on the Instagram account of the Protocol and Communication Section of the Salatiga City Secretariat.

Salatiga Police Chief Adj. Sr. Comr. Rahmad Hidayat said that the police were hunting for the perpetrator who circulated the hoax related to a Salatiga citizen who was tested positive for coronavirus and died. The perpetrator spread the hoax to groups and other social networks to instill fear in the community during the coronavirus pandemic. Rahmad expected the public not to fall quickly to coronavirus-related hoaxes (Permana, 2020).

Based on previous information, this study will see how the Public Relations of Salatiga City Secretariat manages the hoax Covid 19 appeared on online or mass media. It is expected that the people of Salatiga City would not easily believe and be critical of hoax. This study also aims to find out the obstacles and solutions that have been applied by the Public Relations of Salatiga City Secretariat to overcome the spread of the Covid 19 hoax.

Public Relations Strategy

At first, a strategy is a different approach to achieving goals. This conventional idea is mainly keeping with the early advancements of fundamental concepts used in strategy. Systems in the world of strategy are various ways used by warlords to overcome enemies in a conflict (war). While Solihin (2012) said in, the way the troops used to win (the fight) is also called the strategy.

According to Rosady Ruslan (2002) in Saraswati (2017), there are three essential strategies that Public Relations can do: problem identification, planning and programs, actions and communication, and evaluation program.

- a. Identifying problem. In this development, Public Relations improves issues about the association by leading examinations and collecting realities continuously and incorporating themselves directly in every problem related to the organization. Public Relations improves the problems by examining, reading, and paying attention to the activities and perspectives of the general public in making opinions against the organization.
- b. Planning and creating programs. After knowing the problems and the cause of the issues, Public Relations prepares a plan to overcome the problems by creating programs that contain projects and programs that will be completed up to the financial plan.
- c. Action and Communication. Taking action and communication steps are carried out after compiling the needs that have been established through the program in handling problems. The move is an acknowledgment of the plans and programs that have been created. It includes all individuals in the organization by communicating to the general public.

According to Savitri (2017) the term Public Relations (PR) is also called provincial. The term PR or Public Relations was only known in the 20th century, but its manifestations had been seen hundreds of years earlier. The critical component of Public Relations is to provide information, convince, and integrate audiences into people's lives. Public Relations has a significant position in an organization, primarily if the organization often interacts with the broader community. It is because Public Relations is the essential front line of an organization in communicating with the public in general. Public Relations determines the positive impression of an association according to the general population. The relationship with the local area will choose how the organization socializes in the community (Utami, 2016).

Hoax

Rahadi (2017) said that hoaxes aim to create public opinion and to herd audiences' perception who can test intelligence and accuracy for social media users. There are many reasons behind the spread of counterfeiting news, including making jokes, bringing down someone's dignity, changing policies, entertaining oneself, and so on.

Rahadi (2017) divided hoaxes into several types, they are:

- a. Fake news is news that tries to replace real news. This news aims to distort or remember the misrepresentation of a news story. Fake news writers mostly add

falsehoods and fear-inspired ideas. The weirder news, the better. Fake news is not a funny comment on the information.

- b. Clickbait or Trap links are deliberately posted within a single site to attract individuals to different destinations. The substance, in this case, can be verified, but the title is misinterpreted or has an exciting image added to attract readers.
- c. Confirmation bias is the tendency to decipher information with previous beliefs.
- d. Misinformation is false or incorrect data, especially those aimed at cheating.
- e. Satire is an article that uses humor, irony, exaggeration to comment on current events.
- f. Post-truth is the opportunity where feelings take more of a share of reality to shape public opinion.
- g. Propaganda is the act of spreading data, reality, bickering, complaining, misleading statements, or even deceiving, impacting public opinion.

Covid 19

In December 2019, a significant case of strange pneumonia was recorded in Wuhan, Hubei Province. From December 18 to December 29, 2019, five patients were treated with Acute Respiratory Distress Syndrome (ARDS). The samples studied showed a new coronavirus etiology. At first, this disease is referred to as novel coronavirus (2019-nCoV). Then WHO announced another name on February 11, 2020, Coronavirus Disease (Covid 19), caused by coronavirus or severe respiratory disorder disease Covid 2 (SARS-CoV-2). On March 12, 2020, WHO declared Covid 19 a pandemic (Adityo S, et al., 2020).

Lia A, et al., (2020) explained that the coronavirus is familiar in the world of animal health. Several kinds can contaminate humans, so that it becomes pneumonia. The symptoms are almost the same as the common cold, but Covid 19 develops faster, so it can cause more severe infections and can affect organ damage. Ramadhan (2020) explains that Covid 19 contamination varies, from mild influenza to pneumonia. Complaints can appear during the incubation period of 5-6 days, with the most prolonged incubation period being 14 days of exposure to the virus. Complaints may improve quickly in certain patients, but some may experience rapid indications.

METHOD

Since this is qualitative research, the data is collected through interviews and observations. This study intends to understand the phenomena experienced by Public Relations of Salatiga City Secretariat such as behavior, perception, motivation, action, and others holistically and by way of description in the form of words and language in a particular natural context utilizing various scientific methods.

The data were collected from interview, as it could effectively dig into the depth of information that sources can provide. The source interviewed for this study is the public relations of Salatiga City Secretariat. The issue is selected because it is directly related to managing media and information in Salatiga city.

The observation was carried out in the office of the secretariat of Salatiga City, located at Jl. Letjen Sukowati No. 51, Kel. Kalicacing, Kec. Sidomukti, Salatiga City, Central Java. This discussion focuses on how the Public Relations strategy of Salatiga City's administration and the obstacles and solutions carried out in overcoming the Covid 19 hoax.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSIONS

The rapid development of information technology makes the information widely delivered. This is the reason for the Public Relations of the Salatiga City Secretariat to create a strategy in anticipating the fast flow of the data. The strategy is expected to prevent the public from receiving any hoaxes. As the spokesperson of the Salatiga city government, Public Relations, under the Communication Protocol and Leadership Division, needs to understand the public from the government's perspective, which has proven valid. It was done to achieve a common understanding between the government and the people in overcoming hoax attacks or fake news sent through social media or other news media. The Public Relations of the Salatiga City Secretariat must carry out strategies to overcome problems in the community, online media, and mass media to not develop further and can significantly influence public opinion.

There are several strategies carried out by the Public Relations of the Salatiga City Secretariat to ward off hoax information. Kristri Priyantara Wibowo, staff of the Public Relations Department of Communication Protocol and Leadership, at an interview on May 25, 2021, conveyed that the Salatiga city government had several strategies as follows:

1. Identify problems

a. Search for Data

Based on the searches that have been done, the process of finding data to the City Health Agency (DKK) must be done so that the facts can be reprocessed immediately and sent to the public. Wibowo, the staff of the Public Relations Department of the Communication Protocol and Leadership, said:

"We immediately send hoaxes to DKK for data search. After that, we immediately inform the public. We must be able to position ourselves as communication facilitators that are really expected by the community."

In carrying out its duties, the DKK was very helpful, especially in collecting data and facts related to the Covid 19 hoax, so that The Public Relations of the Salatiga City Secretariat as the communication facilitator can be as a public space to get access to the information needed (Aditrianto, 2017). Not only monitoring the growing issues, but the Public Relations of the Salatiga City Secretariat also monitor the development of the hoax issue of Covid 19. It was done to confirm no follow-up hoax with the same content. This process is also an important part and an input of significant information to make accurate information as feedback on the circulating information or hoax news (Aziz, 2020).

Figure 1. Hoax information that has been clarified



From the Covid 19 hoax news that had been clarified, it could be seen that information in the form of news through Facebook social media has gone through the validation stage, namely the process to prove the truth of the news (Artianasari, 2020). Here, the message convinces the public about the news of the Covid 19 hoax by giving a stamp or watermark to the news hoax on social media and a logo of the Salatiga City government.

b. Monitoring and Evaluating

Monitoring and evaluation is an essential part of the communication management of the Public Relations of Salatiga City Secretariat in conveying the information to the public. They are factors or indicators of success as an evaluation material, as Wibowo says in his interview:

"So, one of the success indicators is compliance with health protocols, such as the use of masks, which can be checked on the BPS web (Central Statistics Agency). So we see this as a benchmark that people understand if this covid is not only the responsibility of the government but also our shared responsibility. Some things need to be improved in the evaluation, one of which is the role on all fronts. In the sense that we are in the field of information means that the information must be active... we have to improve the evaluation on how we can encourage the community to move."

In carrying out its strategy, the Salatiga City Public Relations broadcasts and disseminates content and performs monitoring and evaluation. The purpose of monitoring is to check whether the activities were carried out well and were productive (Kurniati et al., 2020). The assessment can be seen from the community's response to the strategy of the Public Relations of Salatiga City in handling the Covid 19 hoax that shows an increase in public awareness. In 2020, citizens were confused and prone to the danger of unclear information.

Figure 2. Mask Use survey



Source: BPS (Central Statistics Agency)

The above health protocols will not be maximally applied if they are not supported by community participation, so an effort is needed to improve community compliance in supporting the running of existing health protocols (Afrianti, 2021). From online surveys through the BPS (Central Bureau of Statistics). Page of Salatiga City government has 87% of respondents who always wear masks.

2. Planning and Program

a. Cooperation

Wibowo added that establishing cooperation with many parties became one of the Public Relations strategies of the Salatiga City Secretariat in running the local government, especially in fostering internal and external relations such as the city Health Agency and Transportation Agency, MSMEs, and anyone who wants to cooperate. He said:

"As facilitators, we must establish a network of relationships with this in the Government. For example, talking about covid, we have to contact the Health Service. We have to work in one team and have a strong network to immediately anticipate hoax information. Not only Dinkes, there is also Dishub, MSMEs, and whoever wants to establish the cooperation."

From the above statement, it is seen that good relations between The Public Relations of the Salatiga City Secretariat and many parties are needed. One of them is establishing cooperation because developing negative issues can certainly be minimized (Soyusiawaty, 2016). Due to this condition, The Public Relations of the Salatiga City Secretariat and related parties can achieve common goals and interests, addressing the issue of the Covid 19 hoax.

Fig. 3 Cooperation with the Public Order Agency (Satpol PP)



The picture shows that the Communication protocol and leadership, known locally as Prokompin, of the Public Relations of Salatiga City Secretariat, collaborated with the Public Order Agency (Satpol PP) to check health protocol and distributed masks to the community. This activity is one of the efforts to reduce the number of Covid 19 cases in Salatiga City, which lately has been increasing. The purpose is to have reciprocal relations between local governments, the general public, and other community organizations and clarify government policies and activities by conducting cooperation units in the government environment (Lubis, 2012).

b. Online Discussions with the Community

During this pandemic, the Public Relations of the Salatiga City Secretariat also utilized existing technology by inviting people to discuss online by using applications. Wibowo explained in his interview:

"Then, information dissemination is carried out by inviting the community in the neighborhood unit as information can spread quickly."

His statement indicates that gathering people during the pandemic is not advised. Therefore, effective communication will significantly determine the success of an interaction (Wijaya, 2013). So, the public relations of Salatiga City has other ways to communicate with the community effectively, by creating groups and inviting the neighborhood units to inform and discuss digitally.

3. Action and Communication

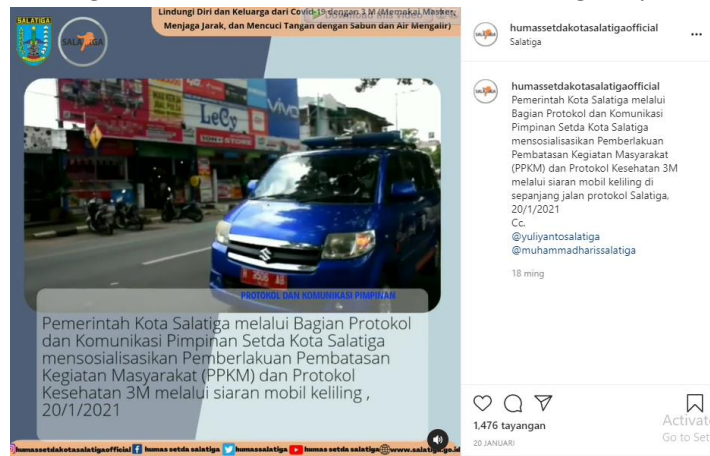
a. Providing Information Dissemination

In carrying out his strategy, Public Relations of the Salatiga City Secretariat provides digital information dissemination around Salatiga. It aptly follows what Wibowo says:

"We always disseminate information to the public that does not believe hoaxes. If there are any hoaxes, we directly stamp "hoax" and a logo of the Salatiga City government to avoid the spread of the hoax news widely. We maximize the information dissemination through social media, Instagram, Facebook, Twitter. Then, we broadcast (the information) around Salatiga by using a car to reach all circles. We use Javanese language when we communicate to Mbah-mbah (senior people) in the village, and we do that every day".

The public relations of Salatiga City Government disseminate the information to the community through social media such as Instagram, Twitter, Facebook, and Youtube, targeting young people and those who understand social media and technology. As for those who do not have social media or understand technology, they provide daily mobile information through villages to educate and present the information needed by the community (Perdana, 2020). The community would no longer worry about getting information that is not based on facts and truths.

Figure 4. Mobile information around Salatiga city



The image shows the way public relations of Salatiga City communicate to the local communities using local language, spreading the information from a car. They choose simple sentences instead of standard forms, such as release (Saifulloh, 2021). By providing the information needed by the community, public relations can build a good community relationship because of the openness between them in dealing with the Covid 19 hoax.

