



CONFERENCE PROCEEDING

**2015 Indonesia International Conference
on Communication (INDO ICC)**

*Communication
& Collaboration*

FISIP UI, Depok Campus

Thursday-Friday, 10-11 December 2015



Department of Communications
Faculty of Social and Political Sciences
University of Indonesia





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*Communication
& Collaboration*

**Department of Communication, Universitas Indonesia
3rd International Conference on Communication
10 – 11 December 2015**

CONFERENCE PROCEEDINGS

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Preface

Dear Esteemed Colleagues,

It is my pleasure to introduce to you to the 3rd Indonesia International Conference on Communication (IndoICC). IndoICC is a Bi-Annual international conference hosted by the Department of Communication, Universitas Indonesia.

The 1stIndoICC was attended by approximately 200 communication scholars from various nationalities, entitled 'Global Challenge to the Future of Communications' with Stephen W. Littlejohn, Karen A. Foss, Robert T. Craig, and David Marshall as keynote speakers. The theme of the 2012 conference, 'Communication, Context, and Community', attended by scholars from Australia, Malaysia, and Japan, with professors Krishna Sen, Merlyna Lim, and Leen d'Haenens as keynote speakers.

Continuing the momentum, we invite scholars from all over the world for the third time to rethink the communication studies discourse under the theme 'Communication and Collaboration'. We expect the event to be an opportunity for scholars in the Asia Pacific region to participate in shaping a more grounded and context-specific view regarding the current communication research paradigm.

As one of the leading institution in communication studies in Indonesia, an emerging economy the Asia Pacific, we would like to house an event that is aimed to bring about scholars from various disciplines across the Asia Pacific. In doing so, we look forward to build a longstanding relationship scholars. More importantly, this conference is expected to provide opportunities to network and share knowledge with colleagues, to form new relationships and renew older ones.

On behalf of the Department of Communication, Universitas Indonesia, I would like to thank our keynote speakers, Prof. Zaharom Nain, Prof. Brenda Cherednichenko, Dr. Thor Kerr, and Dr. Jane Johnston as well as out conference supporter, Perludem Indonesia. It is with their kind participation that this conference is realised.

Yours sincerely,

Dr. Pinkey Triputra, M. Sc
Head of the Department of Communication
Faculty of Social and Political Sciences
Universitas Indonesia

About 2015 Indonesia International Conference on Communication

Communication Research Centre, Universitas Indonesia, has organised bi-annual Indonesia International Conference on Communication (IndoICC) since the year of 2010. IndoICC is aimed to accommodate a multidisciplinary approach towards understanding the role of media in our contemporary regional society.

The 3rd IndoICC was held on 10-11 December 2015 at the Universitas Indonesia, Depok, West Java. To bring the utmost experience of intellectual exchanges among Asia-Pacific scholars, the conference featured Prof. Zaharom Nain (Nottingham University, Malaysia Campus), Prof. Brenda Cherednichenko (Deakin University, Australia), Dr. Thor Kerr (Curtin University, Australia), and Dr. Jane Johnston (University of Queensland, Australia) as keynote speakers.

In this year's conference, the committee has brought up the theme of "Communication and Collaboration." There seems to be an unnecessary dichotomy in the Southeast Asian media and communication scholarship between 'old and new media', 'structuration and agency', as well as between paradigms. The theme 'Communication and Collaboration' attempts to explicate this paradox, and better understand what might seem as developments heading in contradictory directions.

As the conference theme deals with fluid concepts of communication as well as the media's role within different power relations, panels have been developed based on emerging themes of the papers submitted by participants. Papers are divided into two streams: International and National. In the 'International' stream, participants are invited to submit and present papers for global academics, while the 'National' stream facilitates Indonesian professional researchers and academics to submit and present papers for an Indonesian audience.

IndoICC 2015 participants from both streams come from different academic disciplines such as Media Studies, Communication Science, International Relations, Political Science, Sociology, Cultural Studies, Anthropology, Psychology, Business and Economics, and many others. In IndoICC 2015, we also encourage graduate and postgraduate students to present their ongoing or recently completed research projects among their peers and fellow academics in the Postgraduate Panel.



Disclaimer of the Conference Proceeding

In order to make the information and ideas presented at the conference promptly and widely available, participants in the conference were invited to submit written papers based on their presentations for inclusion in this conference proceeding.

The submission of full papers to be enlisted in this proceeding is optional. Each paper submitted was **not** going through any peer-review process nor refereed based on specific criteria of selection. A total of 22 papers submitted under the instructed writing guidelines are included in this proceeding and sorted based on alphabetical order of the first author's forename.

Owing to the fact that published conference papers should be a direct reflection of the presentation and subsequent discussion at the conference, papers were accepted in the form in which they were submitted; there was no process of revision by the editors. Therefore, any matters regarding the citation of the paper in this proceeding should be directly referred to the corresponding author.

This 2015 IndoICC proceeding has a registered ISBN number, yet it will not be publicly distributed, both on the printed and online edition. The document is sent on a pdf format to the authors through personal email.

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INTERNATIONAL STREAM

The Digital Villain: Mapping Cross-Cultural Fears of the *Pontianak* in Malaysian, Singaporean and Indonesian Cinemas

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Abstract

Many Asian nations share cultural and religious beliefs that freely flow across borders. Such beliefs are easily incorporated in different Asian countries because of the existing familiarity and popularity of shared belief in folk tales, superstitions and fear of the supernatural. Vampires for example, are recognized as one of the most dreaded supernatural beings in Asian folklore, mythology and popular culture. In Malaysia and Singapore, the vampire is known as the *Pontianak* and *Kuntilanak* in Indonesia. She is female and described as a fearsome mythical creature with vampire-like qualities. Despite the geographical differences, she is similarly described as having fangs and long flowing hair, possesses ghost-like traits and high-pitched shrieks, and is subdued using a sharp object struck to the back of her neck. While folklore states that she returns from the dead to avenge her unjust murder, she is known to have a fondness for the blood of children. Despite possessing such fearsome and horrifying characteristics, the *Pontianak/Kuntilanak* paradoxically remains a popular figure in Malaysian, Singaporean and Indonesian horror cinemas. This paper maps the cross-cultural influences and similarities between the *Pontianak and Kuntilanak* and examines if the cinematic *Pontianak/Kuntilanak* exists as a villain or a misunderstood vigilante.

Keywords: horror cinema, *Pontianak* and *Kuntilanak*, transnational, cinematic villains.

Introduction

The *pontianak* exists as one of the most feared and recognised supernatural being in Malay folklore. With its roots deeply embedded within the Nusantara region, the *pontianak* has a legacy that transcends both time and space. Throughout the years, sightings of this mythical creature in Malaysia, Singapore and Indonesia have been recorded in writing or orally passed down through the generations. Despite being geographically separated, eyewitness accounts of the *pontianak* in these countries remain similar: the *pontianak* is female, have fangs, possesses ghost-like traits, and can only be subdued by striking a nail to the back of her neck. The *pontianak* is also similarly known to shriek in a high-pitched tone, has long flowing hair, and dons a long white robe.

Over time, cinematic representations of the *pontianak* have blurred the boundaries between traditional belief and popular culture. The *pontianak* in folklore and popular culture now possesses similar qualities to the Western vampire, as a hybrid creature that blends Eastern and Western

characteristics of a vampire (Ng 2009). The *pontianak* has thus become a recalibration of Malay and Western folklore and popular culture, as she was created with fangs, ghost-like traits, and is subdued using a sharp object (nail at the back of the neck).

Such representations are however deemed as erroneous. In Malaysia and Singapore, the term *pontianak*, according to Skeat (1965), actually refers to the child of the *langsuyar/langsuir*, a creature that shares similar characteristics with the *pontianak*. The *langsuyar/langsuir* is an incredibly beautiful lady who died giving birth due to the shock her stillborn child that has become a *pontianak*. Upon this, she claps her hands and flies onto a tree. In order to prevent such a transformation, a large amount of glass beads are placed into her mouth, a chicken egg is placed under her armpits, and needles are pierced through her palms. This is done so that the dead woman is prevented from shrieking and flying, as her arms are movements have been limited. The *langsuyar/langsuir* is fond of fish and can be recognised through her green robe, long fingernails, and long jet-black hair. Cutting her nails and hair and stuffing in into a hole may subdue her for she transforms into a woman and capable of being a wife and mother.

While the *pontianak* should theoretically be termed as the *langsuyar*, this female vampire has been commonly referred to as the *pontianak* in societal folklores and popular culture. On a different note, the *pontianak* should not be mistaken for a certain geographical location by the same name. Pontianak located at the province of West Kalimantan, Indonesia, got its name through a myth that states how early settlers at Pontianak were haunted by sightings of the *pontianak*. As such, myths and beliefs in the existence of the *pontianak* stretches transnationally throughout Southeast Asian countries. In Indonesia, it is known as the “kuntilanak” and in Singapore and Malaysia, the “pontianak” and has become one of the most recognised villains in the cinemas of these nations.

The role of the villain however, does not fully justify the appearance of the *Pontianak*. Very often, the *pontianak* returns from the un-dead to execute her vengeance upon those who had murdered her. In some films, she returns to seek for her lost child of whom she had left behind after childbirth. Her presence in cinema thus possesses a sense of ambiguity, as is her presence as the living dead. As the *pontianak* is not only often female and possesses vampire like qualities, her ambiguous presence presents another form of difficulty because of her existence in Malay folklore. In Malaysia, Malays are constitutionally Muslims as well. Thus, the *pontianak's* presence as the un-dead is in defiance and transgresses Islamic beliefs as it goes the belief of life after death. The notion of the *pontianak* who exists as the un-dead goes against the timeframe between death and *akhirat*, a time known as *Barzakh*. It goes against this notion for it is believed that after death, the soul leaves the body, cannot return to life and awaits judgement. For it is during *Barzakh*, or the time when the soul leaves the body and hovers above the body in the grave and is in a state of repentance while waiting to be resurrected during *akhirat*. The belief in the *pontianak* transforming into a human or as a form of the un-dead echoes the superstitious beliefs in the Malay *adat* (culture) and themes of folktales and superstition across borders. This therefore causes the *pontianak* role to play an ambiguous role. Firstly, does the *pontianak* who returns from the dead to avenge her death exist as a villain? Or does her acts of avenging a wrongful death in seek of justice make her the protagonist? This paper will briefly map out the various forms of *pontianak* films in the cinemas of Malaysia, Singapore and

Indonesia and will examine the roles of the Malaysian cinematic *pontianak* in the films *Pontianak* (1957) and *Pontianak Harum Sundal Malam* (2004).

The Cinematic and Digital Villain

Binary oppositions have often structured the thematic content, plot and storyline in most feature films. This usage of binary oppositions in films has often exploited and highlighted the battle between the forces of good versus evil. This scenario which places good and evil at opposing ends has been habitually portrayed through the introduction of a seemingly calm, tranquil and peaceful opening scene whereby residents, citizens, or inhabitants of a certain place, country or make-believe land are living in mutual harmony. One way or another, this opening scene of peace and tranquillity would not appeal or lean towards the favour of a certain individual. For some reason as provided by the film's narrative, this individual would by choice or as a victim of circumstances choose to rebel against this seemingly utopian system. The villain is an individual who 'strives to achieve a goal without regard to the welfare of other characters or norm of society' or is a social outcast yearning for recognition in society (Hirschberg 2009). This individual would attempt to change what is felt as unfavourable and incompatible and would work towards changing what is felt as an infringement of his or her wants and needs. Since the current laws do not go in their favour, villains would break the law with a primary goal of ruling the world (Alsford 2006, 95). Very often, villains are involved in a struggle, which involves obtaining the affection of a female figure. As a result of the above, an individual would be recognised and labelled as a villain for creating chaos and disorder, in short, for going against social norms and for disrupting equilibrium.

The villain exists as an integral part of the narrative: if there were no villain, there would be no hero. Throughout the history of cinema and literature, the narrative has often presented a character or characters we love to hate. According to Klapp, there exist five categories of villains in contemporary cinema: 'evildoers who threaten social order;' 'usurpers and abusers;' 'traitors and sneaks;' 'villainous outsiders;' and 'socially undesirable pariahs' (Manchel 1990, 802). The villain is often seen as an "unattractive" figure who hails from the "dark side of the Force", yet is seductive as the villain operates according to their own rules and refuses to conform or be limited by convention or taboo has a strength and presence that is hard to ignore and in some ways hard not to admire (Alsford 2006, 95). Although the main motive of the villain is to destroy and kill the hero who stands in the way of the villain accomplishing a particular objective, the continued existence of the villain ironically provides a sense of clarity for the importance of the hero's journey (Hirschberg 2009, 19). This is because without Cain there will be no Abel; without Goliath there will be no David; without Darth Vader there will be no Luke Skywalker; and without the Joker there will be no Batman. This symbiotic relationship in its own strange manner helps to maintain a balance of power in the progression of the narrative of a film.

The success of a film has been traditionally measured through the popularity of its hero. This is because the hero has traditionally maintained his position within the narrative as the symbol and representation of goodness. Hitchcock however disproves this notion by stating that 'the better the villain, the better the film' (Fischhoff 1995). The progression of contemporary cinematic narratives has introduced villains, which shifts the alliance of audiences from the hero to the villain. This is because

while audiences have traditionally rooted for the success of the hero, audiences today have begun to associate themselves with the villain's myopic view of the world which allows for the existence of a greater and more entertaining conflict (Hirschberg 2009, 19).

In Malaysian cinema, importance is similarly given to the popularity of the hero who has often overshadowed the role of the villain. For example, the Golden Age of Malaysian cinema was mainly focused on the heroic roles played by P. Ramlee. This filmmaker, actor and scriptwriter is best known for his gallant and valiant roles in films such as *Hang Tuah* (1956), *Antara Dua Darjat* (1960) and *Ibu Mertuaku* (1962). While these films have been studied and analysed recurrently in the media and academia, the study of cinematic villains remain understudied. This has caused the roles and characters of cinematic villains such as Buang in *Sergeant Hassan* (1958) and Sitora in *Sitora Harimau Jadian* (1964) to be insignificant or not researched about. This situation which places far greater importance onto the cinematic hero rather than villain has caused the contributions by notable actors such as Salleh Kamil, S. Kadarisman and Mahmud Jun to the establishment of early Malaysian cinema to have gone unnoticed. These figures were prominent in carrying out their roles as cinematic villains and have equally supported the progression of the narrative and establishment of the hero. In short, without the cinematic villains, there would be no cinematic hero and thus, the progression of Malaysian cinema might have been different altogether.

The above definition of what constitutes both heroes and villains thus causes the role of the *pontianak* to become ambiguous. Due to the shared political and cinematic history of Malaysian and Singapore, the *pontianak* has become one of the most recognizable cinematic villain in both nations. Until the two nations parted ways in 1965, there already was in existence seven films portraying the *pontianak*. Till date, there exist more than ten films made about this iconic mythical creature from the 1950s until the early 2000s. Notable films about the *pontianak* are *Pontianak* (1957), *Sumpah Pontianak* (1958), *Pontianak Gua Musang* (1964), *Pontianak Harum Sundal Malam* and *Pontianak Menjerit* (2005). Despite possessing such fearsome and horrifying characteristics, the *pontianak* remains popular due to the deep rooting in religious and superstitious beliefs of many Asians.

The *pontianak* and the *Filem Seram*

Horror films have always been popular in Asia. Its audiences have been entertained by Malaysian/Singaporean *pontianak* films such as *Sumpah Pontianak* and *Anak Pontianak* in the 1950s–1970s; Indonesian horror films *Mystics in Bali* (1981) and *Pengabdi Setan* (1982). Because these countries have much in common culturally, there exist many similarities in the characteristics of its horror films. This shared cultural proximity exists across Malaysian, Singaporean and Indonesian borders through the belief in the cinematic *pontianak*.

As Malaysia, Singapore and Indonesia share a history deeply embedded in animistic beliefs and folklore, the *pontianak* finds its place from ancient Malay mythology. It is suggested that the *pontianak* exists in the form of the un-dead and can transform into a beautiful woman to avenge her wrongful death. As she had died during childbirth, it has been popularly suggested that the term *pontianak* is an amalgamation of the terms “pon” – short for perempuan or woman or puan or Mrs.; “ti” – from the term mati or die; and “nak” from the term anak.

In Indonesian cinema, locally made horror films remain a popular genre. The *pontianak*, or locally known as the *kuntilanak* becomes a popular cinematic figure. The *kuntilanak* possesses similar traits to the *pontianak* in Malaysia and Singapore and in essence, exists was a woman who died at childbirth and returns from the dead to avenge her death. The first *kuntilanak* film was produced in 1962 and remains popular till today. While the first film produced is titled *Kuntilanak* (1962), the production of *kuntilanak* horror films however, became immensely popular in post-2000 Indonesian cinema. For example, from 2006 – 2011, a total of ten *kuntilanak* films were produced. Amongst the more popular are the *kuntilanak* series, *Kuntilanak Beranak* (2009), *Jeritan Kuntilanak* and *Arwan Kuntilanka Duyung* (2011).

In Malaysian and Singaporean cinema, the horror film or *filem seram* has been most popular during the 1950s–1960s and witnessed a revival in the early 2000s. During these times, it was the *pontianak* films that popularised this genre. The usage of a localised monster and entity located within the already existent beliefs, mythologies and superstition has allowed Malaysians and Singaporeans to develop a deep sense of ‘cultural verisimilitude’ that invokes a deep sense of plausibility, motivation, justification and belief due to familiarity with the *pontianak* in these films. For example, the first *pontianak* film *Pontianak* (1957), directed by B.N. Rao and released by Cathay-Keris caused certain members of the audience to lose consciousness as the images were reported to be too shocking. Yet, the exploitation of the fears and anxieties of the local audience eventually witnessed an eventual rivalry between the two largest film studios Cathay-Keris and Malay Film Productions (MFP) of the Shaw Brothers. Being a commercial enterprise, the *pontianak* films were commercial feature films that continued ‘telling familiar stories with familiar characters in familiar situations’ (Grant, 2003). The film’s success led to two sequels, *Dendam Pontianak* (1957) and *Sumpah Pontianak* (1958). Another two *pontianak* films; *Pontianak Kembali* (1963) and *Pontianak Gua Musang* (1964) were released and similarly directed by B.N. Rao. The Cathay-Keris *pontianak* films proved to be a winning formula with a total of five films released and the *pontianak* till today remains the most recognisable monster. The genre’s success eventually led to spin-offs and imitations by MFP. In 1958, MFP released Ramon Estella’s *Anak Pontianak*. However, MFP only produced two *pontianak* films, the other being *Pusaka Pontianak* (1964). *Pontianak* (1975) became the eighth and final *pontianak* film released before the 30 year hiatus in the production of *pontianak* films. Locally made horror films also lost their lustre with Malaysian audiences and the horror genre became almost non-existent. Malaysian cinema continued producing commercial films featuring the *pontianak* and from 2004 – 2013, a total of six *pontianak* films such as *Pontianak Menjerit* (2005) *Tolong! Awek Aku Pontianak* (2011), and *Paku Pontianak* (2013) were produced. In Singapore however, only *Return to Pontianak* (2001) and the short film titled *Pontianak* (2005) have been produced.

In 2004, Shuhaimi Baba’s *Pontianak Harum Malam* became the first *pontianak* film to be released in more than thirty years. The film which exploited the infamous *pontianak* myth achieved critical and commercial success as it was screened at twenty-nine commercial cinemas, made a return of MYR3.2 million (US\$1.07 million), and received numerous accolades such as the Best Editing and Best Male Supporting Actor at the *Festival Filem Malaysia 17* (17th Malaysian Film Festival), and ten awards (including Best Film Production, Best Cinematography and Best Editing) at the 2004 Malaysian Film Workers Association (PPFM) Oscars. *Pontianak Harum Sundal Malam* also became the first Malaysian made horror film in the post-2000 era to be commercially screened overseas and at festivals

in Spain, London, Bangkok, and Singapore; and to win awards for Best Director, Best Cinematography, and Best Music at the Estepona Horror and Fantasy Film Festival (Spain, 2004), and Best Actress at the Asia Pacific Film Festival (Japan, 2004). The popularisation and success achieved by this film eventually led to the emergence of a new 'wave' of *filem seram* in Malaysia. In 2011 alone, an average of one *filem seram* was released per month with various horror sub-genres and sequels being produced. The local media, which extensively covered the film's accomplishments, helped the film gain extensive popularity while (re)popularising the horror genre. As a result, another three *pontianak* films were released with *Pontianak Menjerit* (2005), *Pontianak Harum Sundal Malam 2* (2005), *Tolong! Awek Aku Pontianak* (2011), *Pontianak vs Orang Minyak* (2012) and *Paku Pontianak* (2013).

The Cinematic Malaysian Pontianak

Pontianak starred Maria Menado with her husband Abdul Razak as the scriptwriter. The film narrates the tale of Chomel's transformation into a *Pontianak*. After she was abandoned as a baby and adopted by an old man working as an author, Chomel grows up ugly and hunchbacked. Her physical condition causes her to be ostracised by the villagers. When the old man dies, he mysteriously instructs her to burn all of his personal belongings. As she is carrying out his instructions, she finds a book that reveals a secret mixture to obtaining good looks. During a full moon, she makes the mixture, drinks it and passes out. However, she fails to notice a clause prohibiting her to ever taste blood. She awakens as a beautiful woman and eventually marries the son of a village head. Her transformation into a *pontianak* happens when her husband is bitten by a snake. In a bid to rescue him, she sucks the venom from his leg but the taste of blood tempts her to ultimately drain his body of blood. She vanishes but emerges as a *pontianak* who returns during the night to visit her daughter, terrorise the village, and kill men after seducing them.

Pontianak Harum Sundal Malam tells the story of Meriam, a distinguished "gamelan" dancer whose beauty many covet. The narrative begins in pre-independence Malaysia and Meriam is granted the honorary title of "Primadona" due to her prominence and expertise as a dancer. Two friends, Marsani and Danial who also live in Kampung Paku Laris fall in love with her at the same time. Meriam eventually weds Danial and when she is heavily pregnant, her merchant husband is killed in an accident at sea. As Marsani attempts to fill in the void left by Danial, he forces himself onto Meriam. She however resists and flees but is stabbed in the abdomen by one of Marsani's thugs. As she lies dying, her unborn child is miraculously saved. Strange events eventually start taking place as those closely aligned with Marsani are found dead. It is believed that Meriam has returned in the form of a *pontianak* seeking vengeance and executing retaliation upon those who have wronged her.

In 2003, Marsani continues being haunted by the death of Meriam and obsessed about her rejecting him. He remains paranoid about Meriam's vengeance upon him and his family. In order to protect his family and lineage, he undergoes plastic surgery and ozone treatments so that he can expand his lifespan. One day, Maria, a girl who bears similar looks with Meriam enters his life. Marsani becomes distraught because of the striking resemblance between Maria and Meriam. Strange events once again start occurring to those close to Marsani and cause his paranoia to intense. Being certain that Maria is actually Meriam, he fears for his grandson Norman and his wife Ana as unexplained

shadows begin to emerge. They then discover a tomb where Norman works and the scent of a tuberose rose lingers in their home. These paranormal activities affect their marriage and the sanity of Maria, as she wonders if indeed she is a *pontianak* as Marsani finds a scar at the back of her neck.

In *Pontianak Harum Sundal Malam* much emphasis is placed upon the careful construction of costumes and settings that reflect 1940s Malaya, a time period when *Pontianak* was produced. The *pontianak* in *Pontianak Harum Sundal Malam* bears similarities and differences from the *pontianaks* of the 1950s and 1960s. Firstly, Meriam differs from the *pontianaks* of Cathay-Keris and MFP because Meriam has supernatural powers that enable her to fly and climb trees. Secondly, the advancement of technology and computer generated images (CGI) has led to the evolution in the make up and costume of the modern day *pontianak*. Meriam does not wear a rubber mask and neither does she have fangs.

The *pontianaks* from the different eras however contain certain similarities. Firstly, the *pontianaks* from *Pontianak* and *Pontianak Harum Sundal Malam* have the capability to disguise themselves as beautiful women. These beautiful women have the capability of seducing, charming and alluring their male targets using their beauty. Once they have trapped their targets, they then capably transform back into an unsightly form and kills their victim. Very often, these targets are mostly men, who have wronged them during their lifetime. As such, the *pontianaks* in such movies employ the Noh and Kabuki-influenced 'shunen' (revenge) plot similar to the horror movies from Japan, South Korea and Thailand whereby the murdered woman returns from the afterlife seeking for justice. She achieves this as a phantom or apparition and kills their perpetrators and allies. It is only after achieving this is her soul able to rest and equilibrium is restored.

In both films, the *pontianak* as the form of an un-dead becomes an ambiguous figure. They become ambiguous not only because of their existence of being neither dead nor alive but also because they are seen as being both the villain and hero. The *pontianak* in seeking for justice for the oppressed or to exact vengeance upon those who have wronged her by returning from the afterlife or capably transforming from one form to another could locate her as the protagonist. On the other, the chaos, destruction and murder upon those who have wronged her could locate her as the villain or antagonist. It must however be noted here that the role played either as antagonist or protagonist represents the changing role of women in Malaysian and Asian cinema. The role of the *pontianak* in capably destabilizing the narrative of a film becomes a positive departure from the stereotypical roles of women.

The *pontianak* does not play the role of the submissive housewife, nagging mother-in-law, scantily dressed female character with a low IQ or becomes subjected as sexual prey. The *pontianak* instead becomes an authoritative and intelligent figure who can capably think, manipulate while cunningly threatens to castrate her nemeses, who are often men who have wronged her in the past. She capably achieves this by her loud shrieks and costume designs which is meant to cause shock and horror amongst the audiences. The long flowing hair and white flowing robe, while aiming to scare audiences, is also an indication about how the *pontianak* capably retains her female identity without succumbing to the needs and wants of gender identity as defined by society. Her capability of moving from one realm to another and of travelling without being confined to gravity and rules of time also indicate how the female body is no longer confined to the shackling and authority of male regulation

and control. Despite departing from stereotyped roles for she gains supernatural strength and abilities to destabilise the equilibrium of the film's plot, what is regrettable however is the eventual conformity to patriarchal order. This is because the *pontianak* which has caused much destruction must be punished and destroyed so that equilibrium can be restored.

Conclusion

As the most popular and feared creature in Malaysian folklore and cinema, the *pontianak* has become iconic in some way, shape or form. The *pontianak* has become possibly more feared than their male counterparts as her capability of returning from the underworld in order to exact her vengeance onto those who have wronged does not only articulate a sense of fear about the empowerment of women. Depending on whether her acts of vengeance are interpreted as acts of cruelty or vigilance, her notoriety could either place her as a hero or villain. Such a sense of empowerment however goes beyond granting the *pontianak* with the status of hero/protagonist or villain/antagonist. It is important to note that the cinematic portrayal of the *pontianak* itself is a form of empowerment that breaks away from the usual weak and submissive portrayal of females in Malaysian cinema. As such, *pontianak* either as a villain or hero eventually becomes a threat towards the social order and status quo of patriarchy and capably represents the rising empowerment and liberation of women in societies across Asia. Such a portrayal of female empowerment ultimately becomes a positive departure from the usual stereotypical portrayal of women in cinema while challenging patriarchy in the societies of Malaysia, Singapore and Indonesia and their cinemas.

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**Women's Adaptation to Masculinity In A Patriarchal Culture
(A Study of Indonesian Rock Subculture)**

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Abstract

This study provides an understanding on women's adaptation in a rock subculture as a masculine terrain. This study also sheds an understanding about the reason behind the aforementioned adaptation done by female fans. The discourse on women's adaptation in a masculine terrain is conducted particularly due to men's power as a hegemonic masculinity in some particular terrains that renders their identity as a norm. Indonesian rock subculture helps delineate male power, as a musician and a fan. Ironically, subcultures are established as a force of struggle against dominant cultures, but in reality subcultures even perpetuate patriarchy as a dominant value. In analysing women's adaptation to masculinity, this study employs qualitative approach as well as in-depth interviews and participant observation methods. This critical inquiry manages to prove that women inside rock subculture acknowledge, permit, and even help perpetuate male's domination as a form of hegemonic masculinity. Masculinity then becomes the norm in a hierarchy of identity. As a result, the women fans then attempt to mimic men's behaviours and clothing styles in order to level themselves up with men inside the rock subculture.

