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**1st Brawijaya Communication
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Pandemic Covid-19 Now and Then:
Disaster, Health Crisis, and
Communication Challenges**

**CONFERENCE
PROCEEDING**

**Organized by:
Communication Sciences
University Brawijaya**

**October
27-29, 2021**

PROCEEDING

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Pandemic Covud-19 Now and Then: Disaster, Health Crisis , and Communication Challage

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The Dynamics of Anomaly Voters: Responding to Bawaslu Findings in the 2019 Election in Riau

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Abstract

This study tries to examine the findings of the election supervisory body (Bawaslu) regarding 32,556 anomaly voters ahead of the 2019 general election in Riau. This trend occurs because of the unsynchronization of data from the Regional General Election Commission (KPUD), the Central Statistics Agency (BPS) and the Population and Civil Registration Office (Disdukcapil) of Riau Province. Findings in the form of poor accuracy in determining the voter list by the KPUD of Riau Province have caused dynamics and polemics in the community. By using the concepts of Election theory and Democracy and Community Political Rights with a single case qualitative approach, this study finds that the potential for people whose data is not recorded by the Disdukcapil will not only lose their right to vote in elections but can also lead to potential violations of Human Rights. Therefore, this study tries to provide an early warning about the potential negative consequences of inaccurate voter data.

Keywords: democracy; election; political participation

Introduction

The anomaly of voter list data in the general election is still a problem that has not been resolved by the General Elections Commission (KPU). Several studies have shown the problem of the Permanent Voter List (DPT), such as Sari et al. (2019) and Nuryadi (2017). These three studies found the fact that the DPT problems in various regions in Indonesia were caused by the KPU's performance that was not optimal, the implementation of the Luber and Jurdil principles could be realized in the form of validating the Permanent Voters List (Nugraha, 2019), but the DPT anomaly was always a problem in the implementation of elections and became a mistake. one reason for filing a dispute over the results of the general election (Mulyaningsih & Wibisono, 2020).

The research above focuses on the problem of the KPU's performance as an election executive. However, it has not discussed the data source aspect which is an important factor in the many problems with DPT accuracy and its impact on the community (voters). For this reason, this research focuses on the data sources used by the KPU in determining the DPT as well as the potential loss of people's right to vote and will reduce voter participation rates in the General Election (Dedi, 2019). The researcher assumes that the main source of poor DPT accuracy is the quality of the data sources owned by the KPU. As explained by LIPI (Siregar & Ekawati, 2018), that in terms of updating and credible data will determine the quality of the election and in this position the Government and the KPU are responsible for carrying out the DPT registration process in the General Election (Faiz, 2016).

The main data source in determining the DPT by the KPU to date has relied on population data from the population and civil registration office (disdukcapil). Then this data is synchronized with the last voter DPT. From the results of the synchronization of the

two data sources, it is known that a number of voter data are not in accordance with the reality of the field (anomalies). It was found that one voter had two Population Identification Numbers (NIK). On the other hand, two voters have the same NIK. Then there are some voters who have died are still registered as voters.

This anomalous data then becomes a problem for the community because it is threatened not to be able to use their right to vote in elections. Based on data from the Director General of Disdukcapil, Ministry of Home Affairs, it is stated that there are still 31 million voters who have the potential not to be included in the DPT (Pradina & Husodo, 2020). There is a fact that a lot of voters in the 2014 general election who died during the 2019 election. This condition is of course concerning, because on the other hand there are constitutional rights of citizens who are missing, but on the other hand there are constitutional rights of citizens which should no longer exist, but are still used in the 2019 Election (Mahardika, 2019). The view of the Constitutional Court emphasizes that voter registration in the DPT is an administrative procedure that cannot negate matters of a substantial nature, namely the right of citizens to vote as dictated in the Constitutional Court Decision Number 102/PUU-VII/2009 concerning Judicial Review of Law Number 42 of 2008 concerning the General Election of President and Vice President.

This condition also occurred in Riau Province in the 2019 election where there were 32,556 anomalous voter data found by the Election Supervisory Body (Bawaslu). Bawaslu's findings related to this anomalous voter data can worsen public trust in the KPU so that it affects the performance level of the KPU as an election organizer. Therefore, election organizers need to carry out an accurate mechanism in determining the list of voters who will participate in elections in Riau Province, so that the level of political participation is above the national average. The accuracy of determining the voter list greatly affects the participation rate, performance and trust of the Riau KPUD in the eyes of the public. So it is very important to address the findings of 32,556 anomalous voter data by the Riau Province Bawaslu in the 2019 election. The research focuses on early detection of anomalous voter data problems that have an impact on the loss of public voting rights in elections in Riau Province. This research is expected to be a reference for election organizers to evaluate and find solutions to the problem of determining the DPT.

Literature Review

There are two kinds of democracy in the view of political science, namely; normative and empirical understanding. In a normative understanding, democracy is something that a country ideally wants to do or carry out, for example we know the expression "Government of the people, by the people, and for the people" for the realization of a fair government based on the people's choice (Faridhi, 2019). These normative expressions are usually translated into the constitutions of each country. However, we must also note that what is normative may not necessarily be seen in the context of everyday political life in a country. Therefore, it is very necessary to see how the meaning of democracy empirically, namely democracy in its manifestation in practical political life (Gaffar, 2010).

Strong democracy is rooted in the will of the people and aims to achieve the common good or benefit (Thalhah, 2009), because countries choose democracy as a state choice. According to Kelsen (2006), democracy is a continuous process towards perfection. The

beginning of the idea of democracy was in the form of the idea of freedom in the human mind. The meaning of "freedom" is considered as something negative, in the form of being free from ties or the absence of all ties, the absence of all obligations, but that contradicts the idea of "freedom" which is analogous to Kelsen (2006) as the principle of self-determination. Democracy is also understood as a system of government that places the people as the sole vote holder through the electoral process. Talking about democracy certainly cannot be separated from politics, because to realize a democratic state requires active political participation from citizens. Political participation is an activity of citizens aimed at influencing government decision-making (Samuel P Huntington in Budiarto, 2004).

Democracy is an approach towards the ideal of perfect self-determination (Thalhah, 2009), so that citizens' political participation is needed in the process. Political participation also means the participation of ordinary citizens in determining decisions that involve and affect their lives. Participation as an activity is divided into two, namely active participation is an activity that is oriented to the process of political input and output. Included in the category of active participation are submitting proposals on a general policy, criticizing a policy, paying taxes, and electing a leader or government. Passive participation, namely activities that are oriented towards the output process. Activities included in the passive participation category are obeying the government, accepting and implementing whatever the government decides (Surbakti, 2008).

The embodiment of popular sovereignty is that voters have the right to cast their votes directly in accordance with the will of the heart without intermediaries. General elections have the meaning of carrying out the supervisory function, channelling the overall aspirations of all citizens, without discrimination based on ethnicity, religion, race, class, gender, occupation, and social status (Syaifurrohman & Erowati, 2020; Valentina & Dewi, 2017; Widianingsih, 2017).

The correlation between the implementation of elections and the validity of the Permanent Voter List can be studied through the Luber and Jurdil principles which are an inseparable unit. The implementation of elections that Luber Jurdil is seen as a process of legitimizing the instruments of democracy. The legitimacy in question is the ways in which elections are carried out. While the process of determining the Permanent Voter List can be categorized as one of the ways in holding elections (Izzaty & Nugraha, 2019).

Problems that arise in the determination of the Permanent Voter List include, among others, citizens who have met the requirements as voters but are not registered as voters, citizens who have not/not met the requirements as voters but are registered as voters, citizens who are registered more than one in the voter list, as well as citizens who are not registered as an election but exercise the voting rights of others. To overcome this, a supervisory mechanism has been carried out by the KPU and Bawaslu to support the validity of the Permanent Voter List, besides that Political Parties can also help to check the Permanent Voters List. The Constitutional Court's decision is enforced for citizens who meet the requirements as voters but are not registered in the Permanent Voters List so that the election can run in accordance with the LUBER JURDIL principle in order to achieve democracy (Izzaty & Nugraha, 2019).

In this regard, Surbakti (2008) provides 3 (three) parameters to assess whether a Permanent Voters List (DPT) meets the requirements of a democratic election. These parameters are as follows:

1. The voters' list is comprehensive, that is, all citizens entitled to vote are registered as voters in the Permanent Voters List.
2. The voter list is up-to-date in the sense that the Permanent Voter List has been adapted to the latest developments. Concretely, all citizens who have voted when voting is conducted have been registered as voters in the Permanent Voters List, and all registered voters who have died, changed domicile or become citizens of another country have been excluded from the Permanent Voters List.
3. The voter list is prepared accurately in the sense that the writing of identity and other information about voters is carried out accurately, so that citizens who have not or are not entitled to vote are not included in the Permanent Voter List.

The three indicators above become a reference for election organizers in order to guarantee the political rights of the people to choose leaders. In a democratic framework that places the community as the highest sovereignty, it will be damaged if the determination of the DPT is not accurate. To see how the government's efforts through the Ministry of Home Affairs, Disdukcapil and KPUD Riau in increasing the accuracy of voter data (government efforts), the theoretical approach to democracy, DPT and people's political rights has become an analytical tool in studying in depth related to saving citizens' voting rights in elections (Yandra, 2017) in particular the potential for misuse of DPT as well as carefully examining the empowerment of political rights.

Method

This study uses a qualitative method with a case study approach related to the findings of anomalous voter data by Bawaslu Riau. The focus of his research is on the election administration unit itself, namely KPUD and Bawaslu. By using this method, it is possible to describe and discuss research more deeply so that the exploration of research findings as an identification of problems can be revealed. This approach is useful for social research, especially in electoral cases and can develop theories, evaluate, and develop interventions because of its flexibility and thoroughness (Baxter & Jack, 2008).

The first stage in this research with data collection is to distribute open questions to informants via google form. The total number of informants who answered the interview questions were 27 people, consisting of 13 people from the Provincial and Regency/City KPU institutions and 14 people from the Provincial and Regency/City Bawaslu. The collected data is then analyzed so that a general pattern is found from the results of the research questions. The second stage is to conduct in-depth interviews with the KPU Chair and Riau Bawaslu Chair to explore cases or data findings related to DPT voter anomalies and DPT inaccuracies that have not been answered in the first phase of data. The results of this interview are then analyzed and combined with the first data so that it becomes a comprehensive analysis.

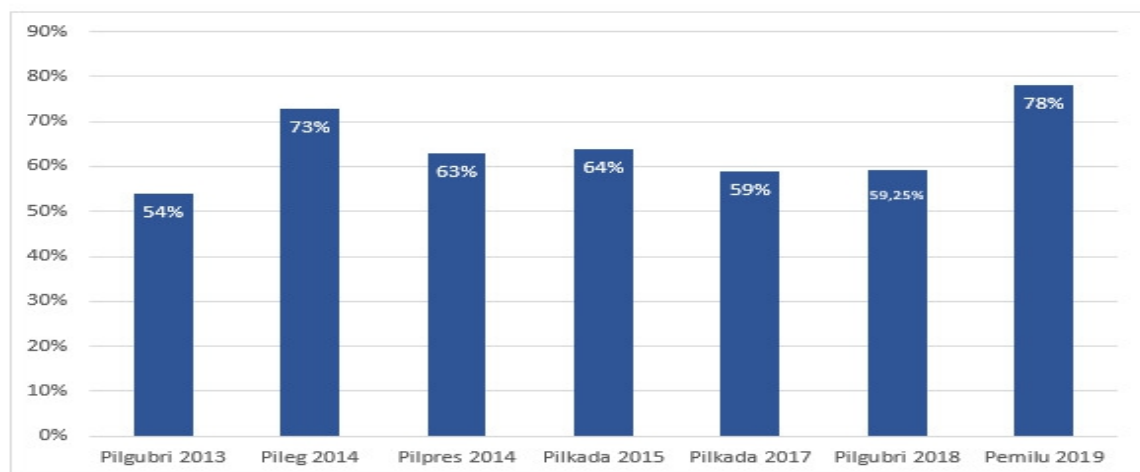
Furthermore, in the process of justification and emphasis on problem points, the researchers also conducted interviews with election observers through election school

activities 1 conducted by THEMIS Indonesia and researchers through the media or Zoom Meeting application. The informants were Usman Hamid, Hadar N Gumay, Djayadi Hanan, Heroik Pratama and Zainal Arifin Mochtar. Information from informants is analyzed to be mapped through the concept of elections and human rights.

Result and discussion

Democracy and Trends in Political Participation in Riau Province 2013-2019

Based on the trend of public political participation in Riau since 2013-2019 in the general election, the average election for governors, presidents, legislators and regional heads is 64.2%. This figure is far from the national participation rate target of 80%. If explored in depth, community political participation is not yet participatory because this figure interprets that political participation still tends to be procedural. Political participation will be an indicator of the quality of democracy, especially in the implementation of elections. The involvement of citizens in voting is a political right that is clearly guaranteed through law if it is ignored it will certainly become a legal problem. The following is the participation rate of the people of Riau from 2013-2018.



Source: KPUD Riau 2019

If you look at the graph above, it can be seen that the political participation of the Riau people is nothing more than political participation at the national level. One of the indications as found in this study is the number of voters who are not registered as DPT, but as regulated in Law No. 7 of 2017 concerning elections, voters who are not registered as DPT can use other identities (KTP or Passport) for elections. , but the reserve ballots only amounted to 2% of the DPT in each polling station has not answered this. There are still voters who have not been able to cast their ballots because the available ballot papers are not enough, because the level of awareness of voters increases when the legislative election coincides with the presidential election.

Another very substantive problem is also related to population administrative data which does not have a single data base, so it has implications for the active involvement of voters to be able to participate in elections. This reality does not necessarily occur because of the inability of the government and organizers in the context of adequate coordination in

the DPT, but the unwillingness to correct the problems of population data which ultimately results in the inaccuracy of the DPT. Even if there are citizens who are not recorded as voters, the consequences will be they will lose their political rights (Yandra, 2017).

This should not happen again in the implementation of elections because it will describe the poor governance of population administration in Indonesia. This issue is a classic problem that from election to election becomes an unresolved issue, even though when it comes to voter data by strengthening the KPU's position in managing full voter data or giving the Ministry of Home Affairs full rights for its management authority, so that the KPU is no longer held hostage by the issue of Voter Data.

Dealing with Anomaly Voter Findings

The Permanent Voter List (DPT) is seen as one of the guarantees of certainty for voters to exercise their political rights in organizing elections. Some of the parameters used to determine the DPT for the implementation of democratic elections, among others, must be comprehensive or citizens who have fulfilled the requirements as voters must be included in the Permanent Voters List, are up-to-date or in accordance with developments (Last DPT and DP4), and are accurate. or the information obtained must be accountable and its validity can be guaranteed (Izzaty & Nugraha, 2019).

Accurate and up-to-date data is a problem faced by the Riau KPUD in determining the DPT. Bawaslu found as many as 32,556 anomalous voter data spread across several regencies/cities. This data was found by Bawaslu after synchronization between population data by the Ministry of Home Affairs and the last DPT of voters in Riau, namely the 2018 Governor Election. following:

- a) More than one person has the exact same element data
- b) More than one person has the same NIK
- c) One person has more than one NIK
- d) Dead people are registered as voters

The anomalous data above are the most common cases found by the KPU against the data obtained from the Disdukcapil. The KPU does not have the authority to delete the duplicate data because it is not the KPU's domain, but the one that has the authority is the Ministry of Home Affairs or its sub-organization, namely Disdukcapil. So the thing that can be done is to conduct field verification directly. The obstacle that occurred during verification was that voters who had duplicate data could not be found by the team. This causes the duplicate data cannot be validated by the KPU. In addition, there are several causes for the occurrence of anomalous voter data as follows:

- a) Inaccuracy of DP4 data submitted by the Ministry of Home Affairs so that data on people who have died are still found on the voter list.
- b) The level of community mobility is quite high and they do not obey the population administration. This causes the latest data not to be updated by disdukcapil
- c) Disdukcapil's negligence occurred in deleting data on residents who had moved, this caused duplicate data to occur

- d) The implementation of coklit is not optimal due to the limited human resources of the coklit officer
- e) The KPU does not have the authority to update population data, so it only relies on population data from the Disdukcapil

KPU's position in accessing population data is passive, even related to population data itself, the KPU does not have access so that DP4 data is voter list data that is only received through the Ministry of Home Affairs. The voter data bank which is continuously updated on the list as has been mandated through Law No. 7 of 2017 concerning elections by the KPU is not used as a comparison from the previous elections. This is certainly related to the inadequate coordination of the Ministry of Home Affairs and the KPU, both at the central and regional levels regarding population data (Ulyanisa & Satrio, 2021).

Apart from the above, the anomaly data that became the findings of Bawaslu were finally resolved by means of field verification by the KPU through PPDP through the Cocklit. The results of the verification are then entered into the SIDALIH application to be used as a temporary DPT. It can be seen that the randomness of voter data shows that there is no single well-built data.

In implementing the determination of DPT, participation from several elements is needed, such as implementing agencies (KPU), supervisory agencies (Bawaslu and election participants), supporting institutions (Kemendagri, police, TNI) and the community (individuals and groups). According to Breinkerhoff, one level of participation is to conduct consultations and collaborate on joint activities. Consultation is a two-way exchange of information and views which also includes information dissemination and gathering feedback and reactions (Yandra, 2016).

Collaboration is a joint activity where the initiator invites other groups to get involved but the initiator still has control over decision making and control. This form of participation moves at a level above the collection of feedback towards the involvement of external actors in problem solving, policy design, monitoring and evaluation, and so on (Yandra, 2016). Joint decision making is a collaboration in which there is a shared control over the decisions made. This distributed control of decision-making or policy will be more useful when the knowledge, capacity, and experience of external actors are felt to be very critical in order to achieve policy objectives.

KPUD Riau cooperates with Disdukcapil to get access to population data of potential voters which is used as the basis for determining the DPT. Data on potential election voters (DP4) from the Ministry of Home Affairs is combined with DPT data for the last election. The results of the analysis of the combination of the two data are then matched and researched (coklit). After the coklit process is complete, the next step is to input data into the KPU's SIDALIH application. The results of the SIDALIH data are then used as temporary DPT to be confirmed directly by the community. Within 14 days the KPU received complaints from the public regarding the published temporary DPT data. If there is an error in the SIDALIH data, then a review process is carried out for the data that is considered problematic. Then the last stage is the determination of the DPT. This stage is carried out after all problematic data is resolved by the coklit officer and entered into the SIDALIH application. However, in practice SIDALIH has not become a full power

application in the process of administering voter data. It is necessary to develop this application so that it can be synchronized with the data from the Ministry of Home Affairs which can be updated at any time. Therefore, it is necessary to have adequate coordination from the Ministry of Home Affairs with the KPU how in the future population data can be integrated with voter data. To support this process, it is necessary to have political will from the president because the power to coordinate and communicate between government agencies is his responsibility.

Political Rights and Potential Human Rights Violations

Every citizen is protected by the constitution in terms of political and governmental rights as regulated in Article 27 paragraph (1) and Article 28D paragraph (1) and paragraph (3) of the 1945 Constitution. The fulfillment of the people's sovereignty as explained in the Preamble of the 1945 Constitution. According to Usman Hamid that the election is the same as the fulfillment of human rights, therefore the election process must protect the human rights of citizens, including the use of the right to vote. People's sovereignty is implemented in the form of elections, and citizens who are the owners of that sovereignty in the implementation of elections must be protected so that they can exercise their voting rights/political rights, the State is obliged so that everyone can exercise these rights without being hindered by electoral administration issues which ultimately violate human rights. provided for in the state constitution. In this context, the problem of the invalidity of the DPT which has the potential for someone to lose their voting rights has implications for human rights violations committed by the state during the implementation of elections in Indonesia. In the implementation of the General Election, the reference is in the form of the Permanent Voter List (DPT) determined by the KPU, but problems will arise when the DPT base originating from the Ministry of Home Affairs is not valid for data renewal to be used during the election. The problem of citizens who are not included in the DPT will have the potential to interfere with the electoral process and can become a question of the legitimacy of election winners due to many citizens who cannot vote.

The issue of DPT often occurs in the run up to the general election, including in the 2009 election which finally took the judicial review mechanism in the Constitutional Court against the Election Law, and finally got a legal solution and guarantees to exercise the right to vote with the Constitutional Court Decision Number 102/PUU-VII/2009 (Study & Brawijaya , 2011) and reduce the potential for dispute over election results (Hidayatulloh, 2018) and restore the constitutional rights of citizens (Ulum, 2009) by allowing the use of ID cards or passports for elections. However, the DPT issue has reoccurred even though it has been 10 years since the Constitutional Court's decision that gave the opportunity to use an ID card or passport.

The DPT data collection has not yet been completed ahead of the 2019 General Election. With Bawaslu's findings on DPT Anomaly Data, this issue will have the potential to disrupt the election process. Referring to the Decision of the Constitutional Court Number 011-017/PUU-I/2003, which explains in the considering section, that the constitutional right of citizens to vote and be elected (right to vote and right to be a candidate) is a right guaranteed by the constitution, laws and regulations. as well as international conventions, the limitation of deviation, elimination and abolition of the

rights referred to is a violation of the human rights of citizens. Based on Law Number 39 of 1999 concerning Human Rights, it regulates the right to vote as stated in Article 43 which reads, "Every citizen has the right to be elected and to vote in general elections based on equal rights through direct, general, free, secret voting. , honest and fair in accordance with the provisions of the legislation. The basic arrangements in the constitution and laws should be basic, that the KPU and the Government must guarantee equal agreement for citizens to exercise political rights, for the realization of elections with integrity and have strong legitimacy from the high participation of the public to vote.

Conclusion

This study confirms that Bawaslu's findings regarding anomaly voters are caused by inaccurate population data of potential voters (DP4) from the Ministry of Home Affairs because population data are not single data. The synchronization of population data by the Ministry of Home Affairs with the last DPT for the election in Riau, namely the 2018 regional election, found that tens of thousands of Riau people were threatened not to be able to exercise their voting rights in the 2019 election, which of course had implications for political participation. This proves that the government which has population data authority has not been successful in administering data from upstream to downstream. The Sidalih application has not been optimized or full power as an application that helps the KPU in the process of administering voter data.

The unresolved DPT data collection ahead of the 2019 General Election disrupts the electoral process. An invalid DPT will cause citizens to be unable to exercise their political rights, the constitution and the laws and regulations under it already regulate the protection of citizens' political rights as human rights, therefore the condition of citizens who are hindered or unable to exercise their political rights will potentially lead to human rights violations by the state and election administrators.

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Managing Between Privacy and Sharing: A Netnography Study of Facebook Group Anti Pelakor Indonesia

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Abstract

Social behavioral change about privacy is phenomenon that we concern in internet user, especially in Indonesia. One of the interesting social media forum to studied about privacy is Anti Pelakor Indonesia (API) Facebook Group. This reserach studied about women managing private information in social media by observing how members of API Group interpreting of privacy and managing their privacy. This study focuses on the interactivity of members in the group, the meaning of privacy, how to manage privacy and what kind of factors make members choose to reveal their privacy in the group. Using a concept of privacy and theoretical approach to Communication Privacy Management (CPM), which is providing assumptions about the system to find out how humans balance decisions about reveal private information. Netnography method used to see virtual activities that occur in groups. As well as virtual observations during January - June 2019 and virtual interviews on 9 active members as the main techniques for data collection. The Interactivity of Anti Pelakor Indonesia (API) Group illustrated the granulation data, from revealing discolusure of household problems and pelakor, viraling pelakor, online shaming, and doxing, those acting lead to ptatice of spreading privacy. The results of the study show that various factors influence the process of privacy disclosure such as contextual-traumatic factors, gender, and cultural expectations, which are the reasons informants make disclosures within the group. This research produces a description of how privacy management is carried out by the group members.

Keywords: *privacy, social media, communication privacy management theory, netnography, facebook group*

Introduction

Social media not only offers new opportunities in terms of ease of interaction and communication, but also creates new opportunities for invasion of privacy. The phenomenon of mutual updates and stories on social media is a must for users who are dependent on the use of social media. Until social media becomes a place forrevealed domestic problems and joined in a group, Anti Pelakor Indonesia.

This group accommodates wives to share cases of infidelity, divorce and household problems experienced by them. If initially household problems were only shared with the closest people, friends or parents, members in this group uploaded them on the group page. Although the group is closed and access is limited by gender, the Facebook API Group has high interactivity and the number of members is up to 43,000.).

Disclosure fulfills the basic need to socialize (Tamir & Mitchell, 2012), especially traumatic problems such as domestic problems and infidelity. However, disclosure carries the risk of vulnerability and loss of control of information because control over the information is held by someone else (Altman, 1975). 'Common ownership' (in a group) of private information makes this phenomenon even more interesting to study because

generally household problems can only be known by certain people, now it can be read and viewed by tens of thousands of members in the API Group. In addition, the nature of some member users is anonymous, which can be a concern when submitting complaints.

Social media is the media that allows one to be social (Taprial & Kanwar, 2012). It is undeniable that its social nature makes social media seem to free its users to be able to spread information without limits, especially in this case, privacy. Internet users, especially social media, believe that they use social media as a means of communicating privately online. Until finally the information shared by social media users has experienced a blurring between private and public spaces.

Privacy in this study is defined as: "the feeling that one has the right to own private information, either personally or collectively" (Petronio, 2002, p. 6). Each individual has legitimacy in the disclosure of privacy and is governed by the preferences of each individual, which is often known as privacy rules. Privacy rules guide the circumstances in which people disclose or hide personal information by linking others within the boundaries of privacy. Privacy rules are based on a variety of criteria, including gender expectations, risk and benefit assessment, motivation, and contextual circumstances (Petronio, 2002). Privacy rules are usually stated explicitly and disclosed by including specific and restrictive conditions (Petronio, 2002), such as 'not to tell anyone', 'don't leak', and so on. Implicitly stated privacy rules are ambiguous and can provide different meanings because each non-verbal language has a different meaning, depending on how each culture in a place is implemented.

The Internet is the culmination of weak boundary relationships due to connectivity features that keep a person connected and exposed to information (Jin, 2012b). Moreover, information uploaded online is often stored for long periods of time and is easily replicated due to the nature of the internet itself (Coopamootoo & Ashenden, 2011). In the case of Facebook, personal information that a person protects, and therefore is not shared with others on Facebook, for example, remains within the boundaries of the individual's privacy. However, when someone uploads status updates, photos, allows comments on their own Facebook site or posts comments on other users' posts, this action converts information that was originally within the boundaries of that person's individual privacy into a shared, collective boundary (Child & Petronio, 2011).

Facebook highly integrated in the daily life of the users through certain routines. Debatin, et al (2009) in their research found that Facebook users understand privacy issues, but still upload a number of personal information and assume the risk of privacy invasion comes from other people. Sharing or disclosing content with social media networks enables others at a level of co-ownership where the original owner gives control regarding any personal information shared within the boundaries of online privacy to be more social and interactive with others (Bateman, Pike, & Butler, 2011; Child, Petronio, Agyeman-Budu, & Westermann, 2011). Trust is not needed in building new relationships like face-to-face meetings in the online world (Dwyer, Hiltz & Passerini, 2007).

This study uses the concept of Communication Privacy Management (CPM) (Petronio, 2002), which describes how a person manages personal information both their own information and other people who have provided access to information (Petronio, 2002). Theoretically, CPM asserts that individuals have 'access' and 'privacy needs' which

form dialectical tensions and encourage individuals to manage their privacy. Petronio's (2002) theory is the most relevant concept for understanding privacy in computer-mediated communication because CPM can provide a dialectical concept in disclosing privacy in each individual. In line with this reason, Personal information is defined as a personal right to control information and manage the flow of information. When the information is shared publicly on social media, ownership of the information becomes joint ownership.

In this study, the netnographic method (Kozinets, 2010) will be used as the main method by conducting observations and interviews as the main technique. When conducting observations and interviews in the API Group, the researcher selected several members, both those who were actively uploading stories and actively commenting whose criteria were distributed based on the following conditions: anonymous-original account, age and distribution of domicile area to get granularity of data in the study.

Result and discussion

Uploading and Responding

The experience of using social media is the key to how strong interactions within the Anti Pelakor Indonesia (API) group are. Members who are in the API Group have various demographics both in terms of age, distribution of domicile and educational status, in addition to demographics, anonymous and real accounts enter this group and interact with each other through the comments column or share links or upload stories. Below will be explained how the involvement of group members by presenting observation data for January-June 2019 and screenshots from screen recorder software.

Shared posts of group members often display detailed information such as when they got married, how they found out about their husband's infidelity and how they struggled to maintain their household and divorced their husbands. There are two types of vent uploads, the first one only tells a short story and the second one tells the details that have been disclosed above.

In this group, links were found from outside the group, both from outside the group and personal uploads of Facebook users, and were re-uploaded into the group containing the same problem, ranging from links to news about actors, motivations for victims of perpetrators, memes about perpetrators to recitations. or a video clip of an ustadz who talks about the law for adultery and the punishment of being the perpetrator.

Interactivity That Leads to a Breach of Privacy

The Anti Pelakor Indonesian Facebook Group (API) is a place for women and victims of infidelity to complain about household problems to perpetrators. In this group the members are active both in uploading stories and commenting in one upload. API group members generally upload stories of household problems only once a month, then the same members will upload stories again in the following month or several months later. Their uploads are very detailed, starting from telling stories about how they first met and married their husbands and what problems arose in their household. After telling this, then they talked about how they found out about the affair of the husband and the actor and what their current condition was.

The interactivity within the API Group produces various phenomena, one of which is an invitation to make something go viral. The upload invites the actor to go viral, not only showing photos, but also displaying the full address of the actor. The word viral is basically taken from the metaphor of a viral video or viral media spread on the internet. The phenomenon of going viral in the API Group refers to online shaming, as a form of revenge for what was done by the perpetrator, where the target is publicly humiliated by using social media. Online shaming often involves the dissemination of personal information on the internet or social media such as names, addresses, and other information (usually referred to as doxing or the dissemination of personal documents) which is accompanied by hate speech and intimidation for the target (Homan, 2014), with the aim of defaming the target. Support by other members of the API Group, such as commenting and redistributing shared content, is seen as a form of online participation and solidarity from the victims of the perpetrators and is considered an act of sympathy for the victims of the target.

The spread of uploads of someone's story in a group is indeed common, many members share both member stories uploaded in the group and news links or uploads outside the API Group. Various cases that arise due to the spread of uploads occur within the API Group, such as a complaint against the actor's husband so that the actor reported it to the husband who uploaded the story in the group, until it was found that several actors were trying to enter the group and who had entered the group and were found by members or an API Group administrator. This is of course a privacy threat for group members who want to tell their stories. The requirements to be included in the group are also considered quite simple, namely the expression that hating actors, and in the group rules allow anonymous accounts to be able to enter the group and interact in it. In addition, members of the API Group often discuss how to tap or spy on the location of their husbands who are out of the house.

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Figure 1. Example of continuous upload

Continuous uploads were made by one of the group members on June 9, 2019 and June 10, 2019. With 183 comments on the post on June 9, 2019, the post contained an outpouring of his heart about his husband who wanted to divorce him while he was still working abroad. The uploader does not want to divorce because her husband wants to marry the actor. In his upload he asked how long the divorce process took and other group members gave each other experiences and suggestions to hang up divorce process and make the perpetrators feel miserable. Meanwhile, on June 1, 2019, the same account uploaded a link containing an article to make the actor viral by uploading a photo of the actor with his husband.

Going Viral And Online Shaming Is Usual

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Figure 2. The upload invites the actor to go viral

The phenomenon of going viral in the API Group refers to online shaming, as a form of revenge for what was done by the perpetrator, where the target is publicly humiliated by using social media. Online shaming often involves the dissemination of personal information on the internet or social media such as names, addresses, and other information (usually referred to as doxing or the dissemination of personal documents) which is accompanied by hate speech and intimidation for the target (Homan, 2014), with the aim of defame the target. Support by other members of the API Group such as commenting and redistributing shared content, seen as a form of online participation and solidarity from the victims of perpetrators and is considered an act of sympathy for the victims of the target. This agrees with Uni who considers that the API Group is very helpful for her to overcome the infidelity of her husband and the actor, moreover other group members can help him to make the actor go viral.

"I'm relieved at least there are many solutions and answers. It's just a matter of what we want to do. especially if it's too late, can they help go viral" – (Interview via Facebook chat room, Uni, 22 Years, March 28, 2019)



Figure 3. Doxing actions performed by API Group members

Initially, one of the group members uploaded a photo of the actor who was still someone's wife and the man who still had a wife. Furthermore, the members began to give negative comments to the photo and associated it with the religious identity of the actor (hijab). These negative comments associate religious identity with the morals of the pelakor, that a pelakor covers his sins by wearing a headscarf and does not reflect a good Muslim.



Figure 4. Comments online shaming

When viewed from the rules that have been embedded in the group, the practice of online shaming by many group members is a violation of group rules. However, even though the admin has announced the group's rules repeatedly, starting from uploads to

through reprimands in the comments column, the practice of online shaming is still carried out by group members as a form of support for wives who are victims of infidelity. This practice continues until the group admin deactivates the account of the member who did the action and even got banned for the account of the member who still did the same thing after the sanctions were given.

Information Dissemination and Privacy Threats

The phenomenon of spreading someone's story uploads in a group often happens, many members share both member stories uploaded in the group and news links or uploads outside the API Group. Various cases that arise due to the spread of uploads occur within the API Group, such as a complaint against the actor's husband so that the actor reported it to the husband who uploaded the story in the group, until it was found that several actors were trying to enter the group and who had entered the group and were found by members or an API Group administrator. This is of course a privacy threat for group members who want to tell their stories. The requirements to be included in the group are also considered quite simple, namely the expression that hating actors,

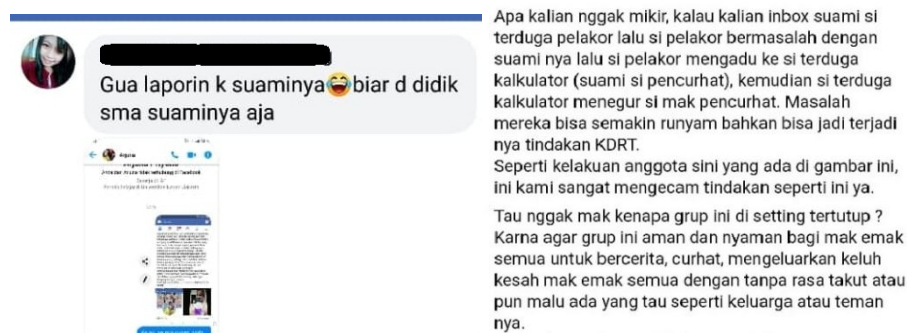


Figure 5. Problems arising in the API Group

When one of the group members uploads the story and writes the full name of the actor or the actor's social media account, in the end many group members are looking for the actor's presence on social media, ranging from Facebook to Instagram accounts. After finding the perpetrator's social media account, members who are active in the comments column invite them to take report actions, which are actions that are usually used to report fake accounts or disturbing accounts on social media to be frozen and deleted by the system on social media. Members who have found the actor's social media account display a screenshot containing the actor's social media profile and terrorize the actor, and invites them to report the account.

On April 1, 2019, there was an upload that included detailed information about her friend's husband who ran away from home and included an indication that the husband ran away with the perpetrator. The upload also attaches a screenshot of the actor's social media account and asks members in the group to help locate the actor. The spread of the actor's social media accounts in uploads and invites to terrorize the actor by contacting the actor and reporting it to the actor's parents are also common in this group. This often happens even though the admins in the API Group are quite active in providing socialization and action for violations that occur within the group. Like the socialization that Patrick did as an admin on April 9, 2019 because he felt that many uploads were not in accordance with the rules. In addition, in the observation data for May 2019, there was an

upload from September 15, 2018 which was still being discussed by group members that month. The confidant upload tells how she is still being bullied by her husband and actor, and is often mentioned in status uploads from the two of them. The upload is accompanied by a photo of screenshot evidence of the status made by the husband's social media account, the actor's social media account, as well as photos of the actor and husband.

“How to Wiretapping My Husband...?”

In addition to the phenomenon of spreading information and making the perpetrators viral or suspected of stealing people's husbands, members of the API Group often discuss how to tap or spy on the location of their husbands who are outside the house. Uploads containing questions about how to wiretap and discussions about wiretapping applications were often found in March 2019. As on March 12, 2019, there were uploads containing requests for help to tap her husband.



Figure 6. Asking about wiretapping your husband's Whatsapp

The post received quite a number of comments, 61 comments, and other members gave suggestions to use several applications as a means of tapping their husband's Whatsapp instant messaging application. As well as exchanging stories about their experiences with cheating husbands and actors, group members give each other advice on using certain applications to track their husbands and often suggest hiring someone to follow their husbands and report their whereabouts.



Figure 7. Suggestions for using applications for wiretapping

Judging from the number of members of the group which reaches 45,000 members and the high level of group interactivity, it can be said that privacy has a paradoxical situation, even though the admins and moderators set this group as a closed group. The

concept of a closed and comfortable group to express complaints is something that needs to be studied, whether the group is a group that specifically accommodates women who are victims of perpetrators or with many members, the closed group paradoxically changes the situation to 'public' because of the large number of members. reach tens of thousands of members. Seeing these privacy issues, in the next subsection, it is presented how members of the API Group interpret privacy and what is included in privacy, according to their understanding and experience.

Privacy Management of Indonesian Anti-Actor Facebook Group Members

The massive disclosure of household problems both related to actors and other problems and interactivity in the comments column on the Indonesian Anti-Corruption Act (API) does not make group members disclose all information about their household problems. The informants admitted that they did not tell all of their household problems in each of their uploads, although it looked quite detailed in uploading the story, but he admitted that he only uploaded part of it in the group, the informants felt uncomfortable telling all the stories. In addition, taking care of their husband's disgrace is also the reason why they do not share all their household problems. In contrast to the statement above, two informants were not satisfied when they talked about their problems to their family and closest people. this shows how API Groups are a convenient place to express their household problems, especially they can use an anomin account if they don't want others to know their identity. Each member of the API Group has certain conditions or different ways of expressing their story of household problems, depending on the extent to which they judge that their household problems need to be kept and not disclosed in the group. One of the informants in this study admitted that he needed help and advice for his household problems, because he considered that the API Group could be a place to get opinions from members who had experience in infidelity cases. in particular they can use an anomin account if they don't want others to know their identity. Each member of the API Group has certain conditions or different ways of expressing their story of household problems, depending on the extent to which they judge that their household problems need to be kept and not disclosed in the group. One of the informants in this study admitted that he needed help and advice for his household problems, because he considered that the API Group could be a place to get opinions from members who had experience in infidelity cases. in particular they can use an anomin account if they don't want others to know their identity. Each member of the API Group has certain conditions or different ways of expressing their story of household problems, depending on the extent to which they judge that their household problems need to be kept and not disclosed in the group. One of the informants in this study admitted that he needed help and advice for his household problems, because he considered that the API Group could be a place to get opinions from members who had experience in infidelity cases. depending on the extent to which they judged their household problems to be kept and not disclosed in the group. One of the informants in this study admitted that he needed help and advice for his household problems, because he considered that the API Group could be a place to get opinions from members who had experience in infidelity cases. depending on the extent to which they judged their household problems to be kept and not disclosed in the group. One of the informants in this study admitted that he needed help and advice for his household

problems, because he considered that the API Group could be a place to get opinions from members who had experience in infidelity cases.

Sharing information about painful experiences presents a unique challenge because individuals can be distressed and uncomfortable when talking about the incident, but they need support and encouragement (Eaton & Sanders, 2011). The statements from Eaton and Sanders can be the basis that the API Group has high interactivity because of the group's own purpose as a platform to express the feelings of victims of her husband's betrayal. Within the API Group there are two types of disclosure: firstly uploading detailed stories, where the upload is in accordance with the provisions of the group rules that use photo evidence, marriage books or photo evidence of infidelity; and the second is a brief disclosure as a form of solidarity and mutual strengthening which is usually present in the comments column.

When there are uploads that have the same storyline as other group members, group members who respond to the upload emotionally will make disclosures in the comments column. The dialectic in individuals when commenting on uploads determines whether they carry out the disclosure process in detail or only convey the similarity of the stories they have in the comments column. This dialectic is put forward by Petronio (2002) in determining between how much someone will open or disclose privacy and keep or maintain his privacy.

Kim and Lee (2011, p. 362) in their writings, reveal that Facebook friends are more supportive when they know if their friends in their Facebook network need support, if that support need is properly communicated through self-disclosure and is supported by honest self-representations. , then they will get support from friends on social media. Statements of informants who are more free to tell stories in groups have at least provided a different reflection on how the pattern of privacy flow is shared. Social media, especially API Groups, has changed how the privacy flow pattern is shared, which is usually shared with family or friends, is now shared in the form of uploads in API Groups.

The privacy management process for group members is carried out by three mechanisms, namely: detailed information disclosure, partial disclosure and no disclosure at all. The mechanism for the disclosure process differs from one informant to another, where the process is continuous between uploads and in one upload process has disclosed detailed information. Meanwhile, in controlling the flow of privacy, they are categorized into three levels, where thick boundaries are categorized for individuals who have the highest level in privacy storage, transparent boundaries for individuals who have the lowest level in privacy storage, and moderate levels for individuals who carry out dialectics in the disclosure and disclosure process. privacy storage.

When dealing with privacy breaches such as sharing information from upload details, all informants have no objections and feel quite confident that the information they share will be safe within the API Group. Only one informant felt embarrassed if later the information he uploaded in the group could be spread and made viral by other group members. Informants do not need new privacy rules when they know there is a privacy violation that occurs in the group and this fact is a new finding in the development of the Communication Privacy Management Theory.

This study demonstrates the theoretical implications for understanding privacy management on a sensitive topic over the past three years. Actors are a very sensitive issue

and are often presented in relational discussions in the household. Perceptions about the meaning of privacy of each different individual have a role in determining the boundaries of privacy. More specifically, the findings regarding their dissatisfaction with disclosure are a factor that is quite a big factor in why disclosure in the API Group is so massive. Although group members indirectly realized that by telling stories about household problems and actors, they had opened up opportunities for information dissemination. And the process of disclosing household problems has basically been regulated in religious norms,

This research is based on Pederson and McLaren (2016) which discusses how a person manages the disclosure process of painful experiences, with the association of the experience of being betrayed by a husband and household problems having the same meaning as painful experiences. As well as research from Bute, Brann, & Hernandez (2017) which discusses the level of disclosure made by couples in miscarriage events. Both of these studies contributed logic to this study, until it was concluded that the main factor in disclosure was the experience of trauma. Dissatisfaction with telling family stories and wanting to find solutions to their problems underlies how privacy management in API Groups tends to open the privacy funnel with sheets.

The finding that distinguishes it from previous research is that individuals who are informants of this study are not worried about the phenomenon of spreading the information they upload in the group. This finding breaks the assumption of Petronio (2002) that concerns arise and sets different limits when someone experiences turbulence because they know that their privacy is spread or known to others.

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Conclusion

After seeing how the data is exposed and analyzed, it can be concluded that the interactivity that occurs within the Anti Pelakor Indonesia Group (API) is related to the disclosure and dissemination of personal information. In practice, group members often upload detailed information about their household problems and actively comment on each other by telling the same thing. Personal Information or personal information studied in this study relates to the disclosure of information regarding household problems and uploading details regarding photos of marriage books, photos of legal wives and matters relating to evidence of infidelity.

Each informant interprets privacy as something that should be kept, even though there is a dialectic of the extent to which privacy is shared. There are also those who think that privacy is related to finances and bed matters. The difference in the meaning of privacy is based on the different demographic background of each informant. Informants who consider finances and bed matters as privacy, are usually in their 40s and over. Meanwhile, privacy as something that must be kept and disclosed to close friends is usually raised by informants aged 23-30.

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Contextual issues such as trauma or feeling betrayed are the main factors for individuals in the API Group to upload their personal information as a form of stress relief and feeling depressed. They seek moral support and advice to resolve their domestic problems. Gender is the second factor because psychologically women reveal more privacy when compared to men. The API group itself has women-only membership requirements that simultaneously encourage integrated disclosure. While the culture that initially became their initial assumption set the privacy rules, there was no data found to support this assumption. Religion as a cultural product that has been mentioned in the previous subsection has finally faded since the existence of social media.

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Government Issues Management Strategies in the Post-Truth Era (Qualitative Descriptive Study of Government Public relations Strategy in Presidential Staff and Ministry of Communication & Information)

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Abstract

Government public relations doing issue management as a responsive strategy for managing government issues as a crisis planning to avoid a contingency plan in the era of post truth. This study aims to determine the responsive management strategies of issues carried out by government public relations. This research is academically useful in developing a typical theory of public relations, namely agenda building theory and practically making a management communication issue model that can be used as a practitioner reference for GPR.

The results of the research show that the Director General of IKP of the Ministry of Communication and Information as a government public relations and Deputy IV of the Office President's Staff applies a strategy of agenda building in the production of government narratives. In accordance with the theory of Agenda building & Information Subsidies, government public relations uses a specific strategy to influence the positive perceptions of society to the government. This starts from the planning process carried out by the crisis team, coordinating the issue of sharpening issues, making communication strategies, media monitoring, media relations, news tone analysis, narrative production, evaluation, and information subsidies. In addition, the GPR carries out a contingency plan.

Descriptive qualitative research is done by taking techniques through in-depth interviews, documentation, and observation. After interviewing 21 informants, the research findings produced propositions, issue management technical guidelines, and issue management communication models, as well as describing the management characteristics of the Jokowi-JK era.

The main strategy used by government public relations in management issues is to establish good relations with the media through the Merdeka Barat Forum 9. Government public relations utilizes various media to maximize the building agenda, such as: big data, press conferences, websites, releases, twitter, Instagram, Facebook, YouTube Live Streaming, and so on. The use of diverse and artificial intelligence media is one of the distinguishing features of government public relations in the previous era.

Keywords: *issue management, government public relations (gpr), agenda building, office of presidential staff, forum merdeka barat 9*

Introduction

In the post-truth era, the truth of information is widely questioned, especially in democratic countries. This is mentioned by D'Ancona (2017) who says the post-truth era is "a time in which the art of the lie is shaking the very foundation of democracy". This opinion is reinforced by Horton's (2017) explanation which states that currently the post-truth era is a force when democracy does not function, it is even referred to as a "hyper version of real-life" (Horton, 2017, p. 1282). Post-truth as a paradigm is considered by Craciun (2017) to be inseparable from the development of digital interaction through mass media.

Technological advances influence the practice of public relations. Petrauskas (2012, p. 405) says that technological advances change the way government interacts with its citizens. New media and the internet have very important implications for presidential communication (Owen & Davis, 2008). Currently, the role of citizen participation in government activities is getting wider with the advancement of information and communication technology (Kukovic & Hacek, 2014). With the development of social media, attention to issues for public relations must be strengthened. Issues that are not based on facts need to be checked for information. This is supported by the argument of Tripursky (2017, p.14) which states "strategies apply to politics it involves developing new mental habits systemically fact-checking political information".

The importance of confirming issues, according to Kominfo Expert Waskito Giri, is important in the post-truth era. According to him, in the post-truth era which is the stage after postmodernism, the State has the responsibility to manage issues. "Postmodernism doesn't use what is called the basics of epistemology, now post-truth is post-truth. any information is allowed... there are a lot of hoax data. Then what is the role of the Government, namely the Ministry of Communication and Informatics, in dealing with this?" (Giri, W., personal communication, October 6, 2018). The statement explained the importance of kominfo as government public relations to prepare tools to deal with issue management in the post-truth era which is a challenge for government public relations (GPR).

Issues that are not managed properly can become a crisis. The role of crises can attack the reputation of the organization, undermine stakeholder expectations for the organization, unpredictable events, and pose a significant threat to the public (Hayes & Smudde, 2015). Therefore, a crisis requires public relations with its communication tools to carry out crisis communication (Kriyantono, 2012a). The Ministry of Communications and Informatics carry out a two-way communication process as an exchange of information, one of which can be done by giving information rights to the public. According to Borah (2013), the right to access information is the key to good governance. The results of the preliminary interview with KSP Young Expert Azhari Hafid are reinforced by the argument from Kriyantono (2015) that monitoring strategic issues is important because an issue that is not managed properly can cause a crisis.

To anticipate a crisis in the post-truth era, the establishment of the 9th Merdeka Barat Forum (FMB9) is an answer to access to information and shows the government's performance that never sleeps. Forum Merdeka Barat 9 (FMB9) is a program of the Directorate General of Information and Public Communication (Dirjen IKP). FMB9 is

always held in the form of a press conference which aims to be a “clearinghouse”. Now the Merdeka Barat 9 Forum (FMB9). FMB9 is one of the important relations between the government and the community through the media.

The phenomenon of the importance of issue management, this study uses agenda building theory and information subsidies as an analytical tool. The theory of agenda building information subsidies is a theory developed from the theory of mass communication initiated by R Paul Lipmann, and political figures namely Cobb & Elder (1971). Len Rios et al (2009) explained that the concept of agenda building has been traced by Scheufele and visited Cobb & Elder in 1971. The theory of agenda building is a development of the theory of agenda-setting. If the agenda-setting is to know how the media influence the public's perception of an issue, the core of agenda building is how news is made (Lenrios et al, 2016, p.316). Scheufele (2000) also explains that agenda building is concerned with how issues are created and creates new controversies or issues that lead to public attention. Researchers want to know the role of Indonesia's GPR in influencing public opinion through the release of the Merdeka Barat 9 Forum (FMB9) which is directly connected to approximately 200 national journalists.

Ameliyah's research (2017) public relations at the ministry level further strengthens the research rationale. Of the 16 government public relations at the ministry level, it is known that there is no crisis planning, it is necessary to research the management of government issues to evaluate state public relations, namely the Director-General of IKP Kemenkominfo in having a crisis plan (contingency plan). Furthermore, the Office of the Presidential Staff is said to be playing the role of America's west wing. According to Journell & Buchanan (2013), the west wing is the most accurate representation of American presidential communication. Studies related to American presidential communication have revealed many strategies, such as Owen and Davis (2008) regarding American presidential communication through website 2.0, research by Scacco, Coe & Hearit (2018) on the election of social media for Donald Trump, research by Nash (2013) on presidential communication channels. USA, and McGuire's (2015) research on Anna Rosenberg's role in Franklin Delano Rosevelt's government in charge of the White House. This study specifically tries to describe the differences in American presidential communication strategies in issue management in the Indonesian context. The researcher assumes that many types of presidential communication will be used in the Indonesian context because America is a superpower country and is used as a role model by many countries.

Several previous studies and recommendations for previous research have aroused the curiosity of researchers. In this regard, the researcher answered through a frame of qualitative research method with a constructivist paradigm. The researcher wants to prove the assumption that currently government public relations has implemented the results of the adoption of agenda building strategies in developed countries and has the peculiarity of influencing public opinion through FMB9. In addition, this study attempts to describe the peculiarities of the Jokowi-JK government issue management strategy in the post-truth era through the Merdeka Barat Forum 9 by selecting informants using the convenient sampling technique at the Presidential Staff Office and the Director-General of IKP of the Ministry of Communication and Informatics, a total of 21 informants through in-depth interviews,

participant observation, and documentation. The construction of an issue management communication model can provide a new perspective that can encourage the effectiveness of strategies in a democratic context.

Government Public relations Cenderung Menggunakan Strategi Agenda Building & Information Subsidies

Scheufele (2000) menjelaskan bahwa agenda building sebagai sebuah istilah diperkenalkan oleh Cobb & Elder yang menaruh perhatian terkait cara isu diciptakan dan membuat kontroversi atau isu baru yang memimpin perhatian publik. Selain itu, istilah agenda building juga digunakan untuk pengambilan keputusan dalam pembuatan isu. Berdasarkan argument tersebut, peneliti merasa agenda building theory dan information subsidies merupakan pisau analisis yang cocok digunakan untuk mengkaji penelitian ini terkait manajemen isu pemerintah. Botan & Hazleton (2010) menjelaskan bahwa framing dan information subsidies adalah tools dari praktisi public relations dalam agenda building. Government public relations in this study, apart from the Director General of IKP, Ministry of Communication and Informatics, is also Deputy IV of the Presidential Staff Office. The process of spreading the narrative can be given to various media.

The production of the FMB9 issue has gone through the planning process. Within a year, the government public relations team has prepared what issues will be raised according to the agenda setting and framing. Usually, the process is adjusted to the procedures of the big days. For example, when there was a warning about something, the JPP Expert Team, Ratna Nuraini, said, "For example, when there is a railway day, we want to raise the issue, what is the issue? We produce issues, we already have the list, we have raised what the list is. We have already scheduled the railway day for that date, yet there is a new issue that must be raised," said Ratna. (Nuraini, R., personal communication, October 4, 2018)

From the presentation of the narratives of the six informants, the dominant strategy used by GPR is the use of agenda setting and framing. Associate Expert Agustinus Rahardjo tends to convey the government's image-making strategy through social media. However, in making social media narratives, agenda setting and framing are used. This was also expressed by Siti Meiningsih who said that in the process of socialization and counter issues. GPR uses the media either using television channels, websites, social media, or programs to the regions. However, it cannot be separated from the agenda setting and framing. Then the opinion of the Ministry of Communication and Informatics Experts Enda Nasution and Ratna Nuraini who stated that the GPR function as a counter issue was carefully prepared through coordination meetings. In fact, the Ministry of Communication and Informatics Expert Ratna also uses a buzzer called PSR as a tool for disseminating information. The formulation of agenda setting and framing according to the Ministry of Communication and Informatics expert Waskito Giri is the most important strategy to maintain government discourse.