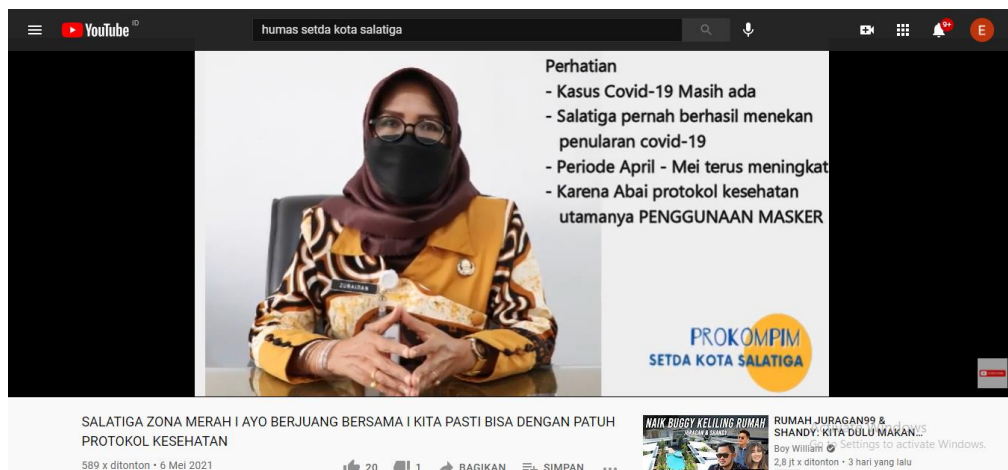
b. Creating Video

Wibowo says the public relations produces content every day:

"We also make videos every day, featuring spokesperson from the City's health agency (DKK). The video is made to inform the community, and it can be seen on our Youtube Humas Setda Salatiga channel. We must be able to put ourselves as communication facilitators that are really expected by the community. In making a covid 19 video for Videotron, there is always a deaf translator to anticipate the ones who may be deaf but can see".)

Based on the interview above, public relations of the city secretariate is responsible for providing information, educating, convincing, gaining sympathy, and arousing public interest to understand and acknowledge a situation (Simarmata, 2020). In this case, creating not only content containing infographics but also visuals, and the government prepares translators for disabled people, especially the deaf.

Figure 5. Public Relations Youtube Channel Setda Kota Salatiga



The picture above shows that the public relations must work with the techniques and operating equipment owned as carefully as possible. So that the video made can serve as a helpful visual communication tool (Yusuf, 2017). The message is expected to be conveyed to the right target.

c. Educating the Covid 19 Information

Wibowo also said that in addition to clarifying the Covid 19 hoax, his division also made content containing the Covid 19 information. He said:

"We must convey to the public the information related to Covid 19. It is conveyed to the public to anticipate the hoaxes that appear. (The kind of information about) what is Covid 19, why we get the disease".

The statement shows that the content creation is done in a way so it could be absorbed by the community applied to themselves, their families, and communities. Even the wider community and the public need to continue to be educated so they can deliberately distinguish fake news or hoaxes that are still rife on the internet (Pakpahan, 2017).

Figure 6. Digital Educational Content



Social media provides a variety of facilities that are very useful for its users. By having social media, we can easily communicate and find information regardless of distance and time.

From the data obtained, there are some obstacles in managing the Covid 19 hoax are as follows:

1. There are still some glitches in the cooperation, such as getting clarified data quickly from the City's Health Agency to develop a solution. Creating a working group can convey the information faster with a better coordination. Wibowo said:

"We, in the Public Relations division, sometimes were hampered in cooperation. We asked the City's Health Agency, but it took too long to respond, and of course, that's an obstacle for us. To overcome the problem, we have a group together so that this information can be answered; hoaxes can be quickly handled".

It shows that reaching a solid and compact team is not easy because many people have different opinions and thoughts. It's a dynamic thing that can't be denied and makes it difficult for the team to achieve effective work. But something difficult does not mean that it cannot be done. The City's Public Relations and other coworkers can overcome these obstacles well by creating a group so that the messages can get a fast response. Each team member understands the importance

of cooperation. This way, the unit will work, and the relationship would be established better to carry out the program as planned. (Setiyanti, 2012).

2. Wibowo also revealed that sometimes there would be miscommunication between officers because of worries about the news. The solution to these obstacles is always to maintain good and effective communication.

"Sometimes we also have our fears, sometimes we, as officers, also have fears. Why is it like this, why is it like that, what will it be like this, well such thing like that can sometimes create miscommunication between us. But to anticipate it, we always communicate, Because effective communication is the solution and the way out."

In his explanation, it is seen that the spreading of many Covid 19 hoaxes can cause fear in the team and miscommunication. Because of that, intensive communication between colleagues must be built both through meetings and different meetings among the work team members so that people will understand their tasks and objectives. Communication between coworkers does not always need to be done face to face. Because there are currently many communication applications that can be utilized, intensive communication that prioritizes quantity and quality should be balanced. It will make a solid interpersonal relationship between superiors and subordinates. Transparency and trust gained from communication interactions can help decide changes in mentality and behavior in organizations. (Wijaya, 2013). There must be openness, honesty, trust, and empathy in communication.

CONCLUSION

As a public authority engaged in communication, the community's trust becomes essential, especially in a pandemic. The community expects the City's public relations can quickly overcome Covid-19 hoaxes widely circulating on social and mass media.

As for the strategy to overcome the hoax, the Public Relations of the Salatiga City take some steps, from searching data to city health agency and confirming to the community. Furthermore, the PR also needs to cooperate with many parties in local government to foster good internal and external relations. To reach people who do not understand technology, the Salatiga city government provides digital socialization through social media and mobile socialization around every area in Salatiga. In addition, the PR also made a video with a spokesperson from the City's health agency which will be uploaded on the Youtube channel and Videotron. The Public Relations of the City also provides other content about Covid 19.

On the other hand, it also aims to educate people by giving information around Covid 19 and eliminating hoax discussions. The Public Relations of the Salatiga City Secretariat also invites the public to discuss online using applications, then monitor and evaluate them. The PR division aims to see how the community responds to the City's strategy in dealing with Covid-19 hoaxes. From the evaluation results, it can be seen how public awareness of the dangers of unclear information compared to 2020.

The Covid 19 pandemic brought a significant impact to the City's public relations in carrying out its duties. During the pandemic, the staff is required to adapt to technological developments and be able to provide accurate information. In carrying out its duties, the PR division of the City met some obstacles that could be overcome by creating a working group. This strategy helps to get information and to coordinate faster. Obstructed communication can be solved by actively maintaining communication between staff. This strategy could reduce miscommunication often occurring between colleagues due to the high number of Covid-19 related hoaxes.

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Instagram as One of Generation Z's Choice of Health Information Sources in Indonesia

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Received Nov. 11, 2021; Revised on Dec. 30, 2021, Accepted Jan. 4, 2022

Abstract

Digital communication is a new way of obtaining information; advances in communication technology have succeeded in shifting the mass media as a tool to get information. The availability of social media technology has added a new dimension to information gathering. Therefore, this study aims to determine which social media platform Generation Z prefers for collecting health information. This study uses a survey approach conducted on 485 individuals identified to be in the Generation Z spread throughout Indonesia. This study indicates that generation Z chooses Instagram as a medium for seeking health information considering that Instagram has various visual image features that are fun and easy to share the information obtained with others.

Keywords: *Generation Z, Instagram, digital communication*

INTRODUCTION

Information is knowledge obtained by humans to increase knowledge and skills in meeting their needs. Humans obtain information in various ways, among others, by looking for it themselves or the information comes without being wanted by themselves. In its journey, advances in communication and information technology provide a new color in the search for information in the community (Dea Ramadhan Putri, Siti Nursanti, 2021). Now people no longer have trouble finding information; internet-based technology makes it easier to discover knowledge sources anytime and anywhere, even when they are in bed (Nursanti & Ayusafitri, 2019). Information seeking is a behavior of society in meeting information needs through reliable sources, and information seeking is carried out when people need the information to decide what action to take.

Longo and colleagues mention that humans need information about themselves, social life, health, and the surrounding environment (Longo et al., 2010). The search for health information is carried out when people feel there is a gap between their knowledge and the reality in front of them (Broekhuis et al., 2020). Health information-seeking behavior

can be classified as seeking information carried out either intentionally or unintentionally, actively or passively by an individual (Donald Case et al., 2005). Individuals who actively seek health information need this knowledge to decide immediately what action to take (Anker, Reinhart, & Feeley, 2011), while those who passively feel that they do not need the information even when the information is in front of them (Donald Case et al., 2005). In addition to active and passive health information seekers, some individuals ignore known information (Anu Sairanen, n.d.). This happens because the person concerned feels unnecessary and does not want to know the information because the information obtained makes them uncomfortable (Gaspar et al., 2016) excessive anxiety and panic (Chae, 2015).

Several studies found that information-seeking behavior is based on various goals (Ramirez et al., 2000), among others, if they feel they lack knowledge about health problems they face (Moon et al., 2021). Lack of information in dealing with a problem makes humans need sources of information to fulfill their curiosity. Various ways are used to find health information; the ease of finding information does not make all humans rely on technology to find the information they need. Some people are more comfortable getting information from their closest trusted family (Duchastel, 2001). Family is an important part to discuss (Nursanti et al., 2021) and make decisions.

In contrast to those who are more familiar with technology, which is easier to find information through social media, they use social media to compare their conditions with those of other people (Bazoukis et al., 2020). Efforts to find health information through social media, which are currently in demand by millennials, are an alternative to obtain the desired information; the ease of communication and information technology becomes a new solution in securing information. Generation Z is the new digital native (Prensky, 2001). They are born with the convenience of technology; they like something easy and fast (Helsper & Eynon, 2010) because information communication technology has been connected through smartphones which new people generally use digital natives. According to Helsper and Eynon (2009) and Koutropoulos, not every person born within a specific timeframe exhibits general generational features — for example, the environment of childhood, historical background, and socioeconomic level of individuals all play essential roles (Helsper & Eynon, 2010). It is critical to understand a person's exposure to and experience with digital technology before categorizing that individual as a "digital native" or "digital immigrant" (Prensky, 2001). 'The concept of generational traits is a rough guideline, and people do not always fall neatly into such defined groups' (Ruth Helyer, 2012). This study aims to see how the health information-seeking behavior of generation Z on health information; this research will be conducted using a quantitative survey method to generation Z in Indonesia.

Information-seeking behavior is an activity performed by individuals to meet their need for information that can be used to make a decision or take action (Liddy et al., 2014). The studies about searching for information have been carried out since 1950. In 1983, James Krikelas created the first model of information-seeking behavior theory consisting of several stages: finding out the information, searching for the report itself, defining the

data, and seeking the information for satisfaction at the end of the process (Krikelas, 1983).

Savolainen used information that seeks behavioral models to solve problems occurring in everyday life (Savolainen, 1995). This concept of information-seeking behavior model was also used in Barahmand's research on female students in Iran (Barahmand et al., 2019), Yeoman's research on premenopausal women in America (Yeoman, 2010), as well as Loudon's research on new mothers about having children in America. The search for information is closely linked to the problems experienced by someone that needs to be resolved immediately by finding information as much as possible. It can be done by asking more experienced people, reading books, or browsing the internet.

In line with the advancements in communication technology and data, social media platforms are also used as an alternative way to retrieve data. Social media users can actively share information through various platforms and share it with people with similar interests (De Choudhury et al., 2014). The synergy of the search for communication between the internet, social media, and the general media has stimulated the activeness of information seekers to obtain the requested information (Park et al., 2020)

The search for health information using social media is usually done to determine whether other people have experienced similar situations as they felt at the time (Cartright et al., 2011). In some cases, information searches are carried out through websites to seek advice, connect with experienced officers, and pursue further professional action (Cartright et al., 2011). The search for health information via the internet is more manageable and can be done anytime; Digital media is rapidly replacing conventional media (Qorib, 2020), although some people feel that talking to friends and family is more comfortable (Duchastel, 2001). Differences in information-seeking behavior based on health information sources give rise to community groups and how they obtain it. Community groups or social generations are defined as social formations shaped in the form of groups of people with different levels of ability according to similar levels of differentiation, categorized in terms of age, time of birth, or year of birth.

METHOD

The survey method was employed in this study as a quantitative approach. The survey is conducted using a questionnaire that is given to respondents online. Each social media platform has the potential to examine numerous user habits (Kwak & Cho, 2018). There is no information available on the size of the research population. According to Fraenkel et al. (2012), a sample of at least 100 is required for descriptive investigations. These studies employ the formula for an unknown or approximated population, with a confidence level of 0.95 percent, a margin of error of 0.05 percent, and a standard deviation of 0.5.

RESULT AND DISCUSSION

The research on Generation Z's impressions of COVID-19 health information, with the characteristics of respondents being Gen-Z internet users in Indonesia, discovered that 485 persons completed questionnaires sent across all platforms often utilized by Generation Z thus far. Table 1 displays the demographics of the respondents.

Table 1 Shows the Demographics of The Respondents.

	N = 485	Percentage%
Gender		
Women	325	67
Man	160	33
Generation		
Gen X (45-60+ years)	4	0.89
Gen Y (25-44 years)	15	3.092
Gen Z (17-24 years)	466	96.08
Residence		
Urban	319	65.77
Rural	151	31.13

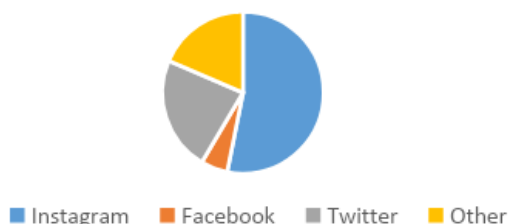
The descriptions of the respondents' demographics can be found in Table 1. A total of 325 female respondents, or an equivalent of 67%, and 160 men, or an equivalent of 33%, had completed the questionnaire. The division of this generation is based on the development of communication and information technology that comes with the time of birth for each generation. The first generation of Generation Y was born in 1980 in which Helsper and Eynon said that at that time, Facebook and MySpace gave birth to the second generation, namely digital natives (Helsper & Eynon, 2010). Digital natives refer to those knowing the internet only to the extent of their social and participatory functions (Fuchs, 2011). The new digital native is characterized by a more reachable Internet in which mobile phone technology is synchronized with the Internet (Amalia Ferniansyah, Siti Nursanti, 2021). Therefore, those present in this century can read the information via the internet, produce a report, and share it with others.

