

DISRUPTION OF MEDIA IN POLITICAL SPACES AND POST-TRUTH ERA

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ABSTRACT

The dynamics of the internet to connect and transmit information make rapid changes to communication globally. The presence of the internet is part of a process of cultural change. These changes occur because of the disruption of internet. In the political process, people often use new media to organize campaign actions, help the elections in the open way, and provide greater space for independent opinion and expression in cyber space. Social media such as Facebook, Twitter, Instagram, Blogs, YouTube, WhatsApp and others become a fact of disruption, replaced the mainstream media that is commonly used in political campaigns.

The emergence of political buzzers with followers often changes the format of the campaign to be more open, critical and actual. Buzzers who work independently without official institutions cause them to become producers of information based on their own opinions and are free to side with certain parties or political figures. Openness of digital information in the post-truth era has caused people to be flooded with information. The problem that arises later in the community is not how to get the news, but rather the lack of ability to digest information properly. Post-truth makes the position of opinion above facts, lies and hate speech become commodities in politics industries in the digital space.

Keywords:disruption, new media, buzzers, post-truth

INTRODUCTION

The presence of the internet is part of cultural change. These changes occur because the internet is disruptive. Emerging changes include changes in social, economic, and cultural, among others: changes from modernity to postmodernity, globalization and the fading of the nation-state, loss of national borders in terms of trade, culture & identity, as well as trust, changes from the era of manufacturing industry to the era information, decentralized geopolitical order (Lister, 2009).

In the 90s, children and teenagers were still seen playing by way of gathering and interacting directly while now being replaced by game consoles to the most recent using online games. In principle the game is still being carried out, communication is also established, only through cyberspace. A few decades back, the place to find friends is usually done by sending letters through the post which is usually called the pen pal. Search for friends in his day pen pals then changed the platforms in the early 2000s with the introduction of a friendship site called Friendster. This site mediates everyone being connected without boundaries of time and region at a much lower cost. The strong public interest to socialize in cyberspace led to several friendship sites with various platforms such as Facebook, Instagram, Thinder, Path and so on and then made Facebook, Instagram and whatsapp into the giant social media under Mark Zucerberg ownership.

Indonesia is an important place to see the role of digital media in empowering the power of the grassroots audience. The country which has assets of nearly 171 million people out of a total of 264 million Indonesians has been connected via the internet and according to research from the media company We Are Social in collaboration with Hootsuite, Facebook is the most popular social media application in Indonesia, with 81 percent penetration, despite being hit by a security scandal over the past year. Instagram which is also owned by Facebook, became the second most popular social media in Indonesia, with 80 percent penetration. Especially for social media, the top five in Indonesia are occupied by Facebook, Instagram, Twitter, Snapchat, and LinkedIn. Facebook's popularity as a social media can only be defeated by its YouTube video streaming platform and its instant messaging application, WhatsApp.

YouTube in Indonesia has 88 percent penetration, while WhatsApp has 83 percent penetration. (<https://tekno.kompas.com>: 2019).

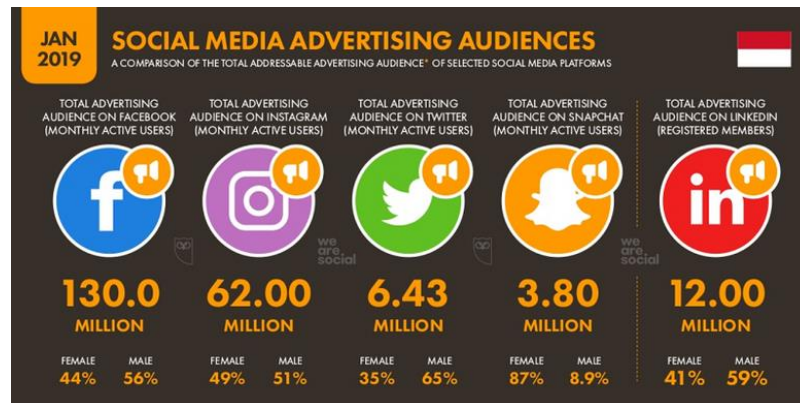


Figure 1. The top 5 Social Media Advertising Audience in Indonesia
Source : We Are Social and Hootsuite