Presidential Communication Development

Research related to presidential communication in Indonesia is still difficult to find. This is due to inadequate access making it difficult for the data retrieval process. Ryfe (2015) explained that presidential communication is an important element in politics. In the modern era, the study of presidential communication is growing. Since Franklin D. Roosevelt's leadership, especially after the second world war, Roosevelt was very

concerned about the communication aspect in his government. Currently, every activity by the president always pays attention to the communication aspect. "Presidential communication has now become the center of attention of the mass media, both print, electronic and online (Ryfe, 2015, p.1-p.2)

This study assumes to explain the development of presidential communication with a more recent issue management system. The researcher tries to compare the context of issue management with the presidential period of the previous era. Based on the results of Kresnadi's (2018) research on presidential communication in the Gus Dur era. Kresnadi's research (2018) fully describes Gus Dur's presidential communication style. The results of the study explain that Gus Dur's presidential communication was influenced by his background from Islamic boarding schools and the organizational culture of Nahdlatul Ulama. The presidential communication process during Gus Dur's reign was heavily influenced by the teachings of Ahlusunnah Wal Jamaah which were implemented in Gus Dur's leadership principles, namely promoting democracy, civil society as a counterweight to the ruling regime, pluralism and tolerance and humanism.

In this study, researchers found that the Jokowi JK presidential communication era used the Presidential Staff Office as a presidential work assistance agency, and was equipped with Presidential Instruction No. 9 of 2015 regarding a single narrative to facilitate the president's work.

In contrast to the results of Kresnadi's research (2018), Gus Dur's habit of using kyai and ulama as informal advisors is a characteristic that characterizes culture in Indonesia. Gus Dur made the ulama have a central role in the government. In this study, the role of ulama in the Jokowi JK era is still considered important, as evidenced by the many religious activities. Since President Jokowi was inaugurated in 2014 to 2018, there have been 243 Islamic activities that researchers recap themselves while collecting data at the Presidential Staff Office.

The media is considered by Gus Dur in Kresnadi (2018) as an important pillar in democracy, so Gus Dur seeks to build good relations with the media by providing concessions for reporting permits at the Palace and inviting the editor-in-chief to have breakfast together, besides that Gus Dur is also the first Indonesian president who can at the doorstep by journalists. Gus Dur gave a lesson on the importance of presidential communication by presenting a spokesman as one of the instruments in his government.

In this study, the government actually gave a much larger space to the media through the Forum Merdeka Barat 9 as a symbol of media relations with the government. Not only court reporters, but small journalists like vloggers or influencers also have space. It aims to facilitate issue management for government public relations.

The government's issue management process has now come a long way. Issue management according to Ardianto (2016) was originally formed by a public relations counselor, Howard Chase. "Issues management is the capacity to understand mobility, coordination, all direct strategies, policy planning functions, and all public relations skills, towards the achievement of a goal, deep participation in shaping public policy" (Seitel in Ardianto, 2016, p. 295)

The development of this issue management based on Kurniasih (2013) has begun to be felt that government public relations has begun to be considered important since the era of

Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono, at that time GPR was expected to be able to know the policies and programs launched by the government.

Currently the government not only needs to deliver policies but more than that, provide clarification and also form a single narrative so that people can have alternative truths that are officially sourced from the government. This is according to the expression of the Young Expert Staff of the Presidential Staff Office, Azhari Hafid, "In the era of SBY, the president's back office was nicknamed UKP4. The Presidential Staff Office is a renewal of UKP 4 but is equipped with new functions. The new function in the Presidential Staff Office is political communication and monitoring of strategic issues" (Hafid, A., personal communication, January 25, 2018).

The process of monitoring the strategic issues in question is based on the Presidential Decree of the Presidential Staff Office. "The Presidential Regulation gives the Presidential Chief of Staff the authority to participate in controlling priority programs" (Santika, 2016, p.592). This authority also means that this institution has the authority to make programs as well as to control and evaluate routine ministers.

The Presidential Staff Office synergizes with the Director General of IKP of the Ministry of Communication and Information to provide a single narrative communication platform so that information bias does not occur. The use of alternative sources of information eventually causes the post truth era to become information hyperversion in democratic countries. This opinion is reinforced by Horton's (2017) explanation which states that currently the post truth era is a force when democracy does not function, it is even referred to as a hyperversion of real life. "The post-truth world of today is only a hyperversion of what we have been living with for some time" (Horton, 2017, p. 1282). Researchers interpret this as a form of widespread ideology that dominates public opinion because of the freedom of democratic rights.

The production of the FMB9 issue has gone through the planning process. Within a year, the government public relations team has prepared what issues will be raised. Usually, the process is adjusted to the procedures of the big days. For example, when there was a warning about something, the JPP Expert Team, Ratna Nuraini, said, "For example, when there is a railway day, we want to raise the issue, what is the issue? We produce issues, we already have the list, we have raised what the list is. We have already scheduled the railway day for that date, yet there is a new issue that must be raised," said Ratna. (Nuraini, R., personal communication, October 4, 2018)

But oftentimes, JPP Expert Ratna Nuraini explains issues that have been scheduled to lose to issues that are developing in the political year. "But mostly, this is a political year indeed. So there's a lot of things to control, so that's finally it. Counter issues. Actually the plan was there, but it was postponed. We even have a yearly list, so we adjust it according to, for example, *nawacita*. Achievements." (Nuraini, R., personal communication, October 4, 2018)

GPR has so far used PSR to disseminate information. He explained, "Social media also uses buzzers, but the impression is negative. If GPR uses PSR. It's in the PPI. In the past, where Dewi used to be, she used to be part of it, the placement of newspapers, tv, outdoor media. The umbrella is like this, it's in the Presidential Instruction No. 9 of 2015. That's the first one. Secondly, it is clear that the position of the Ministry of Communication and

Information Technology in the era, prioritizes IT issues. But forget the public communication, in the end everything was done during Jokowi's era. (Nuraini, R., personal communication, October 4, 2018)

After using the buzzer, another GPR strategy used in the issue management process is maintaining good relations with the media. GPR divides the media into various tiers, the aim is to map the media based on the number of viewers and listeners. Kemenkominfo expert Andi Irman explained:

The PR Value is the bigger the media, the bigger the value. For example, *kompas.com*, *detik.com*, right? Continue the Indonesian media. The more the front page, the better. One of them was with an interesting issue. If the issue is interesting, they will definitely put it on the front page. Several times the FMB they always put on the front page. Then FMB is the home page. Public relations knowledge is not enough, but journalism and journalists' lives, PR must know. So we know what journalists need for news, from that we must know. The value of a news we can lift. So, our PR value can also be created by classifying the media. right, there is tier 1, tier 2, tier 3. For example, tier 1, we send more data, what kind of tier 2 and 3 is it. That way, the treatment will be better. (Irman, A., personal communication, October 25, 2018)

Some of these things end up suggesting that the FMB9 didn't do issue production. In fact, there was actually a production of issues but it was defeated by the latest issues in the political year. "So that the production of such issues is not carried out, in fact it is not carried out until most of it is not realized in the FMB. The condition is that there are things that are more urgent to be realized" (Nuraini, R., personal communication, October 4, 2018)

Issue production is not done without preparation. Another important strategy according to the Ministry of Communication and Informatics expert Waskito Giri is the need for mastery of discourse to be an important thing to be mastered by government public relations. According to Kominfo Expert Waskitor Giri, a public relations officer must be able to master philosophical insights and discourses before understanding issues and solutions for narrative creation through agenda setting and framing. Reading enrichment and discussion methods are also a way of fast learning. Waskito explained:

Because you will be able to win the discourse. Because this government must win the discourse through what? persuasion. So build what? Consensus, seeking approval or approval from the public that what he has to offer is the best. To get there, you have to be rich, and enjoy discussing. I like this discussion because it's impossible for us to study a spectrum that is so many, it's definitely not possible. What we can do is enrich from the point of view of our friends. Because maybe the fun is different, now I'm happy with this, mas bowo likes that. So, when we exchange this variety of answers, we internalize it. Oh yes, he saw from that corner, the cave from this corner. This is not ideal if FMB9 is still far away... (Giri, W., personal communication, October 6, 2018)

Agenda building strategy for Government Public Relations through the 9th Merdeka Barat Forum (FMB9) in the Post Truth Era

Looking at Langlang's opinion in Denham (2004), it is known that the six points mean that the six stages have been implemented by GPR in Indonesia. GPR seeks to highlight

issues according to their needs, then attention to issues is dug deeper and framing during coordination meetings to sharpen issues. then GPR will design words or language that are close to media needs so that they are easy to quote and give meaning.

According to Oktavianti (2016), the Indonesian press in the Suharto era was hegemonized by placing emphasis on media journalists. The government in the context of this research, the President, has a strong influence on press companies and journalists as actors in it. On the other hand, in the Reformation era with press freedom, dominance shifted within the media itself. Journalists are subordinate to the hegemony of the media owner as well as the government. The journalist reporting process has changed, not only as a result of press freedom but also the press as an industry.

Oktavianti's research (2016) highlights the changes from the New Order era to the Reformation era that occurred at the level of Indonesian press regulations and their implications for reporting. The journalist reporting process runs like an industry. In media hegemony, journalist reporting as a working class is influenced by not only the dominance of media owners, but also the government and the needs of the market or audience. Press freedom is distorted by corporate economic interests. This has implications for the news products produced, both in terms of news formats that are shorter/shorter, full of sensation, and the inclusion of increasingly diverse sources. In this process, government public relations in making agenda building and government narratives has implications for the writings of government journalists.

Research Proposition

Based on the results of the research and discussions that have been described in this study, the researcher can draw several propositions as follows:

Proposition 1: The government public relations strategy in issue management utilizes the latest technological developments and tends to control the subsidies of information to the media with a building agenda in the context of Indonesia as a developing country

Proposition 2: Agenda building carried out by government public relations is very structured and planned. The stronger the relationship between GPR and the media, the higher the percentage of media citations

Proposition 3: Agenda building formed by Government public relations in the post-truth era influences the agenda of media coverage and public opinion through the Merdeka Barat Forum channel 9.

Conclusion

The results of this study have proven the research assumption that the government public relations strategy has implemented the concept of agenda building information subsidies to influence public opinion through issue management at the Merdeka Barat 9 Forum (FMB9).

The findings of this study prove that Indonesia's government public relations in the post truth era has highly considered technological capabilities such as the use of artificial intelligence, namely big data and integrated social media as a form of crisis planning (contingency plan). This research produces several propositions, technical guidelines for issue management, and communication models for issue management in the post truth era that can be used as guidelines for government public relations.

Based on the results of the research and discussion, it can be concluded that the strategy carried out by government public relations, namely Deputy IV of the Presidential Staff Office and the Director General of IKP, Ministry of Communications and Informatics, in managing government issues is to plan agenda building. This starts from the planning process carried out by the crisis team, coordination meetings to sharpen issues, making communication strategies, media monitoring, media relations, news tone analysis, narrative production, evaluation, and information subsidies through the Merdeka Barat Forum 9.

The main strategy used by government public relations in issue management is to establish good relations with the media through the Merdeka Barat Forum 9 as an effort to clear the house, counter media issues, distribute government achievements and answer emerging issues. All activities carried out by government public relations are part of the agenda of building theory & information subsidies, namely an effort to maintain the reputation of the government through the creation of a structured agenda to influence public opinion and have an impact on the positive image of the government.

Government public relations utilizes various media to maximize agenda building. The media used vary from big data, press conferences, websites, releases, Twitter, Instagram, Facebook, YouTube live streaming, and so on. The use of various media and artificial intelligence is one of the differences from government public relations in the previous era.

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The Role and Impacts of Doctor's Tweets amidst Emergency PPKM Policy

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Abstract

The COVID-19 pandemic has made doctors as the centre of attention regarding their roles in dealing with the pandemic. From the diagnostic, the COVID-19 patient treatment to the health education aspect. These essential roles put doctors, epidemiologists, virologists, and public health experts to become crucial figures. Their opinion plays a significant role in formulating policies related to preventing the spread of the virus. Mass media makes doctors more prominent, where social media helps doctors express their opinions broader and quicker. The study portraits their responses to the policies made by the government related to handling pandemics, specifically, the implementation of Emergency Community Activity Restrictions (PPKM Darurat). The study utilizes a qualitative content analysis approach to explain narration twitted by doctors. The data crawled from the tweets of 10 (ten) doctors' Twitter accounts from July 3 to August 23, 2021. This period was preferred considering the curve of active cases and deaths was at its highest during the COVID-19 pandemic in Indonesia. This period also came along with the emergence of the Delta variant. The results of the research show that each doctor has different attitudes and perspectives regarding PPKM policies. In addition, the results also show that there is a tendency to practice twitting the press by the mass media where the full tweet as the opinion of a doctor becomes the only source of a news article from certain online media.

Keywords: Health Workers, PPKM, Covid-19, Indonesia, Twitter

Introduction

The Covid-19 pandemic in Indonesia started in March 2020. Various efforts were taken to minimize the virus spread. Prevention such as social distancing, washing hands, and wearing masks (3M) has campaigned. This came with various promotions (D. P. Sari et al., 2021) also came with the following sanctions (Putri, 2021). Not only by the related ministry, but information on Covid-19 is also conveyed by the medical workers, either through personal channels or by representing their institutions.

Covid-19 topics are broadcasted on every channel, including both mass media and new media channels. Recent communication technology made it possible to be shared rapidly and widely. It targets generations of new media users, ranges from 20-40 years (We Are Social, 2021). The number of this generation is quite large. Considering that Indonesia currently is entering a demographic bonus (Raharjo Jati, 2015). The era when the number of productive citizens is greater.

With more than 4.2 trillion users (Kemp, 2021), 170 billion were Indonesian (We Are Social, 2021). It is not surprising that the penetration of information related to COVID-19 on social media is significant, both information and disinformation (Jurkowitz, Mark; Mitchell, 2020). In America, even before the pandemic, the public, health workers, patients, and scientists were already using social media as one of their information channels (Hitlin & Olmstead, 2018). With social media, information becomes easily, quickly, and widely spread (Nasrullah, 2015). On the other side, miss and fake news are also easy to be shared. Its spread tends to be massive and much faster than conventional media such as newspapers (Desai, 2021; Zarocostas, 2020).

With the mobility restrictions, the role of the internet and specifically social media has become central in obtaining information. The speed of information in the current digital era makes the concerns and panic of the world's and homeland's citizens about Covid-19 more pronounced (Rudianto et. al., 2020). If the speed of information shared with a lack of accuracy means a new problem (Vraga et al., 2020). The government and media's ability to communicate how the crisis to the public, can reduce risks, save lives, and the impact of disasters themselves (Haddow & Haddow, 2014). On the other hand, communication failures can worsen the situation and complicate the handling of the Covid-19 pandemic. The absence of exemplary from the public figures, in Sari's research (2021) has proven to be one of the factors why people ignore health protocols. Other factors include the difficulty understanding the information provided by the government, the difficulty in accessing information due to inadequate communication equipment, prioritizing economic activities, and distrust of inconsistent government policies and statements (Anggoro Saputro et al., 2020; Novi Afrianti, 2021; R. K. Sari, 2021).

With the ability to capture information rapidly in crisis, people tend to not be satisfied with only getting information from one source (Rudianto et. al., 2020). This encourages the public to seek information beyond what has been presented by the mainstream media. In Indonesia, the update is continuously provided by journalists and government public relations, as it is their duty. The researcher noted a phenomenon that give a positive influence is the existence of several doctors in social media. They actively and consistently reporting the current situation of the pandemic. Specifically, on Twitter, it is noticeable that what they tweet is not only read and retweeted by their followers. But also become a reference for various mass media. The pandemic has made

doctors, as health experts, regain their place and stage in the center of attention. As previously, they seem forgotten (Wallace, 2020).

Researchers noted that several doctors actively provided information on social media regarding COVID-19. Twitter supports it by providing verified status (blue ticks) for some of the doctor's accounts. Some of the names: dr. Andi Khomeini Takdir (dr_koko28) Palace vaccinator and active doctor at Wisma Atlet Covid-19 Hospital, Prof. Zubairi Djoerban (@ProfesorZubairi) Internal Medicine Specialist, Hematology-Oncology (Cancer) subspecialist as well as the Chair of the Covid-19 Task Force, the Indonesian Doctors Association (IDI), dr. Gia Pratama (@GiaPratamaMD), dr. Pandu Riono (@drpriono1), dr. Dirga Rambe (@dirgarambe), dr. Adam Brata (@AdamPrabata), dr. Jaka Pradipta (@jcowacko), dr. Berlian Idris (@berlianidris), dr. Tompi (@dr_tompi) dr. Tirta M Hudhi (@tirta_cipeng) and many more.

According to Prawiroharjo & Lubritany (2017), the presence of doctors and researchers in the social media ecosystem is very much needed, even before the pandemic. Social media for doctors is a place to interact directly with users who are already so close to being exposed to hoaxes. It is also a prominent medium to interact directly with the public to disseminate any information to prevent disease transmission in the right way (Prawiroharjo & Libritany, 2017). This research is in line with the findings above, where doctors can become an information source related to handling the pandemic while at the same time straightening out various misinformation and disinformation.






This article explores the narrative that was campaigned by each doctor above during Emergency PPKM. The doctor's accounts were picked as the research object based on the criteria previously determined. These are, 1) working as doctors, 2) actively share knowledge and information on Twitter related to the pandemic (especially during Emergency PPKM), 3) verified account or at least having followers more than 10,000, 4) the doctor is also have been by media as a reference as the source of their articles (coined as twitting the press by Christina Holtz-Bacha). The researcher will also explore the phenomena where several tweets mentioned as the source of published news. This study uses a qualitative approach with content analysis as the research method. Content analysis answers the questions to unpack, explore, deconstruct or understand related to the research object (Ida, 2014).

Primary data was crawled from the 10 (ten) doctor's tweets during the Emergency PPKM from July 3, 2021 - August 23, 2021. The narrative analysis was processed using NVIVO. Researchers also tried to gather data to see how influential the tweet is in the mass media. It includes the articles that came from the tweet as secondary data.

Result and discussion

This study obtained data from 10 (ten) doctors with the criteria as previously mentioned. The ten (10) doctors are as follows:

Table 1. Ten (10) Twitter accounts of doctors who are actively providing Covid-19 information during Emergency PPKM (PPKM Darurat)

No	Name	Username	Follower as Juli 3, 2021	Date of joining Twitter
1	dr Andi Khomeini Takdir	@dr_koko28 	189100	October-18
2	dr Zubairi Djoerban	@ProfesorZubairi	53000	October-20
3	dr Gia Pratama	@GiaPratamaMD 	258700	June-12
4	dr Pandu Riono	@drpriono1	27300	August-20
5	dr Dirga Rambe	@dirgarambe 	86300	July-09
6	dr Adam Prabata	@AdamPrabata	27000	September-11
7	dr Jaka Pradipta	@jcowacko	53200	July-09
8	dr Tompi	@dr_tompi 	1100000	August-09
9	dr berlianidris	@berlianidris	70400	April-09
10	dr Tirta Mandira Hudhi	@tirta_cipeng 	407100	February-10

 : verified account

Apart from the names above, there are still many names of doctors who are actively providing information related to the pandemic on social media. However, it appears that these ten (10) doctors are having more traffic on Twitter and are also quoted by various media. Besides meeting the criteria as mentioned above.

The media and the expert during the pandemic

Media and information are two of several aspects that were highlighted during the Covid-19 pandemic. WHO stated that there is an excessive flow of information called infodemic. It including hoaxes and misinformation buzzed around us. It also creates confusion and encourages actions that pose a risk to health (The Lancet Infectious Diseases, 2020). Infodemic often pushed more impact both on public and issued policies deal with the pandemic (Patel et al., 2020). Public policies often intersect with the principles of handling the pandemic, which then raises criticism. The public had begun to critically demand the covid-19 data transparency at the beginning of the pandemic, as it is published in digital news media (Djalante et al., 2020). The absence of reference information makes various parties take independent steps that were not entirely based on accurate data. As a result, many actions taken by both local governments and the community tend to be over-reactive, not well-targeted, and even irrelevant to the responses of Covid-19 (Wahyuni & Ambardi, 2020).

From March 2020 to mid-2021, the government responses regarding the pandemic often ignore the potential risks (Mietzner, 2020). It made Indonesia not even better than poorer countries in the Covid Recovery Index. The implementation is also far from what the public has seen in previously successfully implemented programs such as the Family Planning program (Mietzner, 2020). Poor handling of the pandemic has made public confidence in the government decline and affected public participation and involvement (Ayuningtyas et al., 2021; Enria et al., 2021). On the other hand, the aspect of public trust formed from psychological factors, relationships, and political construction plays a significant role as a part of the social negotiation process that builds an understanding of risk, in addition to individual values and personal experiences (Dryhurst et al., 2020; Falcone et al., 2020).

The pandemic situation addresses the role of experts such as doctors, epidemiologists, virologists, immunologists, and public health experts up to the stage (Gamalliel et al., 2021). Compared to the public officer and politicians who often give ambiguous statements and contradict scientific principles of controlling infectious diseases, experts from the beginning have given early warnings of possible outbreaks and suggested handling measures such as restrictions on mobility and regional quarantine (Falcone et al., 2020). Doctors play a vital role in the prevention, diagnosis, and treatment of Covid-19 patients. It came naturally from their moral commitment as medical personnel (Johnson & Butcher, 2021), to handle the associated risks and the social contract between health professionals and the communities in which they work.

The media then highlight the roles of doctors through their appearance as sources of news, public debates, and various other events. It makes the public trust doctors and experts more than officials and politicians (Lavazza & Farina, 2020). The report on the results of "The Public Perception, Effectiveness, and Compliance survey in the Implementation of the COVID-19 Health Protocol" conducted by the Center for Strategic and International Studies (CSIS) on 13-18 January 2021 shows that information from health workers is the most credible information by the public regarding Covid-19 (CSIS, 2021). As many as 91.8 percent of the 400 survey respondents in Jakarta stated that they believed/quite trusted information from health workers (doctors, nurses, midwives), similar to the findings in Yogyakarta, where reached 92 percent of respondents. It shows that the health sector is an area where the public trusts the expertise of health workers such as doctors for decisions related to individual health and safety (Lavazza & Farina, 2020).

The distribution of credible information through the media plays a significant role in epidemic prevention and effective public health management (Neely et al., 2021). Social media such as Twitter is currently a must in several colleges as a training curriculum for health workers. It is an effort to increase the health workers' capabilities in disseminating health knowledge and information to the public (Pizzuti et al., 2020). This capacity plays a vital role during the pandemic. They keep spreading valid information and overcoming the infodemic (Tsao et al., 2021). In the Covid-19 pandemic situation, social media provides opportunities for health workers to play a direct role in raising awareness, disseminating information, and building solidarity during the pandemic (Law et al., 2021). While on the public side as users of health care services, social media functions as a complement to health services that are not obtained directly from health workers (Smailhodzic et al., 2016). Social media is also an intermediary that allows the public to access scientific references such as health journals which generally can only be accessed by health workers on a limited basis (Katz & Nandi, 2021; Rosenberg et al., 2020).

In the context of Covid-19, social media and the information inside are associated with high individual risk perceptions related to preventive actions, beliefs, and acceptance of vaccines

(Zeballos Rivas et al., 2021). This search for information on social media can overcome doubts which able to encourage Covid-19 prevention actions by individuals (Liu, 2020).

The easier it is shared, the easier the information is contaminated. It creates information overload that can make individuals depressed and exhausted (Soroya et al., 2021). In addition, the spread of health information through social media potentially causes conflict among health workers and creates confusion for the public (Law et al., 2021). Also, these phenomena arise the threat of patient privacy, brings unclear boundaries of the relationship between doctors and patients (Prawiroharjo & Libritany, 2017). The fact that the stream of information cannot be fully controlled, doctors and health workers must be able to take responsibility for all the information they convey in the media (Carlo et al., 2021). For this reason, doctors must ensure that they are not only a source of information but also a trusted source (Law et al., 2021).

Naration

The narrative analysis uses the four-line analysis approach of Miles, Huberman, and Saldana with steps of data collection, data reduction, presentation of basic data, and drawing conclusions and verification (Miles et al., 2014). Data in the form of tweets in each doctor's account (a total of 2,000 tweets with 200 tweets per account during the Emergency PPKM period) were grouped and organized into emerging themes and underlying concepts to be analyzed with NVivo 12 software. According to the calculation, there are 15 (fifteen) words that often appear in doctors' tweets, namely "vaksin" (vaccine), "vaksinasi" (vaccination), "pasien" (patient, "kasus" (case), "varian" (variant), "kematian" (death), "dokter" (doctor), "sakit" (ill), "virus" (virus), "delta", "penduduk" (population), "nakes" (health care workers), "penelitian" (research), "gejala" (symptoms), and "Jakarta".

Word	Length	Count	Weighted Percentage
vaksin	6	238	0,68%
vaksinasi	9	163	0,46%
pasien	6	90	0,26%
kasus	5	70	0,20%
varian	6	61	0,17%
kematian	8	58	0,17%
dokter	6	57	0,16%
sakit	5	49	0,14%
virus	5	49	0,14%
delta	5	47	0,13%
penduduk	8	47	0,13%
nakes	5	46	0,13%
penelitian	10	46	0,13%
gejala	6	42	0,12%
jakarta	7	41	0,12%

Figure 1. The dominant words used in doctors' tweets during Emergency PPKM

doctors. Most accounts remind the importance of health protocols and a healthy lifestyle even though people have been vaccinated.



Figure 3. Dr. Pandu Riono's Tweet about vaccination and Prof. Zubairi Djoerban's Tweet about health protocol

Table 3. Percentage of tweets about health protocols (During Emergency PPKM)

No	Name	Username	Tweet	Total Tweet	Percentage
1	dr Pandu Riono	@drpriono1	40	200	20,00%
2	dr Jaka Pradipta	@jcowacko	36	200	18,00%
3	dr Zubairi Djoerban	@ProfesorZubairi	35	200	17,50%
4	dr Adam Prabata	@AdamPrabata	25	200	12,50%
5	dr Andi Khomeini Takdir	@dr_koko28	25	200	12,50%
6	dr Gia Pratama	@GiaPratamaMD	9	200	4,50%
7	dr Dirga Rambe	@dirgarambe	6	200	3,00%
8	dr Tompi	@dr_tompi	2	200	1,00%
9	dr Tirta Mandira Hudhi	@tirta_cipeng	1	200	0,50%
10	dr berlianidris	@berlianidris	1	200	0,50%
			180	2000	9,00%

3. Health Services

Health facilities and their personnel are the next issues to be discussed. The tweets are also mentioned about the occupancy rate of hospitals (BoR), oxygen availability, and pandemic fatigue that happen to the medical personnels.

Table 4. Percentage of tweets about health services (During Emergency PPKM)

No	Name	Username	Tweet	Total Tweet	Percentage
1	dr Zubairi Djoerban	@ProfesorZubairi	40	200	20,00%
2	dr Jaka Pradipta	@jcowacko	19	200	9,50%
3	dr Dirga Rambe	@dirgarambe	18	200	9,00%
4	dr Gia Pratama	@GiaPratamaMD	14	200	7,00%
5	dr Adam Prabata	@AdamPrabata	13	200	6,50%
6	dr Pandu Riono	@drpriono1	10	200	5,00%
7	dr Andi Khomeini Takdir	@dr_koko28	9	200	4,50%
8	dr Tirta Mandira Hudhi	@tirta_cipeng	1	200	0,50%
9	dr berlianidris	@berlianidris	1	200	0,50%
10	dr Tompi	@dr_tompi	0	200	0,00%
			125	2000	6,25%

4. Public officials and public policy

Doctors are also active in providing suggestions and recommendations to the government. They also critics public officials such as President Mr. Joko Widodo, Vice President Mr. Ma'ruf Amin, Coordinating Minister for Maritime Affairs and Investment Mr. Luhut Binsar Panjaitan, Governor of DKI Jakarta Anies Baswedan, and Minister of Health Budi Gunadi Sadikin, for instance. These criticisms and inputs are related to pandemic handling responses such as data validity, transparency, mobility restrictions, crowd, and health service availability. They also critics the non-pandemic policies such as the removal of critical murals by government officials.

Table 5. Percentage of tweets about public officials and public policies (During Emergency PPKM)

No	Name	Username	Tweet	Total Tweet	Percentage
1	dr Pandu Riono	@drpriono1	54	200	27,00%
2	dr Zubairi Djoerban	@ProfesorZubairi	14	200	7,00%
3	dr Adam Prabata	@AdamPrabata	13	200	6,50%
4	dr Andi Khomeini Takdir	@dr_koko28	9	200	4,50%
5	dr Tirta Mandira Hudhi	@tirta_cipeng	6	200	3,00%
6	dr Jaka Pradipta	@jcowacko	4	200	2,00%
7	dr Gia Pratama	@GiaPratamaMD	4	200	2,00%
8	dr Dirga Rambe	@dirgarambe	3	200	1,50%
9	dr berlianidris	@berlianidris	3	200	1,50%
10	dr Tompi	@dr_tompi	0	200	0,00%

			110	2000	5,50%
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5. Data

The discussion of data and scientific references is another issue discussed by doctors. In this theme, the doctor account @AdamPrabata is the most tweeting (31%). The scientific references discussed by this account include the effectiveness of the vaccine, the Delta virus variant, and daily case data. This account uses scientific journal references linked in tweets about the theme. Another account that is quite active in discussing this theme is @drpriono1, which tweeted daily case data.

Table 6. Percentage of tweets about Covid-19 data in Indonesia (During Emergency PPKM)

No	Name	Username	Tweet	Total Tweet	Percentage
1	dr Adam Prabata	@AdamPrabata	62	200	31,00%
2	dr Pandu Riono	@drpriono1	21	200	10,50%
3	dr Dirga Rambe	@dirgarambe	9	200	4,50%
4	dr Zubairi Djoerban	@ProfesorZubairi	3	200	1,50%
5	dr Tirta Mandira Hudhi	@tirta_cipeng	1	200	0,50%
6	dr Jaka Pradipta	@jcowacko	0	200	0,00%
7	dr Gia Pratama	@GiaPratamaMD	0	200	0,00%
8	dr berlianidris	@berlianidris	0	200	0,00%
9	dr Andi Khomeini Takdir	@dr_koko28	0	200	0,00%
10	dr Tompi	@dr_tompi	0	200	0,00%
			96	2000	4,80%

Another theme raised in the doctors' tweets was the risks and symptoms of Covid-19 (4.45%). Also, Infodemic included misinformation, disinformation, information overload, pandemic fatigue (4.00%), drugs, and vitamins. (3.25%) especially regarding the use of Ivermectin and Azithromycin for the treatment of Covid-19 patients, mortality (2.80%), and viral variants (2.10%).

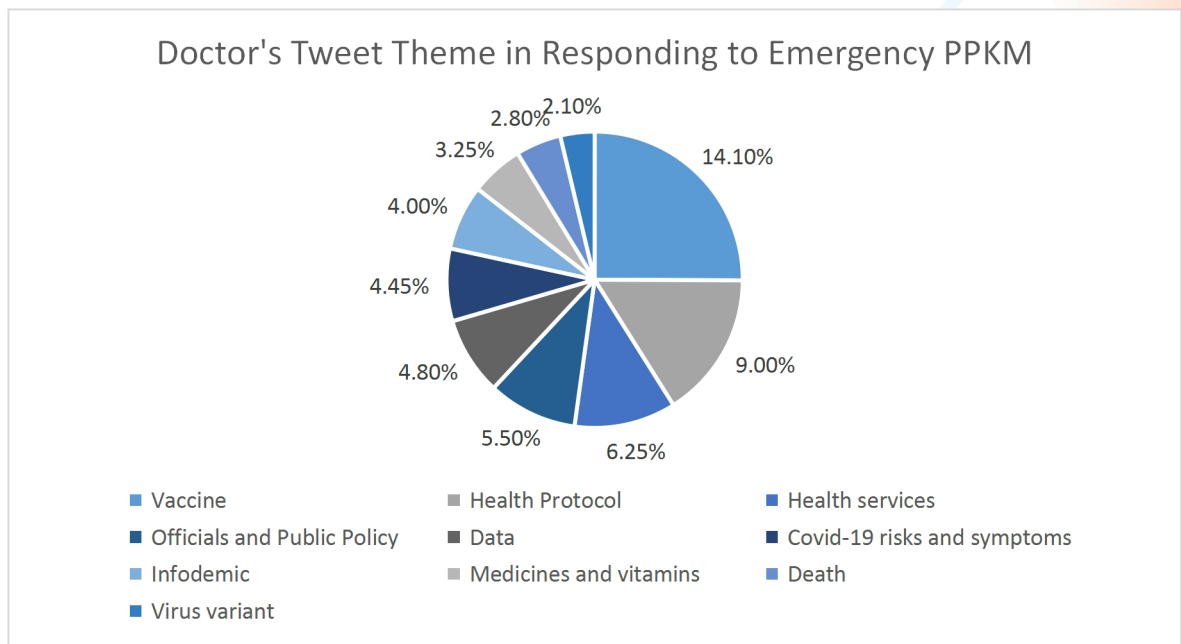


Figure 4. Tweets Theme the doctor response the pandemic during emergency PPKM

Tweeting to the press

With the coming of new media, journalism practices have also adapted (Broersma and Graham 2012, 2013; Hermida 2010 in (Davis, n.d.)). Twitter, which contains statements from prominent figures, is seen by journalists as a new citeable source for their news. In 2010 when the Republican party in America began campaigning through social media, many people started to realize the potential of Twitter as a way to observe world trends, which then influenced the writing of journalists (Davis, n.d.). Holtz-Bacha sees this phenomenon as "Tweeting for the press". The same phenomenon is in Europe as published by Broersma and Graham (2013), and Parmelee (2014). In an interview with AP Press Journalists, Parmelee concluded that Tweets from public figures are eligible to be the start of coverage, ideas, issue mapping, and even a medium for fact-checking. Researchers also see this phenomenon appearing in the Indonesian Twitter universe, where the mass media does not see only politicians, but doctors also become a reference for their various news, especially at a piece of breaking news during the pandemics.

To see how far this practice has been carried out in Indonesia, especially in the context of the Covid-19 pandemic during the Emergency PPKM period, the team researched with the keywords of each doctor's name on ten (10) mass media with the highest traffic performance according to Alexa's version, namely, Okezone, Tribunnews, Detik, Kompas, Pikiran Rakyat, Kumparan, Liputan 6, Sindonews, Suara, and JPNN.

Table 7. News related to the doctors by online media (During Emergency PPKM)

Media	News by Tweet	News related to the doctor	Ratio from News Tweets (%)	News related to the doctor overall (up to August 23 rd)
Okezone	30	106	28%	1183
Tribunews	11	104	11%	4140
Detik	48	162	30%	1320
Kompas	9	94	10%	6764
Pikiran Rakyat	99	150	66%	563
Kumparan	27	34	79%	1321
Liputan 6	16	95	17%	3982
Sindonews	23	86	27%	1573
Suara	24	131	18%	4062
JPNN	6	39	15%	1880
Total	293	1001	29%	26788

On average of 30% of news is produced from ten (10) samples of online media. It means that almost 1 of 3 news related to the doctors, during the emergency PPKM period, was produced by quoting the doctor's tweets. Pikiran Rakyat and Kumparan became the media with the highest tweeting to the press ratio with 66% and 79%, respectively. Even in some media, the ratio of tweeting the press reaches 100% for certain doctors as shown in the following table:

Tabel 7. Tweeting to the press with 100% ratio (During Emergency PPKM)

Media	Artikel	Artikel dari Twitter	Rasio	Dokter disebut
Tribunews	1	1	100%	dr Koko
Pikiran Rakyat	4	4	100%	dr Koko
Pikiran Rakyat	10	10	100%	dr Zubairi
Kumparan	11	11	100%	dr Zubairi
Kumparan	9	9	100%	dr Pandu
Pikiran Rakyat	1	1	100%	dr Adam
Sindonews	1	1	100%	dr Adam

Suara	2	2	100%	dr Adam
JPNN	2	2	100%	dr Tompi
Okezone	1	1	100%	dr Tompi
Pikiran Rakyat	3	3	100%	dr Berlian

In Pikiran Rakyat, ten (10) articles related to Prof. Zubairi Djoerban all from his tweet. Pikiran Rakyat raised some issues such as availability of oxygen, the procedure of self-isolation, the use of vitamins and drugs, also the narratives related to the Delta variant of the covid-19. In other media, Kumparan, eleven (11) news related to Prof. Zubairi Djoerban were entirely from his tweets. This means that in the Emergency PPKM period from July 3, to August 23, 2021, all articles in Kumparan related to Prof. Zubairi were taken from Twitter. An example of news with a Twitter quote can be seen as follow:



Figure 5. Kumparan article related to Prof Zubairi

Link : <https://kumparan.com/kumparannews/prof-zubairi-minta-kelanjutan-ppkm-level-4-tegas-jangan-setengah-setengah-1wFhH3YJFR6/full>

As previously described, this news comes from Prof Zubairi's tweet on August 2nd, 2021, during Emergency PPKM. One of the policies issued by the government at that time was the dine-in limit, which was only 20 minutes. This limit is controversial and discussed by many parties because it is considered a confusing rule. In practice, this policy will be hard to implement, both for restaurant waiters and visitors. Technically it is not easy to make sure someone eats for 20 minutes, as it will

feel rushed, especially if the counter starts as the food ordered. Prof. Zubairi sees this policy half-assed, as the following tweet:

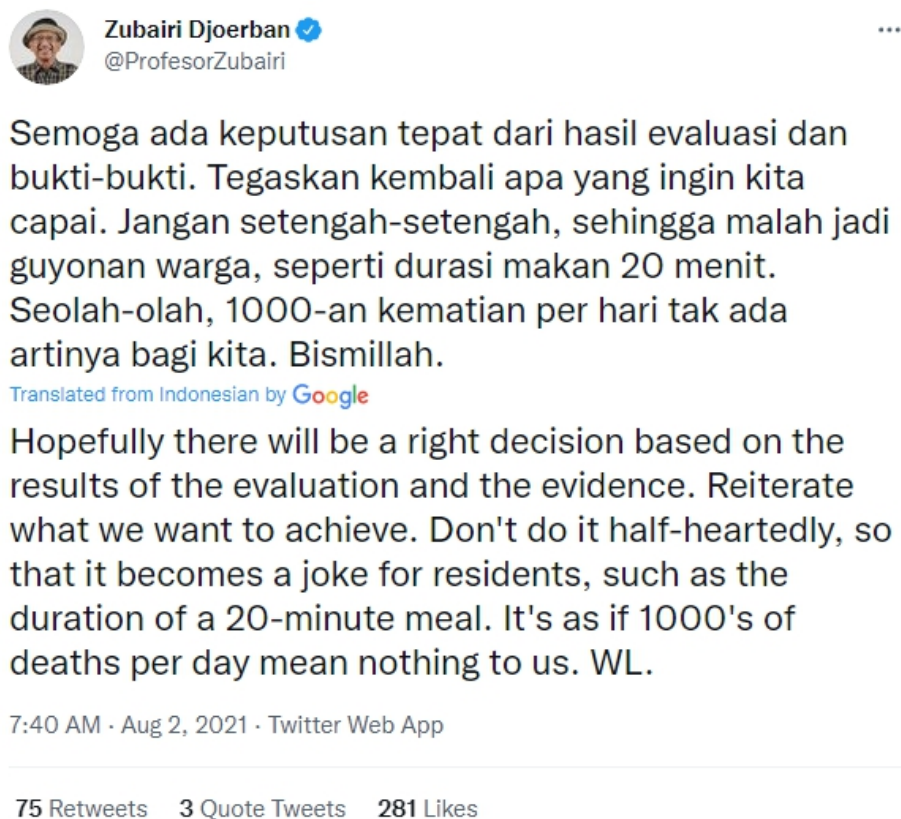


Figure 6. Prof Zubairi's Tweet

Link: <https://twitter.com/ProfesorZubairi/status/1421994307876057088>

From the doctor's side, researchers captured 586 news related to doctors during the Emergency PPKM period came from tweets. Prof. Zubairi became the doctor with the highest number, by 210 articles. Researchers assume this regarding his position at the Indonesian Doctors Association (IDI) as the head of the IDI COVID-19 task force. This position makes statements conveyed through tweets considered as representations of tweets from IDI by journalists.

The next doctor who gets lots of attention through his social media activity is dr. Tirta. His name is recently raising during the pandemic in Indonesia. He is an entrepreneur and is popular in sneakers and apparel scenes. When the pandemic started in late March 2020, Tirta was one of the first doctors to provide pandemic insight on social media. Tirta was a national volunteer for the COVID-19 task force early in the pandemic. Later he quit after being criticized because his activities at Holywings went viral. Apart from Twitter, Tirta is also active in producing content on Instagram and Youtube. The content often responds to the current situation. It makes the media have plenty of issues to explore from Tirta.

Another doctor with adequate media attention is dr. Pandu Riono. As an epidemiologist from the University of Indonesia, dr. Pandu Riono is one of the experts whom widely referenced. Dr. Pandu

Riono should be mentioned for his courage to criticize the government for the strategies taken. Pandu Riono emphasized that 3T (Test, Tracing and Treatment) and 3M (Wearing Masks, Washing Hands and Physical Distance) as the fundamental step to respond to the pandemic. He assumed that the government was still not properly manage this action. His position makes the media often refer to Dr. Pandu as a second opinion on what the government says.

The next doctor whose have popular tweets is dr. Tompi. Unlike Prof. Zubairi, dr. Tirta, as well as Dr. Pandu Riono, what Tompi narrated had little to do with Covid-19. However, as he is well known as a jazz singer in Indonesia, bring dr. Tompi became an active doctor with the most followed Twitter in Indonesia, with 1,100,000 followers. He is the only doctor with more than 1 million followers in Indonesia. Tompi once criticized the policy of limiting dine-in to 20 minutes, which draw the media's attention. In addition, one of his tweets also related to the support for people who previously did not believe in vaccines but finally agreed to be vaccinated. It received positive reactions from many netizens.

This study also noted one doctor that working quite close to the media, dr. Andi Khomeini Takdir, known as dr. Koko. He works at the Wisma Athlete Emergency Hospital, one of the medical centers for Covid-19, especially in the capital city of Jakarta. He also often shares his activity with journalists, as seen in the followed picture.



Figure 7. Several dr. Koko's Tweet related to journalist

The following table is the sum of news that related to each doctor's tweet on the online media during the Emergency PPKM period:

Tabel 8. Sum of News related to each doctor's tweet (During Emergency PPKM)

Sum of News	Total
Sum of news dr Zubairi by Tweet - PPKM	210
Sum of news dr Tirta by Tweet - PPKM	162
Sum of news dr Pandu by Tweet - PPKM	140
Sum of news dr Tompi by Tweet - PPKM	38
Sum of news dr Koko by Tweet - PPKM	16
Sum of news dr Adam by Tweet - PPKM	12
Sum of news dr Berlian by Tweet - PPKM	6
Sum of news sdr Jaka by Tweet - PPKM	2
Sum of news dr Gia by Tweet - PPKM	0
Sum of news dr Dirga by Tweet - PPKM	0
Total	586

Back on the media side, a total of 293 news related to the ten (10) research subjects were found. Pikiran Rakyat became the online media with the most articles that cite from tweets, followed by Detikcom, Okezone, Kumparan, and Sindonews. Of course, this practice of quoting is much more practical in terms of news production. Since the journalists only need to see the text and context of the tweet and then write it down as an article. In addition, work from home factor probably plays a role in this phenomenon. The demand to produce several news stories one day makes journalists convenient by citing tweets as news sources.

Table 8. Media and number of news sources from Twitter of doctors (During Emergency PPKM)

Media	Total News by Tweet
Pikiran Rakyat	99
Detik	48
Okezone	30
Kumparan	27
Suara	24
Sindonews	23

Liputan 6	16
Tribunews	11
Kompas	9
JPNN	6
Total	293

In fact, not all Twitter account owners are willing their tweets to be quoted without permission. One of the doctors in this research, namely dr. Tirta clearly stated that he did not want to be quoted without confirmation regarding his tweet. Outside of this research period, for example, dr. Koko objected to the editor of Republika Online for quoting from her tweet without prior confirmation.



Figure 8. dr. Tirta on Twitter



dr. Andi Khomeini Takdir ✓
@dr_koko28

...

Wartawan @RMOLNetwork dan @rmol_id sama gak sih? Saya mau minta tolong judul berita tentang gw dan yang mengutip cuitan gw untuk diklarifikasi.

Translated from Indonesian by Google

Journalist @RMOLNetwork and @rmol_id isn't it the same? I want to ask for the title of the news about me and the one who quoted my tweet for clarification.

5:37 PM · Mar 21, 2020 · Twitter for Android

79 Retweets 2 Quote Tweets 246 Likes

Figure 9. The statement from dr. Koko regarding the media which quotes without confirmation (before Emergency PPKM period)

Conclusion

The existence of doctors on social media has made access to health information closer to the public. As a pandemic that cannot be seen from only one side, the information provided by doctors in the form of tweets has social consequences (Ayuningtyas et al., 2021; Lavazza & Farina, 2020) . Particularly, when the tweet is amplified by the media, making pandemic news more common (Carlo et al., 2021) . From the tweet crawled in this study, there are several issues that become the main focus of doctors, namely, vaccine, health protocol, health services, public servant and its policy, also issues regarding to the data. The doctors put attention how those issue works as the response of the pandemic both in form of critics and suggestion.

With huge internet user in Indonesia, understanding media literacy is crucial. Although algorithms have become a new power in the practice of digital media consumption, the ability of individuals as humans to sort and select information is still a critical factor for themselves and their interaction network (Cinelli et al., 2020) . Media literacy skills by individuals then play a vital role. Understanding media literacy can improve critical thinking skills through insight into the media and its influence (Jones-Jang et al., 2021) . The public should have adequate literacy of media to have a clear understanding of the validity and credibility of information sources. The more public understand the situation from a credible source, the less infodemic will be.

The presence of Twitter as a new communication channel that is fast and full of information makes how journalists work in providing the news also develop. The way of news writing by quoting a tweet is becoming more and more common, especially during a pandemic where reporters and source persons are often unable to meet face-to-face. This practice makes writing a piece of news much faster and dynamic, as the trends change quickly in the timeline. However, the validity is often questioned, both from the reader's and the source's perspectives. Not everyone is willing to have their tweet quoted as a source of valid information.

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THE SERVICE OF LEADERS IN BUILDING QUALITY RELATIONS BETWEEN ORGANIZATIONAL MEMBERS AT THE RESEARCH CENTER FOR SWEET PLANTS AND FIBER 2010 - 2019

Abstract

The existence of communication problems from superiors and subordinates related to direction, coordination and communication between co-workers that occurs repeatedly in an organization results in the emergence of unresolved internal conflicts. Frequent changes of leadership in the organization also affect the condition of communication between employees, both superiors and subordinates, as well as fellow co-workers. This became the basis for conducting organizational communication research at the Research Institute for Sweeteners and Fibers (Balittas). The aim of this research is to describe the term of office of the Head of the Balai from 2010 to 2019 and how the impact on the quality of the relationship between superiors and subordinates, between co-workers. Departing from the constructivism paradigm, this research is a qualitative research. The method used is action research. This study conducted data collection by in-depth interviews and analyzed using the action research cycle of Coghland and Brannick. The quality of the relationship between superiors and subordinates for each period of each leader is based on LMX theory. The results of this study indicate that the leadership of the Head of Balai which is too frequent shows that it does not affect the achievement of organizational performance, but in terms of the quality of the relationship between superiors and subordinates tends to be dominated by the quality of the out-group. Quality of relationships among co-workers informational peer relationships. The results of this study provide recommendations to overcome organizational communication problems in order to improve the quality of relationships between members of the organization on an ongoing basis.

Keywords: organizational communication, leadership tenure, relationship quality, Balittas.

A. INTRODUCTION

Di dalam sebuah organisasi seperti perusahaan ataupun institusi pemerintah, anggotanya akan saling berinteraksi dan berkomunikasi untuk mencapai sebuah tujuan tertentu. Menurut Robbins dan Judge, (2017), organisasi adalah merupakan unit sosial yang dikoordinasikan secara sadar, terdiri dari dua atau lebih anggota yang berfungsi secara terus menerus untuk mencapai tujuan bersama. Dalam kegiatan untuk mencapai tujuan, sebuah organisasi dipimpin oleh seorang pemimpin. Secara tradisional organisasi telah menggunakan gaya kepemimpinan hierarkis dan vertikal, yaitu ada satu pemimpin dengan arahan terpusat yang mengatur dan menegakkan aturan kepada sekelompok pengikut (Bass, 1990). Pace dan Faules (2013) mendefinisikan pemimpin sebagai orang yang bertugas untuk membantu orang lain dalam mencapai hasil-hasil yang diinginkan. Pemimpin mempunyai wewenang untuk mengarahkan berbagai kegiatan para anggota atau kelompok.

Balai Penelitian Tanaman Pemanis dan Serat (Balittas) adalah sebuah organisasi pemerintah yang merupakan Unit Pelaksana Teknis (UPT) Kementerian Pertanian, di bawah koordinasi Pusat Penelitian dan Pengembangan Perkebunan (Eselon II) dan Badan Penelitian dan Pengembangan Pertanian (Eselon I). Menurut Laporan yang terdokumentasi dalam Laporan Kepuasan Pelanggan Internal Balittas tahun 2017, terdapat ketidakpuasan dalam proses komunikasi yang terjadi di lingkup Balittas. Beberapa masalah yang ditemukan antara lain, (1) kurangnya pembinaan pimpinan terhadap pegawai; (2) kurangnya koordinasi dari atasan kepada bawahan, (3) koordinasi dan konsultasi antara *top management* dengan staf juga masih kurang; (4) pengarahan dari atasan kepada semua area keluhan pelanggan dan tindak lanjut perbaikannya dinilai lambat (Balittas, Laporan Kepuasan Pelanggan Internal, 2017).

Komunikasi memiliki peran penting dalam mengembangkan rasa kepercayaan dan keterbukaan antara pimpinan dan bawahan, manajemen dan juga para pegawai, serta serikat pekerja di dalam organisasi (Downs & Adrian, 2004). Adanya permasalahan komunikasi dari atasan dan bawahan terkait dengan pengarahan, koordinasi serta komunikasi antara sesama rekan kerja yang terjadi secara berulang di dalam sebuah organisasi berakibat pada timbulnya konflik internal yang tidak terpecahkan. Sering terjadi pergantian pimpinan di dalam organisasi juga mempengaruhi kondisi komunikasi antar pegawai baik atasan dan bawahan maupun sesama rekan kerja.

Dari data yang dikumpulkan peneliti pada penelitian pendahuluan diketahui bahwa dari tahun 2010 sampai dengan 2019 sering terjadi pergantian pimpinan. Data tersebut dapat dilihat dalam tabel 1.1 di bawah ini.

Tabel 1.1 Masa Jabatan Kepala Balai dari Tahun 2010–2019

No	Nama Kepala Balai	Masa Jabatan
1	Prof. Dr. Ir. Deciyanto Soetopo, M.S.	2005–2010
2	Ir. Bambang Heliyanto, M.Sc., Ph.D.	2010–2011
3	Ir. Mastur, M.Si., Ph.D.	2012–2015
4	Ir. Emy Sulistyowati, M.Ag., Ph.D.	2016–2018
5	Kuntoro Boga Andri, SP., M.Agr., Ph.D.	25 Januari 2018 – 19 Maret 2018

Sumber: Balittas (2019).

Sebelum tahun 2010, masa jabatan Kepala Balai berkisar antara lima sampai dengan sebelas tahun. Kepala Balai yang pertama yaitu Ir. Sri Hartiniadi Isdijoso, MS., menjabat selama sebelas tahun (1984–1995), selanjutnya Kepala Balai dijabat oleh Ir. Hasnam, M. Sc., Ph.D., selama empat tahun (1995–1999). Kepala Balai yang ketiga, Dr. Ir. Suwarso, MS., menjabat selama enam tahun (1999–2010). Kepala Balai keempat yaitu Prof. Dr. Ir. Deciyanto Soetopo, MS., menjabat selama lima tahun (2005–2010). Dari tabel 1.1 diketahui bahwa pada tahun 2010 sampai 2019 masa jabatan Kepala Balai, sebagian besar hanya berkisar satu sampai tiga tahun saja, bahkan ada yang menjabat selama beberapa bulan. Hal tersebut menjadi pertanyaan dengan adanya perubahan kepemimpinan bagaimana kondisi organisasi karena perubahan tersebut. Kondisi ini belum pernah diketahui oleh organisasi (Balittas).

Glick, Huber, Miller, Harold, dan Sutcliffe (1995), berpendapat bahwa terjadinya perubahan yang terlalu sering di dalam organisasi akan membuat anggota organisasi merasa lelah dengan perubahan tersebut karena mereka merasa bahwa terdapat hal-hal yang tidak dapat diprediksikan. Jika perubahan jarang terjadi, anggota organisasi dapat menerima perubahan tersebut sebagai bagian dari dinamika organisasi dan mereka dapat mengidentifikasi titik awal dan titik akhir perubahan tersebut dengan jelas.