Table 2. The first resources where the respondents find out about Health Information



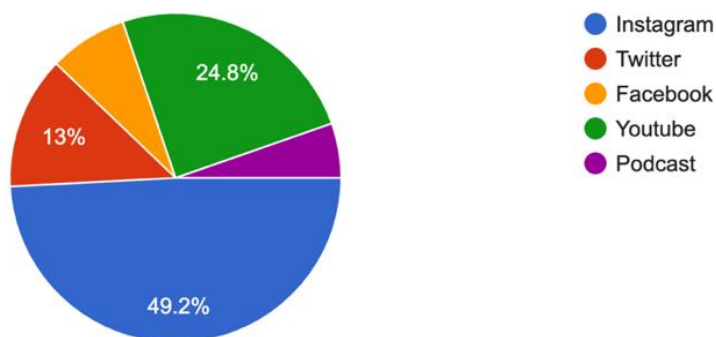
Table 2 shows the distribution of the first information sources used by the respondents to obtain information about health information. As many as 64 percent of respondents said that the internet became their first source of information where they find out about health information. In comparison, 29.3 percent of respondents received the information from television, and the rest of them received it from radio, newspapers, and WhatsApp Groups applications. The existence of communication and information technology that has been internalized with a mobile phone makes it easy for Generation Z to get information quickly without being limited by time and space (Qurratu'aini et al., 2021). What is unique in Generation Z is that they can easily share any information they have obtained with other people.

Table 3. Most Preferred Social Media Platforms to Find Out health Information



In this study, respondents were also asked which social media they prefer when looking for health information related to COVID-19, as presented in Table 6. It can be seen that 53.2 percent of respondents liked the information shared on Instagram, 22.9 percent via Twitter, while 18.6 percent of them chose to use other social media such as TikTok, YouTube, and podcasts. Instagram, founded in 2010, is a social networking platform for sharing images and video network services. Instagram users can utilize a feature-limited application or web interface to access the platform and modify the content with numerous filters. A caption, which may be up to 2200 characters long, can be added to each Instagram post. This platform also has a private chat, the ability to tag material with hashtag searchability, the ability to include numerous photographs or videos in a single post, and the tales feature, which allows users to upload original content that others may view for 24 hours. Messages, bars, and tales enable users to connect in various ways to varying degrees (Carpenter et al., 2020).

Facebook, one of the most popular Internet programs in the last decade, has over 2 billion members globally (Feng et al., 2019). Users may use Facebook to post status updates, wall updates, remark, read news feeds, give likes, message, publish, take images, organize groups, play games, manage fan pages, create events, take notes, and talk in groups (Ryan & Xenos, 2011). Facebook has become an indispensable tool for maintaining a social presence and expanding social ties.

Table 4 Media that should be used for health campaigns

When searching for information on social media, Instagram serves as the respondents' primary choice. Table 10 explains which media are most preferred by respondents when seeking information. As many as 49.2 percent of respondents chose Instagram as the leading choice to seek health information. In contrast, other respondents chose Twitter, Facebook, YouTube, and podcasts as alternative media to obtain information regarding health conditions. The visual nature of Instagram is considered the key feature that distinguishes it from other social media (Yanuar et al., 2021), which are relatively more text-based (Pittman & Reich, 2016). The use of images and captions on Instagram allows users to express and share writing through images. McLuhan (1964) said the media itself is a technological message that shapes the way people learn and think. Internet-based media is a reasonably economical option in disseminating health information (Nursanti et al., 2019), social media can move people (Benedict & Ariestya, 2020), and the public is free to choose the desired content according to their needs (Fadilla, 2020).

Discussion

In Table 1, you can see the respondents' demographics who answered questions randomly distributed through social media platforms owned by the research team. Table 1 shows that the respondents are Generation Z that typically live in urban areas. Generation Z, or digital native, was born in 1980, along with the emergence of communication and information technology that facilitates all the needs and activities of said generation. Some researchers refuse to categorize societies based on their technological adaptation (Davies et al., 2016), but Prensky (Prensky, 2001) differentiates between digital natives and digital immigrants so that everyone is aware of the impact of technological developments on human behavioral development (Helsper & Eynon, 2010). Table 1 also shows that more respondents live in urban areas than rural regions. The study also examines whether those living in rural areas can access information shared through high-level communication and information technology, given the difference in reception levels available in the city and the village.

An individual's attempt to find the information they need will lead to information-seeking behavior. It includes all behaviors of human beings when interacting with information sources and channels, involving active and passive search and data usage. Information-

seeking behavior aims to achieve specific objectives based on individuals' needs to meet specific goals. Information-search behavior is a micro-level action taken by an individual when searching for information and interacting with an information system. This behavior consists of various forms of designated interaction related to using a computer, such as using the mouse or clicking a link at the intellectual and mental level. Moreover, information-user behavior refers to a person's physical and mental actions when combining the information they find with their background knowledge.

Generation Z, born and raised along with the advancements in communication and information technology, has chosen the internet as one of the primary sources of health information. David Ellis has developed a theory of information retrieval behavior closely associated with information retrieval systems. Ellis studied scientists engaging in daily activities, such as reading, conducting field or laboratory research, writing papers, etc. His study results in a theory that explains the general behavior of information in a series of activities. Ellis suggested several characteristics of information-seeking behavior. The first stage is Starting, meaning that the individuals search for information from an expert in one of the scientific fields that spark their interest.

Moreover, the next stage of Ellis' information retrieval behavior is Chaining. It refers to an activity when individuals write the important things they found on a small note. In Generation Z, the stage of Chaining is not related to conventional messages on paper anymore. Instead, the essential information is sometimes written on social media platforms, making them available for others and can be opened anytime with no limitation in time and storage place.

Advances in communication and information technology have made the world enter a new era where humans can quickly obtain information. The existence of the internet marks the presence of new media in broadly sharing information activities. The main characteristics of new media are their interconnectedness, their access to individual audiences as recipients and senders of messages, their interactivity, and their diverse uses as different characters— open, and its ubiquitous nature (McQuail, 2014). The existence of the internet has succeeded in making new media appear, one of which is Instagram, which is a social media that is often used to find and share information. Everett Rogers (Rogers et al., 2019) mentions four elements in adopting new media. The theory of diffusion of innovation describes how, why, and at what rate new technologies are developed and adopted in various contexts. This theory underscores the existence of 4 (four) main elements that influence the development of new media, namely innovation, communication channels, time, and social systems. Rogers defines the characteristics of an innovation that can affect an individual's decision to adopt or reject an innovation. The innovation diffusion theory approach states that not only leaders can influence audience behavior through personal contact, but there are other change agents and gatekeepers who are also involved in the diffusion process. This approach offers a framework for

considering how information flows through a network and the factors that shape opinions through technology use decisions.

The ease of access to social media, which is almost certain to exist on every generation Z smartphone, makes them choose to search for information using social media, one of which is Instagram. Information sharing activities will be followed by information-seeking, knowledge-enhancing activities, and arguments that can be used to make decisions. Browsing is an activity to find structured or semi-structured data. The search for information in the X generation has traditionally been carried out by visiting information centers such as libraries, academics, or coming directly to the nearest health facility. Meanwhile, information-searching of Generation Z, which is closely linked to the internet, can be done more quickly. The availability of smartphones with internet connections makes them easier to find the information they need. The internet can help Generation Z obtain necessary information in various fields, including health, education, economics, politics, and other information to get and provide the information they.

Similar to previous studies on the behavior of Generation Z, which were closely associated with communication and information technology, this study found that Generation Z respondents prioritized the search for health information via the internet and actively shared the information they obtained through their respective accounts on various social media platforms. The search for information should also consider some factors of a discrepancy, such as data division or reduction, to select which data to use and which one of them is not necessary to be included in the study. Not all the information obtained from any source is needed; even some of the news received cannot be justified based on its validity. Therefore, a selection of the data must be made to prevent such occurrence.

CONCLUSION

The theory of diffusion of innovation is one of the concepts presented by Everett Rogers to understand the presence of new media in human life in the use of communication and information technology with four crucial elements in the process of technology adoption by humans. In the theory of diffusion of innovation, information flows through communication media that are easy to find and use; this information, in the end, will more or less influence humans in making decisions depending on the information they have. Known as the new digital native, Generation Z is attracted to anything instant with a close relationship to communication and information technology, including the internet. This generation can obtain, manage, and even produce information through the internet, mainly on social media. Instagram is one of Generation Z's most preferred information providers, considering that Instagram provides quite interesting image features and makes it easy to share any health information it has. This research has limitations in terms of other reasons why millennials like images that sometimes do not match the captions shared and how Generation Z checks the validity of the information shared whether it has ever occurred to Generation Z that the news shared may be news that is Hoax.

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Symbolic Violence against Persons with Disabilities in the Trans TV Official Program Ngobrol Asal on YouTube

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Received Nov. 11, 2021; Revised on Dec. 30, 2021; Accepted Jan. 4, 2022

Abstract

Social media is a communication tool that can disseminate or spread a culture, including YouTube. It has become a meeting place for various people from different backgrounds. However, YouTube becomes an arena where dominant groups exercise power over other groups. Trans TV company has the capital that can create a habitus that oppresses other groups. Through the 'Ngobrol Asal' program, Trans TV tries to maintain its position. The program indicates the existence of symbolic violence against people with disabilities. Disability discrimination issues have been in the spotlight throughout history. Through the modernization of communication tools, discrimination of persons with disabilities occurs smoothly. Komeng, the actor, performs a comedy that refers to the symbolic violence against Daus Mini as a person with a disability whose limitations turn into a joke that indirectly impacts the negative perception of people with disabilities. This study uses qualitative research methods. This study uses the perspective of Stuart Hall's Representation Theory to reveal the meaning of the scene and Bourdieu's Theory of Symbolic Violence to explain comedic content, which is an arena for the practice of symbolic violence. The results of this study indicate the existence of symbolic violence in the 'Ngobrol Asal' program. This can be seen in Komeng's jokes, representing Daus Mini as a small child who cannot contribute to society. The limitation of Daus Mini as the actor is interpreted as a disgrace to the family or the surrounding environment. Trans TV as a capital owner, uses YouTube as a battle arena to maintain its position, regardless of the impact on people with disabilities.

Keywords: Symbolic violence, Disability, YouTube, Trans TV, Representation

INTRODUCTION

Social media is an internet-based application built on the ideology and technology of Web 2.0, which allows users to create and modify user-generated content (Kaplan and Haenlein, 2010). Social media has become part of society and is seen to develop continuously. Almost all people have social media, be it Facebook, Instagram, Twitter, Youtube, etc. According to the report Digital 2021: The Latest Insights Into The State of

Digital, as many as 170 million people out of the total population of Indonesia are social media users (tekno.kompas.com, 2021). By using social media, the world's population, including Indonesia, can receive and produce information quickly and widely.

Social media creates a new way of communication that is not limited by space and time. The platforms are functionally capable of disseminating information to the broader community. However, social media can be a weapon that threatens others. Like swords, guns, and other tools of war, social media can create conflict (Media et al., 2009). Social media makes it easier for stakeholders to achieve their goals. Research (Komariah et al., 2017) states that social media is sometimes used for black or negative campaigns in the political world. Social media can be used as a tool of power; attract attention, shape perceptions, and provide legitimacy for those concerned. Hasfi et al. (2017) mention that social media such as Twitter is used as a medium for the elite to achieve power through anonymous accounts. Social media should be a public place for free expression. There is a domination of power that occurs in social media. This is in line with what Bourdieu calls a field (Rizer, 2012).

Media becomes a battle arena where there are individuals or groups of position holders. They seek to protect and enhance their position without a hierarchical principle that is best for them. A field is an open place for various types of capital, whether economic, cultural, social, or symbolic, used and disseminated to structure other fields (Ritzer, 2012). In this case, social media becomes a field/arena to spread something to other individuals or groups. Social media creates a good dominance structure according to those who create it. Finally, the dominated party must accept that domination becomes a habitus that oppresses them, whether consciously or not. An issue that may often be seen on social media is the issue of disability.

Disability is the main agenda in problems in various countries. This happens because of the inequality of rights for persons with disabilities. They are excluded from the economy (such as jobs), education, and society, both by active discrimination and the barriers imposed by the world on non-disabled people (Kornblum et al., 2012). This is due to the belief that people with disabilities are weak in many ways. The research conducted by Karuniasih et al. (2017) shows stigmatization of people with hearing impairments. There is a discourse between people with disabilities and people with disabilities. Deaf people have other terms such as 'bongol' (deaf) and 'kolok' (mute). These terms contain an element of labeling for people with hearing impairment who are considered challenging to contribute to society due to their low level of intelligence. The term is also intended for people who are not deaf (normal people), so deaf people judge themselves as such.

People's perceptions of disability are not only spread through direct interaction but are gently packaged in social media content. This is consistent with what Bourdieu calls symbolic violence— soft forms of violence (Ritzer, 2012). Utami (2014), in his research, shows that social media is an intermediary or tool for symbolic violence, namely cyberbullying in social media, which is psychological violence. Symbolic violence is not only in cyberbullying, which oppresses other parties but also in humorous content on social media. Such content may contain jokes or jokes, thus inviting laughter. In their research, Valentina and Arsi (2017) show that there is symbolic violence in entertainment events with YKS. The 185-203 minute duration shows only two educational scenes with a duration of no more than one minute. The whole scene is filled with violence, be it physical, psychological, or symbolic violence. Both shows often found throwing objects at other people's bodies, insulting physical form, and male players who act like women. However, whether they realize it or not, there is symbolic violence aimed at persons with disabilities if they are further criticized.

Alfiansyah, more commonly known as Komeng, is a famous comedian from Jakarta. Komeng has been named the King of Lawak due to his flowing, natural, and spontaneous comedic abilities (stylo.grid.id, 2021). He has practiced various jokes on various stages, either live or TV. However, now Komeng appears more often on social media, such as YouTube. Either sing alone or with a partner. The comedy partner who is always present in the comedy show Komeng is Sujarwo or Jarwo Kwat. Togetherness with members of Diamor comedy group Rudi Sipit and Mamo, has started since their career in the 1990s. Not only that, Komeng also often plays jokes with Daus Mini, Adul, Haji Bolot, and other comedians.

In the comedy performed by Komeng, there is a 'symbolic violence' against his comedy partner. In this case, it is a joke with Daus Mini, considering that Daus Mini is a person with a physical disability, namely 'Dwarfism'. This disorder is a disorder that causes the patient's height to be below the normal human average. The abnormality experienced by Daus Mini has become a 'material' for jokes. One of the comedic scenes depicting symbolic violence of persons with disabilities on TRANS TV Official YouTube content. The content program is called 'Ngobrol Asal'.