Keywords : Female Fans, Subculture, Rock, Hegemonic Masculinity, Behavioural Mimicry.

Introduction

1. Background

This study will explain about women's adaptation to masculinity in a rock subculture that operates under a patriarchal context. Patriarchy itself is a system positing that men are socially superior to women (Firestone, 1970; Glasberg & Shannon, 2010). Firestone (1970) further expounded that patriarchy is a sex-based oppression, which relies on female's biological capacity to experience pregnancy and child birth. As such, patriarchy impedes women's participation in all areas in societies institutionally, socially, economically, psychologically, and historically (Buckley, 1986).

This sex-based oppression is later on constructed as a social structure, named gender. Gender socialises masculinity to men and femininity to women (de Beauvoir, 1952; Lorber, 1991). Gender

ascertains male domination to hold important position as breadwinners in the families and ensures female subjugation in domestic terrain (de Beauvoir, 1952; Farrell, 1975).

As a social agent, media help perpetuate gender roles (Farrell, 1975). Various researches have presented that music as a medium, especially rock genre, is loaded with masculine values and ostracising women (Bannister, 2006; Cohen, 1997; Davies, 2012; Gracyk, 2001; Hill, 2013; Leppert, 1989; Schippers, 2002; Shepherd & Horn, 2012; Weinstein, 2009). Women fans are deemed incapable in participating inside the rock terrain due to social stereotypes claiming they do not possess sufficient knowledge about the music, such as statistics or rock history, nor are they capable to utilise the knowledge as a currency inside social interaction, like apparent inside a masculine culture (Straw, 1984; Yates, 2014). As a result, women are further stigmatised as “groupies¹” inside the rock subculture (Bennett, 2009; Cohen, 1997; Hills, 2013; Howe & Friedman, 2014; Kitteringham, 2014; Leonard, 2007; Lewis, 1992; Schippers, 2002). Cohen (1997) adds that women’s position is associated with marginal, decorative, or less creative roles that create the stereotype of young women fans who scream when watching their favorite male rock stars. This stereotype is not ineffectual; women’s view about themselves and their feelings when they enter the rock scene are affected (Hills, 2013).

Women’s position inside the rock music in this research is particularly dissected from media practice point-of-view. Media practice approach in this research is done by elaborating about someone’s activities and its relations with the media (Couldry, 2012). Music, as the focus of this research, also includes various activities, for instance, participation inside concerts or musical shows (Kamien & James, 1988).

Couldry (2012) later argues that media practice approach is attached to the exercise of power that manifests through media representation. In this case, media practice is related to the roles of music for certain groups (Gay, Longhurst in Brown, *et al.*, 2001). Specifically, music plays a significant role to women as a group. Therefore, women have a unique approach to their media practice by perceiving music as a tool to bridge their musical commitment with their personal political views (Bayton in Bennett, *et al.*, 2005). This is visible through their reasons in accessing rock music that will be explained below.

Women inside subcultures, rock subculture particularly, perceive subculture as a “safe haven” to fight against gender roles socialised to them in daily life (Harris, 2008; Haenfler, 2013; Leblanc, 1999; McRobbie, 1980). Gender roles discussed here include ritualisation of femininity that has been done since they were little girls, for instance, submissiveness, nurturing, patience, and emotional traits (Hartman & Schmid, 2015). These roles exploit women by binding women to domestic roles. In response, women attempt to avoid traditional values that is seen as their political experience (McRobbie, 1980). Subculture along with its masculine tradition and male domination later become an avenue of resistance for women since the terrain requires assertiveness and aggressivity which directly contrast to femininity values (Leblanc, 1999).

Consequently, masculine values put women in a dilemmatic position. Hill (2013) argues that women discover a place inside rock music where the construction of femininity is rendered invalid and

¹ *Groupies* refer to women who are sexually attracted to rock stars. This label is not only put on women fans but also on women journalists and women musicians (Lewis, 1992).

hence becomes an avenue where women seek refuge from arbitrary gender roles. Hill then concludes that inside metal culture, women experience “genderlessness,” even though masculinity is more or less still the norm.

Jones (in Yates, 2014) concedes that women are able to reconcile their identity as a rock fan and their identity as a woman (in a social meaning) by balancing out those two contrasting identities through assimilation processes. This dilemma is also encountered by feminists (Yates, 2014). Women fans then endeavor to figure out their identity by any means (Yates, 2014) which include tolerating sexist behaviors from male fans and masculinise themselves in order to hide their sexuality. Not only that, women inside rock subculture also display hostility and judgment against one another (Kitteringham, 2014).

1.a. Rock as a Subculture

Rock itself is distinguishable from its electrical guitar sound that emerged during the 1950s (Curtis, 1987). A musical group that performs rock music is called a “rock band” and usually consists of two to five personnels (Laing in Shepherd, 2003). Rock culture itself is a unique culture, it worships lead guitarists, relies on “power trio,” has a “supergroup” phenomenon, and weighs instrumental solo playing importantly (Straw, 1984). As the most circulated genre in the twentieth century (Gracyk, 2001), rock genre is one of the most impactful genres. This genre, along with its subgenres, has been controversial since the blossoming of rock ‘n’ roll in the mid-1950s, psychedelic rock in the 1960s, punk in 1980s, and heavy metal in 1980s (Shuker, 1994).

Furthermore, rock itself is a subculture (Shuker, 1994). Hebdige (1979) defines subculture transformation as a gesture and movement against majority or dominant values. Just like rap, reggae, or other subcultures, rock is imbued with political symbols that operate in a cultural terrain, hence, rock empowers the oppressed (Shuker, 1994).

Kruse (in Wilson, 2004) focuses her research on independent music subcultures that aim to dismantle popular and mainstream values. Similar to Kellner’s findings inside rap subculture, Kruse also figures out that women are exposed to dominant values that, ironically, are salient inside rock subculture. In other words, treatment towards women as an oppressed group even demonstrates values that the subculture originally wants to fight against. Aside from the fact that it reflects male domination, rock also contributes to, even creates, the male-centric culture (Shepherd & Horn, 2012).

Kruse in Wilson (2004) also interprets the intersection of gender with musical practice as an important thing to recognise in understanding subcultures. Music of resistance, such as rap, consistently subjugates women by portraying them as spoilt, unintelligent, and useless creatures (Kellner, 2003). Besides rap music, rock music also emphasises women subordination in the society. Cohen (1997), for example, proves that lyrics in rock songs usually employ themes and issues regarding fragile masculinity, such as men who are lost, confused, or betrayed. Another familiar theme is men who feel threatened by women’s seduction.

It then suffices to conclude that despite emerging as a critique against dominant settings perpetuated by popular music, rock subculture still marginalises some group, namely women. This marginalisation is enacted by adhering to patriarchal ideas through the music’s innate elements, the

culture inside it, also by the content that breathes masculinity. This situation also applies to the rock subculture in Indonesia context.

1.b. Indonesian Rock Subculture

In an Indonesia context, rock itself is a subculture. A study conducted by Wallach (2005) on rock genre in Indonesia demonstrates that rock music in Indonesia can be classified as an underground music². Punk and metal subcultures, for instance, attracts young proletarians that demonstrate class struggles through rock subculture as explained by Hebdige (1979).

As a subculture, rock also plays an important role in democratising Indonesia. Being verboten under the Old Order due to Soekarno's suspicion of it being a form of Western's cultural imperialism, rock later arose as a political symbol during the New Order era by resisting authority through their poignant lyrics. The subculture also carried out the class struggle function that fueled riots and social disorders during rock concerts held at that time (Sen & Hill, 2006). Sen and Hill (2006) gives an example of Mick Jagger's concert in October 1988 in Jakarta. A similar outburst also occurred during Iwan Fals and Swami's concert in February 1989. Such disorders drove government to ban rock concerts for two years since 1989. However, this regulation did not cease the spirit of resistance. A riot in Metallica's concert in Jakarta, April 1993, is recorded as the most horrendous uproar which injured seventy people, caused a supermarket robbery, and caused destruction of vehicles by the mass (Sen & Hill, 2006).

Nevertheless, even as an avenue of resistance against authority and dominant ideologies, the rise of rock subculture in Indonesia was still enabled by its relations to patriarchy as a dominant ideology. Wallach's study in 2001 answers that rock subculture in Indonesia owes its existence to the patriarchal social infrastructure. Previously, in 2010, Wallach has proven that metal music in Indonesia, just like in Singapore and Malaysia, originated in the 1980s' adolescence. Metal music first infiltrated young males from the lower class that heralded rock's connection to masculine identity in Indonesian context (Wallach, 2008).

Considering the role that patriarchy plays in introducing rock music to Indonesian youth, an analysis on gender is at request while studying about the genre. Yet, women inside rock subculture in Indonesia receive nearly zero attention. Meanwhile, according to the demography of audience of Kis FM radio—a radio station that plays 1990s rock songs—around 60% of their audience are women, while only 40% are men (Zoel, 2012). Even though this is the sole source of the number of women rock fans in Indonesia that is available for public (that infers the lack of studies done on this topic), the figure showcases women's increasingly important and significant role in the development of rock as a genre and as a subculture that merits a study on. Departing from this fact, I attempt to put women fans under a microscope and shed some understanding on it, specifically about their adaptation towards masculine values inside Indonesian rock subculture.

² An underground subculture underpins their identity on the differences with popular mainstream cultures (Borg, 2006). The underground music scene not only sells products from independent rock stars from around the world, it also produces their own cassettes and music zines, including concerts that are participated by dozens of local bands singing Western or Indonesian songs.

2. Research Questions

Based on the background, this research is conducted to satisfy two inquiries:

- a. How do women fans adapt themselves to masculinity inside rock subculture?
- b. Why do women fans adapt themselves to masculinity inside rock subculture?

3. Research Objectives

The research then endeavor to:

- a. Explain the adaptation processes behind women fans' adaptation to masculinity inside rock subculture
- b. Explain the reasons behind women fans' adaptation to masculinity inside rock subculture

Theoretical Framework

The two concepts that fit best to explain the problem in this study are Hegemonic Masculinity and Behavioral Mimicry. Hegemonic Masculinity delineates the "real men" value in a patriarchal culture, dictated through masculine gender roles such as strength, aggression, or dominance. Masculinity then becomes a preferable identity inside rock subculture, a nod to the hierarchical concept of identity as explained by Adams and Dickey (2000). This identity hierarchy results in women's inferior position that further acts as a motivation for women to adhere to masculinity as their ideal role. Further, Behavioral Mimicry concept delineates the process to adapt to masculinity.

A. Hegemonic Masculinity

Hegemony is an umbrella concept regarding domination process from a group against other groups (Adams & Dickey, 2000; West & Turner, 2007). In achieving its goal, hegemony can not stand alone. Gramsci (in Przeworski, 1985) argues that hegemony owes its existence to the material base. The perpetuation of hegemony occurs thanks to consent from the oppressed that even strengthens hegemony itself (Gramsci in Adams & Dickey, 2000). Specifically, hegemonic masculinity concept is first formulated by Connell (1987) to depict values across various cultures that contribute to the definition of "real men" and justify male dominance. This masculinity is later attributable to rock subculture, and later aids to the hierarchical identity (Adams & Dickey, 2000). Bourdieu (2001) further elaborates about the ways hegemonic masculinity permeates throughout our system. Masculine domination entrenches itself to the society through invisible or symbolic social relations. This is particularly apparent in the case of women exclusion in terrains that are dominated by men (Bourdieu, 2001). In the context of rock subculture itself, the agreed masculine characters are to show off one's knowledge about rock music and avoid physical attraction towards the personnels (Bennett, 2009). Eastman (2012) adds the masculine traits inside rock subculture, which consist of rebellion, physical prowess, and female objectification. Therefore, when a man demonstrates any feminine trait, interest, or characteristic, he is not considered a real man. Similarly, when a woman submits herself to masculinity, she risks not being seen as a woman at all (Yates, 2014).

An example of gender binary perpetuation is the study by Howe and Friedman (2014) that finds that even for women, there is a concession that groupies with a certain style; short skirts, stilettos,

net stockings, make-up, and some hair-dos are cheap and dumb. This implies that the *real* female metalheads should not show support to groupies.

Women fans then do the “gender maneuver”, a term coined by Schippers (2002) to describe gender roles negotiation between individuals rather than remaining a rigid idea. Schippers also describes “gender roles in popular rock culture” as a reproduction of dominant ideas regarding gender and sexuality based on its general perception that hierarchically benefits men. In rock subculture, gender binary—masculinity and femininity—is emphasised through the relationship between rock stars and groupies, where groupies only function to complement the musicians. Adding this fact to the negative stereotype labeled on groupies as explained above, women actively refuse to be associated with said stereotype by maneuvering their gender. This gender maneuver demonstrates that even women help perpetuate hegemonic masculinity by adopting masculine values inside rock subculture.

The hierarchy identity supported by hegemonic masculinity then assumes inferior position for female that drives women fans inside rock subculture to model themselves after masculinity. In explaining this process, Behavioral Mimicry concept takes place.

B. Behavioral Mimicry

Lacan in Bhabha (1997) depicts mimicry as a form of camouflage. Behavioral mimicry itself is defined as an activity to follow others’ behaviors (Stel & Vonk, 2010). Examples of mimicry that Bhabha portrays (in Godiwala, 2007) are following manners, behaviors, and values. Stel & Vonk (2010) continues by saying that behaviors that are mimicked may take form in verbal behaviors such as words uttered or accents used, or non-verbal behaviors such as postures, gestures, or facial expressions. Behavioral mimicry may happen consciously or subconsciously (Lakin & Chartrand, 2003).

Humans mimic others’ behaviors because they want to create affiliation and rapport (Gueguen, *et al.*, 2009; Lakin & Chartrand, 2003; Lakin & Chartrand, 2005; Leighton, *et al.*, 2010; Maddux, *et al.*, 2008; Stel & Vonk, 2010). Lakin and Chartrand (2005) explains further that the aim of mimicry is based by humans’ fear of social exclusion, due to the fact that humans need to live with other people. The desire to live well with surrounding environment drives humans to follow their in-group behaviors instead of out-group’s behaviors as explained by Gueguen, *et al.* (2009). Moreover, Gueguen *et al.* (2009) adds that mimicry is a positive imitation as it functions as social glue to achieve harmonious society.

Snyder in Leander, *et al.* (2011) delves further by explaining that mimicry is often an adaptation to expectation set by a certain group, usually, a dominant group. In the end, this conformity contributes to the continuation of stereotypes regarding a certain group. One example given by Leander, *et al.* (2011) is gender stereotypes. A study conducted by Witt and Wood in Leander, *et al.* (2011), for example, proves that men and women who perform traditional gender roles experience positive feelings for doing so.

Bhabha refutes this argument. In his study about post-colonial India, Bhabha (1997) discovers that one tends to be non-conforming to one’s racial stereotypes. This elucidates the relationship

between mimicry and power structure, where mimicry carries out the function of effective power strategy and colonisation. Later, he concludes that The Others' adaptation even affirms the already existing power structure. Naipaul in Godiwala (2007) also comes to a conclusion that the adoption of dominant identity proves that the oppressed groups do not fight back against their oppression by affirming the superiority of dominant identity.

The motivation to conduct mimicry is to be accepted by the dominant group (Lakin & Chartrand, 2005). A study conducted by Williams and Sommer in Lakin and Chartrand (2005) says that women, specifically those who feel alienated from their immediate surroundings, are more willing to contribute to a group in which they desire to be a member of. Williams and Sommer also elucidate that this is possible due to women's designated role to maintain harmony as socialised to them. In maintaining a harmonious environment, women then adapt themselves to the opinion of others (Williams and Sommer in Lakin & Chartrand, 2005).

Specifically, in the musical context, Coates (in Wilson, 2004) argues that women tend to be ostracised from rock subculture because men attempt to retain their power and as a result, men push women away to the marginal identity. Women inside rock subculture are labeled as an unwanted guest, so, Coates assumes that rock subculture is an avenue of power struggle where gender segregation occurs. Reluctance towards rejection drives women to suppress their dissents by subscribing to the values arbitrarily determined by the powerful, namely Men.

Methodology

This study is a critical inquiry that has an objective to arouse consciousness on power relations, and in doing so, critical study provides rooms to ask questions and transform (Tracy, 2012). This study bases on qualitative method. Qualitative research is chosen because in this research, the researcher immerses herself into a scene and to make sense of it (Tracy, 2012). The research type is descriptive and explanatory by attempting to answer questions of "why" and "how." I employed in-depth interview and participant observation methods in gathering information.

Technically, the study uses purposive sampling technique in order to answer research questions, which are to explain how women adapt themselves in a masculine terrain, and why they do that. In using purposive sampling technique, I decided that women fans who attended Avenged Sevenfold's concert in Indonesia, January 2015, qualify as research participants. "Women fans" in this research is defined based on Hill's (2013) definition, that fans are those who feel emotional bond with rock music. In addition to that, they also should identify themselves as rock fans and admit the important role that rock music plays in their lives.

I also arrived to the conclusion to study on women who attend rock concert. The reason behind this decision is because women fans who participate in rock concerts manage to come out of women fans' own culture and directly face masculine terrains, which later motivates them to negotiate their identity through assimilation (Hill, 2013). Women who engage with rock songs own their identity namely bedroom culture where women tend to enjoy subculture from inside the comfort of their home; by listening to the music, reading magazines, wearing subculture clothes, trying make up on or some hairdos, and socialise from their own bedroom. Behaviors that are feasibly different from that

of men divide the public sphere from private sphere behaviors (Hill, 2013). Therefore, behavioral mimicry is most possibly conducted from public sphere, such as concert, due to those contrasting behaviors. Safe to conclude that studying women fans who go to concerts is more suitable to answer questions on behavioral assimilation. Based on those reasons, I chose women fans who went to Avenged Sevenfold's concert in Jakarta, January 2015, as her participants.

On a related context, I saw Avenged Sevenfold's fans as the research subject due to a couple of reasons. Firstly, The Fallen as an official group of Avenged Sevenfold's fans have a strong base in Indonesia that renders the fans activities significant. The group's activities are centralised in Facebook ("The Fallen A7X Indonesia" had 11.627 followers) also Twitter (@A7Xindo was followed by more than 50.400 accounts by February 6, 2015). The second reason is, like other metal bands, Avenged Sevenfold also has a lot of female fans (Yun, 2015). In an interview conducted by Yun (2015), Brian Haner Jr. (who is most well-known as "Synyster Gates"), a guitarist of the band, also acknowledges the existence of their significant female fan base. He also testifies that there are a lot of female fans that consistently come to their shows and utter their coquetry towards Avenged Sevenfold's personnels, despite still displaying support to the personnels' marriages (Hanner as quoted by Yun, 2015). Lastly, the Avenged Sevenfold concert in Parkir Timur Senayan, Jakarta, January 18th 2015 was the last biggest concert conducted in Indonesia by then. Anderson (2012) explains that for a music fan, concert is the pinnacle of their fan experience. Therefore, fans who attended the Avenged Sevenfold concert on January 18th 2015 were chosen due to their experience that is expected to be the most recent and the most relevant experience for this study.

Findings and Analysis

1. Participants' Background

Five women participating in this research are in the 22 to 24 years old range of age. Three of the participants are graduates from Faculty of Economics University of Indonesia and already have jobs. Meanwhile, two other participants are currently pursuing their Bachelor's Degree in the International Relations department, Paramadina University. Seeing the educational level, their domiciles, and the lifestyles they lead as observed by the Researcher, the participants for this research come from middle-to-upper social class.

The table also implies that the participants are enthusiastic towards music. Apart from rock genre, they also listen to pop and ethnical genres. They also listen to various rock subgenres, from alternative rock, punk rock, to pop rock and ballad rock. This interest manifests in occasional attendance to concerts, be it pop, rock, or even jazz concerts. Another rock concert that has been attended by the participants, besides Avenged Sevenfold's, is Java Rockin' Land.

These women fans' levels of admiration towards the band also vary. Some participants admit that their most favorite band is Avenged Sevenfold. On the other side of the spectrum, some other claim that they like Avenged Sevenfold as well, only it is not their most favorite. This is not surprising considering that they listen to various musical genres. This varied levels of admiration also contribute to varied answers from the participants. Even though the ways they see Avenged Sevenfold are different, women rock fans in general provide similar reasons as to why they like the band, which are

the great music and beautiful lyrics. There are some participants who admire the band out of coquetry, however, this is not the sole reason for liking Avenged Sevenfold. The participants of this study demonstrate that they like rock genre on the basis of emotional bond with the music, as what Hill (2013) claims.

The participants of this research also have different characteristics. There are women who wear veils (*hijab*) in daily life and concede to the roles that religion and social norms have played in constructing their identity as a woman. There are also women who love to wear make-up, tight clothing, and to smoke. A particular participant admits that she is a naughty and rebellious student. On the other side, there are women fans who dress casually and even may be perceived as “tomboy” in their daily lives.

The rich backgrounds of women who participate in this research will be dissected further from Hegemonic Masculinity and Behavioral Mimicry concepts, as elaborated below.

2. Hegemonic Masculinity

In-depth interviews and participant observation that were conducted confirm that hegemonic masculinity exists inside rock genre. There are five dimensions of hegemonic masculinity that will be explained in this study. First, I will discuss about hegemonic masculinity as a tool to ascertain male domination as previously said by Connell (1987) and Schippers (2002) that takes form in women’s interest on rock music. This domination renders masculinity as the *real* rock fan identity (Eastman, 2012). Masculine identity determined by the men causes men to reject or question women who happen to be in that terrain (Bourdieu, 2001; Yates, 2014). Rejection against women is not only done by men, but even women do so through judgment towards women who do not display masculinity (Howe & Friedman, 2014). Lastly, women rock fans also concur to this domination (Gramsci in Adams & Dickey, 2000). This consent is given by justifying sexist lyrics and continuing the rock industry economic base, a nod to what Gramsci in Przeworski (1985) claims. These dimension will be detailed in the following sections.

A. “*Sarcastic mister know-it-all*”³: Men as Influencers

Women fans inside the rock subculture receive numerous influence from men in regards to their liking towards rock genre. This is particularly evident in three cases, which are women’s first acquaintance to rock music, women’s reference, and women’s companions and guardians while attending the concert. All those roles resemble the concept explained by Bourdieu (2001) and Schippers (2002) on male domination in gender roles, including rock subculture itself.

Men’s role in women’s interest starts as early as women first got acquainted to rock music. Participants admitted that they first knew about rock music from men; fathers, brothers, or boy friends. Participants also concurred that their defiance against gender roles was what drove them to like masculine genre such as rock. This was shown when they had disagreed

³ Red Hot Chili Peppers, 1999



with the assumption that women go to rock subculture as an act of disagreement against gender roles, but later on, they refused to call themselves feminine. I decipher this information as resistance against gender roles inviting their curiosity on stereotypically masculine themes, such as rock genre.

Besides introducing women to rock genre, the second role that men play is as the source of information for women rock fans. Participants' interest for rock music had lasted long, some of them had liked the genre from as young as elementary school students, although most of them started to like the genre from junior high or senior high age range. This surely drove women fans to seek for information on the bands or their songs. They admitted that men are their sole referee to information regarding rock genre. This is a particularly unique finding, since these women also knew other women who possess similar interest on rock genre. However, one of the participants even blatantly claimed that her female friends would never understand any conversation regarding rock genre. Participants of this research felt that their relationship with their male friends is paramount compared to that of their female friends. This finding affirms Bourdieu's (2001) statement that says that women's identity lies on the periphery of identity politics, whereas men's is right at the centre.

The third contribution that men give to women rock fans is apparent when women fans went to the Avenged Sevenfold concert. All participants admitted to the fact that men assisted them in going to the event. In the concert, men played his role as the "guardian" for their female friends, protecting them from possible threats. This protective role that men performed while being a companion of their female friends is similar to the division of labor between men and women as Bourdieu (2001) has explained as one aspect of hegemonic masculinity.

These findings prove that men contribute to women's interest in liking rock music as a form of domination. The domination shown supports to the existence of hegemonic masculinity inside rock subculture. After realising that men have big roles for women rock fans, the next task is to answer whether these roles are related to masculinity being a superior identity (Bourdieu, 2001). The next point will discuss about this.

B. "*I wanna see it painted, painted black*"⁴: Masculinity as the Norm

The previous point has delineated men's roles as a form of hegemonic masculinity. Hegemony manifests itself in mass media in the form of rigid gender roles (Schippers, 2002). Bennett (2009) later adds that hegemonic masculinity is needed inside a community as a conformity towards cultural identity. This point will later elaborate on hegemonic masculinity becoming the identity of a group which consists of rock fans.

⁴ The Rolling Stones, 1966



I gathered that women rock fans associated rock genre with men or masculinity. Tolerance towards men's position inside rock subculture was also shown by opinions of women rock fans regarding their identity as The Fallen as a metalhead. The Fallen is the catchy name that Avenged Sevenfold fans from around the world call themselves. Meanwhile, metalhead refers to rock or metal fans in general. Women rock fans, even those who are heavily invested in Avenged Sevenfold or rock genre as a whole, were reluctant to call themselves "The Fallen" or "metalhead."

All participants of the research implicitly stated that they are the mediocre fans. The way they position themselves strengthens Adams and Dickey's (2000) claim on the hierarchy of identity. This happens uniformly, which means, although some women are addicted to Avenged Sevenfold, they refused to refer to themselves as "The Fallen" nor metalhead as a central identity that they claim.

Moreover, the participants also acknowledged the importance of knowledge on rock genre as a criterion of a metalhead. Knowledge, such as facts or statistics, is a currency used by men inside rock subculture to prove that they are the authentic fans (Bourdieu, 2001; Straw, 1984; Yates, 2014). However, this masculine value is also adopted by women rock fans. They said that knowledge does a fan make. They valued cold hard facts and statistics over other reasons to like the band. On the other hand, they did not see women who are inside rock realm because they feel attracted to the bands' personnels as authentic fans. Unsurprisingly, they linked back knowledge on music to their male friends as opposed to their female friends. The participants of this research claimed that men were more addicted and therefore knew more about the music rather than their female friends. This is another proof of men's domination inside the subculture.

The perpetuation of hegemonic masculinity inside rock subculture begs another question on how men treat women fans in the terrain. Hegemonic masculinity causes men to be doubtful towards women who are inside their territory (Yates, 2014) which drives them to exclude women fans (Hill, 2013). Yet, interestingly, women fans inside Indonesian rock scene do not feel rejected nor ostracised by men.

C. *"Be yourself, by yourself, stay away from me"*⁵: Acceptance Towards Women

After depicting that rock subculture is a subculture dominated by men, these women fans explicitly uttered that they feel accepted by men. However, after being followed with other questions, women fans managed to recall their experiences as a fan inside a masculine terrain.

Participants, despite being adamant that men did not reject them, still felt the doubting tone that men fans use against them as women fans. The words uttered by men indicated suspicion and worry against women who like rock genre. The interesting thing is women fans

⁵ Pantera, 1992



did not feel bothered by these questions or complaints. They concurred to the fact that even they themselves sought affirmation from their immediate surrounding. Men exhibited their doubt through belittling women's experience and interest. Questions like "Do you really like the music?" or "Are you really going to the concert?" added by occasional squinting or judgmental looks whenever women fans played rock songs or sang along to the songs amplified their subtle rejection.

The doubt affirms Coakley's finding (in Yates, 2014). Even though exclusion as explained by Bourdieu (2001) does not occur blatantly, yet women still experience men's suspicion regarding their position as women inside rock subculture. In her study, Kitteringham (2014) illuminates that the catapulting number of women fans inside contemporary rock scene for the last few years factors in the dwindling number of men's scorns against women fans. However, a more inclusive rock scene does not necessarily mean total acceptance of women, as shown above. Doubt and exclusion that are still apparent inside rock scene still cause women to not see themselves as members of masculine terrain.

The upcoming point will further argue that women inside rock subculture perceive womanhood and femininity as an inferior identity. This results not only in the way they value themselves, but also other women's participation.