Dari wawancara pendahuluan di atas diketahui bahwa penerapan legitimasi pemimpin di Balittas kurang kuat. Hal ini sesuai dengan penelitian yang dilakukan oleh Simsek (2007) yang menemukan bahwa, pimpinan organisasi dengan waktu kepemimpinan yang pendek kurang memiliki legitimasi, kurang dikenal oleh bawahan, dan juga kurang terbukti kemampuannya sehingga membatasi kinerja mereka dalam menerapkan kebijakannya kepada organisasi. Selain itu, pemimpin dengan jangka waktu pendek ini kurang memiliki waktu yang cukup untuk memperhatikan lingkungan organisasinya dan menentukan rencana-rencana strategis untuk mencapai tujuan organisasi.

Berdasarkan temuan fenomena masalah yang terjadi di dalam organisasi tersebut, maka peneliti memandang perlu untuk melakukan penelitian untuk mengeksplorasi masalah dan menemukan solusi untuk masalah yang terjadi. Permasalahan organisasi yang terjadi berulang, kurangnya komunikasi antar anggota organisasi (atasan, bawahan, serta sesama rekan kerja), dan juga konflik di tingkat karyawan menjadi dasar bagi peneliti untuk melakukan penelitian. Penelitian ini akan fokus membahas tentang kualitas hubungan antara atasan dan bawahan serta rekan kerja.

B. LITERATURE REVIEW

Teori organisasi klasik dikemukakan oleh Max Weber (dikutip dalam Littlejohn & Foss, 2008), menjelaskan bahwa organisasi adalah sistem yang rasional dengan peraturan kekuasaan. Organisasi klasik sangat terikat dengan aturan-aturan yang berlaku di dalamnya, bagaimana tujuan ditetapkan dan aturan untuk mencapai tujuan tersebut harus diikuti. Meskipun pandangan Weber kaku, namun pandangan tersebut diikuti oleh

berbagai organisasi secara luas karena kemampuannya untuk menjelaskan kekuasaan dan mengatur organisasi dengan lebih baik.

Pemimpin merupakan peran yang memiliki pengaruh yang penting di dalam organisasi (Pace & Faules, 2013). Pemimpin dalam kelompok maupun organisasi merupakan hal yang penting, dan pemimpin yang baik adalah yang mampu menyeimbangkan hal-hal terkait tugas maupun memelihara hubungan baik diantara anggota dalam organisasi. Keduanya bisa dijalankan oleh dua orang yang berbeda, artinya ada pemimpin yang fokus pada pencapaian tujuan, dan ada pemimpin yang berupaya menjaga kondusifitas hubungan antar anggota dan memperbaiki relasi dalam kelompok organisasi (Littlejohn & Foss, 2009: 529). Pace & Faules (2013), menjelaskan bahwa kepemimpinan bertujuan untuk membantu orang untuk menegakkan kembali, mempertahankan dan meningkatkan motivasi mereka. Menurut Sharma dan Rai (2003) menyatakan bahwa pemimpin organisasi yang memiliki masa jabatan yang cukup lama akan memiliki kekuasaan untuk mengarahkan bawahan dan juga mengalokasikan sumber daya organisasi.

Peneliti komunikasi organisasi dalam mempelajari hubungan komunikasi atasan-bawahan sangat dipengaruhi oleh teori Leader Member Exchange (LMX) (Graen & Scandura, 1987; Berger, Roloff, & Roskos-Ewoldsen, 2011). Dalam teori LMX, supervisor membentuk berbagai jenis hubungan dengan berbagai karyawan mereka dan hubungan ini bervariasi sehubungan dengan kualitas. Menurut teori LMX, ada dua jenis hubungan yang terbentuk antara pemimpin dan bawahan, yaitu hubungan *in-group* dan hubungan *out-group* (Berger, Roloff, & Roskos-Ewoldsen, 2010).

Hubungan atasan-bawahan yang lebih berkualitas dikenal sebagai hubungan *in-group* ditandai dengan tingkat saling percaya, rasa hormat, dan kewajiban yang lebih tinggi di antara mitra hubungan. Dalam hubungan seperti itu, para pemimpin dan anggota belajar bahwa mereka dapat mengandalkan satu sama lain untuk saling memberikan dukungan. Kondisi tersebut dapat menghasilkan hubungan yang lebih berkualitas dan mewujudkan hubungan atasan-bawahan sebagai sebuah "kemitraan", yang anggotanya bersedia untuk fokus pada kepentingan bersama yang lebih besar" (Graen & Uhl-Bien, 1995).

Hubungan *out-group* merupakan kebalikan dari *in-group*, yaitu rendahnya kualitas hubungan antara atasan dengan bawahan (Berger, Roloff, & Roskos-Ewoldsen, 2010). Hubungan berkualitas rendah ini (LMX rendah) ditandai dengan penggunaan status kekuasaan dalam hubungan antar anggota, pertukaran perilaku antar anggota organisasi dilakukan sebatas ikatan kontraktual, hubungan antar anggota yang terikat oleh peran masing-masing, rendahnya tingkat dukungan dan kepercayaan, dan penghargaan hanya sebatas motif ekonomi (Fairhurst, 2001). Dampak hubungan *out-group* ini adalah tingkat kepuasan bawahan lebih rendah, tingginya tingkat pergantian bawahan, dan rendahnya keinginan bawahan untuk melaksanakan tugas (Graen, Liden & Hoel, 1982).

Kram dan Isabella (1985) membagi hubungan sesama rekan kerja menjadi tiga kategori yaitu (1) *Information peer relationship*, yaitu hubungan rekan kerja yang ditandai oleh rendahnya tingkat pengungkapan diri dan kepercayaan. Komunikasi dalam hubungan ini berfokus pada konten yang terbatas dan terkait dengan pekerjaan dan mencerminkan tingkat keintiman yang rendah; (2) *Collegial peer relationship*, yaitu hubungan rekan kerja yang ditandai oleh tingkat kepercayaan moderat, pengungkapan diri, dukungan emosional, dan persahabatan. Komunikasi di antara rekan sejawat mencerminkan konten yang lebih luas, termasuk topik yang terkait dengan pekerjaan dan pribadi, dan tingkat keintiman yang moderat; (3) *Special peer*, yaitu hubungan rekan kerja yang ditandai dengan tingkat dukungan emosional yang tinggi, berkomunikasi secara

terbuka dan saling memberikan tanggapan tentang karir, kepercayaan, kepribadian masing-masing, dan persahabatan. Hubungan rekan kerja pada kategori ini menunjukkan luasnya konten percakapan yang hampir tak terbatas dan memiliki keintiman yang tinggi.

C. METHOD

Dalam penelitian ini menggunakan paradigma konstruktivisme. Menurut Denzin dan Lincoln (2017), paradigma konstruktivis berorientasi pada pemahaman yang dibangun dari realitas sosial. Metode yang digunakan dalam penelitian ini adalah penelitian tindakan atau action research. Lewin (1947) menggambarkan penelitian tindakan sebagai proses penelitian yang berjalan dalam spiral. Prosesnya terdiri dari tiga langkah, yaitu (1) perencanaan, yang melibatkan pengamatan mendalam; (2) mengambil tindakan; (3) evaluasi. Lokasi penelitian yang dipilih adalah Balai Penelitian Tanaman Pemanis dan Serat Indonesia yang merupakan organisasi tempat peneliti bekerja sebagai praktisi Humas. Salah satu lembaga penelitian pemerintah di Malang terletak di Jalan Raya Karangploso KM. 4, Kabupaten Malang, Provinsi Jawa Timur. Dalam penelitian ini, proses pengumpulan data mengacu pada tahap penelitian tindakan. Ada empat tahapan, yaitu menentukan diagnosis masalah gaya komunikasi kepemimpinan, kualitas hubungan antar anggota organisasi. Kedua, merencanakan strategi tindakan tentang bagaimana memecahkan masalah. Ketiga, menerapkan strategi aksi. Terakhir, evaluasi bagaimana gaya komunikasi kepemimpinan berimplikasi pada kualitas hubungan antar anggota organisasi.

Wawancara dalam penelitian tindakan cenderung terbuka dan tidak terstruktur, dengan fokus pada apa yang dikatakan orang yang diwawancarai (Coghland & Brannick, 2005). Senada dengan pendapat di atas, Bryman (2008) menjelaskan bahwa wawancara mendalam dapat berupa wawancara tidak terstruktur atau semi terstruktur. Wawancara tidak terstruktur adalah jenis wawancara yang hanya menggunakan daftar topik atau masalah, yang sering disebut pedoman wawancara, dan biasanya menggunakan gaya bertanya informal. Teknik penentuan partisipan sebagai sumber data (informan) dalam penelitian ini menggunakan teknik purposive. Menurut Bryman (2008), teknik purposive sampling merupakan strategi penentuan sampel penelitian, sehingga sampel tersebut relevan dengan pertanyaan penelitian yang diajukan. Kriteria informan yang sesuai dengan penelitian ini harus memiliki kompetensi dan pengetahuan tentang gaya komunikasi kepemimpinan pada salah satu organisasi penelitian pemerintah di Malang selama tahun 2010 hingga 2019, mengetahui bagaimana kualitas hubungan antar anggota organisasi, baik atasan maupun bawahan dan rekan sejawat. Dalam penelitian tindakan ini, peneliti menggunakan tahapan yang dijelaskan oleh Coghland & Brannick (2005) dengan alasan bahwa mereka menyediakan tahapan analisis penelitian tindakan yang dilakukan untuk penelitian yang dilakukan di organisasi praktisi itu sendiri. Tahap ini merupakan siklus penelitian yang terdiri dari pre-step yang berisi konteks/tujuan, dan main step yang berisi empat langkah dasar (mendiagnosis, merencanakan tindakan, mengambil tindakan, mengevaluasi tindakan).

D. RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

Menurut teori LMX, ada dua jenis hubungan yang terbentuk antara atasan dan bawahan, yaitu hubungan in-group dan hubungan out-group (Berger, Roloff, & Roskos-Ewoldsen, 2010). Hubungan atasan-bawahan dalam kategori in-group ditandai dengan rasa saling percaya yang

lebih tinggi, saling menghormati, dan melaksanakan kewajiban di antara mitra hubungan. Dalam hubungan tersebut, pemimpin dan anggota belajar bahwa mereka dapat mengandalkan satu sama lain dan saling mendukung. Dari hasil analisa, kualitas hubungan antara atasan dan bawahan yang masuk dalam kategori in-group, hanya ada dua masa jabatan pimpinan, yaitu tahun selama masa jabatan Kepala Balai tahun 2005–2010 dengan masa menjabat lima (5) tahun, dan 2016–2018 dengan masa menjabat dua (2) tahun. Hal ini ditunjukkan oleh pernyataan informan bahwa ada rasa saling percaya dan menghormati antara atasan dan bawahan. Selain itu, pimpinan dan bawahan melaksanakan kewajiban, tugasnya dan komitmen dalam pekerjaan mereka. Saling mendukung antara atasan dan bawahan juga terjadi pada masa kepemimpinan kepala balai.

Berbeda dengan dua periode kepemimpinan di atas, sejak 2010-2019 masih didominasi oleh kualitas hubungan out-group. Hal ini cukup mengkhawatirkan karena menurut pendapat Graen, Liden, & Hoel (1982) dampak dari hubungan out-group ini adalah tingkat bawahan yang lebih rendah kepuasan, tingkat pergantian bawahan yang tinggi, dan keinginan yang lebih rendah untuk bawahan untuk menjalankan tugasnya. Hubungan out-group terlihat pada masa kepemimpinan 2010-2011 dengan masa jabatan satu tahun, antara hubungan in-group dan out-group. Hubungan out-group ditandai dengan pernyataan dari informan bahwa dalam menjalankan kewajibannya tugas dan komitmen tidak dilakukan oleh bawahan. Bawahan juga melakukannya tidak memberikan dukungan kepada atasan. Hubungan out-group juga muncul selama kepemimpinan 2012-2015 dengan masa jabatan tiga (3) tahun. Hal ini tergambar dari pernyataan informan bahwa pemimpin adalah kurang mampu berkomitmen dalam bekerja, dan adanya dukungan antara atasan dan bawahan rendah. Pimpinan juga tidak memberikan informasi yang dibutuhkan karyawan. Ada saling percaya antara atasan dan bawahan serta saling menghormati, tetapi pelaksanaannya hanya normatif. Percaya saja dan menghormati karena aturan dan norma sopan santun yang berlaku.

Hubungan out-group adalah kebalikan dari in-group, yaitu rendahnya kualitas hubungan antara atasan dan bawahan (Berger, Roloff, & Roskos Ewoldsen, 2010). Kualitas hubungan outgroup juga ditemukan selama masa 2018-2019. Meski ada saling menghormati dan saling percaya, pelaksanaannya terbatas ke formalitas. Dilakukan hanya dengan cara kontrak. Selain itu, kondisi ini diperkuat dengan kurangnya komitmen dalam menjalankan kewajiban dan tugas, atasan dan bawahan tidak memberikan dukungan, informasi yang dibutuhkan oleh karyawan tidak disediakan oleh pimpinan. Hubungan outgroup muncul dalam tiga istilah kepemimpinan dan harus ditingkatkan untuk periode berikutnya. Hubungan berkualitas rendah ini (LMX rendah) ditandai dengan penggunaan status kekuasaan dalam hubungan antar anggota, pertukaran perilaku antar anggota organisasi terbatas pada ikatan kontraktual, hubungan antar anggota terikat oleh perannya masing-masing, tingkat dukungan dan kepercayaan, dan penghargaan terbatas pada motif ekonomi (Fairhurst, 2001).

Penelitian ini juga menggambarkan hubungan antar rekan kerja. Kram dan Isabella (1985) membagi hubungan teman sebaya menjadi tiga kategori, yaitu (1) Informasi peer relationship, yaitu hubungan rekan kerja yang ditandai dengan rendahnya tingkat keterbukaan diri dan kepercayaan. Komunikasi dalam hubungan ini berfokus pada konten yang terbatas dan berhubungan dengan pekerjaan dan mencerminkan tingkat keintiman yang rendah; (2) Hubungan rekan sejawat, yaitu hubungan antar rekan kerja yang ditandai dengan tingkat kepercayaan yang sedang, pengungkapan diri, dukungan emosional, dan persahabatan. Komunikasi antar teman sebaya mencerminkan cakupan konten yang lebih luas, termasuk topik terkait pekerjaan dan pribadi, dan tingkat keintiman sedang; (3) Rekan khusus, yaitu hubungan antara rekan kerja yang ditandai dengan tingkat dukungan emosional yang tinggi, berkomunikasi secara terbuka dan

saling memberikan umpan balik tentang karir, keyakinan, kepribadian individu, dan persahabatan. Hubungan antar rekan kerja dalam hal ini kategori menunjukkan keluasan konten percakapan yang hampir tidak terbatas dan memiliki tingkat keintiman.

Kualitas hubungan antar rekan kerja selama masa jabatan 2010-2015 mengarah pada hubungan rekan kerja yang informatif. Ini adalah ditandai dengan rendahnya rasa saling percaya, keterbukaan diri, dan diskusi tentang masalah pribadi di antara rekan-rekan. Dukungan emosional di antara rekan kerja juga rendah. Pada masa jabatan pimpinan tahun 2018-2019 juga menunjukkan hubungan rekan kerja *informational peer relationship*. Tidak ada persahabatan yang terlihat terbentuk. Selain itu juga terjadi pergantian karyawan. Kualitas hubungan antar rekan kerja selama masa jabatan 2018-2019 dan masa kepemimpinan 2016-2018 telah menyebabkan rekan informasi hubungan. Hal ini ditandai dengan rendahnya rasa saling percaya, keterbukaan diri dan diskusi masalah pribadi antar sesama rekan kerja. Keterbukaan antar karyawan hanya sebatas tingkat sedang. Dukungan emosional di antara rekan kerja juga rendah. Formasi dari persahabatan menjadi kelompok-kelompok tertentu, ada kelompok yang mendukung dan menentang kepemimpinan dari kepala Balai. Selanjutnya, selama periode 2018-2019. Dalam hal ini, peneliti tidak dapat menemukan jenis kualitas hubungan antara atasan dan bawahan serta rekan sejawat yang tidak dapat diidentifikasi dengan baik oleh informan. Ini karena term 2018-2018 hanya tiga bulan dan hanya satu bulan secara efektif memimpin.

Menurut Berger, Roloff & Ewoldsen (2010), asumsi teori LMX adalah bahwa para pemimpin membangun hubungan dengan kualitas yang berbeda-beda di antara subkelompok dari sub-kelompok, daripada menghubungkan mereka secara seragam. Ada dua jenis hubungan yang terbentuk antara pemimpin dan bawahan, yaitu hubungan in-group dan out-group hubungan. Hasil penelitian ini menunjukkan bahwa organisasi masih memiliki kualitas hubungan outgroup, sehingga ini bisa menjadi catatan penting untuk aula selanjutnya kepemimpinan dalam rangka menciptakan kualitas hubungan dalam kelompok.

E. CONCLUSION

Hasil penelitian menunjukkan bahwa kualitas hubungan yang berkualitas (in-group) antara atasan dan bawahan dapat terbentuk pada masa jabatan pemimpin yang lebih lama, biasanya sekitar 5 tahun masa jabatan. Selain itu hubungan sesama rekan kerja yang berkualitas (special peer) juga terbentuk dalam masa jabatan yang lebih lama. Kualitas hubungan antara atasan dan bawahan periode 2010-2019 masih mencerminkan kualitas out hubungan kelompok berdasarkan teori LMX (kualitas hubungan rendah) karena pertukaran perilaku anggota organisasi terbatas pada ikatan kontraktual dan tingkat dukungan dan kepercayaan yang rendah satu sama lain.

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Threats to Indonesia's National Cyberspace Security 2020-2021 through the Perspective of International Relations and Digital Political Communication

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Abstract

Indonesia is now faced with a major dilemma when it comes to modernizing their cyber technologies. Stemming from the major increase of internet users following the COVID-19 pandemic, Indonesia's current scheme of cybersecurity struggles to provide the necessary security to its users and their personal data. As seen through recent cases of online data breaches and exposure, the security of Indonesian national cyberspace therefore is under threat from malign cyber actors (either state or non-state actors). Additionally, the weakness within the Indonesian legal framework when it comes to cybersecurity results in most cyberattack cases being unable to be forwarded to court, either the attacker or the network responsible to protect their users. Hence, this paper attempts to analyze realized and potential (or future) threats to Indonesian national cyberspace through both international relations and digital political communication. Additionally, this study employs qualitative approach while using literature review as the primary method. All of this is also affected by the digital era, which influences the paradigm and behavioral pattern that direct online population to become information producer (also called user generated content). In order to achieve the previous research objectives, this research utilizes the models of conditions that include political and economic aspects. The political aspect highlights key weaknesses in a state including state apparatus and legal framework. While economic aspect highlights profit-seeking motives behind cybercrime happenings in Indonesia.

Keyword(s): *cybersecurity, personal data, Indonesia, digital political communication*

Introduction

Cybercrime is an often understated notion existing mainly in the more technologically-savvy first world countries. This notion, however, is not without reason. The relatively slow growth of Indonesia's internet connectivity (accelerated only recently under Joko Widodo's administration) created a void at first on how to counter the appearance of cybercrime (or a lack thereof) (Prasidya, 2020) . Recent growth of Indonesian internet access has increased their online population to 191 million as of December 2019 (Statista, 2021) . This means that the majority of Indonesians have access to the internet and it contributes to the expansion of Indonesian cyberspace to include the social, financial, banking, and defense sectors.

This expansion is not without a vice; such rapid growth, if referring to the social theory of change, mean that the necessary state apparatus (especially law) will be hard-pressed to adapt to the changes resulting from Indonesia's cyberspace expansion (Griffith, 2019). This contributes to a key weakness in Indonesia's ability in dealing with cybercrime, where the approved constitution is not yet equipped to deal with the perpetrators and the cybercrime itself. This will be further explored in the journal through transnational organized crime theory lenses, providing justification for a push forward in Indonesian cyberspace legal framework.

Additionally, this "cyberspace weakness" stems from inadequate state adaptation to the development of cyber technologies in recent years. In comparison to other neighboring states, most notably China (who already has a well-equipped cyber force and domestic internet protection dubbed "Great China Firewall") and Singapore, Indonesia has just formed their own cyber agency (BSSN – National Cyber and Crypto Agency) and is still in the process of creating the required legal framework of operation for the aforementioned agency.

A demonstration of this cyberspace weakness is the growing number of cyberattacks per year in Indonesia. The latest data per August 2021 shows that the number of cyberattacks in Indonesia has grown from 324 million cyberattacks in 2020 (Keller & Widodo, 2021) to an incredible amount of 741 million cyberattacks in the period from January to August 2021 (Keller & Widodo, 2021; Pershada, 2021) . The data in August 2021 also shows more than 100% increase in cyberattacks per year in Indonesia.

Recent attacks on the Indonesian cyberspace, especially concerning private data of Indonesian netizens, have created concern on a national scale in combating these new cyber threats (Thomas, 2021) . With COVID-19 still a factor and the near-universal utilization of cyberspace, it's become prudent for Indonesian government to ensure the safety of their citizens and their private data, lest it be exploited by hostile or non-benevolent actors. This study, henceforth, is conducted to address and analyze these key issues through the perspective of international relations and digital political communication, which will provide detailed case by case studies of Indonesia's cyberspace security.

Within this journal, the researchers are set to record cases of cybersecurity breach within the Indonesian cyberspace and, through the usage of transnational organized crime theory, determine the key perpetrators, intentions, and future potential cyberspace threats

in Indonesia as the final result. It's hoped that key lessons learned from past attacks and their analysis in this journal will be adequate in providing the imagery of Indonesia's cybersecurity situation to both domestic and foreign analysts.

Theoretical Framework

Definition of Cybercrime

The term of cybercrime has been used to define broad definitions which include offences against computer data and systems, forgery and fraud related to computer, child pornography and other content offences, and copyright offences (UNODC, 2010, p. 203). The main actors behind cybercrime are hackers where various motivation and classification of hackers are involved (Sabillon, Cano, Cavaller, & Serra, 2016, p. 166). Hackers generally classified into three categories, *White Hats* whose principle is to do no harms, *Gray Hats* who once was Black Hats and now working as security consultant, and *Black Hats* whose principle is the opposite of White Hats where they usually steal, harm, destroy, etc. data (Sabillon, Cano, Cavaller, & Serra, 2016, p. 166). The terms such as *cyber terrorists*, *suicide hackers*, *script kiddies*, or *state-sponsored hackers* are several classes under the Black Hats and White Hats classification.

UNODC propose three act categories which includes 14 acts that may constitute cybercrime as shown in the table below.

Acts against the confidentiality, integrity and availability of computer data or systems	Computer-related acts for personal or financial gain or harm	Computer content-related acts
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Illegal access to a computer system - Illegal access, interception or acquisition of computer data - Illegal interference with a computer system or computer data - Production, distribution or possession of computer misuse tools - Breach of privacy or data protection measures 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Computer-related fraud or forgery - Computer-related identity offences - Computer-related copyright or trademark offences - Sending or controlling sending of Spam - Computer-related acts causing personal harm - Computer-related solicitation or 'grooming' of children 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Computer-related acts involving speech - Computer-related production, distribution or possession of child pornography - Computer-related acts in support of terrorism offences

Source: processed by writers (UNODC, 2013)

Models of Transnational Organized Crime

Models of Conditions was proposed by Williams and Godson in the journal under the title of “*Anticipating Organized Crime and Transnational Crime*”. There are two models, *Models of Conditions* and *Models of Operations*. *Models of Conditions* consists of three variables, *political model*, *economical model*, and *social model*. While *Models of Operations* consists of two variables, *strategic model* and *hybrid model* (Williams & Godson, 2002, p. 315). This journal analyses the matter using *Models of Conditions* (Political Model and Economic Model) since this model was deemed to be the most relevant by the writers.

Political Model	Economic Model
<ul style="list-style-type: none">- Weak States- Strong regimes becoming weak- Weak states characterized by ethnic conflict or terrorist- Democratic states with high legitimacy as crime resistant states	<ul style="list-style-type: none">- Market Model- Enterprise Model

Source: processed by the writers (Williams & Godson, 2002)

a) Political Model

There are several indicators referring to political model. First, *Weak states*. This point mainly discussed strength and weakness of the state to extent to the types of government either authoritarian or democratic and also the degree of the institutionalization of the rule of law in the states. Second, *Strong regimes becoming weak*. Strong regimes such as authoritarian regime which led by one party system can also act as incubators for organized crime where corruption plays a crucial role. Third, *Weak states characterized by ethnic conflict or terrorist*. States in the middle of instability could create a low level of legitimacy which then sparks ethnic secession movements or attempts to obtain control of state apparatus through power thus resulting growing organized crimes as in Yugoslavia. Fourth, *Democratic states with high legitimacy as crime resistant states*. Well functioned democracy, high political legitimacy, accountability, rule of law, transparency and etc. will reduce possibility of organized crimes to develop. Thus, it will be struggles between organized crime groups who seek to provide illicit goods through defensive action with the law enforcements (Williams & Godson, 2002, pp. 315-323).

b) Economic Model

There are two indicators referring to economic model. First, *Market model*. In this first indicator, it emphasizes the dynamics of supply and demand on illicit goods throughout the world either local or global. There will be a constant production, distribution, and consumption on illicit goods in the illegal market. Organized crimes play an important role on the illegal markets where they are involved in the dynamics of supply and demand of

illicit goods. Second, *Enterprise model*. This point highlighted the notion that organized crime groups are enterprises where they emphasizing on maximizing profits rather than the criminal (Williams & Godson, 2002, pp. 322-328). Organized crime groups will find ways new opportunities and strategies to maximize profits thus acting in a similar way to licit enterprises.

Commodification and Digital Political Communication

The development of technological and communication technology has contributed much to the digital practice in Indonesia. However, such digital practice also pushed for further commodification as a manifestation of the information industry. Commodification is a conversion mechanism in changing the entity of a usage value to interchangeable value as a commodity (Mosco, 2009). This kind of conversion gives space for cybercrimes that are harmful for the digital population.

Internet penetration position new media as power and disruption which marks the third age of political communication (Blumler & Kavanagh, 1999). Commodification is depicted in the framework which accumulates capital under the digital politics communication perspective thus, allowing to be done by actors in the cyber space. Transactional mechanism acts as projection and purpose of the involvement of digital agents when communicating and organizing cybercrime.

Digitalization of media power gives an opportunity to create a digital market regime. The misuse of information or data as an object of commodity falls within the analysis of commodification. Commodification itself is associated with capitalism (Barker, 2005).

Methodology

This study utilizes qualitative method, which utilizes academic framework and its related means in analysing a phenomenon (Denzin & Lincoln, 1994, p. 1). Researchers in this study employ literature studies that consist of books, journals, official documents, and other relevant sources as references in enhancing the substantial analysis of the subject (Creswell, 2014, pp. 27-29). The purpose of this study is to increase the depth of knowledge in regards to the study international relations and digital political communication, especially in relation to the contemporary threats to Indonesia's national cyberspace in 2020 – 2021. Adding to that, this study falls within explanative studies as it attempts to explain and analyse the threats to Indonesia's national cyberspace in this time period.

Analysis & Discussion

Therefore, in discussing the proposed potential and contemporary cybercrime threats to Indonesia, the previous TOC models will be used to identify multiple cybercrime attacks in Indonesia and its origins. Within this segment, the writers attempt to conduct case by case studies of cybercrime attacks in Indonesia using the said TOC model. Such case by case studies will then be analyzed thoroughly to create a conclusion of what's and can be considered cybercrime and its threats to Indonesia's own national cyberspace.

Firstly, 200+ million voters' data stolen from regional and national election database in May 2020. In May 2020, there had been reports by the Indonesian mass media regarding the indication of stolen election data from the previous election held in 2014 (Setiawan & Widhana, 2020). Reportedly, the stolen data consisted of both each voter's preference and their personal IDs. Hence, the general concern among the Indonesian public was that the stolen data might be used or sold to those who seek to take advantage of the then Indonesian political environment. However, further investigation indicated that the only reliable sources for this claim were two twitter accounts (@secgiron and @Underthebreach), both of which claimed that the supposed hacker had given them "product sample" of over 2.3 million data in an undesignated forum. Furthermore, the accompanying screenshots had also seen the "hacker" threatening to disclose up to 200 million voters data they had mined from unsecured Indonesian sources for a "price" (CNN Indonesia, 2020).

Analyzing this first case study through Williams and Godson's *Models of Conditions*, this case firstly abides to the economic model previously discussed, primarily the market model. Due to the post-election Indonesian political environment, there's a strong demand for public preference data for either presidential candidates (incumbent Joko Widodo and challenger Prabowo Subianto). Getting a hold of each voter's preference and their personal IDs means that they will have an advantage in planning their political campaign to the correct constituent, bolstering their political prowess.

However, as seen through the collected data gathered by the Indonesian National Police (or a lack thereof), the threat didn't manifest itself in public; the supposed "hacker" hadn't given out any leak or update to what happened over the data they had mined. In other words, the Indonesian National Police wasn't able to properly identify the "hacker" or retrieve the stolen data. Either of which, from this first study case the researchers were able to gather two conclusion(s):

1. The inability of Indonesian National Police to apprehend the suspect or identify the supposed "hacker" highlighted the key digital weakness in relation to the current Indonesian law enforcement capacity (Yulianto, 2020). They're not yet provided with the latest technology to prevent or identify cybercrime (example(s): doxing, data cracking, and illegal data mining). Additionally, the current law is not being kept up to date and therefore unable to adequately deal with malign internet activities.
2. Indonesia's big data program, although created to provide the public with much needed transparency (and in accordance with the good governance theory), has a prominent weakness in its digital security. Hence, sensitive information (such as voters' ID and preference gathered in 2014 election) is easily accessible to illegal data miners.

These primary weaknesses contributed in creating a loophole in which the same pattern of cybercrime would continue in the next case studies.

Secondly, BPJS (Indonesian National Healthcare Agency)'s Data Breach of over 279 clients; one of the biggest cyberattacks in Indonesia in 2021. In adherence to the previous case study, this second case study will follow a pattern of identification of identifying cybercrime, their motives (alleged intentions & perpetrators, following William and Godson's model), and key state weaknesses that allow this incident to happen. In June 2021, BPJS (Indonesian National Healthcare Agency) reported that an unauthorized access had caused a breach in their internal data holdings, causing over 2 million data or more to be lost. Overall, in this incident alone, BPJS had lost over 279 million (claimed by the data hackers within *Hacker Raid Forum*) personal files of their clients, creating a public outcry over fear of malign use of their personal files by dangerous state or non-state actors (Prabowo, 2021).

Although the head of BPJS claimed that the files missing were not easily extracted (and therefore, useless data for the hackers responsible), the Indonesian ministry for communication and information (KOMINFO) had put out a statement from sample tracing that the files extracted were legitimate BPJS's client data. Additionally, the KOMINFO investigation team had collected 100.002 data that belonged to BPJS clients; considerably less than what was initially claimed by the hackers. Swift response by the Indonesian National Police yielded further identification of the perpetrators, including the username *Kotz* and their Hong Kong IP address (Rahma, 2021). Due to the possibly foreign origin of the perpetrators, the case progress itself slowed and mostly reduced to witness interviews and server checking.

Analyzing this case through Godson's model, this case proves to be of the same pattern as the first case study, with initial public outcry over stolen personal data and the later almost impossible pursuit of the perpetrators (who, in this case, is indicated as a foreign individual non-state actor). This case highlights the Indonesian cyber weakness and inadequate resources (whether human, technical, or state apparatus) to counter these cyberattacks on Indonesian national cyberspace. William and Godson's enterprise model, which sees TOC (*transnational organized crime*) activities as means to maximize profit through illicit means for a group of individuals, organization, or even states. In this case, *Kotz* attempted to sell the stolen BPJS data for over 0.15 bitcoin (equal to over 84 million rupiah or roughly 5.800 US dollars) for all the BPJS data gathered in Indonesia (Wahyudi, 2021).

With those information in mind, the lack of a feasible tech response and inadequate legal provision for non-state actors (especially those of foreign origin) behind the cybercrime have become incentives for these cybercrimes to continue in the near future as a source of income and profit. These weaknesses are further compounded by the apparent lack of modernization of Indonesia's government data security (as seen from these two case studies) that allows it to be breached with ease by foreign actors. As such, the authors have come to two main conclusions from the second study case:

1. Indonesia's current legal provision is inadequate in maintaining Indonesia's sovereignty within Indonesia's national cyberspace. Although it's more than adequate if faced with domestic cyberattacks, foreign cyberattacks (by non-state

actors) are almost impossible to fend off with the current law in effect in Indonesia's national cyberspace. Due to this, international cooperation with other countries should be in effect in curbing cyberattacks from transnational criminal actors. This cooperation will create a regime that allows countries to cooperate within the cybersecurity sector in order to effectively curtail their anonymity and therefore prevent such transnational crime from occurring. Indonesian has only signed a Memorandum of Understanding (MOU) with China in 2021 in regards to cybersecurity cooperation, though it's yet to be realized in action by both countries.

2. Secondly, Indonesia must increase their government's data protection and crisis response. This will serve as the interim solution to the current inadequacy of legal provision (in regards to cyberattacks within the state's legal framework) and state apparatus capability (Indonesian National Police and National Cyber and Crypto Agency). This will prevent further profit-motivated attacks on Indonesian data holdings and subsequently curtail the incentives from previous cyberattacks.
3. Thirdly, there must be a centralized agency to manage data security within the state apparatus and its agencies. This centralized agency will function (similar to how OJK (Financial Services Authority) operates) to secure the data holdings within the government's ministries and respond to public calls whenever there's a cyberattack by malign actors.

These conclusions will help to ensure the security of Indonesia's national cyberspace and help curbing the amount of cyberattacks per year in Indonesia.

Thirdly, China's Militarization of Cyber Technologies and Potential Threat to Indonesia's National Cyberspace. Departing from previous case studies, this case study focuses on recent development in China regarding cyber technologies and subsequent militarization. China under the presidency of Xi Jinping has introduced a concept so-called “网络强国” or Cyber Great Power (Doshi, Bruyère, Picarsic, & Ferguson, 2021, p. 5). As explained further, this concept was introduced in February 2014 and acted as the foundation of China's internet policy. Furthermore, Xi Jinping stated that his concept on China as cyber great power is a global or international program.

Cyber world or cyberspace is a space where there is no major state in power. Unlike politics where we have United States as the major and leading state. Thus, cyberspace is an arena contest of major power and China is one of it (Doshi, Bruyère, Picarsic, & Ferguson, 2021, p. 6). China is pursuing to be the leading and major role of cyberspace especially in this 5G world. As quoted from the article in Party & Government Forum which is a journal under the Party School of the CCP, “In the internet era, whoever has the discourse power [话语权] and rule-making power [规则制定权] has the power to lead the future order [主导权]” (Doshi, Bruyère, Picarsic, & Ferguson, 2021, p. 6).

China's ambition as Cyber Great Power also shown on how they utilized 5G on their military. Beforehand, 5G technologies are equipped with lower latency, higher speed, and also greater bandwidth than its predecessors (Gallagher & DeVine, 2019, p. 6). China is one of the countries which developed 5G and China developed 5G for – one of them is – military purposes. First of all, China keen to connect the network system therefore creating

joint network on land, sea, air, and space, including weapons platform and others. Secondly, development on the military tools such as the use of *Internet of Things* (IoT), or even military robots, and other military tools equipped with 5G technologies. Thirdly, development on communication where 5G technologies will further advanced communication technologies to more efficient, better speed, also higher compatible thus higher quality than its predecessors (Doshi, Bruyère, Picarsic, & Ferguson, 2021, p. 12).

Then, the question that will be considered is “Will China’s ambition as Cyber Great Power pose threats to Indonesia?” As widely known, China and Indonesia has tied diplomatic relationship since 13 April 1950, was suspended on 30 October 1967 then reinstated and resumed on 1990 (Embassy of the People’s Republic of China in the Republic of Indonesia, n.d.). China and Indonesia has long history between them. Both of them are also involved on numerous deals involving trade and investments, and other aspects. However, both of them are also involved on disputes such as South China Sea Dispute. This issue has created tensions among both countries especially on the overlapping territorial claims in the 1993, resulting Indonesia to ask statement and clarification from China in which later China chose to ignore (Wicaksana, 2019, p. 38). China’s overwhelming power in the region has resulted on the retraction of the South China Sea matter from the ASEAN-China regular meetings agenda (Wicaksana, 2019, p. 40). Thus, China’s assertiveness isn’t changing and remains the same on this particular issue. One of the latest is how China’s military ‘drove away’ (as quoted) US military ships, USS Benfold for entering the waters of Paracels thus violated China’s territory as China’s military stated (Al Jazeera, 2021). By developing its military using 5G technologies will further advanced China’s military equipment, furthermore, China’s military strength.

Compared to Indonesia, things are not in favor of Indonesia. Indonesia’s military development could be said under the target as Indonesia’s *Minimum Essential Force* (MEF) per 2018 was 63.19% and the target itself was 75.54% (Zahara & Nazhid, 2020, p. 4). Between three units, – ground, air, and sea – the air units was the least ‘developed’ with 44.40% compared to sea units on 68.72% and land units as the most ‘developed’ with 74.62% (Zahara & Nazhid, 2020, p. 4).

China’s lasting stance and assertiveness on South China Sea may pose threats to Indonesia. This was supported of the imbalanced on military strengths (especially in advancement of military technologies) of these two countries. In addition, China has declared its ambition on becoming Cyber Great Power by, one of the ways, is to utilize 5G for the military purposes.

Correlating with the previous cyber cases that highlighted the threats to Indonesia’s sovereignty over Indonesia’s national cyberspace, including the breach of election database, breach of public database, and even to China’s militarization of cyberspace that have the potential to threaten Indonesia’s national cyberspace, these actions can’t be separated from the practice of commodification. Through a more systemic working framework, the data breaches or cyberattacks were not completely conducted through a singular or unilateral actor. Recent development of technology itself had created an interrelation between actors and the system itself. As in accordance to previous elaboration on cybercrimes,

apprehending the actors behind cyberattacks itself is not an easy task. There's a need for digital forensic specialty in eliminating all sources of cybercrime which needs a high degree of commitment and political will.

As such, the near universal access to internet database by much of Indonesia's public facilities and utilities demand a need for guaranteed internet safety by the current governing power in Indonesia. Hereinafter, the creation of a legal framework on Indonesia's cyberspace security will suffice as a support system for public databases that are now in use. While political and economic interests tend to have power to place such system in a degraded condition, especially in the ongoing digitalization process which will not cease in the future. Threats to the Indonesian national cyberspace then will not come from internal sectors, but also external sectors as well. In the end, through the perspective of digital political communication framework, every sectors within a state's disposal is crucial in minimizing the chance of cyberattacks on the state's national cyberspace.

Conclusion

Ensuring Indonesia's sovereignty over its national cyberspace requires much needed overhaul on both the current technology used and the accompanying legal framework to deter further cyberattacks on its critical facilities. One of the key legal framework is the current bill on Personal Data Protection (or in Indonesian, *PDP – Perlindungan Data Pribadi*). This bill is considered by the researchers as key due to its current disposition that will force current internet service providers and cyber companies to take action that guarantees the protection of its personal user data. This helps to reduce the amount of data breaches and improve the overall Indonesian cybersecurity condition.

Additionally, from the three case studies elaborated prior, the most common being that the perpetrator of cyberattacks tends to be individuals or groups acting on behalf of themselves. These perpetrators are often based outside of Indonesia and profit off Indonesian cybersecurity weakness by selling personal data through undisclosed server or forums. Hence, the main actor behind Indonesian cyberattacks can be classified mostly as individual non state actors, acting to fulfill market demands for personal data. These are the current and realized threat that Indonesian cyberspace faces, and one that needs the most action as they form the majority of cyberattacks in Indonesia.

Within the last case study is the potential and future threat to Indonesian cyberspace, cyber militarization of China. Recent cyber militarization of neighboring countries, especially within the People's Republic of China, where cyber militarization is one of the biggest in the world, creates vulnerability in Indonesian cyberspace. Considering the struggle Indonesian authorities already have with individual hackers, they might not have a chance if faced with state sanctioned cyberattacks from countries like China. As such, this constitutes a potential future threat to the Indonesian national cyberspace.

In regards to cyber militarization of neighboring states, Indonesia should also prepare a cyber 'force' to counter the possibility of a cyberattack to public facilities in Indonesia. Several cases, one being the blackout in Siberia due to a cyberattack by US cyber troops on Russian electrical grid in 2019 and the Crimean blackout in 2015, points that these state

sanctioned attacks may have a more physical and wider consequences than the usual attacks by non-state actors (Sanger, 2019). Facing this potential threat and with the current militarization of China's cyber technologies, Indonesia must not be left behind in order to guarantee their cyber sovereignty. Therefore, this journal points at the need of a state funded cyber focused agency or 'force' to help mitigate the risk of a cyberattack at public facilities or counter the attack should it happened.

Adding to the previous point, this journal recommends that the policy makers within the Indonesian government to reconsider the current cyber vulnerabilities and hasten the proceedings and bills (ex. Personal Data Protection bill) to improve the situation. Other than the legal framework, a modernization is needed within the government's network and database to prevent further data breach and restore citizens' trust in the safety of their personal documents. Additionally, private cyber companies and public owned companies should be accountable to the public for the breaches that occurred within their private data holdings. As also experienced by the European Union through their GDPR (General Data Protection Regulation), private companies may be stimulated by supporting legal framework to improve their data security and therefore guarantee the citizens' personal information on the net (Dove, 2019, pp. 1013-1030).

While the perspective of digital political communication sees the attempts to improve upon Indonesia's national cyberspace security as the responsibility of multiple national actors as part of a single system. For example, there needs to be a synergy among all the digital communication tools and system now in use in Indonesia. Other interests, such as political and business interests, will need to be controlled through the practice of commodification so such data misuse or breaches may be prevented or anticipated in private and public sectors. This also means that the demand for cybersecurity is national and global, and states like Indonesia should react accordingly.

This study, however, will need to be completed by additional research to the vast array of cyber vulnerabilities that exist not only in Indonesia, but in Southeast Asia as a whole. Although the completion of this study may help increase the understanding among academics of cyber vulnerabilities that exist in Indonesia, it is still in need of further research to develop a key understanding of how the cyber world works and why their existence marks the need to guarantee national sovereignty within a country's cyberspace.

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The Need of Digital Literacy and Critical Thinking Skills for Educators in Indonesia, to Combat Hoaxes and Misinformation Spreading in the Digital Platform

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Abstract

Digital media has become a major part in today's life, especially with the COVID-19 worldwide outbreak in 2020 that forced global citizens to stay home. With the high growth of social media use in Indonesia, in spite of the advantages brought during the quarantine period, the spread of hoaxes or false news stood as one of the biggest crisis in the country. An ironic phenomenon on how educators, who are considered as role models for the society, tend to contribute in hoax spread, knowingly or unknowingly, even before the pandemic. This study narrated the importance of digital literacy for educators of Indonesia, promoting smart information sharing and critical thinking, especially while communicating through social media and digital communication platforms. Using a narrative literature review approach, this study showed the importance of digital literacy in Indonesia, supported with the data from 2020's National Digital Literacy Report, followed by the high spread of hoaxes found before and during the pandemic, where educators were also involved. The study also narrated the role of educators in the society in terms of educating the young generations on an effective digital media use, followed by several implementation suggestions for class settings, and the educators themselves while communicating digitally. It includes the need of critical thinking, verification, evaluation and self-control, integrated with the need of character building and social skills in various settings. The study was concluded with an underlining fact on how educators are regularly monitored by the society, especially in the digital era, which proved on the need for them to be equipped with the essential elements and skills recommended in the 21st century.

Keywords: digital literacy, hoax, critical thinking, social studies, educators

Introduction

Digital media has become a major part in today's life, especially with the Corona Virus Disease (COVID-19) worldwide outbreak in 2020 that forced global citizens to stay home. Indonesia faced the same in March 2020, where the government first imposed local movement restrictions, and extended to national scale movement restrictions, also known as PSBB, in early April 2020 (Detik News, 2020). More than just working or studying from home, social media use in the country also grew, reaching 6.3% or 10 million additional users, equivalent to 61.8% of citizens from January 2020 to January 2021 (Kemp, 2021). High engagements were also recorded, as shown in Figure 1 below.



Figure 1.
Social Media Behaviors for Internet Users aged 16 to 64 (Kemp, 2021)

With the growth of social media, hoaxes or false news stood as one of the biggest crisis in the country. Defined, hoax is to trick into believing or accepting as genuine something false and often preposterous (Merriam Webster, n.d.). This statement can be proven from how hoaxes has created chaos during Indonesia's presidential election in 2019, where 75% of the false news, filled with provocations and propagandas done by individuals and organizations were distributed through social media (Sosiawan & Wibowo, 2019). A massive riot occurred on May 22, 2019 in Jakarta, triggered by hoaxes and hate speeches shared in the social media, which led Indonesia's Ministry of Communication and Informatics to limit the social media nationally that time (Syaputri, et al., 2021).

A year before that, false bomb terror messages and videos at Santa Anna Church, Jakarta were distributed, just a day after the real bombing cases located at three churches in Surabaya and Sidoarjo, East Java on May 13, 2018 (Fadhil, 2018). It was found that a lecturer, school principal and local security from different parts of Indonesia stated in their respective Facebook statuses, that the bombing was just an issue diversion for the upcoming presidential election, which led them to be captured by the police (Agiesta, 2018).

Ever since the COVID-19 pandemic in 2020, hoaxes became a major problem, as many relied on social media and digital communication platforms for news updates. A data by Institute of Survey Indonesia (LSI), stated that WhatsApp became the second most popular media after television, with a percentage of 40.2% of respondents. Additionally, other mediums such as Facebook reached 33.9%, search engines 30.1%, Instagram 20.2%, Twitter 8.6%, followed by TikTok at 7.3% (Pusparisa, 2021).

A research found a total of 301 COVID-19 related news hoaxes circulated from January to April 2020, with 50% found on Facebook, 26% on WhatsApp, and 13% on Twitter. The disinformation varied from religion, race, health and political hoaxes, which

caused a lot of information disruptions in the country (Rusli, et al., 2021). Until April 2021, Indonesia's Ministry of Communication and Informatics recorded a total of 1,733 hoaxes on COVID-19 (1,556) and vaccinations (177), spread across the social media and digital communication platforms (Alika, 2021).

A concern was seen on how educators also tend to get influenced by hoaxes, just like the bombing case stated previously. A research stated how some lecturers who were part of the study in Central Java got involved in spreading hoaxes via WhatsApp Groups due to the reluctance of cross checking. It was found that the triggers were mainly clickbait titles, viral information and personal interest (Cahyani, 2019). Another research done in Medan and Bandung found the same, where few lecturers in the study were found trapped with hoaxes, with reasons of not realizing that the information was false, or due to the influence of the media or the initial spreader itself, which led them to excitement or even panic without cross checking the fact before sharing (Astuti, 2021).

More than just spreading information, Indonesian Teacher Union Federation (FSGI) found in their study that 8.27% of teachers, out of 2,406 invited from 26 provinces, were reluctant to be vaccinated. The majority of teachers who denied were young, with 10.61% ranging from 20 to 29 years, and 10.97% from 20 to 39 years. 63.32% stated their fear of the potential side effects, followed by 41.71% stating their doubts on the vaccine quality itself. Additionally, 22.11% of the teachers denied the vaccine as they were carried away by the false news in social media. (Zaking, 2021)

Educators are considered as agent of social change, seen as natural leaders and are looked up to bring positive change in the society. This includes being the frontline monitors for children, advocates and catalysts for change in the educational system (International Labour Organization, n.d.). Looking at the cases, a deep attention is needed towards the quality of literacy for educators, especially digital literacy where it is widely used for communication and information sharing today.

Digital literacy refers to practices of communicating, relating, thinking, and being associated with digital media. More than just the traditional meaning of literacy i.e. the ability to read and write, the definition shows the ability of the latter to encode and decode information cognitively. It does not only create a singular meaning, but a way the latter relates socially, showing identity and the cognitive process of developing new ideas and problem solving digitally (Jones & Hafner, 2021). In today's era, digital literacy becomes a major skill to be learned, especially with the shift of communication and information sharing through the digital platforms and social media.

Thus, this study narrated the importance of digital literacy for educators of Indonesia, to promote smart information sharing and critical thinking, especially while communicating through social media and digital communication platforms.

The study was done using qualitative approach, adopting traditional narrative review. Representative review was adopted, where sources were from a particular group of literature, which in this case, educators and digital literacy during the COVID-19 pandemic. The content of this study was derived from several sources, such as academic journal articles, reports, books and web sites. (Efron & Ravid, 2019)

Result and Discussions

National Digital Literacy 2020

Digital literacy has been a growing trend for years, and social media became the main player especially in Indonesia. The report published by Ministry of Communication and Informatics Indonesia, together with SiBerkreasi and Katadata Insight Center entitled “*Survei Literasi Digital Nasional 2020*” stated that the country’s digital literacy stood on 3.47 out of 5 points, or considered as moderate. Additionally, information literacy stood lowest nationally, with 3.17 points. The highest was on safety and the ability of the respondent to use the technology, reaching 3.66 points (Burhan, 2020).

The mentioned research did a survey on two areas, focusing on a national scale and frontier, outermost and least developed regions (*3T – Terdepan, Terluar dan Tertinggal*) across 34 provinces of Indonesia. Shocking results were found, where 40.1% of respondents in the national scale believed in social media as their news source, whereas only 9.1% believed it in the 3T areas. It was even found that the 3T citizens tend to trust government official websites, and are less prone to hoaxes. (Ministry of Communication and Informatics, 2020)

Looked further, 76% of national respondents tend to search for information from social media, followed by 59.5% who preferred television, and 25.2% preferred online news portal. WhatsApp (98.9%) became the most preferred media, followed by Facebook (89.8%), YouTube (87.8%) and Instagram (47.6%). In terms of message dissemination, WhatsApp stood as the first choice, with 90.8% respondents agreeing upon it. It was seen that the messages tend to be shared to their family members and relatives. (Ministry of Communication and Informatics, 2020)

Hoaxes stood as one of the main problems in the country, also reflected within the national digital literacy report. It was seen that 88.8% respondents shared hoaxes or unconfirmed news in their social media, with 68.4% of them spreading it without initial crosscheck; followed by 56.1% not knowing that the news was false. Ironically, it was found that 70% of the 3T respondents believed that hoax was a serious problem, compared to national respondents with only 46.4% believing the statement. (Ministry of Communication and Informatics, 2020)

From this, it can be derived that national digital literacy index still needs to be worked upon, keeping in mind the possibility of the crisis to worsen, especially in this pandemic.

Hoax and the Need of Digital Literacy

As stated previously, hoax or false news was considered as one of the biggest crisis in Indonesia. Hoaxes has been detected in the country for several years, with the highest recorded during the Presidential Election last 2019, with statistics as shown in figure 2.

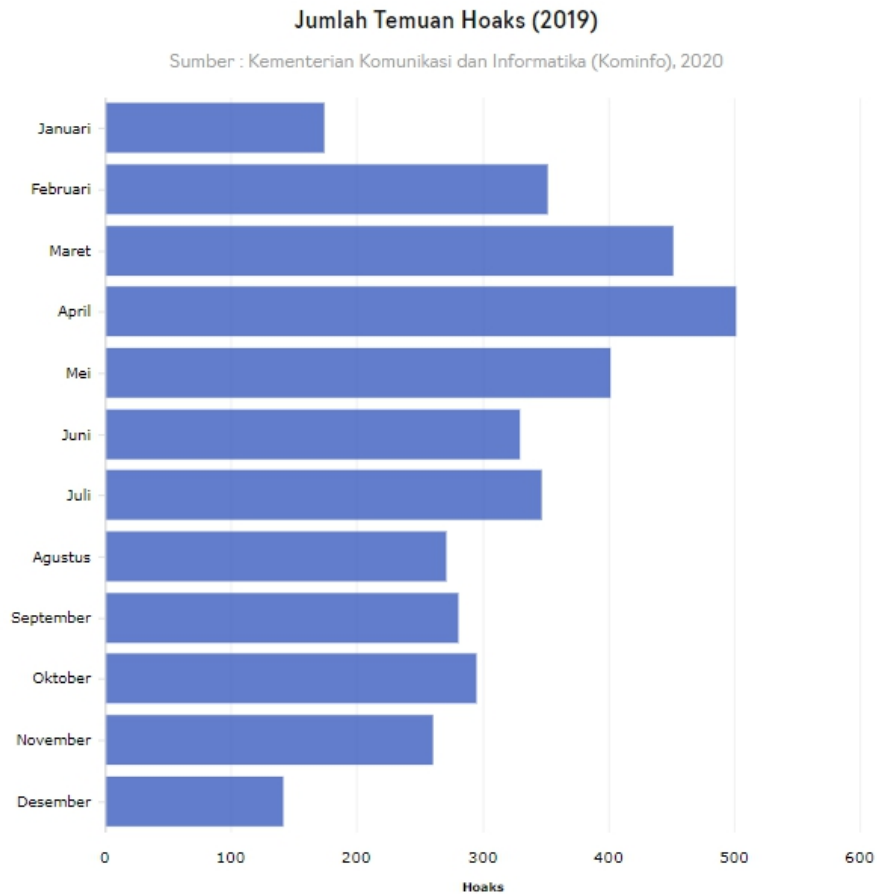


Figure 2.
Hoax Found during Indonesia's Presidential Election in 2019
(Ministry of Communication and Informatics, 2020)

Based on the statistics above and the reports mentioned, The Ministry of Communication and Informatics of Indonesia found a total of 3,801 hoaxes in 2019, with the highest trend happening in February, March and April, and nearing the election period in May. Political issues dominated the trend, followed by government-based hoaxes with around 721 in total. (Pusparisa, 2020)

Upon the COVID-19 pandemic outbreak last 2020 in Indonesia, 1,819 hoaxes were found until July 2021, with up to 4,163 uploads and shares. Facebook stood as the main media for hoax distribution, reaching 3,523 posts, followed by Twitter at 554 posts, YouTube 49 posts, Instagram 35 posts, and TikTok 2 posts. The number of hoaxes also kept increasing, especially in Facebook (Rizkinaswara, 2021). Additionally, the same issue was found at several countries worldwide, with Facebook and WhatsApp standing as the main “culprit” for hoax distribution. Indonesia was seen as one of the most concerning countries in the report (Newman, et al., 2021).