This study attempts to analyze the program on the TRANS TV Official YouTube account, namely 'Ngobrol Asal'. Komeng, Jarwo Kwat, Arie Untung, Daus Mini, and other friends were present to have funny dialogues and light stories with comedians at the event. The analysis was conducted to identify symbolic violence against persons with disabilities, especially Dwarfism in the program. This is done because there are many violent cases against persons with disabilities, either physically or verbally. Violence is also not only

carried out directly but also through social media. Violence is packaged through comedy content so that it indirectly 'perpetuates' violence against persons with disabilities in society.

This research focuses on the 'Ngobrol Asal' program, which is broadcast on TRANS TV Official YouTube content. At the event, several scenes were identified that showed symbolic violence against people with disabilities. The symbolic violence is packed with jokes which refer to the 'stigma' of disability as a weak person. This research uses Pierre Bourdieu's theory which explains about symbolic violence.

In this study, researchers used the theory of symbolic violence proposed by Pierre Bourdieu. The theory can describe how symbolic violence occurs through content on social media, including YouTube. One of the contents that display symbolic violence is comedy content, the TRANS TV Official YouTube program, namely 'Ngobrol Asal'. Komeng, Jarwo Kwat, Arie Untung, Daus Mini, and other friends were present to have funny dialogues and light stories with comedians at the event. However, there are indications of symbolic violence regarding disability in one segment of the event. Without realizing it, the joke content represents people with disabilities as weak or unable to do something. In this case, people with disabilities have 'dwarfism.' Maybe the joke is a bluff, but if criticized, the joke conveys violence symbolically to people with disabilities.

Symbolic Violence Theory

Pierre Bourdieu put forward the concept of symbolic violence. Symbolic violence arises when there is a struggle for monopoly. Symbolic violence is practiced indirectly through cultural mechanisms, including acts of discrimination against certain groups, races, ethnicities, or genders. The practice is carried out in a battle arena, where the position holders and the groups they control meet. The struggle or battle begins at a place called Bourdieu as the field. The field is an arena of battle and struggle. Individuals or groups try to fight and fight to maintain their position in the field structure, even improve their position. Medan is like an open market that allows competitive competition for those who have capital. This capital can be in the form of economic, cultural, social, symbolic, and political capital that is disseminated (Ritzer, 2012).

Bourdieu explains that those in power can impose language, meaning, symbolic systems on other members. It helps the ruling party maintain its position by obscuring the dominant party. The dominated party unconsciously accepts the condition of those who are dominated as legitimate. Thus, something is forced on the dominated party to become what Bourdieu calls habitus. The habitus is internalized into social structures and becomes 'common sense.' Position holders may have a habitus, then spread and force it

on others, so that the other party may suffer because their habitus does not suit them (Ritzer, 2012). Thus, position holders spread symbolic violence in a field to become a structured habitus in the social world.

In this study, the researcher tried to reveal the symbolic violence experienced by the disabled group. Some comedic scenes in the 'Ngobrol Asal' program represent that people with disabilities are weak. In this case, people with disabilities are 'represented' by Daus Mini. Therefore, to reveal the representation of the meaning of jokes that refer to discrimination of people with disabilities, the researcher also uses the basis of Stuart Hall's Representation Theory.

Representation, according to Stuart Hall, is essential for cultural practice. The culture is shared by sharing the same experiences, cultural codes, speaking the same 'language,' and sharing the same concepts. According to Stuart Hall, there are two processes of representation; the first is a mental representation, namely the process of conceptualizing something that is in the individual's mind. The representation is still abstract. Therefore, a second process is needed to translate mental representations, namely the language process. Language has a vital role in constructing meaning. Abstract concepts in mind will be translated through language to connect concepts and ideas with the symbols and signs conveyed (Muntafida, 2016). In this case, social media such as YouTube as a platform to communicate about symbols and signs; spread forms of representation on its content (content).

Representation refers to all forms of media on all aspects of reality, events, society, and culture. Representation tries to present something, be it events, people, or other objects, through something outside of itself, through symbols and signs (Hall, 1997, p. 28, in Muntafida, 2016). In this study, YouTube as a social media is a place to communicate something in the form of comedic content. In conveying his joke, the comedian uses language that can be understood. Language itself is a symbol that can be observed in narration, sound, events, music, visuals, events, objects, people, clothes, accessories, colors, and others (Hasfi, 2011).

YouTube

YouTube is a popular video-sharing website. Users can watch, load, and share video clips for free. YouTube was founded in February 2005 by three former employees of PayPal (an online commercial website), namely Chad Hurley, Steve Chen, and Jawed Karim. YouTube provides a forum for users to connect, inform, and inspire users worldwide. YouTube also acts as a distribution platform for original content creators and advertisers, both large and small (Azaari and Inayah, 2020).

YouTube is a company owned by Google, which facilitates users to upload videos and can be accessed by other users from all over the world for free. The presence of YouTube has a significant influence on the community. They can make videos, short films, documentaries, video blogs, etc. This is an opportunity for those who have talent or interest in video content. Everyone can use YouTube to make videos and publish the content. If the video is interesting, the more viewers it will get. With so many viewers, it can attract advertisers to place ads in videos published later. Like television, where the more television program content ratings, the more advertisers will be attracted (David, Sondakh, and Harilama, 2017).

YouTube can be accessed via the website with devices such as computers, laptops, and smartphones. Currently, YouTube users in Indonesia reached 170 million users or 93.8 percent of the total population of 181.9 million internet users aged 16-64 years. This figure is the result of Hootsuite, and We Are Social research in January 2021 (Suara.com, 2021). This makes YouTube a very popular social media and dominates social media in Indonesia.

Individual people do not only use YouTube, but groups, communities, and institutions also use it to convey content information (Anzani, Jaiz, and Witantra, 2018). The shared content is not just ordinary information but can be used to produce a discourse about something, thus influencing the people who see it.

METHOD

This study uses a qualitative descriptive approach. Qualitative research is carried out naturally as it is. Researchers do not carry out specific treatments that can affect the scientificity of the object under study. Qualitative is more descriptive, focusing on the data of words or pictures. The data is analyzed and then described to be understood by the reader (Sugiyono, 2020).

The object of this research is a comedy scene in the 'Ngorol Asa' program, which is broadcast through the YouTube social media TRANS TV Official. There are many episodes or parts with their respective titles. Therefore, the researcher will screen several episodes with titles mentioned in the results and discussion chapter. Several scenes that depict or represent the weaknesses of people with disabilities will be analyzed using the perspective of Stuart Hall's Representation Theory to reveal the scene's meaning. Bourdieu's Theory of Symbolic Violence is used to explain comedic content, which is an

arena for the practice of symbolic violence. The data that has been analyzed will be reduced so that the reader can understand it.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

YouTube as an Arena for Disability Discrimination

YouTube is one of the communication media. Currently, YouTube users in Indonesia reached 170 million users or 93.8 percent of the total population of 181.9 million internet users aged 16-64 years. This figure is the result of Hootsuite, and We Are Social research in January 2021 (Suara.com, 2021).

The number of YouTube users becomes an arena of domination of power. Those with good economic, cultural, social, and symbolic capital are used and disseminated to structure other fields. In this case, the Trans TV company has the capital, especially the economy. TV programs can spread and distribute a culture to dominate because they can communicate to the broader community. Currently, Trans TV uses YouTube to expand its market share because people use social media to communicate in the digital era. Therefore, Trans TV seeks and takes advantage of the existence of social media.

The 'Ngobrol Asal' program uploaded by Trans TV Official on YouTube is an arena to dominate the dominated group. The 'Ngobrol Asal' program is a comedy show; it is clear that the program communicates something through comedy and jokes to entertain the audience. However, the 'Ngobrol Asal' program became a battleground for the ruling party to dominate other groups. Trans TV maintains its existence as a well-known TV company by obscuring other groups through its programs. Through the 'Ngobrol Asal' program, the TV party benefits but unconsciously oppresses other groups. Daus Mini, which has a short body, is used by the TV to gain an advantage through jokes. Unconsciously, Daus Mini experiences a form of discrimination because his physical limitations are used for jokes. This form of discrimination becomes blurred because it is wrapped in-jokes that are 'joking'. According to Bourdieu, this can subtly discriminate against persons with disabilities or symbolic violence.

Jokes become public consumption that is deemed to be funny. Including jokes directed at people with disabilities, it becomes symbolic violence. In the end, the 'Ngobrol Asal' program created an unhealthy habit of jokes because it offended people with disabilities. In line with Ritzer's (2012) explanation that the dominated party unconsciously accepts the condition of those who are dominated as a legitimate thing. In this case, jokes directed at people with disabilities are 'legitimate', because the 'Ngobrol Asal' program is a comedy program that is generally accepted as an entertainment event; it's 'joking'. Daus

Mini became the dominant party because it received a contract with the Trans TV company and had to carry out its work in the program. Indeed, Daus Mini receives wages from his work but suffers from 'subtle' discrimination through his short body shape, which is used as a joke. This becomes a habitus internalized into social structures and becomes a 'common sense'; generalized as a joke, regardless of its effect on persons with disabilities.

Disability Subjects to Symbolic Violence

Please note that there are several types of people with disabilities. According to the Law of the Republic of Indonesia Number 8 of 2016 concerning Persons with Disabilities, Article 4 states that there are various types of disabilities, namely people with physical disabilities, people with intellectual disabilities, people with mental disabilities, and people with sensory disabilities. The variety of disabilities can be briefly defined as follows (Ashar et al., 2019):

1. Physical disability is impaired movement function. This includes people who had an amputation, paralyzed or stiff, paraplegic, cerebral palsy (CP) due to stroke, leprosy, and Dwarfism.
2. Intellectual disability is the disturbance of cognitive function due to a below-average intelligence level. This includes slow learning and down syndrome.
3. Mental disability is a disturbance in the function of thought, emotion, and behavior, including psychosocial including schizophrenia, bipolar, depression, anxiety, and personality disorders
4. Developmental disabilities that affect social interaction abilities, including autism and hyperactivity
5. Sensory disability is a disturbance in one of the five senses functions, including blind, deaf, and speech disabilities
6. Multiple or multiple disabilities is a person who has two or more types of disabilities, including speech-deaf and deaf-blind.

In the entertainment world, well-known 'disabled' comedians are those who have short stature or Dwarfism, such as Adul, Ony Syahrial, Ucok Baba, and Daus Mini. They are artists as well as comedians in several successful TV programs. Several TV stations, such as RCTI, MNCTV, Idosiar, including TransTV, always feature them in comedy programs. Researchers analyzed comedy programs broadcast by Trans TV via YouTube (not on television) in this study.

In the 'Ngobrol Asal' program, the players or performers in the program are Komeng, Jarwo Strong, Daus Mini, Arie Untung; there is also Mumuk Gomez, and later there will be

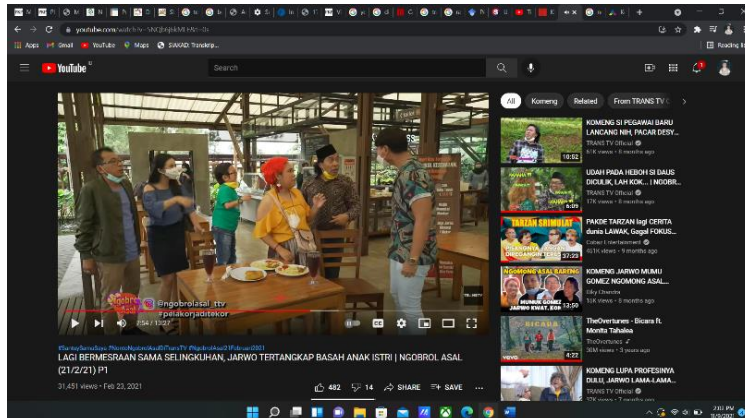
several guest stars who will fill the event. Therefore, the subject of symbolic violence will be Daus Mini, a person with a physical disability. It can be said that the company Trans TV used Daus Mini as a performer because of his reputation as a comedian. Daus Mini is a comedian who has been entertaining various TV programs and shows for a long time, such as the 'Tuyul Millennium' program; 'Aladdin'; 'Here There is Tuyul'; as well as several films and sitcoms. Now in the digital era, Daus Mini is often invited to the contents of the YouTube channel. Her tiny body is often the subject of jokes. Therefore, the Trans TV company uses Daus Mini to entertain the audience on the 'Ngobrol Asal' program, regardless of TV program producers raising the issue of disability.

Without realizing it, comedy shows that use people with disabilities as players bring up issues regarding disability. Behind the joking context (symbol), a scene refers to the discrimination of people with disabilities (another meaning). Therefore, the 'Chat Origins' program and other comedy programs, on the one hand, bring sustenance to Daus Mini, but on the other hand affect people with disabilities, especially people with Dwarfism disabilities, either psychologically or socially later. TV companies only care about capitalistic profits without paying attention to the effects on players and people with disabilities. *Kompas.com* news (2021) explains that people with disabilities of Dwarfism are often targeted for ridicule and violence from community members at work or when carrying out daily activities. The news shows that people with disabilities of Dwarfism often experience violence. A comedy program that invites people with disabilities, it supports the occurrence of violence against people with disabilities in society. This is because the Indonesian people themselves have not created a totally friendly environment for persons with disabilities.

Short Stature Disability

Symbolic violence happens as people represent or interpret people with disabilities as weak in their physical limitations. In this case, Daus Mini has a short body size. The author has identified one form of symbolic violence in the episode or part entitled 'Again Mesraan Semalingkuhan, Jarwo Catches About Anak Wife'. In this episode, Daus Mini plays the role of Jarwo Strong's son, Komeng as head of the neighborhood unit, Sonny Septian as the husband of Jarwo's mistress, Mumuk Gomez; and there is a female guest in a blue dress. The episode is 13:27 minutes long and tells about Jarwo, who left Daus Mini and his wife to have an affair. Then, assisted by Komeng as RW and Sonny Septian, Daus Mini and Jarwo's wife found out that Jarwo was having an affair. It ends with an apology between Jarwo and his wife, and Mumuk and Sonny Septian.