D. *"She's the myth that I have to believe in"*⁶: Female and Femininity Inside Subculture

Women fans agreed that there are differences between men and women fans, confirming essentialist belief. These differences include the types of music that are listened to, expressions, and behaviors during concert. However, the differences are not value-free. In depicting differences between men and women fans, women rock fans underestimated other women fans who did not perform masculinity. Howe and Friedman (2004) previously have given understanding on oppression that is done by women to other women. Similar case also happens inside rock subculture.

The differences as depicted indicate self-position as "us" (women) and "them" (men) that is a central concept in identity hierarchy (Adams & Dickey, 2000). Women fans pictured men fans as more visible, for instance, by referring to certain attributes or tattoos. Men were also deemed more expressive during concerts due to their physical prowess. From musical taste point of view, men also tended to listen to all rock songs, be it the hard or slow versions. On the other hand, women fans were seen as calmer and less expressive.

As a consequence, women who deviated from this stereotype were met with astonishment. The participants of this research admitted that when they went to the concert, they did not expect to meet women who performed femininity and at the same time still memorised all lyrics to the songs. Notwithstanding the existence of these women, my participants still labeled women who did not wear masculine attributes as groupies, or inauthentic fans. They showed hesitation when asked whether women who wore make-up to

⁶ Slipknot, 2004



the concert, no matter how attached they were to the genre, qualified as authentic fans. After all, women rock fans denied the fact that women might be metalheads by attributing women's interest in rock music to their male counterparts.

Such stereotype is particularly labeled on women who are deemed as groupies. Groupie is a stereotype exclusively given to women rock fans that purports to say that these women do not really consider the musical merit, they only want to get romantically involved with the band personnels (Lewis, 1992). On this phenomenon, participants offered different opinions regarding groupie's position as a metalhead. Interviews present that no participant firmly believed that a woman perceived as groupie may be a metalhead. Women rock fans contributes to the existence of hegemonic masculinity by putting knowledge on the genre as the priority in defining metalhead (Bourdieu, 2001; Straw, 1984; Yates, 2014). Interest on other aspects of rock music, such as personnels' physical appearance is not considered valid as a reason to call someone a metalhead.

This general depiction on women fans is attributable to gender maneuver that occurs inside rock subculture (Schippers, 2002). Gender maneuver does not only exist as a personal happenstance, but is permitted as a way of survival inside the masculine rock subculture. Erasing feminine sides and adopting masculine values are a part of hegemonic masculinity emphasising on masculine characters as the ideal character (Connell in Kitteringham, 2014).

Generally, it can be concluded that according to women Avenged Sevenfold fans, women fans must subscribe to masculine values that dictate their styles, and more often than not, these women are part of The Fallen (Connell in Kitteringham, 2014; Schippers, 2002). To explain it briefly, those women who are outside The Fallen and who do not perform masculinity can not be categorised as die-hard fans. Women fans even put stereotypes on women fans who do not submit themselves to masculinity that ought to be the norm of rock terrain.

Positioning women as an inferior identity is the way hegemonic masculinity manifests itself. Women's opinions on their own identity already suggest their consent to the oppression imposed to them. Next, we are discussing about women consenting to hegemonic masculinity.

E. *"I won't be the victim but the first to cast the stone"*⁷: Consent from the Oppressed

One of the most important factors in perpetuating hegemony is consent from the oppressed (Gramsci in Przeworski, 1985). Gramsci (in Przeworski, 1985) suggests that this consent may take form in industrial economic support, considering the fact that hegemony relies on a material base such as economy in order to continue existing. In this study, I found that women actively consent to hegemony. This consent is displayed through justifying song lyrics that objectify women, and supporting rock industry's economic base.

Previously, we have discussed that rock bands write sexist lyrics. This also happens to Avenged Sevenfold as a band with heavy metal genre. Two examples are a song titled "Scream"

⁷ Avenged Sevenfold, 2005

that refers to women as men's prey, and "A Little Piece of Heaven" whose story revolves around a woman getting killed for rejecting a man's love.

Participants in this research even justified the oppression done by men. One of hegemony's main factors is the lack of resistance against deeply-rooted ideology (Gramsci in Przeworski, 1985). Women agreed to and attempted to justify sexism that is palpable in the lyrics of the songs that they like. This continuation of hegemony is not only supported by women's justification, but also by active consumption of merchandise that supports the existence of rock industry itself.

Due to their admiration towards the band, the five participants also supported the existence of the band and rock industry by attending the concert and purchasing merchandises. This finding supports Gramsci's (in Przeworski, 1985) claim that hegemony owes its existence to the material base. The most important material base in hegemony is economic base that is expected to build and anchor the hegemony. The monopolisation of the production system, in this case, is done specifically by mainstream rock music, especially Avenged Sevenfold's producers. Thanks to the conscious effort to buy band's products, women fans contribute to their perpetuation, that later contributes to the hegemony.

Women rock fans become the victim of hegemonic masculinity inside rock subculture. This hegemony is indicated by the ways women acknowledged indirect rejection from their male counterparts. Even further, women consented to hegemonic masculinity. This hegemony later becomes an important angle to study how power operates and the assimilation processes that women undergo inside the rock subculture (Bhabha, 1997). We will delve further into this topic in later points.

3. Behavioral Mimicry

In the following points, I will discuss about five sub-dimensions of Behavioral Mimicry. First, I will explain about the way power structure encourages mimicry process (Bhabha, 1997). Women perceive male superiority as innate differences between men and women. Not coincidentally, this perception is also the perception held by Indians regarding English men and women in Bhabha's study. Later, women try to make sense of their experience inside rock subculture as in-group experience (Gueguen, *et al.*, 2009). This self-positioning as a member of the group points out the adoption of masculine values, both consciously and subconsciously (Lakin & Chartrand, 2003). In the end, this subconscious perception elicits adaptation as a response to male domination inside rock subculture through the adoption of behaviors and clothing styles. These types of mimicry affirm Bhabha's finding in 1997.

A. "*Vulgar Display of Power*"⁸: Forms of Masculine Power

Hegemony forms identity when the dominant group maintains their superiority by contrasting the "us" and "them" identity and by displaying dominant group's behaviors (Adams

⁸ Pantera, 1992



& Dickey, 2000). This dominant identity is maintained by media by limiting means and choices of identity (Kellner, 2003). The following narrative will further elaborate on the role that hegemonic masculinity carries while forming identity by showcasing their power as an important identity. Women particularly noticed this power when they attended the concert. As a scene owned by men, women fans attributed the display of power to the fact that subculture belonged to men. Power that they delineated here may take place in the concert or in daily life.

Although previously women had claimed that in daily life their male friends accepted them as women rock fans, men surely acted differently during concert. Several participants recalled that there were several different behaviors by men during concert. For example, women fans felt judged by men, including their boyfriends or their male friends, who prohibited them from immersing themselves into *moshpit*⁹. This is an example of differences women fans acknowledged during the concert.

It can be concluded that women fans experienced discriminative treatments by men during the concert. It made women consider men's derogatory judgment against them, for example, judgment that women are weaker and therefore men feel the need to assert their physical power. Although women had different opinions on what they perceive men's thoughts, they generally agreed that such judgments exist.

Men's power inside the terrain signals men's opportunity to define and reproduce norms inside rock subculture, often at the expense of the women fans, as Labrie (in Giampapa, 2004) explains. Labrie then continues to explain that such power enables men's access towards material capitals and resources inside the terrain. Men's contribution to the hegemonic masculinity and power relations parallels to the colonialists' in Bhabha's case (1997). Women make sense of this power as male superiority that invokes their inferiority, that will be illuminated below.

B. "The links of oppression stem from the same degradation"¹⁰: The Inferior Female and Feminists

Identity assimilation that Bhabha did research on shows that the adopting group feels that their identity is inferior (Godiwala, 2007). The situation of post-colonial India is a proof of his claim, where Indians perceive their identity as inferior to that of the Westerners'. In the context of this research, just like Indians' feeling towards the Westerners', women also perceive their inferiority compared to men position.

The participants of this research are characteristically different. Interestingly, these women saw their identity as females from the same point of view. They claimed that the fact that they are women entails to inevitable social repercussions, such as being put into a certain

⁹ *Moshpit* takes place at the front row of the auditorium area in heavy metal concert. In moshpit, audience do headbang (the activity of nodding vigorously and repeatedly to the beat of the music) as well as elbow and punch each other as a form of appreciation to the music played (see Hill, 2013). Moshpit happens roughly and often causes injuries to the participating audience (see Lau, 2005).

¹⁰ Napalm Death, 1989



social position. They called this as “fate.” They recognised the future of women, to become a wife, a mother, a homemaker. Because they saw these roles as fate, they did little to nothing to escape from their fated future.

Besides being a woman, several women fans also identified themselves as feminists. Being a feminist, says Yates (2014), means envisioning the end of female oppression in the society, and striving hard to achieve that condition. However, feminists inside their research also did minimum efforts to free women from their subjugation. One participant even claimed that even though now women received more public roles, they should not forget their main duty as wives, mothers, and homemakers. This finding resonates Yates’ statement (2014) who is aware that her being a feminist contradicts her identity as a woman fan inside a masculine terrain. This means that becoming a feminist inside a subculture does not result in equality with men.

Not only that, the claim of fate signifies women’s essentialist belief of gender roles. This is useful to explain why in the end women still submit themselves to gender roles by assimilating themselves to masculinity as opposed to debunking them. Women’s gender roles include the role to avoid conflicts and to maintain harmony which is particularly apparent in the case of women who are shun away from their own community (Williams & Sommer in Lakin & Chartrand, 2005). Women, in an attempt to not be excluded anymore, try to cope by listening to other people’s opinions. Williams and Sommer’s study explains why women are more prone to doing mimicry, because they believe that women should cater to everyone’s interests in order for the community to stay harmonious.

Failure to integrate women’s view on feminism or their own idea about being a woman inside rock subculture strengthens Yates’ (2014) finding on her research about women and feminists inside football. From above statements, it is obvious that event hough some women are feminists, they still see women, their own group, as the inferior party.

C. “Tonight, I’m a rock n’ roll star!”¹¹: Becoming a Rock Fan

After discussing about the inferior female identity inside rock subculture, the following will delve further into the stereotypes inside rock subculture. Gueguen, *et al.* (2009) already explains that behaviors exhibited by the in-group are more preferable than that of the out-group due to desire to create rapport and maintain internal harmony. The existence of some particular behaviors inside one group encourages others to follow similar behaviors, which in the end drives behavioral adaptation to one group’s identity (Snyder in Leander, *et al.*, 2011).

In maintaining their communal identity, group members feel the need to exercise their identity (Bennett, 2009). Knowles in Bennett (2009) previously has stated that rock subculture is dependent towards the masculine notion. It then follows that rock fans are under obligation to exhibit masculine identity as their communal identity. Bennett’s concept is confirmed by

¹¹ Oasis, 1994



participants in this research, who admitted that their immediate surrounding nodded to their attempt to mimic masculinity.

Masculine labels that were imposed to women rock fans, such as “thug-ish” or “strong”, were positively accepted by women rock fans themselves, despite contrasting their own internal view about being a woman. Despite holding a view that women must remain dutiful to the social roles and tasks arbitrarily assigned to them, participants still showed willingness to be associated with masculinity thanks to the appreciation given by their milieu. Apparently, people concur to the idea of masculinity inside rock subculture. This finding is consistent to that of Adams and Dickey’s (2000) that enumerates gender as one of identity categories, where male and masculine identity is more pronounced and dominating compared to female and feminine identity.

Next, we are discussing about identity struggle that women inside rock subculture must endure. I argue that the aforementioned conflict between personal identity and communal identity is won by communal identity that accentuates masculinity. This results in masculine values becoming an end goal of identity for women rock fans.

D. “Barbarisms by Barbaras with pointed heels”¹²: Masculinity Perpetuated

Previously, we have discussed that identities are not provided equally, rather hierarchically (Adams & Dickey, 2000; Kellner, 2003). This hierarchy serves as a tool to support some preferable identity options. Pavlenko and Blackledge (2004) consider stable power relations as an enabling prerequisite for that to happen. This section will elaborate on the claim that masculine stereotype is a preferable identity for women rock fans to adapt to.

Participants of the research did not notice significant differences on their view about themselves prior to and after indulging in rock subculture. Nevertheless, they conceded that they felt stronger and better due to this interest. The change of self-perception implies adaptation to masculine values, subconsciously and inadvertently (Lakin & Chartrand, 2003). This happens because women choosing more dominant identity, which is masculine identity (Kareithi, 2014). Women rock fans noted that their family members and friends testified to this better masculine values. Women rock fans accepted this statement and viewed themselves as “thug-ish” and “stern” as well, some masculine values enumerated by Eastman (2012). When they listened to rock music, they did so out of rage or revenge which resemble masculine traits. As a result, they did not reject the “tough” or “angry” labels nominated to them, as they felt good with being similarised to men.

On the other hand, during interviews, my participants displayed outright dislike to other women who liked mainstream music. They referred to this type of music as “music for general public” or “Katy Perry-isque music” in a derogatory tone. This was done to distinguish themselves from other women who are not as masculine as they are. On that sense, women

¹² System of a Down, 2005

are also complicit in perpetuating masculine values inside rock subculture through their adaptation.

Behavioral adaptation is undergone through two ways, which are by appropriating behaviors and clothing styles. The process of the adaptation will be visited in the last section.

E. *"I'm back in black!"*¹³: Adaptation on Behaviors and Clothing Style

Adaptation to values, such as mentioned by Lacan in Bhabha (1997) is a form of camouflage. A study administered by Bhabha (1997) delineates adaptation undergone by oppressed groups towards the dominating group's manners, behaviors, and values. Similarly, women rock fans also do camouflage on men's behaviors and clothing styles.

All participants of the research acknowledged the Avenged Sevenfold concert as a tough concert with strong tendency towards physical fight, as a masculine terrain ought to be (Kareithi, 2014). When asked how they behaved during concert, women rock fans answered that there was no significant difference. However, when they were faced with more detailed questions, the participants admitted some behavioral changes during the concert where they acted more liberally by screaming and head banging, things that they would not have done outside rock concert.

The experience of becoming "liberated" has already been illustrated by Hill (2013). She demonstrates that women encounter genderlessness inside rock subculture. This is the reason why women attend rock concerts and shows; as an escapist measure against societal expectation of gender roles and female objectification (Hill, 2013). Women inside rock subculture see themselves as being caged by their perception about fate. They then seek refuge in rock subculture in hope to free themselves from gender roles and just become genderless humans (Hill, 2013).

Aside from behavioral changes, Kitteringham (2014) also posits clothing style as a form of mimicry. Women rock fans in general wore black clothes and avoided stereotypically feminine clothes. This arose from their own subconscious view that rock concert was supposed to be masculine and everybody would be wearing black or masculine shirts. Some participants who wore pink shirts or skirts in lieu of black clothes were conscious that what they were wearing was wrong. They kept being apologetic about it. A participant endured judgmental stares by other fans, and she concurred that it was her fault to not obey the unwritten rules and that she should have known better. These testimonies point to Kitteringham's (2014) conclusion that women inside subculture may look indistinguishable from men due to their clothing styles in an effort to achieve masculine identity.

It is concluded that women felt obliged to succumb to the norm dictated inside the rock subculture, which consists of a set of behaviors and clothing styles. These women attempted to adapt themselves to the concert climate by wearing black or masculine clothes. This adaptation

¹³ AC/DC, 1980

was done because participants in this research wanted to be harmonious with men inside masculine terrain in order to forget sex-based oppression that otherwise they would encounter in daily life (Hill, 2013; Kitteringham, 2014; Yates, 2014). Women inside rock subculture wanted to experience genderlessness, especially during concert. Ironically, this genderless condition that they envisioned could not happen lest they uphold masculine values as the norm inside rock subculture (Hill, 2013).

The importance of masculine behaviors as men inside rock subculture is, again, heralded by men's superior status. To become a rock fan means to adopt to masculine values or else women fans would not be seen as the authentic fans (Collins & Paechter in Yates, 2014). As a result, women submit themselves to this rule.

Conclusion

This research was orchestrated in an attempt to unpack women's adaptation to masculinity inside rock subculture. In the beginning, I asked two questions to be answered in this research, which are: How does the adaptation happen? What is the underlying force of this adaptation? In order to answer them, I used qualitative method and critical paradigm and employed in-depth interviews as well as participant observation towards five women Avenged Sevenfold fans.

This study departs from patriarchal society that manages to retain male domination. Patriarchy itself exists as the way men dominating over women systematically. This ideology is perpetuated through gender roles, by socialising masculine values to men and femininity to women. The study finds that gender roles are not equal, rather hierarchical, where masculinity dominates and becomes the norm.

The condition of women inside rock subculture is also attributable to patriarchal culture that is deeply rooted in our society. Women as an oppressed class inside patriarchal society enters a terrain where they can adapt masculine values. This is permissible particularly in rock subculture as the focus of this study. In immersing themselves to the subculture, women expect to see it as a resisting force and masculinity is there to negate femininity imposed to them.

Rock genre itself exists as a subculture that aims to resist dominant values such as capitalism. In the Indonesian context, rock subculture used to play a big role in resisting the authoritative New Order regime and acted as a forum for class struggle. Initially, subculture was formed by the oppressed members of the society, therefore, it was aimed to achieve total equality. However, women who are members of rock subculture are not free from patriarchal culture inside the subculture itself. Equality is not achieved as a result due to women subjugation.

This condition signifies patriarchy getting more deeply rooted even in a terrain that should be a forum of struggle, such as subculture. Connell (1987) adds that masculine values also contribute to that effect through Hegemonic Masculinity. The superiority of masculine values encourages women to adapt themselves to masculinity. The explanation on this level can be attributed to Bhabha's (1997) concept that elucidates about adaptation done on behalf of hegemony, particularly hegemonic

masculinity in rock subculture. Male domination threatens rejection, so in order to be accepted inside the terrain, women mimic the dominant values.

Adaptation then makes women complicit in perpetuating patriarchy by pronouncing gender roles and gender hierarchy that puts masculinity first. Women are aware that masculinity is a paramount value inside rock subculture. Therefore, they attempt to level up themselves to men. Adding that to the fact that women also oppress other women in rock subculture through judging them, women rock fans are complicit in female oppression.

The way that women encounter hegemonic masculinity is by assimilating themselves to male fans inside rock subculture. Masculinity itself has relations to men's display of power. Women even agree that they are fated to be in the inferior social class by subjugating them to domesticity. On the other hand, women perceive their experience inside rock subculture as meaningful, and as such, is more priceless compared to their identity as a woman. This suggests the in-group position where women prefer their communal identity more. In the end, the communal identity dictates how they behave and dress up during concert.

The condition of rock subculture pushes women to also partake in the patriarchy continuation through doing gender roles. In the end, women can not reject gender roles and achieve full equality inside rock subculture. Even the adaptation that they do departs from the hierarchical gender roles, which is hegemonic masculinity, because the adaptation only occurs when they interact with male fans and does not translate to real life, full adaptation. This proves the claim that even subculture fails to carry out its function to be a room of struggle against gender roles for women.

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**New Rules of Engagement on Judgement Day:
Crisis Communications in the Digital Age**

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Abstract

As crisis hits, social media savvy spectators await eagerly to pass comment and dissect every void imaginable. Crisis communications has gone from urgent to immediate, and onlookers have moved from skeptical to judgmental. The digital age is upon us, complete with a lack of civic sensibility as to right or wrong, and lowered ethics about suggesting alternative and conspiracy theories. But that's one-sided – organisations still have an obligation to reach-out to their consumers and the public, and a desire to stem the tide of negativity by addressing issues head-on. This paper examines the new rules of engagement for crisis management in the digital age, examining best practice techniques for practitioners to perform damage control and minimise the 'hangover' caused by keyboard warriors [and worriers]. We also examine several recent case studies from the region, to analyse how these could have turned out differently by following a more proactive response to the crisis presented.

People are having conversations about your brand – whether you are part of the process or not – not all of these conversations are positive!

This realisation is important for brands at all levels. In this digital age, increasing numbers of consumers, and passive observers (publics), are conversing about your brand, influencing other people's perception of your brand, and effectively through this they are shaping your brand story. As brand guardians (Agency / Client / Brand), we need to immerse ourselves actively into these dialogues, and stand strong to not only defend our brand/s, but to steer them in the right direction publicly.

This paper explores one context in this equation – *issues & crisis management* (crisis management for simplicity) – in the digital age, from an Agency perspective. We approach the topic with observation of best practice, and reflection on scenarios where best practice did not prevail. We take this approach to offer guidance to brands in terms of developing appropriate mechanisms to deal with potential and/or actual crisis. Our job as Public Relations professionals is to minimise collateral damage for

clients during crises, and to manage our clients and their public reactions to ensure loss of brand reputation is minimised.

Over the past half decade in particular, brands have flocked towards social media as an effective, cost-efficient marketing aide. Social media though, is a double-edge sword. The thoughtful use of social media (which we advocate to clients in almost every category) can foster strong relationships with customers, future customers, and other publics, but when mismanaged, the power to destroy brands is in just 140 characters, or one awkward photograph. As brand guardians we must be ever vigilant in protecting our brand/s from negative associations.

Our role does not stop there. Agencies must train both staff and clients to cope with crisis situations in a more professional way; and for training establishments / academics, we must train our next generation of industry players to understand and appreciate the enormity of a crisis situation, and equip them with functional and executable tools that they can use from day one of joining the workforce.

A Crisis?

Anything from a bad review on a restaurant Facebook page to an enmasse product tainting to missing commercial airlines.

A crisis is any event / activity / action / feedback that has the potential to affect your brand reputation. Our approach is very brand-centric and ignores the reality to the consumer – simply because our role is to protect reputation of the brand. Thus, any action which shines a negative light on a brand, even minutely, could be considered a crisis for the brand, or has the potential to develop into one.

In contemporary business, because of increased accessibility to internet and social media, a crisis has the potential to destroy a brand or business, even if the matter at hand is unreasonable in relation to the effect that it has.

What Are We Up Against?

The trend developing over the past years has been rapidly expanding. Ten years ago, marketers were discussing how to utilise email distribution lists and basic websites in their campaign strategy; this has jumped to mobile interactivity, which also means additional work for marketers, but also significant new channels to connect with customers and potential customers. Brands, and their representatives, must stay on top of this tidal wave of new communications opportunities.

In the last five years alone, as increasing numbers of brands have jumped onboard the social media bandwagon, it is rare to find a brand that does not have some form of online presence – be it formal or social.

As a result of technology, consumers' brand research and interaction patterns are changing. Their engagement with brands is more fluid, and their access to brands and brand information, including their *entitlement* to brand response, is considerably advanced compared to just a few years ago. And, it is changing daily.

Brand and product credibility is now assessed through multiple filters, many of these being informal. Previously dominated by formal one-way channels (media articles, formal product reviews, print and broadcast advertisements, credible sources) is now dominated by two-way channels including forums, chatrooms, social media commentaries, and observation / interaction with *friends* (whom we may never even have met) in order to make brand-related purchase decisions.

Consumers read online reviews – which by the way, the *writer* does not need to be a credible expert in – as well as the many online “news” portals which replicate anything from truth to ludicrous conspiracy theories. These are correlated to create an action decision (purchase, non-purchase), or to shift / shape the consumers thinking. The problem faced is that we all know not to believe everything we read on the internet, but someone may have forgotten to tell our consumers of this, as they absorb content and let it influence them like online gospel.

Huge advances in search engine capabilities, and the reality that everything is searchable, means bad information hangs around. As little as twenty years ago, one would have to troll through archive newspapers in a public library in order to learn anything. Today, we have Google and a plethora of other online search engines and databases. For brands, this means that although you may cover up negativity in the media, it will always be searchable. The result; a smart, internet-savvy consumer can easily search the skeletons in your closet, and be influenced by them.

Adding to this, social media has become a type of fifth estate with a different civic sensibility. People hide behind false identities, passing comment and judging others (including brands) – things the majority of us would not have done under our own name. This *arms distance approach* also means that consumers offer feedback more readily online, as they do not have to face the person at the store to provide feedback. It becomes less stressful for the consumer, but also an opportunity for competitors, and others with an axe to grind, to shine a negative light on the brand.

Several clients have commented on this to our Agency with respect to ratings sites such as Trip Advisor. The growing belief that the feedback posted is not real; including the identification of particular competitors who have posted less-than-desirable feedback, coupled by clients creating ghost accounts just to boost their ratings and hide negative comments under the ‘first five’ in appearance. It all makes for an interesting story, but consumers still take this as ‘truth’. The writers own Trip Advisor account gets regular status updates to inform *how helpful* a comment was in making someone’s brand purchase decision.

The extent to which ghost reviews overshadow the communication process was highlighted a few years back in Malaysia. After a series of set-backs, namely negative public feedback via social media relating to product quality and delivery reliability, Lazada felt it important to prop up their comments and infuse some positive feedback via ghost profiles. Comments were well-written, contained the important message/s, and looked like they were coming from different people. A nice balance to highlight an improvement in service. The issue however – and a rookie mistake at that – the social media staffer responsible for uploading these ghost comments, forgot to log out of their Lazada account, and threads of feedback were seen as written from Lazada, thus plainly showcasing the initiative.

Thanks to social media and eagle-eyes shoppers who screen-capped these posts (Figure 1), the issue, and Lazada’s falsification went viral – far more damaging to the brand than the initial negative feedback received.



Figure 1 – Lazada Malaysia Creates its Own Customer Feedback

We have moved from a society guided by trusted public experts, originating out of credible media organisations, towards new networks and the new *experts* – individuals who hold, and share, an opinion on anything and everything.

On a positive note, transparency has become the new order of trust. Organisations are under more scrutiny, which results in practicing a more honest approach to business. Not always, but at least in many cases, as information can no longer be hidden, it is better for organisations to be direct and transparent about their dealings.

Meet Our Smart, Connected Consumer

Compounding these issues for brands is the new *smart, connected consumer*. Consumer psyches’ have changed, and on the average, our current consumer is one where:



- Consumer is *super-connected*, and doesn't trust "corporate speak" or "marketing speak". They read through the lines, expect a personal approach, and can tell when a brand is trying to pull the wool over their eyes.
- Consumers want real time, just-in-time, and *my-time* information. Information flows have changed due to increased accessibility to smart phone technology, and so too with it have attention zones. This is now categorised by continuous partial attention, immersion, and info-snacking. Consumers see what they want to see – often not the full story – and consciously block out relevant information that does not conform to their personal ideals.
- Consumers embrace *word-of-mouse* greater than they value traditional information sources. If a [pseudo-]friend has experienced it; then it must be 100% right.
- Consumers demand brand *interaction*. They actively converse with brands, and expect this to be a two-way process. Patience is no longer a virtue – *now* is the new 'waiting for a response'.

As such, brands face new challenges. In addition to traditional media approaches during times of crisis, brands need to be aware of the new type of consumer, and to have in place a strategy that not only reflects traditional communication practice, but meets the needs of today's fast-paced consumer who expects to know everything before it happens, if not sooner.

Characteristics of Good Crisis Communication

Regardless of the channel of communication used, there are some pretty basic good practice indicators for any issues management scenario. Ensuring that you meet these basic criterion for your brand will assist you in minimising collateral damage, and in retaining valued customers to your brand. Failing on these, and you are likely to have a situation that spins out of control and doesn't help your brand in the future.

- Demonstration of decisive corrective action – showing that as a brand, you are fixing the problem. Internet and social media offers us additional portals through which to clearly demonstrate this and to guide the narrative. Being seen is always better than being heard.
- Provision of speedy and accurate information. Given easy access to research, and seeding, it is simple for the public to verify information. Brands need to be prompt, accurate, and not withhold disclosure of pertinent information. A leaked document is far more damaging than a brand being upfront about it.
- Ability to admit mistakes. Take accountability (but not always responsibility) for what has occurred. This strengthens your honesty and credibility with customers and the public.
- Full appreciation of the needs of all stakeholders. It is important to acknowledge all stakeholders – victims, public, etc, in a crisis. Each party will have a differing viewpoint, and your communications message must reach to all concerned.
- Demonstrate a clear recovery strategy – show that you can move forward, without disrespecting the crisis event.
- Ensure consistent corporate messages, led by facts. This is important, as it is still the brand that needs to speak, and it is important that the company is seen as a responsible (accountable) corporate citizen. Facts are the key though – to ensure that the truth goes out there. Facts are harder to twist than lies.