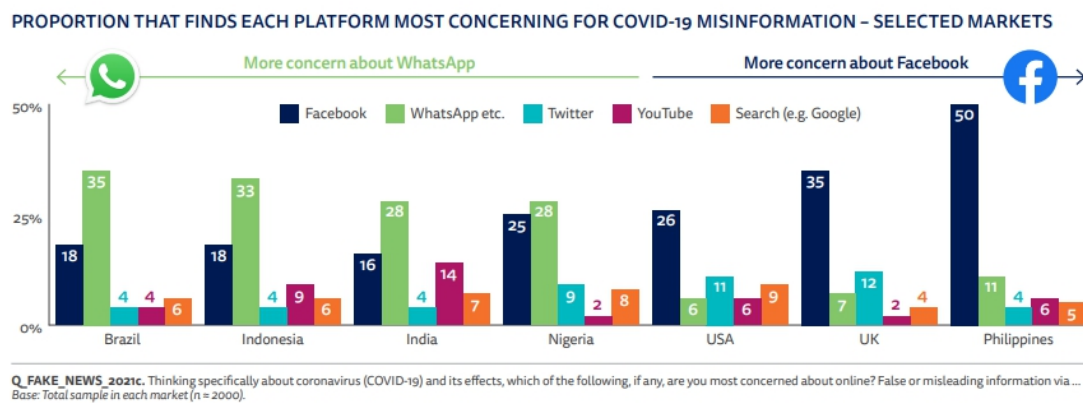


Figure 3.
COVID-19 Misinformation in Selected Countries (Newman, et al., 2021)

Another specific issue found in Indonesia was the low ability of some educators on digital literacy and information sharing skills. A local news stated that a teacher from Rangkasbitung, Banten was caught by the police on 20th February 2018, due to the act of spreading hate and false news that 15 million Communist Indonesia Party (PKI) were given ammunitions to attack the Muslim religious heads, or also known as *ulama* (Nurita, 2018).

Recently on 26th May 2021, Jakarta's Vice Governor, Ahmad Riza Patria, reprimanded a primary school teacher from South Jakarta due to the act of spreading hoax about Israel-Palestine in a WhatsApp group, filled with teachers across Jakarta. The message shared was about the work certificate given by the Palestine government to Israel's former president, Shimon Peres last 1933, and was done on the peak of the Israel-Palestine case that time. The message screenshot was shared on Twitter, which caused a massive spreading. The vice governor showed his concern on the case, and gave a reminder for educators to focus on educating children well, and maintain the solid togetherness of the nation. (Prireza, 2021)

Indonesian Ministry of Education and Culture has initiated *Gerakan Literasi Sekolah (GLN)*, or can be translated as "School Literacy Movement" since 2016. The movement was introduced based on the 2015 World Economic Forum report, stating the importance of implementing the six foundation literacy skills to students, parents, teachers and all aspects of the community. The six foundation literacy skills comprise of the global accessed literacy (read and write), numeracy, scientific, digital (ICT), financial, also cultural and civic literacy (World Economic Forum, 2015, p. 2). Several additional skills were also suggested, as explained in Figure 4.

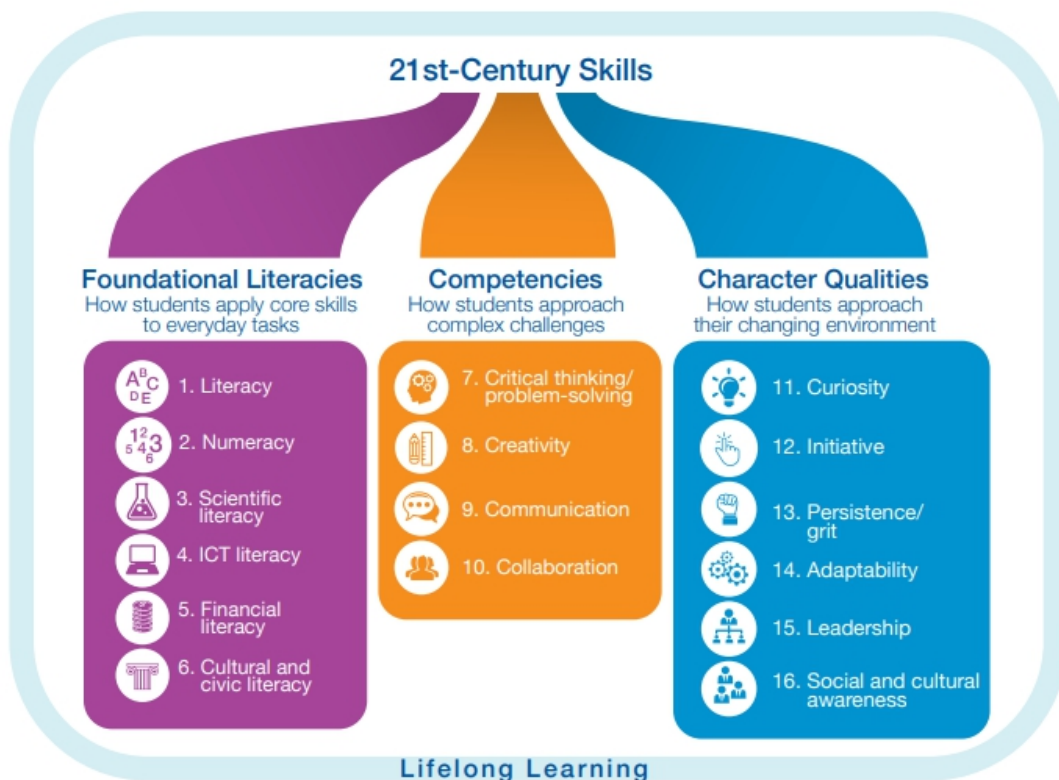


Figure 4.

21st Century Skills Recommended at World Economic Forum
(World Economic Forum, 2015, p. 3)

As suggested, *GLS* does not only focus on children. The Ministry of Education and Culture also involved the other key players of literacy, such as parents and educators to be part of the campaign. Digital literacy also became one of the main aspects in the campaign, especially recognizing on the growth of digitalization in the 21st century. In schools for instance, the success indicators of digital literacy were set as follows (Ministry of Education and Culture Indonesia, 2017):

1. The number digital literacy trainings joined by the school principal and educators;
2. The intensity of application and use of digital literacy in the study activities;
3. The level of understanding of the school principal, educators and students in utilizing the digital media and internet.

Keeping in mind that digital literacy plays an essential part in today's society, educators have a critical role in the success of the growing generations. Schools and universities become one of the main sources of learning, where educators stand as role models to the students. It is a place to train future citizens to understand, criticize and create information (Council of Europe, n.d.).

To understand better about digital literacy, UNESCO defined it as the ability to access, manage, understand, integrate, communicate, evaluate and create information safely and appropriately through digital technologies, including the competences that are variously referred to as Information and Communication Technology (ICT), information, and media

literacy (UNESCO, 2018). Additionally, the report by the Ministry of Education and Culture Indonesia (2017) stated that being digitally literate means that the person needs to be able to process several information, understand the content, and communicate effectively through many ways. Specifically, it suggests on how the latter is able to create, collaborate, communicate and understand when and where the technology needs to be used, together with the skills of critical thinking. The report also highlighted the urgency of the young generations to be competent digitally, as of the potential risks that may occur during job hiring, democracy participation and social interactions, which needs to begin since the early age.

The role of social media and digital communication for students in education has reached the peak, even before the pandemic. A study narrated that social media helped students in creating and sharing content to their mates, also connect with their mentors without a need of a physical meeting. It has also brought new ways of communication, where students can gain and share materials using digital platforms (Ansari & Khan, 2020).

Additionally, it was found that social media benefits adolescents in the interactive learning process; sharing positive impacts on intelligence, increases attention and concentration, visual memory, visual perception skills, processing speed, expands basic knowledge, language and literacy, and the ability to organize information (Siebert, 2019). Yet, on the other hand, risks such as scam, pornography, cyberbullying and sensitive activities may happen while using the media, and it is important for the young users to understand the media content comprehensively to avoid encountering with the negative effects i.e. through digital literacy and critical thinking skills (Fardiah, 2021).

Role of Educators in Digital Literacy

With the growth of technology in the 21st century, it has led to different ways of communication in the society, especially with the use of internet and digital platforms. Though communication has become easier, it has posed plenty of challenges, especially for youths who often use them. Specifically to social media, it stood as a media for rapid sharing and information creation, yet it also promoted negative aspects of spreading misinformation, disinformation, and Propaganda (Sachdeva & Tripathi, 2019).

Educators need to be equipped with digital literacy, as after parents, they are the ones to educate students on digital safety. In a study, it was found that teachers from one of the primary schools in Poland were weak in recognizing true and false information, and understanding the mechanism of risk online interactions, including the risk of disinformation and *hoax* (Tomczyk, 2019).

In Indonesia, also as stated in the introduction, a study found that some lecturers from Bandung and Medan had low competency in selecting news, got trapped in believing the news, and instead spread the false news due to panic and spontaneity. Though some lecturers in the study had good analytical and verifying competence, some others were found having low media literacy and tend to re-share messages received in WhatsApp and Facebook groups. Some of the lecturers stated that the main reason of them believing the false news was personal preferences, with one of them mention was political choices. In terms of evaluation and distribution, most lecturers have the ability to filter using the 5W +

1H (Who, What, When, Where, Why, and How) principle; yet, when speaking on producing information, in spite of the lecturers claiming on not producing a *hoax*, their social media showed a different fact where several *hoaxes* and hate speeches were seen, especially in Facebook and Instagram. (Astuti, 2021)

Looking into the student's point of view, a study done in Aceh found that university students aged 17 to 24 years old were confident in using several social media platforms. Using a mixed method approach, it was narrated on how students faced difficulties in processing and differentiating real and fake news, especially when it collides with their personal interests. In spite of the claims on re-checking the news by some students, it was seen that the motivation to verify depended on the relevancy to their needs. Moreover, it was also found that majority of the students in the study tend to share fake information for fun, with hope to attract new audience or gain attention (Syam & Nurrahmi, 2020). The same was found in the study done at Bekasi Regency, focused on high school students, stating the importance of digital literacy to be guided by both parents and teachers, especially ICT skills and self-control (Alifah, Supriyati, Dudung, Salman, & Widodo, 2021).

Several studies stated on the importance of digital literacy as part of the basic education. Together with citizenship education, or also known as *Pendidikan Kewarganegaraan (PKN)*, digital literacy needs to be incorporated since elementary school as the young generations are considered as the majority social media users today (Faizah, 2020). Character-based learning also became an important topic, as students need to understand the acceptable behavior in the society, including *hoaxes*, hate speeches and many more. The study also stated the importance of teachers' reinforcement in the process of building their affective competencies i.e. the ability related to the person's behavior and attitude upon something, which includes values, interests, appreciation and adjustment to social feelings. This becomes one of the important elements in the digital platform, especially seen as a form of communication today (Prasetyono, Abdillah, & Sriyono, 2018).

From the evidences provided, it can be seen on how important is it for educators to understand digital literacy, also incorporating it with the character-based learning to provide a strong foundation for themselves, the students and the young generations. Especially in this COVID-19 pandemic, news gathering, distribution and critical thinking play a very important role to interpret the information correctly.

A study showed seven pragmatics of meaning behind the false news, such as insinuation (public framing through information distortion and doubt raising); insult (hate speeches); doubting (spreading unconfirmed information to create doubts); blaming (twisting and fabricating messages to influence people's opinion through blames); degrading (show the negative side or provocations); rumors (perception created from ambiguity); agitation and confusion (creating provocations, fear and misinformation through an incomplete and unconfirmed information). These, in turn, showed a need of raising critical awareness to avoid havoc that may occur due to the false information derived. (Rahardi, 2020)

Implementing Digital Literacy for Educators

A study highlighted the importance of digital citizenship in the classroom, especially in the COVID-19 pandemic. Defined, digital citizenship is “the ability to find, access, use and create information effectively; engage with other users and with content in an active, critical, sensitive and ethical manner; and navigate the online and ICT environment safely and responsibly, being aware of one’s own rights.” (UNESCO Education Sector, 2017). In the study, it was stated on the importance of educators to question on how reading and writing practices are shaped by the quick share of information, together with exploring the best ways to imply digital citizenship to students. Added, digital literacy practices are important for students and citizens as a whole to learn, stay informed, and connect with their network, especially during the pandemic. Four main questions became the main base for educators to ponder upon (Buchholz, DeHart, & Moorman, 2020):

1. How can I stay informed by evaluating the accuracy, perspective, and validity of online sources?
2. How can I locate and/or develop spaces online where I can engage respectfully with people who have different beliefs and experiences than me?
3. How can I use technology to engage, participate, and be a force for good in my community?
4. How can I learn to balance my screen time with other activities and social interactions?

These questions were designed to help educators to think deeply on the ethical decisions while using digital tools to engage with others, and to create a more equitable communities (Buchholz, DeHart, & Moorman, 2020).

A study done in Indonesia showed the importance of the synergy of educators and parents to anticipate risky online behavior during online learning. This can be done by providing digital literacy and self-control skills to the students, together with the provision of direction, rules and assistance, especially by parents at home (Purnama, Ulfah, Machali, Wibowo, & Narmaditya, 2021). This proves that both parents and educators as the main stakeholders for children should be actively present to help them learn and have a better self-control while accessing and/or sharing information online.

In terms of critical thinking, a study promoted a “Historical Learning Model”, to support critical literacy during and post COVID-19 (Mahdiana, Sariyatun, & Purwanta, 2020). Defined, critical literacy employs strategies whose main role is to help readers unpack the socially constructed nature of literacy, i.e. to assist them in discovering the deeper, often hidden, meaning of a text (Blixen & Pannell, 2020). In the study, it was explained that critical literacy encourages an active and constructive learning model designed to prepare students with the skills of understanding the text, criticize, analyze and evaluate them. This 21st century skill was believed to help students in being critical on what is read, and prepare them to connect the text with their prior knowledge.

There were eight steps of critical literacy recommended in the study, to be implemented for both educators and students (Mahdiana, Sariyatun, & Purwanta, 2020):

1. **Brainstorm:** To decide the material or social phenomenon that will be discussed

2. **Problem statement:** To set the problem statement on the material or social phenomenon which will be analyzed. Here, it is suggested for educators to let the students to find the supporting information based on social phenomenon agreed.
3. **Reading the text:** Letting the students to read the sources collected, such as from books, journals and the internet.
4. **Recognizing facts and opinions:** Students needs to recognize and record the facts and opinions found in the sources. If the students are still unable to do so, educators can encourage them to record the information that interests them.
5. **Examining facts and opinions:** Once the students recorded and classified the facts and opinions, they can examine the validity and credibility of the information attained. Here, educators can also support the students to understand the process.
6. **Setting the social phenomenon:** Once students are able to understand, differentiate and examine both facts and opinions, they can begin to set the social phenomenon, also creating a generalization that connects both of the context and social phenomenon.
7. **Analyzing the social phenomenon:** Here, students can begin to analyze and create the conclusion on the social phenomenon, and find solutions to solve the problem with the educators' help.
8. **Producing the study/paper:** In this stage, students can elaborate the recorded information into a new argumentative text.

In another local study, several basic skills were recommended for both students and educators in schools while consuming the media, promoting a two-way media literacy with steps explained as follows (Asari, Kurniawan, Ansor, & Putra, 2019):

1. **Access:** The ability to access the technology itself, such as the operation of computers and smartphones. In this stage, the ability to search for information is also needed, such as the ability to access information through search engines.
2. **Select:** The ability to select the valid and credible information, including the selection of sources through the domain, such as .com, .edu, .gov and more.
3. **Understand:** The ability to understand the information and the meaning behind it, whether in text, symbols, pictures or video recordings. This will help in minimalizing the potential of *hoaxes* and/or hate speeches.
4. **Analyze:** To analyze the language, genre, keywords, purpose, value and anything that is related with the information to ensure that it is valid and true.
5. **Verify:** This step is done through having a clear point of view of the information through information and news comparisons, using different sources to confirm its validity.
6. **Evaluate:** This step encourages students and educators to be critical on the news content or information, understanding the value, and having a strong knowledge base on the issue to help in the decision-making process.
7. **Distribute:** This step highlights the competency beyond information distribution, by incorporating the ability of using the build-in features of the media used, such as evaluating the news or information using the recommendation feature, like button in statuses, share button and more.

8. **Produce:** The ability to creating meaningful and creative contents online, such as status updates, blog writing, and multimedia creation (images and videos). This promotes media literacy beyond just one-way media consumption.
9. **Participate:** Being active and interactive critically in social media and digital platforms supports information sharing and knowledge development, which can help in a better understanding about social issues and trends happening. This can also promote better communication skills.
10. **Collaborate:** The ability to work together with the society and create a strong literacy impact while implementing the steps learned.

Another way suggested was to have media literacy as part of social studies education for educators. Understanding the high number of fake news and misinformation found, educators need to prepare students on the essential digital and media literacy skills, together with the elements of social studies to promote critical thinking and sociocultural context on the news produced. Several positive impacts on integrating media literacy to teacher's social education were seen, such as understanding the credibility and the biases in media texts, also the value of news; measuring competencies and developing strategies to encourage educators to become more critical about social media and media-dominated society; and create a focus on multicultural issues and prepare them for the diverse school and environment settings, helping them to connect with their workplace and public spaces well. (Manfra & Holmes, 2020)

Several steps were recommended to integrate media literacy and social studies, such as maintaining healthy democracy in class, explore the history of fake news through its evidences, understanding the field of news journalisms and code of ethics, understanding the contemporary information age (citizen journalisms and social media), identifying fake news through research and discussions, and develop evaluation tools to help in the media identification, such as the evidence, source, context, audience, purpose and the execution itself. (Manfra & Holmes, 2020)

Through the implementation, it must be noted that the skills suggested were not only recommended for class settings, but also to the educators' communication and critical thinking skills in the public settings.

Educators are considered as role models, not only to students, but also the society as a whole (University of the People, n.d.). Society has trusted educators, especially in terms of a classic profession, to educate the young generation. Seen as public figures, they are regularly monitored closely by the parents and members of the community (Purdul & Mose, 2017). Especially in this digitalization era, digital literacy, self-control, character development and the way of producing, analyzing and spreading information will be a crucial element for the educators' credibility in the society.

Conclusion

Digital literacy plays an essential role in the 21st century, and has become a major need as the COVID-19 pandemic hits the world. The way citizens communicate today have

changed drastically, where digital communication platforms and social media stands as the main media choice to connect with one another. In spite of its advantages, several issues related to information sharing such as hoaxes or false news, hate speeches and propagandas grew in the society, leading to confusion and misinformation that may cause further crisis if not managed well. Understanding that educators are the main players in building literacy, digital literacy skills needs to be learned well, together with the integration of social studies and critical thinking abilities to promote credible information sharing and trigger open-minded discussions, both in the classroom settings or even in public domains. Recognized as role models and agents of social change, educators need to be equipped with adequate knowledge of the social issues; the ability of message production, verification up to evaluation; also the ability to detect hoax or false news, to guide the students with the same skills from the elementary level, together with maintaining their credibility in the society.

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Narrative Travel Messages In The City Of Semarang During The Pandemic On Instagram

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Abstract

Messages related to the promotion of tourist attractions in the media during the pandemic are important in instilling tourist brand brands in the audience's cognitive. The hope is that when the pandemic is over, the public will have a reference for the place to be visited. Messages on Instagram media that are appointed by this media have advantages in instilling brand awareness with the strength of the features they have because. The purpose of this research is to find out the pattern of compiling messages on Instagram media during the covid-19 pandemic. The limitation of the research is related to destination messages in the city of Semarang from January to August 2021. The city of Semarang was chosen because this city experienced a transition from being a trading city to being a new tourist destination. The research method used was by observing Instagram accounts with the hashtags #destinasiwisatasemarang and #wisatasemarang and 8 popular Instagram accounts were taken from the number of followers, viewers above the posts and their interactions. done on uploading feed posts and messages on captions. The results of the observations were analyzed using the theory of compliance gain. The result is that there are 5 patterns of compiling tourism messages that appear, namely by using rewarding patterns, Punishing, expertise, impersonal commitments and Personal commitments. However, there are also text writings that have not consistently displayed writing patterns to get compliance.

Keywords: Message writing, persuasion, gaining compliance, travel

Introduction

The tourism industry is an industry that has been affected by the COVID-19 pandemic. UNWTO (2020) stated that 100-120 million tourism jobs were directly threatened and the number of international tourists in January – May 2020 decreased by 56% YoY. Including the tourism sector. The number of foreign tourist visits to Indonesia fell by 89.22% year on year, which of course affects the overall condition of tourism. (Chloridiany, 2021). On the other hand, tourism is a mainstay sector initiated by the Indonesian government under the leadership of President Joko Widodo. income of the two countries after taxes and able to absorb many jobs. (Kajian Dampak Sektor Pariwisata Terhadap Perekonomian Indonesia, 2019)

According to Akuino (2013) in Lesmana and Purwanti, the tourism sector plays an important role in the Indonesian economy, both as a source of foreign exchange earners and as a creator of jobs and business opportunities. The tourism sector, one of which is formed through the trade, hotel and restaurant sectors, has a significant positive contribution to the country's foreign exchange earnings. (Lesmana & Purwanti, 2020).

Promotion through digital media content even though it is in the Covid-19 pandemic period, it must still be done as an information investment when access to information needs through digital also increases and conditions return to normal. (Susanti, 2020). Digital marketing, including social media, is the main strategy to maintain a tourist presence in Indonesia.

During the pandemic, the Ministry of Tourism and Creative Economy as the government's representative authority in the tourism sector in Indonesia made efforts to save tourism by making 3 "rescue" phases, namely Emergency Response, Recovery, and Normalization. In the midst of a pandemic, how to survive the tourism and creative economy actors by having the ability to adapt, innovate and collaborate attractively.(Lazuardi, 2021). In addition, in the news on CNN Indonesia, it was stated that the government allocated Rp. 14.4 trillion for the rebuilding of the tourism sector in the 2021 RAPBN due to being affected by the pandemic. One of the uses of the budget is to support the development of attractions, one of which is the activities and objectives of visiting tourism objects and promoting through the media.(Uli/sfr, 2020)

Messages related to the promotion of tourist attractions in the media during the pandemic are actually important in instilling the brand name of tourist attractions in the audience's cognitive. Later when the pandemic is over and they are free to return to tourism activities, the public will have a reference for the places to be visited.

The limitations of this study are on the message of tourist destinations in the city of Semarang and on observing Instagram tourism messages in the second year of the pandemic in Indonesia, namely January-August 2021. The city of Semarang was chosen because this city experienced a transition from being a trading city to being a new tourist destination. . The city of Semarang is the object of study because this city in particular, as stated on the Semarang City Government website (semarangkota.go.id) which was uploaded on December 21, 2018, is a city that has undergone a transformation from a trading city to become a tourist destination. Physically based on geographical couture, this city is known as a city in the lower area which is close to the Java Sea which is closely related to the history of the glory of the port area during the Dutch colonialism with the VOC. The old city area of Semarang is evidence of its cultural heritage and multiculturalism and there is also the upper part of Semarang which is close to landscape tourist attractions.

In October 2018, Google released research analysis of travel industry search trends searched by netizens. Semarang managed to attract attention in the 7th position as an area that is often sought after by domestic tourists, behind Jakarta, Bandung, Yogyakarta, Badung, and Surabaya which were already known. Semarang is also ranked as the 4th best tourism city in Indonesia in the Yokatta Wonderful Indonesia Tourism Award event in 2018. Based on this data, the number of tourists has increased from 2.09 million tourists in 2011 to 5,024,476 million tourists in 2017. early December there were 5,028,508 tourists. (*Kota Semarang Jadi Destinasi Wisata Paling Dicari Di Goole*, 2018)

The narrative of tourist destinations related to the city of Semarang is interesting to be raised in this study because the content of media messages is able to have an impact on the audience to influence perceptions, be influenced and create a desire to visit. The selection of the right media and the careful management of tourist narrative messages will create a desire to visit them. Travel messages on Instagram media are interesting to study because this social media has advantages in instilling brand awareness with the strength of its features. According to the survey results of WeAreSoccial.net and Hootsuite, Instagram is a social media platform with the 7th largest number of users in the world

Travel message narrative, relates to how tourism messages are conveyed in the media. The process of presenting messages is closely related to the context of message management. Related to the management of tourism messages, it is closely related to the preparation of persuasive sentences. Persuasion is an attempt to influence a person's thoughts and actions, from the source of the message maker to the audience or audience through sight, hearing or activity.(Mukaromah & Kumalasari, 2020). In research related to the relationship between attachment persuasion and changes in tourist behavior on social media (Chung & Han, 2017) there is a change in the behavior of individual tourists who prefer to use smartphones to find more information on their own. Social media has an important role in disseminating tourist information, in addition to providing information to users, it is also possible to identify who is the source of information.

Research related to messaging strategies has also been carried out by (Handini et al., 2019) related to how the concept of strategy for compiling messages to gain compliance in the 2019 Indonesian presidential election. In the study of communication related to strategies for obtaining compliance, it can be applied in studying how to process messages to communicate verbally and in writing. Compliance gaining theory, is a theory proposed by Gerald Marwell and David Schmitt. Initially there were 16 strategies to obtain compliance, namely through promising, threatening, showing expertise about positive outcomes, liking, pre-giving, applying aversive stimulation, calling in a debt, making moral appeals. Next are attributing positive feelings, attributing negative feelings, positive altercasting, negative altercasting, seeking altruistic compliance, showing positive esteem, showing negative esteem. Furthermore, the 16 categories can be simplified into 5 categories, namely rewarding or giving awards or promises. Punishing or getting compliance by giving punishment or threats, then expertise by highlighting expertise or skills and then also through impersonal commitments, namely moral commitments or moral appeals, and finally, through personal commitments, namely personal commitments which include the assumption of debt. (Gass, Robert H. 2009, Adnjani,Made&Mubarok.2014)

The question that will be answered in this research is how is the pattern of compiling tourist messages on Instagram captions feeds related to tourist destinations in the city of Semarang during the covid-19 pandemic? The research method used was by observing the content of media messages on Instagram accounts with the hashtags #destinasiwisatasemarang and #wisatasemarang #wisataserusemarang and 10 popular Instagram accounts were taken from the number of followers, posts and interactions. The selected account name is an account that represents a community or group or agency and not an account with a personal name. It can be a government-owned or private-owned, non-profit or commercial account. The number of followers or followers will also be considered as the criteria for the account to be analyzed

Observations were made on uploading posts on the feeds feature and text messages on captions from January to August 2021. The results were then analyzed using compliance gaining theory. The research approach model used is qualitative research by analyzing the content of uploaded posts related to tourist destinations in the city of Semarang. The analysis was carried out on the observed Instagram content as the main data source. (Mayring,2000).

Result And Discussion

From the results of observations and observations in this study, the search with hashtaq #destinasiwisatasemarang contained 488 posts, then with hashtaq #wisatasemarang there were 932,340 posts and hashtaq #destinasikotasemarang there were only 13 posts.

From the three number of posts, it appears that the search for posts with the hashtag #wisatasemarang is more popularly used, so 10 Instagram accounts were chosen to be observed with consideration of the number of followers, following, posts and engagement rate of the account. Table 1.1 shows the data from the selected Instagram accounts, namely:

table 1
Description of the account that is the focus of observation

N o	Account Name	Followers	following	Number of Posts	Account description
1	@wisatasemarang	648 K	50	4985	Travel Reference, Culinary, Event, Shopping, etc
2	@destinasiSemarang	21,2 K	838	1769	Media explore fully Semarang destination
3	@hangoutsemarang	164 K	852	2342	Media is the place for Semarangan information, about Hangout Places, Hangout Places, Tourism, etc
4	@semaranghitshitz	56,5 K	970	1991	Travel, Culinary, Shopping, News in and around Semarang
5	@exploresemarang	414 K	73	5098	City Tourism Promotion,inspiring to Travel Experience & connect with people.
6	@disbudparkotasemarang	20,7 K	132	1861	Semarang City Culture and Tourism Office
7	@semarangbanget.id	10.1 K	4986	688	Travel, News,Culture,Culinary, Entertainment
8	@wisatakotasemarang	25,5K	17	1124	Semarang City Tourism & Culinary
9	@semarangexplore	148K	13	3721	Semarang on Instagram Post your best picture

10	@pikniksemarang	9842	0	840	Share a cool picnic spot in Semarang & its surroundings.
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Source: research object's instagram account

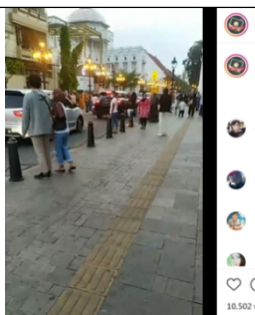

These accounts were observed related to uploads on feeds regarding tourist objects or destinations in the Semarang city area in January-September 2021 as a limitation in this study. The year 2021 was chosen with the consideration that this year Indonesia has entered the second year of restrictions on activities due to the pandemic, and there is a temporary opening and closing period for social conditions due to the pandemic with activity restrictions adjusted to regional conditions.

From observations with hashtaq from observed accounts, uploads about Semarang tourist destinations present tourist destinations that do not focus only on showing destinations in the Semarang city area, but also reviews destinations in the Semarang district, the area around the city and Semarang district as well as in the district. Kendal, Temanggung, Wonosobo, Magelang, Demak, Kudus. So it was chosen and then the focus was re-directed related to destinations in the city of Semarang.

Pola Penyusunan Pesan Wisata

The pattern of compiling tourist messages related to tourist destinations in the city of Semarang that appears on Instagram feed uploads has not consistently displayed writing patterns with a persuasive approach only. It was also found that the pattern of compiling messages using a persuasive approach to get compliance so that the message is followed. However, there are also captions or scripts on uploads containing only descriptive explanations.

Table 2
Example of Uploading a Travel Message With a Persuasive Writing Approach

No	Screen Shoot	Upload The content of the message	Category approach to message writing
1		The Old City of Semarang is busy, please stay healthy	impersonal commitments (moral commitments or moral calls to maintain health)
2		This is the most beautiful and missed part of the old city of Semarang, namely old buildings that are still standing tall and well-maintained, full of	rewarding or giving awards or promises

		history.♥	
3		Simpang Lima and Kota Lama, two places that hold many memories. What memories do you have here ndaa?	Personal commitments are personal commitments in which followers are asked to flash back to remember an object with the rest of the memories that appear in the text whose hopes are asked to return to Semarang.
4		Towards a brighter @Obyekwisatakrejo!. It's been opened on August 19, 2021. When you come here, what do you usually do with #koncodolan besides visiting your relatives? If Parmin saw people fishing while enjoying the breezy breeze of the Jatibarang reservoir.	rewarding or giving hope, promises when visiting
5		It is the highest monastery in Indonesia, namely the Avalokitesvara Buddhagaya Watugong Pagoda. This pagoda has another name, namely the metakaruna pagoda or the pagoda of love because its existence is to honor the figure of Kwan Sie Im Po Sat, the goddess of love. If #koncodolan wants to visit, don't forget to think so that life is always filled with love, because life without love is like a garden without flowers (Rhoma Irama)	Rewarding and Punishing approach to text messages

6		<p>Great Mosque of Central Java-Semarang</p> <p>Going to Semarang is incomplete if you don't stop by the Great Mosque of Central Java, because in my opinion this is one of the religious tours that must be visited. The mosque is designed in 3 mixed Javanese architectural styles. Arb. And Roman. Masha Allah it's so beautiful</p> <p>♥</p>	Rewarding
7		<p>Good morning, whatever the condition, be grateful, sis!. Seng penteng dewe happy. Mergo Happiness Kuwi Choice !</p>	Rewarding

Source: data analysis from observed Instagram account snippets

From the data in table 2 above, there are five patterns of persuasive message approaches in compiling tourist messages on Instagram about tourist destinations in the city of Semarang. The approach is a Rewarding approach by giving hope for a tourist visit, Punishing by making people worried, alert when visiting tourist objects, especially during a pandemic. There is also a writing pattern by making calls for kindness (moral) impersonal commitments in the text above to always maintain health protocols. There is also a pattern of writing messages with personal commitments, namely in table 2 above regarding the willingness to come back to visit because of the closeness of the memories built.

Meanwhile, there is also message writing which is only an explanation, descriptive, depiction of an object that is drawn without any persuasive or even informational elements. This is as shown in table 1.3 .

Table 3

Uploads related to tourist destinations that show patterns of compiling descriptive narrative messages

No	Screen shoot	Upload Date	Contents Of Message Narration
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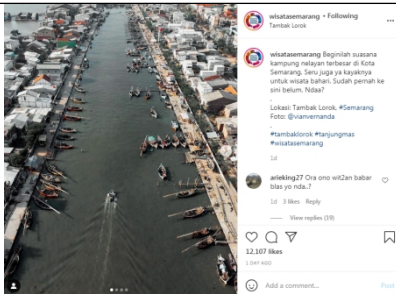
1		27 Juni 2021	This is the atmosphere of the Simpang Lima area when the PKM (Restrictions on Community Activities) in the city of Semarang was enforced seemed deserted from activity. The writings of the five intersections are covered with cloth.
2		24 Mei 2021	Semarang Iconic Landmark Tugumuda-Lawangsewu Dji Phantom 4 Obsidian



Source: data analysis from observed Instagram account snippets

The writing of the captions above only explains the uploaded images, without any elements of persuasion or direction. There is an arrangement of messages in the display of captions or uploaded images on Instagram feeds that present messages that are only descriptions of tourist destinations. Descriptive sentence message writing is a type of message writing that contains descriptions or explanations of the characteristics of an object both psychologically and physically.(Faturohman,2016:59).

The results of the findings on uploaded images, found repetition of images or photos to different accounts even with different captions or different months. This can be seen in table 4 below

Table 4
There Is A Repetition Of Uploaded Images Of Tourist Destinations

No	Uploaded Image	Uploaded Image
		

<p>@exploresemarang</p> <p>13 September 2021</p> <p>Location : Tambak Lorok</p> <p>Very hot afternoon from the tambak lorok area. Wes once set foot into the tambak lorok nda?</p> <p>Repost photo @vianvernanda taken around Kampung Nelayan Tambak Lorok Semarang</p> <p>#exploresemarang</p> <p>#semarang</p>	<p>@wisatasemarang</p> <p>8 September 2021</p> <p>Location: Tambak Lorok</p> <p>Isi captions:</p> <p>This is the atmosphere of the largest fishing village in Semarang City. It's also fun for marine tourism. Been here yet , Ndaa?.</p> <p>Lokasi: Tambak Lorok, #Semarang</p> <p>Foto: @vianvernanda</p>
 <p>@destinasisemarang</p> <p>24 Agustus 2021</p> <p>location : BSB City</p> <p>Contents of Captions:</p> <p>Those who pass here every day, let's be absent.</p>	 <p>@wisatasemarang,</p> <p>26 agustus</p> <p>Location: BSB City</p> <p>Contents of Captions:</p> <p>There are many changes in the Mijen area. There are malls, campuses, business districts to racing circuits. What memories do you have in Mijen Ndaa?</p> <p>Location: Kawasan BSB City, Mijen, #Semarang</p> <p>Foto: @melttoy.photo</p>

<div data-bbox="274 188 549 385" data-label="Image"> </div> <p>@exploresemarang</p> <p>15 Mei 2021</p> <p>Location : Pancasila field. Simpang Lima</p> <p>Forget that it's the weekend. The effect of eating opor every day.</p> <p>Where are the singles?</p> <p>Repost photo @meltoy.photo taken around Pancasila field, Simpang Lima Semarang</p>	<div data-bbox="826 188 1101 385" data-label="Image"> </div> <p>@hangoutsemarang</p> <p>Location: Pancasila field. Simpang Lima</p> <p>Fill in the captions:</p> <p>Haven't had time to take a photo of the background of the writing at the intersection of five, eh, I just changed the info, please. Why was it replaced with the Pancasila field? (confused emoji)</p>
<div data-bbox="274 1115 699 1375" data-label="Image"> </div> <div data-bbox="274 1460 699 1720" data-label="Image"> </div> <p>The picture above is an example of a photo of Lawang Sewu and Tugu Muda at night.</p> <p>Appears on the @destinations account</p>	<p>The same image uploaded on the same account, upload date and different captions are written.</p>

	<p>twice on July 24, 2021 and June 15, 2021.</p> <p>The captions on July 24, 2021 read:</p> <p>Happy Saturday night. But at home just smile) . Jare Kon PATIENCE...</p> <p>While the contents of the captions on June 15, 2021,</p> <p>namely: Why do you miss from Semarang?</p>	
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Source: data analysis from observed Instagram account snippets

Based on table 4 above, it can be seen that posts originating from reposts of other account owners are tagged to the observed accounts. Because it comes from one source, it is possible for one image to be uploaded by another account as long as it includes the source of the image/upload repost. Indirectly this further popularizes a particular destination. Manjoo (2015) and Stroud (2011) social media with persuasive messages displayed can have a positive effect on beliefs and attitudes. Individuals are happy to expose themselves or other individuals to many other communicators (share information).

In addition, the Old Town area of Semarang, Tugumuda, Lawang Sewu, Sampookhong Temple, are destinations that are often uploaded in posts from accounts that are objects of observation compared to other tourist destinations/objects. This is a separate note besides because the destination is a landmark of the city of Semarang.

Writing a communication message with a persuasion approach is a communication process where the communicator tries to get a response in accordance with the expected goals from the intended recipient of the message. Andersen, 1971 in (Richard M. Perloff, 2017) Then in another sense persuasion is a conscious effort by one individual to change the attitude, belief or behavior of an individual or group through the transmission of several messages (Bettinghaus & Cody, 1987, Page: 3). (Marwell & Schmitt, 2014) convey that persuasion is a symbolic activity that aims to influence internalization or voluntary acceptance at the cognitive stage or open behavioral patterns through the exchange of messages. Perloff defines persuasion as a symbolic process in which communicators try to convince others to change their own attitudes or behavior about a problem through message transmission in an atmosphere of free choice.

The development of social media along with the development of information technology according to Perloff (2017) said that more and more applications of persuasion occurred in the online realm either through tweets, posts, hashtags and emojis, not only through face-to-face meetings (Perloff, 2017:17-20).

Meanwhile, writing persuasive messages when applied to Instagram media is a combination of words and sentences with images/visuals that are displayed on selected features in feeds, instastory, reels, igtv using . And in this study, it focuses on uploads to Instagram feed posts. The pattern of compiling messages on Instagram media is observed even though it contains messages related to tourism, the narrative developed does not always display a compositional pattern approach with message management strategies to gain compliance (Compliance gaining theory) as conveyed by Gerald Marwell and David Schmitt. In the concept of compiling persuasive messages in this theory, it can be done in 5 categories, namely rewarding or giving awards or promises. Punishing or getting compliance by giving punishment or threats, then expertise by highlighting expertise or skills and then also through impersonal commitments, namely moral commitments or moral appeals and Personal commitments, namely personal commitments which include the assumption of debt.

(Chung & Han, 2017) in his research found that source credibility had a statistically significant impact on all variables of information influence, attachment and normative influence. Network externalities also have a significant impact. Practically social media platforms should promote source credibility and network externalities. Tourism marketing organizations should build engagement with social media users and should take advantage of their profile and reputation reviewers.

Although social media has limited space in compiling persuasive messages, the messages are made in such a way that it forms a word economy whose phrases are relatively simple so that they can be uploaded on social media according to the platform. (perloff;2017;17-23). The use of hashtags, for example, can have a strong effect through literary simplicity and convey a strong symbolic meaning through words, visual images such as emoji or emoticons, for example. The effect of persuasive messages on contemporary social media is unique because: it can contain simple phrases, spread faster and wider than previous media technologies, furthermore, the uniqueness of persuasive messages allows others to participate in giving meaning; Another uniqueness of the message is that it is able to mobilize individuals across national borders.

In accordance with the direction of the recovery of the tourism sector due to the pandemic, one of the steps taken by the Indonesian government is to create a Storynomics Tourism approach that puts forward narratives of creative content, living culture and the power of culture.

In writing a persuasive text, there are things that must be considered so that the persuasion in a persuasive text is more convincing to the reader. Things that must be considered are the existence of an invitation, appeal, or persuasion accompanied by a series of opinions or facts that strengthen the invitation contained in the persuasive text. (lestari.2020.2)

In the observation of the various accounts that inform the role of uploaded images, photos, videos and visual symbols, they are part of a series of facts that strengthen the invitation written in the captions.

Conclusion

The pattern of compiling messages in travel messages on Instagram needs to be managed seriously with regards to efforts to generate compliance so that readers follow the intent of the post and influence it to prove it by traveling according to the reading exposure of the message read.

Limitations related to the method and time of observation can be noted for further research so that developments related to Instagram tourism messages emphasize more on other patterns that may occur, adapted to technological developments and the needs of readers.

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Strategic Communication in Implementing Healthy Tourism Village Innovation by Pujon Kidul Tourism Village, Malang Regency

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Abstract

Pujon Kidul is one of the villages in Malang Regency which has developed a lot of tourism potential to become a tourist village. There are many business units owned by BUMDes Sumber Sejahtera, the tourism unit that manages the Pujon Kidul Sawah Cafe, which attracts the most interested visitors and is one of the largest income earners for PADes. However, when the Covid-19 pandemic was transmitted in Indonesia, the Government issued policies to limit tourism activities and even had to temporarily close which caused a decrease in income. In order to revive the economy during the pandemic, BUMDes create a communication strategy to realize healthy tourism village innovations and coordination was carried out between the Village Head and BUMDes Pujon Kidul. This study uses a qualitative descriptive approach by collecting data through observation, in-depth interviews and documentation. Indicators of a healthy tourism village are applied in the Pujon Kidul Tourism Village such as the clean, beautiful, healthy and safe (BISA) program as initiated by The Ministry of Tourism and Creative Economy in order to be able to adapt to new habits. Collaboration between the government, tourism managers and the community in conducting healthy tourism campaigns is a form of communication to increase optimism for economic revival. Utilization of social media Instagram and mass media is used to support the promotion of healthy tourism based on open nature typical of Pujon Kidul Village. In addition, professionalism, cooperation and innovation are the key bases held by Pujon Kidul BUMDes to obtain various achievements. This study also found another fact that BUMDes communicated with an appreciative inquiry approach to keep youth motivated to work again at the Sawah Cafe tourism unit which was closed for 5.5 months in 2020 when the COVID-19 pandemic began in Indonesia.

Keywords: Strategic Communication, Innovation, Pujon Kidul Tourism Village, Covid-19 Pandemic

Introduction

Village tourism or rural tourism is an alternative among tourists by adopting the concept of a blend of nature, local culture and society. According to Sandiaga Uno as the Minister of Tourism and Creative Economy of the Republic of Indonesia (Menparekraf), currently tourist villages are rising to become a tourism trend in the world because visitors are given a new and unique holiday experience typical of the local village (2020). In the context of accelerating the revival of tourism and national economic growth, the management of tourist villages is carried out in

accordance with the National Medium-Term Development Plan (RPJMN) for 2020-2024 by developing sustainable tourism. There is 15% of European amenity capacity in sustainable tourism villages and 12% in the UK also contributors to employment come from tourist villages (Menparekraf, 2020), this proves that tourist villages

contribute to overcoming the problem of unemployment and can be a big potential contributor to state revenue. 74 thousand villages in Indonesia certainly have great potential to become the tourism sector and the creative economy, coupled with local wisdom typical of the local village adds value to tourists.

The beginning of 2020 was a pretty tough start for the tourism industry due to the impact of the Covid-19 pandemic. The implementation of Large-Scale Social Restrictions (PSBB) in several regions in Indonesia has resulted in a decrease in the number of tourists both domestic and foreign and the temporary closure of international access from various countries has made the tourism industry worse off.



Figure 1 .Comparison chart of tourist arrivals in 2019 and 2020

Source: BPS, 2021

In the picture above, it can be seen below that there was a decrease of 74.84%, a very different comparison in the number of visits which in 2019 reached 16,108,600 visits, while in 2020 it was 4,052,923.

The presence of Covid-19 has changed the landscape of the tourism industry and the behavior of tourists who have begun to adjust to the conditions of the 'New Normal'. From this side, tourism actors must immediately adapt to the disruption of the New Normal to survive and bounce back. In 2021, the biggest change in the industrial map in the history of civilization because the joints of the economy, industry, and business force people into a new world (a whole new world) and the PSBB and the closure of access to and from the country in Indonesia resulted in a decrease in income in the tourism sector by 20 .7 billion in 2020 (Menparekraf, 2021). The recovery process takes a long time, at least until there is news of a vaccine being produced and the situation will recover when the vaccine has been mass distributed both on a national and global scale.

This phenomenon is certainly very influential on Indonesian tourism, especially tourist destinations in tourist villages which are becoming a tourist trend to be developed. Seeing this condition, the government moved quickly to overcome the problem by preparing and making applicable policies to immediately revitalize the special economy in the tourism sector. The government through the Kemenparekraf issued the Cleanliness, Healthiness,

Safety, Environment (CHSE) program or clean, beautiful, healthy, safe (BISA) (2020). This innovation program was created based on the Decree of the Minister of Health Number HK.01.07/Menkes/382/2020 concerning Health Protocols for the Community in Public Places and Facilities in the Context of Prevention and Control of Corona Virus Disease 2019 (Covid-19). In the future, tourism business actors and visitors will be equally responsible for health and comply with health protocol standards, no longer as a form of instruction but as self-awareness.

Nature tourism will become a trend favored by tourists during new normal conditions on the grounds that nature provides great benefits and low risk. Nature tourism provides the flexibility to implement health protocols, especially physical distancing between tourists. Based on data from Statista who conducted research in the US, 33.9% of the majority of respondents admitted that they experienced symptoms of depression and anxiety (2020). This is the result of being isolated in the house for months which causes anxiety disorders and the opportunity to travel will choose a relaxing natural tourist spot. Nature tourism is very possible to apply the CHSE concept so that it becomes a consideration for tourists in choosing tourist destinations. This change in preferences is reinforced by data sourced from the Pacific Asia Travel Association (PATA), from the results of a survey conducted on 1200 tourists in China stating that health and safety are the most important concerns when making future travel trips (PATA, 2020). The previous research that discussed the implementation of the "Bandung Champion" communication strategy as part of the city branding of the City of Bandung by Rosnandar Romli and Nada Arina Romli (2020) which resulted in the implementation of the strategy carried out more on holding social activities such as cycling and ease of licensing, So the implementation of the communication strategy by the Bandung City Government in realizing the "Bandung Champion" Program has been carried out, but all of that does not guarantee that the city's stakeholder internalization process will be successfully formed.

Focusing on nature tourism which is the choice of tourist trends, Indonesia has many nature-based tours besides mountain traveling and diving, tourist villages can also be an option for visits during the pandemic. With the application of the CHSE concept that prioritizes cleanliness, health, safety and the environment, the tourism industry and other tourism supporting sectors should not lose the idea of innovating during a pandemic. Persistence by following policies and concept suggestions from the government through the Ministry of Creative Economy is a solution to realize its procurement, such as the policy of availability and implementation of health protocols. One of the tourist villages in Indonesia that is also struggling to survive and try to realize innovation during the pandemic is Pujon Kidul Tourism Village, Malang-East Java Regency through a Village-Owned Enterprise (BUMdes) as a forum for economic movement in Pujon Kidul village. Of the various tourist units, Cafe Sawah Pujon Kidul is the most attractive visitor attraction and is one of the largest income earners for PADes.

Running the CHSE Program from the Kemenparekraf requires a communication strategy to implement the Healthy Tourism Village Innovation or CHSE so that it runs well. Program

decisions that have been prepared as alternative problem-solving policies must be immediately implemented in the tourism industry. Mazmanian and Sabatier (1983) reveal that implementation shows meaning and understanding what actually happens after the program is approved to be carried out, it is necessary to look at its implementation. Communication is concerned with how a policy can be communicated to the organization and get feedback from the parties involved (Agustino, 2006). Agustino (2006) explains that George C. Edward III who developed implementation policies to the public with Direct and Indirect Impact On Implementation which has four variables to determine the success of an implementation, namely: 1) Communication - this relates to how information can be communicated or conveyed to the public. communicants and communicators know what to do, 2) Resources - related to the availability of resources, especially humans who have the skills to carry out implementation, 3) Disposition - related to honest, committed, democratic attitudes and characteristics possessed by the implementer, so that if the implementer's perspective different from policy makers, it will result in ineffectiveness, 4) Bureaucratic Structure - relating to mechanisms or standard operating procedures (SOP) and organizational structures that should not be complicated or complex because it will cause inflexibility. In this case, the village government and BUMDes received instructions from the central government regarding travel guidelines during the pandemic, then these two parties became communicators to convey the policy to all tourism actors within the Pujon Kidul Tourism Village.

This paper will explain what are the communication strategies in implementing tourism village innovation with the CHSE policy within the Pujon Kidul Tourism Village. The aim is to find out what are the communication strategies in implementing innovations in the healthy tourism village of Pujon Kidul and to analyze research data to get conclusions. The study used a qualitative descriptive approach by collecting data through observation of the research site, in-depth interviews and document studies.

Results and Discussion

Pujon Kidul tourist village is one of the villages in Pujon District, Malang Regency which develops the potential of its village and has an area of 330,000 hectares. Having more than 50% of the area or 171,844 Ha is rice fields and fields that make most of the livelihoods of its citizens as farmers. This village borders Batu City and the Perhutani area which has elephant grass and pine commodities as conservation and production forests. Pujon Kidul village began to develop its tourism in 2013 with the spirit of wanting to improve economic life, because the results from agriculture have not been able to meet adequate needs. The tourism potential that is built is to combine residents' agricultural land with natural tourism education. In 2013, Pokdarwis in Pujon Kidul explored Sumber Pitu waterfall tourism as an attraction and in 2014 Perhutani was involved in managing the waterfall tourism, but it was deemed not in favor of the community in terms of income, finally Pujon Kidul Village withdrew from Sumber Pitu and looking for exploration of other tourism potentials in order to increase the economic income of the community.



Figure 2. Photo map of Pujon Kidul Village

Source: Brawijaya Military Command Topography, 2016

The presence of Pokdarwis Capung Alas as an organization began to manage tourism potential through a division in the Village-Owned Enterprises (BUMDes) trying to revive tourism by establishing 5 business divisions and their duties: 1) Public Relations – publication tasks; 2) Marketing – tourism object marketing; 3) Homestay- accommodation facilities; 4) Agriculture and Livestock – management of agricultural and livestock products; 5) Home Industry – management and development of processed village commodities, namely milk, fruit and vegetables. The attractions offered in Pujon Kidul Village as the main attraction is to maintain the original rural atmosphere combined with typical village buildings. This nature education tourism has increased the number of tourists who come, which has an impact on village income. One of the tourism products produced is the Rice Field Cafe and until now it has become the most popular attraction and amenity by offering facilities for resting and enjoying rural cuisine.

During the Covid-19 pandemic

The presence of the Covid-19 pandemic at the beginning of 2020 was a challenge for the tourism industry, especially in the Pujon Kidul Tourism Village which oversees various tourism units. The enactment of the national PSSB made tourism activities stop moving for 5.5 months and this made the turnover of the Pujon Kidul Tourism Village decrease drastically. From the results of collecting interview data with the informant - Ibadur Rohman as Director of BUMDes Sumber Sejahtera Pujon Kidul Village, observations and document studies, at least there are several problems that are broadly a concern in Pujon Kidul Tourism Village and are immediately addressed:

1. The implementation of PSBB from the East Java Provincial government for the Greater Malang area (Malang City, Malang Regency, Batu City) starting on May 11, 2020 based on the Decree of the Minister of Health HK.01.07/Menkes/305/2020. However, the Pujon Kidul Tourism Village has been preparing since March 2020 because it follows the development of conditions in the media reporting on estimates and policies for business sectors during the pandemic, so according to the informant, Pujon Kidul Tourism Village will start closing at the end of March 2020 until August 2020. At that time there was no tourism and tourism activities will reopen on August 16, 2020 at the Cafe Sawah tourism unit with health protocol standards. In addition to the preparation of health protocols, promotions are also carried out through Cafe Sawah's official Instagram and Whats app stories, personal Instagram stories of residents whose content is to inform Cafe Sawah that it has started operating again. Meanwhile, during PSBB, Instagram content is filled with photos of visitors' moments to remind them and attract attention.
2. Prior to the 2020 PSBB, it was found that the number of visits to the Pujon Kidul Tourism Village reached 1,500 tourists on weekdays, and almost 8,000 tourists on weekends. However, during the pandemic the number of visits for weekdays only reached 600 visitors and weekends reached 1,500 tourists. As a result, it also affects the turnover of tourism activities which usually reach 1-1.5 billion per month, but due to closing for approximately 5.5 months, it results in a loss of approximately 7 billion.