Picture. 1 Episode 'Making Out with an Affair, Jarwo Caught Wife's Son'



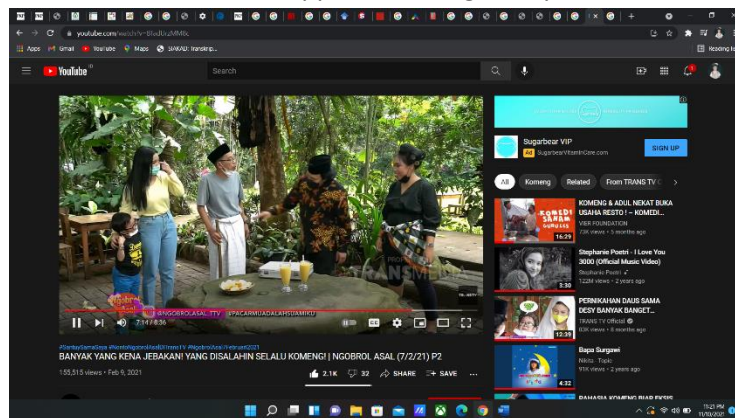
Source: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=5NQb6j6kMLE&t=0s>

There is some symbolic violence represented in the joke. Daus Mini plays the role of children. In terms of children, there may be no problem because, in the Big Indonesian Dictionary, the word 'children' means that they are not yet adults or are still small. Meanwhile, according to UNICEF (2018), a child is a human being under 18 years. Due to Daus Mini's short stature, the program represents him as a child even though he is 34 years old. As explained in the introductory chapter above, Daus Mini has a disorder that causes height below the normal human average or is called Dwarfism. This means that Daus Mini (a representative of persons with physical disabilities) is depicted as a small child aged below 18 years. This becomes symbolic violence because Daus Mini is an adult. In that episode, Daus Mini is treated like a child, like being invited to play hide and seek, carried, and guided by holding his hand like a child who needs to be 'supervised' and cannot be separated from parental control. The role of a 'little child' symbolizes someone who needs to be watched, cared for, immature, and needs to be supervised by an adult. Adults are spiritually and physically mature people and can carry out their duties and roles in society. Therefore, in this analysis, adults are described as normal, who can contribute to society, while young children are people with disabilities who must be considered and considered unable to contribute to society.

Besides this episode (Picture 1), another episode represents Daus Mini as a small child. The episode is titled "Lots Get Trapped! Komeng Always Be Blamed!" In that episode, Daus Mini plays the husband of Mumuk Gomez, who is having an affair with Desy Tahta, the son of Jarwo. Komeng performs as the new neighborhood unit chief, Jarwo as the hamlet chief, and the father of Desy Tahta. In this episode, Daus Mini is cheating on him, then Komeng finds Daus Mini making out with his mistress in a park. Then came Jarwo, who thought that Komeng was the new neighborhood unit chief; instead, he was dating

his son and did not carry out his new duties. In the end, Mumuk Gomez, as Daus Mini's wife, came and found out she was cheating on him.

Picture 2. "Lots Get Trapped! Komeng Always Be Blamed!"



Source: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=BTadUrzMM8c>

In the video, Komeng starts joking with some phrases that might be funny. When Komeng found out that Daus Mini was dating Desy Tahta, Komeng said this:

"I want to tell you, Mam, today there is no weighing at the Health Service Post (Posyandu), so you should not bring a child."

Posyandu is a place for health care managed by and for the community under the guidance of relevant officers (Ministry of Health, Republic of Indonesia, 2006). The purpose of the posyandu is to provide health and family planning services, including reducing infant mortality through immunization and nutrition. Therefore, posyandu is a service for the growth of toddlers and children, especially before the age of 5 years.

In this sentence, it can be said that Daus Mini is considered a toddler who needs to get nutrition and services for children under five, such as a health center. As previously explained, Daus Mini is a 34-year-old adult. Because Daus Mini's body is short, Komeng uses this as a joke, considering Daus Mini as a toddler. Referring to him as a toddler instead of someone with a physical disability is symbolic violence.

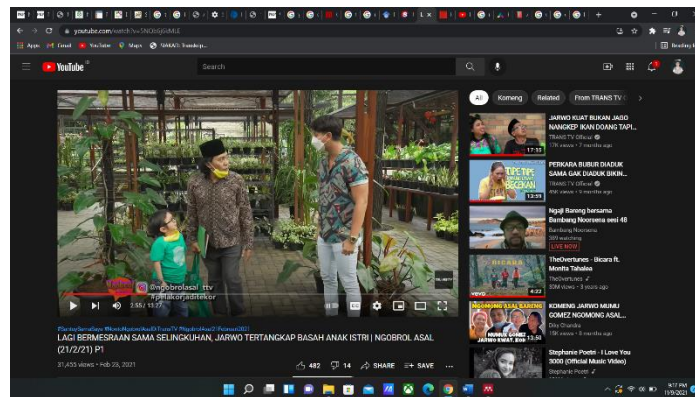
Disability as a Form of Disgrace

In addition to depicting Daus Mini as a small child who is immature and needs to be educated, there is another symbolic violence by Komeng. In one of the scenes, Daus Mini looked for his father Jarwo and cried when he passed by Komeng as the community unit chief. There was also Sonny Septian, looking for his wife who was having an affair with

Jarwo. Komeng then thought Septian was the father of Daus, because Septian seemed to be confused. Septian replied that Daus was not his son. Instead, he thought Daus was Komeng's son. Komeng answered with the following sentence:

“If I have a child like this, I would throw him under the bridge” (Pic. 3)

Picture 3. Photo of the minute 2:55-3:00



Source: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=5NQb6j6kMLE>

This humorous expression seems to have another meaning. Komeng's sentences were brought up in a humorous tone in the 'Ngobrol Asal' program. In the perspective of legal and human rights, the issue of child abandonment has indeed become the center of attention because there are many cases of infant abandonment. According to the law, child protection is an activity to guarantee and protect children and their rights to live, grow, develop, participate in society, and be protected from violence and discrimination. Therefore, children must be protected from violence, abuse, neglect, and exploitation (Sentika, 2007). The crime of neglecting children is an act that degrades human dignity, destroys fundamental human values, and degrades human dignity. Aliusman (in <http://bpsdm.kemenkumham.go.id/>) explains that there is a motive for throwing the baby away. Among others is feeling ashamed because the baby is either a result of an extramarital relationship or an affair, and the baby's father refused to take responsibility. Other reasons are financial problems, psychological issues, and lacking religious values. Neglecting a baby could not be justified from legal, religious, and human rights perspectives. Komeng's stance above indicates Daus as an unwanted child due to one of the reasons above.

A news article published by *Kompas.com* (2018) told the story of a mother who delivered a baby out of wedlock and the potential disability of the baby for being underweight. The mother was ashamed and decided to throw the baby away. The welfare problem has led some parents neglecting their responsibility for protecting and caring for the child, mainly

those who have a disability (Astuti, 2013). Some feel ashamed of their child's physical limitations who has congenital disabilities.

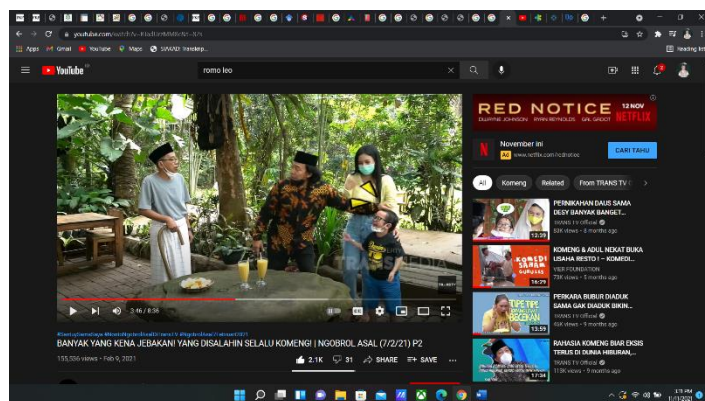
Komeng's statement should be seen from a critical perspective. When he said he would throw away Daus, he indicated that disability brings shame or disgrace to the family. Physical limitations possessed by a person with a disability become a symbol of disgrace and shame, both for himself and his family and the surrounding environment. He ignored that persons with disabilities have the dignity and worth of ordinary human beings and have the same rights and obligations as normal persons.

Useless People: Not Humans

Continuing the previous analysis, there is symbolic violence in the episode of Picture 2. In this episode, jokes were referring to symbolic acts of violence. The action took place in the 3:40 – 3:50 minute scene. Jarwo reprimanded Komeng to carry out his duties properly. Komeng said he would hold a meeting with neighborhood units worldwide:

"I was about to go, Sir, I have a worldwide neighborhood units' meeting. But then I saw your child. I forbid him. I bring a suitcase, here the suitcase," he said while holding Daus' head.

Picture 4. Minute 3: 46



Source: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=BTadUrzMM8c&t=82s>

This scene shows symbolic violence, where Daus is treated like an object, in this case, a suitcase. Apart from the joke's context, the treatment has another meaning if seen from a critical point of view.

Issues regarding disability are always related to the struggle for disability rights. People with disabilities always experience discrimination in their daily lives. Discriminatory treatment or attitude based on disability is contrary to human rights (Ollerton and

Horsfall, 2013). These are violations because they are directly related to a person's identity as a person with a disability. Throughout history, someone who has a different body or is seen as 'different' has been regarded as unwanted and unacceptable as part of the community (Couser, 2009; Rothman, 2003; in Widinarsih, 2019).

Likewise, Komeng's comedy depicts discrimination against people with disabilities. Daus Mini is treated like a non-human item, namely a 'suitcase'. The same goes for people with disabilities. Treating people with disabilities as an object is considered to have violated fundamental human rights.

Throughout history, people with disabilities have always experienced discrimination. They are considered weak, because they are different, unwanted and not accepted as part of the community. The most famous discrimination against people with disabilities throughout history was the Nazi operation in Germany, called the 'Euthanasia Operation' or 'T4 Action' program. It was a program to slaughter those considered 'low race', including people with disabilities. Apsari (2018), in his research, states that people with disabilities experience social inequality because they do not get jobs for their welfare.

Therefore, to protect persons with disabilities from violence, both physically and psychologically, it is necessary to have rules in broadcasting TV programs. The Indonesian Broadcasting Commission (KPI) role is significant in this case. Individuals or institutions can report TV shows that contain violence against persons with disabilities. Efforts to protect persons with disabilities in TV shows must be multi-dimensional. On the one hand, the public must report and be educated so as not to make fun of people with disabilities in any form, especially on social media. On the other hand, TV companies must pay close attention to the program's impact that will be broadcast if they have to invite people with disabilities to the event. KPI must also be firm by warning television stations, such as the directors, producers, crew, and actors, if there are indications of violence against persons with disabilities (pertuni.or.id, 2015).

CONCLUSIONS AND LIMITATIONS

Persons with disabilities have always been targets of discrimination throughout history, especially in the current digital era. Discrimination against persons with disabilities is no longer in the form of physical violence but is subtly attacking or what Bourdieu calls symbolic violence. Symbolic violence is communicated through TV programs that are now broadcast not only on television but also on social media such as YouTube. This study investigates "Ngobrol Asal", an entertainment program aired by TransTV through its YouTube channel. It entertains the audience by presenting jokes.

The 'Ngobrol Asal' program becomes an arena to distribute or communicate messages through jokes. Unwittingly, the program has indications of symbolic violence against persons with disabilities. Daus, the main character of the program, is described as a small child who has not been able to contribute to society like an adult. Komeng's jokes described Daus as a disgrace or shame, unwanted by the group. This habitus is legalized, so certain groups experienced discrimination through television programs, including those screened by TransTV. The television station might need to maintain profitability, but it ignores the impact of the programs on people with disabilities.

Through the "Ngobrol Asal" program, discrimination against persons with disabilities was seen from the use of 'joke' language and symbols. Therefore, the 'Ngobrol Origin' program indicates the symbolic violence committed by Komeng against Daus Mini. Through the social media YouTube, this symbolic violence continues to be reproduced by the owners of capital for their benefit, creating a habitus that dominates certain groups to maintain its position.

Therefore, the role of KPI and the community is vital to creating a disability-friendly environment in TV broadcasting. Even if it is a comedy program, the TV must pay attention to the program that will be broadcast to avoid shows that contain violence against persons with disabilities. KPI as a broadcasting institution must set program standards, suggest behavior, supervise implementation, impose sanctions on broadcast violators, and coordinate between the government, TV parties, and the public; in this case, make broadcasts free from violence against persons with disabilities.

It should be emphasized that this research is not intended to attack or blame a particular party but rather to describe symbolic forms of violence. The 'Ngobrol Asal' program is an interesting phenomenon to study, and it has become a scientific field to be criticized more deeply. However, there are shortcomings in this study, such as episodes that show only a few acts of symbolic violence. Therefore, this research can be used as a reference for further analysis.

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Effect of Instagram Post on Legitimacy and Reputation of Indonesian National Police

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Received Dec. 10, 2021; Revised on Jan. 1, 2022; Accepted Jan. 12, 2022

Abstract

Indonesia is rated 60th out of 61 countries in terms of reading interest. It is reasonable to predict that message penetration to the Indonesian people will be more straightforward in the form of images, visuals, or memes based on this basic data. Suppose it is to be used as an official media platform to build the legitimacy and reputation of the police. In that case, the market niche for Indonesian Instagram users is also quite vast and capable. This study intends to explain the relationship (correlation) between variables, especially posting variables with legitimacy and reputation variables on Instagram @Divisihumaspolri. The research method used in this study is content analysis on Instagram @Divisihumaspolri from January 1, 2018, to June 31, 2018. The conclusions in this study indicate an influence between posting to the Instagram account @Divisihumaspolri on the legitimacy and reputation of the Indonesian National Police organization because the coefficient of the relationship is positive. This means that legitimacy is positively and significantly related to reputation. Thus, the post of @Divisihumaspolri affects legitimacy variables, including regulations, norms, cultural knowledge, and reputation variables, including credibility, reliability, trustworthiness, and responsibility.

Keywords: Instagram, Post, Legitimacy, Reputation, Indonesian National Police

INTRODUCTION

According to Hayes, social media has become an integral and inseparable part of modern communication (Sheil et al., 2011; Carr & Hayes, 2015; Kent, 2015; Azizah, 2021). Social media has proven to be effective as a public sphere (Bhakti, 2020). Individuals, groups/organizations, entrepreneurs, conventional media, private and government institutions have adopted social media to collect, disseminate and share information with their audiences. Likewise, the Indonesian National Police uses social media as a tool to build public trust. Social media is used to discuss the latest national issues around

security, measure public sentiment towards the National Police, and as a tool to suppress cybercrime.