- Be prepared to put practices in place to reaffirm your commitments. Part of being transparent and honest in times of crisis is demonstrating that you are taking serious action to rectify the situation. This includes communicating progress regularly, as well as road blocks along the way which may hamper your progress.
- Remember the humanity of the situation – a crisis is personal to someone, and as such, you need as a brand to remember the human element. Far too often this is lost as people assign blame, but forget to acknowledge that something has affected another person’s life in some way.

Rules of Engagement

There is only one real rule – Plan!

In the age where social media can amplify the severity of a reputational crisis (and, in some cases, create one), communications and public relations teams are tasked with positioning their brands intelligently in the social media sphere before issues arise, regardless the size of organisation or potential issue / crisis.

Therefore, planning for a crisis, and how each member of your organisation is going to deal with it, is essential.

It can be argued that we never know when a crisis will hit. Indeed, true. But it does not stop us from planning. We see the various issues that businesses and society face, and whilst it is not possible to determine every possible contortion of crisis that could occur, we are able to give a proximate of what may happen. With a restaurant for example, it could be food poisoning (consider the current situation in Singapore with respect to raw fish and how this has impacted on all levels of the food & beverage industry); with a construction company it could be worker death or injury, partial / full collapse of a site, machine malfunction affecting third party property, or legal issues. All can be identified in advance, and a skeletal plan can be established.

Build this into your brand communications planning, and insist on developing a crisis management plan. This needs to be done at the earliest stage possible, because if you wait until a crisis hits, you will be caught with your pants down, and the results will be seen clearly as a poorly coordinated knee-jerk reaction, rather than an empathetic response to something where you have a stronger chance to retain brand credibility.

Incorporate Social Media into Your Brand Communications Planning at All Timeframes

Brands still exist which try to resist social media initiatives. This is unfortunate, as the world has steered us down the social media path, and in the foreseeable future, there is no turning back. Brands need to open their eyes and embrace social media as a part of their communication tactics, but also understand how powerful social media can be, either to either propel them out of proportion a crisis, or to quash it before it gains momentum.

At each stage of your brand communications planning, incorporate social media. There are practical strategies for each time frame (pre, midst, and post crisis) which can help your brand survive the roller coaster ride through the moment of crisis.

Before A Crisis Hits – Develop a Crisis Plan

Embed a workable crisis plan into your overall brand communications plan. Every brand plans ahead – encompassing branding, communication messages, advertising, marketing and public relations initiatives – all designed to build and strengthen the brand. It is time to include problem-solving via social media into this.

Involve all team members – not just senior management. Every member is a guardian of your brand, and by communication and sharing the crisis plan, this helps to develop a singular voice within the entire organisation.

Important to consider at this stage is the language to be used. Establish the parameters of tonality for all messages (as you would for any communications), and set this/these in stone first. Tonality of message can strongly influence people's reactions to your brand during crisis, and help to either make you look sincere or genuine, or simply highlight that you are paying lip-service. One of the biggest difficulties during a crisis is to react speedily to issues in the right tone and style – advanced determination of this assists greatly.

Avoiding confusion the first time around is key. Identify your spokesperson(s), identify and communicate the chain of communicative command, and set parameters. Once something is out there in the social media sphere, it cannot be retracted.

And again, remember the *human side* to any the issue. Find ways to incorporate this into your messaging.

Assemble Your Communications Team

When it is too late, it is simply too late. Identification of spokesperson(s) prior to an issue is a strong preparation tactic to ensure that you look on top of the crisis. The principle consideration in selecting the voice of your brand is that 'one voice is more important than one person'. It is acceptable to have several spokespeople, but ensure that they have the same message, and are delivering it in the same direction.

One of the biggest observable failings during the first Malaysia Airlines crisis (the loss of MH370), also unfortunately carried over into the MH17 scenario, was the lack of consistent and credible voice. In fact, several official voices (and not all were from the airline) were heard, each with an unaligned message. This lack of coordination, which identifies as confusion, contributed to the spiraling number of conspiracy theories, as well as to people's growing speculation and distrust of what they were being told.

The role of the spokesperson(s) is to manage the accuracy and consistency of messages from the organisation. With digital and social media, messages get out there much faster and in greater volume than ever before, thus making it easier for the average member of the public to view multiple sources within quick succession, and distinguish situations where parallelism is not present. When a single voice is lacking, it opens up questions, and social media becomes the platform to ask such questions – these then have the potential to go viral as others pick up on the same inconsistencies, and spiral the scenario out of reach compared to utilisation of traditional media.

As a guide, brands should stick to the *five C's* for a spokesperson:

- *Concern*: Always demonstrate empathy and concern regarding the issue. Show face to those affected. Social media users amplify situations when spokespeople look unconcerned, and this further impacts on the crisis management initiatives.
- *Clarity*: Communicate the message as clearly as possible. This is not a linguistic or auditory skill, but rather the personal ability to cut through the clutter and give direct, honest, simple statements and answers. And, the ability to admit if you don't know something.
- *Control*: Be in control of the situation. Have as many answers as possible, and have the connection to those who do for when you don't. "No comment" or "I don't know" are no longer acceptable to a digitally-connected public.
- *Confidence*: With so many eyes on the spokesperson, through a variety of media, coupled with the public's ability to express opinions, it is essential that the spokesperson/s carry themselves with poise and dignity.
- *Competence*: The spokesperson(s) must look the part and have the skills to deal with a wide variety of others, especially media. In times of crisis, media are hungry for information, and become more demanding than ever before, as they seek to scoop other media outlets.

All somewhat linked and overlapping, finding a voice that meets the five C's helps to develop credibility and to reinforce existing positive association with the brand. Lacking in these, people see through the scenario and are more likely to question.

Taking this a step further, it is also desirable for brands to get experienced staff handling their social media initiatives and interaction. Paradigm Mall, a large, recently-opened shopping centre in Kuala Lumpur made the mistake of putting a fresh graduate in charge of social media. An incident occurred where elevators malfunctioned during their first week of operations, and concerned shoppers took to social media to inform the management of the issue.

What took this to the next level was when the social media staffer responded with a series of comments (refer Figure 2) regarding *magic*, which propelled the situation from a local scenario to the attention of national and regional media. Mall management later responded that the staffer was a fresh graduate, but by that time, the inferno that ensued had already taken solid hold, and this admission simply added to the chaos and dissatisfaction.

Thus, the mall learnt a valuable lesson in handling social media – experienced individuals who understand how to work under pressure are important.



STOP 114A Su Yuen Hsiang ▸ Paradigm Mall
May 28 at 10:15am · 🌐

Dear Paradigm Mall. Please take note that you need to fix your lifts. There have already been a couple of instances over the weekend where your lifts malfunctioned and plunged. — with Cyrus-Kelvin Lee, Visan and 2 others.

Like · Comment

👍 Kevindra Joseph, Zach Ho and 563 others like this.

Paradigm Mall Hi Yuen Hsiang, yes we are looking into that! :)
May 28 at 2:49pm · Like · 👍 4

STOP 114A Freddie Toh Again Looking...
May 28 at 4:41pm · Like · 👍 21

Paradigm Mall Yes Freddie, Paradigm Mall does not know magic. Cannot snap fingers and make changes. You can? Then we want to hire you!!
May 28 at 5:24pm · Like · 👍 156

STOP 114A Freddie Toh Well you need to pay me well for it. If you think you can afford it.
May 28 at 5:29pm · Like · 👍 2

Paradigm Mall Hi Freddie, sure! You know MAGIC wor! However expensive also we can afford!! Then we no longer have to answer "looking into it". Come for an interview NOW (Since you know magic you can appear now right). This is awesome, Paradigm Mall has now Freddie Toh with INSTANT solutions to EVERYTHING! PERFECT MALL now, people! Let's give Freddie Toh a big big hand!!!!
May 28 at 5:34pm · Like · 👍 109

STOP 114A Freddie Toh You're welcome.. So you are admitting that you aren't perfect. While everyone give positive comment, you take it easy. When the complaints comes you can't even able to handle it. You rather push it back & now even offer me a post to do it. Wonderful isn't.
May 28 at 5:40pm · Like · 👍 31

Paradigm Mall Hi Freddie, we never said we are perfect. Which is why we are very appreciative to comments and feedbacks from everyone. We handling the complaints by compiling every single feedback (even yours) to be tabled across all the departments. We did not and will never push any blame or whatsoever to anyone. Well, offering you a post which I think every single company in a world would want to offer you. You are the ONLY one in the world who knows magic and solve things instantly.
May 28 at 5:46pm · Like · 👍 26

STOP 114A Su Yuen Hsiang Excuse me. I would like to know why this post has been removed from the Paradigm Mall FB page? I believe I have a valid concern here and it should not have been removed.
May 28 at 5:48pm · Like · 👍 56

Paradigm Mall Hi Yuen Hsiang, this post is still here with the replies from Paradigm Mall. If it has been removed, you would not be able to see it now.. And you concern has been brought up to the respective department and

Figure 2 – Paradigm Mall Doesn't Do Magic: Do You?

An element of crisis planning is looking for indicators of potential issues. These can be easily identified in advance through simple monitoring initiatives. Understanding brand buzz via social media (times when people are discussing your brand in excess of expectations), an increased use of #hashtags and

their #associatedhashtags, as well as more traditional approaches such as industry news or competitors analysis.

Digital Fortress

An effective approach to help ensure that brand credibility remains as strong as possible before a crisis is to build a *Digital Fortress*. The means creating online content, and a lot of it, while you control the brand narrative. When people search your brand, even during a crisis, the negatives are interspersed with the positive. The concept is to construct this digital fortress before a crisis occurs. Not only does it give balance during a crisis, but it reinforces your brand during normal operations, and may help propel your brand further.

It is important to proactively tell your brand story – you tell your own story instead of letting others tell it for you. In times of crisis, brands can lose control of the narrative, and therefore having more brand-centric content in advance helps the brand to pull this back to themselves.

Many brands are heading down the track of using *Key Opinion Leaders* (KOL's) as part of their marketing initiatives. One consideration is how you can embrace KOL's so that their support continues during a crisis scenario.

By creating a digital fortress, you have the opportunity to create a large segment of your own search results. This invariably assists in balancing the negative with positive, and subtly reminds consumers of all the good things associated with your brand; so that the baby is not thrown out with the bath water.

Building that fortress can be as simple as creating and submitting compelling and relevant content to blogs and portals, and reposting existing public relations initiatives / results, through sharing on your brand's social media site(s) and maintaining an active two-way communication stream.

All of this should be reinforced, of course, by traditional public relations practice!

Training Initiatives

Training of spokespersons and key personnel holds key importance. Across industry and academia, the training initiative is a question that needs to be discussed and addressed further.

Brand

Brand representatives need to be trained in the art of crisis communication, and they need to be aware of how media (and new commentators via social media) can manipulate information said in jest or otherwise.

- Train brand representatives as spokesperson(s).
- Ensure brand is on-board with the "truth" to be told (level of truth).
- Establish rules for spokesperson accessibility.

A recent social media situation in Malaysia related to global organisation, ServCorp. A festive greeting went wrong when a junior executive approved a digital art file, but did not understand issues of pixilation when displayed on large outdoor screens. The result, a Hari Raya message from Sidney the Wombat (used for 25 years across the globe) that unfortunately to some individuals resembled a pig.

A response was crafted, but the issue became associated with spokesperson accessibility, as the brand CEO was 'unavailable' for the weekend, which resulted in a 48 hour delay in responding as appropriately as possible. This 48 hours not only raised further questions, but sparked entirely new threads about whether the brand actually cared or not. Accessibility to multiple spokespeople is essential, as the public will no longer wait, or respect other people's time or time differentials.

Agency

Agency role is to manage the client (brand) and guide the process during the crisis scenario.

- Agency is there to guide.
- Agency as a content creator.
- Brand-Agency interaction and management.
- KOL engagement patterns.

Training Providers

Prior to joining the workforce, more can be done to equip branding, marketing and public relations staffers via their college and university training. In order to strengthen their skillset, the authors recommend heightening training and learning opportunities in the following areas:

- Diplomacy skills.
- Politics and meaning of words.
- Working under pressure.
- Digital skills.
- Strategy awareness.
- Issues & crisis management basics.

When Crises Hit

The obvious advice is to continuously monitor and assess the situation. Some brands forget the importance of this and lose sight of being on top of things. With social media, it is necessary to monitor in real time what conversations others are having about your brand. Financial limitations may restrict your monitoring tools, but there are several free-to-use social media monitoring tools out there that any brand can access with ease, for example Talkwalker, which facilitates "real time" monitoring alerts of digital and social media channels. For brands with a monitoring budget, a reputable monitoring service will help to analyse tonality of the conversations, and this will give you stronger guidance as to whether your approach is working.

Make formal statement(s) with the consistency of voice highlighted earlier. Take accountability – remembering accountability and responsibility are different. Reach your audiences, and promptly; facilitate regular updates via all platforms (traditional media: print, broadcast; and new media: online, social). The more you are seen to be contributing to a solution, the higher the likelihood that your customers will continue to support your brand.

Statements made should be factual and not overly emotional. Well-known Malaysian patisserie, Le Deux Garçons, made a fatal flaw in their social media interaction, when their representative got overly emotional in his response to customer feedback (Figure 3). The response took the feedback, turned it personal, and ended up not only offending the customer, but a significant number of others too. Ultimately, this went viral too, and it took in excess of one year for the outlet to regain customer numbers that it had previously experienced.

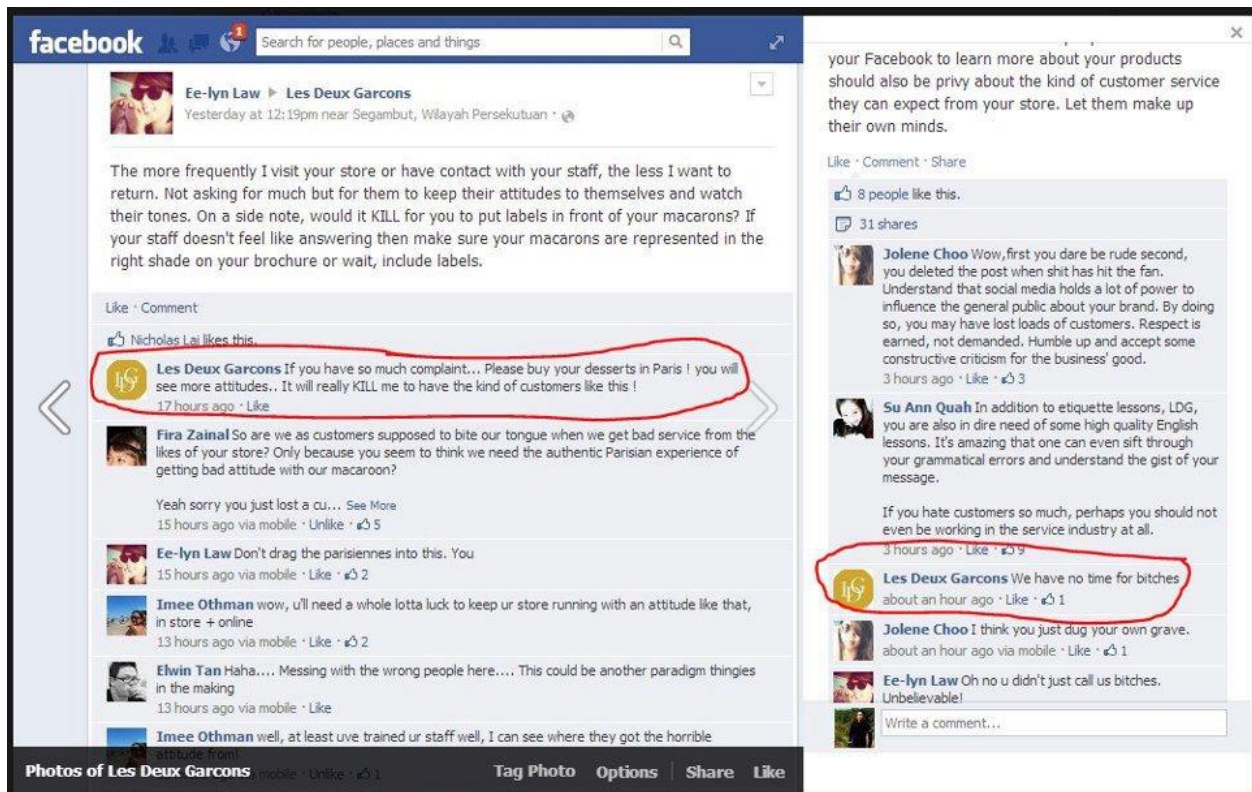


Figure 3 – We Have no Time for B#####!

Ensure that you respond to questions. Brands are often afraid to face real questions, but it's better for the public to hear it directly from your spokesperson than to read it via unconfirmed sources. Never be defensive – with new media, our 'publics' have more of a vested interest than ever before – and more strategically (for them), they now have a voice. The key difference in approach between the crises Malaysian Airlines and AirAsia had can be seen through this context. AirAsia, in particular Tony Fernandes, was not afraid to answer questions, and actively attempted to do so. Contrary to this, Malaysia Airlines (and the plethora of spokespersons) gave a strong impression that they were avoiding questions, including locking out various parties from information sessions.

One interesting strategy is to make use of your on-board KOL's to seed positive messages during a crisis. This is not about addressing the crisis per se, but using the KOL's to subtly remind their followers of all the good things your brand has done in the past – to try and restore balance to the sway of public

opinion. A brand should never ask a KOL to defend their brand or make personal statements about the issues at hand; rather they should empathise with the situation, highlight the humanity element, and remind people of their reasons for their positive association with the brand. Remarkably, public opinion can still be strongly shaped through KOL's, and such a strategy can assist the brand in minimizing damage. However, it must also be carefully managed, and definitely in the voice of the KOL (not the brand).

And – If you change your stance (for any reason) – explain yourself fully! People more easily forgive the truth.

Recovering After the Crisis – Getting the Sun to Shine Again

Public engagement is an ongoing process. Post-crisis, one must rebuild their digital fortress, amongst all the other brand building and re-engagement activities that are necessary.

The process involves:

- Re-earning trust: In most cases, you must find ways to get your customers back. They have lost faith in your brand, and your credibility in their eyes may have dwindled. Accelerate the effort to ensure that you continue to build loyal customers.
- Record lessons learnt: This needs to become part of your organisational culture – stories told, and the responses to them. Evaluate and reflect on the approach, and incorporate this into your crisis communication plan. Chances are, there will be another crisis. And, there will be improvements that your brand can make.
- Monitor response effectiveness: Track attitudinal changes (public conversations) and understand what messages resonated best with the public.
- Learn from it: Don't allow the same crisis to repeat.

Social Media Learnings – A Reflection

In lieu of a conclusion, let us reflect on our experience, and key learnings from observing clients (and working on crises ourselves):

- Don't let junior, inexperienced staff handle social media.
- Have pre-prepared statements that can be tweaked and issued (at different stages).
- Don't upload statements to social media before issuing them through traditional press.
- Don't let there be more than one voice. And don't let someone else steal your show.
- Determine your cut-off point.
- Do not adopt the "wait and see" approach – by the time you've waited and seen, hundreds / thousands of people have already judged.

American law researcher Marc Galanter in 1974 noted: there is a 75% chance of people believing you if you have the first word – *key learning*:

Don't let somebody else take your truth away!

Suggested Reading

Whilst the authors have not cited any references in this presentation, the following publications have been noted as being relevant:

- Brand Group, “10 New Rules of Branding”.
- Bruce, S., “Back to the Future of Public Relations”.
- Court, D.C., Forsyth, J.E., Kelly, G.C., and Loch, M.A., “The New Rules of Branding”, [McKinsey Marketing Practice](#).
- DOMO, “Why Paid Social Media is Hot”.
- Edelman, D.C., “Branding in the Digital Age”, [Harvard Business Review](#).
- Public Relations Society, “The Future is Yesterday”.
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- Sammis, K., “It’s Not Rocket Science”.
- Scott, D.M., “The New Rules of PR”.
- Scott, D.M., “The New Rules of Viral Marketing”.
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**Rhetoric in Social Media
(Pathos Discourse Model on Rhetoric in Social Media)**

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Abstract

The purpose of this study is to describe the model of rhetoric in social media. Today, social media is a tool used to share anything. Whether the goal is to persuasion or just outpouring. In the previous studies, more research on the advantages of social media as a tool of persuasion, especially for political activities. However, research on rhetoric as a scientific tradition that more than persuasion, has not done much in the realm of communication. From the search writer, rhetoric finally managed to attract the sympathy of others, and became a trending topic, is a topic that invites situation rhetoric. For example, a Facebook status that spreads virally, on infant mortality due to smoke, then gets sympathy Facebook users, so it is newsworthy in the online media. Referring to Bitzer that said, there are situations that affect why a rhetoric made, namely urgency, audience, and constraints. Maker status on Facebook feel the need to make such status on his personal account page. In addition to the urgency of making status, status authors also feel there are friends who would respond to such status, so he shared in friendships on Facebook page. On one hand, he also encountered obstacles in solving its own problems, so he needs to write. The methodology in this study using a qualitative approach to investigate the discourse on social media, especially Facebook, and analyzed by the method of rhetorical situation Bitzer. Research shows that the model of rhetoric in social media, is a model that invites conversation and forwarded viral on social media. There are some people who make up a story and then disseminated. This story was made with the technique of writing that can evoke feelings of many people (pathos). In preparing the pathos, the rhetoric on social media, sometimes ethos and logos are not too much attention. Even the new ethos will appear, if the audience much to make maker status as a reference in the sharing of account page. And the presence of logos become less important element, as it involves the characteristics of the group that includes identity, relationships, reputation and ideology.

Keywords: Rhetoric, Social Media, Rhetoric Situation Bitzer, Discourse Model, Pathos.

Introduction

Littlejohn and Foss, said that initially the rhetoric associated with persuasion, so it is defined as the art of the preparation of the argument and making of speeches. Then, the rhetoric is expanded to include a process of "adjusting ideas to people and people to ideas" in any kind of message.

Furthermore, the focus of rhetorical expanded, encompassing human way of using symbols to affect the surrounding environment and to build a world in which they live. Based on the rhetorical focus, the space for rhetoric also not be in the pulpit, while giving a speech. Now, the rhetoric chamber also enters the virtual space and change shape, not only in the form of speech, but also the texts are disseminated through new media.

New media, is now used to produce and distribute ideas, ideas, and all things related to human activity. The goal, as the focus of rhetorical above, which uses symbols to affect the surrounding environment and build the world according to ideas that embraced the group. Of the many ideas that circulated in the new media, in fact narrowed to a few great ideas that rule the world. Therefore, the purpose of this study, to define the model of rhetoric in social media. The reason is, because at this time, social media is a tool used to share anything. Are aimed at persuasion or simply outpouring aimed.

In the previous studies, more research on the advantages of social media as a tool of persuasion, especially for political activities. This can be traced by typing keywords on search engines, such as google, bing, and others. For the Google search engine, type in the keyword when researchers 'number of political persuasion research in UI', there were 161,000 successful text search google within 0.75 seconds. The text number, derived from a variety of disciplines, not least communication. However, research on rhetoric as a scientific tradition that more than persuasion, has not done much in the realm of communication. From the search writer, rhetoric propagated in social media, not all of them can attract the sympathy of social media users. Rhetoric finally managed to attract the sympathy of others, *terumata* that may be trending topic, is a topic that invites situation rhetoric.

Situation rhetoric is a theory introduced by Bitzer. According to Bitzer, rhetorical success, built through the rhetorical situation. Bitzer said earlier rhetoric situation not considered. Rhetorical situations come talk about, when you want to determine the type of discourse. Typically, the focus of rhetoric is the method orator, or the rhetorical discourse itself. Situation rhetoric that invites orator making methods and create a discourse considered not important or only implied. For that, Bitzer makes essay on rhetoric situation and an outline of the concept of rhetorical situation.

In the essay, Bitzer said the speaker and the audience interacting in the context of a situation contains elements of the history of rhetoric. Then Bitzer outlines seven components that explains the meaning of the situation rhetoric that he understood, namely: (1) Discourse rhetoric came as a response to the situation, in the same sense, rhetoric is the answer came in response to questions or solutions in response to the problem, (2) As a speech, a situation rhetoric gives significance to the rhetoric, because it gives the discourse significant as an answer or a solution to a question or problem, (3) the situation rhetoric is a necessary condition in the discourse of rhetoric, such a question, he was, as a necessary condition of the answer, (4) Many of the questions were answered, but many problems unsolved; just as many situations rhetoric occur without spawned speech rhetoric, (6) the discourse is rhetorical, when functioning as a response appropriate for situations that require and inviting, (7) The situation rhetoric control the response of rhetoric, in the same sense, the question of controlling the answers and solution.

Bitzer added, meaning that seven rhetorical situation above, lies not in the role of a carrier that is not persuasive speech, but the situation is the source and basis of activity as well as a critique of the rhetoric. For example, a facebook status that spreads virally, on infant mortality due to smoke, then gets sympathy facebook users, so it is newsworthy in the online media and electronic media. The status curahatan initially only in the form of a mother, who recently died from smog. However, because of the status related to the context of the situation mengundang rhetoric.

The situation rhetoric be a response to the problems that are going on, during which two months earlier, in some regions of Sumatra and Palangkaraya, events haze that never disappeared. The longer the smoke is more concentrated, while the rain never fell, though based on a cycle of weather and climate in Indonesia, the rain should have gone down. Which makes the event more worrying is the cause of smog, comes from the land intentionally burned by the oil palm company. Meanwhile, there appears decisive action from central and local government, to immediately solve the haze, until finally there were no fatalities. The following display Facebook account, which then became news in online media:



Figure 1. News Online¹ is lifted from a Facebook status that reap sympathy

In addition to containing the images that come from a facebook account, online news above also contains the text that amplifies the picture story. The following text excerpt from the online news²:

JAKARTA - Akun Facebook bernama Rhia Moorlife Jambi sedang jadi perbincangan di dunia maya. Penyebabnya, foto terbaru beserta caption di akun tersebut mengunggah keprihatinan para *netizen*.

Pemilik akun mengunggah lima foto, satu di antaranya menggambarkan anak kecil sedang berbaring menggunakan selang oksigen. Matanya terpejam sementara di keningnya terdapat kain berwarna putih seperti kompres.

Di satu foto lainnya, balita itu bersama seorang perempuan berhijab yang matanya memerah dan wajahnya menggambarkan kesedihan. Sedangkan si bayi, matanya tetap

¹ Risna Nur Rahayu. 2015. <http://news.okezone.com/read/2015/10/02/340/1224950/foto-bayi-meninggal-akibat-kabut-asap-ramai-di-medsos>, diakses 25 November 2015

² Ibid

terpejam meski tak lagi menggunakan selang oksigen. Namun, badannya kini dibalut kain kapan.

Bayi perempuan itu sudah meninggal. Ini dikuatkan dengan *caption* yang ditulis pemilik akun menyertai lima foto tersebut. Bayi mungil itu meninggal karena kabut asap.

"Cukup anak hamba ya allah yg jdi korban akibat asap yang tidak kunjung berhenti,jngan lagi ada korban yang lain.sesak napas,batuk,pilek akibat kabut asap dari orang-orang yang tidak bertanggung jawab."

Hingga sore ini, sudah 12,882 netizen yang men-*share* foto-foto itu. Sementara yang memberikan tanda "suka" sebanyak 68 akun. Sedangkan yang memberi komentar ada 73 akun.