Table 1. Number of Visits to the Pujon Kidul Tourism Village Cafe

Tahun	Jumlah
2016	26.133
2017	241.525
2018	611.939
2019	217.208

Source: SIE Pujon Kidul Village, 2020

Based on the data above, there was an increase from 2016 to 2017 as many as 118,082 tourists and in 2017 as many as 283,439 tourists. During the pandemic, there was a drastic decline due to the PSBB. Although Pujon Kidul Tourism Village has made a major contribution to economic turnover since 2016 and in 2018 revenue reached 14 billion, in 2019 it reached 19.7 billion and in the first 3 months before the pandemic in 2020 it had earned 9.4 billion. During the holiday for tourism activities due to the PSBB, the manager chose to improve tourist facilities and prepare tourist sites to implement health protocol policies as a condition for tourism to run. According to the informant, previously the unit team had planned to repair facilities, but this was due to a time problem that was not right and only carried out during the pandemic.

3. BUMdes with several business units has accommodated about 700 people who have been absorbed and the largest number of workers is in the tourism unit of Cafe

Sawah Pujon Kidul. The enactment of the PSBB meant that hundreds of people were forced

to leave, mostly local village youths. According to the informant, village youths are very potential human resources and approaches must continue to be carried out by directing their way of thinking that joining BUMdes is not always oriented to the basic money that is received every month, but that this is a form of effort to build a successful village. later it will not only have an impact on yourself and can be for many people. Then, the informant also greatly appreciated the willingness of village youth to jointly build the village even though during the pandemic income did not decrease as usual, but the return of tourism activities became the initial enthusiasm and positive energy that was present.

4. According to the informant, during the pandemic the Pujon Kidul Tourism Village is optimistic that the village is still the main tourism destination for reasons of open nature, cheap ticket prices and ready to implement health protocols when tourism activities reopen. For example at Sawah Cafe, which is operating again with the availability of a thermogun, hand washing sink and sanitizer, periodic disinfectant spraying, mandatory use of masks and face shields (especially workers), readiness of referral letters from hospitals. At the same time, the Head of Pujon Kidul Village (Udi Hartoko) carried out the flagship program of the East Java Regional Leadership Coordination Forum (Forkopimda), namely the procurement of Tangguh Semeru Village as an effort to suppress the spread of the COVID-19 virus and deliver Pujon Kidul Village, especially Tulungrejo Hamlet, Kec. Pujon, Kab. Malang won 1st place in the Tangguh Semeru Village competition in 2020.
5. On May 22, 2021, the Pujon Kidul Tourism Village was visited by Sandiaga Uno as the Minister of Industry and Creative Economy. The purpose of his visit was to promote the Cleanliness, Health, Safety, and Environment Sustainability (CHSE) program and launch the Indonesian Tourism Village Award (ADWI) at Cafe Sawah. Sourced from the Anugrah Tourism Village Guidebook "Indonesia Rises" 2021, ADWI includes four pillars namely governance, economy, culture and environmental conservation which includes 7 categories that are contested namely Homestay, Toilet, CHSE, Digital Village, Souvenirs (Culinary, Fashion, and Souvenirs) contests. Crafts), Tourist Attractions (Natural, Cultural, Artificial) and Creative Content contests. Pujon Kidul Village was chosen because Pujon Kidul Village has become a national pilot tourism village as a tangible form of the success of tourism villages in improving the economy.

From the description of the data above, the success of the Pujon Kidul Tourism Village turned out to have various problems, but the people who were elected to be the leaders of both the BUMDes Director and the Pujon Kidul Village Head immediately moved quickly and looked for solutions to be able to maintain the progress of their village amidst the pandemic.

As a result of the Covid-19 pandemic, the current public awareness of cleanliness, health, safety and environmental sustainability is very large. The tourism industry must be able to adapt immediately to be able to provide this guarantee because the current tourist attraction refers more to uniqueness, natural beauty, diversity, nature and culture as a tourist destination. Pujon Kidul Tourism Village has also adapted to implementing governance

management innovations based on the E-Book Guidelines for the Implementation of Environmental Hygiene, Health, Safety and Sustainability (CHSE) in Tourist Attractions published by the Ministry of Tourism and Creative Economy in August 2020. This guide is based on the policy of the Government of Indonesia, World Health Organization (WHO), and the World Travel & Tourism Council (WTTC) in the context of preventing and handling Covid-19. The preparation of the guide also involves various parties, namely business and professional associations related to tourist attractions, tourism village managers, Tourism Drive Groups/Tourism Awareness Groups, and academies.

In implementing the management of BUMdes Pujon Kidul, the focus of implementation is on governance management:

1. Following the development of technical information, instructions from the Regional Government and the central government regarding Covid-19;
2. Make SOPs that are in accordance with the conditions of tourist attractions regarding cleanliness, health, safety, and environmental sustainability to members, visitors, and the surrounding community;
3. Conduct operational trials for 1 week / simulations;
4. Install warning posters at the location where they are placed at the entrance to the Cafe Sawah ticket and on the side of the road to the joglo-joglo Cafe Sawah written such as 1 meter physical distancing, no physical contact, washing hands & using sanitizer, wearing a mask / if not wearing must not enter the area, throw garbage in its place;
5. Availability of first aid kits, hand washing facilities, sanitizers and thermoguns to measure body temperature ($\geq 37,3$);
6. Make arrangements for the length of visit, especially in the visitor's favorite area and limit the number of visits to only 200 tourists;
7. BUMDes Pujon Kidul coordinates with the Puskesmas for handling before going to the hospital and the security forces;
8. Providing open tourism with good air circulation, this is the flagship product of Cafe Sawah, Pujon Kidul Tourism Village;
9. BUMDes evaluates progress after the simulation test and when it is still open once a week with the BUMDes team;
10. Spraying disinfectant after visiting closing hours.

Analysis of communication strategies for implementing healthy tourism village innovations in the form of CHSE

Factors supporting implementation to realize healthy tourism village innovation in Pujon Kidul

1. Communication

The CHSE policy is based on the Decree of the Minister of Health Number HK.01.07/Menkes/382/2020 concerning Health Protocols for the Community in Public Places and Facilities in the Context of Prevention and Control of Corona Virus Disease 2019 (Covid-19). Kedes Pujon Kidul coordinates with stakeholders, especially Village

Internals such as BUMDes Managers to discuss the latest policies from the Government

for the tourism industry. Based on the spirit to get up, various procurements of goods or property needed (according to conditions in the village) were carried out such as the provision of hand washing stations, thermoguns, masks, face shields, disinfectant spraying equipment, sanitizers, and billboards or posters containing appeals. Then the BUMDes communicated and simulated all workers in order to provide an understanding of the flow of traveling in Pujon Kidul Tourism Village to managers, employees, and tour guides. The next target in addition to internal parties, communication is also carried out to external parties, namely tourists through social media Instagram @cafesawahpujonkidul and appeals at the entrance of tourist sites. The collaboration between the village government, BUMDes and the community are both promoting healthy tourism on Instagram and whats app stories. At the beginning of the opening, only the rice field cafe was said to be ready with the health protocol process in tourist destinations in Pujon Kidul Village. The news reached journalists from several mass media, so the opening of the Pujon Kidul Sawah Cafe became good news. This news coverage in the mass media is interesting for readers who have long wanted a vacation in an open location with a health protocol system and the implemented strategies can be mapped to bring clarity and operational ways (Effendy, 2004).

2. Resources

Resources are no less important because the implementation requires clarity of actors, facilities and infrastructure.

1. The original natural resources of the tourist village in Pujon Kidul are agricultural fields, with the tourism potential provided are vegetable picking tours, animal husbandry, culinary, MSMEs, milk processing education tours, alternative energy learning, and outbound/fun games. In addition, there are traditional arts such as KudaLumping, pencak silat and sanduk dance, but temporarily during the pandemic, not many arts are displayed because they can invite crowds of tourists.
2. Budget resources for facility renovations and procurement of Prokes tools for the operation of tourism activities come from the Village Fund.
3. Human resources in the Pujon Kidul Tourism Village are ready for the implementation of the opening of tourist sites which are quite sufficient. According to the informant, workers in BUMDes are ready to resume activities in building villages and carrying out economic activities during the pandemic. Prior to the opening, the BUMDes conducted training or simulation of the flow of tourism activities by tourism actors and tour guides. Pujon Kidul village consists of 3 hamlets namely Maron, Tulungrejo, Krajan. The Pujon Kidul Village Government participated in the Tangguh Mandiri Semeru Village Competition which is a program of the Regional Leadership Coordination Forum (FORKOPIMDA) and led Pujon Kidul Village, especially the Tulungrejo hamlet, to become the 1st Winner of Tangguh Mandiri Semeru Village 2021.
4. The BUMDes manager of the Pujon Kidul Tourism Village has experienced fears of losing workers who are resources, especially in the tourism unit due to a vacation of

approximately 5.5 months in March to August 2020. However, the informant revealed

that if they continue to try to approach with communication that can motivate and be a positive energy to survive to workers. The goal is to direct the mindset to think ahead together to build the village. In other terms, BUMDes leaders conduct Appreciative Inquiry (AI) by identifying positive things and connecting them in ways that can increase energy, sharpen vision, and become inspiration to change things for the better. AI, which was pioneered by David Cooperrider and Suresh Srivastva in the 1980s, are two professors at the Weatherhead School of Management at Case Western Reserve University, this concept is often used by motivators or training institutions to create strength in the midst of problems in an organization.

3. Disposition

Disposition here is interpreted as the attitude of the perpetrators to imply the innovation of a tourist village that is clean, beautiful in its environment, healthy and safe (CAN). According to Edward III (2003), if the implementation is to run effectively and efficiently, the implementers not only know what to do but also have the will to implement the program. Implementers for the implementation of innovation in the Pujon Kidul Tourism Village, both from village leaders (Kades and ranks), BUMDes, tourist destination managers and local residents are trying to unify goals and trying to understand the conditions for daring to move together following policies to rebuild the economy. Another proof of the collaboration carried out by the village leadership is the arrival of Sandiaga Uno as the Ministry of Industry and Creative Economy to Pujon Kidul Tourism Village in the context of a working visit and the inauguration of ADWI on May 23, 2021. His arrival brought many people to visit because this famous and influential person was actually able to attract tourists come.

4. Bureaucratic Structure

Bureaucratic structure is one of the important things because it relates to workflows that support or can hinder. In this case, the internal village government, especially BUMDes understands the guidelines for implementing healthy tourism village innovations in order to implement health protocols for productive communities in preventing and controlling the corona virus-19. In the process, the communication made from the leadership of Pujon Kidul Village received information and the development of a new policy for the condition that the tourism industry could return to normal, namely by running Prokes, then the information reached the BUMDes and a small discussion was held before finally holding a large meeting with members of the village government. to discuss efforts to innovate.

Conclusion

The implementation of the communication strategy carried out by the Pujon Kidul Tourism Village in realizing healthy tourism based on the Ministry of Tourism and Creative Economy's policy on the Cleanliness, Healthiness, Safety, Environment (CHSE) or clean, beautiful, healthy, safe (BISA) program has been implemented. The thing that is of concern is that business actors must be able to restore tourist confidence with the availability and implementation of health protocols as a top priority. In the early stages of recovery after the

pandemic, many people feel bored because they are at home, this can encourage them to carry out tourism activities by taking walks, enjoying the beauty of nature and fresh air. Adapting to change is not an option during the current crisis, but has become a must for companies or tourist destinations if they want to survive.

In addition, professionalism, cooperation and innovation are the key foundations held by Pujon Kidul BUMDes to obtain various achievements. This study also found another fact that BUMDes communicated with an appreciative inquiry approach to keep young people motivated to work again at the Cafe Sawah tourism unit which was closed for 5.5 months in 2020 when the COVID-19 pandemic began in Indonesia. Suggestions for increasing human resources in the field of digital technology need to be held so that tourist villages can be developed more optimally.

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Leadership Representations during Pandemic Meddling: Discourse Analysis of Surabaya's New Mayor, Eri Cahyadi

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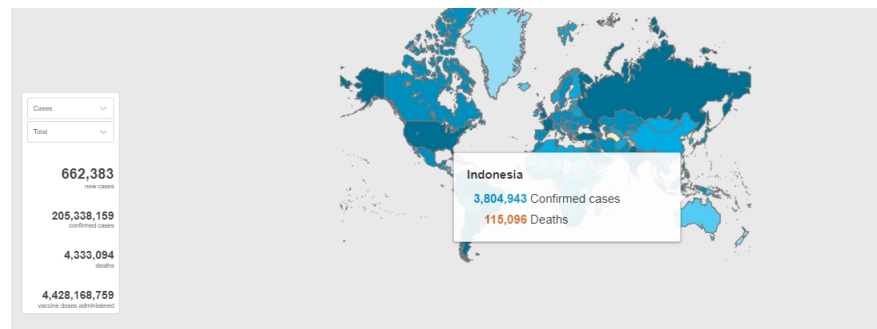
Abstract

There is no State Leader who is ready to face the Covid-19 pandemic. This research begins with that premise. The practice of leadership has been challenged since the first Covid-19 case was discovered in December 2019 in Wuhan, China. Transparent and consistent leadership becomes the citizens' idol, especially regarding strategies for preventing transmission, handling patients, and the funeral process for people who died from Covid-19. In late 2020, countries have also been intense in providing vaccination programs for their citizens. Types of vaccines, distribution processes, and side effects are the main information conveyed by every leader, both at the international level such as WHO, to the smallest local or regional government. After 10 years, Tri Rismaharini stepped down as Mayor of Surabaya in 2020 where her efforts in dealing with the pandemic must be continued by the winner of the Regional Head Election, named Eri Cahyadi. Tri Rismaharini's image as a female leader who is honest and firm overshadows her successor. With the mission to continue efforts to prevent the spreading of Covid-19 and design a mass vaccination program in Surabaya, Eri Cahyadi's activities and decisions are always spotlighted, especially by the online media. Online media is the most accessible media while people undergo the social restrictions required by the Central Government. This research uses a qualitative method with a discourse analysis approach by Michel Foucault to determine the representation of Eri Cahyadi as a new leader in dealing with Covid-19 in Surabaya. Through the Brand24 application to process the sentiment of Eri Cahyadi's image, it appears that media sentiment in reporting on Eri Cahyadi is still dominated by negative views. This was related to the spreading of the Delta variant which made Surabaya a red zone one more time since the first variant hit. However, based on the articles and news headlines, Eri Cahyadi has never been labeled negatively. In fact, there are more positive words, such as "swift steps", "encouraging residents", and "prepare a place for isolation".

Keywords: leadership, Coronavirus, Covid-19, representation, Foucault

Introduction

At the end of 2019, president Xi Jinping had to face the dire reality of a virus thought to have originated in an animal market in Wuhan city. The virus can move into the human body and infect each other only by the droplet method. As a form of intuitive response, the Wuhan authorities closed the Huanan Seafood Wholesale Market which was predicted to be ground zero for the virus which is currently known as Covid-19. According to the World Health Organization (WHO) website, more than 4 million people worldwide have died from this virus. Since the discovery of the first case of Covid-19 in Indonesia in March 2020, Covid-19 patients have reached almost 4 million people with 115,000 deaths. ("WHO Coronavirus (COVID-19) Dashboard", 2021).



Picture 1. WHO's map of Covid-19 cases around the world

Source: WHO Coronavirus (Covid-19) Dashboard (<https://covid19.who.int/>)

In the first wave of Covid-19, no leader in any country was ready to control the spread of the virus that hit their country. Several steps were taken by the head of state to carry out a lockdown, namely by banning flights to and from his country. Prime Minister of Canada, Justin Trudeau, and Prime Minister of New Zealand, Jacinda Ardern, are examples of 2 country leaders who chose to implement a lockdown as a preventive measure to reduce the spread of Covid-19 transmission. President Joko Widodo, on the other hand, chose to implement the Large-Scale Social Restrictions (PSBB) throughout Indonesia. The steps taken by state leaders in limiting the movement of their people have an impact on the country's economy. In Indonesia, the President's steps in implementing the PSBB were simulated into the country's economic calculations by Professor Arief Anshori Yusuf. As a result, during the PSBB implementation, the state suffered a loss of 4,500 trillion rupiahs. This fantastic figure has resulted in Indonesia's economic growth in 2020 is estimated to only be around 1 to 2% (Yusuf, 2020).

In 2021 when the latest variant of Covid-19, namely the Delta variant, spread and made new waves in various countries, the presence of a vaccine is a breath of fresh air for world leaders to protect their people from Covid-19 transmission. In the research of Kaul and colleagues, when facing conditions that are completely uncertain, easy to change, and require decisions that have high impact, a leader must have 8 main principles. The first and foremost principle is the ability to communicate. The uncertainty that grows in society on the origins of Covid-19, how to prevent and treat it must be communicated to have a clearer perspective on what is happening and the importance to act for the sake of the country. A leader must have a clear, consistent, and adaptive communication. Other principles are realistic outlook with optimism for the future, focus on the mission and main values of the country, decision-making in ambiguous settings, short-term and long-term planning, sticking to goals and humility in serving others, simplifying bureaucracy, and being open to outside opinions in considering decisions (Kaul et al., 2020).

Surabaya, as the second most populous city in Indonesia, experienced a change of mayor during the pandemic. In 2020, after 10 years of leadership, Mayor Tri Rismaharini must be replaced by a new Mayor, Eri Cahyadi. The transition in the midst of handling the spread of Covid-19 which at that time made Surabaya one of the Red Zone cities was not easy. Eri Cahyadi must continue and adapt to the efforts in dealing with Covid-19 from Tri Rismaharini, a female leader whose achievements during her time as Mayor has been widely discussed in scientific writings and works. One of them is a study from Tuti and

Adawiyah which concludes that Tri Rismaharini is a bureaucratic entrepreneur leader who is simple, caring, humble, and innovative (Tuti and Adawiyah, 2020).

Based on the online Charta Politica Indonesia Survey results in Detik.com, the name Eri Cahyadi has not yet included in the Public Perception Survey on Regional Heads with the Best Performance in handling Covid-19. At the district/city level, Tri Rismaharini received 2.2% of the votes as the Mayor with the best handling of the Covid-19 pandemic, followed by Bogor Mayor Bima Arya with 1.3% of the votes. At the top, dominated by the names of leaders at the provincial or governor level. Ridwan Kamil, Governor of West Java, is in the top position of the best performing regional head with 15.6% of the vote. Followed by the Governor of Central Java, Ganjar Pranowo, in second place with 13.4% of the vote, and in third place was the Governor of DKI Jakarta, Anies Baswedan, with 11.8% of the vote (Kholisdinuka, 2020). This makes this research important to look at the image of Eri Cahyadi as the new Mayor of Surabaya after Tri Rismaharini stepped down. Eri continued Tri Rismaharini's efforts in preventing the spread of the Covid-19 virus and succeeding the vaccination program mandated by the Central Government.

This research will focus on the representation of Surabaya's new Mayor, Eri Cahyadi, especially in his leadership in handling the spread of the Covid-19 virus and his efforts to invite Surabaya residents to participate in the vaccination program. The method used is qualitative with a discourse analysis approach by Michel Foucault. Foucault's perspective is used to understand how the media constructs the reality of power, which the Mayor of Surabaya holds the highest power in the region. The object of this research study is the language because it has a relationship between text (statement) and context (practice) (Mills, 2007). The data collection method consists of primary data and secondary data. Primary data in the form of online news articles with a high level of influence in Surabaya area, namely Suara Surabaya Media and GenFM. While secondary data will use Brand24 to map the sympathy of social media users in discussing or leaving comments on online news articles about Eri Cahyadi.

Result and discussion






In reading sympathy for online news about Eri Cahyadi, researchers used Brand24 which directly categorizes both titles and online content related to Eri Cahyadi and the handling of Covid-19 in Surabaya. Based on the results of data collection, online media sympathy tends to be negative as seen in the graph that appears on Brand24:



Picture 2. Simpati berita online tentang Eri Cahyadi
Source: Brand24

Of the total 1,372 articles found discussing Eri Cahyadi, there were 439 articles with negative sympathy (52.1%) and 395 positive sympathies (47.9%). Some of this was caused by the transmission rate of the Delta variant of Covid-19 which increased dramatically in Surabaya starting in May 2021. The contents of the news article mostly tell of the efforts of Eri Cahyadi and Surabaya City Government officials to deal with the spread of the new variant of Covid-19 from various sectors, ranging from accelerating mass vaccinations, adding beds in hospitals, and adding areas that are used as emergency hospitals. for Covid patients, as well as the socialization of health protocols.

Using Foucault's discourse analysis method, this study then took samples of online media articles that ranked first and second in online media accessed, namely Suarasureabaya.net and Detikcom. This media ranks first and second as the most influential sites in Brand24 which also shares in reporting on Eri Cahyadi concerning the handling of Covid-19.

Top public profiles		The most influential sites	
	detikcom	★ 19.6% VOICE SHARE	📶 683 K INFLUENCE
	e100ss	★ 11.6% VOICE SHARE	📶 404 K INFLUENCE
	KOMPASTV	★ 11.6% VOICE SHARE	📶 402 K INFLUENCE
	gen1031fmsby	★ 11.0% VOICE SHARE	📶 382 K INFLUENCE
	kompascom	★ 9.5% VOICE SHARE	📶 329 K INFLUENCE
— MORE MENTIONS			

Picture 3. Daftar media yang menjadi the most influential sites
Source: Brand24

The researcher analyzes Eri Cahyadi's reporting based on 3 elements of Foucault's discourse analysis, namely the language used in online news articles about the context of the news as a whole in describing the figure of Eri Cahyadi as Mayor of Surabaya. The findings of this study are different from the sympathy generated by Brand24. If it is related to the context of the news, the sympathy for Eri Cahyadi's news tends to be more positive. These findings will be discussed in depth below:

The Young Leader

The main role of a leader is to form the vision and mission of the organization and convey it to the ranks of the organization so that it can be practiced in daily organizational activities. In the realm of the Regional Government, the vision and mission must be derived from the vision and mission of the Central Government which will then be adjusted for realization according to the resources of a region. It is the regional leader who conducts a thorough screening of the region he leads in realizing the vision and mission of

the Central Government. So a leader must be able to influence his followers for the realization of an organization's main goals (Wirawan, 2003).

To be able to influence members of the organization, a leader must have a certain reputation following what is needed to carry out his duties. The main capacity that a leader must have is goals-oriented, work ethic, and as a motivator to his/her members in the organization. Not only in the internal organization, but the Regional Government must also be able to establish cooperation between institutions, and also the most important thing is to the community they lead. Eri Cahyadi as Mayor of Surabaya has the duty and authority to administer the region based on the results of the general election and work together with the DPR in running the wheels of government.

The task of the media as a watchdog is to monitor the performance of regional and central leaders to government administration and community welfare although the media also have political interests, the media has a very strategic position in the administration of government, namely to build public perception of reality or in this case the Government (Panuju, 2002). This means that every leader will prove his responsibility to the community with the help of media that highlights their daily activities, especially if there is an unexpected big event such as the Covid-19 pandemic.

In writing an event, the media will look for a point of view that will make the event have news value. Recently, in giving Regional Heads, the media began to highlight Regional Heads who are young at heart. After being elected as Mayor of Bandung in 2013, Ridwan Kamil was loved by young people because he often joked on social media with jokes typical of young people. Inaugurated as Mayor at the age of 42, he easily built Bandung City into a friendly city for his young people to be creative and develop.

The young leader has also served as Regent of Trenggalek, namely Emil Elestianto Dardak, or more popularly known as Emil Dardak. Inaugurated at the age of 31 in 2015, Emil overhauled the political paradigm in Indonesia that young people can also have the opportunity to become Regional Leaders. Together with his deputy, Mochamad Nur Arifin, they led Trenggalek after defeating the former Deputy Regent of Trenggalek, Kholiq-Priyo with around 76.28% of the vote. Under his leadership, Trenggalek won the Adipura Award, an award for cities in Indonesia that are successful in cleanliness and management of the urban environment, in 2017 and 2018. At the international level, Emil Dardak was also selected among 40 regional heads of the world to be a speaker at the UN Habitat-3 in Quito, Ecuador in 2016. From 2016 to 2018 also served as Co-president of United Cities and Local Government (UCLG Asia-Pacific) (Muchlis, 2021).

Inaugurated at the age of 43 in 2020, Eri Cahyadi is also a young leader. Identical to the polo shirts used in campaign billboards, he always works in casual clothes such as jeans, vest jackets, and hats. He also often goes to the field directly to assist activities held by government institutions, especially as an effort to contain the spread of the Delta variant of the Covid-19 virus that has attacked Surabaya City residents since May 2021.



Picture 4. Gaya busana Eric Cahyadi saat bekerja di luar kantor
Source: Faktualnews.co

In handling the spread of Covid-19 in Surabaya, an article in Detikcom compared Eric Cahyadi with Bangkalan Regent R. Abdul Latif Amin Imron as they stood guard in Suramadu until late at night to monitor preparations for blocking the bridge connecting Surabaya and Bangkalan. Detikcom wrote:

“Penyekatan Suramadu sisi Bangkalan dimulai hari ini, Kamis (17/6/2021). Dua pemimpin muda Wali Kota Surabaya Eri Cahyadi bersama Bupati Bangkalan R Abdul Latif Amin Imron ini standby di Suramadu sisi Bangkalan Rabu (16/6/2021) hingga larut malam. Mereka memantau persiapan penyekatan tersebut.” (Deny Prastyo Utomo, 2021)

“Bangkalan side Suramadu sealing starts today, Thursday (17/6/2021). Two young leaders of Surabaya Mayor Eri Cahyadi and Bangkalan Regent R Abdul Latif Amin Imron are on standby at Suramadu Bangkalan side Wednesday (16/6/2021) until late at night. They are monitoring the sealing preparations.” (Deny Prastyo Utomo, 2021)

The media has given the label "young" to emphasize not only his age but also his capacity as a Regional Leader. Newly appointed in 2020, at the time this news was revealed, Eric was still the new leader of the City of Surabaya. Detikcom also underlined that Young Leaders have started to lead in areas other than Surabaya, namely Bangkalan Regent R Abdul Latif Amin Imron.

In another report in Detikcom, an article entitled "Vice Governor Emil-Walkot Eri Compact Concerning Waru Roundabout Blocking During Emergency PPKM" further confirmed the impression of a young leader. In the article, Detikcom wrote:

“Wagub Emil langsung menghubungi Wali Kota Surabaya Eri Cahyadi melalui telponnya untuk menanyakan apakah merujuk ke instruksi Mendagri (Menteri Dalam Neger) mengenai PPKM Darurat, kendaraan plat W yang masuk wilayah aglomerasi bisa melalui penyekatan.” (Azmi, 2021)

“Deputy Governor Emil directly contacted the Mayor of Surabaya Eri Cahyadi via telephone to ask whether referring to the instructions of the Minister of Home

Affairs (Minister of Home Affairs) regarding Emergency PPKM, W plate vehicles entering the agglomeration area can be blocked.” (Azmi, 2021)

During the handling of the spread of the Delta variant in Surabaya, Deputy Governor Emil Dardak also actively supervised the work of the City and Regional Governments in East Java, including Surabaya. This collaboration between the Deputy Governor and the Mayor of Surabaya has further confirmed the media's recognition of the performance of young leaders who are actively trying to save their citizens from the dangers of Covid-19 transmission.

Media recognition by labeling "young" in every article featuring Eri Cahyadi generates positive sympathy. Although Brand24 analyzes the word "blockade" as a word with negative sympathy, it shows Eri Cahyadi's efforts to limit the movement of people from outside Surabaya during the Emergency PPKM period to protect the citizens of Surabaya City from the danger of transmission of the delta variant. His collaboration with the Bangkalan Regent to the Deputy Governor shows his ability to communicate horizontally (between colleagues) and vertically (higher managerial levels).

The Agile Leader

The discussion of how a leader can emerge and whether the soul of a leader is talent or training has been discussed by philosophers 2,500 years ago, beginning with Socrates who said that leadership is situational. In 1847, Thomas Carlyle coined "The Great Man Theory" which stated that the nature of a leader is innate and only people who are endowed with heroic potential can become leaders. Another view of an American philosopher, Sidney Hook, states that leaders are born when an event occurs that requires a heroic action, where if the leader is not present then the event may end otherwise (Khan_PhD, Nawaz, & Khan_PhD, 2016).

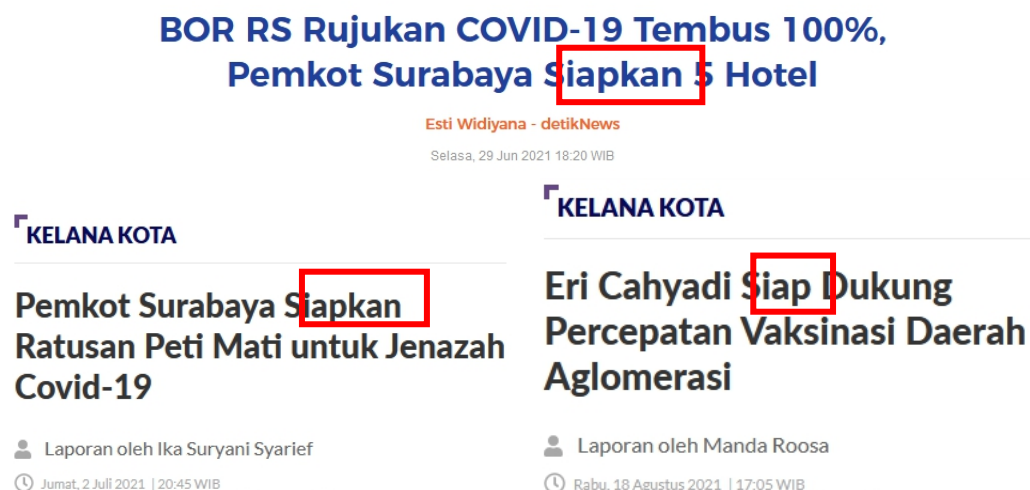
However, it turns out that the Great Man Theory is tainted by unscrupulous leaders who oppose its characteristics. This concept of leadership was then considered morally flawed when leaders such as Hitler, the Kremlin, Kim Jong-Un, and the like emerged. The Great Man Theory feels irrelevant when compared to these people and as a result, when applied to an organization, the organization becomes stagnant. Finally, scientists began to map leadership from a behavioral perspective, namely how a leader's efforts can influence his followers (Luthans, 2002).

Muhammad Saqib Khan and his colleagues publish a journal that discusses the types of leadership styles that have been owned and are still used by world leaders in driving the wheels of state, organizational, and religious leadership. Some of the leadership styles that are often encountered are autocratic, democratic, and bureaucratic (Khan, et al., 2015). The autocratic leadership style utilizes the power of threats and punishments to influence followers. Autocratic type leaders don't trust their followers and don't accept input from followers. The autocratic leadership style is not always bad because it cuts through the bureaucratic process and instructions given in detail can be directly carried out by followers with strict discipline. It is 180 degrees different from the democratic leadership style which is also called participatory leadership style which invites followers to make decisions. Leaders in a democratic way allow members to set personal goals and praise

their achievements. But sometimes leaders with a democratic style have to spend more time paying attention to their members and make time for many meetings and discussions. A bureaucratic-style leader is a leader who runs the organization's wheels according to the guidebook. Everything has been decided even before he became a leader and all decisions made must be guided by policies or procedures.

The initial premise of this research is that no country leader in the world is ready to deal with an infectious virus and become an epidemic in their country. Both communist countries such as China and Russia to democratic countries such as the United States and Indonesia are scrambling to prevent the spread of the Covid-19 virus in their countries. They look for manuals for handling pandemics in their constitutions and laws which are then revealed under the direction of the World Health Organization (WHO) and provide socialization on preventing the spread of the virus to its citizens. All leadership styles have turned into bureaucratic styles because all decisions they make must be guided by the direction of scientists at WHO. There is an obligation to wear masks and practice social distancing, which is then changed to physical distancing.

As the Mayor of Surabaya who was inaugurated in 2020, Eri Cahyadi continues Tri Rismaharini's efforts to deal with the spread of the Covid-19 virus. Just becoming a regional leader and having to deal with world-class outbreaks is not easy, especially since Surabaya has also become the epicenter of the high spread of Covid-19 after the capital city of Jakarta. It is natural then that Brand24 categorizes all news about Surabaya more on negative sympathy, which then has an impact on Eri Cahyadi's image as well. However, online news titles often repeat the words "ready", "prepare", and "prepared" in reporting about Eri Cahyadi or about the Surabaya City Government in dealing with the spread of the Delta variant. Like the following titles:



Picture 5. Judul-judul Pemberitaan Tentang Pemerintah Kota Surabaya

Source: Detikcom dan Suarasurebanet

The transmission of the Delta variant is indeed faster and the effects are more deadly than the previous Covid-19 variant. At least, the decisions that have been taken by Eri Cahyadi from the title show that he has adopted from the previous leader in dealing with this pandemic in the city of Surabaya. That's right, no leader is ready to face a pandemic,

but the nature of a leader must be able to adapt in all ways. By developing a bureaucratic leadership style, these titles show Eri Cahyadi's alertness in handling the problem of bed occupancy rate due to the high number of patients, handling of corpses, and acceleration of vaccination.

Eri Cahyadi's dedication doesn't only reach the people of Surabaya. In an online news article, he also hopes to help accelerate vaccines in areas that are neighbors to the city of Surabaya, such as Sidoarjo and Gresik. The article on Suarasurabayanet wrote:

“Ketika target *herd immunity* di Kota Surabaya telah tercapai, Eri menyatakan, tak akan berhenti sampai di situ. Sebab, ketika berbicara *herd immunity*, hal ini tentu juga berkaitan dengan daerah aglomerasi (Surabaya, Sidoarjo, Gresik) (Roosa, 2021).

“When the herd immunity target in the city of Surabaya has been achieved, Eri stated, it will not stop there. Because, when talking about herd immunity, this is of course also related to agglomeration areas (Surabaya, Sidoarjo, Gresik) (Roosa, 2021).

Eri Cahyadi's dedication to completing the vaccination process proves that he is a leader who has goals based on the provisions set by the Central Government as well as scholars at WHO. Each layer of the institution is assigned to carry out their respective roles and is given the authority to handle all activities following procedures. Eri Cahyadi is a bureaucrat.

Indonesia labels its government as running on a democratic model. This is because every leader, both at the regional level to the President, is elected by the people. However, there is a set of rules in the form of a law that regulates the election of leaders as well as other rules that determine how the people should act and live. Like Eri Cahyadi in leading the city of Surabaya, Indonesia could be more inclined to the pattern of bureaucratic government. As a consequence, the rules made must accommodate various kinds of problems that have, are currently, and will arise in society, including the extraordinary occurrence of the Covid-19 outbreak.

It's All about Collaborations

In the United Nations forum, whenever there are problems that arise related to human rights or the welfare of the citizens of a region, there is never an agreement in making decisions. The different perspectives of each head of state make us never inline in solving problems related to the lives of many people, such as the conflict over the struggle for territorial power in Afghanistan which was ultimately won by the Taliban. The decision of the United States, initiated by President Donald Trump, to withdraw its troops from Kabul prompted pro and contra responses from various quarters. No one 100% supports and no one 100% condemns the United States decision.

With the emergence of Covid-19 which has plagued almost all over the world, world leaders have finally agreed to trust scientists for the safety of their citizens' lives from this airborne virus attack. Starting from the obligation to start using medical masks when leaving the house to implementing New Normal habits where new terms and habits such as Work from Home and Study from Home also appear. The whole world seems to be dead when everyone is forced to do activities at home by utilizing technology, ranging from

using Zoom for online meetings, Google Classroom for teaching and learning activities, as well as the booming platforms for online shopping.

It is the Leader of the State who can convey the seriousness of the Covid-19 pandemic to his citizens. Their leadership style determines their strategy in directing their citizens to implement health protocols to protect themselves and others from the transmission of this virus. However, not all leaders were initially able to execute strategies at the beginning of the Covid-19 outbreak. An online article published in US News mentions 5 state leaders who mishandled the pandemic, one of which was the leader of a superpower, the United States, during the leadership of President Donald J. Trump. Instead of acknowledging the existence of a deadly virus that attacked the respiratory system in February 2020, President Trump denied the information, even before the Covid-19 outbreak in Wuhan he had received information from his intelligence team. The President of the United States has even carried out propaganda against the use of masks and suggested the wrong treatment for people suspected of having Covid-19 symptoms. The United States had to swallow the bitter pill because of President Trump's decision, until he stepped down from his position in January 2021 and the total death toll from Covid-19 there reached 400,000 people. 4 other country leaders who were deemed to have failed at the beginning of the outbreak of the Covid-19 virus in their country were Indian Prime Minister Narendra Modi, Brazilian President Jair Bolsonaro, Authoritarian Leader of Belarus Alexander Lukashenko, and Mexican President Andrés Manuel López Obrador (Ganguly, et al., 2021).

The leader who claims to have succeeded in avoiding the transmission of the Covid-19 virus in his country is Kim Jong-Un, the supreme leader of North Korea. In an article written on the BBC's online media, at a state meeting, Kim stated that his country has avoided the vicious virus and is maintaining a stable situation. But in reality, Kim imposed extreme sanctions for citizens who violate the rules made to prevent the Covid-19 virus from entering their borders. In November 2020, intelligence agencies assisted by spies from South Korea reported that a North Korean customs official was shot and killed in August for allegedly violating Covid-19 restrictions by smuggling goods from China. The customs official works in Sinuiju, a city on the border between North Korea and China (ET, 2020).

It turns out that even leaders in a very democratic country like the United States can sacrifice their citizens because of misleading judgments and information. The success of the leader of a dictatorial country like North Korea has indeed succeeded in protecting its citizens from the dangers of Covid-19 but at the expense of other things, such as the reduced supply of food from China due to border closures. Indonesia itself, which has a democratic form of government, adopts a bureaucratic approach in handling Covid-19. The Central Government makes regulations based on the WHO's recommendation and then lowers them to each region with the responsibility being taken over by Regional Leaders at the level of Governors, Mayors, and Regents. Coordination in each local government is intensely established, especially to provide daily updates regarding the increase in cases, hospital occupancy, and death rates.

Since becoming the mayor, Eri Cahyadi has been actively communicating with regional heads around the city of Surabaya to the provincial government. It is proven by his coordination with the Bangkalan Regent in blocking the Surabaya-Madura border and

also his coordination with the Deputy Governor for the Surabaya-Sidoarjo border. A piece of online news from Detikcom reported on Eri Cahyadi's coordination efforts with the Governor of East Java, Khofifah Indar Parawansa, after he was protested by Madurese due to the closure of the Surabaya-Madura border at the Suramadu Bridge. He bridges the aspirations of Madurese who want to enter Surabaya but have limitations in showing negative swab test results:

““Sudah saya sampaikan ke Bu Gubernur, apa yang diinginkan (para demonstran) sebenarnya hampir sama yang diarahkan Bu Gubernur. Sehingga, nanti melakukan pengamanan di daerah hingga tingkat desa, dusun, itu dijaga. Kalau sudah berjalan, dan landai (tingkat penyebaran virus Covid-19), tidak perlu lagi ada penyekatan (di Suramadu),” ujar Eri di Gedung Negara Grahadi.” (Azmi, Usai Didemo, Wali Kota Eri Usulkan Penyekatan Tingkat Desa ke Gubernur, 2021)

““I have conveyed to the Governor, what (the demonstrators) want is almost the same as what the Governor has directed. So, later we will carry out security in the area to the village, hamlet level, it is guarded. If it is running, and it is sloping (the rate of spread of the Covid-19 virus), there is no need for insulation (in Suramadu),” said Eri at the Grahadi State Building.” (Azmi, Usai Didemo, Wali Kota Eri Usulkan Penyekatan Tingkat Desa ke Gubernur, 2021)

Not only to the authorities above him but Eri Cahyadi also shows that he is a leader who cares about his people. When the Delta variant became epidemic in Surabaya, many places were converted into isolation facilities for sufferers, one of which was the Surabaya Hajj Dormitory. The dormitory, which is usually used as a quarantine center for prospective Umrah and Hajj pilgrims, has been transformed into an isolation facility for residents who are confirmed positive for Covid-19 but have no symptoms. The following is a form of Eri Cahyadi's concern for its citizens as written in the online media Suarasurabayanet:

“Warga yang menyadari bahwa Wali Kota Surabaya turut mengikuti senam pagi pun menunjukkan semangat dan antusiasme yang tinggi. Mereka terlihat begitu ceria dan bersungguh-sungguh melahap semua gerakan yang dipraktekkan oleh instruktur senam pagi hari itu. Orang nomor satu di lingkungan Pemerintah Kota Surabaya itu juga sempat memimpin gerakan senam. Gerakannya luwes, meskipun pada saat itu dia sedang menggunakan APD lengkap” (Roosa M. , 2021)

“Residents who realized that the Mayor of Surabaya participated in the morning exercise also showed high enthusiasm and enthusiasm. They looked so cheerful and earnestly devoured all the movements practiced by the gymnastics instructor that morning. The number one person in the Surabaya City Government environment also had time to lead the gymnastics movement. His movements are flexible, even though at that time he was wearing full PPE” (Roosa M. , 2021)

Like the proverb that says, "It takes two to Tango", shows that in running a government, collaboration is needed among its members. A leader must be a partner for his staff and also especially for the community. The rules that have been written will not be able to be applied to the lowest levels of society if there are no movers and their teams that can

coordinate with each other. Eri Cahyadi tries to be a driving force for the Central Government's efforts to stop the spread of the Covid-19 virus by actively communicating with the Regional and Provincial Governments to find strategies that can be applied in Surabaya and its surroundings. The efforts don't stop there. Socialization by going directly to the community, reviewing facilities and activities in the field, made Eri Cahyadi understand very well how his policies have an impact on the community. It is appropriate that the city of Surabaya under the leadership of Eri Cahyadi will not suffer the same fate as the United States under the leadership of Trump and North Korea under the leadership of Kim Jong-Un.

Conclusion

There are no leaders in the world ready for a pandemic. During the year, leaders all around the world had their opportunity to demonstrate their adaptability, flexibility, and humanity to save their citizen from the deadly attack of the Covid-19 virus. Covid-19 is a big test of leadership act for State Leaders to prove their oath to solve all, without exception, the problems that are currently and will be faced by the country. The media is the supervisor and also the “awards” provider in the form of news sentiments that they write based on what they see.

Eri Cahyadi, who replaced Tri Rismaharini, whose is already has a strong image in the community, in the midst of his efforts to deal with Covid-19 in the City of Surabaya had the opportunity to prepare himself to become a new leader. Moreover, his predecessors had prepared a scheme to deal with the pandemic and adequate coordination between related agencies to continue after the change of leader. However, when the transmission cases had decreased until April this year, the Delta variant emerged and attacked more ferociously. Eri Cahyadi was also highlighted by the media because of the skyrocketing Covid-19 cases in the city of Surabaya. Although the sentiment of the Brand24 application tends to be negative, it turns out that the news about Eri Cahyadi's leadership when examined with Michel Foucault's discourse analysis turns out that the language used by the media in reporting tends to be positive. Eri Cahyadi is recognized as a young leader who can collaborate both with Regional Leaders and the community and is responsive in responding to the needs of his citizens while struggling with the Delta variant.

This research opens a new window on the representation of leadership during the Covid-19 pandemic, how a leader is highlighted by the media and what label is attached to them as a decision maker. However, this study has not been able to measure the community's response to types of leadership during the Covid-19 pandemic or measure the success of their leaders in overcoming the Delta variant. It is hoped that further research can focus on this issue.

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NEWS IN ONLINE MEDIA AND ITS EFFECTS ON MILLENNIAL OPINION

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Abstract

Media coverage shapes the audience's familiarity as media consumers with an event, organization, location, or person. Media that emphasizes reporting on an event, organization, location, or person can make the audience think it is essential so that what is considered essential for the media is also crucial for the community. Agenda-setting theory applies to all media types, including online or technology-based media, has a flexible, interactive character, and can function privately and publicly because it uses the internet. Therefore, many figures or ordinary people want to be reported in the media to be famous, especially among millennials. This study wants to verify the relationship between news in online media as measured by four indicators, namely actual, factual, prominent, and attractive, with millennial opinions. Therefore the research method used is a quantitative explanation. The partial regression test found that the frequency and duration of conveying prominent elements in the news will significantly influence the opinion of the millennial generation. Consequently, the news must be about a figure known to the public; the figure has abilities that many people have recognized, the information conveyed concerns common interests, and the impact of this news affects people's lives.

Keywords: news, online media, opinion, millennials, agenda-setting

Introduction

In 2024, Indonesia will hold presidential and general elections simultaneously. Although it will still be held in 3 years, the relevant parties have begun to prepare for its implementation.

The government proposes to the General Elections Commission (KPU) and the House of Representatives (DPR) that the presidential and general elections take place on 15 May 2024 as the most reasonable date (kompas.com, 27 September 2021). However, the two agencies have not agreed on the implementation date proposed by the government because of the pros and cons conveyed by various parties (Tim detik.com, 29 September 2021). It does not mean that presidential candidates and candidates for members of the people's representative council do not need to prepare their political campaigns to achieve their desired goals later.

The COVID-19 pandemic has had a significant impact on various aspects of people's lives. To prevent the spread of contagion, activities that can bring together many people simultaneously are now limited. The impact of Covid-19 was also felt in the 2020 Regional Head Elections (Pilkada 2020), which were held simultaneously during the Covid-19 pandemic. Based on the results of a survey conducted by Saiful Mujani Research and Consulting, 86 percent of residents considered the 2020 elections to be honest and fair (Tim detik.com, 17 December 2020). Meanwhile, regarding the campaign period in the 2020 Pilkada, the Ministry of Home Affairs emphasized that candidates for regional heads in campaigning must comply with health protocols by wearing masks, maintaining distance, and avoiding crowds (Hariyanto, 2020). In addition, candidate pairs are encouraged to conduct online or virtual campaigns by prioritizing messages containing the handling of Covid-19 in their campaign materials. President Joko Widodo, in a Limited Meeting with

the agenda of the Covid-19 Handling Committee Report and National Economic Recovery on 23 November 2020, stated that all activities that violate the Covid-19 health protocol must be dealt with firmly the authorities (Dharmastuti, 2020).

The campaign model applied in the 2020 Pilkada requires candidates to campaign virtually and restricts direct campaigns to avoid crowds. Related to this, the KPU specifically regulates it in KPU Regulation Number 13 of 2020, which explains the implementation of regional elections in conditions of non-natural disasters because the Covid-19 pandemic prohibits holding music concerts or activities that invite many people during the campaign period. Candidates are required to run online campaigns through social media and online media.

The campaign through virtual media is considered the right step to be carried out when the spread of Covid-19 is still high. The application of this campaign model received a positive response from many parties, thus encouraging candidates to maximize online campaigns in this election. The application of the online campaign model also aims to prevent the emergence of new clusters of Covid-19 transmission due to crowds during the campaign period. Campaign terms through social networks must be two-way and open to anyone so that users can participate, discuss, share, interact, collaborate, and create community-based content. However, the Election Supervisory Body (Bawaslu) revealed that 253 candidate pairs (43 percent) chose face-to-face campaigns. Meanwhile, campaigns through social media only reported 64 activities, or 11 percent, and online campaigns only had 41 activities, or only 7 percent of all activities carried out during the 2020 regional head election campaign (Azzahra, 2020).

During the Covid-19 pandemic, candidates for regional heads are required to use online media in their political campaigns. *Online media* is defined as a product of technology-mediated communication shared with digital computers (Creeber & Martin, 2009). Media that uses the internet, is technology-based, is flexible, has the potential to be interactive, and functions privately and publicly is another definition of online media (Mondry, 2008). According to Dennis McQuail (2011), online media is included in the category of new media. *New media* is more interactive media and gives autonomy to internet accessors to become active audiences; even in certain circumstances, media audiences have an "equal" position with journalists. The influence of the new media can be seen from the change in information channels from traditional media to online media (Fidler, 2003).

A politician often uses the media to reach constituents. The media used to spread the candidates' message to voters often followed the development of communication technology that occurred at that time. Communication technology results in media availability in various forms such as television, radio, magazine, the internet, newspaper. In political advertising research, evidence of the successful use of multiple channels is scarce. When channel differences have been investigated, the results show that the apparent differences are complicated by the interaction between the source and channel variables. Some candidates seem to do better on one medium, some on another (Cohen, 1976). New communication technology has changed how many people gather news and participate in politics in the past decade. Politicians used the media to win the hearts of their constituents, following the development of communications technology at the time.

The news media can influence how citizens think about politics and how they evaluate political candidates. Kahn (1991) researched intending to examine news coverage of 24 Senate campaigns from 1984 and 1986. The results suggest that news coverage of U.S. Senate races is far from homogeneous: specific Senate candidates, in certain states, at certain times, receive far more press attention than other candidates. Similarly, the pattern of campaign coverage in Senate races is radically different from presidential campaign

coverage. At the presidential level, the discussion of the horse race far exceeds the discussion of the candidates' policy positions. At the Senate level, issues are emphasized in the news, and the horse race receives far less attention. This difference in press emphasis may encourage voters to use different criteria when voting for president and U.S. senator. In particular, viability concerns may play a more central role in evaluations of presidential candidates, and policy evaluations may be more consequential for evaluations of Senate candidates.

In 1996, the internet was a new political communication tool. Over this time, a growing portion of the population has chosen to learn about and contribute to political life through digital technologies (Howard, 2005). The internet emerged as a tool for political campaigning in the mid-1990s. The evolution of the internet started with a political party or candidate websites then spread into a myriad of interactive, multimedia, and user-generated social networking sites (Williamson, 2010). The emergence of the second-generation internet characterized by social media in 2003 continues as a medium to reach voters in disseminating political information (Bimber & Davis, 2003). Changes in communications technology play an essential role in influencing voting behavior in elections (Kahne & Middaugh, 2012).

From not knowing to know after consuming media can be considered one type of media effect. According to Graber (1980), people exposed to the mass media already possess a fund of knowledge and attitudes, which they bring to bear on new information. Political information in the media that many people look for is on candidates and campaigns (Kim & Vishak, 2008). Exposure to political information on television and political websites is likely to increase people's campaign interest (Bartels & Rahn, 2000). Interest, in turn, affects turnout even when one controls for political knowledge (Verba, Scholzman, & Brady, 1995). Media use (television and newspapers) increases political knowledge, efficacy, and even voter turnout (McLeod & McDonald, 1985). Sunstein (2001) has proposed that people's increasing ability to customize their political information will polarize democracy as media users become less likely to encounter information that challenges their partisan viewpoints.

Charnley (1975) defines *news* as the fastest report of factual, prominent, and attractive events for most readers and concern their interests. News is something or someone seen by the media as a subject that deserves to be reported. Romli (2005) suggests the elements of news value: 1) Actual means that the news contains the latest, newest, hottest, recent, or happening elements. The latest understanding can be the latest facts found from an old event or an event that just happened. 2) Factual is an event that happened or is a fact and not manipulation, fantasy, or composition. Facts in the news are obtained from an actual event, opinion, or statement. 3) Prominent that can be measured based on: first, the figures involved in the news are influential figures or have capacities that the community has recognized. Second, news material concerns the interests of many people and affects the condition of society. 4) Attractive, which creates curiosity and interest from the public to listen to the news contents. Attractive events and interest to the public are usually entertaining, strange, have an element of closeness, contain human values, contain elements of sex, crime, and conflict.

Regarding the news in the media, McCombs and Shaw (1972) says that if the media puts pressure on an event, the media will influence the audience to consider the event prominent. The process by which the relative attention given to an item or issue in news coverage affects the ranking order of public awareness of the issue and the attribution of significance as an extension, effect on public policy can occur (McQuail, 2011). This process became known as the Agenda-Setting theory. Agenda-Setting theory explains that the media set the agenda for the public, the media tell the public what is prominent by

reporting the news several times, and if not reporting, it means that something or someone is not essential. Agenda-Setting theory states that the media exert influence on their users in this way.

Agenda-Setting theory initially focused on the issue of political import. Maxwell McCombs and Donald Shaw (1972) initially stated that the mass media create an agenda through their choices about what will become news, and this agenda influences public perceptions of what is prominent. At the beginning of their study, McCombs and Shaw hypothesized a reciprocal relationship between the media agenda and the public agenda by stating that the media agenda would become the public agenda. McCombs and Shaw found a near-perfect correlation between the rankings of five issues on the media agenda as measured by content analysis of election campaign media coverage. McCombs and Shaw call this transfer of salience from the media agenda to the public agenda the agenda-setting effect of mass communication (McCombs & Bell, 1996, p. 96).

There are three basic assumptions of agenda-setting theory: 1) the media sets the agenda, thus reflects reality, shapes, and filters reality for the public. 2) The concentration of the media on specific issues becomes their agenda influencing the public agenda, and these two things together influence the agenda of policymakers, and 3) The public and policymakers can be influenced by the media agenda (West & Turner, 2020). Based on these assumptions, accordingly, the media shape and filter the reality that occurs around us. We may not be aware of it, but the media constantly forms our lens to understand and picture our social reality. The media package information in a certain way, determining how we will receive information and the extent to which it reaches us. The media focus on issues that form an agenda and, in turn, influence the public agenda and then the agendas of decision-makers. There is a relationship between the three elements (the media, the public, and those who have a role in making decisions); the media will likely initiate an agenda because of the influence (coercion) brought by the other two elements.