The media is a tool for disseminating information that is broadcast or circulated freely to the general public. The media has a crucial role in the technology era since it can affect public opinion because society cannot be isolated from technology (Fadhlorrohman & Purnomo, 2020). The evolution of technology has created a new environment (Tanuwijaya et al., 2020; Irnando & Irwansyah, 2021). In the information communication technology landscape, social media is a product of the evolution of the website (Web). The first-generation web (Web 1.0) was the web of content, where static information was shared between web users and websites. However, most users are consumers of information. Web, this content has no active interaction between information providers, consumers of information (users), and between users.

In this era, website creation is very massive. In the early 21st century, the web evolved from the Web of Content to the Web of Communication (Web 2.0). A time when many interactive platforms, such as blogs, allow non-technical users to interact with the web, create content, and share with other users. Internet users become providers and consumers of information (prosumers). Social media (e.g., Twitter, Facebook, YouTube, etc.) are examples of platforms developed during this period. Around 2008, began to see the emergence of the semantic web (Web 3.0) or Web of Context. We have now entered the era of the mobile web (2012-2019), Web of Things (Web 4.0), or Internet of Things (IoT). This era is no different from the previous ones, except that the web now must connect all real and virtual devices in real-time. The following web (5.0) is the dynamic web that supports emotional and intelligent interactions between users and the web. It is also called the Web of Thoughts, where human nature is mated with artificial intelligence (Aghaei et al., 2012; Susilo & Putranto, 2021).

In all government lines, legislative, executive, and judicial, it is now required to have digital media literacy and adopt social media for accountability for performance based on the people's budget. As a judicial institution authorized to prosecute violators of the law, the Indonesian National Police must use social media as a Public Relations tool. One of them is providing accurate information to citizens so that there is public participation in policy formulation and improving internal communication. Public Relations not only carries out the function of producer/distributor of information but also maintains the reputation and legitimacy of the organization.

Police Law number 2 of 2002 places the National Police as an institution that has the mandate of Indonesian citizens to enforce the law, protect and protect the community. In

other words, it gives power/authority and legal legitimacy in every action, but does the legal basis for legal legitimacy provide complete organizational legitimacy? Gaining legitimacy is essential for organizations in the transformation phase because institutional change is complex (Dacin et al., 2002).

The National Police as a bureaucratic organization has echoed a mental revolution since 2014. Building a reputation and legitimacy since 2005 as stated in the Grand Strategy of the Police Phase I, II, III, and IV. Organizational legitimacy and organizational reputation are two concepts that represent the assessment of an organization by the social system (Deephhouse & Carter, 2005). Police, as an organization, do not stand alone. This organization operates and functions in the community, which funds and entrusts state security to these institutions.

Quoted from kompas.com on April 3, 2018, regarding legal actions taken by the Chief of Indonesian National Police, Muhammad Tito Karnavian, in a speech at the West Java Regional Police Headquarters, he stated that every law enforcement action must receive legitimacy from the community. Both juridical legitimacy and organizational legitimacy. Because if this legitimacy is not supported, there will be chaos, as in the case with the destruction and burning of the Ciracas Sectoral Police, East Jakarta. The arson was carried out because of the public's distrust of the Police in investigating beating thug's/parking men against Indonesian National Armed Forces members.

The Chief of Indonesian National Police's statement aligns with Suchman's 1995 theory of legitimacy. Legitimacy can be considered as equalizing perceptions or assumptions. Actions taken by an entity are desired, appropriate, or according to the system of norms, values, beliefs, and definitions developed by social groups (Suchman, 1995). Deephhouse & Carter (2005) emphasize that organizations gain legitimacy when they conform to the social expectations of a particular population. This is very relevant for law enforcement agencies because the central role of legitimacy (the feeling that the actions taken by the organization are right and expected) lies in support of the community/community (Grimmelikhuijsen & Meijer, 2015). The existence of the National Police organization is certainly influenced by several things, thereby reducing the legitimacy and reputation of the Police in the eyes of the public.

Negative perceptions of the police can hinder public support for the law enforcement process. As in providing information related to the evil behavior of a person/criminal group. This obstacle is a challenge for the Public Relations of the Police. When reputation and legitimacy are questioned, social media can be a tool to reclaim both.

The Indonesian National Police is one of the main pillars of law enforcement. In more than half a century, Indonesian National Police has grown and developed with a history of ups and downs. At a relatively young age, the National Police should become more mature in carrying out their duties and functions as state servants, namely as a law enforcement institution, where the Police are in charge of maintaining security and public order (Purnamasari, 2007). Moreover, the vital role of mass media, both online and conventional, as a means of disseminating information in the field of the Police greatly determines the legitimacy of the Police in society. The success of the Police cannot be separated from the synergy between the community and the Police. This synergy is essential, especially for the Public Relations Division of the National Police. Public Relations is involved in gaining legitimacy, ensuring the organization has active support from its stakeholders and protecting its legitimacy when it begins to be questioned (Wæraas, 2018). Suppose one expert supports the idea that public relations involve establishing good relations with the public to maintain the organization's survival. In that case, it can be concluded that the role of Public Relations is about gaining and maintaining legitimacy and building a reputation.

Practitioners and academics believe that social media is a potential tool to maintain the reputation of an organization and the police institution. In terms of maintaining good relations, the police can establish relationships with netizens or society. These capabilities are built mainly in providing message content that displays effectiveness, transparency, the ability and willingness to engage in “modern behavior”, immerse in popular culture and use the latest technology (Grimmelikhuijsen & Meijer, 2015). In contrast to the concept of legitimacy, an organization's reputation arises by distinguishing the organization from its surroundings. Thus, giving legitimacy and positive reputations appears to be the product of fundamentally different forms of judgment (Deephouse & Carter, 2005). In other words, the concept of legitimacy in social media talks about power, while the reputation that is formed through social media messages talks about image. The Indonesian National Police is present as a news source, depending on the mainstream media and exploring online media. Make it an information channel, cyber patrol area, enforce the law, provide community services, and protect the community/netizens. One of the official Indonesian National Police social media managed thoughtfully and involves many entities is Instagram.

Instagram is a social media platform for publishing photos and videos to convey one's online self-presentation (Prasetya, 2020; Octaviana & Susilo, 2021). Instagram is a social media platform that focuses on videos and images, where each post can include a text caption by involving hashtags and comments. This application can be accessed through PCs and devices but is designed for mobile devices (McNely, 2012; Susilo, 2021). In

previous research on police media, he discussed Twitter and Facebook at the state police level (Mayes, 2017) and the Indonesian National Police communication strategy at the regional/Regional Police level. However, there has been no research on police Instagram, which is specific to the content of the message conveyed. This research is expected to develop a comparative result in the practice of police public relations, so the academics and public relations practitioners are not trapped in the Illusion of Control. This situation arises due to the conservative paradigm of public relations, which sees Public Relations as a message system, publicity, informational, and media relations function.

Practitioners still worship publications, news, communication campaigns, and media contacts in their performance. They still consider the public an audience that can be controlled and controlled through asymmetrical/one-way communication (Grunig, 2013; Susilo et al., 2019). Through messages displayed on Instagram @Divisihumaspolri, researchers want to see how the influence of Instagram posts @Divisihumaspolri on the reputation and legitimacy of the Police. This research also expects to determine whether the two variables influence each other. Another goal is to analyze the communication strategy applied by the Public Relations Division of the Police in achieving the legitimacy and positive reputation of the Police organization.

Instagram posts are measured by the number of likes and the number of positive comments and negative comments on each post. The post's influence on legitimacy and reputation will be seen. As expressed by the Chief of Indonesian National Police Police General Tito Karnavian, the achievement of legitimacy and reputation is essential for the sustainability of law enforcement organizations. Gaining public support for every organizational action can facilitate the work of organizations that have a lot to do with public services. The concept of legitimacy and reputation is complex due to people's social judgments. Indonesian society has now entered the era of the Industrial Revolution 4.0. Active with several internet-based device platforms, one of which is social media. According to Laswell's communication theory, communication problems are around communicators, messages, message channels, receivers/communicators, and effects. In this study, the researcher was interested in the message conveyed by the Police Public Relations Division through its official Instagram account.

The development of the Indonesian National Police organization in a more complex and specific direction in 2018, one of which was the Multi-Media Bureau, which was specifically created to manage social media professionally, intrigued researchers to see the new Public Relations Division bureau/engine. Can the organizational changes carried out also change the organization's effectiveness as a whole, especially in shaping the reputation and legitimacy of the Indonesian National Police organization? This research

aims to see the state of the active audience on the platform and how the message is designed and delivered by the Public Relations of the Police, which inevitably adapts to the 4.0 era. They should be no longer focusing on making press releases and getting as many publications as possible so that the organization becomes famous.

The community-oriented police force has a clear and continuous commitment to enhancing its image. The public values the police's efforts and expects them to be transparent in their activities and choices (Mayes, 2017). The goal of using social media is to improve community ties and solve criminal cases. The more social media channels law enforcement employs to engage the public actively; the more regular contact should be practiced (Beshears, 2017). Although the police own and use social media, and residents are responsive, there is a lack of connection between them due to the police's lack of reaction. In other words, while some police member exchanges are promising, very few are collaborative (Brainard & Edlins, 2015).

Local governments are underutilizing social media, with only 1/3 of respondents using it. Because of these politicians' beliefs of whether or not their public wants them to utilize social media, less social media use is expected. Moreover a third of those polled use social media (Graham & Avery, 2013). According to empirical data, most Twitter communication takes place through decentralized channels. While a small percentage of cops use their personal Twitter handles, most use their official ones. Although Twitter is mainly utilized for external communication, other police officers are interested in using it for internal communication (Meijer & Torenvlied, 2016).

Some of the studies above focus on how the police in each country use social media and how they and the government optimize social media for the community. Most are still researching Twitter and Facebook, YouTube, and other microblogging. No one has ever studied the use of police Instagram, especially the Indonesian National Police. Meanwhile, the use of Instagram by the Indonesian population is ranked third in the world. This focus arose from the need to identify communication strategies to enhance the legitimacy and reputation of the police force through social media. This research is a development and amalgamation of previous research related to police social media management which contains novelty in explaining familiar concepts in the management realm, namely legitimacy and organizational reputation, but through the official Instagram text of the Police, namely @Divisihumaspolri. The question is thus narrowed down in the general question of this research, namely, how is the influence of posting to the @Divisihumaspolri Instagram account on the legitimacy and reputation of the Indonesian National Police organization?

Posts

The posting comes from the primary word posting in Indonesian, which means placing or posting. The word post is used according to the original language, namely English, then the word post is commonly used in writing, online writing, Instagram, and blogging. Posts uploaded, in this case, on Instagram will get feedback from comments from viewers or usually called netizens. The feedback can be positive, negative, or neutral. Through this degree of difference, it can be a space to examine the content of a post whether it influences the reader or not at all.

Legitimacy Theory

Discussing legitimacy in the communication process, Public Relations cannot be separated from assumptions and what is in the minds of the communicant. Legitimacy is described as equalizing the perception or assumption that an action taken by an entity is an action that is desirable, appropriate, or following a socially developed system of norms, values, beliefs, and definitions (Suchman, 1995). Legitimacy is essential for organizations/institutions because community legitimacy towards organizations is a strategic factor for future organizational development. O'Donovan (2000) argues that organizational legitimacy can be interpreted as something that society gives to organizations and organizations want or seek from the community. So that legitimacy has benefits to support the survival of an organization.

Organizational Legitimacy

Legitimacy is a concept that explains the existence of a boundary line between the organization and the socio-cultural environment in which the organization exists and operates. A legitimized organization represents the evaluation of the organization by the social system. Organizational legitimacy is a form of appreciation from stakeholders who judge that the organization follows specific standards or models.

There are two approaches in understanding the existence of legitimacy, namely strategic and institutional (Suchman, 1995). The strategic approach views legitimacy as an operational resource that an organization derives from its social environment and then uses to acquire other resources (Suchman, 1995; Dowling & Pfeffer, 1975). On the other hand, the institutional perspective adopts a more passive view of organizations, which assumes that the social environment determines organizations and managerial decisions are shaped by accepting broad belief systems (Suchman, 1995).

Regulation

The legitimacy comes from regulations in conformity with regulations, standard rules, and laws (Zimmerman & Zeitz, 2002), which by definition have a formal character. In general, legal organizations such as governments, associations, professional organizations, and others have established explicit regulatory processes, including rules, monitoring, and sanctions in case of non-compliance (Zimmerman & Zeitz, 2002). These three dimensions are measures of applying regulation elements within the organization. Thus, the rule of law and regulation is a formal institution representing the source of the legitimacy of regulations. The government bodies that provide that authority are state institutions at various regional, local, national, and international levels.

Norm

Norm-based legitimacy is adherence to widely accepted informal norms and values (Scott, 2003). In this case, normative legitimacy is considered an informal social construction developed and institutionalized over time and needs. Scott defines values as concepts of desirable that relate to standards for any existing structure or similar behavior. Norms contain an understanding of how something should be done. In other words, values are general moral principles, and norms are concrete instructions for behavior. Norms are formed from the values adopted, which become the rules about whether an action is allowed.

Cultural Knowledge

Legitimacy based on cultural knowledge is conformity with widely held cultural beliefs and practices that are taken for granted (Scott, 2003). Knowledge/cognitive elements can be described as rules that determine the types of actors that may exist, what structural features are used, what procedures they can follow, and what meanings are associated with these actions.

The sources of cultural knowledge in legitimacy are assumptions taken for granted in social systems (Scott, 2003), which have an informal character. According to Suchman (1995), the dimension of cultural legitimacy knowledge is the subtlest and the most powerful and the most difficult to obtain and manipulate. Davis & Greve (1997) explain that this approach focuses on shared frameworks for interpreting actors, which allows them to obtain a general definition of a particular situation.

Thus, legitimacy comes from adopting a general frame of reference consistent with that prevailing in the social system. However, it should not be misunderstood from the perspective of cognitive or cultural knowledge. The focus of the study is not on individual

cognition but on the reality of taken-for-granted social constructions that guide organizational action (Zucker, 1977).

Reputation

Reputation is a public perception of the organization's past actions and the organization's prospects in the future, of course, compared to similar organizations or competitors. Reputation is related to what the organization has done and is believed by the target audience, based on their own experiences and those of others (Fombrun, 1996). Doorley & Garcia (2007) define reputation as a combination of behavior, performance, and organizational communication. According to them, reputation is influenced by the perception and image of various stakeholders. Then, the combination of the performance and attitude of the organization is added with communication.