"Inalillahi wa inna ilahi rajiun, yg sabar yaa kak ririe. semoga kak dan fmily diberi kesabaran dan ketabahan. segitunya yaa kak akibat jerebu tu.?". Ini salah satu dari 73 komentar yang ada.**(ris)**

The text above is only one of the 671 000 texts that can be found on the google search engine, when researchers typing the keyword 'infant victims of smoke'. In these texts, not only the status of the same account are appointed as online news, there are accounts of others who also reported. Accounts will get a lot of sympathy and a trending topic, because the strength of the response to the context of the problems that occur. Society hopes, with the incident, the haze problem can be resolved soon. Even people with the power of social media active voice for all parties to work together to overcome the problem of smog. Among them made a video of humanity about the haze to collect donations, prayers Istisqo (prayer for rain) and a range of concrete actions, such as volunteering to help extinguish the smoke, setting up shelters, and various other social activities. The effort carried out, while continuing melancarkan criticism of the government is considered slow, inattentive, and various other negative stigma. Thousands of students like action photos of victims of smoke following:



Figure 2. Photo Collage Student Demo Videos Thousands of Victims Haze ³

³ Aliya Roesli. 2015. http://www.bbc.com/indonesia/berita_indonesia/2015/10/151028_indonesia_demoasap, diakses 25 November 2015

The photo above was then reinforced by the narrative of the students on October 28, 2015, with the headline, "Thousands of students protested in Pekanbaru smog". Here are excerpts news⁴:

Ribuan mahasiswa Universitas Islam Negeri Sultan Syarif Kasim Pekanbaru (UIN SUSKA) menggelar demonstrasi di Pekanbaru Riau, Rabu (28/10), menuntut pemerintah mengambil langkah-langkah nyata mengatasi kabut asap dan kebakaran hutan.

Sekitar 3.000 mahasiswa ini mendesak pemerintah serius melakukan penegakan hukum terhadap para tersangka kasus kebakaran hutan dan lahan di Sumatra dan Kalimantan. Selain itu masyarakat yang terkena dampak diberikan kompensasi, seperti dilaporkan oleh wartawan di Riau Aliya Roesli. Mereka juga meminta agar aturan yang mengizinkan pembakaran lahan dalam UU 32/2009 dan Peraturan Gubernur Riau No 11/2014 dicabut.

Aksi diawali dengan berjalan dan berkonvoi melewati jalan-jalan utama di Pekanbaru. Para mahasiswa mendesak pemerintah agar kebakaran hutan dan kabut asap jangan lagi terulang di tahun-tahun mendatang. Sebelumnya pemerintah menyatakan [tidak akan mengungkapkan pelaku pembakaran hutan](#) dan lahan kepada publik karena alasan-alasan ekonomi.

Based on the above text, rhetoric situation concerning student actions are a response to the lack of firm government action against the perpetrators of the cause of smog in some areas in Indonesia. Students feel the need to voice a protest in the form of a demo, by proposing a number of demands to the government. The demands of the student action

that, among other things: 1). Demanding that the government take concrete steps to overcome the haze and forest fires, 2). Urged the government to seriously enforce the law against suspected cases of forest and land fires in Sumatra and Kalimantan, 3). Provide compensation to communities affected by smog, 4). Repeal rules that allow the burning of land in Law 32/2009 and Riau Governor Regulation No. 11/2014, 5). Urged that forest fires and smog are not repeated in the coming years. The diversity of texts produced in social media, as well a variety of responses. But the researchers believe, the variety of empirical phenomena, has specialized in the distribution pattern. For that researchers interested in studying what model of rhetoric in social media.

Theoretical Framework

Rhetoric trained to "let the facts speak for themselves", and to keep the scientists very special, to be ready to talk with scientists of other specialists, as well as the need for policy makers and the general public. Meanwhile, the rhetoric is built not so alone. According to Bitzer, rhetorical success is also built through retorika. Kerangka situation theory in this research is the theory of rhetoric that refers to the situation Bitzer. Bitzer said, there is a situation that affects as a basis for why a rhetoric made.

Bitzer revealed that no major theories that discuss the situation thoroughly rhetoric. Situation rhetoric discussed only indirectly, as did Aristotle. He considers the situation rhetoric, when it wants to determine the type of discourse. Typically, the focus of rhetorical questions trigger theory is a

⁴ Ibid

method orator, or the rhetorical discourse itself, not in a situation that invites orator to create methods and create discourse. More rhetorical theory focuses on methods, products or processes, while the conception of the situation, only implicit in some theory of rhetoric. For that, Bitzer makes an essay on the theory of rhetoric situation, in an attempt to revive the idea of rhetorical situation, provide an outline of concepts to construct a theory of rhetoric.

In the essay, Bitzer says the situation rhetoric is the context in which the speaker or writer makes rhetorical discourse. Context is a common condition of human communication and is not identical to the situation rhetoric. He added that the situation is not the same rhetoric with persuasive situation, where the viewer can be changed beliefs / actions, with a speech. Rhetorical discourse must be embedded in a historical context.

Discourse rhetoric, likened to the tree of life and rooted in the ground. Thus, rhetoric works to get his character, from the historical context in which they are made. Each work is rhetoric, as a response to certain types of situations. However, a work of rhetoric is also pragmatic, he made for the sake of something beyond himself. Situation rhetoric perform some functions and tasks, which change reality with the creation of a discourse that transforms reality, through the mediation of thought and action.

Rhetoric situation can also be interpreted as an event, person, text, objects, relationships, and the urgency which invites utterance. Inviting invite speech, today better known as chatter citizens. In the context of social media, chat residents participated adaca form naturally under the circumstances. The participation form can be used to settlement activities that are situational. By way of participation to the situation, the rhetoric acquire meaning and character of rhetoric. Situation determine the significance of the physical and verbal responses. Situation rhetoric finds himself, when a particular obligation to speak. What is meant by speaking is like talking to command, provide information, praise, blame, and respond appropriately to the situation.

The situation rhetoric is the source and basis of the activity rhetoric and rhetorical criticism. There are three constituents of rhetorical situation: 1). Urgency, 2). Audience, 3). Constraints. Urgency is the imperfection marked with disabilities, barriers, waiting for the situation, or anything else that is not supposed to be. Urgency is positive that require modification can be assisted by a discourse or discourse. For example, the human actions that are harmful to people and actions can be changed, by making the discourse addressed to him. Examples Pollution, has a rhetorical urgency because the need to be modified positively. Pollution should be reduced, if it can be eliminated. For that, it needs the help of discourse that can produce public awareness, anger as the impact of pollution, and appropriate action to address the pollution incident. Urgency strong or weak, depending on the clarity of perception and the level of interest in it, so that the discourse can remove, or persist despite repeated modification.

The second constituent is the audiences. Since discourse rhetoric may result in changes to affect the decisions and actions of those who serve as mediators of change, then the rhetoric has always require audiences. Audience / public rhetoric, composed of people who are able to be influenced by the discourse and at the same time can be a mediator of change. Spectators rhetoric as mediators of change, the discourse that mediates the function to produce change. Constraints consist

of people, events, objects, and relationships, which are part of the situation, because they have the power to limit the decisions and actions necessary to modify urgency. Source obstacle is the belief, attitude, documents, facts, traditions, pictures, interests, motives and the like.

Common characteristic rhetorical situation, according to Bitzer, there are six. First, the rhetoric discourse into existence by the situation, such as an invitation to make a discourse. An example is the situation generated by the assassination of President Kennedy. At that time, rhetoric was made so very structured and attractive, *sekaligu* may be material to predict the themes of the discourse, such as murder report. Situation rhetoric at the time, used to develop the most urgent needs, namely the flow of information that makes the journalist creates hundreds of messages. The messages, and then change the situation murder, becomes event situations praised President who had died and rhetoric to convince the public that the new government will be orderly. Then came the various responses from the public to the news report which contains explanations and citizen participation, terhadap rhetoric created a situation of urgency for positive modification. With the power situation is clear, one can predict the discourse that will be distributed. The situation is the response of the speaker's rhetoric which contains demands or expectations of the audience. *Persitiwa* case of the example above the JFK assassination, to the audience's expectations, there are countless participation to John F. Kennedy. The audience spent more time writing about JFK with his own imagination.

Secondly, the situation *retotika* not invite any response, but the response according to the situation. The expected response from the rhetoric situation, aims to encourage audience participation and change the situation. Third, if there is a situation that invites an appropriate response, then the situation will strongly determine the objectives, themes, materials, and styles response. The situation is said metaphorically that the situation set form of rhetoric. Fourth, urgency likened to people, objects, events and relationships that produce a form of rhetorical discourse of objective historical facts *Dapa* openly observed and commented upon by observers or critics. The real situation, distinguished from *sophistic* (false situation) where the counterfeit situation, where constituents are *fantasy* (imaginary objects, where the mind plays).

Fifth, the structure of the situation is simple. Rhetorical situation occurs when relatively few elements that have to be made to interact. Examples brief declaration of Franklin D. Roosevelt's speech about the war. At that time, the situation rhetoric is easily perceived urgency that the audience because there is a strong constraint perceived audience, namely the necessity of the war events. The situation would be very structured rhetoric if the issue sharply cases, there is decisive evidence, and the law is clear.

Sixth, the situation rhetoric into being, when the discourse made fitting and got a response the audience / audiences. As a rhetorical response, then the situation rhetoric has the stage to speak to the situation persist. Then the rhetoric is made of a special vocabulary, grammar, and style set. This is also true of situations that invite. A form of discourse, not only constructed, but with the situation rhetoric, the discourse has its own power. This is done by humans, as an agent who is good enough to mediate the viewers / audience in order to mediate the same to other audiences. Thus, the rhetoric situation which had been a puzzle, can be solved by making the model predictions. This makes things complicated to be easily understood. To further required scientific investigation of discourse rhetoric

situation, because the present world of imperfection. The situation needs to be modified by making discourse, to answer the practical needs of the investigation rhetoric and discourse. The aim is to assess the learning model production effective rhetorical discourse however emancipatory rhetoric in all situations.

As a discipline, rhetoric situation presents the principles, concepts, and procedures regarding changes in reality, as described above. So it is not just the rhetoric of persuasion, he has a legitimate object for investigation, and have a warrant philosophical as practical disciplines, including the situation in producing discourse rhetoric rhetoric. Elements of the above situation rhetoric, used by researchers to capture the situation rhetoric maker status on facebook.

Maker status on facebook feel the need to make such status on his personal account page. When he then can post a status, then therein lies urgency that status for themselves. The second thing to be considered making status, in addition to urgency, the author status also feel there are friends who would respond to such status, so he shared in friendships on facebook page. These friends likened to the situation rhetoric spectator status makers. On one hand, the makers also felt the status of obstacles in solving its own problems, so he needs to write and share problems with others in a network of friends.

Research Methods

The methodology in this study used a qualitative approach to investigate the discourse on social media, especially Facebook, and analyzed by the method of rhetorical situation Bitzer. A qualitative approach, according Sumanto (1995), is a method that emphasizes the aspects in depth understanding of an issue. This research method using the technique of in-depth analysis (in-depth analysis), which examines the problems case by case. In a qualitative methodology, the nature of a problem one will be different in nature from other problems. The purpose of this methodology is not a generalization, but in-depth understanding of an issue. The qualitative research study things in the setting of human nature, trying to understand, or to interpret, phenomena in meaning (Denzin & Lincoln, 2005: 3). With a qualitative approach, the authors hope this research can provide in-depth discussion about the model of rhetoric in social media. According to Blumer, Becker, and Dezin in Mulyana (2004), which tend to be quantitative scientific approach, less appropriate to examine human behavior. Qualitative research is considered more appropriate, because this research, aiming to maintain the shape and content of human behavior and analyze its qualities, and is not intended to turn it into a quantitative entities. Qualitative research can examine the contents of the conversation, gestures, and other social actions, which can be used as a qualitative analysis of the main study. Qualitative research methods were born, as a paradigm shift in looking at a phenomenon.

Qualitative research starts from the phenomenological paradigm that the object is built on a certain situation. Such a situation, an experience lived by an individual or a particular social group, and relevant to the purpose of research. Qualitative research assumes, systematic research must also be done in a natural environment that directly examine the actions or human interaction in defining and interpreting social events. Thus, qualitative research is less focused on artificial environment such as experiments. Qualitative research is an activity that puts the observer in the world. These observers conducting observation that consists of a set of interpretive knowledge, the practice of the material

that makes the world visible. Through this practice, the unit sets the interpretive can change the world into a series of representations, which get from field notes, interviews, conversations, images, recordings, and memos to yourself. At this level, involving interpretive qualitative research to the world. Meanwhile, this kind of research is descriptive.

According Sukmadinata (2006: 72), descriptive research is research aimed to describe phenomena that exist, both natural phenomena and man-made phenomenon. Fenemona it could be a form of activity, characteristics, changes, relationships, similarities and differences between the phenomena with each other phenomena. Similar to the above understanding of qualitative methodology, where the nature of a problem, with the other issues will be different in nature from other problems. In this study, researchers wanted to obtain information and an explanation of the situation regarding texts rhetoric that managed to take social media sympathy citizens, so as to create a model of rhetoric in social media.

To analyze situations rhetoric in social media, the authors conducted a data collection method by analyzing the documents by searching in google search engine documentation associated with the research. This document analyzes the data collection techniques that are not directly addressed to the research subjects. Documents examined came from a wide range of topics and themes that became a trending topic on social media. In addition, researchers also use some reference books that support research in the form of literature study materials. Most of the document, obtained from a copy of the page of social media accounts such as Facebook and twitter who later became news in the mass media online. Copies of these pages is one of the main instruments in this study, which assist researchers in conducting research analysis as the primary data and complementary research.

Findings and Analysis

The production process of rhetoric in social media, integrating collaboration between writer of the text, the text and the reader. This collaboration alloy, commonly depicted with the image of a triangle rhetoric. These three components, the first link that determines the extent to which an acceptable discourse and changed the face of the world. The rhetoric used to be back on the process of human communication. The rhetoric serves to disseminate the symbols that may affect the surrounding environment, in order to form a discourse building received local community and the world community can be accepted globally.

The three components of rhetoric which consists of the text author, text and reader in fact, constitute the basic elements of communication most classic models. Communication model is called model of rhetoric (rhetorical model) by Aristotle. According to Aristotle, the essence of this communication model is persuasion, that the communication that occurs when a speaker deliver his speech to the audience in order to change their attitude. Later this communication model, developed into a science, the science of rhetoric that was originally developed in Greece. At that time, the science of rhetoric taught about the science of the art of speaking (Techne Rhetorike).

Today with the support of technological sophistication for human communication, communication model of classical Aristotle then further developed into a theory and a new science for various purposes. The presence of new media, especially social media, makes the activity rhetoric get large space to participate disseminate symbols to affect the surrounding environment and constructing the

world according to a symbol of that discourse. Various texts produced in social media, by various authors and read by a variety of audiences. But of the many texts, only certain texts from certain writers who can draw the audience's attention from various circles. Based on the search of researchers there are 4 groups of themes that often attract the attention of the virtual community in Indonesia, namely: 1). Politics, 2). Islamic world, 3). Criminology, and 4). Humanity. Sometimes, the fourth theme is mixed into a single text rhetoric which then circulated in social media.

Political themes, especially regarding Jokowi-JK government, has always been a theme of conversation that never runs out. Even for the theme of this one, to create three large groups in a virtual world, namely: 1). Lovers fanatical group, 2) a group Haters Fanatic, and 3). The group in the middle. Before discussing further political theme as a major theme which occupied the top spot, the researchers would like to give some examples of political text which became trending topics in social media. The first example, the text that was triggered by the headline written by a print media, then became a byword in social media, so that eventually appointed as national news. The following text and photos that made national news⁵:

"Presiden Jokowi Makin Mendunia" Jadi "Trending Topic"



Artikel di Jakarta Globe memicu percakapan Jokowi Makin Mendunia masuk dalam trending topics Twitter, Rabu (8/4/2015) sore.

KOMPAS.com — Sebuah foto artikel koran berbahasa Inggris yang beredar luas di media sosial, Rabu (8/5/2015), memicu percakapan maya tentang "Presiden Jokowi Makin Mendunia" dan menjadi *trending topic* di Twitter. Artikel berjudul "Joko: I Don't Read What I Sign" (Joko: Saya Tidak Baca Apa yang Saya Tanda Tangani) berisi ulasan mengenai kenaikan tunjangan uang muka pembelian mobil bagi pejabat. Dalam artikel, Jokowi berkilah bahwa, "Tidak mungkin saya harus mengecek satu per satu halaman yang saya harus tanda tangani." Foto ini di-tweet oleh pakar hukum tata negara Yusril Ihza Mahendra dalam akun Twitter-nya dengan mengatakan, "Presiden Jokowi Makin Mendunia. Ini berita di *Wall Street Journal*,

⁵ Tri wahono. 2015.

<http://nasional.kompas.com/read/2015/04/08/21150071/.Presiden.Jokowi.Makin.Mendunia.Jadi.Trending.Topics>.



salah satu koran terkemuka di dunia. Kicauan ini di-*retweet* lebih dari 400 kali dan ramai diperbincangkan di media sosial. Namun, artikel ini bukan dari potongan *Wall Street Journal*, melainkan dari koran *Jakarta Globe* edisi 7 April 2015, tepatnya di halaman enam. Yusril kemudian mengklarifikasi sumber artikel itu dalam kicauannya. Namun, "Presiden Jokowi Makin Mendunia" masih tetap populer dan dikicaukan lebih dari 2.000 kali. Beberapa situs dan forum diskusi *online* juga memuat foto tersebut. Beberapaanya mencantumkan sumber koran dengan benar, tetapi beberapa juga keliru.

Dibandingkan dengan Soeharto

Walau keputusan kenaikan uang muka pembelian mobil dicabut oleh Presiden Jokowi, perbincangan ini masih cukup hangat di media sosial. Kata kunci "Perpres DP Mobil", misalnya, sudah digunakan lebih dari 24.800 kali selama sepekan terakhir. Banyak orang memberikan opini, termasuk dari pengguna Twitter yang mengatasnamakan Hutomo Mandala Putra. Pengguna tersebut membandingkan tindakan Jokowi dengan Presiden Soeharto. Dalam *tweet*-nya, dia mengatakan bahwa pemimpin yang menyalahkan bawahan ketika sedang terdesak adalah pemimpin yang "tidak bertanggung jawab". "HMS tidak pernah menyalahkan kabinetnya, meskipun akhirnya dikhianati beberapa dari mereka, karena wibawa kabinet ada di pucuk pimpinan," katanya melalui akun @HutomoMP_9. Sementara itu, di Facebook *BBC Indonesia*, Raihani Aulia berkomentar, "Mending *blusukan* ke kampung-kampung, di daerah, Paaaak, yang mau sekolah bertaruh nyawa... mencari jembatan penyeberangan... sekolah ambruuk... makan susaaah." Sementara itu, Jos Ina mengatakan, "Indonesia dijual pun *ga papa*, kami rakyat kecil tak kan bisa mencegahnya", sedangkan Teeta Susanto menulis, "Tidak setuju, rakyat tercekik dengan harga-harga yang selangit, kok pejabat malah enak-enakan bisa nikmati mobil mewah."

Based on the above text, the informant so that it becomes a trend conversation, is a public figure, YIM, who posted a photo of a print news sources on their social media accounts. But according to news writers, YIM, when the news can post photos taken the wrong news sources. Then it's the wrong news sources, rectified itself by Ven. However, because it has spread, about the source of the news, there are still spreading the old source, and there are already corrected. Of the deployment process above rhetoric about political events, illustrated how the urgency and constraints that describe the cycle of talks between the government and the fanatical lover fanatical haters of government in cyberspace, and the group that is in their midst. Errors write news source images, not the important thing in a conversation in social media, but the context of the symbol contained in an image. Symbol to criticize the government are gaining momentum to hit the government's performance, without the need to make corrections to errors of news sources. In addition to the above political news, one of the news became trending topic is a 365-day period Jokowi-JK administration. For news on this one, not just text criticism circulating in social media, but also of memes (artificial image that contains criticism).

Here's a meme that became a trending topic on social media and later became national news in online media:



Figure 3. Meme One Year Jokowi -JK fail with writing satire 'They Already I Hankey Ha..ha..ha ..' made netizens ⁶.



Figure 4. Meme pictorial Jokowi-JK stating of 'self-sufficiency smoke and lies'. Many netizens expressed their dissatisfaction with the performance of Jokowi-JK through memes unique and funny⁷.

There are four photos shown in the online news at the top, but only two are researchers show in this article. The existence of memes, shows that the rhetoric in the world of social media is a world full of creativity from meme-makers in making rhetoric containing the urgency of making the meme has become a topic of conversation on the target of criticism, defense and sangahan. From the creators of the meme, and then spread through social networking kepada lovers and haters certain political themes in social media. The second theme that invites situation rhetoric in social media is the Islamic world. This is closely related to the religion followed by the majority of people in Indonesia. News of the Islamic world, both from within and outside the country always urgent to be discussed. The presence of various Islamic organizations in Indonesia, and conflict in some parts of the Islamic world, as well as news that are labeled terrorist attack in a number of countries in the world (many linked to radical Islamic groups), into a lively discussion on the theme of social media.

The latest news about bomb paris, or halal-haram issues on a variety of products, especially regarding the halal label on food or service providers containing usury, to the attention of the people

⁶ <http://www.merdeka.com/foto/peristiwa/611269/20151022010641-ini-meme-meme-setahun-kegagalan-jokowi-jk-yang-bikin-ngakak-003-dru.html>

⁷ <http://www.merdeka.com/foto/peristiwa/611269/20151022010640-ini-meme-meme-setahun-kegagalan-jokowi-jk-yang-bikin-ngakak-001-dru.html>

of Indonesia. At the news of the bomb paris, sympathetic action on facebook with the installation of the French flag is also rampant in Indonesia. Muslim-majority Indonesia and the world, strongly condemned the incident, saying that it is nothing to do with the teachings of Islam. Islamic teachings that are not really familiar with acts of terror, but the teachings of Islam such as the definition of its name, teach peace and safety.

Meanwhile, for matters relating to halal-haram some services, Indonesian Muslims have also very special attention, because it involves the implementation of worship. The division of Muslims abangan by Clifford Geertz, it would seem likely to fade for the affairs of halal-haram this. The problem is, this time getting the attention of Indonesian Muslim society, so as to businessmen, it is necessary to pay attention to problems of halal haram in marketing strategies. In addition to the above news, the news is quite a concern is the news of Ahmed, a teenager 14 years, Muslims in America, reported by his teacher to the police for hours in the suspect carrying a bomb. This news spread rampant on social media, and join addressed by various figures, also posted on the social media accounts. The following text and photos news in online media⁸:

Ahmed Ditangkap Karena Membawa Jam ke Sekolah

Ahmed mendapat undangan dari Presiden Obama, Twitter, Facebook, Google, Reddit dan NASA

JAKARTA, Indonesia - Seorang pelajar muslim bernama Ahmed Mohamed (14 tahun) ditangkap polisi karena dituduh membawa bom. Padahal, dia cuma membawa jam rakitannya sendiri untuk proyek sains di sekolah. "Saya membuat jam agar guru saya terkesan. Tapi saat saya tunjukkan padanya, dia berpikir itu adalah ancaman untuknya," kata Ahmed pada wartawan seperti dikutip dari CNN.

"Mereka menahan saya dan menyatakan bahwa saya melakukan tindak kriminal dengan membawa bom palsu." Ahmed dibawa keluar dari sekolahnya, MacArthur High School, dengan borgol di tangan dan diinterogasi di kantor polisi.

Polisi menyatakan bahwa setelah diinvestigasi, benda yang dibawa Ahmed memang hanya sebuah eksperimen rumahan, bukan bom. Netizen langsung bereaksi dengan menggunakan hastag #istandwithAhmed dan mengecam tindakan penangkapan itu sebagai sesuatu yang di luar akal sehat. "Dengan salah mengira Ahmed membawa bom, artinya kita juga mengira dia adalah seorang pembuat bom," kata pemilik akun twitter @JAMyerson. Tapi yang terjadi selanjutnya adalah bukti bahwa rasisme tidak mendapat tempat di dunia modern.

Presiden Barack Obama sendiri mengundang Ahmed untuk datang ke Gedung Putih. "Kita harus menginspirasi lebih banyak lagi anak-anak sepertimu untuk menyukai sains. Itulah yang membuat Amerika hebat," kata Obama. Twitter menawarkan kesempatan magang untuk Ahmed. Bersaing dengan Reddit yang juga memberikan tawaran magang melalui tweet Alexis Ohanian, cofounder Reddit. CEO Facebook Mark Zuckerberg mengatakan, masa depan justru ada di tangan orang seperti Ahmed. Mark mengundang Ahmed mampir ke kantor Facebook.

⁸ <http://www.rappler.com/indonesia/106148-ahmed-mohammed-ditangkap-jam-rakitan-bom>



Google mengundang Ahmed datang ke Pekan Sains mereka. Dukungan juga datang dari NASA. Saat ditangkap, Ahmed mengenakan kaos NASA. "Rasanya benar-benar luar biasa," kata Ahmed mengenai undangan tersebut seperti dikutip dari NYTimes. Tapi Ahmed tidak memikirkan dirinya sendiri. "Saya akan menggunakan kesempatan ini tidak hanya untuk saya tapi untuk anak-anak lain di dunia yang punya masalah serupa." Anak baik! - Rappler.com

The text above is one of the three texts were published rappler.com on the same page about Ahmed. The text of the final text of the story beamed experienced Ahmed, who previously had an unpleasant thing. Ahmed is a child who is lucky enough, because the story is posted on social media and invite the attention of the world and public figures in the US. News Ahmed invites situation rhetoric, the rhetoric has to do with the situation in the US alone. Differences in skin color and beliefs remains a complex issue in the US, not to mention the problem of immigrants who came to the United States. And for the public Indonesia, Ahmed's story into a story that is very close to the identity of the majority of Indonesian people confidence, so invite sympathy netcitizen Indonesia.

The third theme that is also becoming urgent to be discussed in social media, is related to crime. Events criminality, often distributed with the intention to be careful, to avoid further casualties. This criminal incident could be an act of terror, homicide, traffic accidents, sexual abuse, and especially other criminal cases who are victims or perpetrators are children. For acts of terror, religious sentiment is still much connect-connect with group identity. As is the case in natural silk bomber, many netcitizen linking with the issue, as shown in the following status sound:

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Procedure BOMBING.
if BOMBER=MUSLIM then "TERRORIST"
else "KRIMINAL BIASA"

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Examples of the above status, normally distributed with news links from the online portal which supports the statement. In the above status, the authors cite the status of the news from one of the online portal nuances of Islam.

The fourth theme is also interesting that important invitations to be discussed, is a situation that invites the human side of social media users. The side that evoke emotions in the form of concern, solidarity, touching story and can be an inspiration, as well as a variety of unique and interesting things to be shared within a network of friends. Such as the status light on an old motorcycle taxi driver

kindly, then spread virally in social media and eventually promoted to news in the media. Here the light status, the taxi driver with photos⁹:

Siang ini, batalin orderan grabbike dari stasiun Palmerah - ktr. Pasaunya, di stasiun Palmerah ketemu kakek2 yg dgn sopan nyodorin helm ke org yg lalu lalang di trotoar. Namanya Pak Soleh, 65 tahun. Dah 10 thn jadi tukang ojek, sebelumnya pedagang kaca di Pejompongan.

Setiap hari Pak Soleh bergerak dari rumahnya di Sawangan, Depok menuju stasiun Palmerah. Buat Pak Soleh, gak gampang dapetin penumpang, "Orang rata2 pada takut kalo yg nyetirin udah tua kaya saya, neng". Jadinya, rata-rata sehari Pak Soleh bawa pulang 60 ribu rupiah, hasil ngojek seharian. Ini dibawah pendapatan tukang ojek konvensional lainnya.

20 menit ngobrol ngalor ngidul sepanjang perjalanan. Menjelang Mega Kuningan, gw tanya berapa ongkosnya. "Terserah. Seikhlas penumpang aja". Gw desak untuk sebut angka, jawaban Pak Soleh "Kalo 20 ribu kemahalan nggak Neng?"

Di dompet, ada 170 ribu. 20 ribu gw simpen, selebihnya...rezeki Pak Soleh yg kebetulan nangkring dulu di dompet gw. Mata Pak Soleh berkaca-kaca ketika rupiah berpindah. Gw pinta nomor hpnya dan langsung pamit, nggak mau ketahuan kalo mata gw juga tiba2 kelilipan.

Malu, dah bnyk yg Tuhan kasih, tapi gw selalu meminta lebih. Mau mobil yg lebih keren, mau tas yg lebih bnyk, dan lebih-lebih lainnya.