The mass media, including new media (internet), develop issues based on events in a society that ultimately shape public opinion. *Public opinion* is defined as the average opinion of individuals in a society due to indirect discussions to solve social problems, especially those transmitted by the media (Arifin, 2008). From this understanding, public opinion is the opinion, attitude, feeling, prediction, stance, and expectation of the average individual group in society, about something related to the public interest or social issues. Public opinion results from interaction, discussion, or social assessment between individuals based on a conscious and rational exchange of thoughts expressed orally and in writing. The issues or problems discussed result from what is reported by the mass media (print and electronic media). Forming public opinion begins with four determining factors: cultural background, past experiences, values held, and news that develops (Ruslan, 2005). These four things then form perceptions which will later form the components of opinion. Opinions that have passed the new consensus process will become public opinion.

Then how is the opinion of the millennial generation formed from the news conveyed by the media, especially news about politics in online media? Young people are often seen as indifferent and apathetic towards politics. The presence of new media has paved the way for the reconceptualization of political engagement, especially among youth. Young people see that engaging in participatory politics by doing activities such as status updates, tweeting, sharing, and posting comments is a way to get involved. The internet reduces barriers to participation and thereby reduces social inequalities in public life (Astuti & Hangsing, 2016). In addition, the factors of political knowledge, political experience, educational background, level of political interest, and strength of partisanship are also factors that encourage someone to participate in politics (Dalager, 1996). This statement is also in line with the behavioral theory of political participation, which states

that voters' social and economic characteristics, education, and income are the most critical variables in explaining whether someone chooses (Tolbert and McNeal, 2003). Well-educated citizens are somehow stimulated to be interested in political issues. Increased media exposure to candidates and greater personal contact with voters can also increase voters' knowledge of political information (Astuti & Hangsing, 2016).

In 2014, according to the General Elections Commission (KPU), the number of young voters in the 2014 elections reached 11 percent of the 186 million people who had the right to vote. This number increased compared to the two previous elections. In 2004, the number of young voters was around 27 million out of 147 million people (18.4 percent). Meanwhile, in the 2009 election, there were around 36 million voters out of 171 million people (21 percent). From the 2019 election voter list, voters aged 20 years amounted to 17.5 million people, while those aged 21-30 reached 42.8 million people. These two age groups make up about 32 percent of the total electorate. In the 2024 election, the number of millennials and Generation Z voters is estimated to increase to 60% of the total number of voters. A large number of young voters is certainly a common concern of all parties because they are a group that tends to be apolitical (Ananda, 2021).

The internet has become an inseparable part of the millennial generation. Research conducted by the Association of Indonesian Internet Service Providers (APJII) in 2017 found that almost half of the total internet users in Indonesia are in the age group 19-34 years (49.52%) and the age group 13-18 years (16.68%). However, based on the IDN Research Institute survey, television is still the most widely used media by the millennial generation (97%), followed by digital media in second place (54.5%). The themes frequently accessed by millennials on digital media are the latest information accessed by 70.4%, followed by lifestyle information accessed by 31.5%, sports news accessed by 24.9%, political news 8.9%, and economic news 7.6%. The average millennial generation uses the internet daily for 4-6 hours, and this behavior belongs to heavy users (IDN Research Institute, 2019).

From various studies on the media, mass media influences people's lives. Media can influence how users think and evaluate something. Through the media, users gain the knowledge and understanding to shape their perceptions. Furthermore, media framing events significantly affect how those events are expected to impact voters' decisions. Based on the results of this study proves the influence of the media on a person. Unfortunately, the influence of online media content on a person's opinion, especially those related to political or election issues, is still little researched before. The absence of previous research has prompted researchers to examine the relationship between news in online media about politics and the opinion of the millennial generation.

This study wants to verify the relationship between news in online media with millennial opinions. Therefore the research method used is a quantitative explanation. The hypothesis to be tested is that news in online media affects the opinion of the millennial generation. The definition of *news* in online media is the fastest report of actual or current events, real, influential, concerning their interests, and of interest to most users delivered in media using the internet. While public opinion is the point of view, attitude, feeling, prediction, stance, and hope of the average individual group in society, about something related to the public interest or social issues.

The news in the online media that was researched was the dramatic action of President Joko Widodo (Jokowi), who rode the motorbike of the Presidential Security Forces at the 2018 Asian Games Opening Ceremony. Jokowi's dramatic action at the opening of the 2018 Asian Games caused major online media in Indonesia such as Kompas.com, Detik.com, Liputan6.com, Beritasatu.com, Metrotvnews.com, Tempo.com, and Tribunnews.com, convey this information in their media. Meanwhile, online media

that delivered the news about Jokowi's dramatic action at the opening of the 2018 Asian Games focused only on Detik.com because Detik.com published the news by linking Jokowi's actions as political advertisements to win the 2019 Presidential Election. The news on Detik.com emphasizes various criticisms received by Jokowi because the action was said to be Jokowi's deliberate action to carry out a political campaign by forming an image as a stylish figure as a young figure person. Several parties also said that Jokowi took this action to take and attract a large number of millennials during the 2019 Presidential Election (Putri, 2018). In addition, Detik.com is the most popular media among the millennial generation based on a survey conducted by the IDN Times Indonesia Millennials Report (IDN Research Institute, 2019).

The survey became a research method, and researchers collected data by distributing questionnaires directly to 407 respondents to ask them to fill out a self-administered questionnaire. The probability sampling technique is used in this study so that each element in the population has the same opportunity to be a sample. This research uses stratified sampling. The assigned strata are eleven 'A' accredited universities in DKI Jakarta (BAN-PT, 2019). The reason for choosing this stratum is because this research requires the perspective of each research respondent, and the researcher believes that by using respondents from universities accredited 'A,' the level of truth and opinions written in the questionnaire can be more accountable than universities with accreditation levels other than 'A.'

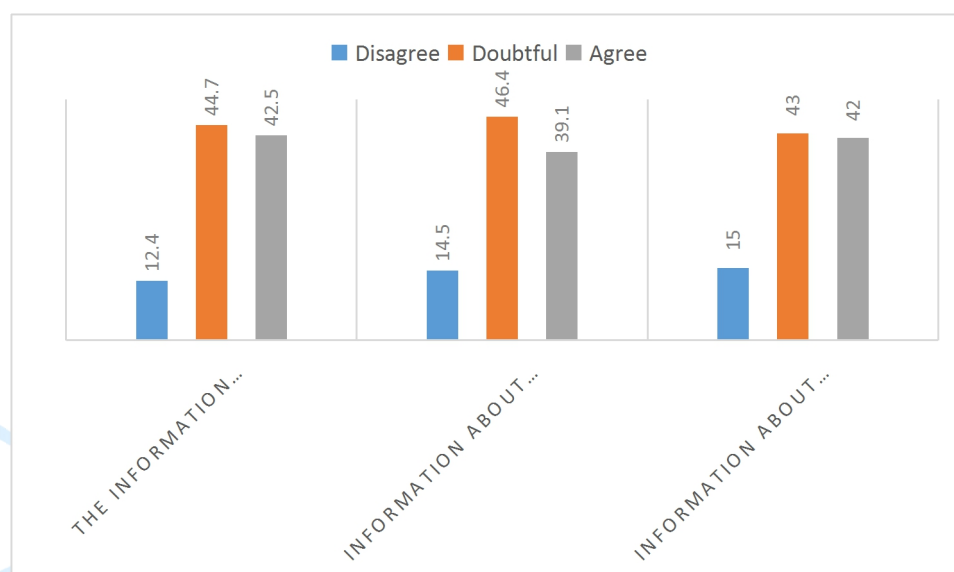
Simple regression analysis will be used in this study to determine the effect of news conveyed in online media on millennial generation opinions. In this study, each independent variable indicator (X) is actual, factual, prominent, and attractive, then measured which one has the most significant influence on the opinion of the millennial generation using partial regression calculations.

Result and Discussion

Findings

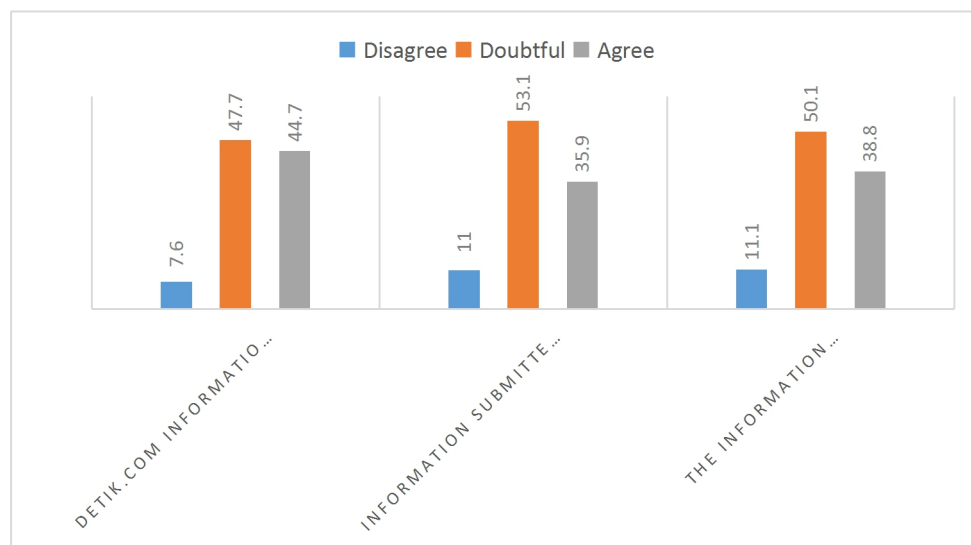
Frequency tabulation as research findings on the news in online media variables (X) is measured using four indicators: actual, factual, prominent, and attractive, as shown in Figure 1-4.

Figure 1 Frequency of Actual Indicators of News in Online Media Variables (X1)



Three dimensions are used to measure the actual indicators on the news variable in online media: first, "the information presented is new (updated)," 182 respondents (44.7%) expressed doubt that the information presented was current or updated, 173 respondents (42.5%) agree, and 52 respondents (12.4%) disagree. The second dimension is "information conveyed about issues that are being discussed in the public," 189 respondents (46.4%) expressed doubt, 159 respondents (39.1%) agreed, and 59 respondents (14.5%) disagreed that The information presented in the online media Detik.com is indeed about issues that are being discussed in the community. For the third dimension, "information presented is about issues that have recently occurred," 175 respondents (43%) expressed doubt that the information presented was indeed about issues that had recently occurred, 171 respondents (42%) agreed, and 61 respondents (15%) disagree.

Figure 2 Frequency of Factual Indicators of News in Online Media Variables (X2)



Three dimensions are also a measure of factual indicators, as can be seen in Figure 2. The first dimension is "the information presented by Detik.com has credibility," in this regard, 182 respondents (44.7%) agreed, 194 respondents (47.7%) expressed doubt, and 31 respondents (7.6%) disagreed. The second dimension is "information presented based on opinions or statements from trusted sources," the result is that 216 respondents (53.1%) expressed doubt, 146 respondents (35.9%) agreed, and 45 respondents (11%) disagreed. The third dimension is "the news is not fabricated or based on real events," 204 respondents (50.1%) expressed doubt, 158 respondents (38.8%) agreed, and 45 respondents (11.1%) disagreed.

The third indicator is prominent, and there are four dimensions to measure this indicator: first, "the figures discussed in the news are important figures in the community," the result is 229 respondents (56.3%) agree, 157 respondents (38.6%) express doubt - undecided, and 21 respondents (5.1%) who disagree. For the second dimension, "the figures discussed have capacities that have been recognized by the community," 196 respondents (48.2%) expressed doubt, 177 respondents (43.5%) agreed, and 34 respondents (8.4%) disagreed. The third dimension of the prominent indicator is "the information presented concerns the interests of the people," 185 respondents (45.5%) expressed doubt while 152 respondents (37.3%) agreed and 70 respondents (17.2%) disagreed. The last dimension on the prominent indicator is "the information presented affects many people," 168 respondents (41.3%) disagreed, 157 respondents (38.6%)

expressed doubt, followed by 82 respondents (20.1%) who agreed that the news affects their lives.

Figure 3 Frequency of Prominent Indicators of News in Online Media Variables (X3)

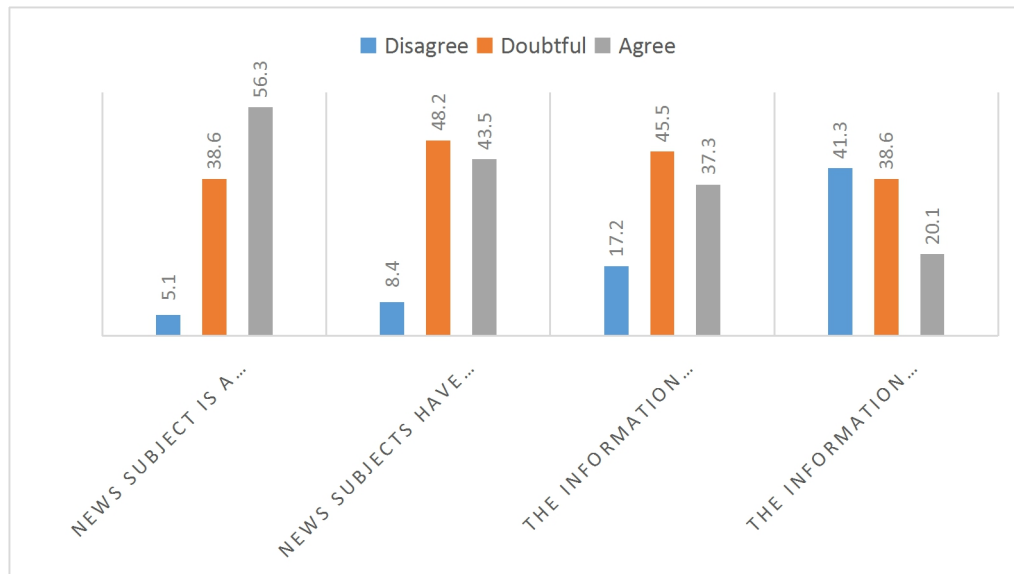
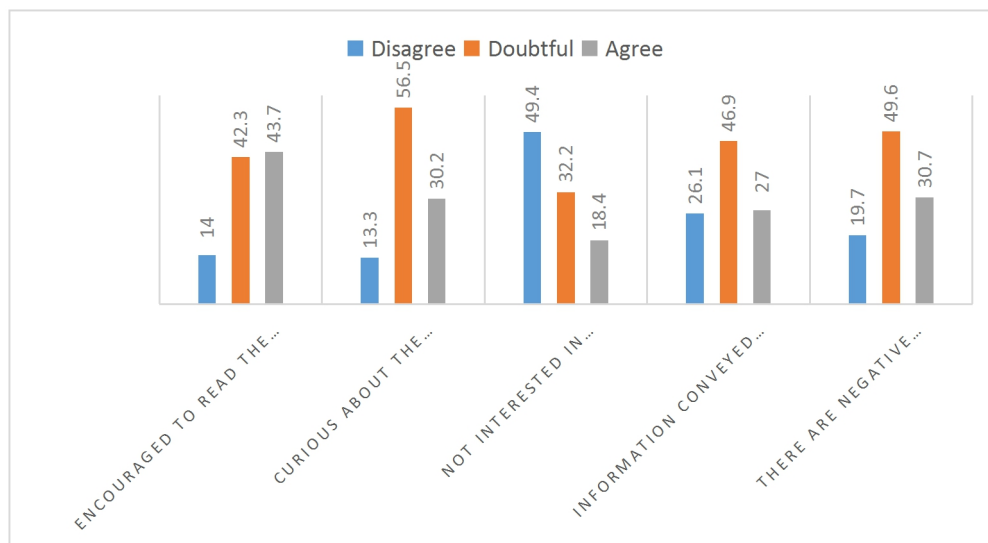


Figure 4 Frequency of Attractive Indicators of News in Online Media Variables (X4)

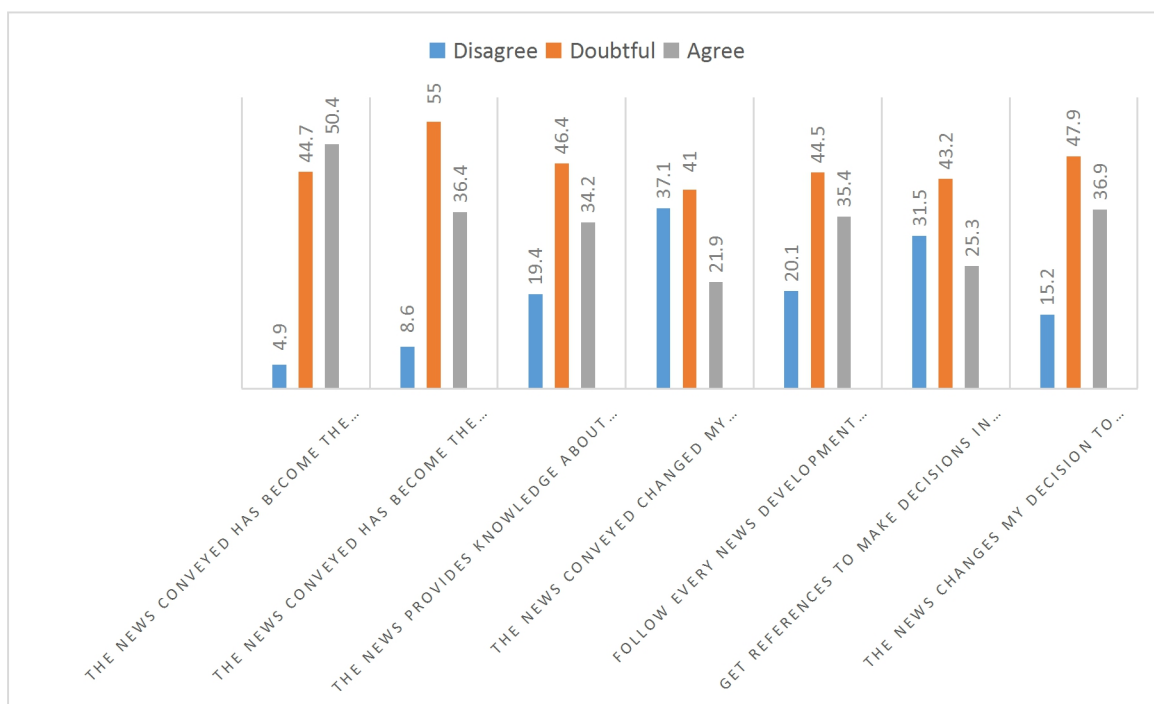


The last news indicator is attractive and has five dimensions: first, "I feel compelled to read the news," 178 respondents (43.7%) agreed, 172 respondents (42.3%) expressed doubt and 57 respondents (14%) who disagreed that they felt compelled to read the news. While the second dimension is "I feel curious about the information presented," 230 respondents (56.5%) expressed doubt, 123 respondents (30.2%) agreed, and 54 respondents (13.3%) disagreed. For the third dimension, "I am not interested in reading the contents of the news," 201 respondents (49.4%) expressed interest, 131 respondents (32.2%) expressed doubt, and 75 respondents (18.4%) stated they were not interested in consuming the news further. The fourth dimension, "the information presented occurs around me," 191 respondents (46.9%) expressed doubt, 110 respondents (27%) agreed, and

106 respondents (26.1%) disagreed. For the fifth dimension, "there are negative statements or conflicts that are tried to form in the news," 202 respondents (49.6%) expressed doubt, 125 respondents (30.7%) agreed, then 80 respondents (19.7%) said they did not agree.

Two indicators are used to measure the Opinion variable (Y): 1) cognition or opinion based on understanding and reasoning results, and 2) affection, feelings, or emotions. There are seven dimensions to measure cognition indicators: first, "I believe that the news has become a talk among politicians," 205 respondents (50.4%) expressed confidence, 182 respondents (44.7%) expressed doubt, and 20 respondents (4.9%) expressed disbelief. The second dimension is "I believe that the news has become a conversation among the public," 224 respondents (55%) expressed doubt, 148 respondents (36.4%) agreed, and 35 respondents (8.6%) said they did not believe it. The third dimension is "the news provides knowledge about Jokowi's character," 189 respondents (46.4%) expressed doubt if the news presented could provide knowledge about Jokowi's character as one of the 2019 Presidential Election Candidates, Joko Widodo, 139 respondents (34.2%) stated agree, and 79 respondents (19.4%) disagree. The fourth dimension in the opinion variable (Y) is "the news changes respondents' views on Jokowi's character," 167 respondents (41%) expressed doubt if the news presented changed their views on the character of Candidate Joko Widodo, 151 respondents (37.1%) disagree, and 89 respondents (21.9%) who agree. For the fifth dimension, "I follow every news development related to Jokowi as a candidate for the 2019 Presidential Election," 181 respondents (44.5%) expressed doubt, 144 respondents (35.4%) agreed, and 82 respondents (20.1%) disagreed. The sixth dimension is "I use this information as a reference regarding the decision to choose Jokowi in the 2019 Presidential Election," 176 respondents (43.2%) expressed doubt, 128 respondents (31.5%) disagreed, and 103 respondents (25.3%) expressed agreed. The seventh dimension in the cognitive indicator is "the news changes the respondents' desire not to vote for Jokowi in the 2019

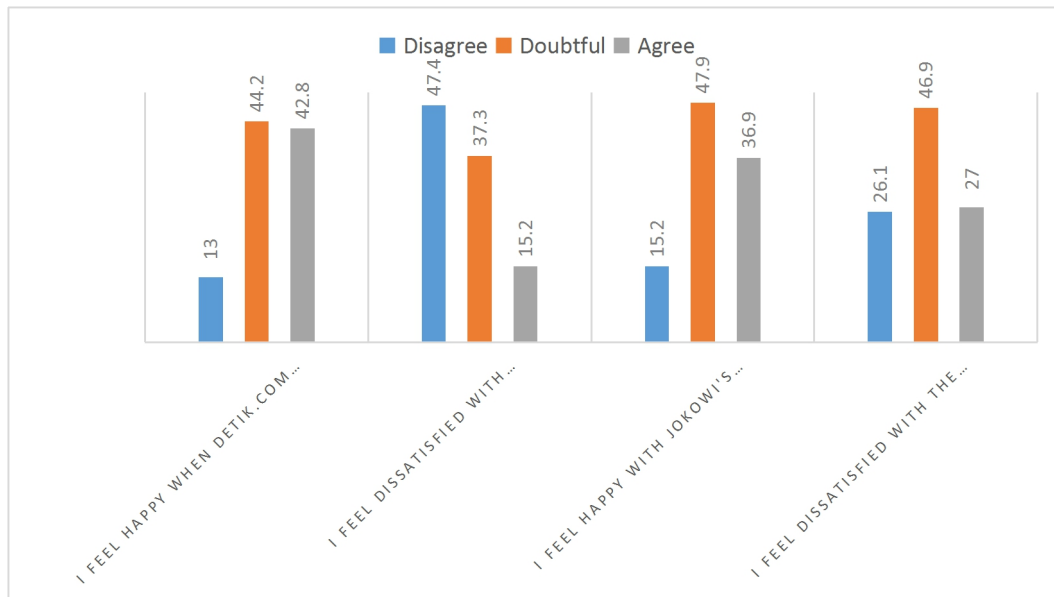
Figure 5 Frequency of Cognition Indicators of Millennial Generation Opinion Variables (Y1)



The fourth dimension in the opinion variable (Y) is "the news changes respondents' views on Jokowi's character," 167 respondents (41%) expressed doubt if the news presented changed their views on the character of Candidate Joko Widodo, 151 respondents (37.1%) disagree, and 89 respondents (21.9%) who agree. For the fifth dimension, "I follow every news development related to Jokowi as a candidate for the 2019 Presidential Election," 181 respondents (44.5%) expressed doubt, 144 respondents (35.4%) agreed, and 82 respondents (20.1%) disagreed. The sixth dimension is "I use this information as a reference regarding the decision to choose Jokowi in the 2019 Presidential Election," 176 respondents (43.2%) expressed doubt, 128 respondents (31.5%) disagreed, and 103 respondents (25.3%) expressed agreed. The seventh dimension in the cognitive indicator is "the news changes the respondents' desire not to vote for Jokowi in the 2019

Presidential Election," 225 respondents (47.9%) expressed doubt if the news presented changed their desire not to vote for the candidate Joko Widodo in the 2019 Presidential Election, 126 respondents (36.9%) agreed, and 56 respondents (15.2%) disagreed.

Figure 6 Frequency of Affection Indicators of Millennial Generation Opinion Variables (Y2)



In Figure 6, affective indicators on the millennial generation's opinion variable are measured using four dimensions. The first dimension, "I feel happy when Detik.com reports Joko Widodo," 180 respondents (44.2%) expressed doubt if they felt happy when Detik.com reported the 2019 Presidential Election Candidate, Joko Widodo, 174 respondents (42.8%) said they were happy, and 53 respondents (13%) said they were not happy. The second dimension is "I feel dissatisfied with Jokowi's character as a motorized figure," 193 respondents (47.4%) said they were happy, 152 respondents (37.3%) expressed doubt, and 62 respondents (15.2%) said they were not happy. The third dimension is "I feel happy with Jokowi's character as a millennial figure," 195 respondents (47.9%) expressed doubt, 150 respondents (36.9%) said they were happy, then there were 62 respondents (15.2%) said they were not happy. The last dimension or the fourth dimension is 163 respondents (46.9%) expressed doubt if they were happy with the news presented that Jokowi's action in the Opening of the 2018 Asian Games is one of the campaign advertisement to win the 2019 Presidential Election, 147 respondents (27%) said they were happy, and 97 respondents (26.1%) said they were not happy.

Table 1 Mean Score and Overall Mean Score of News in Online Media Variables (X) and Millennial Generation Opinion Variables (Y)

Variables	Mean Score	Overall Mean Score	Explanation
News in Media <i>Online</i>	46.71	3.12	Agree
Millennial Generation's Opinion	32.65	2.97	Doubtful

Overall Mean Score (OMS) on the news in online media variable (X) is 3.12, which means that the average respondent's answer regarding the X variable is to agree that the news in the online media Detik.com is actual, factual, prominent, and attractive. Meanwhile, on the opinion variable (Y), the Overall Mean Score (OMS) is 2.97, which means that respondents doubt that the news delivered by Detik.com affects their cognition (opinions based on understanding and reasoning results) and affection (feelings or emotions) as can be seen in Table 1.

Table 2 shows the correlation between variables X and Y and the degree of strength of the relationship between the two variables. Based on the Pearson Product Moment correlation calculation, the correlation coefficient (r) between the news in the online media Detik.com as a variable X and opinion of the millennial generation as the Y variable is 0.580 with a significance level of 0.000. This result means that the relationship between these two variables is moderate because it is in the 0.40 - 0.599 correlation rating scale (Sugiyono, 2017).

Table 2 Pearson Product Moment Correlation Output
Correlations

		Pemberitaan Media Online	Opini Pemilih Pemula
Pemberitaan Media Online	Pearson Correlation	1	,580**
	Sig. (2-tailed)		,000
	N	407	407
Opini Pemilih Pemula	Pearson Correlation	,580**	1
	Sig. (2-tailed)	,000	
	N	407	407

**. Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).

Researchers used the coefficient of determination to determine the percentage of influence between news variables in online media and millennial opinions. The correlation value of the two variables is 0.580 or 58%, which means the news variable in online media has a moderate relationship with the opinion of the millennial generation. Furthermore, the R square or the coefficient of determination shows 0.336, which means that the opinion of the millennial generation is determined by news in online media by 33.6%, while other factors outside the variables studied to determine the rest (66.4%).

Table 3 Output Coefficient of Determination

Model Summary

Model	R	R Square	Adjusted R Square	Std. Error of the Estimate
1	,580 ^a	,336	,334	4,315

a. Predictors: (Constant), Pemberitaan Media Online

Furthermore, the researcher conducted a simple regression analysis to determine the effect of news variables in online media on the millennial generation's opinion variables, as shown in Table 4.

Table 4 Simple Regression Output

Coefficients ^a					
Model		Unstandardized Coefficients		Standardized Coefficients	t
		B	Std. Error	Beta	
1	(Constant)	8,613	1,693		5,086
	PemberitaanMediaOnline	,510	,036	,580	14,311

a. Dependent Variable: OpiniPemilihPemula

Formula simple regression analysis is:

$$Y = a + bX$$

$$= 8.613 + 0.51X$$

The analysis using a simple regression formula is the regression coefficient of the news in online media variable (X) is 0.51, which means that for every additional news value of one unit, the opinion of the millennial generation will increase by 0.51. In addition, the regression coefficient is positive, so there is an increase in the news in the online media variable (X), the millennial generation opinion variable (Y) will also increase.

Furthermore, a partial regression calculation is used to find out the indicators in the news in online media variable (X) that are the most dominant or have the most significant influence on the millennial generation opinion variable (Y). The news in online media variable (X) analyzed consists of four indicators: actual, factual, prominent, and attractive.

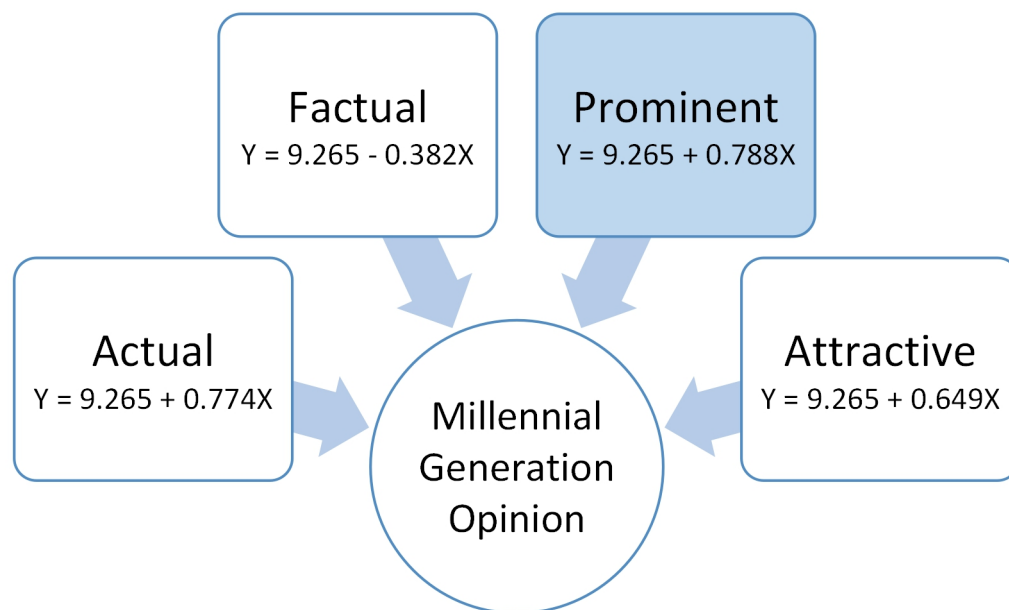
Table 5 Partial Test Output Indicators of News in Online Media Variables (X) against Millennial Generation Opinion Variables (Y)

Coefficients ^a					
Model		Unstandardized Coefficients		Standardized Coefficients	t
		B	Std. Error	Beta	
1	(Constant)	9,265	1,669		5,553
	Total_DimensiA	,774	,133	,291	5,817
	Total_DimensiF	-,382	,166	-,117	-2,307
	Total_DimensiP	,788	,135	,285	5,847
	Total_DimensiM	,649	,095	,307	6,821

a. Dependent Variable: TotalY

Figure 7 shows the results of the partial regression test of actual, factual, prominent, and attractive indicators on the news in online media variable (X) against the millennial generation opinion variable (Y). The most significant indicator is the prominent indicator with a regression coefficient of 0.788 and is positive, which means that every increase in units of the prominent indicator can increase the opinion of the millennial generation by 0.788. The actual indicator becomes the second influencing indicator with a regression coefficient of 0.774 and is positive, which means that every increase in units of the actual indicator will increase the opinion of the millennial generation by 0.774. The regression coefficient for attractive indicators is 0.649 and is positive, meaning that if there is an increase in the units of attractive indicators, it will increase the opinion of the millennial generation by 0.649. While the indicator with the minor effect is the factual indicator with a regression coefficient of -0.382 and is negative, every time there is an increase in the units of the factual indicator, it can reduce the opinion of the millennial generation by 0.382.

Figure 7 Partial Regression Test Results Indicators of News in Online Media Variables (X) Against Millennial Generation Opinion Variables (Y)



Finally, the analysis used a t-test to determine whether the news in the online media variable (X) significantly affected the millennial generation opinion variable (Y). A t-test was conducted by comparing t-count with t-table or whether the significance value was <0.05 . The results are presented in Table 4 above. The hypotheses proposed in this study:

H0 : There is no influence of news of Jokowi's actions in the 2018 Asian Games Opening Ceremony on the online media Detik.com on the opinion of the millennial generation

H1 : There is influence news of Jokowi's actions in the 2018 Asian Games Opening Ceremony on the online media Detik.com on the opinion of the millennial generation

Based on the calculations in table 4, the t value is $14,311 > 1.960$ (t table), with a significance of $0.000 < 0.05$. So the conclusion is H0 is rejected, and H1 is accepted, which means there is an influence on news of Jokowi's actions in the 2018 Asian Games Opening Ceremony on the online media Detik.com on the opinion of the millennial generation.

Discussion

Based on research data analysis, respondents' answers to each statement item on variable X have a mean score of 46.71 and an overall mean score of 3.12, which means that the average respondent agrees if the news in online media about Jokowi's actions at the Opening of the 2018 Asian Games in Jakarta is actual, factual, prominent and attractive news. In *actual* indicators, most respondents stated that the information conveyed was the latest news, reported issues are widely discussed by the public, and recently occurred. On *factual* indicators, most respondents stated that Detik.com is one of the online media that has credibility, the information presented is based on trusted sources, and the news submitted is not fabricated. While on *prominent* indicators, the majority of respondents stated that the source of the news conveyed on Detik.com was an important figure, the figure has abilities that the community has recognized, the information concerns the interests of many people, and the impact of this news can affect their condition. On *attractive* indicators, most respondents stated that they doubted that the information

made them motivated, curious, and interested in reading the news. These four indicators are indeed the characteristics of good news (Romli, 2005), so it can be concluded that the news in the online media Detik.com about Jokowi's actions at the 2018 Asian Games Opening Ceremony has excellent and decent news elements.

News that has actual, factual, prominent, and attractive elements as a minimum standard of good information for audience consumption because the function of the media is to meet user needs and satisfaction (McQuail, 1972 in West & Turner, 2020) which includes:

1. *The diversion*, which means people use media as an escape from daily routines or problems
2. *Personal relationships* fulfill needs that arise when people use the media to substitute friends or friendships.
3. *Personal identity* is the use of media to increase individual value.
4. *Surveillance* is information about how the media will help individuals achieve something.

Based on the function of the media, the audience uses the media to meet their needs. Therefore, to meet the audience's needs for actual, factual, prominent, and attractive information, the media must meet these indicators in every news submitted to the public. If the audience considers the news unable to meet the excellent news indicators, the audience will not want to consume the news because the news is considered unable to meet their needs, especially the need to obtain information that can help them achieve something (surveillance).

Analysis of the Y variable resulted in a mean score of 32.65 and an overall mean score of 2.97. This analysis means that most respondents feel doubtful that their opinions are formed due to the influence of news conveyed through online media. On the cognition dimension or a person's reasoning in assessing information, message, fact, and understanding related to their stance, most respondents stated that they believed the news conveyed in the online media Detik.com had become a conversation among politicians. However, they doubted that the news becomes a topic discussed in the community, can increase their knowledge about Jokowi's character, and change their views about Jokowi. The majority of respondents agree that they try to follow every news related to Jokowi, use the news as a reference for their decision to vote, but have doubts that they will change their desire not to vote for Jokowi in the 2019 Presidential Election after they read the news in the online media Detik.com. So it can be concluded that the news conveyed in the online media Detik.com has no influence on the level of their reasoning about Jokowi as a reported figure. While the affection indicator or evaluation based on a person's feelings or emotions can result in good or bad judgments, most respondents stated they were happy when Detik.com discussed Jokowi. They also were happy when Jokowi's character was described as a millennial figure and felt doubtful about the portrayal of Jokowi's character as a motorized figure and Jokowi's actions in the 2018 Asian Games Opening are his campaign actions for the 2019 Presidential Election.

Dalton, Beck, and Huckfeldt (1998) conducted a study that aims to look at the media's role in the national election campaign and at the same time want to know the persuasive effects; the press may exercise by providing evaluative cues about the candidates to voters. Moreover, after analyzing the data obtained through telephone interviews with 1,318 voters and conduct content analysis of the 46 newspapers, they draw the conclusion that the American press does not present clear and singular messages about presidential elections, but, somewhat shaped as much by an individual's political views as by the factual content. Furthermore, a newspaper's editorial content is significantly related to candidate preferences in 1992. These results challenge the interpretation of the minimal

effects of the media because local newspapers can play a significant role in providing cues that influence voters' electoral calculus.

The researcher conducted a partial regression test to find out the indicators in the news variable in online media (X) that have the most influence on the millennial generation (Y) opinion variable. The partial test results are that every increase in units in prominent can increase the opinion of the millennial generation by 0.788. So, the more critical the news, the millennial generation's opinion will increase significantly. This result proves that the most respondents will form their opinion significantly if they think the news conveyed in the online media includes figures who have the capacity and credibility that the community has recognized and if the news impacts the readers' lives. On the other hand, the factual indicators of the news have a negative influence because the more the news conveys has a factual element, the more the millennial generation's opinion will decrease. This calculation proves that the respondents did not experience a significant increase in opinion because of the factual elements of a news story. The majority of the responses expressed doubt on every statement about factual indicators. This hesitation certainly impacts their cognition factor, which means that most respondents feel doubtful that their reasoning is formed from the information submitted by the online media Detik.com. This statement can be understood because of the nature of online media that makes it easy for users to convey, edit, or receive information. Unfortunately, the ease of being a producer as well as a consumer in online media is the reason why the news conveyed in the online media is considered less credible and trustworthy, so it is not surprising that the majority of respondents answered doubtfully if their reasoning and knowledge was only formed through the information conveyed by the online media.

New media have become instruments that enable the provision of information and direct engagement. New media allow people to interact with other people without having to meet them. The new media changes the monologue model in traditional media, from one-to-many to a dialogical model of many-to-many communication. Aspects that determine new media are social, digital, multimedia, interactive, asynchronous, and narrowcast (Astuti & Hangsing, 2016). As digital media, new media is a form of media content that combines and integrates all types of data, text, sound, and images; stored in digital format and increasingly distributed over networks. With its various advantages, it is not surprising that new media can invite people to participate or take action. In addition, many experts say that the prominent uniqueness of new media compared to traditional media types is the interactivity that allows two-way communication, and users have the role of both consumers and producers in creating and sharing information (Brehm & Rahn, 1997). The uniqueness of this new media does not always bring benefits, especially regarding the credibility of the message conveyed. The ease of being a consumer and a producer in new media is also a drawback for new media because it means that the message conveyed in the new media is not always reliable and must be re-checked to ensure the truth of the information conveyed.

Another finding in this study is the coefficient of determination which states that news in the online media Detik.com influences the millennial generation's opinion of 33.6%, while other factors not examined by researchers determine the remaining 66.4%. The power of the media agenda is highly dependent on various factors such as the credibility of the media, the extent to which contradictory evidence is available to consumers, the media values, and the existence of a limited or partially effect on the message conveyed by the media (Sevenans, Walgrave, & Epping, 2016). Therefore, the public agenda will be swayed only by credible media sources, so the influence of content or news in the media only affects 33.6% of the millennial generation's opinions.

There is a correlation between the news in the online media Detik.com about Jokowi's actions in the 2018 Asian Games Opening against the opinion of the millennial generation, which is moderate. The correlation value is 0.580 in the range of 0.40 to 0.599 and has a significant level of 0.000. These results follow the answers of the majority of respondents on the opinion variable (Y), which states that respondents feel doubtful that their opinions are formed after consuming the news, so the effect is moderate. Lippmann, propaganda and public opinion figure and an influential columnist and adviser to the president, argued that the mass media are connected to the world outside and the images in our heads. According to Lippmann, events that occur in the world are created by the mass media, and how these events are reported shapes how people construct images of events in their minds (Fahmy, Bock, & Wanta, 2014). Although based on Lippman's view, the media influences one's opinion, this influence is determined mainly by how the media package the news it conveys to the public and the media's credibility as a reliable source of news.

The most widely discussed contingency condition in Agenda Setting theory is the need for guidance or orientation (McCombs, 2008). This factor explains why people sometimes do not adopt the media agenda due to the following factors: 1) *Relevance* is defined as the motivation to seek guidance or orientation on an issue from the media agenda and refers to how self-interest influences consumers' feelings about an issue. 2) *Uncertainty* is a factor that explains why someone seeks guidance regarding an issue from the media agenda. Uncertainty refers to how much information a person believes about an issue. These two variables work together to explain deviations that occur from the general principles of agenda-setting theory. If both relevance and uncertainty are high, then the agenda-setting must be predictive. If relevance and uncertainty are both low, then the contingency condition makes the theory more flexible.

Many researchers have investigated the political functions of the media, especially in connection with the impact that the media might have on voter turnout or the choice of candidate. While these effects are behavioral, they represent the end of a chain of influence that begins with the hypothesis that the mass media represent sources of information about politics (Toy, 1982). During political campaigns, the public is generally more attuned to political messages, and the media are a crucial source of information about election issues and events, and candidates themselves. Studies of media impact on electorates during political campaigns have comprised cross-sectional surveys conducted at one point. However, more often comprise repeat surveys either with different samples or with the same panel of respondents at critical points during the campaign period. A hundred studies have attempted to model and monitor the effects of persuasive communications. Many researchers have recently advocated that it is necessary to monitor the specific cognitive processes involved to understand better how communications affect the receiver.

Conclusion

Based on research findings and data analysis, it can be concluded that the news in the online media Detik.com influences the opinion of the millennial generation. The majority of respondents agree that the news in online media about Jokowi's actions in the 2018 Asian Games Opening Ceremony has actual, factual, prominent, and attractive elements. The frequency and duration of conveying prominent elements in the news will significantly influence the opinion of the millennial generation. The news must be about a figure known to the public, the figure has abilities that many people have recognized, the information conveyed concerns common interests, and the impact of this news affects people's lives to meet the prominent indicator. However, most respondents expressed doubts if their opinion was influenced by the news conveyed in the online media because the determinant coefficient of correlation between these two variables was moderate (only

33.6%), and other factors influenced the rest (66.4%). Other factors such as the media's credibility, the extent to which evidence contradicting the information conveyed by the media is available to consumers, people know the values of the media and the public's need for guidance or orientation towards the information conveyed by the media. Therefore, the public agenda can be broken only by credible media sources.

To regulate political information in the public sphere, politicians often use digital technology. Unlike traditional media, this interactive tool enables the production and consumption of political content. Today's design choices will pattern the way digital technologies are used for decades to come. Understanding the normative structures and assumptions of the architects of political information systems will help us develop some theories about what democracy and citizenship mean today. Digital media strategies are a crucial component of contemporary political campaigns. Established political elites use database and internet technologies to raise money, organize volunteers, gather intelligence on voters, and do opposition research. However, they use data mining techniques that outrage privacy advocates and surreptitious technologies few internet users understand. Grassroots political actors and average voters build their digital campaigns, researching public policy options, candidate histories, lobbyist maneuvering, and the finances of extensive campaigns.

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ANALISIS FRAMING PEMBERITAAN COVID-19 PADA AKUN YOUTUBE DAN NEWS PORTALS TRIBUNNEWS.COM EDISI MARCH 2020

FRAMING ANALYSIS OF COVID-19 REPORTING ON YOUTUBE ACCOUNTS AND TRIBUNNEWS.COM NEWS PORTALS MARCH 2020 EDITION

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ABSTRACT

This research aims to analyze the frame used by media youtube and news portals tribunnews in the covid-19 coverage in Indonesia during March 2020. The method in this research used framing analyze by Robert Entman, by four functions of frames there are problem definition, causal interpretation, moral evaluation and treatment recommendation. There were 104 new, 73 from news portals, and 31 from youtube accounts. we choose news by purposive sampling technique. The result of the research showed that in the covid-19 coverage information is dynamic. Researchers divided this coverage by three periods, first period on 1-10 March 2020 shows a frame of calm and builds enthusiasm in facing the pandemic, the second period 11-20 March frame the covid-19 was changed to a threat and risk, the third period 21-31 shows covid-19 frame as cautious and fear because it shows aspects of victims, economic downturns and variety other threats. The recommendation of this research is doing further research to investigate the response of the public in the face of a pandemic.

Keywords : Covid-19, Framing Media, Tribunnews

ABSTRAK

Penelitian ini bertujuan menganalisis bingkai media youtube dan News Portals tribunnews dalam pemberitaan covid-19 di Indonesia selama bulan March 2020. Metode yang digunakan dalam penelitian ini adalah analisis framing dari Robert Entman, melalui empat fungsi bingkai yaitu mendefinisikan sebuah masalah, memperkirakan sumber masalah, membuat keputusan moral, dan menekankan penyelesaian masalah. Terdapat 104 pemberitaan yang diteliti, 73 dari News Portals dan 31 dari akun youtube. Pemilihan pemberitaan melalui teknik purposive sampling Hasil dari penelitian ini menunjukkan bahwa dalam pemberitaan covid-19 di Indonesia menunjukkan informasi yang dinamis. Peneliti membagi pemberitaan menjadi tiga periode, periode pertama pada tanggal 1-10 March 2020 yang menunjukkan bingkai ketenangan dan membangun semangat dalam menghadapi pandemi, periode kedua 11-20 March bingkai covid-19 dirubah menjadi suatu ancaman dan resiko yang perlu diwaspadai, periode ketiga yakni 21-31 bingkai covid-19 menampilkan kewaspadaan dan ketakutan karena menunjukkan aspek korban, penurunan ekonomi dan berbagai ancaman lainnya. Rekomendasi dari riset ini adalah dilakukannya riset lanjutan untuk mengetahui respon dari publik dalam menghadapi suatu pandemi.

Kata Kunci : Covid-19, Framing Media, Tribunnews

1. INTRODUCTION

Covid-19 or Corona is a virus that is of concern to people around the world. (Welle, 2020) which stated that starting from the beginning of January, the covid-19 virus began to spread to other countries besides China, Thailand was the first to report the first case, the peak of the spread of this virus was in March 2020, as many as 244,000 people were infected, 160 countries stated and 10,000 people died, one of the countries that marked it was Indonesia. The Director of the World Health Organization or WHO has determined that COVID-19 is a health problem with a global emergency status with the highest level of vigilance (Assegaf, 2020)

Indonesia is one of the countries with the covid outbreak officially from President Joko Widodo who announced the first incident on March 2, 2020 (Wahyono, 2020). The first case in Indonesia has a different time span with other countries such as Thailand, Taiwan, the United States and Germany reporting the first case (Welle, 2020). Indonesia is considered a country that is late in handling the corona virus, Amnesty International Indonesia Executive Director Usman Hamid stated that the government did not handle COVID-19 when it first spread (Briantika, 2020). The world health organization (WHO) stated that weak detection in the early stages of the outbreak resulted in a significant increase in the number of cases and deaths in several countries (Briantika, 2020)

The distance from the spread of the Covid-19 virus is December, and Indonesia announced the first incident in March 2020. There is a gap of four months to prepare for this virus before it enters Indonesia. The government, the medical team, and the community are united in making efforts to prevent and cure the covid outbreak in accordance with their respective capabilities, including the media that are also trying to provide information. Chairman of the Task Force for the Acceleration of Handling Covid-19 Doni Monardo stated that the media played an important role in suppressing the spread of the corona virus (Adimaja, 2020). The role of communication through media coverage is important because disaster is a situation that requires coordination of information and actions from various parties to be handled properly (Kriyantono, 2019b, p. 2)

The media is used as a tool to convey information or news about covid 19, this is considered effective because about 63% of the government's success in suppressing the pandemic that attacks almost all countries in the world is through the media (Adimaja, 2020). Berry, (2007, p. 67) explains that the media has an important position in the process of delivering information to the public, the media can increase public awareness about health problems, and even support policies related to health. In accordance with the function of the media, namely the media as surveillance that provides information about events around and the correlation function which includes the interpretation of the mass media who choose, interpret and criticize the surrounding environment (Nugroho, 2016, p. 24). In its development, the role of online media in providing information certainly has an influence on the content of the news conveyed or what is commonly called framing of news (Rachmawati et al., 2019, p. 20). The journalistic process that occurs in the media builds how information health is presented to the public (Stryker, 2010, p. 2096). Information about health produces a gradual effect, for example the framework used by a media can produce a different persuasive effect from each recipient of the message (Stryker, 2010).

Previous research conducted by Ogbodo, J., Nwasum, C., Chukwu, J., and Nwakpu, E. (2020) explained that the media has an important role in dealing with COVID-19, as a means of conveying information to the public. considered important to illuminate or overcome the COVID-19 health crisis which may have a long-term impact on public health. In a crisis situation, reporting is very necessary, especially now that the media has an important role in handling the outbreak (Vos & Buckner, 2016, p.301). Crisis occurs and develops because of the lack and excess of information, and the failure to provide and control the flow of existing information (Kriyantono, 2019b, p. 94). To deal with a crisis requires enthusiasm and continues to struggle to survive, as well as the need for good management in handling the crisis (Kriyantono, 2019, p. 33). Rudianto (2015, p. 54)

explains that when a disaster occurs, communication arises because of the need to reduce uncertainty. A risky situation, causing tremendous uncertainty and speculation (Kharisma, 2020, p. 220). In dealing with disasters, information that presents facts is very necessary. Putra (2020, p.173) noted that the impact of exposure to COVID-19 news could be very large, ranging from reports on isolation, quarantine, and several case updates to the death of the victim. Experts say exposure to information can trigger a variety of mental health problems, from anxiety and anger to sleep disturbances and even depression and Post Traumatic Stress Syndrome (PTSD) (Putra, 2020, p.173).

The public does not only place the news as a source of information about events, but also as a guide for the preparation of an agenda. This is in accordance with the function of disaster journalism, namely to help the community and other parties involved in the disaster management process (Panuju, 2018, p.220). Viswanath (2010, p. 2080) explains that the media play an important role in shaping public perceptions of health risks, the media has the ability to construct health risk information through narratives or stories that are displayed. Berry (2007, p.12) explains that although the media has a very vital role, the media also has positive and negative impacts. One of the positive impacts of the media is that the media can increase public awareness about health problems. The negative impact is that the media will also experience problems if they present inaccurate and incomplete news (Berry, 2007, p. 12). Incomplete and inaccurate reporting usually occurs because of the nature of journalists themselves which are based on the accuracy and speed of time and the tendency of the media to ignore contextual factors in health news (Stryker, 2010, p. 2097).

Eriyanto (2002, p.186) explains that framing is a selection of reality that makes certain realities more prominent in communication texts by emphasizing the definition of a problem, the cause of the problem, making moral decisions, and recommending certain solutions. Kriyantono (p. 2010, 2020) said that framing analysis is used to find out how the perspective or perspective used by journalists when selecting issues and writing news. How a reality is framed, constructed and interpreted by the media. Syahri (2009, p.59) explains that news, in its capacity as a shaper and dynamist in processing interpretations of human events, plays a very important role in the process of forming social construction. In certain situations, the media influence a person to formulate his view of the world. This view is a frame created by humans to describe what and how the world is understood (Syahri, 2009, p.59). Without a clear frame, events, events and human experience will look chaotic. Quarantelli (1991, p.2) explains that modern human images of disasters are not infrequently influenced by the images created by the mass media on them. So that the frame constructed by the media has an important role in determining how the public determines the attitude and response that must be made.

Several previous studies such as those conducted by Jude Nwagpoke Ogbodo, Chinedu J. Nwasum, Joseph N. Chukwu and Ekuwotosi Nwakpu (2020, p.266) regarding the framing of online news that occurred in Nigeria prove that the frame formed by the media is a frame of fear that makes people tend to experience excessive levels of alertness and frustration. Covid-19 cases are growing rapidly in Nigeria due to the framing of media coverage and as of December 2020, 78,434 people have been infected with COVID-19 cases. The opposite result was obtained from research conducted by Mutua & Oloo (2020, p.7) on online media frames in China which found that the Chinese media framed Covid-

19 as a curable outbreak. Online media in China provides various kinds of information and education to the Chinese community regarding the Covid-19 virus that occurs, such as how the stages of the COVID-19 virus can infect humans.

It can be concluded from the two findings above that the media frame the covid-19 disaster. The media in Nigeria frames fear for its people and creates a frustrating impact on the people while the Chinese media frames the news with content that is more educative and informative. There is a connection with China's success, which was better able to overcome the Covid-19 virus in its country some time ago. The results of previous research became the basis for this research to conduct developments related to research on pandemic news framing. Frames or frames can guide a person's perception in understanding the complex world around him.

This frame is obtained from the collection of various information that is perceived as true by someone (Butsi, 2019, p.53). In the next period, Erving Goffman brought Bateson's thinking to a wider realm, Goffman stated that the frame is actually something that is learned and used in human daily life, even underlies human behavior itself. By studying the existing frames in a society, it will guide a person to be able to socialize and integrate with the community. Without frames, the events we see everyday would seem random and irregular. In order for events to be meaningful and meaningful, a person sees with a certain frame, so that he can understand the world around him and the environment (Eriyanto, 2019, p.72).