Rhenald Kasali state that there are six changes taking place in the world today. First, technology, especially information and communication, has changed the world where we stand. Technology has made all products into services, all-digital services and formed a new marketplace, a new platform with a completely different community. Secondly, in line with that came the new generation who became the main supporters of this movement. They grow as the majority power in a new civilization that determines the future direction of civilization. That's the generation of millennial. Third, the extraordinary speed born from a microprocessor with a double capacity every 24 months causes technology to move faster and requires people to think and act even faster. Humans are required to think exponentially, not linearly. Humans are required to respond quickly without attachment to time (being 24 hours a day, 7 days a week) and place (being anywhere), with disruptivemindset. Fourth, in line with disrupted society, disruptive leaders emerge who with full awareness create change and progress through new ways. This clearly demands a new mindset; disruptive mindset. This can be seen in the regents and governors who were brought up in the second wave of the internet, who understood how to carry out deserving of corruption. They actually encourage all its officers to enter social media and provide services 24 hours a day via smartphones. The officers are required to change and get out of the behavior of keeping the stalls into proactive behavior. Out of the shackling tradition, live in a corporate mindset. Fifth, not only technology that grows, but also how to explore victory. New humans develop highly disruptive business models that make goods and services more affordable, more accessible, simpler and more populist. They introduce sharing economy, on demand economy and everything that is more real time. Sixth, technology has entered the third wave: the Internet of Things. This means that social and commercial media have reached a breaking point. The world is now entering a wave of smart devices that drive us all to live in collaborative works. Telemedicine, smart home, smart city and smart shopping, are new realities that we have to face, including in the world of education. This has become an opportunity as well as a threat to all sectors of our lives. And there was disruption (<https://www.pewartanusantara.com>: 2019)

Disruption of New Media

Disruption of media began with the transition of the role of print media to online media. News portals in Indonesia have started since before the reforms era 1998. Media such as Kompas, Republika and Tempo already had news portals which at the time appeared to only move printed versions to online versions. Republika became the first media to have an online version in 1995. Shortly at same year, Tempo magazine also released its online format called tempointeraktif.com. But unlike Republika, the reason Tempo created a news portal at the time was because its magazine publishing permit had just been revoked by government. In 1998,

together with the fall of the Soeharto's government, Detik.com, an online media that did not have a printed version and focused on developing the concept of online journalism. In 1998 the portal Kompas.com was also present under the auspices of Kompas Cyber Media Company (Nugroho et al, 2012: 86-90).

The rapid development of online media is not linear with the quality of the news from the media. Demands for the fast and factual presentation of news sometimes override aspects of verification of the issues in the news. Haryatmoko explained that the speed race in presenting news had an impact on the low accuracy and violation of journalistic ethics. The practice of journalism that concerns him is electronic and online media journalism, because both forms of media can display information and exchanges in a short and real time. In the midst of industry competition and on behalf of the speed of information, online media often ignores journalistic principles such as news values, verification, cover both sides, and the public interests. The practice of online journalism follows precisely the short-term logic of providing information that is short and fast. As a result, the news presented is actually news that is sensational, spectacular, concise, and ignorant of the interests of the public (Haryatmoko, 2007: 30).

Internet facilities mediated the development of online media then followed by social media. Blogs, friendship sites, online videos, chats and others become a form of information search media other than online media to the public. There are several differences between online media and social media, among others, online media has a trusted news source with an official institution that is equipped with qualified journalistic human resources. Unlike social media, anyone can be a source of news, actors or information objects. The trend in making 'status' on friendship sites (Facebook, Twitter, Instagram, YouTube) in the form of text, photos and videos becomes an event of self-existence that is low cost with a high level of publication. Not surprisingly, many social media activists have sprung up from their many followers. In addition, there are also agencies that have a hidden agenda, especially in politics, which is usually called buzzer. These buzzers always make news about issues that are currently hot in the community, where sometimes without being based on facts and verification results or also called hoaxes. Even the buzzer became a propaganda industry in a political campaign.

The independent research institute CIPG (Center for Innovation Policy and Governance) conducted research in 2017 related to this and outlined four common characteristics of buzzers. First, the buzzer must have a wide network that makes it easy to gather crucial information. A large number of followers is also a part of the must-have network character. Second, the buzzer has the ability to have a conversation with the audience on the social media timeline to make the message conveyed persuasive and personable. Third is the ability of buzzers to produce content such as journalistic knowledge and framing / selection of information. Fourth, regarding motives, a buzzer can be paid or based on voluntary decisions driven by ideological reasons or satisfaction. Buzzers do not always have to be famous singers who are adored by the general public, but quite someone with a follower number (at least) above 2,000 (<https://tirto.id>: 2017)

Buzzer provide a fast access of information for electoral parties or political actors. The new media set a new democratic format although in virtually way, can influence public policy that is being highlighted. Public participation becomes more lively, dynamic, direct and immediate in terms of response. Nevertheless this new media also made a negative contribution to the political climate in Indonesia, especially during the election. Social media gives spaces and time for citizens to manage their content. The role of this buzzer who actually becomes an influencer in a positive direction is tainted by political buzzers who work for certain groups of politics. The virtual debate becomes shallow with anger, hatred and verbal abuse with fellow citizens even with friends and siblings. Virtual debates are far from issues or information that enlighten the public, because what is being discussed is not the vision, mission, achievements or track record of the candidate for governor being championed. On the other hand, the debate is more about physical or religious beliefs and even ethnicity which is not correlated with the leadership aspects of each candidate.