Reputation Element

According to Fombrun (1996) in the book *Reputation: Realizing Value from the Corporate Image*, reputation is built by four elements, including:

a) Credibility

Organizations are expected to have credibility in three respects, including organizations showing good performance/profits, maintaining organizational stability, and having good prospects for organizational growth/development. The National Police, as a government institution, has few similar competitors. Still, its credibility can be seen through how the achievements of the Police, especially those that show overachievement/performance exceed the operational funds budgeted using public money.

b) Reliability

Reliability is the expectation of the users of the organization's services/products. Organizations are always expected to maintain the quality of their products and services and ensure excellent service received by their users. The National Police, as a government administrative agency, does not have many similar competitors. Still, the unique services provided by the National Police can be used as a benchmark for the services of the National Police organization. Both in driving license/ vehicle registration certificate services, demo security, legal case settlement, terrorism disclosure, and other tasks.

c) Trustworthiness

Trustworthiness is the expectation of the members of the organization. Organizations are expected to be trusted, organizations can create a sense of belonging and pride for all their members. This expectation can be seen in how members take pride in their duty to wear uniforms that show their organizational identity. It can also be seen from how

members of the National Police participated in making official content from the Police Instagram viral as a form of sense of belonging to their organization.

d) Responsibility

Responsibility is the expectation of the community around the organization. It is defined by how much or meaningful the organization is in helping the development of the surrounding community. Responsibility can be seen in how much the organization cares about the community and its environment. It can also be assessed from the impact on the surrounding environment to make life in the environment better.

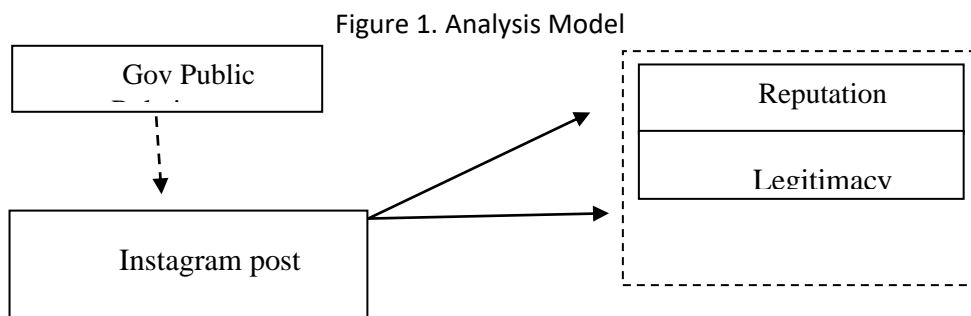
Public Relations

Public Relations, which in Indonesian is defined as Public Relations according to Jefkin (2004), are all forms of planned communication, both internal (inward) and external (outward), between an organization and all its audiences to achieve specific goals based on mutual understanding.

Cutlip et al. (2016) mention, "Public relations is the distinctive management function which helps establish and mutual lines of communications, understanding, acceptance, and cooperation between an organization and its public." Public Relations is a unique management function that supports the formation of mutual understanding in communication, understanding, acceptance, and cooperation between organizations and their various publics (Ardianto & Soemirat, 2008).

Relationship Between Variables

The relationship between the variables in this study is that variable X indicates the frequency of @Divisihumaspolri's Instagram posts to variable Y, where Y1 is the reputation dimension, and Y2 is the legitimacy dimension that appears on Instagram @Divisihumaspolri. Researchers measured @Divisihumaspolri's Instagram posts on reputation and legitimacy through the number of likes, positive comments, and negative comments. So, it will be concluded whether there is an influence between the @Divisihumaspolri Instagram account posts on the legitimacy and reputation of the Indonesian National Police organization. The data that has been analyzed can determine the communication strategy implemented by the Police Public Relations Division in increasing the legitimacy and positive reputation of the Indonesian National Police organization.



Source: Processed by the Author

Government Public Relations, in this case, the Police Public Relations Division, carries out public relations activities, one of which is through the Official Instagram Post @Divihumaspolri. This research focuses on the effect of these posts on reputation and legitimacy, both of which can be said to be the primary goal of Government Public Relations, which does not sell products but achieves these two things.

Theory Hypothesis

Theoretical hypotheses are formulated based on the interrelationships between variables built within the theoretical framework. In this study, the hypotheses are:

- a. There is a relationship between the post variable on the National Police @Divisihumaspolri Instagram and reputation.
- b. There is a relationship between the post variable on Instagram @Divisihumaspolri and the legitimacy variable.
- c. There is a relationship in the National Police @Divisihumaspolri Instagram between posting variables and reputation and legitimacy variables.

METHOD

The research method is a technical explanation of the methods used in a study (Muhadjir, 1996). The research method covers the whole thinking process that starts with finding the problem. The researcher describes it in a specific framework and collects data as material for empirical testing to explain the social phenomena studied (Hasan, 2002).

This research approach uses an explanatory quantitative approach. First, the approach used to explain the relationship between two variables, namely hoax declarations with legitimacy and reputation in Instagram texts/posts. This was carried out by calculating the volume and frequency of the unit of analysis of the content observed quantitatively.

More narrowly, this research is explanatory, associative research that compares two variables. In other words, it is a study that tries to explain the correlation between one social phenomenon (variable x) and another social phenomenon (variable y) and answer why it occurs through hypothesis testing (Kriyantono, 2014).

The research method used in this study is content analysis, which aims to describe the aspects and characteristics of a message (Eriyanto, 2011; Zellatifanny et al., 2021; Susilo & Putranto, 2021). Meanwhile, according to Budd, content analysis is a systematic technique for analyzing message content and processing messages or a tool for analyzing, observing, and analyzing the content of open communication behavior of selected communicators (Kriyantono, 2014; Parinussa et al., 2021). The unit of analysis in this study is the Instagram post @Divisihumaspolri from January 1, 2018, to June 31, 2018.

RESULTS

Reliability and Validity Test

Content analysis research is conducted objectively, so there should be no interpretation between one coder and another. The type of reliability used in this study is inter-coder reliability. According to Eriyanto (2011), reliability wants to see the similarities and differences in the results of different coding measuring tools. As the name implies (inter-coder), the reliability calculation requires two or more coders. Each coder will be given a measuring instrument in the form of a coding sheet and asked to rate it according to the instructions in the coding sheet. Then, the results of filling in the coder will be compared to see how many similarities and differences there are.

The study used Microsoft MS Excel software and SPSS (Statistical Program for Social Science) version 24 in 2016 to determine the relationship between the effects of posting on legitimacy and reputation on the @Divisihumaspolri Instagram account, as well as conclusions based on the hypothesis test used. In the first part, the researcher analyses all types of comments, the character of each account that submits comments, then continues by measuring the level of reliability of each indicator in the dimensions.

In this content analysis research, the formula (formula) used to calculate the degree of reliability is the Holsti formula. The Holsti formula is an inter-coder reliability test that is widely used in addition to the approval percentage. Reliability is shown in the percentage of the agreement to see how much the percentage of inter-coder equality is when assessing a content. In the first part, the researcher analyzed all types of posts, classified them, and then measured the level of reliability of each indicator in the dimensions. The results of the reliability test for each category are as follows:

Table 1. Results of the Legitimacy Dimension Reliability Test

Variable Dimension	Coder Second Coding Results		
	Coder A	Coder B	Amount of Coding Approved by Both Coders
Regulation	29	30	29
Norm	454	451	451
Cultural Cognition	857	859	857
TOTAL	1340	1340	1337

The table shows that coder A in the regulation dimension is coding as many as 29 and coder as much as 30, so both coders' number of codes approved is 29. Meanwhile, in the norm dimension, it can be seen that coder A has coded 454, and coder B has coded 451, so the total number of codes approved by the two coders is 451 codes. Meanwhile, in the dimension of cultural cognition, it can be seen that coder A has coded 857, and coder B has coded 859, so the total number of codes approved by both coders is 857 codes. Finally, by using the Holsti formula, the researchers conducted a test of calculating the reliability of the data as follows:

$$\begin{aligned}
 CR &= \frac{2M}{N1+N2} \\
 &= \frac{2(1337)}{1340+1340} \\
 &= \frac{2674}{2680} \\
 &= 0.99 \text{ (99\%)}
 \end{aligned}$$

From the results of calculations using the Holsti coder reliability formula, it shows that the reliability coefficient is 0.99 or 99%, so it has a sufficient and acceptable correlation because the reliability number exceeds the minimum tolerated, which is 70% or with the calculation results above 0.7 (Eriyanto, 2011).

Table 2. Reliability Test on Reputable Dimension Variables

Variable Dimension	Coder Second Coding Results		
	Coder A	Coder B	Amount of Coding Approved by Both Coders
Credibility	2	4	2
Reliability	7	8	7
Trustworthiness	38	33	33
Responsibility	7	9	7
TOTAL	54	54	49

The table shows that coder A on the credibility dimension has 2 2 codings and four coders, so the number of codes approved by the two coders is two codings. Meanwhile, in the Reliability dimension, it can be seen that coder A coded seven and coder B coded 8, so the total number of codes approved by the two coders is seven codes. Meanwhile, in the trustworthiness dimension, it can be seen that coder A has coded 38 and coder B has coded 33, so the total number of codes approved by the two coders is 33 codes. Meanwhile, on the responsibility dimension, it can be seen that coder A coded seven and coder B coded 9, so the total number of codes approved by the two coders is seven codes. By using the Holsti formula, the researchers conducted a test of calculating the reliability of the data as follows:

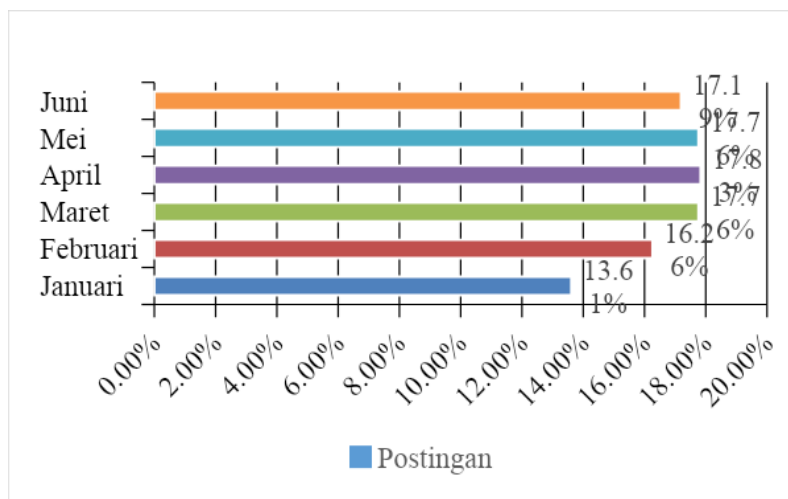
$$\begin{aligned}
 CR &= \frac{2M}{N1+N2} \\
 &= \frac{2(49)}{54+54} \\
 &= \frac{98}{108} \\
 &= 0.90 (90\%)
 \end{aligned}$$

The calculations using the Holsti coder reliability formula show that the reliability coefficient is 0.90 or 90%. So it has a sufficient and acceptable correlation because the reliability number exceeds the tolerable minimum, which is 70%, or with the calculation results above the minimum tolerable number 0.7, namely 70% or with the results of calculations above the number 0.7 (Eriyanto, 2011).

Data Analysis Results

The diagram below shows the number of posts uploaded on @Divisihumaspolri Instagram account between Jan. 1, 2018 to Jun. 30, 2018. The total is 1396.

Figure 2. Post Frequency Diagram by Month



In January 2018, there were 190 posts with a percentage of 13.61%. There were 221 posts in February 2018, or 16.26%. In March and April 2018, the post numbers were 248 (17.76%) and 249 (17.83%). The percentages of posts in May and June were 17.76% (248 posts) and 17.19% (240 posts).

Bivariate Analysis

Relationship Test Results (Chi-Square) – To Answer Research Questions

H1: There is a linear relationship between legitimacy and reputation in @Divisihumaspolri's Instagram posts

Table 3. Results of Relationship Test (Chi-Square) – To Answer Research Questions

Chi-Square Tests			
	Value	Df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	158.555 ^a	90	.000
Likelihood Ratio	94.479	90	.353
Linear-by-Linear Association	12.318	1	.000
N of Valid Cases	119		

a. 106 cells (96.4%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is .02.

The significance of asymp ($0.000 < 0.05$) confirms a significant relationship between legitimacy and reputation. Furthermore, legitimacy has a positive relationship and significance to reputation because the correlation coefficient is positive.

Effect Test Results – To Answer Research Questions

RQ2: Do the legitimacy and reputation variables in @Divisihumaspolri's Instagram post influence each other?

Table 4. Effect of Test Results –
To Answer Research Questions

Coefficients ^a						
Model		Unstandardized		Standardized	t	Sig.
		Coefficients		Coefficients		
		B	Std. Error	Beta		
1	(Constant)	6.954	1.091		6.374	.000
	TR	.286	.077	.323	3.693	.000

a. Dependent Variable: TL

As shown in Table 4, the significance level was $0.000 < 0.05$, which means a significant influence between legitimacy and reputation. Based on the theory of legitimacy, the police consider legitimacy is important as a strategic factor for the institution's development in the future. Thus, legitimacy has benefits to support the survival of the Police.

Legitimacy is obtained through @Divisihumaspolri's Instagram post about when there is a match between the presence of the Police that is not disturbing or congruent with the existence of a value system that exists in society and the environment, such as Indonesian National Police's activities in the community. Indonesian National Police's performance in resolving cases, arrests of drug offenders, speeches, hatred, etc. When there is a shift towards non-compliance, the legitimacy of the Police can be threatened. However, the Police will continue to exist if the public realizes that the Police operate for a value system commensurate with the community's value system.

DISCUSSION

Posts and the Role of Digital Communication Public Relations Police

Instagram as a social media cannot be separated from the interests and messages that have been structured and prepared in advance by communicators, according to Jefkin's

(2004) theory. These messages are made for external and internal audiences to achieve specific goals. In the context of this research, posts uploaded by the @Divisihumaspolri account cannot be separated from the number of institutional/government working days. Through the results of the analysis of the contents of the Indonesian National Police's Instagram posts, it was found that there was a tendency for the number of posts in January and February to be no more than March to June. This happens because the number of working days in these two months was less than in the other four months. So, it can be seen that the posting frequency is relatively high only on weekdays.