Providing information and entertainment services to the public, the media cannot be considered neutral. The reason is that the media has a reality that is composed of the results of certain views, which in turn produces a media reality (Sobur, 2001, p.162). Indications of the media's role in shaping reality can be seen from several things, such as the framing of the reported events and the giving of certain symbols to events and actors in the news (Eriyanto, 2002, p.187). In a communication perspective, framing analysis is used to examine media practices or ideologies when constructing facts (Sobur, 2001, p.162).

According to Eriyanto (2002, p.19), from a constructionist perspective, media, journalists, and news have an attachment, facts and reality are the result of construction that contains the point of view of journalists, journalists are agents of reality construction because their moral choices, alignments, and ethics affect in news preparation. Media is a construction agent, media is a subject that constructs reality mixed with biases, views, and sides. News is not a reflection of reality, because it is the result of the construction of reality that involves the ideologies and values of journalists and the media. News is also subjective, because journalists' opinions and perspectives cannot be eliminated. In this study, researchers will look at how the media in Indonesia is framing the COVID-19 disaster. Covid-19 has become a hot and busy issue written in the media since the end of 2019, because of the new type of virus and the fast spreading process throughout the world.

Various researchers are interested in news portal accounts and youtube accounts from tribunews.com, this is because the tribunews.com site has the highest percentage of searches compared to other portals in Indonesia, tribunews.com gets a percentage of 61.90% (Alexa, 2020) . As a media that is often accessed by the public, researchers want to find out more about how to framing covid-19 news on news portals and youtube accounts from tribunews.com in March 2020. This study has limitations because it only focuses on

text analysis of news portals and tribunews youtube accounts. . However, this research is expected to provide benefits to the study of communication science, especially for journalists, the public and the government in dealing with the COVID-19 pandemic.

From the description above, researchers can see that individuals produce the social world through words, actions, and through media products. For this reason, studying media texts is one of the efforts to understand social reality, including related to framing or framing of events by the media.

2. RESEARCH METHODS

This study uses a constructivist paradigm using the framing analysis method from Robert Entman. Reese (2007, p.152) explains that through framing analysis, researchers will analyze the news text, compose and find the theme of a news text so that later the relationship between the texts can be found. Through framing analysis, this study seeks to describe the frame formed by the tribunews media in reporting COVID through four framing elements from Robert Entman.

The object of this research is the tribunews youtube account and the tribunews.com news portal. The choice of tribunews media is due to several things, based on data from Alexa (2020), tribunews is the media that occurs most often, besides that tribunews is a national media so that the coverage of news is wide. The news data analyzed are news that aired on March 1, 2020 to March 31, 2020. The election for March was due to the initial phase of covid-19 entering Indonesia, so by conducting this research it is hoped that it will provide the next step to deal with the pandemic. Primary news data is collected by tracing it directly on the tribunews.com news portal and tribunews youtube account. The total news that will be analyzed by researchers is 104 reports with three to four reports per day. For the tribunews.com news portal, researchers will analyze the text of the news with a total of 63 reports, while for YouTube the researchers will transcribe the audio from the video so that it is in the form of text with a total of 31 videos.

The news selection technique is through purposive sampling technique. The criteria used in the selection of the sample is the title of the news using the keyword "covid-19" or corona, and uploaded in the time range 1-31 March 2020. At the data analysis stage, the researcher reads the title to the news content as a whole to see and classify the four elements of framing according to Robert Entman. This study uses data analysis techniques through framing analyst Robert Entman who sees framing in two major dimensions, the first is the selection of issues, and the second is the emphasis or highlighting of certain aspects of a reality or issue (Eriyanto, 2002, H.187). Entman explained that the selection of certain aspects of an issue is related to the selection of facts, when an aspect has been chosen, how is that aspect written (Kriyantono, p.211, 2020). This is closely related to the meaning of words, sentences, pictures, and images to be displayed to the public. Entman has formulated the framing model as follows: (1) Problem definition, how an event is seen, as what and as a problem, (2) Estimating the source of the problem, the event is seen to be caused by what, what is considered the cause of a problem. and who are the actors considered as problems, (3) Making moral decisions, what moral values are presented to explain a problem, what moral values are used to legitimize and delegitimize an action, (4) Emphasize the solution, what solutions are offered by the media to overcome the problem (Kriyantono, 2020, p.212)

3. RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

3.1 Covid-19 News on Tribunnews.com News Portal and Tribunnews Youtube Account

After explaining the research method, the researcher will try to present the results of news analysis from online news portals and text transcripts from video uploads on the tribunnews.com youtube account for the period of March 2020. Researchers will present about 3 to 4 news stories per day to limit the amount of news published. upload it on your youtube account or tribunnews news portal. Based on data obtained by researchers through observation, there are around 100-200 reports on the tribunnews.com news portal per day regarding COVID-19. While on YouTube accounts, there are only around 20-100 video uploads per day regarding COVID-19. This shows that the media pays great attention to the outbreak by publishing a lot of news about the COVID-19 pandemic in Indonesia. The researcher found that the news in large numbers was not all diverse, there were several reports that had similar news content but were packaged with different titles.

Researchers will use the framing analysis tool from Robert Entman to analyze how tribunnews frames COVID-19 cases in March. Robert Entman's framing analysis method was chosen by the researcher because this research focuses on text analysis on news. Therefore, researchers will look at the framing built by tribunnews from four frame functions, namely defining problems, estimating problems, making moral decisions and emphasizing settlement (Entman, 1993).

Since the first case announced by President Joko Widodo on March 2, there has been a lot of news about COVID-19, as can be seen from the news uploads that reach tens to hundreds per day. The media presents a variety of information ranging from data on the development of positive COVID-19 patients, government measures and policies to industry players in dealing with the pandemic, as well as the need for cooperation from all levels of society to stop the pandemic. News that appears freely will be consumed by the public which causes various meanings and reactions.

The results of the data obtained show the dynamics of information every 10 days of news uploads. The news coverage in the 1-10 March 2020 period mostly provided information about the growing hoax news and the first case in Indonesia. The time span of March 11-20 shows information on government services related to victims of the pandemic, as well as the continued increase in positive cases in Indonesia. While the time span of March 21-31, 2020, the news contained the death toll and the decline in various sectors, one of which was the economy due to the pandemic. Therefore, to make it easier to analyze the tribunnews news frame, the researcher will frame the case by classifying the news into three periods to see the information gaps that occur. The first period on March 1-10 2020, the second period on March 11-20 2020, the third period on March 21-31 2020. From the data obtained by researchers through the online news portal and youtube account tribunnews.com, researchers will analyze it through the framing analysis method. Robert Entman.

3.2 The First Period: Calm and Hope in the Midst of a Pandemic

The first period that the researcher classified on March 1-10, 2020 was 32 news reports with a frame of calm and dominating hope. Based on the results of data analysis that the

researchers found, there were 20 news that were calming, in addition there were news that

No	News Tittle	Date	Media
1	Awas Hoaks Virus Corona, Menkominfo Bakal Proses Hukum Penyebar Hoaks: Indonesia Steril	1 March 2020	News Portal
2	BNPB Minta Warga Waspada Berita Hoaks Seputar Virus Corona	1 March 2020	Youtube
3	Semua Media Besar Jepang Ikut Beritakan Kasus Virus Corona Pertama di Indonesia	3 March 2020	News Portal
4	Bareskrim Tersangkakan 5 Penyebar Hoaks Virus Corona	5 March 2020	News Portal
5	Kondisi Terkini 4 Pasien Positif Corona di Indonesia, Pasien 03 dan 04 Menunjukkan Perubahan	7 March 2020	News Portal
6	WNI Positif Corona Jadi Enam Orang, Salah Satunya ABK Diamond Princess	9 March 2020	News Portal
7	Pemerintah Umumkan 19 Pasien di Indonesia Positif Virus Corona, Ada yang Masih Berusia Belasan Tahun	9 March 2020	Youtube
8	Selasa Pagi, Kominfo Deteksi 187 Hoaks Terkait Virus Corona	10 March 2020	Youtube

was scary and alert. During this period, the media mostly reported on the role of the government in minimizing hoax coverage, because in the early days of the pandemic, there were a lot of false reports that were spread widely in the community. In addition, the media also displays information about the seriousness of the government in handling the outbreak, such as the restrictions on foreign nationals who want to visit Indonesia. The first case of covid-19 in Indonesia on March 2, 2020 was also reported, the government took serious follow-up on positive COVID-19 patients by providing the best possible service for patient recovery. The findings in this study are in accordance with the opinion expressed (Hinnant et al., 2017) that in covering and producing news about public health, it is important for a journalist to position the government and experts as primary data sources. Here's one of the news on March 1, 2020.

Table 1. Example of News Tittle 1-10 March 2020

In the span of 1-10 March 2020, the news uploaded by news portals and the tribunews youtube account contained the majority of hoax news that continued to grow. The definition of the problem is the existence of conditions, where the outbreak is used as an incorrect information material to attract the attention of the wider community. The definition of this problem is reinforced by a statement from the Ministry of Communication and Information, Jhonny G. Plates uploaded on the tribunews news portal (Wutsqa, 2020) that:

“Diketahui, per tanggal 25 Februari 2020 terdapat total 127 hoaks terkait dengan virus Corona. Sedangkan, hingga hari ini, Minggu (1/3/2020) terdapat penambahan hoaks menjadi 142 isu.”

"It is known that as of February 25, 2020 there were a total of 127 hoaxes related to the Corona virus. Meanwhile, until today, Sunday (1/3/2020) there are additional hoaxes to 142 issues."

In addition to spreading hoax news, the condition of positive corona patients continues to grow, these patients come from various circles, ranging from children, teenagers, adults to the elderly. Diagnosing causes of this problem occurs because there is still a lack of public knowledge in receiving information related to the corona, so that all information is received raw by the community, hoax spreaders also profit from spreading news. In addition, there are some residents who have symptoms similar to the corona after interacting with people who are positive for the corona. Make moral judgments or moral values from this problem are hoaxes and the addition of cases that have developed has worried various parties, one of which is BNPB, this is reinforced by the statement from (Tribunews, 2020) the Directorate General of Disease Prevention and Control of the Ministry of Health, Dr. Achmad Yurianto, Head of the Center for Disease Control and Prevention. BNPB Disaster Data, Information and Communication Agus Wibowo said that:

“berita hoaks lebih berbahaya daripada penyebaran wabah virus yang sebenarnya.”

“Fake news is more dangerous than the actual spread of the virus.”

The treatment recommendation or the solution to this problem is to arrest the hoax spreaders and criminalize the perpetrators. This is intended to provide a deterrent effect on the perpetrators of hoaxes. In addition, the Ministry of Communication and Information lowers reports that are not clear. The government also continues to make tracing or checking efforts to minimize the increase in cases. Thus, judging from the analysis of the news through the four elements of Robert Entman's frame, tribunews constructs this pandemic as a step to calm the public through a government frame that is responsive to the spread of hoaxes as a step to minimize the occurrence of hoax information or news. On the other hand, the frame formed also raises awareness, this is due to the large number of false reports, so that people are careful in receiving information. The frame formed by tribunews on the youtube account is also almost the same as the news portal.

3.3 Second Period: Pandemic Alert

The second period that the researchers classified on March 11-20 2020 amounted to 36 reports with a frame of calm and vigilance that dominates. The information displayed by the media began to develop and change occurred. The most visible changes are in the

initial period, the information is calming, but in this period the frame displayed by the media about covid-19 is a warning. The alert news frame reached 19 stories out of 36 news

No	News Tittle	Date	Media
1	27 Pasien Positif Corona di Indonesia, 1 di Antaranya Masih Misterius, Belum Tahu Asal Terjangkitnya	11 March 2020	News Portals
2	RSPI Sulianto Saroso soal Dua Pasien Positif Virus Corona Meninggal: Di Sini Hanya Satu	13 March 2020	News Portals
3	Data 35 Pasien Baru Positif Virus Corona, Kini Total Ada 69 Orang	14 March 2020	News Portals
4	7 Kasus Baru Pasien Positif Covid-19 di Jabar, Ridwan Kamil: Ada Satu Pasien Meninggal	16 March 2020	Youtube
5	Update Kasus Virus Corona di Indonesia, Pasien Positif Jadi 172 Kasus	17 March 2020	Youtube
6	Jumlah Penderita Virus Corona Cenderung Naik, Ini Penjelasan Pemerintah	18 March 2020	News Portals

Source : Research Result, 2021

Table 2. Example of News Tittle 11-20 March 2020

Many of the reports presented take the government's point of view, by presenting information on prevention, and cases of significant improvement. The news presented how the Indonesian government has tried to reduce the number of spreads by issuing various policies such as physical distancing, social distancing and health protocols. In the period 11-20 March 2020, the definition of the problem that occurs is the origin of the patient being infected, the victim dying and the addition of cases which is quite significant. Diagnosing causes or this problem occurred because of the addition of 35 positive cases reaching 172 cases, several hospitals in Indonesia also stated that there were fatalities from the COVID-19 outbreak. Some of the patients who were confirmed positive have not yet known the origin of the infection. The moral value of this period is the collaboration

carried out by the government with hospitals in various regions in Indonesia to improve services and increase space for COVID-19 patients, efforts to prevent through checking the origin of transmission are also continuously carried out by the government. The treatment recommendation for this problem is that the government forms a task force for handling COVID-19 and cooperates with various parties such as ASN, TNI, Polri to participate in preventing the outbreak. Local government socialization is also carried out so that the community can comply with the applicable health protocols.

Thus, the editors construct to be vigilant, especially in the Jakarta and surrounding areas because of the most cases of covid-19, besides that the editors present information that the government is taking various ways to deal with the pandemic such as involving all stakeholders in handling covid, this information can reduce the panic that occurs in the

No	News Tittle	Date	Media
1	Gawat, Sudah 17 Provinsi di Indonesia Terjangkit Corona, 13 Daerah di Aceh Berstatus Waspada	21 March 2020	News Portals
2	Dampak Corona, Mall Plaza Indonesia Akan Tutup Sepekan Lebih	23 March 2020	News Portals
3	RS Persahabatan Update Pasien Covid19, Pasien di Ruang IGD Berjumlah 24 Orang	24 March 2020	Youtube
4	Pemberdayaan Sektor Informal yang Terdampak Wabah Virus Corona	26 March 2020	News Portals
5	Dampak Wabah Corona, Kadin DKI Sebut Perekonomian Jakarta Turun 60 Persen	27 March 2020	News Portals
6	Ekonomi Indonesia Tahun Ini Diprediksi Hanya Tumbuh 2,1 Persen karena Virus Corona	31 March 2020	News Portals

country. community and increase awareness, because Covid-19 has caused the victim to die.

3.4 Third Period: Pandemic Alerts and Fears

The third period that the researchers classified on March 21-31 2020 amounted to 36 reports with a frame of predominance of vigilance and fear. Based on the results of data analysis that the researchers found, there were 15 reports containing information to stay alert to the pandemic, 10 fears and some about calm. During this period, the media provided more information about the increase in cases of positive corona patients, the easy transmission of the virus, the impact of the corona which resulted in an economic decline, to the conditions in the field that were still lacking in personal protective equipment.

Tabel 3. Example of News Tittle 21-31 March 2020

In the time span 21-31 March 2021, it defines a problem that covid-19 has spread in various provinces throughout Indonesia, the death toll continues to increase and various sectors experience losses, including the failure of train departures, the closure of various shopping places, and the export-import sector. Diagnosing causes or this problem occurs

due to the surge in Covid-19 cases in Indonesia, so that it has an impact on various sectors. Make a moral judgment or the moral value is that people must increase their vigilance, Covid-19 has caused losses to society and the country. Treatment recommendation or problem solving is returning tickets to people who do not go out of town due to trip cancellations, empowerment of various sectors to deal with the economic downturn due to the epidemic, and continuing prevention efforts through closing access to and from the area.

Thus, the construction that was formed was that COVID-19 caused various losses both to the economic sector and from the community itself. The frame that is formed is the presence of fear and vigilance because the death toll continues to increase and the spread of this virus in various regions. The economic sector declined, as well as reduced travel mobility due to a ban on entering and exiting the region. In general, in March 2020 the media frame also correlated with the government's public relations role. Government public relations is the main source of the media in finding news sources. Therefore, government public relations must provide information intake actively, periodically and with a positive frame (Kriyantono, 2021).

3.5 Discussion

The Covid-19 pandemic in Indonesia has attracted the attention of the mass media to make it valuable news because it concerns the lives of the Indonesian people and the world (Fahrimal, Husna, Islami, & Johan, p. 182, 2020). Based on the data obtained by the researcher, the 104 reports will be divided into 3 periods to make it easier to classify the framing. The results of the framing were found that there were 35 reports that framed calm, 26 frames of vigilance, 9 fears, panic 1, and 2 hopes from news on online news portals, while the news uploaded by the tribunnews youtube account showed 10 news frames of tranquility, 11 frames alert and 9 fear. Alertness, fear, calm and others are the reality of the construction formed by the media. It is society that gives meaning to something. Judging from the period, most of the news contained information that pointed to the government's point of view.

The online news portal media tribunnews.com tends to upload more news about COVID-19, around 100-200 reports are uploaded per day. Meanwhile, the tribunnews youtube media only uploads 20-100 videos per day. The news on YouTube that is displayed contains images with running text, videos accompanied by voice over, and there are also videos accompanied by presenters.

According to Eriyanto (2002, p.199), regarding the construction of social reality that the media has an attachment in building facts and reality which is the result from the point of view of journalists. The news presented by tribunnews is a fact, this is because in the news tribunnews gives rise to various sources to be the basis of news writing. Tribunnews has taken many opinions or opinions from the government, including the Task Force for the Acceleration of Handling Covid-19 in Indonesia, the Ministry of Health, and even representatives from State-Owned Enterprises (BUMN). In addition, tribunnews also takes opinions from various experts, such as doctors who treat corona patients, researchers and community leaders.

Thus, the credibility of the news can be guaranteed. Indications of the media's role in shaping reality can be seen from several things, such as the framing of the reported events

and the giving of certain symbols to events and actors in the news (Eriyanto, p.199, 2002). Text analysis with framing analysis can find clear and interesting results in the most transparent, communicative way, and provides a framework for media depictions of reality (McQuail, 2011, p.43). Framing analysis since it was initiated by Erving Goffman in the fields of psychology and sociology was later drawn into communication studies by Robert N. Entman has been used massively and has proven important in communication studies with a focus on contemporary issues such as health, crises, the environment and disasters (Thompson, 2014).).

Kriyantono (2020, p.212) explains that the selection of certain aspects of an issue is related to the selection of facts, when an aspect has been selected, how is that aspect written. This is closely related to the meaning of words, sentences, pictures, and images to be displayed to the public. Entman has formulated a framing model as a problem definition (defining problem) how an event is seen, as what and as a problem, estimating the source of the problem (diagnosing causes) what event is seen as caused by what, what is considered the cause of a problem and who is the actor. considered as a problem, make moral judgments what moral values are presented to explain a problem, what moral values are used to legitimize and delegitimize an action. Emphasizes completion (treatment recommendation/suggest remedies). What solutions are offered by the media to overcome these problems (Kriyantono, 2020, 212).

Reporting carried out by online news portals and tribunnews.com youtube accounts was carried out with four elements of Robert Entman's framing, namely problem identification, what caused the problem and problem solving. Identification of problems on March 1-10, 2020 tribunnews put more emphasis on news about hoaxes and positive COVID-19 patients. While on 11-20 news began to develop regarding the death toll due to covid-19. Meanwhile, on 21-31 there was news about the economic downturn in Indonesia, cancellation of trips via government transportation and the increasing number of fatalities.

Diagnosing causes or problems that occurred on March 1-10, 2020 is the issue of covid-19 which is a new problem and attracts attention, making the perpetrators of hoax spreaders interested in reporting information that is not true. On March 11-20, the death toll was caused by the Covid-19 virus which has a very fast spread so the potential for infection is very high. Meanwhile, on March 21-31, 2020, due to the rapid spread of the virus, the government closed several outlets to minimize the decline in cases, resulting in an economic downturn. The make moral judgment or moral value from the March 2020 news is that the government continues to give empathy to the community, whether affected or not.

The resolution of the problem or treatment recommendation for the news on March 1-10 2020 is to take criminal action against hoax perpetrators so that people can be calmer in dealing with the outbreak. Meanwhile, in the period of March 11-20, the government continued to prepare various hospitals to anticipate a spike in cases. The last one on 21-31 is that the government provides compensation to people whose departures have been canceled due to the pandemic, besides that the government also provides training to sectors that have been disadvantaged due to the pandemic. The news presented by tribunnews is growing and dynamic.

This study focuses on text analysis, but not all news reports fulfill the four elements of framing. Robert Entman, an online news portal that focuses on text, some of its reports do not meet the four elements of framing, but the news presented through YouTube actually fulfills the four elements of framing. The constructions produced by individuals from the framing are on 1-10 are calm and hope, while on 11-20 are vigilance, and March 21-31, 2020 are vigilance and fear of the pandemic.

In the formulation of Robert Entman's framing model, the author finds that not all news reports contain four elements of framing. There was one report that was uploaded by the tribunews.com news portal on March 3, 2020. In the news there was no element of moral values and the resolution of the problems that were resolved. Eriyanto (2002, p.199) explains that the four elements or four ways of Entman's framing model are media strategies, and bring certain consequences to the reality formed by the media. If the four framing elements are omitted or not fulfilled, it will affect a reality.

Patterns resulting from framing analysis are dynamic or evolving. This is in accordance with the data presented by the researchers through three classification periods. In the first period, March 1-10, 2020, the dominating framing is the element of calm. In the second period 11-20 March 2020, an element of vigilance began to emerge. Meanwhile, in the third period, March 21-31, 2020, the frame pattern formed is fear. This illustrates how the media provide information that continues to grow over time.

As for the grouping of this period, the researcher found that this was in accordance with the concept proposed by Coombs (2015, p.25) in crisis communication management. In period 1 (March 1-10, 2020) it enters stage 1, namely pre-crisis. This stage shows how crisis communication concentrates on finding and mitigating risks. The news that occurred mostly displayed information about the government continuing to make efforts to contain the outbreak, including tackling hoax news, selecting foreign nationals who wanted to enter Indonesia, providing information for handling the outbreak and urging the public to remain calm. The second and third periods, namely March 11-31 2020, entered stage 2, namely the crisis. The crisis stage states that the crisis occurs because the problem has already had a significant impact. During this period, the majority of the news presented wariness and fear. This is because the news contains information about the death toll, the economic impact and the lack of handling of people infected with the virus.

4. CLOSING

The COVID-19 outbreak and pandemic are health problems that trigger media reporting. Through framing analysis with Robert Entman's framing method with four frame functions, namely problem definition, estimating the source of the problem, making moral decisions and emphasizing completion, the researchers saw the 104 news frames uploaded on online news portals and tribunews youtube accounts.

In the first period the media framed Covid-19 as an epidemic that could be overcome, providing information that calmed the public by displaying the role of the government in dealing with the pandemic. Gradually in the second period, the frame was changed to become a threat to public health and become a risk that needs to be watched out for. In the third period of framing containing vigilance and fear, Covid-19 was considered a frightening epidemic, spread very quickly and caused death, various sectors were also

harmed such as the economic downturn and the spread of hoax news. Health communication is useful for preparing the public for a pandemic. This research has described how online news portals and youtube in framing health cases in the context of dynamic or growing information.

This study has several limitations, first, although this study aims to produce focused results, the analysis on one media, namely tribunnews, shows a limitation. For further research, various descriptions of the frame made by other media regarding COVID-19 in March 2020.

Second, this research is only limited to the media frame during March 2020, future research is expected to be able to see the development of the outbreak and its handling in the future. Lastly, future research can conduct sentiment analysis on the public to find out how the public responds or attitudes in dealing with a pandemic.

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Indonesian Fans' Post-purchase Cognitive Dissonance with Non-original Idol Products

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Abstract

Post-purchase cognitive dissonance is a feeling of unease that occurs after a consumer buys a product. This study assumes that a fan has such a strong attachment to their idol that purchasing a non-original idol product makes them uncomfortable. The purpose of this study was to describe how fans who purchased non-original idol products experienced cognitive dissonance after purchase. This study employs a mixed method with a sequential design. The first stage involved administering a survey to 384 fans to assess cognitive dissonance after purchasing non-original idol products, followed by a semi-structured interview to provide a more detailed explanation of cognitive dissonance after purchasing a non-original idol products. This study found that cognitive dissonance after purchase is generally low in fans, that fans do not experience high cognitive dissonance in emotion indicators, but that cognitive dissonance is obtained high enough in the wisdom of purchase and concern of deal indicators. According to the interviews, high cognitive dissonance fans are defined by feelings of guilt towards their idols as well as disappointment in themselves and the product; fans are more likely to purchase a non-original idol product because it is less expensive than the original. In this study, it was discovered that changing one's attitude toward purchasing an original idol product in the future is a strategy used to reduce cognitive dissonance.

Keywords: post-purchase cognitive dissonance, non-original idol product, fans

Introduction

Cognitive dissonance theory is one of the most important theories in the study of consumer decision behavior. Festinger developed the theory in 1957, which explains that when two cognitions (knowledge) are relevant but inconsistent with each other, the gap causes cognitive dissonance (Alfitman, 2017). In the context of consumer behavior, consumers frequently experience cognitive dissonance as a result of their discomfort following the purchase of certain products. Cognitive dissonance after purchase, also known as post-purchase dissonance is thought to be an extension of cognitive dissonance theory (Keng & Liao, 2013). Post-purchase cognitive dissonance is a psychological state of discomfort caused by inconsistencies after the purchase. According to Schiffman and Kanuk, consumers who experience cognitive dissonance after a purchase have an uneasy feeling about their beliefs, which they tend to resolve by changing their attitudes to suit their behavior (Alfitman, 2017).

Tan & Gan (2014) investigated the inconvenience of consumers' purchasing decisions and, ultimately, looked for alternative product returns, despite the fact that the consumer had previously received information about the product. According to this study, post-purchase dissonance has two components: cognitive and emotional, with emotional dissonance causing consumers to act in order to alleviate their discomfort. Graff, Sophonthummapharn, & Parida (2012) explained that even if someone feels adequate and satisfied with the information provided prior to making a purchase, they may be dissatisfied with the product after purchase. According to the findings of the two studies, consumers who were previously satisfied with the information required before purchasing a product can still experience post-purchase cognitive dissonance.

Consumption behavior is frequently based on more than just rationalization of needs, such as idol merchandise. Idol merchandise is sometimes purchased without consideration for the

buyer's needs (idol merchandise buyers are frequently fans of the idolized figure). This is supported by Andreas (2020), which claims that fans are willing to spend large sums of money as a form of pleasure and satisfaction. As a result, it is not uncommon to see a large number of fans purchasing their idol's products or merchandise. According to Thorne & Bruner (2006), a fan purchased their idol's products or merchandise for the satisfaction that they obtained it.

Many products on the market today are not original. As technology advanced, many non-original products such as replicas, pirated products, or counterfeit products emerged, causing losses in communities, particularly the licence or credit of the product's owner. Idol merchandise that is officially produced by idol agencies is typically in the form of lightsticks, photocards, t-shirts, and even non-physical matter such as songs, movies, and concert videos are reproduced or pirated by non-original sellers. As a result, many models and designs are now available at a lower cost in the market. Many online and offline stores now sell replicas or pirated products or idol merchandise. In fact, such products are widely traded on e-commerce and social media platforms.

This study classifies idol merchandise as a high-involvement product because these items are purchased due to high consumer interest in them. According to Richins & Blich, a product with high involvement is one that requires a significant amount of effort and time from the consumer, furthermore, it is stated that consumer involvement in the product is related to consumer interest in the product, in addition to the product's price (Graff, Sophonthummapharn, & Parida, 2012). Consumers with a high level of product involvement may experience more emotional dissonance (Tan & Gan, 2014). Consumer product involvement contributes to the level of dissonance (Graff, Sophonthummapharn, & Parida, 2012). Richins & Blich also stated that the emergence of a feeling of dissonance can occur more easily in high-involvement products due to high consumer expectations. (Graff, Sophonthummapharn, & Parida, 2012).

A fan may feel satisfied and happy after purchasing non-original idol merchandise. However, fans may experience post-purchase cognitive dissonance in the form of feelings of guilt and discomfort in addition to their satisfaction. This is because purchasing non-original idol merchandise contradicts their perception as fans who are ideally willing to make sacrifices for their idols, such as purchasing original idol merchandise products with higher cost implications. Based on the foregoing, this study seeks to identify and analyze post-purchase cognitive dissonance in Indonesian fans' purchases of non-original idol merchandise.

This study employs a mixed method, in which quantitative and qualitative data are combined with a sequential design. The first stage involved administering a survey to assess cognitive dissonance after purchasing non-original idol products, followed by a semi-structured interview to provide a more detailed explanation of cognitive dissonance after purchasing a non-original idol products.

This study's population consists of Indonesians who are fans of particular idols. One of the prerequisites is that they have purchased at least one non-original idol product. In the quantitative stage, convenience sampling was used, while in the qualitative stage, extreme case sampling was used. Because the population size is unknown, the Lemeshow formula is used in this study, with a sampling error of 5% and a sample size of 384. A questionnaire was used to collect data, and a semi-structured interview was conducted with seven informants who were also respondents who had completed the questionnaire.

A single variable, cognitive dissonance after purchase, was used in this study. The variable consist of three dimensions namely emotional, wisdom of purchase, and concern over deal adapted from Sweeney, Hausknecht, & Soutar (2000) who have modified the dissonance thermometer provided by Elliot and Devine (1994). This study adapts the scale developed by Sweeney, Hausknecht, & Soutar (2000) to assess post-purchase cognitive dissonance which used 22 items: 15 items for emotional, 4 items for wisdom of purchase dimension, and 3 items for concern over deal using a 5-point Likert scale ranging from 1 (strongly disagree) to 5 (strongly agree). All items are valid, and Cronbach's alpha reliability is 0.929.

Result and discussion

Sample characteristic

According to the study's findings, 299 (78%) of the 384 respondents were female, while 85 (22%) were male. The youngest respondent is 12 years old, and the oldest is 51 years old, with 105 respondents (27%) between the ages of 21 and 26. Based on the frequency of product purchases, the frequency with the highest percentage was one-time purchase, with 136 respondents (35%). According to the idol category, the largest proportion of 229 respondents (60%) are fans of K-pop.

Table 1. Descriptive Sample Characteristic

Characteristic	N (%)
Gender	
Female	299 (78%)
Male	85 (22%)
Age	
12-17 years old	26 (7%)
18 years old	69 (18%)
19 years old	76 (20%)
20 years old	101 (26%)
21-26 years old	105 (27%)
27-51 years old	7 (2%)
Frequency of product purchases	
One time	136 (35%)
Twice	105 (27%)
Three times	76 (20%)
Four to 16 times	37 (10%)
Undefined	30 (8%)
The idol category	
K-pop	229 (60%)
Thai drama, local celebrity, etc	43 (11%)
West music	35 (9%)
International sports clubs	21 (5%)
Anime	20 (5%)
K-drama	12 (3%)

West movie/series	9 (2%)
Japanese pop	8 (2%)
Local football clubs	7 (2%)

Table 2. Descriptive Statistic of the Items for the Key Variable

Items	Mean
Emotional	2.24
After I bought non-original idol products, I was in despair.	2,44
After I bought non-original idol products, I resented it.	2,24
After I bought non-original idol products, I felt disappointed with myself	2,61
After I bought non-original idol products, I felt scared.	2,40
After I bought non-original idol products, I felt hollow.	2,20
After I bought non-original idol products, I felt angry.	2,11
After I bought non-original idol products, I felt uneasy.	2,33
After I bought non-original idol products, I felt I'd let myself down.	2,48
After I bought non-original idol products, I felt annoyed.	2,25
After I bought non-original idol products, I felt frustrated.	2,07
After I bought non-original idol products, I was in pain.	2,39
After I bought non-original idol products, I felt depressed.	1,90
After I bought non-original idol products, I felt furious with myself.	2,15
After I bought non-original idol products, I felt sick.	2,03
After I bought non-original idol products, I was in agony.	1,92
Wisdom of purchase	3.54
I wonder if I really need this non-original idol products.	3,61
I wonder whether I should have bought anything at all.	3,58
I wonder if I have made the right choice.	3,53
I wonder if I have done the right thing in buying this non-original idol products.	3,46
Concern over deal	2.79
After I bought this non-original idol products, I wondered if I'd been fooled.	2,77
After I bought this non-original idol products, I wondered if they had	2,60

spun me a line.

After I bought this non-original idol products, I wondered whether there was something wrong with the deal I got. 3,00

Source: Adapted from Sweeney, Hausknecht, & Soutar (2000)

Based on the data obtained, the average of the emotional dimension is 2.24, which is considered low enough, the average of the wisdom of purchase dimension is 3.57, which is considered quite high, and the average of the concern over deal dimension is 2.79, which is considered moderate. According to these findings, respondents in general experienced low levels of cognitive dissonance after purchasing non-original idol products.

From the results, it can be found that male (mean score 2.63) tend to experience cognitive dissonance after purchase of non-original idol products higher than female (mean score 2.52). Males have more tendencies to cognitive distortions than the females, therefore, the study showed in line with the previous held studies that males seem to be more vulnerable to dissonance than females (Jamwal & Pandey, 2016). According to Coley & Burgess, gender is a mediating factor in impulsive buying and post-purchase cognitive dissonance, so the tendency of attention from a specific gender to an item or product also affects the level of post-purchase cognitive dissonance experienced (Imam, 2013). Graff, Sophonthummapharn, & Parida (2010) stated that gender tendencies or differences in a product's level of cognitive dissonance can be expected if a gender level of attention and enthusiasm toward the product also appears significantly.

The more frequently a fan purchases non-original idol products, the lower the likelihood of post-purchase cognitive dissonance levels. It is related to post-purchase satisfaction in cognitive dissonance. According to Nasution (2018), the frequency of purchase is related to the concept of individual acceptance, and in the expansion of Cognitive Dissonance Theory, there is a concept of disconfirmation of expectations that explains the level of consumer satisfaction, individuals are more likely to make repeat purchases or reuse a product if their expectations are met. As a result, the product receives a high level of satisfaction. The cognitive dissonance of fans with the frequency of purchasing non-original products 1-2 times has a mean score of 2.65-2.66, 3 times has a mean score of 2.58, and more than 3 times has a mean score of 2.1. The higher the frequency of product purchases, the lower the mean score of fan cognitive dissonance. This demonstrates that the high frequency of purchases by respondents is can be attributed to a low level of dissatisfaction. This has an effect on the level of cognitive dissonance, which is also low.

The Reason of purchase a non-original idol product

According to the data interviews, the most common reason for purchasing a non-original product is the high price. The high cost of an original idol encouraged informants to eventually purchase a non-original product, as one informant said:

The reason for buying a non-original product because I wanted to have it (the original product), and it wasn't enough money to buy. (DZA, April 7, 2021)

According to the above descriptions, purchasing a non-original product was an alternative to the informant's inability to fulfill his desire to have an idol product. As a result of the high cost of the original idol, they eventually purchased a non-original product at a lower price. Aside from price considerations, another reason informants purchase non-original idol products is to fulfill personal satisfaction, as one informant explains:

Because there is a clash between my priorities and my desires. I realize I don't really need it, but sometimes I feel like 'self-rewarding'. (DZA, April 7, 2021)

It is clear that the personal reason for purchasing a non-original idol is to satisfy one's curiosity and desire, the curiosity that comes with the curiosity of the quality of the product to be

purchased. Meanwhile, the mere feeling of desire derived from the fulfillment of the 'want to buy,' so that the informant feels satisfied by purchasing non-original products.

Dissatisfaction, discomforts, and guilt after-purchase of a non-original idol product

The most common reaction of informants after purchasing non-original idol products is dissatisfaction with the product. Perceived dissatisfaction manifested as dissatisfaction with themselves and with the products, as described by informants as follows:

The emergence of shame and dissatisfaction with oneself as a result of purchasing non-original products. In my opinion, the inner satisfaction felt when purchasing original versus non-original products is vastly different. (KA, April 6, 2021)

Dissatisfaction is often accompanied by shame. Furthermore, the informants felt self-satisfaction because they believed they would be satisfied if they purchased the original product. Dissatisfaction can also be expressed as the belief that purchasing non-original products was worthless.

I feel like what I've done is has been in vain, why don't I just buy the original product? (R, April 7, 2021)

Along with dissatisfaction, guilt is a commonly expressed emotion. The following respondents described how they felt guilty after purchasing non-original products:

The discomfort is unmistakably similar to guilt, because it is possible that something like that, rather than supporting the idol, actually harms the idol. (S, April 7, 2021)

The resulting sense of guilt explains the discomfort that occurs after purchasing non-original idol products. The guilt is directed at their idol. The informants believe that by purchasing and using non-original products, they feel guilty about their idols. Feelings of regret can arise in conjunction with feelings of guilt.

It was nice at first, and I was calm, but when I realized I had made a mistake, I remembered my idol struggle, which should be rewarded by not purchasing pirated items. (MV, April 7, 2021)

The informants were uncomfortable because they felt that purchasing a non-original product was inappropriate considering their idol's hard work. The informant was overjoyed to have a product associated with his idol, but he was also disappointed because the product was not original. Another uneasy and wary feeling that some informants have after purchasing a non-original idol product is apprehension. This is due to the informants' fear of being exposed as having purchased non-original products. According to the above description, all of the emotions felt after purchasing non-original idol products were negative. There is no dominant sense of pleasure or positive feeling, both towards oneself and the product purchased.

Strategies for dealing with fan dissatisfaction after purchasing non-original idol products

The informants explained several ways to deal with the discomfort that fans felt after purchasing non-original idol products, one of which is to buy original idol products in the future. The informants explained this as follows:

To alleviate my dissatisfaction after purchasing the non-original product, I applied the principle that if I can't afford the original, it's better not to buy. I wouldn't force myself to buy a non-original. In other words, I would not purchase a non-original product again. (KA, April 6, 2021)

With this principle instilled in them, the informants felt that their discomfort was completely resolved. In addition to following the principle of purchasing original products in the future, discarding or hiding products is another strategy used to reduce the inconvenience. The following is what the informants said:

I said I was afraid and nervous about people knowing my non-original purchased, so when I bought that, I'm not showing off, its became my private collection. (MV, April 7, 2021)

It is based on their feelings of shame and a variety of negative emotions after purchasing a non-original idol product. The informant also stated that they did not immediately discard the non-original product, but rather used or stored it at least once. Initially, the informant used a non-original product after purchasing it. However, after a while, these non-original products are no longer used. The explanation is as follows:

After I bought the non-original product then in a few, I stopped using it. (R, April 7, 2021)

It could be concluded that non-original products were only used for a short time. It is clear that a non-original product they purchased was used or stored at some point. Although it is not immediately discarded, negative feelings do tend to emerge after purchases.

Discussion

Post-purchase cognitive dissonance of non-original idol products

Overall, the emotional dimension has a low value. However, the wisdom of purchase and concern over deal dimensions have a relatively high value. According to these findings, respondents in general experienced low levels of cognitive dissonance after purchasing non-original idol products. In the context of cognitive dissonance, the emotional dimension is a psychological disorder that a person experiences after purchasing a product. According to the findings of this study, fans do not experience significant emotional cognitive dissonance after purchasing non-original idol products. This is because fans are emotionally satisfied with the non-original idol products they have purchased. This finding is consistent with the findings of Graff, Sophonthummapharn, & Parida (2010), who found that buyers are less emotionally involved and do not regret purchasing cellular phone products. Fans have no emotional attachment to the product and do not regret purchasing it. This may be due to data indicating that fans purchase non-original idol products because they are less expensive than the original product, resulting in weak negative emotions felt by fans. Fans will rationalize their purchase decision when they buy and receive non-original products, even if they have some negative feelings. This is consistent with the findings of Gbadamosi (2009), who discovered that low prices assist consumers in rationalizing their decisions, resulting in low perceived cognitive dissonance despite high product involvement.

In this study, wisdom of purchase refers to fans' recognition that they may not require the non-original product they purchased. In other words, fans may not properly pick or select the product. According to the data, this dimension has a relatively high value. It is possible to conclude that fans do not require the product. This is possible because fans are able to purchase goods or products as a form of pleasure and fulfillment of satisfaction (Andreas, 2020). Furthermore, products purchased by fans typically do not prioritize the rationalization of product needs. As Sumartono mentioned, fans buy various products to satisfy themselves, rather than to meet their own needs (Hidayati dan Indriana, 2019).

The concern over deal dimension has results that are similar to the wisdom of purchase. This means that customers are dissatisfied with their purchase decision or the seller of the product. This is related to non-original idol products being purchased as high-involvement products. According to Graff, Sophonthummapharn, & Parida (2012), consumer conflict is caused by uncertainty and anxiety about purchasing decisions and during purchases that are then ignored. This internal conflict is what could happen to fans. According to Sumarwan. (2012), product involvement in purchasing decisions is high if it is related to image. In this case, the respondent's identity as a fan of an idol. Taking into consideration the decision to purchase this non-original product, fans believe that the decision should be reconsidered to see if it is the correct one.

We consider idol products to be products with a high level of involvement. However, the findings of this study indicate that post-purchase cognitive dissonance of non-original idol

products is generally low among fans. This does not imply that fans don't experience any post-purchase cognitive dissonance. Idol products are classified as high-involvement products based on the level of product involvement. Bian and Luiz define three aspects of involvement: personal considerations or interests of a person in a product category; pleasure or hedonic value of products capable of providing pleasure, satisfaction, and enjoyment; and benefits or sign value of the product, or the extent to which the product expresses a person's self (Annisa and Wijaya, 2019). Idol products for fans can be classified as high-involvement products based on these three criteria.

Although idol products are high-involvement products with the potential to cause post-purchase cognitive dissonance, if the idol products purchased are non-original and reinforced with lower prices, it results in low post-purchase cognitive dissonance, particularly in the emotional dimension. However, the value of purchase wisdom and deal concern, which tends to be high, can be caused by unfulfilled fan expectations on non-original idol products. According to Korgaonkar and Moschis (1982), unfulfilled expectations can lead to high regret values related to deal concern. This is due to consumers receiving products that are less "valuable" than their initial expectations.

Based on the result, non-original idol products do not provide fans with a high level of emotional connectedness. This is due to the fact that emotional dimension is closely related to the psychological condition of consumers, which occurs naturally (Japariato, 2006). The low emotion dimension score indicates that fans have a low emotional connection to non-original products. The greater the emotional attachment to the product, the higher the product involvement experienced (Susilowardhani, 2012). According to Festinger, cognitive dissonance is more prevalent in high involvement products (Tan & Gan, 2014). This research shows that non-original idol products are classified as low involvement products due to fans' low emotional connection to non-original idol products, which is also evidenced by fans' low cognitive dissonance. Furthermore, product involvement is influenced not only by one factor, but also by consumer experience, purchase risk management, and consumer feelings (George & Yaoyuneyong, 2010). Fans experience less psychological discomfort after purchasing non-original products because of the low cognitive dissonance, particularly in the emotional dimension. This demonstrates the types of consumer feelings and experiences that reinforce the notion that non-original idol products are low-involvement products.

In contrast to the low score of the emotional dimension, the score of wisdom of purchase was discovered to be high. The term wisdom of purchase refers to a person's realization after making a purchase that they may not have needed the product or may not have chosen the appropriate one (Sweeney, Hausknecht, & Soutar, 2000). According to the findings of this study, after purchasing non-original products, fans admit that they may not need the idol product or may not have chosen the appropriate product (in this context, the appropriate product refers to the original idol product).

The psychological discomfort felt in the form of a number of negative emotions was revealed by the results of interviews with respondents who had high post-purchase cognitive dissonance scores. This is consistent with Robison and Demaree's claim that negative emotions such as sadness are expressed cognitively (Pelt, Barbier, and Fointiat, 2018). According to Elliot and Devine (1994), dissonance is experienced as psychological discomfort, which can manifest as feelings of discomfort such as being uncomfortable, difficult, restless, or disturbed. Fans with high levels of cognitive dissonance have dominant feelings of guilt, dissatisfaction, and regret toward themselves and non-original products. Furthermore, the informant stated that they felt guilty towards their idol. Fans believe that purchasing non-original products means they are not supporting their idol. In addition to the feelings of guilt that arise, fans feel remorse for not purchasing original products to show their support for their idols.

Graff, Sophonthummapharn, & Parida (2012) define cognition as a component of knowledge. The low score of post-purchase cognitive dissonance of non-original idol products

on fans can be attributed to fans' lack of understanding of the consequences of purchasing non-original idol products on both themselves and their idols. In this study, fans did not believe that their cognition was incorrect due to a lack of information.

Considering that the dimensions of wisdom of purchase and concern over deal receive high scores while the emotional dimension receives a low score, it can be noted that respondents experience cognitive dissonance in the form of doubts and anxiety about product needs and purchasing process but do not experience excessive emotional cognitive dissonance. Feelings of remorse, rather than emotional regret towards oneself, tend to lead to the buying process and rationalization of needs.

Fans decide to purchase non-original products because they are less expensive. This is due to fans' desire to purchase idol products, so the decision to purchase non-original idol products is made in an effort to satisfy personal satisfaction. Purchasing non-original products is regarded as an alternative that can bridge the gap between fans' desire to own a representative object of idols and their limited purchasing power. This is consistent with Hawkins, Best, & Coney's belief that the difficulties and limitations of alternatives influence post-purchase cognitive dissonance (Kusrina, Yuniardi, and Masturah, 2019). In other words, the existing alternatives cannot compensate for the shortcomings of the purchased products. As a result, it can be concluded that cognitive dissonance, both at low and high levels, occurs in fans who buy non-original idol products and is influenced by the limitations of product alternatives that fans want to adjust to their preferences.

The level of cognitive dissonance experienced is also affected by the product purchase decision process. According to Morissann, consumer purchasing decisions are primarily influenced by the type of product purchased (Susilowardhani, 2012). Product involvement is also determined by price and the complexity of the purchase decision. The lack of cognitive dissonance felt by fans after purchasing non-original idol products can also be attributed to product prices that are lower (when compared to original products) and more affordable.

Strategies for reducing fans' post-purchase cognitive dissonance with non-original idol products

When people experience cognitive dissonance, they will try to alleviate their discomfort. According to the interview results, the informant made several efforts to reduce cognitive dissonance or discomfort experienced after purchasing non-original idol products. Among these efforts are efforts to change people's attitudes and behaviors so that they will buy original idol products in the future. Furthermore, fans dispose of non-original idol merchandise that they have purchased. In addition to attitude change, Simon, Greenberg, & Brehm mention that there are other methods to reduce dissonance, such as trivialization (ignoring or assuming incongruence between attitudes is common) (Pelt, Barbier, & Fointiat, 2018).



Figure 1. Dissonance cognitive scheme
Source: Festinger (Devine, et al., 1999)

According to the Figure 1, dissonance (B) is caused by a discrepancy between cognitions with one another (A), and the psychological discomfort that follows motivates a person to seek strategies to reduce discomfort (C) that will effectively relieve dissonance (D). Based on the

findings of the interviews, fans who experience high cognitive dissonance after purchasing non-original idol products try to overcome their discomfort by applying new principles and changing their behavior. The change is brought about by applying the principle and changing behavior in order to purchase original idol products in the future. As shown in the Figure 1 by Devine et al. (1999), dissonance reduction strategies (e.g., behavior change) are implemented after the individual experiences discomfort. Behavior changes indicate that dissonance has occurred and is being reduced. The greater a person's cognitive dissonance, the more likely a behavioral change will occur (Devine et al., 1999). Similarly, in studies, fans used principles and changed their behavior to buy original products as a strategy to overcome cognitive dissonance.

Furthermore, fan dissatisfaction with the product leads to a shift in fan attitudes and behavior, causing fans to avoid purchasing non-original products in the future. According to Hawkins, Best, and Coney, if customers are satisfied with the product they purchased, they are more likely to buy it again (Kusrina, Yuniardi, & Masturah, 2019). A number of interviewees reported experiencing high levels of post-purchase cognitive dissonance as a result of dissatisfaction with the non-original product purchased. Fans change and adopt behaviors that can reduce previously felt post-purchase cognitive dissonance. According to the interview findings, one strategy for reducing cognitive dissonance is to shift attitudes and behavior away from purchasing non-original idol products and toward purchasing original idol products. Changing attitudes and behavior, according to McGrath (2017), is a strategy for reducing cognitive dissonance; efforts to change attitudes and behave rationally are ways to reduce cognitive dissonance.

McGrath (2017) adds that increasing cognition and refusing responsibility is another method for reducing cognitive dissonance. Fans can also reduce post-purchase cognitive dissonance of non-original idol products by getting rid of them (throwing them away or keeping them). This is done because fans are embarrassed when they use non-original idol merchandise. To reduce cognitive dissonance, people will refuse (hide or disown) their actions (McGrath, 2017). Fans dispose of purchased products and rationalize their actions by believing that having non-original idol products is not a serious problem.

McGrath (2017) also adds another way that is used to reduce cognitive dissonance is to increase cognition and refuse responsibility. Fans also reduce post-purchase cognitive dissonance of non-original idol products by getting rid of (throw away or keeping) products that have been purchased. This is done because fans feel embarrassed when using these non-original idol products. Individuals will refuse (hide or disown) their actions to reduce cognitive dissonance (McGrath, 2017). Fans get rid of products that have been purchased and also make rationalizations by thinking that having non-original idol products is not a serious problem. According to McGrath (2017), this is referred to as a strategy of adding cognition in order to add new beliefs to rationalize or justify the behavior that has been done to reduce the feeling of cognitive dissonance.

According to Hawkins, Best, & Coney, when consumers experience post-purchase cognitive dissonance, they do one of two things: they make purchases that are followed by non-use (returning or storing the product without using it) or they make purchases that end with the use of the product, despite the fact that cognitive dissonance after-purchase has previously occurred (Kusrina, Yuniardi, & Masturah, 2019). Fans who have a high enough cognitive dissonance value will eventually treat the product in two stages. The first stage is the acceptance (use) phase, in which fans first use non-original idol products that they have purchased. Fans who have a high cognitive dissonance value will eventually treat the product in two stages. The first stage is the acceptance (use) phase, in which fans first use non-original idol products that they have purchased. However, after a while, fans enter the second phase, in which they no longer use non-original products and must decide whether to keep or discard the product (non-use). Fans initially valued the product, but as feelings of cognitive dissonance emerged, these non-original idol products began to be abandoned and not reused. Fans stated that they felt

guilty and ashamed if they kept or used the non-original idol product. According to Triana (2014), one's cognition can be influenced by public opinion. This also makes fans who have purchased non-original idol merchandise feel guilty and ashamed. Fans' perceptions of non-original products are influenced by public opinion about the purchase of non-original products.

This study attempts to develop a post-purchase cognitive dissonance model for Indonesian fans who purchase non-original idol products. Fans who experience cognitive dissonance after purchasing non-original idol products make several efforts to reduce the cognitive dissonance experienced by changing attitudes and behavior to buy original products in the future, trivialization by ignoring or assuming that purchasing non-original idol products is not a problem or commonplace, and also getting rid of (throw away or keep) purchased products. After purchasing non-original products, fans go through two stages, the first of which is receiving and using non-original products (use). After a while, it enters the second phase, namely non-use by getting rid of (disposing or storing) the products purchased, which is also one of the strategies used to reduce cognitive dissonance.