Fact or Fake News in Post-Truth Era

Governor election DKI Jakarta 2017 not only creates competition in the real life moreover creates open war in cyberspace. The Cyber Team of each candidate (buzzer) prepares ammunition in the form of issues which are then thrown into social media. The problems then arises when there is no gate keeper that keeps the truth from the news spread on social media. This is because social media is an independent media that everyone is opened to make a status, both in the form of text, images, sound and video.

In the case of blasphemy by Ahok in 2016 which was affiliated with the DKI Jakarta Governor election, the opinion gathering was carried out by the mass media through online media, social media and media messengers directed towards the favourite of community and political figures. In this case each candidate is symbolized as a role model both religiously and by performance. Horton and Wohl called this a parasocial phenomenon in which the media designed political and community figures so that they convincing on love, beliefs and obedience to that figure. The term of parasocial was first known by Horton and Wohl in 1956. The concept of parasocial interaction describes the way of audiences relate, emotionally and cognitively, with images of people they see and hear through the mass media, and can be collectively called mediated relationships. Audience involvement plays a central role in audience understanding and interpretation of media texts (Cohen, 2009: 224).

Primordial sentiments in the DKI elections were very massive, especially since was triggered by a Ahok's blasphemy case. Negative campaigns and black campaigns in various forms of hoaxes, fake news and hate speech circulate in the form of text, images/ memes that are given a caption, to video snippets that can be easily obtained from WhatsApp and various social media sites such as Twitter, Facebook, Instagram and YouTube . From the issues that are mentioned above can be indicated that we penetrate into a new era called post-truth. The post-truth era is a time where information can be very biased and often move away from objective facts, especially information disseminated through the internet and social media.

Post-truth was first introduced by Steve Tesich through his essay in *The Nation* (1992) which shows his deep concern about the behavior of politicians / government which according to him by continuing to play public opinion by ruling out and even degrading facts and objective information (mediaindonesia.com: 2018). In 2016 "post-truth" was chosen to be the word of the year by the Oxford dictionary. Post-truth is defined as circumstances where objective facts are less influential in shaping public opinion than appeal to emotions and personal beliefs. Al Rodhan (2017) in his article *Post-Truth Politics, the Fifth Estate and the Securitization of Fake News*, mentions some of the main characteristics of post-truth politics: 1) Dividing people with the emotional things. 2) Ignoring data and facts. 3) Prioritize and neutralize news that is not necessarily true or false. 4) Combining populist movements with conspiracy theories that still need to be tested again for truth. 5) Mobilization of fictional narratives about certain figures or events. 6) Putting dishonesty in building opinions to strengthen social positions, figures, groups or certain interests in society that are increasingly accustomed to the civilization of television, online, android and social media.

The post-truth politics that occurred at the time of the 2017 DKI Jakarta elections are loaded with populist issues. It is an agenda that represents the needs of the community at that time. The most powerful themes on social media are still about Ahok's blasphemy cases, and the others such as economic, health, women's and children's issues. The chosen topic was adapted to the needs of the community so can be easily understood by all levels of society. So it is not surprising that populist issues are always be trending topics on social media to gain sympathy from the community.

The rising of post-truth politics cannot be separated from the reactions in the lower classes of society. The sticking social issues are packaged as political products by the elite which are then neutralized by buzzers. The flood of information makes a new problem to the community in sorting out what is right or wrong. The truth depends on the assumption that our point of view an object. The failure of institutions in reducing fake issues in cyber space has become a weak point so that polarization occurs in the community. Internet technology with social media has become an effective means of disseminating post-truth politics.

CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

Media disruption changes the habits of the people who used to get information through conventional media into digital media such as online media, social media and chat media. The unstoppable flood of information caused by all net citizens can be a source of production of circulating news. Hoaxes, fake news and hate speech are increasingly circulating in the internet-based media in this post-truth era. Hoaxes, fake news and hate speech are increasingly circulating in the internet-based media in this post-truth era. To anticipate this, needs to be awareness of media literacy for all net citizens. Clarification, verification and validation of information needed to anticipate the negative things above. Identity politics in the post-truth era which should be a constructive force in building democracy and as a means of resistance against dominant forces or marginalizing certain communities, metamorphosed into a destructive movement that divides the nation in the name of religion, ethnicity and class. This should be the awareness of the nation's children so that they are not trapped in hoax news, opinions that are not based on facts and polarization as a result of post-truth politics.

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