Barakallah ya Pak Soleh. Skrg, yg bakal saya cari di stasiun Palmerah Bapak, bukan ojek2 promo. Btw, ini no Pak Soleh. Mungkin besok2 temen2 ada yg butuh ojek sekitaran Palmerah 085775304525



The theme of humanity, which comes from the personal story of a social media users on merit, unexpected can attract sympathy netcitizen, and open provision for pa Sholeh. First, many phones are asked to be taken by taxi pa Sholeh. Secondly, many media who then covered the activities ngojek pa Salah. And lastly, it was reported that Pa Sholeh Umrah dispatched by one donor kind, after the story aired in the form of a television feature on one of the private television Indonesia.

Based on four major themes above exposure, the researchers finally came to the thesis that the findings of research that shows that the model of rhetoric in social media, is a model that invites conversation and forwarded viral on social media. There are some people who make up a story and

⁹ <https://www.facebook.com/dewi.rachmayani.7/posts/10204578567644918>, diakses 27 November 2015

then disseminated. Author rhetoric in social media, does not have a publicly known figure, it could be anyone. That being different, is a rhetorical writing technique that can make the text, can evoke feelings of many people (pathos). In this study, there are four themes that invite pathos rhetoric situation, the political theme, the Islamic world, crime and humanity.

In preparing the pathos, the rhetoric on social media, sometimes ethos and logos are not too much attention. Even ethos, will appear, when many netcitizen that make maker status, as a reference when netcitizen want to share a friend in a social media account. The presence of logos is also becoming a less important element, as it involves the individual characteristics (maker status) as part of a group that has an identity, relationships, reputation and ideology. Here is the image model of pathos in rhetoric in social media:

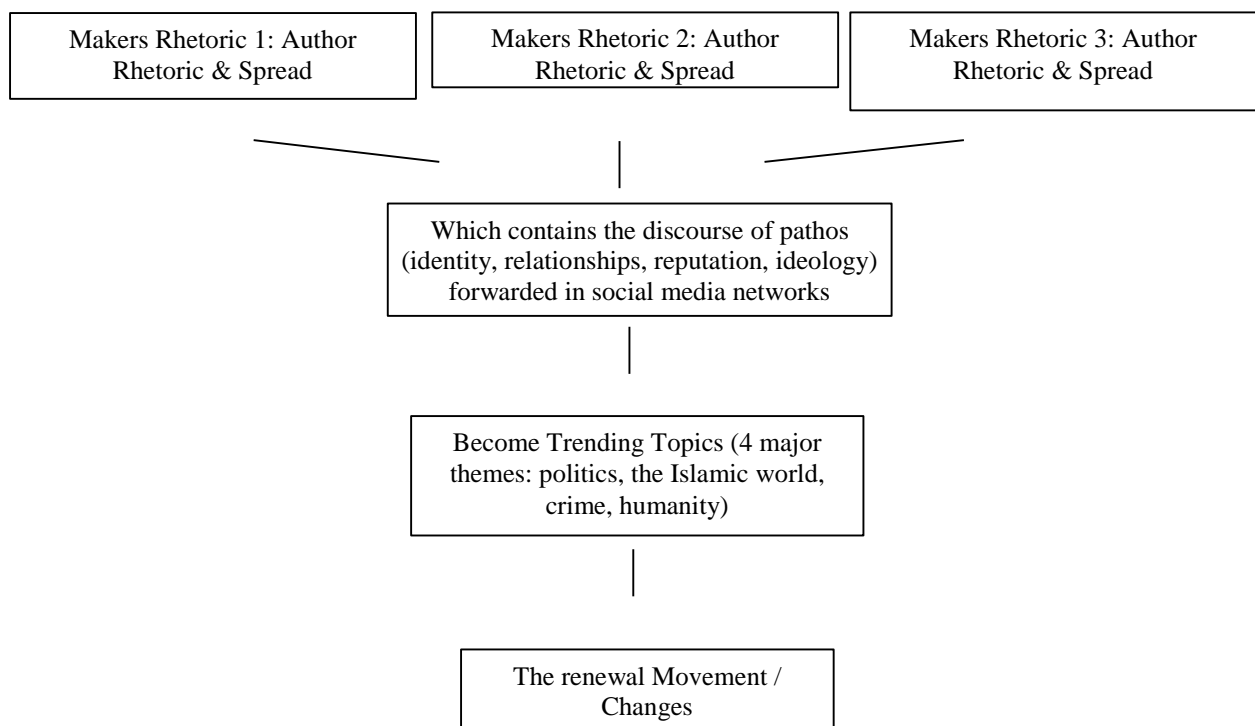


Figure 5. Pathos Discourse Model in Rhetoric in Social Media

Conclusion

Model rhetoric in social media can be a trending topic, so full of rhetoric, are those containing pathos discourse. The presence of pathos in rhetoric discourse in social media, is to strengthen the existence of rhetoric as a means of persuasion to make changes to the living conditions, in order to become a better world. As we know, the current social media is a tool used to share anything. The purpose of social media users in sharing, also against the background by many reasons, there really intend to persuasion or just outpouring.

Research on the advantages of social media as a tool of persuasion, especially for political activities, has been done. However, the study of rhetoric in the realm of communication, with the spirit of emancipation (change), which may invite the situation and finally managed to attract the sympathy of others, not many. The phenomenon of a status on social media that spread virally, because the author can elevate the discourse of pathos which later gained the sympathy of other social media users, thus named a national news, even internationally.

Referring to Bitzer that said, there are situations that affect the making of rhetoric in social media. The situation, consists of urgency, the audience, and constraints. Maker status on social media, feel have the urgency to make the status on social media account page. In addition to urgency, the authors state felt no friends who would respond to such status, so that he share it with the aim of rhetoric. On one hand, he also encountered obstacles in solving its own problems, so he needs to write and rhetoric. Through a qualitative approach to the analysis of the situation rhetoric Bitzer, until the findings of the research show that the model of rhetoric in social media, is a model that invites conversation and forwarded viral on social media.

To be able to spread virally, actually there are some people who make a story that is almost similar to the story, and then disseminated. From some of these people, who only managed to develop a discourse of pathos, which ultimately can evoke feelings of many people, so meneruskanya viral. In preparing the pathos, has no relation to the absolute be elements that must exist simultaneously. Even ethos, in certain cases, will appear with its own self-maker rhetoric, when many netcitizen which makes it as a reference in a shared social media account page. Similarly, logos elements, become less important elements. Discourse of pathos which spawned lovers and haters theme of the discourse, making the presence of logos less interpreted as an important symbol. Discourse of pathos, more concerned with individual positions as the audience is part of the group. Audiences can actively choose the discourse of pathos in accordance with identity, relationships, reputation and ideology

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The Relations of Immediacy and Message Credibility of Tolikara Riot News in Indonesian Sites¹⁰

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Abstract

ONE issue of online journalism that scholars and readers actually worry about is the ability of online news sites in maintaining their credibility while they also rush to upload their news to their readers. The issue of news credibility is focused into two aspects: accuracy and completeness. Speed of news gathering and distribution of news seems to oppose the accuracy and completeness of online news. This research seeks to answer whether is there any relationship between immediacy and accuracy in online news? If yes, is the more immediate the news published in the news sites, the less accurate the published news? Completeness of news has been seen as something impossible to achieve when journalists seek to reach immediacy beyond completeness. However, what kind of relationship between speed and completeness in online news? Is the more immediate the news published in the news sites, the less complete the published news? The content analysis is applied to four Indonesian online news sites: *Sindonews.com*, *Kompas.Com*, *Tempo.Co.Id*, *Okezone.com* and *MetroTVNews.com*. All those five are in the top of most visited news sites in Indonesia while the research was conducted. The population of the news is Tolikara incident published on those four news sites. The issue is chosen because the riot was intensively reported by those four sites and its issue has been developing. The research put aside the development, ownerships, and newsroom management of those news sites.

Keywords: immediacy, message credibility, messenger credibility, accuracy, completeness

Introduction

On the morning of July 17, hundreds of Muslims were performing Eidil Fitri prayer, a holy celebration of Muslims conducted at end of Ramzan holy month in a Mosque and its yard in Tolikara, a district in Papua province Indonesia. Just a while after the prayer was started, hundreds of locals flocked to the area. Shortly after that, rocks and gun bullets were splattered in the area surround the Mosque (some media reported that the bullets were suspected that the bullet was coming from the policeman's rifle but the Police denied it). Media mostly claimed that some citizens ambushed the prayers for an

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unclear reason and did not mention that they acted violence because *shortly before that* eleven citizens were injured and a teenager died. Days after July 17, some media just admitted that one teenager was found dead by the shot, many people were injured, and the Mosque and settlements were burned down.

The riot was a shock to many Indonesians and also Papuans as interreligious conflicts were rarely to occur in Tolikara district, Papua. Weeks after the riot, generally government officials, local leaders, and Muslims leaders agreed that the riot was triggered by a miscommunication between the Muslims and Christian communities who conducted the holy functions in the same day. Both communities needed to use loud speaker to reach their congregations. The events were conducted in the areas which near to each others. As the moslems firstly used loud speaker since early morning (around 6-7 AM), it then caused interference to other event nearby.

The issue was then developing to the right to worship. Some Indonesian media claimed GIDI (Biblical Church of Indonesia/*Gereja Injili Di Indonesia*) had sent letter of notice to the Mosque takers that Tolikara Christians will conduct an international worship in Tolikara. Some people judged that the letter could be interpreted as an attempt to limit religious right of Tolikara Muslims as it prohibited Muslims to conduct prayer in the Mosque and its yard. At end, some locals were prosecuted for their provocative actions leading to the riot and 'the attack' was claimed by the Indonesian Police as genuinely criminal act.

The riot event is easily claimed as a sociological event which means that the occurrence can be verified by human senses: we see and hear it happen. We can feel the heat of the fire, and smell the aroma of ashes and smokes. It is barely a statistical fact or claim based-fact. Any Indonesian media will hardly ignore the occurrence. The riot has at least several news values: conflict, bloody, high impact, and peoples involved were sharing similarities of mostly Indonesians: Muslims, and some Indonesians: Christians. Indonesian online media, as also applied in other bloody occurrence, firstly reported this event compared to other news platforms. Among the online news sites, it seems they compete to take the crowns of the fastest published and updated news sites. That behavior has gained many criticisms from media watchdog (Remotivi.or.id). They were condemned for their inaccurate, biased, non-contextual, and unverified reports.

Today is the era when journalists forcefully conduct real time reporting. In some cases, real time reporting means journalists at the front seats of conflicting areas write up several lines and post them through social media unedited (Hauser, 2014). In less extreme situations than that, online journalists and editors feel no different urge with their colleagues at war, which is the urgency to immediately post their articles online. Those experiences actually perform the compelling feature of online journalism: immediacy (Lasica, 2003). Immediacy is the real time news production of news content with a time stamp (Karlsson & Stromback, 2010).

The increasing speed of continuous news cycle has triggered some issues in journalism both in academic and industry. Both areas worry about the quality of online news content. Karlsson (2011) stressed that online news immediacy has drawn academic concerns on three levels: immediacy in relation to *producers* of news, *consumers* of news, and the *news content* itself. Research on the level of content regarding immediacy concerns three issues: *communicating immediacy*, *consequences of*

immediacy and *implementation of immediacy* (Karlsson, 2011). In the industry, immediacy feature has frequently positioned the journalists and media in the dilemmatic situations: should we publish it now or later, should we need to get further verifications or just enough, should the editors edit or just journalists-self-edit? (Hauser, 2014) One of the immediacy's complications at end is the inaccuracies and unverified news stories (Kovach & Rosenstiel, 2001).

The study of immediacy's consequences on online news content includes general consequence (accuracy versus speed; news direction) and specific consequence (top online stories) (Lim, 2012; Tremayne, Wiess, Alves, 2007). Several scholars put their biggest criticisms on the online news culture putting immediacy (or speed) as a value upfront is prone to sacrifice the traditional norms of journalism such as accuracy, completeness, balance, and verification aspect of the content of online news (Scott, 2005; Seib, 2001; Hall, 2001; Pavlik, 2001). However, ironically, the topic of "immediacy's consequences on online news content" remains under researched (Karlsson, 2011).

Current research mostly study accuracy and completeness of online news as the operational variables to judge online news credibility (Flanagin & Metzger, 2000; Kiousi 2006). Rather in text, accuracy and completeness as variables of credibility lie in the box of human perceptions (Johnson & Kaye, 2002; Miller & Kurpius, 2010). Credibility itself in the context of online news has received its new reinterpretation (Lankes, 2008; Chung, Nam, & Stefanoe, 2012). Audience perceptions on online news credibility have also been compared to other news platforms (Choi, Axelrod, Kim, 2015; Johnson & Kaye, 2010). Concerns on credibility even rose to online news crafted by the citizens (Johnson & Wiedenbeck, 2009).

However, scholars have not yet taken a closer look to observe immediacy as independent variable and its relations to accuracy and completeness as dependent variables of online news. Furthermore, some kind of news tends to be more vulnerable from inaccuracies and completeness when immediacy feature is applied. Online news covering bloody or anarchy events whether they are crimes, accidents, or riots tend to be inaccurate, incomplete, and biased.

Regarding to the academic gaps and Indonesian online news phenomena, an inquiry on the relations between immediacy and online news' accuracy and completeness then needs to further. Instead of valuing accuracy and completeness of online news through surveying audience's perceptions, this research observes the message credibility and its operational variables of Tolikara riot occurred in Papua, Indonesia in July 17, 2015. Content analysis is applied towards reports of *Tempo.co.id*, *Kompas.com*, *MetroTVNews.com*, *Okezone.com* and *Sindonews.com* on Tolikara riot. Those five sites chosen for its high positions of *All You Can Read Dotcom* rank among news sites and their algorithm system leading to the ease in tracing the news articles. The news samples are articles with publishing dates ranging from 17-19 July 2015 of Tolikara riot. Those articles are then divided into two categories: early published articles (published on July 17, 2015) and lately published articles (published on July 18 until 21, 2015).

Conceptual Background

Immediacy of Online News

Immediacy –or speed—of online news is not synonymous with “being fast” however it is certainly a relative quality related to the use of time and working target. In the context of news cycle, immediacy connotes the “increased speed with which information is collected and disseminated” (Nadarajan and Ang, 1999). The front stage of immediacy is the time stamp of the online news and the back stage of immediacy is the time taken for new gathering and writing (Karlsson, 2011). Therefore, immediacy has at least three dimensions: immediacy of news gathering, publishing, and updating.

Immediacy of news gathering refers to time used for collecting information. Second, immediacy of publishing describes the period gap between the originating occurrence and the initial news. The news is sometimes published right after the occurrence. For example news on football matches. However, in some other cases the publishing is delayed for some reasons. Third, immediacy of updating refers to the period gaps between the previous and following news. News sites update their content on specific issue or occurrence in certain period of time.

As immediacy is not something tangible but perceptual and relative among people, to qualify immediacy is only possible by evaluating the achieved targets of immediacy. In the news cycle context, the realizations of immediacy are seen through how many news is already published in certain period of times. News websites instantly replace stories with new ones, attracting users to revisit news websites. Those chains of news stories surely disclose information when they are uploaded onto the sites.

Message Credibility of Online News

Scholars have discussed “credibility” in media and journalism for more than five decades (Gaziano & MacGrath 1986). They had been arguing on the terms used and the ontology represented by the terms. Although some scholars (Meyer, 1974; Burgoon, 1981) believed that “media credibility” is a multidimensional concept, Newhagen & Nass (1989) affirmed that mass media credibility is highly related to not only the perception of receivers but also the perception of the receivers towards “the news messages as a plausible reflections of the events they depict.” The technology delivers the news itself contributes to how the audience perceives media credibility.

The debates on media credibility mainly warmed up in 1960’s when television as new media became widely popular and started to lead other media (Gaziano & McGrath, 1986). Some scholars asserted that to judge credibility of television cannot use criteria applied to judge newspapers credibility (Abel & Wirth, 1977; Newhagen & Nass, 1989) and audience perceived each medium is at its best coverage in certain topics (Gaziano & McGrath, 1986). Abel & Wirth (1977) stated that the different characters of both mediums caused distinct perceptions of audience on credibility of both mediums¹².

¹² Credibility of television news comprises of credibility of the presenters and originating sources. To distinguish the person delivering the news (for example television news) from the person originating a message, Abel & Wirth (1977) label the former “external sources” and the latter “external sources”. Things applied in television news are less likely to realize on newspapers. Editorial product of newspapers is anonymous as the individuality of editors and reporters are unable to be established. The data of Newhagen & Nass (1989) confirmed that people perceived newspapers as institution while they were more likely to perceive television news as

A similar debate is re-occurred as the Internet has distinctive characteristics from traditional media. Scholars have been discussing about online news credibility cannot be the same as about traditional media credibility (Lankes, 2008; Chung, Nam, & Stefanoe, 2012). Measuring credibility of Internet is difficult as individuals may base that assessment on the medium itself, the sources employed or the messages contained on the site (Flanagin & Metzger, 2003).

The similarity across the studies on online and traditional news credibility is the conceptualization of credibility consists of three levels: sources, message and messenger credibility. Source credibility is the believability of originating informers (quoted peoples) (Abel & Wirth, 1977; Lemert & Mertz, 1969-70). On the context of television news, storytellers (journalists) as sources also influence the credibility of news (Scott, 2005; Miller & Kurpius, 2010). Second, message credibility is perception of believability by relying on the observation towards the news articles itself. Lastly, messenger credibility is “perceptions of a news channel’s believability, as distinct from individual sources, media organizations, or the content of the news itself” (Bucy, 2003).

Other similarity is that scholars stem the judgments of credibility from the audience perceptions. Audience perception of news credibility is important to reveal since they are the people who perceive the news content and when they think news message is (un)credible then it must be it is. However, since this research differentiate media credibility into message and messenger credibility, part of credibility can be observed through its textual message. Message credibility based on the text or content of the media while messenger credibility based on perceptions of audience towards the institutions. Therefore, although the credibility of message is objectively high, the messenger credibility can be low as it depends on the perceptions of certain populations.

Despite its ontological difference of credibility, the elements of message and messenger credibility are similar (Kioussis, 2001; Bucy, 2003; Kioussis, 2006). They are completeness, accuracy, trustworthiness, bias/unbiased:

- Completeness.

McQuail (1992) wrote that completeness “is usually thought to be a precondition of proper understanding of news, and the media generally promise completeness in the sense of a full range of information about significant events of the day.” Completeness of news at least consists of two dimensions. First, completeness of news components. Complete news tells information on what the occurrence was about, who was involved in the occurrence, where and when it was occurred, how it was occurred, and why it was occurred. Straight news often neglects the information on “how” and “why”. Such practice frequently happens in online news. Completeness is often achieved not in single news but in several news of the same occurrence or issue. Therefore, it is important to observe and count to which number of articles full-completeness is reached.

individuals (presenters) delivering the news. Therefore, Newhagen & Nass (1989) argued that media credibility consists of several kinds or layers: the media and the people reported and/ reporting.

Second, completeness of news sources. Complete news provides all news sources needed in the news. It connotes the balance of news: sources from different positions or perspectives are provided in the news.

- Accuracy.

Accuracy means “the degree of news article is free from errors, whether the information can be verified elsewhere offline, and the reliability of information on site” (Flanagin & Metzger, 2000). The implementation of accuracy at least includes the correct/non error data, the appropriateness between news title and news content, the correct label or attribution to things, institutions, or persons, and the correct label for the captured fact.

- Trustworthiness.

Trustworthiness is related to two things: trustworthiness of the factuality and trustworthiness of the interviewed sources. Trustworthiness of the factuality can be observed from the information on where the data is derived from. The journalistic facts are based on one or combinations of three sources: the observation of the journalist, legitimate documents, and interviews to related individuals. Trustworthiness of the factuality is then observable through the explications (or not) of the data sources. Trustworthiness of the interviewed sources is related to his/her the competence and expertise in giving comments or testimonies on the incidents or issues covered by the media. There are two kinds of interviewed sources: individual and collective or public sources.

- Unbiased-ness.

The prejudice or predisposition of journalists does not appear in the news. The journalists do not use sentences showing that ‘a related fact’ or ‘accepted believe’ has been known by the audience before the articles for example “As people have known, the village is prone to conflict...”

Technological aspect of online news credibility is categorized into messenger credibility. Audience perceives online news credibility including the technological credibility as a “whole entity of the news sites” or -using the term in this article- “the messenger credibility”. However, this research does not consider the technological aspect of online news.

Conflict and Non-Conflict Reporting

Essentially, conflicts are the struggles between opposing interests and outlooks, rooted in single or multiple factors, defined, mobilized and populated by people, can be local or global in scope, can also burn brightly or smoulder accross generation, and can lead to inhumane of violence acts or can serve humanitarian or emancipatory projects (Cottle, 2006). Meanwhile, news is keyed to the present and refers to actual events or things that really happened (Arno, 2009). Conflict news story is then moderately defined as a journalistic report depicting a real conflict as defined above, collected direct observation on occurrences and/or commentaries and statements from many parties.

Though the definition of conflict news story seems modest, the relation of news media and conflict is complicated. Relating to conflict, media scholars are commonly agree that: first, conflict appearing in news media is not ‘the conflict’ itself, but the mediatized conflict which is *communicated by* and

represented in the media; second, news media is involved in the conflict, shaping it from the outside in, and inside out (Cottle, 2006; Mortensen, 2015). In other words, news on conflicts might be contributing whether in 'escalating' or 'reducing' the conflict.

There are at least several issues on the text of public disorder or conflict news in the level of text. First, the narrative of news frames the conflict in a certain way (Waddington, 1992)¹³. Second, news media and journalist often rely on military and public officials for 'objective' information (Cottle, 2006)¹⁴. Third, the malpractices of journalism can worsen the conflict. The malpractices include inaccuracy, impartiality, and imbalance. Media has become the source of information for many parties in the conflict (Weidmaan, 2014). The accurate and timely information can "reduce misunderstanding, decreasing the likelihood that states will mistakenly react to non-aggressive measures" (Powers, 2005).

Research Questions and Hypotheses

Based upon the previous concepts of immediacy and message credibility, this research begins by exploring the immediacy of Indonesian online news sites. This exploration is guided by the following research questions and hypotheses:

How is the level of immediacy of each Indonesian news sites for Tolikara riot?

As discussed earlier, the immediacy of online news sites can be observed through its archived articles published on the sites. The earlier immediacy results in the earlier time stamped news articles. Two kinds of immediacy are observed here: immediacy of initial publishing and immediacy of updating the news articles.

RQ2: How is the distribution frequency of message credibility of the news articles?

Message credibility consists of the value of completeness, accuracy, trustworthiness, and unbiasedness of the news sites. Therefore, this research question is derived into several sub-research questions:

RQ2a: How many is the percentage of completeness reached by the news stories?

¹³ Waddington (1992) mentioned that media defines the public disorder through justifying police aggression, praising police 'heroism', emphasizing the 'wickedness' of dissenters, decontextualizing and depoliticizing violence, and distorting and oversimplifying causes.

¹⁴ To understand the contributions of news media on conflicts, Cottle (2006) mapped three paradigms: media is manufacturing consent, media as the public sphere for social contest, and media culture. Through the manufacturing consent paradigm, the reliance of the media on information provided by government, business, and 'experts' has enabled media to retain the status quo and frame the conflict through the dominant lense (Cottle, 2006). Media in media contest paradigm is seen in more dynamic, oppositional and politically contingent ways (Cottle, 2006). Relating to conflict, this paradigm believes that news media is not always be the mouthpiece for dominant interests as the role of the news media in conflicts varies over time and circumstances (Cottle, 2006).

RQ2b: How many is the percentage of accuracy reached by the news stories?

RQ2c: How many is the percentage of trustworthiness of sources reached by the news stories?

RQ2d: How is the unbiased-ness of the news stories?

The level of message credibility is the total value of completeness, accuracy, and trustworthiness of the news stories.

Based on the results of those inquiries, the last research question is answerable. The last research question is:

RQ3: How is the relation between immediacy and message credibility of the sites on Tolikara riot?

The hypotheses for this research question is the earlier conflict story published and updated by news site is likely to have less message credibility. In the contrary, the later conflict story is likely to have higher message credibility.

Research Objects and Method

The population of Indonesian online sites is sorted out by the national rank of news sites by *All You Can Read Dotcom* made in September 2015. The top ten ranking of news sites are *Detik.com*, *Liputan6.com*, *Okezone.com*, *Tribunnews.com*, *Kompas.com*, *Merdeka.com*, *Suara.com*, *Tempo.co.id*, *Sindonews.com*, and *Metrovtv.com*. However, amongst those ten news sites, only *Tempo.co.id*, *Kompas.com*, *MetroTVNews.com*, *Sindonews*, and *Okezone.com* are observed by content analysis. The very reason is by the numbers of articles produced within July 17-19, 2015 in the repository, only those five news sites produced sufficiently ten articles at minimum. Articles in other sites are scattered in regional pages (*Tribunnews*), and do not meet the minimum and proportional numbers within the timeframe (*Merdeka.com*, *Suara.com*, *Liputan6.com*).

Articles in each news sites are collected by two strategies: keyword searching on Google and news sites' "Search" feature. Keywords used are "Tolikara" combined with the publishing dates "17-19 July 2015". Only articles appeared on each search results with those passwords and correct dates are compiled. Although all articles within the timeframe can count more than thirty articles, the content analysis only look closer to the first fifteen articles published on the news sites. This because the research is intended to reveal the credibility of online news articles if the articles are assumed be published as immediate as it can. Therefore, it does not need abundant articles to be observed, but the most immediate published articles. Why 17-19 July timeframe are based on assumption that the first three days the sociological event are the precarious moments in understanding "what happen, who did this and why it happen" and online news sites published five articles per day for controversial topic.

Coding sheets are applied for all news sites. It contains the content elements in which the researcher observe for the immediacy, completeness, accuracy, and trustworthiness, of the articles. Frequency distribution analysis is used to analyze the tendencies of message credibility of *Tempo.co.id*, *Kompas.com*, *MetroTVNews.com*, *Okezone.com* and *Sindonews.com* in the aspect of completeness,

accuracy, and trustworthiness. The elements news observed are implemented into totally 26 components. The answer for each component is “existence” or “no existence”. “Existence” is scored one (1) and “no existence” is scored zero (0). “Existence” here means the text explicitly shows the information fulfilling the criteria of completeness/accuracy/trustworthiness. “No existence” here means the text does not explicitly fulfill the criteria of message credibility.

Unbiased-ness is observed qualitatively. The value of (un)biased-ness is different among news articles and to identify unbiased-ness is more complicated than other element. Immediacy is observed through the publishing date and hour of initial news of Tolikara riot and the average of period gaps between updating articles. The data is then put into frequency table. Cross tabulation analysis is applied in order to generate information on relation between immediacy and message credibility.

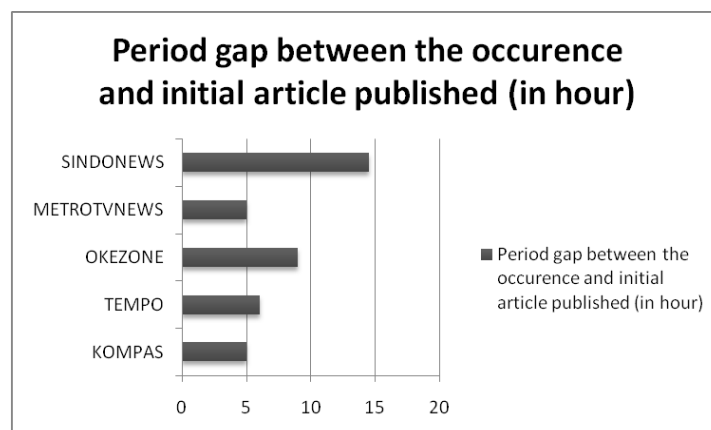
Research Findings and Discussion

Several research questions have encountered answers deriving from research data. The discussion of finding starts with each research questions.

RQ1: How is the level of immediacy of each Indonesian news sites for Tolikara riot?