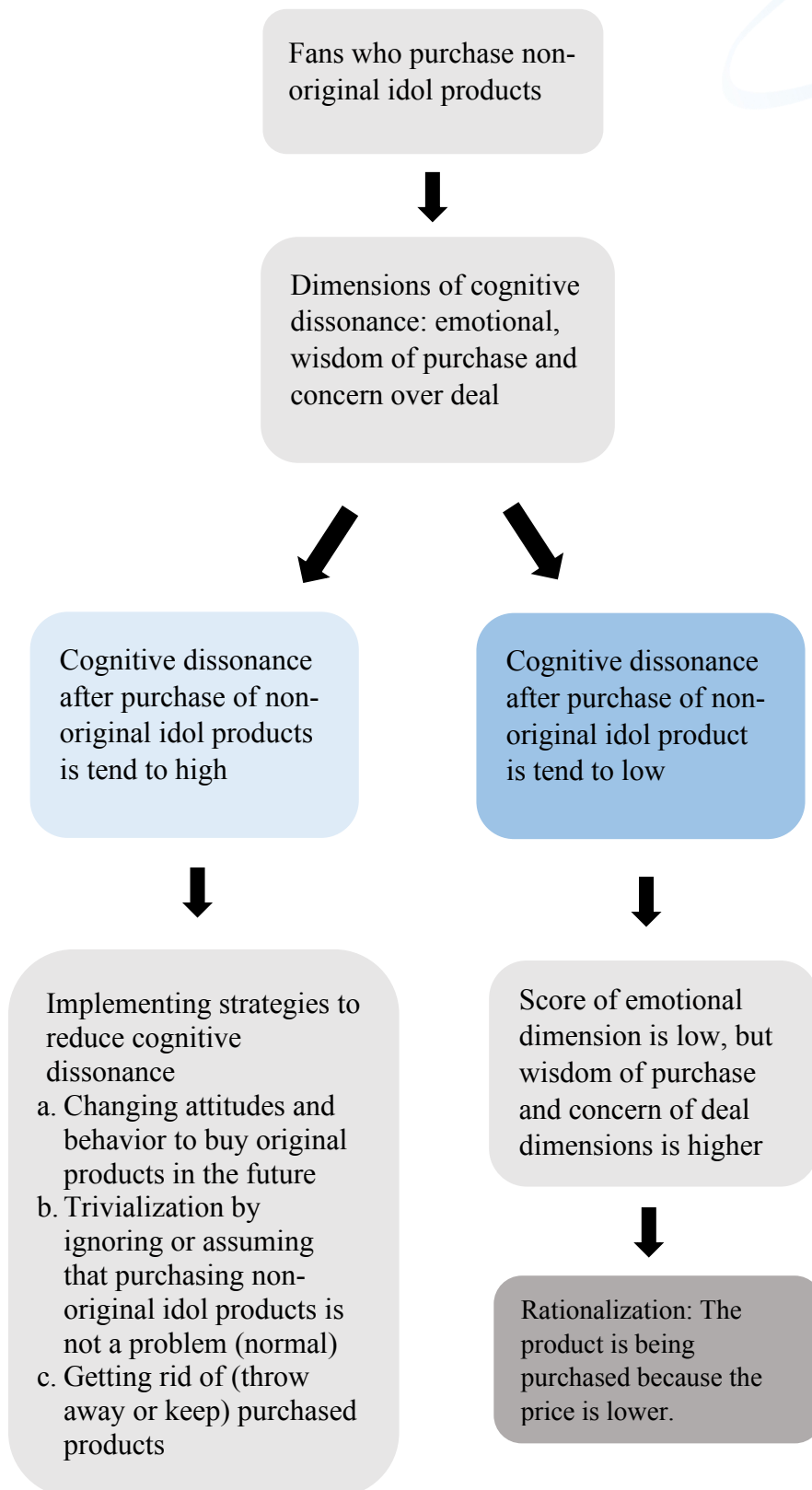


Figure 2. Model of Indonesian fans' post-purchase cognitive dissonance with non-original idol products

Conclusion

Based on the findings of quantitative and qualitative data, it is possible to conclude that quantitatively, post-purchase cognitive dissonance of non-original idol products among fans exists, but is generally low especially on the emotional dimension. However, the other two dimensions, namely wisdom of purchase and concern over deal, have higher scores. This demonstrates that respondents have doubts about their need for products and the decision to purchase non-original idol products. The low cognitive dissonance score of fans could be attributed to a lack of cognition or knowledge about the consequences of purchasing non-original products. This is supported by interview data from respondents who have a high enough cognitive dissonance score that they have knowledge or cognition about the consequences of purchasing non-original idol products.

Fans are motivated to purchase non-original products because they are less expensive than original products. In addition, fans buy non-original idol merchandise to satisfy personal desires. Fans' cognitive dissonance after purchasing non-original idol products is reduced through a variety of efforts, including changes in attitudes and behavior to purchase original idol products in the future, ignoring or assuming that purchasing non-original products is not a problem or normal, and getting rid of it by hiding it. and/or throw away non-original products.

Based on the results of the data analysis and discussion, this study has several limitations, including the fact that it does not measure the respondents' cognition or knowledge. Further research is expected to investigate the respondents' cognition. Moreover, the scope of this study is restricted to conducting interviews using extreme or deviant case sampling. Further research can use interview techniques to obtain deeper explanations about the scores of the three dimensions i.e emotional, wisdom of purchase, and concern over deal, especially when all three have different score tendencies.

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The Ease Of Using Digital Platforms In Covering News For Journalists

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Abstract

During pandemic and in new normal eras, using mobile device and internet based equipments are needed for journalists. Because, since the pandemic appear, there is a big disruption in all sector as well as in the method of journalistic works. The Covid-19 has taught a new phenomenon on how the real world should be shifted into cyberspace. By using digital platforms, journalists meet the quick and low cost way to cover important news.

This research aims at finding factors that caused the ease of using digital platforms to cover news by journalists. This study was conducted using a qualitative descriptive method with background problems that includes on elaborate the importance things that have to be done by journalists in covering the news. Therefore, the journalists have to always consider the journalism ethical and the elements of journalism. It is expected that the implications of this study results will improve the standard of modern communication by journalists as the press people.

Keywords: communicating, information, news, press

Introduction

The rapid development of technology makes the choice of methods and supporting tools in carrying out journalistic tasks increasingly diverse. Conventional reporting methods and tools are now combined by modern ones. The use of digital-based technology has become a daily tool for journalists in accelerating the process of finding information and delivering news.

Reporting aids, including report the news, investigative reporting activity, press conference and news coverage from various news sources, also need the advancement of internet-based digital technology.

Journalists are usually tasked to covering the news by collecting data from many sources as its first step. A news item assigned by newsroom must go through data search, collect of facts, interviews, literature study, news impact analysis, verification of the truth of the findings in the field, confirmation, up to the process of writing or reporting in the media which previously still had to be done. Also went through the stages of discussion with the editorial team, editor-in-chief, editing process as well as recheck and balancing. Those activities must be executed by journalists in a fast time because all journalists are being chased by deadlines because news must be published as quickly as possible in order to keep the value of the news up to date. So that, a journalist must work accurately, actually and quickly (C. Juditha, 2013).

Reportage or news coverage from various sources and different news materials is also often in a position that is far apart. The existence of time constraints, especially with the target deadline, makes journalists have to be able to manage a short time in order to reach all news sources. Not to mention, there are times when journalists meet sources who put forward the

attitude of no comment, off the record, or busy so that they cannot be interviewed. Of course, things like this must be addressed quickly and deftly. Again, time management is the key to journalistic work. Time savings in reporting can be circumvented by the use of technology.

In the journalistic field, the device to help in news reporting, in press conference reportage and in covering journalistic stories from various sources by journalist is also followed by internet-based technology advances.

Moreover, since the pandemic appear there is a big disruption in technology usage. The Covid-19 has taught a new phenomenon on how the real world should be shifted into cyberspace. That's why, during pandemic and in new normal eras, using mobile device and internet based equipments are a must for journalists.

The stage of news coverage activities, regardless of the reporting method, asks journalists to prioritize the accuracy and stay within the corridors of the Journalistic Code of Ethics and the elements of journalism.

This study aims to determine the factors that cause the ease of using a mobile platform to cover news for journalists. Using a digital platform, journalists find a fast and inexpensive way to cover important news. But on the other hand, in terms of the feasibility of the news value, it must be accounted for by only reporting or investigating with the search engine platform without going directly to the location.

Bearing in mind, the value or taste of the news will be very different if the reporting or investigation is not directly carried out by journalists who write the news and the elements that journalists should prioritize in reporting, namely Elements of Journalism (*Bill Kovach & Tom Rosenstiel*).

Journalists have to pay attention to journalistic ethics and journalism elements. This research was prepared by considering the condition that news sources and news materials for news are numerous and located in different places which are not necessarily close each other. In the practice of reporting, the assignment of journalists for news coverage has to be comprehensive. Starting from pre-coverage activities that consist of preparation and projection meetings to the news search process, gathering news materials, searching and interviewing news sources, analyzing, correcting, confirming, brewing in the newsroom, to the process of covering both sides, check and recheck and finalization of news before publication.

All journalistic work from A to Z requires accuracy, precision and speed while still having to heed the Journalistic Code of Ethics and Journalism Elements. Thus, journalists can take advantage of digital platforms such as search engines for reference as a source of investigation or source of coverage. Utilization of the internet is also to cover both sides by interviewing the sources using internet technology such as video calls or voice calls.

The problems in this study are:

1. Why should journalists stick to the Elements of Journalism and the Journalistic Code of Ethics when covering news coverage?
2. To what extent does the use of mobile platforms facilitate the work of journalists?

The use of mobile platforms is believed to be one way to assist journalists in fulfilling their journalistic duties. With the findings emerging from this study, it is hoped that internet-based mobile platforms can help facilitate journalistic work.

When the digital era has begun, it is necessary to control the actions used in finding reliable news sources. Mowlana (n.d.) said, “Who owns and controls the production and distribution of information, for what ends and goals, and under what circumstances and values, is the essential question in the new era of communication and culture” (p. 20).

To conduct in-depth reporting in Indonesia, the use of mobile platforms by journalists can be used as background and additional related information.

As Baird (2010) said, “ We saw the internet as more than just a source of information, entertainment, and power; we saw it as a fundamental right—one that is critical to democracy, diplomacy, and open government” (n.p.).

And Calabrese (n.d.) in *The MacBride Report: Its Value to a New Generation* summarised:

“Nowadays, the advanced media technologies, for instance the internet and satellite communication, have become the infrastructure that has enabled the creation of a new global market system and a new setting for the dissemination of political, economic, and cultural ideas. With these new abilities come new prospects for global poverty alleviation and increased capacity for citizens around the world to witness and resist violations of human rights, wherever they may occur. However, along with the many beneficial improvements, there are dangers to be avoided, not least the use of these new forms of communication by some to violate the dignity and humanity of others through public deception, economic exploitation, political monitoring and repression, and other power abuses” (p.24).

In addition to getting additional background and supporting data, quick and cheap communication with sources can be done using mobile platforms such as email, WhatsApp chat and video calls, as well as social media such as Facebook, Instagram, and Twitter. Journalists focus on the depth of the news by staying in the newsroom while conducting interviews with relevant sources. In addition to facilitating reporting, internet-based mobile platforms such as CAR (Computer Assisted Reporting) software have also begun to become tools that assist journalists in carrying out their duties.

Chris Paterson (2006) emphasized in *News Agency Dominance In International On The Internet*:

“In the mid-1990s, Yahoo was the first to form a strategic partnership with the Reuters news agency to support such sites, and their model was widely emulated. Content-producing web media, on the other hand, tended to mix original content (authored by the firm's own journalists or commissioned for the company) with news agency content” (p. 4).

Andrew Calabrese (n.d.) added in *MacBride Report: Its Value to a New Generation*, that:

“The MacBride report projects a hopeful spirit on how a better world is possible, on the continuing importance of public institutions as a means of ensuring global justice at the local, national and transnational level, and on the value of global communication as a means of knowledge, understanding and mutual respect” (p. 25).

Whether reporting with simple methods and equipment or with the help of modern tools and the internet, all require journalists to stay in the corridors of journalism. As Bill Kovach and Tom Rosenstiel in the book *The Element of Journalism* mention there are 10 (ten) elements of journalism, namely:

Journalism's first obligation is to the truth, its first loyalty is to citizens, its essence is a discipline of verification, its practitioners must maintain an independence from those they cover, it must serve as an independent monitor of power, it must provide a forum for public criticism and compromise, it must strive to keep the significant interesting and relevant, it must keep the news comprehensive and proportional, its practitioners must be allowed to exercise their personal conscience, citizens, too, have rights and responsibilities when it comes to the news.

In addition to the elements of journalism, Indonesian journalists in their duties must comply with the Journalistic Code of Ethics as contained in Law 40 of 1999 named *The Press*. Journalists must also comply with Law 11/2008 on Information and Electronic Transactions.

The methodology that used in this study are data collection and observations of journalistic works such as news and reports in mainstream and online media, literature study and finally using analysis of the findings.

Results and Discussion

In a line with the mass communication revolution prevailing in the media or the press, the delivery of news by the media is also carried out by means and equipment ranging from the most traditional to the modern. Likewise, journalistic work by journalists is easier by modern and digital methods and tools.

Currently, in the internet era, traditional mass media such as print media still exist, even helping journalists who work for mainstream media. Such as print media, radio, television, and foreign news agencies. However, with the existence of a digital platform, the tasks carried out by journalists have become easier.

Journalistic work start by an idea and topic that being a core issue with deep impact to the mass community. The newsroom ask an assignment to report a news that should be done by a journalist. It start by a newsroom meeting that usually contains a task assignment. This meeting is also cover a pre-discussion on how journalist should collect and find a complete story of the news.

Than the reporter do the assignment by starting a collecting related datas. This is followed by nest step namely, repotage by covering the news with collecting any things that add the value if its news at the end. Also to find many sources as its first step. A news item assigned by newsroom must go through data search, collect of facts, interviews, literature study, news impact analysis, verification of the truth of the findings in the field, confirmation, up to the process of writing or reporting in the media which previously still had to be done.

Journalist also has to create a discussion with the editorial team, editor-in-chief, editing process as well as recheck and balancing. Those activities must be executed by journalists in a fast time because all journalists are being chased by deadlines because news must be published as quickly as possible in order to keep the value of the news up to date. So that, a journalist must work accurately, actually and quickly, so, using digital platforms can ease these all journalistic activities. Start from interview the source, journalist can use the video call by mobile smartphone. Then add the news background by related facts, datas and figures can also done by search from internet websites. And nevertheless, do the conformation to get cover both side perspective, accuracy and checking the balancing information by also the digital tool such as CAR i.e. computer assisted reporting also ease the journalist on completing the news reportage.

Covering news by journalist always has to face the journalism elements namely, journalism's first obligation is to the truth, its first loyalty is to citizens, its essence is a discipline of verification, its practitioners must maintain an independence from those they cover, it must serve as an independent monitor of power, it must provide a forum for public criticism and compromise, it must strive to keep the significant interesting and relevant, it must keep the news comprehensive and proportional, its practitioners must be allowed to exercise their personal conscience, citizens, too, have rights and responsibilities when it comes to the news. These also have to be done when the news coverage is helped by digital tools.

Conclusions

The revolution of mass communication by media causing the news process led by modern equipments and methods. The development of media occurs from the very traditional i.e. print, then radio, to the television and also via internet. But, when the era of the internet has been growing rapidly, traditional media remain largely abandoned by the people, both of print and broadcast.

Moreover, by the rapid growth of communication technology, the existence of mobile journalism platforms has already massively easily available. Even though until now, government and private officials are still using the news from traditional media as reference in taking and evaluating their policies.

The existence of the internet is very helpful for journalist and by using digital platforms, these duties are done easier.

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Marketing Communication Strategy Of Kampung TridiMalang Using SOSTAC Model

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Abstract

This research is an evaluation marketing communication strategy of thematic village in Malang City. The purpose of this study is to analyze and evaluate the marketing communication strategies that have been carried out by representatives of 5 thematic villages. This evaluation study adapts the SOSTAC Model. This research was carried out through six stages, namely (1) situation analysis, the purpose of which was to determine the assessment of the internal and external environment, (2) objectives, which were related to the company's vision and mission within a certain period of time, (3) strategy, namely how we can achieve the desired goals, (4) tactics are activities carried out to support the planned strategy, (5) action is that all plans that have been made must be carried out, (6) control, namely plans for measuring and monitoring the progress of the realization of a strategy. This research is a descriptive qualitative research also uses a comparative type and data collection techniques mainly in-depth interview, observation and document studies. Based on the results of the study, it was found that there is a relationship between word of mouth and publicity, especially social media to be able bring tourists to thematic villages and the SOSTAC Model concept for marketing communication strategy in the thematic village, could not be fully implemented because the villagers and Pokdarwis in each village did not have an understanding of a thematic village as a tourist destination. In the process of collecting data, researchers experienced limited time with several respondents to be interviewed, because some respondents had different schedules and business and coincided with the Covid-19 pandemic, so access to direct interviews sometimes needed the right time. In presenting the data, the researcher had quite a bit of difficulty with the data to be processed and displayed because the research site was not only one village with a focus on the six SOSTAC factors and sorting out the data that could be presented according to the respondent's permission.

Keywords: Thematic Village, Marketing Communication Strategy, SOSTAC Model

Introduction

Malang City is a city that has a strategic position in East Java Province, namely as the second largest city after Surabaya City and has a fast development. During its development, Malang City is famous for one of the creative city planning concepts that can be seen through creativity in village development (Kamalita, 2018). The rapid growth in Malang can be seen through creativity in the economic and tourism sectors. This growth can be seen from the presence of tourists visiting Malang City, because of the existence of educational tours such as parks in Malang City. With this reason, many parks are offered and developments in the development of thematic village tourism by the government of Malang City. Of the entire tourism spread in Malang City, the Malang City government through the Culture and Tourism Office uses the tagline "Beautiful Malang" (Maulana, 2017).

In the last few years, the development of a thematic village in the city of Malang has started to emerge, such as the Kampung Warna-Warni, the village of Tridi, etc. The villages used as objects of this research are representatives of five thematic villages in Malang City which have reasons for having *pokdarwis* such as the Glintung Water Street village which was named the 2020 tough village in Malang City, then 3 villages of which are recommendations from DISPORAPAR namely Tridi village, Blue village, and Kajoetangan Heritage village. Finally, the village of Dinoyo, which is widely known by the public and also as a village that provides learning or education to its visitors.

According to (Setyorini & Santoso, 2016) marketing strategy is a marketing mindset that will be used by business units to achieve their goals. Machfoedz (2010), said that there is a marketing communication term used to describe the flow of information about a product from marketers to consumers. Actually, the marketing communication strategy departs from a simple concept, namely how to develop the company's own marketing strategy at a macro level. The company's marketing strategy itself really depends on how the strategy is associated with the company's business plan (business plan). Thus, it is clear that the company's marketing communication will lead to the company's vision and mission in achieving their goals going forward. Companies that do not have a business plan will certainly have an unclear, targeted and systematic marketing communication strategy (Prisgunanto, 2006). The approach model used in this research is SOSTAC. SOSTAC was developed by Smith around 1990. SOSTAC stands for: 1) Situation Analysis (where are we now?), 2) Objectives (where do we want to go?), 3) Strategy (how do we get there?), 4) Tactics (The details of strategy), 5) Action (implementation, putting the plans to work), 6) Control (measurement, monitoring, reviewing and modifying). In addition, the SOSTAC model can help to evaluate, develop and manage the strategies, tactics and actions taken by companies in combination with digital marketing communications (Chaffey & Smith, 2013). The research question is how to evaluate the thematic village marketing communication strategy in Malang City using the SOSTAC model?

The method used in this research is descriptive qualitative to describe environmental conditions and situations that occur in a descriptive or clear and conceptual manner. This research focuses on; 1. Analysis of internal & external conditions and environment, as well as other elements in the marketing communication strategy using the SOSTAC model; 2. Stages of the marketing communication strategy

planning process in the five villages; 3. Analyzing marketing communication strategies that have been sorted using the SOSTAC model, to determine practical marketing communication strategies for thematic villages in Malang City.

The 5 selected research locations already have Pokdarwis and the uniqueness of each village. In this case, the researcher chose informants, namely the Pokdarwis Management of thematic villages located in thematic villages, namely the Chair of the Pokdarwis of the four villages, the Secretary of the Tridi village, the Treasurer of the Pokdarwis Kampoeng Heritage Kajoetangan. Data Collection Techniques and Data Sources Through Interviews (Depth Interview) Depth Interview or in-depth interview is a way of collecting data or information by meeting directly with informants in order to obtain complete and in-depth data. Documentation techniques, namely collecting data obtained from existing records (data) or those that have been made by other parties such as annual visitor data or brochures that are already owned and others. This study uses a qualitative approach, so that the data analysis also follows the method used in the qualitative approach as proposed by (Miles & Huberman, 2001) on how to analyze qualitative data. Qualitative data analysis is inductive in nature, namely analysis based on the data obtained, which is then developed into a hypothesis. In qualitative data analysis, there are four activities that occur simultaneously, namely data collection, data presentation, data compaction, and drawing conclusions.

In thematic villages, it is also necessary to market it as a product. Not only food or clothing products, but tourist destinations are also important so that other people can understand and introduce tourist attraction products, this is a development driver that accelerates the growth of economic centers by exploring the potential and advantages of the area, especially villages or villages. This is because, taking local potential as an advantage and its basic identity. Effectively, it can increase added value and competitiveness with other themed villages or thematic villages as a result of sustainable development. Therefore, the development of a themed village or thematic village needs to be fully understood, not just brand building, but a sustainable city development method based on the active participation of the community. The aim is to encourage competitive economic growth and at the same time to encourage competitive economic growth and to become one of the alternative solutions to urban problems and research on marketing communications that has been carried out by several thematic villages is still rarely carried out.

Result and discussion

Machfoedz (2010) stated that marketing strategy serves as an important factor for the development of planned marketing communications. This is to determine the direction and how to achieve the marketing goals that must be achieved. Effendy (2007) also argues that planned marketing communication needs a marketing communication strategy, which has a combination of communication planning with communication management to achieve the goals that have been set. Through the findings in this study, there are only a few villages that have communication plans, but there are also those who unconsciously carry out marketing communications even though they are not or have not been planned so that the results obtained do not get feedback. As has been done by KJT as stated by respondent 4 who has a communication plan to market the village, but behind the planning made by KJT there are shortcomings, namely the lack of communication with the residents of the internal village

community so that sometimes there are frictions or differences of opinion until there is a debate. Likewise in the GWS village, where they do not have a communication plan but without realizing it, the things they do are included in marketing communications such as word of mouth.

According to respondent, he did this by coordinating with the official parties so that when they could convey to each other that the GWS village was a thematic village that also had quality. Based on respondent 3 who explained that Tridi's village also strengthened it with word of mouth to reach and attract people to come to the village, although the village also carried out plans that would certainly support the village. The marketing communication strategy carried out by the Dinoyo ceramic village, Biru Arema village, Tridi village, Kajoetangan Heritage village and Glintung Water Street village has a different way but there are similarities, namely using social media. These villages have social media, especially Instagram which is used as a means of publication in cyberspace, although there are some social media that are not owned by the village's personal but through the personal account of the village. Like in the village of Glintung Water Street, which does not yet have its own Facebook account, however, the publication of activities in the village is carried out through the Facebook of the head of the pokdarwis. In other villages, each has social media (facebook, instagram) there are also some who have websites such as Kampoeng Heritage Kajoetangan and Kampung Dinoyo which just have a website, as for a blog from KBA and a google business website in the GWS village.

Another opinion about marketing communication strategy by Jauch & Glueck (1998) is that strategy is used as a plan that needs to be integrated in an integrated manner that emphasizes the company's advantages to achieve goals. This also applies to the five villages, trying to plan interesting events, collaboration with various parties and other things, with the aim of inviting visitors to come to their villages, although in each thematic villages synergize with each other in order to raise their own village or thematic villages in the city of Malang as a supporter of tourists coming to one of the main tourist destinations in the city of Malang, this is as stated by respondent 2 that between thematic villages in the city of Malang must encourage each other so that the thematic villages in the city of Malang are increasingly known and show that in Malang city also has interesting destinations, namely thematic villages.

According to Kotler & Keller (2009) marketing communication is influenced by strategies and tactics which are important elements of marketing communication. Specifically explains that the activities of marketing communications as a form of means for companies to inform, remember and persuade directly or indirectly to consumers about a brand or product being sold so that the product can be accepted and consumers can be loyal to the product. So, it can be interpreted that with the existence of marketing communications, companies have the means to market their products in various marketing ways, can relate directly and establish good relationships with their consumers. While the purpose of marketing communication itself is actually so that consumers know and learn about a product brand, why the product is made, the purpose of the company, so that consumers indirectly remember or plant in their memories a brand that creates an image and is even able to encourage sales and affect shareholder value. This of course has been implemented in the five thematic villages, but there are still some that have not been attached to the public's memory, it could be due to several factors such as only a few people who know about it or because they are less active in publications about village tourism so that visitors or tourists do not know. According to

the researcher, the five villages have already made brands and created the image to attract visitors to come, such as in the Tridi village and Dinoyo village, which obviously many people know about when compared to KBA, KJT and GWS.

In addition to Tridi village and Dinoyo village, according to the researchers, more marketing is needed so that the three villages can be remembered by other people, but it is possible that Tridi village and Dinoyo village also continue to market so that visitors or tourists still remember Dinoyo village and Tridi village. . This is as stated by respondent 3, who hopes that the community will not forget the thematic villages in Malang, especially the Tridi village. This was also conveyed because when this research was running, in the conditions of the covid-19 pandemic which made several tourist destinations closed but some were still open by having standard health protocols.

Tantsurina (2017) defines SOSTAC as the direction and core aspect of an online marketing strategy, forming a complete, logical and more importantly customizable marketing activity plan. The SOSTAC model developed by Paul Smith is due to its effectiveness and ability to combine various aspects of planning. It is not only applied to the marketing communication plan but also to the business plan, advertising plan, marketing plan and so on (Avelino, 2013). Included in thematic villages so that the results obtained can be complete, although there are several steps in SOSTAC that cannot be fulfilled but are applied to the marketing communication strategy carried out by the village using the SOSTAC model to be clearer and more focused. Currently SOSTAC is widely accepted as a pioneering system for implementing marketing plans and communication strategies Cowley (2016) so it can be concluded that the SOSTAC model can also be used in thematic villages or more precisely in tourist destinations because the SOSTAC model is logical and relevant for the process of making a plan. marketing and SOSTAC is generally applied to various business scales around the world.

Situation analysis is an assessment of the company's internal and external environment to understand its capabilities, consumers, competitors and other environments (Ngwalle, 2010). Then, Daft (2003) explains that SWOT analysis is a complete analysis of the company's situation by considering internal and external factors. The results of the research data described above show that the five thematic villages both have strategic locations so that visitors or tourists can easily travel in the village. Furthermore, the researcher did not find any research specifically written using a SWOT analysis conducted by five villages so that the respondents used in conveying strengths, weaknesses, opportunities and threats were limited to general knowledge about the conditions that existed in the five villages. Therefore, the researcher made a SWOT analysis that has been described in chapter IV based on the researcher's interview data with all respondents and informants and the observation data carried out by the researcher.

Explanation of objectives is usually associated with the long-term, medium or short-term mission and goals of the company (Prisgunanto, 2006). Setting goals is a crucial component in every business, at a time the goals depend on which aspects will be observed (Ngwalle, 2010). Based on the research data above, each village has a different goal, but in principle the goal to be achieved is to prosper. The community mainly in the village environment so that the villagers in life can prosper in the field of economy, creativity and so on. Even though the KJT village through respondent 5 as the Head of Pokdarwis wants harmony among the KJT tourist villages because the KJT village is in charge of three villages while in other thematic villages it is in charge of only one RW.

Communication strategies can include factors such as segmentation, targeting, positioning, selection of communication tools and sequence of communication tools (Smith & Taylor, 2004). The purpose of segmentation and targeting is to divide the general market into categories according to specific characteristics, to make it easier for companies to target goals according to their needs and also to market goods more effectively. Positioning seeks definitive answers on how the target audience perceives the company. This gives rise to advantages such as information, precise targeting, coverage of certain communication channels and customization (Chaffey & Smith, 2013). From the data obtained by the researcher in the division for segmentation, there are two villages that have divided the rest but have not divided the segmentation, but in the KJT village they have divided the segmentation in the event although not yet in detail for the division of segmentation expected by the village while the purpose of segmentation is to be able to market properly. Likewise in targeting, in three villages namely KJT, KBA and GWS do not yet have a definite target so that the scope of the target to be achieved is very broad. This is as explained by Danurdara et al., (2017) that the marketing process will be more effective if the company or tourist destination manager targets certain groups because they will focus more on segments with high attractiveness.

In terms of positioning, each village already understands the position of the village as a thematic village and can be a tourist destination. As said by respondent 2, it is precisely to increase the power of tourist visits, the village is trying to improve or regenerate by working with youth organizations to develop according to the current era so that the Dinoyo ceramic village continues to survive. Then, in the KBA qualification, GWS and Tridi are in the artificial village qualification with all the differences in the uniqueness of each in the village. In the selection of communication tools and communication tools used by the five villages, there are similarities, such as using radio, mass media (local TV or private TV), and others that are qualified in the picture below:



Picture 1. Thematic Village Marketing Communication Tools in Malang City

In some villages, it is believed that word of mouth contributed greatly to the popularity of the village as stated by respondent 4, respondent 5 and respondent 6. Then, the media used in publicity and online marketing is that on average it has a target of teenagers or families as well as some employees. offices and services are also targets. The exhibition that was held or participated in in the five villages was small in scope because it was based on the budget they had. Direct marketing and personal selling are additional marketing communication tools used by the village.

Tactics are activities carried out to support the planned strategy (Ngwalle, 2010). Based on research data, the tactic here is a promotion that is more focused on social media, events or exhibitions, although the GWS village has only held an event once compared to other villages which have held several events. Then, to achieve this, use social media to inform the event, hold exhibitions in collaboration with outside parties as stated by respondent 5 and hold bazzars in the village conducted by KBA and KJT and events or events carried out by official parties such as the Tourism Office, BLH and others. It is concluded that social media is the main thing in the tactics carried out by the five villages as stated by Tantsurina (2017) that social media is the center of all techniques which will be discussed further on matters related to strategy. However, tactics does not mean to replace the designed strategy, but to add new stimuli and views to the company's routine for its customers (Ngwalle, 2010).

At this stage, the company must already have a list of activities and actions that must be completed immediately with the aim of implementing any improvements that have been planned (Ispravnikova, 2015). From the data obtained by the researcher, the action is by forming an event, event or bazaar project team that builds the development and distribution of messages on the means of communication. This project is managed by prioritizing the effect of effective coordination so that members in a management can provide each other with creative ideas and are always open to provide input and help each other with existing deficiencies. This was done by the five villages so that the event that was carried out went well even though it was like what was said by informant 1 that when holding an event it was prepared in a short or tight time.

Control provides a broad view of the targeted and repeatable audience, then audience preferences, effectiveness of e-tools, costs and competitor situation (Tantsurina, 2017). From the data obtained by the researcher, the five villages found out through tracking of awareness and image seen from the responses of visitors who came through social media, when they met face-to-face and received revenue from sales so that when someone complained, it could be corrected immediately as shown. said by respondent 6 and as stated by respondent 2 through social media, it was immediately responded to and immediately resolved.

Evaluation is the final stage of a marketing communication strategy. Evaluation must be able to monitor all the results of activities that have been carried out (Smith, 2017). The aim is to determine the relevance and fulfillment of objectives, implementation efficiency, effectiveness, impact and sustainability (Kusek & Rist, 2004). It can be interpreted, that evaluation means measuring what has been achieved by the company by comparing the company's performance with the results and this is also necessary for determining or choosing which domains will be evaluated and which have been implemented (Hunger & Wheelen, 2013).

In this evaluation, the researcher focuses on the marketing communication strategy that is being carried out by the thematic villages with representatives of the five villages. This evaluation is useful for describing and assessing the marketing communication strategy plan with the aim of knowing whether the strategies that have been carried out are running correctly, effectively and on target. This research is conducted to determine whether the strategy can be continued, revised or discontinued. Researchers use an evaluation matrix to facilitate understanding, as follows:

Tabel 1. SOSTAC on Evaluation of Thematic Village Marketing Communication Strategy

No	SOSTAC Indicator	Data		Judgement
		Impleme nted	Not Implemented	
1	Situation Analysis	√		It has been implemented well even though there are several things and problems that have not been resolved, such as the absence of vehicle parking facilities because there is no land for parking
2	Objective	√		The desired goal already exists but has not been fully realized properly because there is still a lack of good cooperation and coordination and continues in the internal and external environment of the village.
3	Strategy		√	The strategy in several villages is still not clearly visible and directed because the strategy that is being carried out is still not quite right
4	Tactic		√	In developing a tactic in thematic villages, it is still running stagnant because tactics are carried out only repeatedly, not providing innovation or new views
5	Action	√		The plans that have been made have been carried out optimally and regularly, but the activities carried out are still underdeveloped and rarely held

6	Control		√	Plans that are prepared and carried out well, but there is no monitoring of progress from the application of strategies/plans that have been implemented
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Conclusion

The marketing communication strategy in thematic villages shows that there is a mutual relationship between word of mouth or word of mouth with social media to be able to bring tourists to the village so that this is certainly something new in general at this time. The main component that can currently be used as marketing communication is social media or entering the scope of publicity.

The concept of the SOSTAC model as a representation of marketing communication strategies in thematic villages in Malang City cannot be implemented properly so that the SOSTAC concept is felt to be less than optimal in a thematic village due to several factors, such as the absence of business planning and marketing communication planning in thematic villages, inadequate human resources. owned do not know about managing a tourist destination, the infrastructure is also not fully complete and the action plan taken is not appropriate and not monitored thoroughly.

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Hermeneutics of Ikat Weaving (*Utan*) Lian Lipa from Sikka Regency, East Nusa Tenggara (NTT)

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Abstract

Indonesia is famous for the amazing diversity of woven fabrics, so it has a special place in the hearts of its people. This diversity of woven fabrics is also owned by the people of Sikka Regency, East Nusa Tenggara (NTT) Province. The type of woven fabric that is well-known in the Sikka Regency area is ikat woven fabric (Tallo, 2003). In general, the ikat woven fabrics of Sikka Regency can be distinguished based on gender, namely the women's woven ikat cloth which in Sikka-Krowe language is called *utan* and the male woven ikat cloth called *ragi* or *lipa*. One of the women's ikat cloth (*utan*) originating from Sikka Regency, namely the Lian Lipa *utan*. However, the existence of the Lian Lipa *utan* is still unknown to some people in Sikka Regency, especially related to symbols, such as the motifs on the woven cloth. Apart from symbols, other factors such as norms, social status, traditions and community beliefs attached to this forest are also not widely known. Thus, an in-depth study is needed to be able to answer the overall symbolic meaning of the Lian Lipa *utan*, namely through a hermeneutic phenomenological approach. Thus, this study aims to determine the hermeneutics of the woven ikat (*utan*) Lian Lipa. The research methodology used is a qualitative method and the data collection techniques are observation, in-depth interviews and document studies. Through a hermeneutic phenomenological approach by using the Symbolic Interaction Theory of George Herbert Mead and Herbert Blumer, the results of his research show that the hermeneutics of the ikat cloth motif basically comes from the mindset and process of social interaction that has taken place since ancient times.

Keywords: Phenomenological studies, hermeneutics, Lian Lipa woven fabric, Sikka Regency.

• INTRODUCTION

Indonesia is famous for the amazing diversity of woven fabrics, so it has a special place in the hearts of its people. This is what causes Indonesian woven fabrics to be used as one of the best woven fabrics in the world, especially in terms of the diversity of decorative patterns that can be seen in terms of colors, motifs, quality of materials and threads used (Edie, 2011). This diversity of woven fabrics is also owned by the people of Sikka Regency, East Nusa Tenggara Province (NTT) which are inherited from each generation. The type of woven fabric that is well-known in the Sikka Regency area is ikat woven fabric (Tallo, 2003).

In general, the ikat woven fabrics of Sikka Regency can be distinguished based on gender, namely the women's woven ikat cloth which in Sikka-Krowe language is called *utan* and the male woven ikat cloth called *ragi* or *lipa*. One of the women's ikat cloth (*utan*) originating from Sikka Regency, namely the Lian Lipa *utan*. However, the existence of the Lian Lipa *utan* is still unknown to some people in Sikka Regency, especially related to symbols, such as the motifs on the woven cloth. Apart from symbols, other factors such as norms, social status, traditions and community beliefs

attached to these utan are also not widely known. Thus, an in-depth study is needed to be able to answer the overall symbolic meaning of the Lian Lipa utan.

Each woven fabric has a characteristic that is closely related to the culture of the local area. Culture is the result of human creativity that continues to develop from the process of interaction and communication with the outside world. The process of interaction and communication that occurs will involve all people from various socio-cultural backgrounds, resulting in different understandings (Aw, 2010). On the other hand, communication is also a ceremonial process that requires our participation in managing, preserving and changing culture (Subtil, 2014). Culture is not only cults and customs, but also a structure of meaning that shapes values and experiences (Geertz, 1992). The existence of a good communication process between one generation and another will make it easier to preserve the existing culture.

Culture is believed to be a supporting framework system that combines self-beliefs, values, norms, traditions and communication patterns as a way of organizing, offering certain groups a view of the world that allows each individual to understand it (Barker, 2016). This is because the relationship between culture and communication is so close that it is like two sides of a coin (Kuswarno, 2009). In fact, Anthropologist Edward T. Hall (quoted in Mulyana, 2011), argues that culture is communication and communication is culture. According to Hall, culture and communication have a reciprocal relationship or in other words, when we "learn" culture through communication, at the same time communication is also a reflection of culture itself (Samovar et al., 2014).

The world of culture is a world full of symbols and humans live in that symbolic world. One of the basic human needs, as stated by Susanne K. Langer (quoted in Mulyana, 2005) is the need for symbolization or the use of symbols. Humans are the only animals that use symbols and that is what distinguishes humans from other creatures. So, it is not without reason that Ernst Cassirer (1874-1045) tends to mark humans as animal symbolicum because they have advantages and privileges from other living creatures (Mulyana, 2005). Humans think, feel and act in symbolic expressions, such as language, myth, art, culture, religion are part of the symbolic world. As a result of the symbolization process, it causes multiple interpretations of each object. For example, in every ikat cloth object, there are usually motifs and other elements that complement each other. The motifs and other elements that complement each other should be interpreted to find out the symbolic meaning contained in each of the ikat cloths. The process of interpreting each communication activity is only possible in the study of Communication Science, through a phenomenological study approach, specifically a hermeneutic phenomenological study based on the perspective of symbolic interaction theory.

• PHENOMENOLOGICAL APPROACH

Phenomenology is the study of phenomena and their nature and meaning (Finlay, 2009). The focus is to provide a description or interpretation of everything that appears through the life experiences of a person or group of people (Kafle, 2011). Furthermore, (Kafle, 2011) divides the study of phenomenology into 3 parts, namely transcendental phenomenology, existential phenomenology and hermeneutic phenomenology. Transcendental phenomenology is the original form of philosophical studies which is the root of phenomenological studies as conceptualized by Edmund Husserl (1859-1938). Existential phenomenology focuses on the individual level of culture which includes the internalization of the subjective consciousness of the

individual. For the study of hermeneutic phenomenology, it focuses on the collective aspects of culture that are concerned with language, so that texts can be analyzed objectively, in the sense of exploring and determining the nature and structure of communication.

• HERMENEUTIC PHENOMENOLOGY

Like the study of phenomenology in general, hermeneutic phenomenology is also related to the world of life or life experiences lived by humans. The focus is on describing in detail the life aspects of any experience that can be taken for granted in our lives, with the aim of creating meaning and achieving a common sense of understanding (Wilson & Hutchinson, 1991). The meaning of description as a method of hermeneutic phenomenology lies in interpretation. Interpretation is not an additional procedure, but rather as an inescapable basic structure of "our existence in the world" (Finlay, 2012).

Referring to the understanding of the hermeneutic phenomenological study which states that every object always contains a hidden meaning that must be interpreted in the form of a text and the text itself contains meaning, the interpretation process is to reveal the meaning that is still implied and hidden in the text. Thus, related to the meaning of the symbols of the woven cloth motifs, the study of hermeneutic phenomenology is understood as a study to interpret the meaning of various works of art (woven fabric motifs) using language in the form of text. Therefore, the Sikka-NTT Regency ikat motif was chosen as an object that can be interpreted, because of the symbolic meaning contained in each of the woven ikat fabrics. Thus, the motifs on each of the ikat cloths are also a "text" which is full of symbolic meanings to be interpreted.

The link between culture and the study of hermeneutic phenomenology is emphasized by Geertz (2017), that culture is an active dimension of social life and is more than just a guarantee mechanism for social integration. Culture is also understood as a very complex network of signs, symbols, myths, routines and habits that need to be described in a thick description. Furthermore, Geertz said that culture is not only a pattern of visible behavior, but culture has an interpretive nature, as a "semiotic" concept and as a "text". Because culture is a semiotic concept and as a text, the cultural product must be read, translated and interpreted in order to know the meaning contained in it (Kuper, 1999).

○ SYMBOLIC INTERACTION THEORY

Symbolic Interaction Theory was originally proposed by George Herbert Mead (1863-1931). After that, Herbert Blumer (1900-1987) who was a student of Mead, continued Mead's ideas by combining many works whose ideas are the main foundation in symbolic interaction (Burbank and Martins, 2009).

There are 3 premises of the Symbolic Interaction Theory, namely (1) humans act on things based on the meanings that something has for them, (2) these meanings come from the process of social interaction that a person has with other people, (3) the meaning is modified and then analyzed through an interpretation process and refined during the social interaction process (Carter and Fuller, 2016). Symbolic Interaction Theory understands certain interactions that occur in certain contexts (Dennis, 2011). Symbols, especially words, are central concepts from the perspective of Symbolic Interaction Theory (Burbank and Martins, 2009). Symbols are created socially and are used to represent shared meanings among members or groups of people in the cultural world.

Denzin (2016), explains that the term symbolic in the phrase symbolic interaction refers to the geographical foundation that underlies the life of human groups. The word interaction refers to the fact that people do not act on one another, but interact with one another. By using the term interaction, Symbolic Interaction Theory is committed to studying and analyzing developmental actions that occur when two or more people combine their individual actions into joint action. Symbolic interaction focuses on the interpretation of the meaning of each symbol and an understanding of the reality of life from each individual subjectively (Carter and Fuller, 2016).

• METHODS

○ Research methods

This study used qualitative research methods. Researchers will explore complete and detailed information related to Lian Lipa's hermeneutics of woven ikat cloth (*utan*) by carrying out several stages, such as observations, interviews and literature studies.

• Research Approach

In this study, researchers used a phenomenological approach, especially hermeneutic phenomenology. In general, phenomenology is the study of how humans as subjects interpret the objects around them. However, there are important differences that are clearly visible from the research methodology between the general phenomenological approach and hermeneutic phenomenology. According to Kvale, Osborne & Polkinghorne (quoted in Laverty, 2003), the methodology of the phenomenological approach is generally descriptive and focuses on the structure of experience, the organizing principles that give form and meaning to the world of life. Meanwhile, the methodology with a hermeneutic phenomenology approach according to Barclay & Polkinghorne (quoted in Laverty, 2003), is interpretive and concentrated on the meaning of historical experience and the influence of its cumulative development at the individual and social levels. This process of interpretation or interpretation includes collectively explicit statements about the meaning of historical experience. Furthermore, Laverty (2003), explains that the hermeneutic phenomenological approach asks researchers to engage in a process of self-reflection with a very different purpose from the phenomenological approach. In particular, the researcher's biases and assumptions are not confined or sidelined, but are embedded and important to the interpretation process.

Although there are differences between the phenomenological approach in general and hermeneutic phenomenology, according to Ricoeur (quoted in Driyanti, 2011), the hermeneutic phenomenological approach cannot be separated from phenomenology in general. Phenomenology is an irreplaceable basic assumption for hermeneutics. Phenomenology cannot run its program to understand various phenomena completely and thoroughly without an interpretation process. For the purposes of the interpretation process, a hermeneutic phenomenological approach is needed. So, basically, the hermeneutic phenomenological approach and the general phenomenological approach are complementary.

○ Research Focus

The focus of the research in this study is to understand the hermeneutics of Lian Lipa's woven ikat cloth (*utan*) by interpreting the motifs and various elements contained in them.

Informant Determination Technique or Sampling

To determine the informants in this study, the researchers chose informants from parties directly involved in the activity of making woven ikat fabrics. Determination of the informants selected by purposive sampling. The informants were selected on the basis of certain criteria made by the researcher based on the research objectives (Kriyantono, 2014). In this case, the researcher chose informants from people who use woven ikat products, either in the form of sarongs, clothes, skirts or in the form of other accessories. In addition, the determination of informants can also be done by snowball sampling which usually grows more and more according to the needs in the field. In this case, the researchers selected informants from ikat weaving culture activists, both owners of weaving groups and owners of weaving studios in the Sikka-NTT Regency area, as well as local community leaders, cultural experts, academics who are still consistent in exploring and continuing the weaving tradition.

Based on the technique of determining informants by *purposive sampling* and *snowball sampling*, the researchers finally selected 8 informants, both male and female. The researcher hopes that the selected informants will be able to provide comprehensive information, explanations, suggestions, suggestions as sources of accurate data in accordance with the formulation of the problem and the objectives of this study.

Data Collection

Creswell (1998), explains that data collection techniques in qualitative research through a phenomenological study approach are observation, in-depth interviews and the study of official documents.

In this study, researchers conducted in-depth interviews related to the symbolic meaning of woven ikat motifs and made observations or observations on the community owners of weaving groups and weaving studios. The data obtained from the results of in-depth interviews and observations were then summarized and reduced. After that, the data related to the symbolic meaning of the ikat cloth motifs are interpreted by the symbolic meaning of the motifs contained in each ikat cloth which is then analyzed and described in the form of text.

Data Analysis

According to Miles and Huberman (2009), there are several stages in the data analysis technique used in this study, namely data reduction, data display, conclusion and verification.

Data Validity

The data validity technique is a technique used to test the level of validity of the data used in qualitative research (Kriyantono, 2014). This is to prevent errors in the data that has been collected, so researchers need to check the validity of the data.

Data validity techniques can be carried out in 3 ways, namely adding or extending research observation time, increasing persistence and triangulation.

Research Location

The location of the research on the hermeneutics of Lian Lipa's ikat cloth (utan) is located at Sanggar Ikat Weaving Bliran Sina, Kajowair Village, Hewokloang District, Sikka Regency, East Nusa Tenggara Province (NTT).

Instruction: The introduction looks slightly different depending on whether your paper presents the results of original **empirical research** or **constructs a concept** by engaging with a variety of sources. In the introduction, provide research problem, background or review the most relevant research that has already been conducted, the research question, and method.

Literature review is crucial to inform your own work. In engaging with your topic, begin by establishing the kinds of research that have been done, and end with limitations or gaps in the research that you intend to respond to. Consider to state the contribution to knowledge does your article made. You can simply state the problem you intend to discuss, and what is original or important about your argument. Type your thesis statement that expresses the position that the rest of the paper will present evidence and arguments for. It can be presented in one or two sentences, and should state your position clearly and directly, without providing specific arguments for it at this point. at the end of the introduction it needs to be called the method used in research briefly. There is **no need for special subsections about research methods**.

Introduction is written approximately 700-900 words for the total number of articles or 10-15 percent of the entire article content.

Result and discussion

The woven ikat (*utan*) Lian Lipa is also known as the Nian Nepa. The name Nian Nepa comes from the Sikka-Krowe language, namely from the word nian which means island and the word nepa (*nipa*) which means snake. However, the majority of ethnic groups in Sikka Regency call him Lian Lipa. When translated literally, this ikat cloth is interpreted as the island of snakes which is a representation of the island of Flores which is shaped like a snake. Nian Nepa or Lian Lipa is a special woven cloth for women which in Sikka-Krowe language is called utan. So, the people of Sikka-NTT district usually call it the Lian Lipa or Nian Nepa.



Figure 1: Utan Lian Lipa or Nian Nepa

(Data Processed by Researchers, 2020)

Although it literally means snake island, the motifs on Lian Lipa's do not come from snakes, but come from a combination of geckos, dragon skin, pineapple fruit shoots and objects such as plates, jars and *bahar tibu* (gold). The gecko is the main motif and is flanked by dragon skin, pineapple shoots, plates, jars and *bahar tibu* as complementary motifs. The gecko is a four-legged reptile, hard-skinned, has a loud voice and is always on the ceiling of the houses of the people of Sikka Regency. Given the presence of geckos on the ceiling of the house, this animal is also sacred because it is believed to be the incarnation of ancestral spirits who have magical powers. Thus, the gecko motif on the Lian Lipa is a symbol of the incarnation of ancestral spirits who have magical spiritual powers. Meanwhile, for the dragon skin motif as a symbol of the power of the universe. For the motif of *bahar tibu* (gold) and the top of the pineapple as a symbol of fertility, followed by the motif of plates and jars as symbols of places to store offerings. All the motifs of this ikat cloth are influenced by local beliefs or often called *animism* and *dynamism* beliefs. Thus, naming this ikat cloth was also a Portuguese tactic so that the local people at that time could accept the religious teachings that had just been spread.

Nian Nepa's or Lian Lipa's have lines from their motifs which are commonly called ikat lines. These tie lines start from *ina gete*, *ina doi*, *tokang*, *likeng*, *buen* to *wiwir*. The *ina gete* tie line is the dominant pattern and can be interpreted as a maternal pattern. After the *ina gete*, there is the *ina doi* tie line which is the medium line of the reduced *ina gete* form. Following that, the *tokang* tie line, which is smaller than the *ina doi* tie line. After that there is a lichen tie line which is smaller in size than the *tokang* tie line. In addition, there is an even smaller tie line which is commonly called a *buen* tie line. While *wiwir* is the edge or edge of the woven ikat cloth which is dominated by a rather wide black color. The arrangement pattern of all these tie lines must be symmetrical.

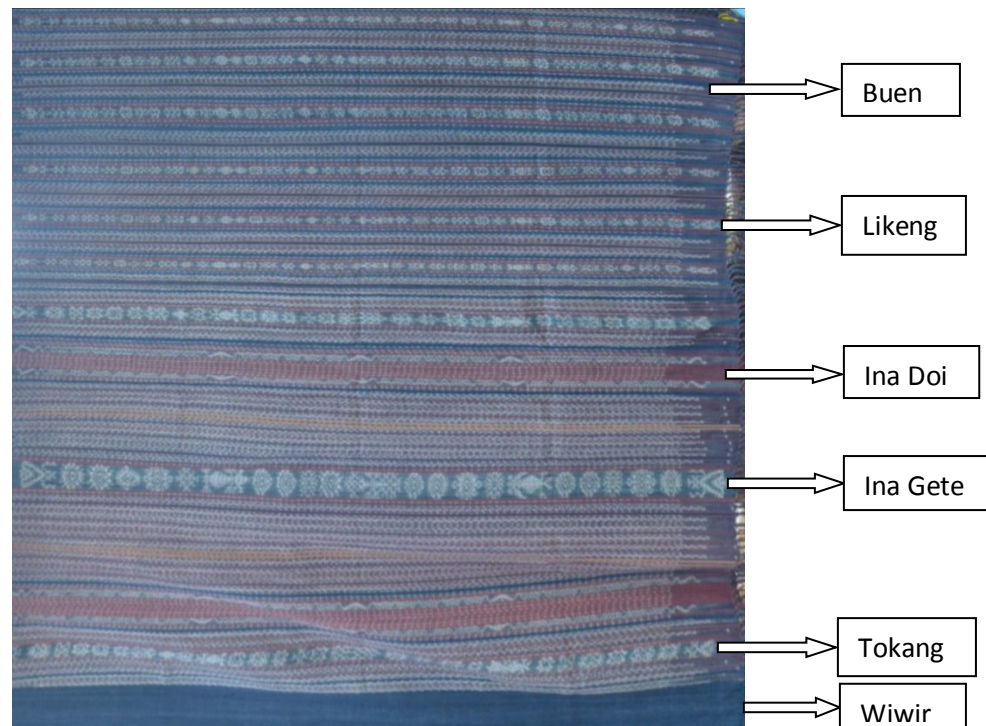


Figure 2: Tie paths from Lian Lipa or Nian Nepa
(Data Processed by Researchers, 2020)

The motifs on this ikat cloth are located on the ina gete, tokang and likeng lanes with different sizes, ranging from large to small sizes. In the ina gete tie line, the size of the motif looks large. In the tokang tie line, the motif size looks medium and in the likeng tie line, the motif size looks very small. Meanwhile, in the ina doi tie line and the buen tie line, it is only a line scheme, dominated by maroon on the ina doi tie line and blue on the buen tie line.

The colors in the Nian Nepa or Lian Lipa utan motif are a combination of dark colors such as black and blue with light colors such as white and maroon. The black and blue colors are processed from a combination of indigo leaves mixed with whiting. The white color comes from the natural color of cotton and the red color is made from a blend of noni root bark mixed with the bark and leaves of the Iowa tree. The black and blue colors symbolize the mystery of life. That life is a mystery known only to the Creator, God Almighty. However, in the world of fashion, the dark colors in this ikat motif give a positive, formal and elegant impression. Meanwhile, the white color symbolizes a peaceful, holy and pure life. Furthermore, for the color maroon is symbolically considered a magical color favored by the soul of the sky and the soul of the earth. This is related to the materials offered to the ancestors are usually red, such as red chicken, red pig, red buffalo, red horse and red goat (Orinbao, 1992).

The Lian Lipa utans can only be worn by women who are over 50 years old. Of course, this utan is used during traditional rituals. Ages 50 years and over are biologically non-productive ages and are classified as old age who are nearing death. Thus, the black color which symbolizes the mystery of life on the woven cloth motif is interpreted as life approaching death. In addition, this utan is woven twice, so its size is 2 times longer than other woven ikat fabrics. Therefore, the way it is used is also different from other woven ikat cloth, which is folded into 2 layers, so it looks thicker.



Figure 3: Utan Lian Lipa or Nian Nepa worn by Mama Yustina Neing
(Data Processed by Researchers, 2020)

However, there is a tradition from several ethnic groups in the Sikka Regency area, specifically the Sikka-Krowe ethnicity, that the Nian Nepa or Lian Lipa for beginner weavers can only be worn or used when up to 7 pieces have been woven. The number of 7 pieces is a symbol of the strength and maturity of the weavers, that the weavers are really ready to engage in weaving activities. So, on the 8th sheet, this woven ikat cloth can already be worn or used. This tradition still survives until now and if it is violated, it will bring disaster or disaster for the weavers.

Conclusion

Ikat weaving is an aspect of culture that was inherited by the ancestors and is still very influential on society, especially the people of Sikka-NTT Regency. Departing from the mindset of the ancestors of the people of Sikka Regency and the process of social interaction that has taken place since ancient times until now, the ancestors of the people of Sikka Regency weave the Lian Lipa or Nian Nepa utan with a combination of several motifs and make the gecko the main motif. Therefore, from the results of the analysis in the form of an interpretation of the combination of several elements in the ikat cloth, it is found that the hermeneutics of the Nian Nepa or Lian Lipa are symbols of magical spiritual power from the spirits of the ancestors that can bring fortune or luck. In addition, the Lian Lipa or Nian Nepa is also a symbol of existence, the community entity of Sikka Regency, especially for womens.

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