In carrying out the daily work of Indonesian National Police personnel, it turned out that several posts were able to attract the attention of the account's followers. It can be seen in the chart of the frequency of positive comments that accumulated a lot in April and May. The highest comments and likes occurred on April 30, 2018, May 17, 2018, and May 20, 2018. On April 30, 2018, there was a video post featuring a Tulungagung Policeman became a garbage collector in his spare time. This post got 8030 likes and 40 positive comments.

Picture 3. Instagram post @Divisihumaspolri April 30



The content of the message that raises the irony side becomes a paradox in the view of the followers of the @Divisihumaspolri account. According to Pavio's theory, the picture superiority effect, images can arouse the emotions of the message readers. The short video increased community engagement with the police organization through Police Sub-Inspector First Class Trisih Setyono. Another post of the day was the following image:

Figure 4. Instagram post @Divisihumaspolri



Carrying the caption "The world needs a generation that dares to dream and dares to make it happen" generated 1837 likes 51 positive comments. This content that has been designed shows small children, who still have many hopes and dreams attached but are wrapped in the symbol of the National Police uniform. It succeeded in bringing the audience and the Police closer together in motivation.

Dimensions of Legitimacy in the Perspective of Government Public Relations

Legitimacy in O'Donovan (2000) is like two sides of a coin. On the one hand, legitimacy is something that the community gives to organizations, but from the perspective of organizations, especially the Police, legitimacy must be obtained from the community. Meanwhile, in the view of Government Public Relations, Effendy (2006) stated that Government Public Relations aims to inform the public how the institution carries out its rights and responsibilities. In the series of processed data in the previous chapter, it was shown that one of the elements of legitimacy, namely regulation, was relatively high in March and June. Both are related to the legal education content "did you know?" to society.

Another element in building legitimacy is norms. The norm was relatively high in May in the processed data, in line with the highest number of likes and comments in the research period, May 17, 2018. On that date, there was a terrorist attack against the Riau Police. One of the posts shows the Chief of Indonesian National Police giving an extraordinary promotion to two Riau Police personnel who crippled four terrorists, gaining 1407 likes and simultaneously with the arrest of three terrorists by the Special Detachment in Probolinggo, gaining 2980 likes and 139 positive comments.

Figure 5. Instagram post @Divisihumaspolri



Figure 6. Instagram post @Divisihumaspolri



A total of 133 posts (29.29%) show the professionalism of the Indonesian National Police in suppressing terrorists in Riau and Probolinggo. The element of norms in obtaining legitimacy must display instructions, evaluations, and institutional obligations to achieve more than what is expected by general social norms and become standards for various professional aspects (DiMaggio & Powell, 1983). Maggio's opinion has been balanced with a lot of feedback on community appreciation for the achievements of the Police, but there is still another element, namely cultural knowledge. The data processing elements

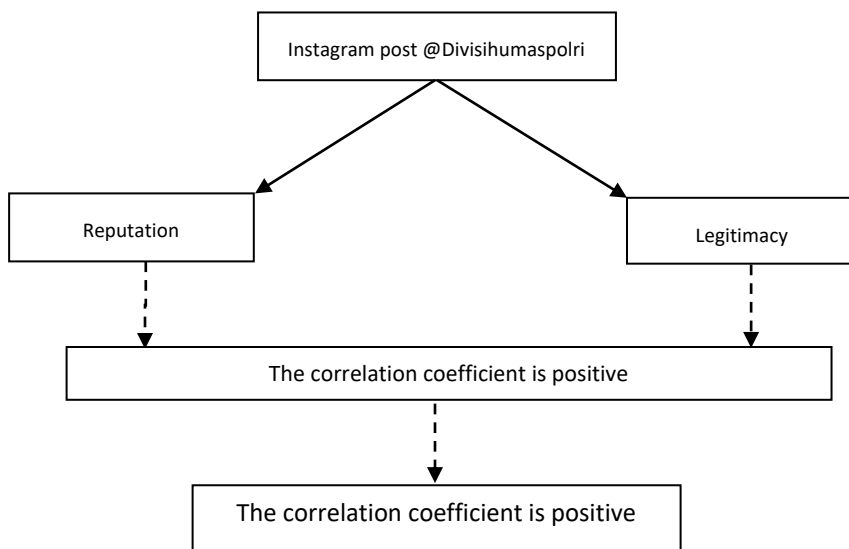
of cultural knowledge, which stood out in February, included 173 posts (20.18%). The dominant posts are about humanitarian assistance carried out by the Police for the community. Assistance from the Police to the community, especially the urban community, is not taken for granted. Still, messages that are designed and taken for granted can be created in a series of pictures and captions to generate sympathy and justification from the community.

Through these three elements, when juxtaposed with data on the accumulation of positive comments in May, it is found that the Police are trying to gain legitimacy from the community by displaying messages that are in line with norms. The police also gains legitimacy by showing assistance to other functions, one of which was the police anti terrorist unit Special Detachment 88 through the message of terrorist arrest. The police also show message about its role in community development. In line with the opinion of Cutlip et al., (2016) Public Relations is a management function that specifically supports the formation of mutual understanding in communication, understanding, acceptance, and cooperation between organizations and their various publics.

Dimensions of Reputation in the perspective of Government Public Relations

According to the reputation frequency data on the reliability dimension by coder 1, it was found that there were only two posts in February and the remaining months, only one post each. So, if it is drawn from the opinion of Doorley & Garcia (2007) that reputation is a combination of behavior, performance and organizational communication, the posting data does not reflect the combination of the three. Most of the posts are still dominated by information about regulations, not many have shown excellent service. It only slightly portrays the reliability of the organization. If this is taken further from the perspective of an image or picture of mind, then only a small picture will be shown. Public Relations institutions are too focused on gaining community legitimacy, thus forgetting the role of Public Relations as an image maker (Ruslan, 2018).

Figure 7. Finding the Model



Source: Processed by the Author

Another trustworthy dimension is also lame in frequency—twenty posts in March, 17 posts in April and zero in February. The irregularity of this data shows that the target of building a reputation within the internal scope of the National Police is still not well designed, because trustworthiness is building an image of pride with organizational identity so that it creates a sense of belonging to its personnel (Fombrun, 1996). The post was high in March because it coincided with the registration opening for the recruitment of Indonesian National Police personnel. Coinciding with the momentum, postings were boosted, while those targeted in the recruitment plan were the external public. Suppose this is carried out according to the annual schedule. In that case, further research can be carried out to see whether the ups and downs of the Indonesian National Police's performance are related to the lack of self-image of trustworthiness in the Indonesian National Police.

Another dimension variable is responsibility. The number obtained is relatively small, two posts in March and only one. Through this data, if further conclusions are drawn, it can be assumed that the Police Public Relations Division has not developed community/environmental maintenance. The numbers are still too small compared to thousands of posts over those six months. Having an impact and making the life of the environment better is one of the duties of Public Relations as an intermediary between the leadership and the public, one of which is the external public. This public is not only the media but also other communities or environments that have direct contact with the Police. The complex and even distribution of the National Police in Indonesia makes the

external public scope of the National Police quite large. However, Instagram media should target who is ready for the public to access the media. This side has not been worked out properly by the Police Public Relations Division.

CONCLUSION

Answering the formulation of the problem in this study, the researcher suspects an influence between the posting of the @Divisihumaspolri Instagram account on the legitimacy and reputation of the Indonesian National Police organization. The value of the effect is 0.38 in the SPSS test, which indicates an influence. So based on the research that has been done, the results show that there is an influence between posting to the Instagram account @Divisihumaspolri on the legitimacy and reputation of the Indonesian National Police organization because the relationship coefficient is positive, which means that legitimacy is positively related and significant to reputation. Thus, the post of @Divisihumaspolri affects legitimacy variables, including regulations, norms, cultural knowledge, and reputation variables, including credibility, reliability, trustworthiness, and responsibility.

In addition, there is a significant effect of legitimacy on reputation. Thus, the legitimacy variables, including regulations, norms, and cultural knowledge, have a significant influence on the reputation variables, including credibility, reliability, trustworthiness, and responsibility. Therefore, answering the second problem formulation about the communication strategy in increasing legitimacy and positive reputation, it was found that the strategy performed by Indonesian National Police was through postings about positive activities of the Indonesian National Police in the community.

In the period between January to June 2018, the researchers found that most public comments on @Divisihumaspolri's Instagram posts received positive comments. Even in April, May, and June, there were almost no negative comments from the public. From January to June 2018, the most positive comments from @Divisihumaspolri's Instagram posts were in May. Most negative comments from @Divisihumaspolri's Instagram posts in March. Meanwhile, the highest number of likes from the post was in May.

Researchers considered that Instagram posts in May were the posts that received the most positive responses from the public where Instagram posts in May were dominated by posts that smelled of motivation, declarations of anti-drugs and anti-hoaxes, declarations against terrorism, where these things are currently being discussed topics in society.

The theoretical implication of the findings of this research data confirms that the function of Public Relations in government organizations (Government Public Relations) is still centered on maintaining legitimacy (related to power), which tends to be normative, top-down, and repetition of previous Public Relations models. In this study, it is also seen that between the variables of legitimacy and reputation in the Public Relations model of government organizations, in the context of this research, the Instagram social media accounts of the Police Public Relations division influence and support each other.

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

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Received Jun, 9, 2021; Revised on Jan. 4, 2022; Accepted Feb. 25, 2022

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 difficult 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 people in 2021 or an increase of 15.5% when compared to January 2020.

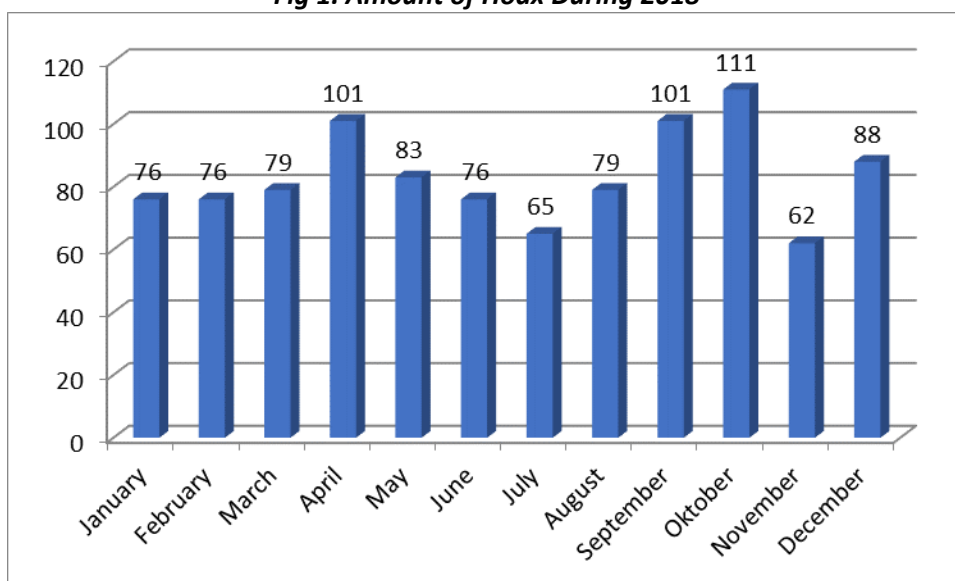
Internationally, hoax are divided into three categories (Wardle, 2017). First, misinformation, namely when fake news is shared, they don't know if the information is a hoax. Second, disinformation is fake news that is intentionally shared, by covering up the real facts. Third, information malls, the 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.	<i>Hoax Candidates 1</i>	<i>f</i>	<i>%</i>
1	<i>Political</i>	1	16.67
2	<i>Religion</i>	2	33.32
3	<i>Etnic</i>	1	16.67
4	<i>Crime</i>	1	16.67
5	<i>Industry</i>	1	16.67
	<i>TOTAL</i>	6	100

Table 4. Hoax on Presidential Candidates 02

No.	<i>Hoax Candidates 02</i>	<i>f</i>	<i>%</i>
1	<i>Political</i>	6	75
2	<i>Religion</i>	2	25
	<i>TOTAL</i>	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 responded to 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).

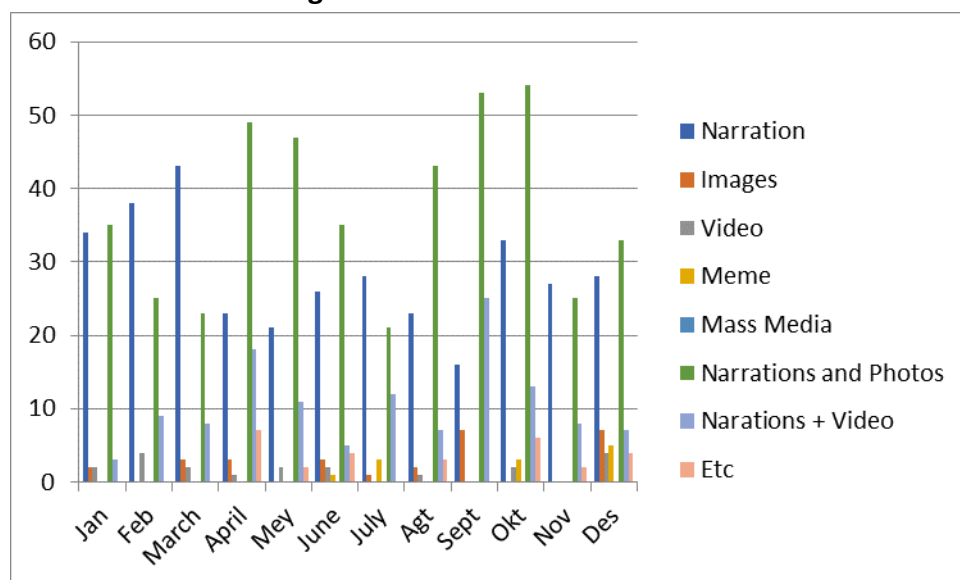
In addition to the topic of religion, Prabowo was also attacked by a health clinic. He was reportedly suffering from a serious illness (December 19, 2018). Regarding religion such as the Saudi Arabian Embassy said that the NU organizations also provoked hoaxes. An example was the hoax about plans for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