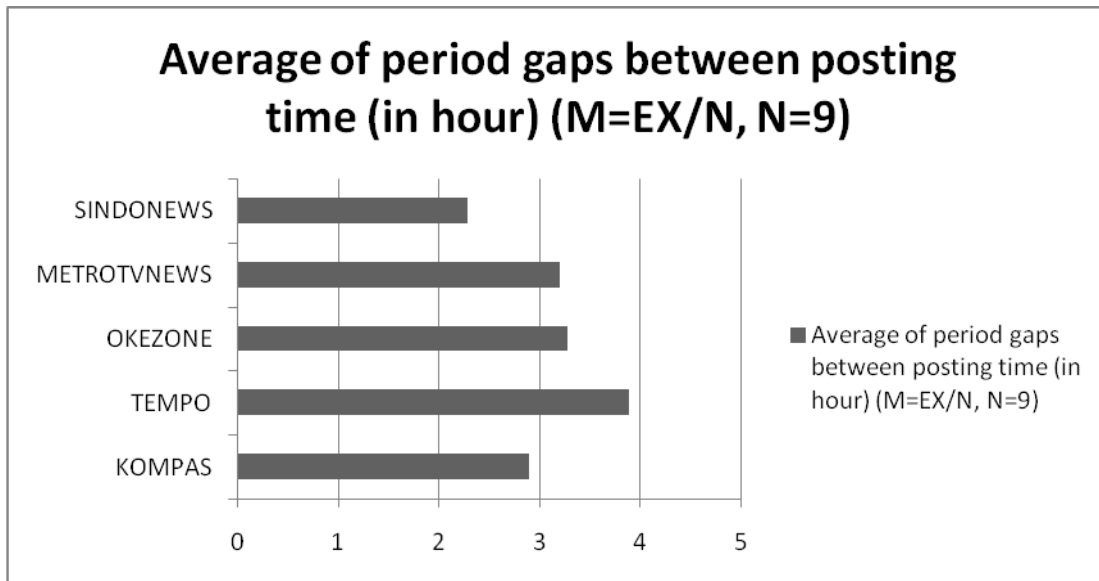
There are two kinds of immediacy: immediacy of initial publishing and immediacy of article updating. The most immediate news site published the initial report on Tolikara riot was *Kompas.com*, then followed by *MetroTVNews.com*, *Tempo.co.id*, *Okezone.com*, and *Sindonews.com* (Bar 1). *Kompas.com* and *MetroTVNews.com* took about five hours of gap from the occurrence to publish the report. Meanwhile, *Sindonews.com* took more or less fifteen hours to initially report the event on the website. It is unclear why *Sindonews.com* firstly reported the event almost in the end of July 17, 2015. However, if we see the immediacy of news updating we can generate some clue.

Bar 1. Period Gap Between the Occurrence (Tolikara riot) and Initial Article Published (in hour)



Despite its late initial publishing on Tolikara riot, *Sindonews.com* caught up the immediacy of news updating. *Sindonews.com* is the most immediate news site in updating the following up news on Tolikara riot. It impresses us that *Sindonews.com* might kept the news for hours, delaying the publishing although they might already crafted the reports since some following-up news (after the initial) were published as less than an hour gap (see Bar 2).

Bar 2. The Average of Period Gaps Between Posting Time

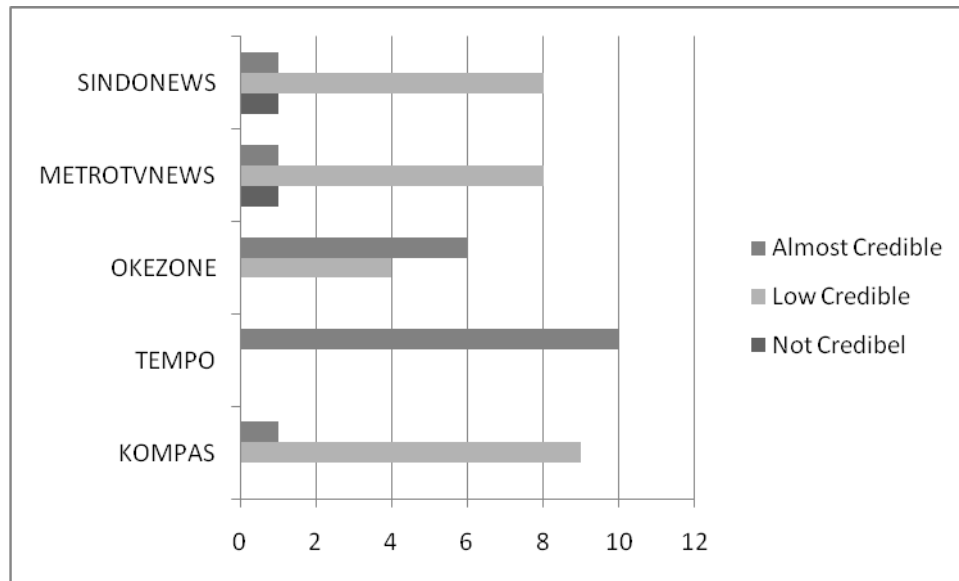


Kompas.com is consistently trying to be the most immediate news site either in initial publishing and news updating. It gets second position for the immediacy of news updating after *Sindonews.com*. *MetroTVNews* and *Okezone.com* are compete each other in the third position while *Tempo.co.id* comfortably sat on the last position.

RQ2: How is the of message credibility of Tolikara riot in those Indonesian news sites?

The level of message credibility is only based on three elements: completeness, accuracy and trustworthiness. Message credibility of online reports on Tolikara riot is mostly low across observed media. The most credible media in reporting the riot is *Tempo.co.id*. On the contrary, *Kompas.com* shows mostly low credibility of their news articles (see Bar 3).

Bar 3. Level of Message Credibility of Some Indonesian News Sites (without unbiasedness factor)

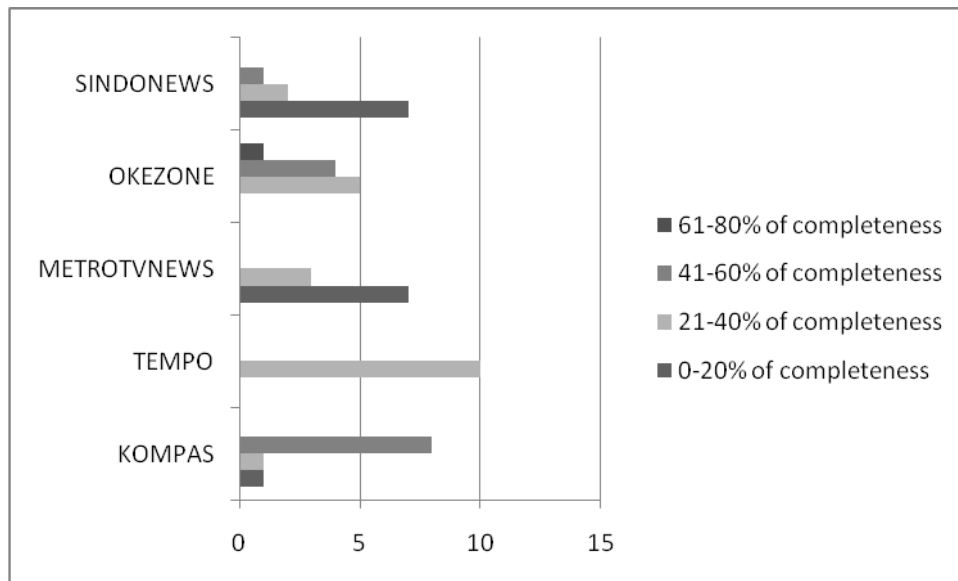


Sindonews.com and *MetroTVnews.com* share similarities in the distribution of message credibility. (Bar 3). Both of them do only have small numbers of almost credible content and many of their articles are categorised as low credibility. The rest is even not credible. *Okezone.com* seems less consistent in their effort to be almost credible site publishing articles on Tolicara riot as some of its news falls into low credile news.

RQ2a: How many is the percentage of completeness reached by the news stories?

According to the content analysis of all news articles, none of the articles show more than 80% of completeness (see Bar 3). Even *Tempo.co.id* which gets the highest value of message credibility does not show higher completeness than 21-40%. *MetroTVNews.com* and *Sindonews.com* perform better completeness than *Tempo.co.id* and *Kompas.com* in some articles on Tolikara riot. *Sindonews.com* mentioned the cause (why question) of the riot in their initial article, saying that the government had not known the cause of the riot and was still investigating it. That statement in the initial article of *Sindonews* signals that *Sindonews* had been aware of the component of WHY question though they had not get the answer yet.

Bar 3. Completeness of Message of *Kompas.com*, *Tempo.co.id*, *MetroTVNews*, *Sindonews.com*, and *Okezone.com*



News sites which have 61-80% completeness means that they tend to constantly provide information on basic components such as WHAT happen, WHEN it is happen, WHERE it is happen, and WHO are involved in happening in initial and following up news. Although the focuses of news have been changed in the following up news articles, those basic components appearing in all articles are leading to more complete news. The missing of basic components can result into the lack of context of following up news.

Moreover, the completeness are decreasing when news articles do not mention hard facts such as how many people conducted prayer, how many people who protested to the prayer, how many hours of gap between the prayer and the fire stated to begin, how many homes are fired, who used guns and weapons (fire gun, rocks, etc) in the riot, etc. Those information details in almost 50 news articles are almost none. The ignorance into the details left the readers into questions like how big is the scale of the riot and how the riot is actually started.

WHY the riot is occurred is not clear either. Although ten news were already published in the period of July 17 to July 18, most news do not explicate the WHY component. Some article state that the cause of the riot was still being investigated (it is then counted as the component of WHY is fulfilled). Many other articles rely on the claims of people who are not directly authorized to explain the cause of the riot. For example, on July 19, *MetroTVNews.com* quoted the statement from public figure like the Vice President Jusuf Kalla that the riot was related to the lack of communication between two groups (it is then counted as the WHY component is fulfilled)¹⁵. Especially to the news source Jusuf Kalla, the claim of public figure is counted as fulfilled. He has more trustworthiness than other public figure as he does not represent Moslem or Christian, he represents the government.

¹⁵ "Wapres Minta Warga Menahan Diri Pasca-Pembakaran Mushala di Tolikara."

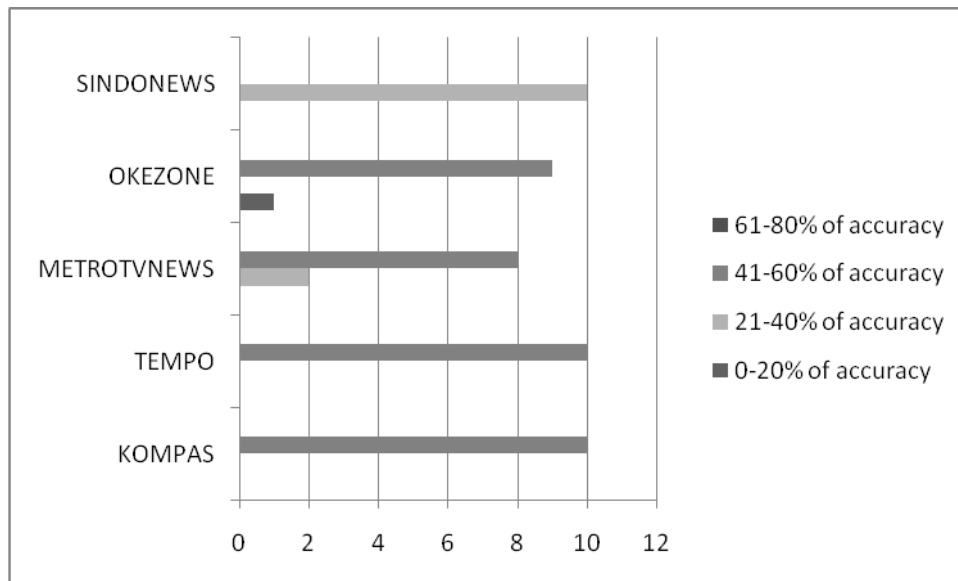
Some news article is also quoting public figure that has no authority and trustworthiness in order to make hypothesis on the causes of the riot. For example, *MetroTVNews.com* quoted the Vice Coordinator of East Java Chapter of ICMI (The Association of Moslem Intellectual of Indonesia) Januar S Kairmudin. Mr. Kairmudin stated that the riot was possibly caused by some indefinite people (“*oknum*”) who want to ruin the peace relationships between Moslems and Christians in Tolikara. The statement is merely based on assumption and *MetroTVNews.com* does not verify his statement. Though the statement is fulfilling the WHY component, the accuracy and trustworthiness of the claim are zero valued.

RQ2b: How many is the percentage of accuracy reached by the news stories?

Accuracy is one of elements contributing to the level of message credibility observed in this research. Overall, all media did not maximize their potential in building accuracies o their articles. It is shown by the low percentage of news articles providing accurate news articles. It was only *Okezone.com* publishing more news than other media containing 61-80% of accuracy though on the other hand they simultaneously released inaccurate news. *Tempo.co.id* and *Kompas.com* seem do not really give attention to the accuracies of their news articles as they both perform average accuracies among the five online media (see Bar 4). So far both media are the most consistent media performing 40-60% accuracies of news. *MetroTVNews.co* performs not better volume of articles containing accuracies than *Tempo.co.id* and *Kompas.com*. Some of its news articles even perform worse accuracies compared to the other two media. At the bottom is *Sindonews.com* publishing the highest number of articles containing very low accuracy compared to the others.

At least there are three categories of accuracy are observed. First, the accuracy in the sense of consistency between the title and the content of article. Second, the accuracy of the illustration and the informed details. Last, the accuracy of labelling the fact and occurrence. Most articles show strength in the accuracy of title-content consistency. Unsurprisingly, all the articles tend to have only one news source (person rarely documents or observations) as the material of the narratives. To summary the statements of the news source and transfer it into news title is easier compared to several news sources quoted. This kind of accuracy and accuracy in writing the names of sources, institutions, and positions have helped news sites to appear as if they have conducted an accurate reporting. Details that are barely clear are related to numbers such as the number of the people who ‘clashed’ on the riot and the physical loss in the scene. Pictures used for the illustration are mostly the old collections of the news sources (persons) or merely symbolic illustrations, and most of them are repeated. That actions have led the pictorial accuracy tend to be low.

Bar 4. The Accuracy of Message of *Kompas.com*, *Tempo.co.id*, *MetroTVNews*, *Sindonews.com*, and *Okezone.com*



However, if we take a closer look into the accuracy of labeling the fact, many dictions are inaccurate then end up misleading. Inaccuracy in the labelling includes the inaccurate attribution to the people involved. All news sites in many articles use the word “mass” to describe people who do protest and burned Mushala. *Kompas.com* for example wrote “...a mass then burns Mushala and few houses and commercial building...”. Similarly, *Sindonews.com* wrote “...a mass attacked citizens who were praying for Eidl Fitr...” (*massa menyerang warga yang sedang beribadah salat Id*)¹⁶. The word “mass” does not describe that the protesters are also citizens and it seems generalizing all the protesters conducted violence.

Kompas.com is consistently using the word “riot” (*kerusuhan*) more than “an attack” (*serangan*) nor “a burning” (*pembakaran*). “A riot” is more neutral as it describes the violent disturbance of the peace by a crowd. “An attack” seems labelling a group as the agresor with weapons or armed force and take violent against another group. While the term “a riot” does not specify two groups are clashing, the word “attack” certainly advocate a definite take a systematic attempt to violate another group or a place. Using “attack” as the term to label the reality has evidently misled readers. The fact of the riot actually was encompassing the gun shootings to 12 people prior to the riot and involved not only Moslem and Christian citizens, but also the policemen in the location.

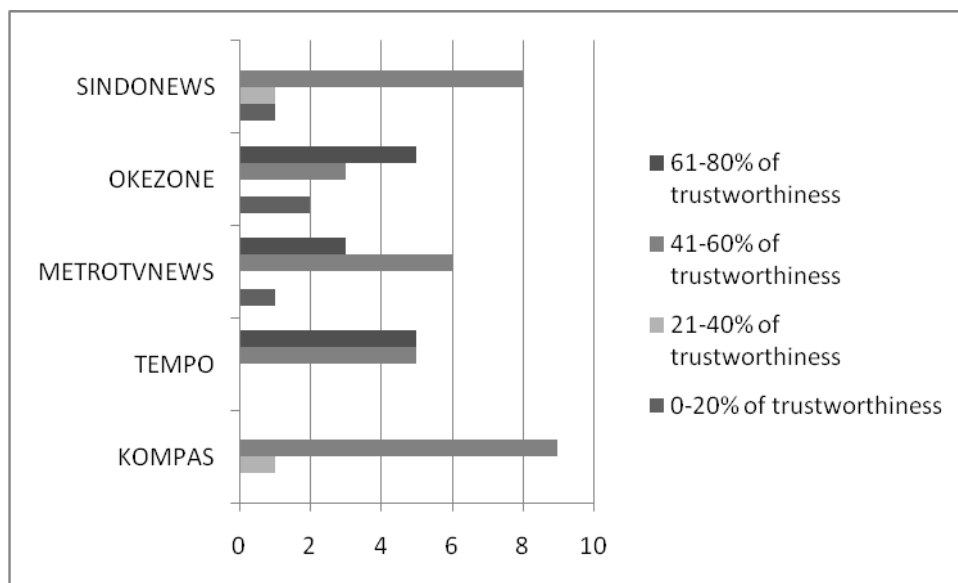
RQ2c: How many is the percentage of trustworthiness of sources reached by the news stories?

All elements of message credibility are important. However, trustworthiness is one of the components of message credibility acquiring more careful textual observations than other components. There are two kinds of trustworthiness: trustworthiness of message and trustworthiness of news sources. Trustworthiness of message is confirmed by searching for statements mentioning

¹⁶ “Hari Raya Idul Fitri, Ada Serangan di Tolikara”, *Sindonews.com*, July 17, 2015.

persons or documents used by the journalists to claim the facts. If there is no clear attribution for a component in an article, the trustworthy value of its article is decreasing. The trustworthy of news source is the quoted persons and documents are having competencies in giving information related to the riots. There are two kinds of competencies: competency because of the social, cultural and/or official positions of the speakers that are relevant to the issue and competency because of he/she witnesses the event or understands the chronology of the event.

Bar 5. Trustworthiness of Message of *Kompas.com*, *Tempo.co.id*, *MetroTVNews*, *Sindonews.com*, and *Okezone.com*



According to the data (Bar 5), obviously there is no article containing 100% of trustworthiness. *Okezone.com* and *Tempo.co.id* have published half articles containing 61-80% trustworthiness. The rest of *Tempo.co.id*'s articles are qualified only for 41-60% of trustworthiness while *Okezone.com* had distributed 41-50% and 21-40% trustworthiness within the rest five articles. The tendency to scatter the quality of trustworthiness on their articles is also performed by *MetroTVNews.com* though its media seems more proportional in the distribution. Many articles published by *Sindonews.com* and *Kompas.com* are only showing 41-60% of accuracies but they tend to be consistent in that level compared to the other three media.

The five online media show different strength on their fulfillment in message credibility elements. However, overall, data shows that there is no online article containing 100% completeness, accuracy, and trustworthiness acquired in an article across the media. Therefore, message credibility of news of those five online media in covering Tolikara riot is questionable.

In the initial publishing on Tolikara riot, it seems *MetroTV.com* has been not carefully developing its trustworthiness. The news is groundless. The narrative does not imply news sources nor the direct observations of the journalists. In the initial news "Amuk Massa Terjadi di Tolikara" of July 17,

MetroTVNews.com barely accounted the information to any sources not to mention its label to fact was also inaccurate (it uses “mass amok” (*amuk massa*) in describing the event).

The observation to the trustworthiness of the articles also found that the sources of the news often do not have sufficient information on the event. Many of them gives assumptive statements. They are only sourced as they officiate in structural positions in governments or social and political organizations. Though they are competence in the sense of social relations, they are not one in the sense of understanding of the event. None of the news use citizens as the sources or publishing in vox pop reports. The articles are mostly elitists and thus applying elit frames.

RQ2d: How is the unbiased-ness of the news stories?

The unbiased-ness element of message credibility is observed in the news content of five online media. Instead of observing this element quantitatively, researcher looks closer to the text and interprets whether there is any underlying prejudice and stereotypes. The most obvious unbiased-ness is when the article uses the word “un recognized mass” or “attacking mass” or “a group of people came and yelled”.

“....Seperti diketahui, ketika berlangsung Salat Id di Tolikara, tiba-tiba datang sekelompok orang yang berteriak-teriak. Tidak lama kemudian, disusul lemparan batu dan pembakaran bangunan.....”

(*Sindonews.com*, ‘MUI Perintahkan Muslim Tolikara Tahan Diri’, 18 Juli 2015).

“As known before, when Eidl prayer was going on, all of sudden came in a grup of people who yelled around. Not long after that, followed by throwing of rocks and burning down the buildings.” (*Sindonews.com*, MUI Commands Tolikara Moslems Holding Themselves, July 18, 2015).

Those words “mass” and “a group of people” indicate that the people they refer is not a citizen or just a number of people who are not political. Actually, they are also citizens who have rights and intend to protest and negotiate the problem. When those words are used, it means that their actions are unreasonable and irrational. The ‘attacked prayers’ then become the victims.

As the unrecognized mass is just a group of people, the article does not admit that ‘the attackers’ are also prayers who conduct international prayer function in Tolikara nor that they are the local inhabitants (Papuanese) who pray in Chatholic/Christian way. The antonym of “mass” is “prayers”. The news article is only highlighting the Moslems who were starting to pray for Eidl Fitr and disguise some Christians in Tolikara who also conduct worship in the same day. The use of “mass” also kicks them out of the ‘we-group’. They are the others while the Tolikara Moslems were the part of the readers. Unchallenged assumptions underlying the text tell that the ‘attacking group’ are religion-less and minority group although actually they are majority in Tolikara.

The passive voices (“as known before”) delineate the actor who state the fact. Who does anyone have already known the fact? The passive voice statement forces the reader to accept the fact without any doubt which is a group of people attacking prayers violently, just like that.

The bias of the news might be caused by the lack of diversity of news sources. Many of news sources are the voices of police and governmental officials. Rarely the media tap the voices of citizen witnesses. It eventually results the late of media detecting the injured people even the death of a teenager because of the riot. Similarly, bias is also obvious when the media highlighted the statement of official saying that the riot is happen in “short axis area.” The statement tends to devaluate the reasons and impacts of the riot to locals.

RQ3: How is the relation between Immediacy and Message Credibility?

Immediacy consists of two spectrums: immediacy of initial publishing and immediacy of updating the articles. Table 1 recapitulates data of immediacy and message credibility of the five online media. The ranking of immediacy is based on the total numbers of hours and minutes consumed for publishing and updating then the numbers are sorted from the smallest to the highest. Meanwhile, the ranking of message credibility is based on the revaluations of each category of message credibility. The revaluations are then multiplied by the numbers of news in the category. The ranking of message credibility is then understood as the highest tendencies of credibility amongst those five online media but it does not mean that those online media are perfectly and totally credible.

Having based on the method of message credibility ranking, *Kompas.com* is the most immediate media published the initial article on Tolikara riot. *Kompas.com* is also trying to be the earliest one updating the information as it sat on number two after *Sindonews.com*. It can be concluded that *Kompas.com* is the most and almost the most immediate in every aspects of immediacy. However, *Kompas.com* tends to be almost the least credible media in covering the riot (see Table 1). The data presents a tendency that the more immediate news sites publishing and updating their news, the less credible their news can be.

Table 1. Ranking of Online Media’s Immediacy and Message Credibility

Level of Immediacy	Ranking of Media Showing Immediacy of Publishing	Ranking of Media Showing Immediacy of Updating		Level of Message Credibility	Ranking of Media Showing Message Credibility
Most immediate	KOMPAS	SINDONEWS		Most Credible	TEMPO
Second Immediate	TEMPO	KOMPAS		Second Credible	OKEZONE
Third Immediate	METROTVNEWS	METROTVNEWS		Third Credible	KOMPAS
Fourth Immediate	OKEZONE	OKEZONE		Least Credible	SINDONEWS & METROTVNEWS
Least Immediate	SINDONEWS	TEMPO			

On the contrary, the less immediate media in publishing and updating the news, the more credible its news can be. *Tempo.co.id* has consistently the performed the least immediate of updating the news on Tolikara riot. However, *Tempo.co.id* is the second immediate after *Kompas.com*. What is suggested by those facts? It informs us that *Tempo.co.id* could update the news as immediate as *Kompas.com* but *Tempo.co.id* might have chosen not to be like that. That decision might have connection with the fact that *Tempo.co.id* was the most credible news site reporting *Tolikara* riot. To say in other sentence, *Tempo.co.id* might have sacrificed the immediacy of article updating in order to reach completeness, accuracy, and trustworthiness. A similar tendency might have also occurred in articles published by *Okezone.com*. *Okezone.com* is at the fourth place of immediacy of both aspects. This seemingly have implicated to its position at the ranking of credibility which was at after *Tempo.co.id*.

Meanwhile, *Sindonews.com* performs as the most immediate media showing immediacy of updating. This fact tends to be related with the ranking of *Sindonews.com* in message credibility which lied at the least credible media in reporting *Tolikara* riot, together with *MetroTVNews.com*. *MetroTVNews.com* was not leading in any categories. Media owned by Surya Paloh was average in immediacy ranking and at the bottom of message credibility ranking. In other words, *MetroTVNews.com* might do not really put attention to and engage in the competition of news quality among online news media.

Seeing the elements of message credibility of each news sites (Table 2), *Tempo.co.id* which positioned as the most credible practiced their accuracies and trustworthiness more than their completeness. While the trustworthiness of *Kompas.com* is troubled, completeness and accuracy of *Kompas.com* are the best. Immediacy of updating seems having more impact on message credibility than immediacy of initial publishing. It can be shown by the tendencies of *Sindonews.com* and *Kompas.com*. The short gaps between publishing of *Sindonews.com* might result in low qualities in completeness, accuracy, and trustworthiness. *Kompas.com* though has shown best immediacy of initial publishing remain did better in completeness and accuracy factors. Only trustworthiness of *Kompas.com* is low.

Table 2. Ranking of Media's Immediacy and Message Completeness, Accuracy and Trustworthiness

Ranking	Media Showing Immediacy of Publishing	Media Showing Immediacy of Updating	Media Showing Completeness	Media Showing Accuracy	Media Showing Trustworthiness
1	KOMPAS	SINDONEWS	KOMPA	KOMPAS & TEMPO	TEMPO
2	TEMPO	KOMPAS	OKEZONE	OKEZONE	METROTVNEWS OKEZONE

3	METROTVNEWS	METROTVNEWS	TEMPO	METROTV	KOMPAS
4	OKEZONE	OKEZONE	SINDONEWS	SINDONEWS	SINDONEWS
5	SINDONEWS	TEMPO	METROTVNEWS	-	-

Okezone.com is low in the quality of both immediacy's and it tends to have better completeness, accuracy, trustworthiness than *Sindonews.com*. It strengthens the hypotheses that the more immediate a news site publishes news stories, the less complete, accurate, and trustworthy they can be.

Conclusion

To sum up, there are some tendencies that immediacy and message credibility has significant correlation. The more immediate initial publishing of article, the less credibility it can be if online news articles in the same topic are compared to each other. Which elements of message credibility get more impact of immediacy depend on the unique practices of each online site. *Kompas.com* seems to prioritize immediacy together with completeness and accuracy. Trustworthiness of *Kompas.com* is scored low. It indicates that *Kompas.com* tends the neglect the competence of sources and are lack of explanation from where the statements come from.

Tempo.co.id and *Sindonews.com* seems aware of the sensitivity of the issue therefore they make sure they have the resources to cover the incident and hold back themselves to publish the initial article as early as they can. *Sindonews.com* especially published the initial article very late compared to the other news sites meanwhile *Tempo.co.id* still comes after *Kompas.com*. The difference is *Sindonews.com* catching up their lateness by updating the news as immediate as they can while *Tempo.co.id* tends to be later in updating the news. The speed of updating of *Sindonews.com* has resulted in many articles with low quality of message credibility. On the contrary, *Tempo.co.id* published more articles with higher qualities than *Sindonews.com* especially in the aspect of accuracy and trustworthiness.

Okezone.com is the most consistent online media in the immediacy, also numbers and quality of message credibility. *Okezone.com* is later and the latest in initial publishing and article updating compared to the other news sites. The bonus is real: their completeness, accuracy, and trustworthiness are second best after *Kompas.com* and *Tempo.co.id*. *MetroTVNews.com* tends to be later and latest in immediacy like *Okezone.com*. However, different from *Okezone.com*, *MetroTVNews.com*'s message credibility in all aspects are very low.

In almost articles, all media tend to be more biased than unbiased. Their bias appear in the forms of dictions and attributions to the facts. This evidence might be resulted from the lack of diversity of news sources. The journalists are then following the frames provided by the news sources. If the news sources are mostly elit persons as happen in this case, the report is then bias of elit frame. Why do all media use mostly elit frames? Because the access of journalists and media to Papua culturally and

geographically is far. Media might not have the representations in Papua. They use the statements of local officials to describe the event while the voices of the local citizens is almost unheard. The other cause is it might be the media feel objectively report the violent conflict event if they tap the voices of the government or policeman. It turns out that the fatalities might be caused of the fire gun shots.

Appendices

List of News Articles

Tempo.co.id

Nomor	Tanggal	Jam	Judul
1	17-Jul	11:02	Rusuh Tolikara, Warga Diungsikan
2	17-Jul	14:08	Salat Id di Tolikara, Wapres Minta Pemda Tangani
3	17-Jul-15	15:13	Bentrok Tolikara Bermula dari Salat Id, JK: Semua Tahan Diri
4	18-Jul	11:02	Rusuh Tolikara, Ini Kronologi Temuan Komnas HAM
5	18-Jul	1:58	Rusuh di Tolikara, BIN Harusnya Deteksi Dini
6	18-Jul	2:08	Rusuh di Tolikara, MUI Serukan Umat Islam Menahan Diri
7	18-Jul	6:56	Bentrok di Tolikara Papua, Prabowo: Jangan Terpancing
8	18-Jul	7:40	Bentrok di Tolikara, Umat Kristen Menyatakan Permohonan Maaf
9	18-Jul	9:16	Rusuh Tolikara, Ketua Sinode GDI Minta Maaf
10	18-Jul	18:08	Agar Tolikara Tak Berulang, Sejumlah Pendeta Temui Kiai ini

MetroTVNews.com

No	Tanggal	Jam	Judul Artikel
1	17-Jul	9:59	Amuk Massa Terjadi di Tolikara



2	17-Jul	14:33	Rusuh di Tolikara, JK Ingatkan Warga Saling Menghormati
3	17-Jul	14:59	Tolikara Rusuh, Kapolri Minta Warga Berdamai
4	17-Jul	21:24	Tim Kementerian Agama Ikut Tangani Kasus Tolikara
5	18-Jul	2:07	MUI Perintahkan Muslim Tolikara Tahan Diri
6	18-Jul	2:32	Polda Imbau Warga Tolikara tidak Terprovokasi
7	18-Jul	2:58	Polisi Rangkul Tokoh Agama Selesaikan Konflik di Tolikara
8	18-Jul	4:17	Mendagri Percayakan Penyelesaian Kasus Tolikara ke Kepolisian
9	18-Jul	11:14	Spekulasi Kekerasan di Tolikara Harus Diredam
10	18-Jul	12:14	ICMI Jatim: Ada Oknum di Balik Kerusuhan Tolikara

Okezone.com

1	17-Jul	16.06	Massa Serang Jamaah Ketika Salat Id di Tolikara
2	17-Jul	18.43	Tiga Warga Tertembak dalam Penyerangan Masjid di Papua
3	17-Jul	18.55	Kronologi Massa Serang Jamaah & Bakar 70 Rumah di Tolikara
4	17-Jul	19.22	11 Terluka, Polda Papua Kejar Pelaku Rusuh di Tolikara
5	17-Jul	20.55	Kemenag Desak Sinode GIDI Minta Maaf atas Rusuh Tolikara
6	17-Jul	22.26	Besok Pagi, Kemenag-PGI Jumpa Pers Terkait Rusuh di Tolikara
7	18-Jul	12.31	Klarifikasi PGLII Soal Penyerangan Rumah Ibadah di Tolikara
8	18-Jul	19.09	Rusuh Tolikara, Jokowi Minta Maaf kepada Umat Islam
9	18-Jul	23.03	Pembakaran Rumah Ibadah di Tolikara, Tantowi: Kita Lengah!



10	19-Jul	11.41	Insiden di Tolikara, HT: Kedepankan Persatuan dan Kesatuan NKRI
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Sindonews.com

1	17-Jul	23.34	Hari Raya Idul Fitri, Ada Serangan di Tolikara
2	18-Jul	00.02	Serangan di Tolikara, Kemenag Minta Klarifikasi Sinode GIDI
3	18-Jul	01.08	Usut Tuntas Insiden di Tolikara
4	18-Jul	11.10	Insiden Tolikara, Mendagri Imbau Masyarakat Tak Terprovokasi
5	18-Jul	12.07	PGI Mengecam Keras Insiden Tolikara
6	18-Jul	12.50	PGI Minta Komnas HAM Investigasi Insiden Tolikara
7	18-Jul	13.05	Pemerintah Minta Maaf atas Insiden Tolikara
8	18-Jul	13.46	Menag Harap Umat Tak Terpancing Ajakan Jihad ke Tolikara
9	18-Jul	14.38	Ketua DPR Minta Kepolisian Segera Usut Insiden Tolikara
10	18-Jul	14.55	Kemenag, PGI, PGLII Kompak Kecam Surat Edaran GIDI

Kompas.com

1	17-Jul	9:46	Belasan Kios dan Rumah Warga Hangus Dibakar Massa Tak Dikenal
2	17-Jul	14:34	Wapres Minta Warga Menahan Diri Pasca-pembakaran Mushala di Tolikara
3	17-Jul	17:47	Prabowo Minta Masyarakat Tak Terprovokasi Pembakaran Mushala di Papua
4	17-Jul	18:58	Masyarakat Jangan Terjebak Isu Agama dalam perusakan Mushala di Papua



5	17-Jul	20:13	Mendagri: BIN Harusnya Mampu Antispasi Insiden di Papua
6	17-Jul	20:28	MUI Minta Umat Islam di Tolikara Menahan Diri
7	17-Jul	23:58	Pembakaran Rumah Ibadah Melanggar Norma Adat Papua
8	18-Jul	7:40	Menag Minta Polisi Usut Tuntas Kasus di Tolikara
9	18-Jul	10:38	Pasca-kerusuhan, Kapolda Papua da Pangdam Gelar Rapat di Karubaga
10	18-Jul	10:46	Mendagri: Masyarakat Tak Perlu Terpancing Kasus di Tolikara, Waspada Provokasi

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**Political Campaign and Maternal Leaders:
Putting Forward Mother Qualities in Indonesian Legislative Election 2014**

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Abstract

Indonesian *Undang-undang* (Act) no 8 year 2012 about General Election mentions that every political party is obliged to have 30 percent of female legislative candidates in the national, provincial, and district level. According to *Forum Masyarakat Peduli Parlemen* –the citizen community who cares about what happens in the parliament, in 2014, the number of female candidates who participated in the Legislative Election was 2,434 candidates or 37% of the total candidates; the biggest number yet in Indonesian political history. This is a big change in Indonesian political history, as the role of –and the activities in, leadership, especially the governmental leadership has always been always associated with masculinity. Politics is considered as the natural sphere for the males. Traditional masculine traits such as assertive, unemotional, and dominant, are seen as the ideals when it comes to a leadership, as opposed to traditional feminine traits, such as submissive, emotional, and gentle, which are seen as the characteristics of the nurturers who support the community through providing the members' well being.

Introduction

However, regardless of the fact that it is the country with the biggest Moslem society, and the fact that women are not seen as serious contenders for top political positions because of its de facto/de jure military control (Richter 1991; Wichelen 2006), Megawati led the country from 2001 to 2004. However, her leadership was also close to controversy with her “mother-like” which was associated with her indecisiveness, impulsiveness, attention to details, and according to the political analyst, “unnecessary tolerance for her political opponents” (Unidjaja, Jakarta Post). Richter (1991), in his study on the theories of female leadership in South and Southeast Asia, stated that in the most important political positions accessible to women were because her familial relationship with important male politicians. A woman is also more accepted as a leader if she fills a political void left by a male, and if she is married (p. 4-6). The same goes for Megawati; her leadership is intertwined with her image of a daughter of the former president, Soekarno, and a mother.

Back to the 2014 Legislative Election, the change in the Election rules causes some disputes. Many hold the opinion that the female candidates are recruited by the parties just to meet the percentage requirements, which means neither the quality nor aspiration of the candidates is in the first priority. After recruited, the female candidates who do not have any political experience, are left alone to fight for votes (Asmarani). Moreover, many parties recruit celebrities and *dangdut* singers as the vote-getters by utilizing their beauty and/or sensuality and/or femininity (Susila).

This also means the new act affects the interaction between the female candidates and the voters, as the familiarization and exposure of the female candidates in the public sphere also increase in intensity. When running for a Legislative Election, poster is the media that is most commonly used in the campaign. Posters usually consist of the self photograph, name, and number of the candidate, the name of the party, slogan, and an appeal to vote for the candidate. These posters are usually put along the road so they can be seen by the passing vehicles. A candidate normally has a series of posters along one road to familiarize people with them as a Legislative candidate, as it is common for voters-to-be not to recognize the candidate's vision and mission. In presenting themselves in the public space, the candidates express themselves -through the self-photographs- by unconsciously using their bodies to express their gender and identities. This, also, is affected by the cultural context, which according to Lorber & Moore (2007), "influences not only bodily expressions but their frequency, contexts, and meaning" (p.81). Furthermore, Lorber & Moore also explained that "when people internalize social expectations about gender/sex and the body, it becomes difficult for them to determine whether they construct their gender identities or whether gender/sex expectations begin to construct them" (p. 96-97). The picture of female candidates, therefore, can be seen as the 'gendered bodies' which requires a process of reading the signs of gendered body to the ideal characteristics of a leader. The components of nonverbal communication, such as facial expression, eye contact, body movement, and body adornment can be instinctively encoded by the female candidates/campaign team, as well as instinctively decoded by the voters, to focus on the traits that are considered as possessed by great leaders.

Women running for a political election or female leaders tend to "operate with a different voice" and style than their male counterparts", as in the Asian culture it is much easier to believe that women can work than to govern (Richter, 1991). With the hope of getting votes, there is a process of image crafting as the suitable candidates to represent the people. Crafting a self image is always in tune with the social convention of what the good characteristics are for a certain gender, for example, a good male characteristic is assertive and confident, and for a good female characteristic is motherly and innocent. While it is difficult to evaluate whether female candidates operate differently compared to the male candidates without having interviews with the candidates themselves on how they encode the "different voice" on their campaign posters, it is equally compelling to find out how the photographs of the female candidates on the campaign posters/billboard are interpreted. The question is whether this "different voice" that is assumedly used by the female candidates is decoded by the voters. Furthermore, it is also interesting to know what characteristics that are favorable for a female leaders (legislative candidates).

Characteristics and traits are identified from their photos, which then perceived by the voters. Preferences are made by identifying the desirable ideal leader traits. Deux and Lewi's model of Gender Stereotyping (Figure 1.2) shows that physical appearance affected judgements about traits, behavior, and occupations more strongly than it did vice versa (in Brannon, p.170). When Indonesian government specifically mentions that every political party needs to have female representatives, the assumption is that there will be an expectation of psychological traits and characteristics entails.

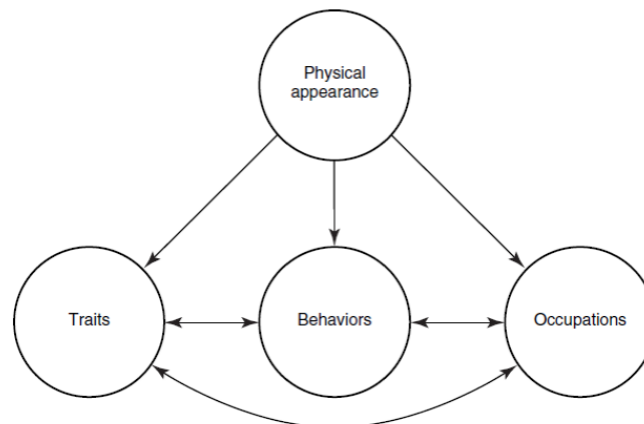


Figure 1: Deux and Lewis Model of Gender Stereotyping

This paper studies how the gendered body is defined and consumed. We pose questions about the people's perception on the female candidates: What do they consider when choosing a female candidate as their legislative representative; their performance, or appearance and popularity? Furthermore, what kind of characteristics should the candidate have? Do they prefer a female candidate who shows traditional masculine or feminine traits? The female candidates' posters, then, can be seen as popular culture objects which contain signs which show the meaning or message beyond what they appear to be.

Theoretical Framework

Semiotics is a study that analyze signs. The signs have meanings, and there are ways to look at the relationship of signs and meanings and how a meaning can be added to a sign. In *Myth Today* (in *Mythologies*), Barthes uses Semiotics to study different cultural phenomena. He develops Saussure's Theory of Signs, which consists of signifiers and signifieds, and their correlation with connotation. Connotations which evolve and are accepted by the society as social conventions will become myths. The understanding of 'Myth' described by Barthes is similar to 'Ideology' developed by Althusser. If a cultural/Social phenomom which started out as a myth is practiced and experienced on and on, it will be perceived as the normal; the natural; the truth because it is 'meant to be'..

As a visual media, the elements in a poster can reveal the 'decoded' messages with Semiotics analysis. According to Roland Barthes (1967), Semiotics is a study of a system of signs to produce a meaning. A cultural object can be semiotically analyzed to understand its society's convention. Barthes' Semiotics is usually focused on popular cultural objects like films, pop music, video games, and fashion trends.

He argues that the signs on these cultural objects are understood and used by the users. He divides the signs to 1. Denotation, or the literal meaning encoded to the signifiers and 2. Connotation, or the meanings that are interpreted and shared by a community/society. People generally are not aware of meanings and discourse that are produced and transformed in popular culture because they are seen as the 'truth', which Barthes called 'Myth' or Ideology. The campaign posters can be seen as a system of signs that can be interpreted and analyzed to reveal the message

The connotations create meanings that are shared by certain groups which have similar values will be Myth.

Method

We did interviews with 60 (sixty) respondents. Each respondent was asked to look at 10 (ten) pictures of female candidates political campaign posters, without looking at the political parties they represent. The ten posters were chosen after classifying the female candidates into 10 different groups, and these posters represent those groups. Afterwards, respondents are asked to choose 3 (three) female candidates that they most likely to vote, as well as the characteristics they identify from the posters. Then, respondents are asked to choose 1 (one) out of the 3 (three) candidates they have chosen, with the reasons why they choose the one and eliminate the other two.



Picture 1: Ten female candidate posters

The answers given by the respondents were recorded and transferred to Excel. These data, then, were counted to identify what characteristics are preferable in voting for a female candidate.

Female Leaders' Maternal Traits: Efficiency vs Deficiency

In Indonesian society, women are expected not to neglect and forget their *kodrat*, or “their so-called biological or female destiny, which defines women by their domesticity and reproductivity” (Wichelen 2006). *Kodrat* also connects to the *azas kekeluargaan* or family foundation, which is “a model for authority relations within the state” in the New Order era (Robinson, 2009, p.10). After the fall of the New Order, the place of women in the political spheres changed. The assignment of Megawati as President sparked a debate on female leadership between the nationalists and the religious Moslems (Wichelen, 2006). The opposing group posed a question whether female leadership is allowed by the religion, as it is against women’s *kodrat* to their duty and subordination to their husbands and kids. Eventhough the gender roles and differences in Indonesia has changed throughout the years, the questions about female leadership remain the same: because women’s *kodrat* is nurturing the family, can she enter the ‘dirty’ and ‘harsh’ Politics environment? Furthermore, can she, with her innate maternal traits, be in the assumably masculine role?

Because politics is always associated with male/public sphere, problematizing female leadership is about questioning the efficiency of feminine traits in leadership roles. The interview with the respondents shows that the first characteristic that is considered as the defect that make the candidates less preferable is the lack in assertiveness. When the respondents perceive this trait from the candidates’ pictures, there is a decrease in the probablity that they will vote for her. The lack of assertiveness includes the characteristics such as “less commanding (*kurang berwibawa*), doesn not look bold (*tidak terlihat berani*), too meek (*terlalu kalem*), too patient and gentle (*terlalu sabar*), and submissive (*penurut*). This confirms the preference of stereotypical masculine traits such as assertiveness and boldness are usually as the ideal leaders. This also confirms that the maternal qualities used by women as the nurturer of the children and the family, such as gentleness and patience, is seen as the deficiencies in leadership. The female candidates’ signs of gentleness can be seen as the lack of self-confidence and dominance needed in leadership roles.

The second deficiency in maternal traits observed from the photograph is that the candidates posses *ibu-ibu RT* characteristic. *Ibu-ibu* means women/mothers in the city’s neighborhood, and usually are associated with housewives who are good with households chores and like to rant emotionally. It is considered as a defect in the leadership roles because *Ibu-ibu RT* is the embodiment of captious and emotional women/mothers who stereotypically belong to the domestic sphere. *Ibu-ibu RT* are exactly the opposite of the stereotypical unemotional masculine leaders who are able to separate feelings from ideas and problems.

Female Leaders: Mix of Masculinity and Femininity

The 5 female representatives with the highest votes are Indah Kurnia, Erline, Hj Nita Gilik, Dewi Surya Rahmah Ayu, and Lucy Kurniasari.



Picture 2: Representatives with the highest votes

From the interview, there is one female candidate, Indah Kurnia that stands out (top position with 62%) because of the respondents' familiarity with her from media coverage (reasons are varied from retrospective voting -what she has done, her characters, and so on, to similarities in belief), and the masculine traits, such as assertiveness, firmness, and seriousness.

However respondents made choices on other candidates solely based on judgement about their pictures, as respondents usually neither know the candidates nor understand their aspirations. This is also true for most Indonesian voters when it comes to choosing legislative candidates. Once they are in the voting chamber, they have to 1. vote a political party, and 2. vote one out of seven to ten candidates from the chosen party. That is why, in order to be memorable, candidates rely on the way they present themselves through a self photo on the campaign posters or billboard. Face expression, body position, and attire are set up to produce a single image that hopefully can show the candidates' political identity in a self photograph on the campaign poster.

Therefore, as this paper studies how respondents decode the signs found in the female candidates' self photographs, it will disregard the characteristics that are connected to the familiarity of the respondents with the candidates. Preferable characteristics in ideal female leaders, respectively, are Assertive (including bold, firm, brave, and charismatic), Nurturing (including patient, gentle, loving, motherly), Jaunty (including cheerful, friendly, merry, jolly), Humble and Modest, Educated (intelligent, smart), and Beautiful (pretty, graceful). Those characteristics can be divided into stereotypical/traditional Masculine traits (Assertive), Feminine traits (Nurturing, Jaunty, Maidenlike, and Beautiful).

The traditional male's assertiveness is the most favorable trait in choosing people's representatives, which shows that stereotypical masculine traits are still considered essential in leadership roles. However, these masculine traits are followed by the stereotypical feminine traits, which also shows that possessing and displaying masculine traits, and supporting it with feminine traits is preferable for a female leader. Although the lack of assertiveness is considered the main deficiency of a female leader, other traits that are considered feminine are desirable *if* they already possess the assertiveness. Once they have the firmness, their maternal characteristics such as nurturing, gentle, and patient are seen as efficient for leaders.

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**Politics, Protest and Portrayal: Analysis of BERSIH in selected
Mainstream Malaysian Newspapers**

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Abstract

Malaysia celebrates her 58th year of independence, and to all intents and purposes, for an independent state, democracy is supposed to exist. However, as independence day draws near, Malaysian citizens are preparing to go to the streets again to demonstrate, this time, against corruption, call for clean governance and resignation of the Prime Minister in the midst of financial scandals that had engulfed the country. Past public protests and rallies had called for electoral reforms. In a crisis of hegemony, communication scholars have pointed out that the democratic procedure in Malaysia are allowed only when it does not present itself as a threat to the hegemonic power of the ruling elites. To maintain hegemonic power, various means are used either by coercion or drawing consensus. Suspending the printing license of the media, threatening to block websites, putting demonstrators in jail are coercive ways used to curb information. Additionally, the mainstream media “manufactures consent” - to borrow the term from Chomsky, in order to legitimise the ruling elites. Chomsky clearly points out that the manufacturing of consent is detrimental to democracy’s best interest. This paper attempts to discuss the role of the media in portraying protests and demonstrations with specific reference to Bersih 3.0 demonstration; and to see how the media legitimize certain ideologies and the powers that be and its impact on democracy.

Keywords: Ideology, Legitimation, Media Control, Democracy

Introduction

On 28 April, 2012, an estimated number of over 250,000 protesters gathered at Dataran Merdeka in Kuala Lumpur, calling for electoral reform (Ambiga, 2012:14). Despite the repeated warnings and a court order that allowed the police to arrest the participants, thousands of protesters in their yellow outfits took to the streets for Bersih rally demanding electoral reform. The peaceful assembly lasted until 3pm when police barricades were breached and attempts were made to enter Dataran Merdeka. With the rise in tension, the Malaysia’s Federal Reserve Unit opened fire to disperse the crowd with tear gas and water cannon (Bar Council Malaysia, 2012) causing demonstrators to run helter-skelter; affecting some people badly with breathing difficulties. Following that, the police began to arrest by force (Malaysiakini 2012, April 28) and in response to that angry protesters threw empty water bottles at the police car and overturned a police vehicle (USA Today News, 2012, April 28).

A few journalists covering the rally were detained and had their camera and memory card confiscated (SUHAKAM, 2012, July 26). Andrew Khoo, one of the steering committee members of Bersih described the unfortunate turnout of the rally as a war zone expressing shock over the police action on demonstrators and journalists (Malaysiakini, 2012, April 28).

Aside from the main rally held in Kuala Lumpur, there were smaller peaceful rallies held in other parts of the country and in more than 35 countries and 85 locations globally which included New Zealand, Australia, Japan, South Korea, Taiwan, Hong Kong, Switzerland, and others (Free Malaysia Today, 2011, July 11).

In reporting Bersih 3.0 demonstration, blames were made on opposition leaders, specifically Anwar Ibrahim and Azmin Ali for instigating the chaos. The mainstream newspapers tend to highlight that the event was used by the opposition for political mileage. Similarly, the organizer, Ambiga was portrayed negatively in the newspapers for instigating and carrying out the demonstration despite government's disapproval with a magistrate's court order not to have the rally at Dataran Merdeka. Indeed, this is not the first Bersih rally. Bersih which stands for "The Coalition for Clean and Fair Election", began in July 2005 as a Joint Action Committee for Electoral Reforms. Its objective was to reform the current electoral system in Malaysia to ensure free, clean and fair election because it was deemed that the non-independent Election Commission (EC) will give an unfair advantage to the ruling BN in the electoral process (Saadon, 2006, November 23).

According to Bersih Official Website (2007), Bersih rallies have taken place three times mainly located in Kuala Lumpur. The first was on November 10, 2007 with its objective to submit a memorandum that demanded a fair and clean electoral system to Malaysia's head of state, Yang di-pertuan Agong (<http://www.bersih.org/?p=335>). Later, the coalition restructured and became a civil society movement with former president of Bar Council, Dato' Ambiga Sreenevasan as the co-chairman of the coalition. Bersih 2.0, also known as the "Walk for Democracy" was launched on 9th of July 2011. In response to this, the government had set up the Parliamentary Select Committee (PSC) to handle the Bersih demands. However, PSC had continued to rely on the existing EC in carrying out the 22 recommendations which Bersih committee had earlier claimed to be partial. With this, Bersih 3.0 was launched on 28th of April, 2012 under the name of sit-down protest to call upon the resignation of the existing EC head and committee, and provision for observations towards the 13th general election by international observers. Similar responses from the state were seen in these three demonstrations where the demonstrations ended with tear gas and water cannon over the participants.

Gomez and Jomo (1999:2) point out that since Malaysia gained its independence 58 years ago, that the democratic process is allowed so long as it does not threaten the position of the ruling elite and present itself as a threat to the hegemonic power of the ruling elites, resulting in authoritarian control and the clamping down on democratic spaces. The clamping down on democratic spaces, they contend, has thus allowed Barisan National (BN), the ruling coalition to maintain power for over 55 years.

The clamping down on democratic spaces can be traced back to the 1982s when Tun Dr. Mahathir bin Mohamad was still in power. During his 22 years administration, many of his

authoritarian practices have had a strong and adverse impact on Malaysia's democracy. This was also aided by earlier government policies such as the New Economy Policy (NEP) that was introduced in 1971 by the second Prime Minister Tun Abdul Razak with the aim to restructure the society in order to achieve national unity through poverty eradication in order to balance inter-ethnic economic parity (Verma, 2004:68-69). Although the restructuring is a move in the right direction, it had nonetheless been misused to strengthen the dominant ruling group to maintain power. Through the NEP, a "viable" Malay business community was created, thereby raising Bumiputera ownership to the 30 per cent mark in the corporate sector. However, this in no way achieved economic parity for the Malays (Gomez 1994:3).

Thus NEP paved the way for the involvement of political parties in business as it allowed Bumiputera trust agencies such as Perbadanan Nasional Bhd (Pernas) and Permodalan Nasional Bhd (PNB) to acquire corporate assets which further led to the control of the media. Component parties in the Barisan National – United Malays National Organisation (UMNO), Malaysian Chinese Association (MCA) and Malaysian Indian Congress (MIC)- acquired major public companies including media companies. In the early 80s, companies UMNO acquired Fleet Holdings Sdn Bhd which publishes newspapers such as *Utusan Malaysia* as well as Hatibudi Nominees Sdn. Bhd, and Waspavest Sdn Bhd. Hence, state or political elites, especially UMNO leaders, who have control over and access to the state apparatus, were able to "*wield these economic resources as a mechanism of exchange and patronage*" (Gomez, 1994:6). This has enabled the state to institute public enterprises as its own for capital accumulation and to control the economy but also to control the information through the media.

With the involvement of parties particularly UMNO, MCA and MIC in business, inadvertently the problem of money politics rears its ugly head, this can be seen in the abuse of power, political patronage, and buying of votes during party and general election (Gomez, 1994, 31). To legitimize all of these actions and goals, a plethora of coercive laws such as Internal Security Act (ISA), Printing Presses and Publications Act (PPPA) and Official Secret Act (OSA) have been amended and used against the media and people who tried to challenge the position of those in power (Loh, 2009). One of the notable case was the detention of ex Deputy Prime Minister Anwar Ibrahim under the draconian, ISA during the economic crisis in 1997 when he challenged the decisions of the Prime Minister Mahathir Mohamad.

The sacking of Anwar began when he gave his views on governance that conflicted with that of his boss, Mahathir Mohamad. This resulted in the claim that Anwar had acted against Mahathir's wishes, which resulted in his arrest subsequently. From that moment, Anwar's home became a gathering point for mass "reformasi". Thirty thousand demonstrators marched from the National Mosque to Merdeka Square to hear Anwar's call for reform. Conflict broke out between the Federal Reserve Unit (FRU) and the demonstrators at the UMNO headquarters and at Mahathir's home which later precipitated Anwar's arrest (Hilley, 2001:151).

In the reporting of Anwar's arrest, the media provided very little coverage of the event which was unusual as it involved the then Deputy Prime Minister (Wang 1999:83). This event and the paucity of media reports provide a clear picture of Malaysian mainstream media's interaction with UMNO as well as their support towards the dominant ruling group in maintaining its hegemonic power.

Fast track to the 2008 general election, BN was faced with the worst election result ever, when it only won 85 out of 165 parliamentary seats, and losing five states - Kedah, Kelantan, Penang, Perak and Selangor to the opposition (Malaysiakini, 2008, March 11). Martin (2012) pointed that the political tsunami can be traced back to the Anwar debacle which had split the vote within the Malay electorate, with supporters from opposing camps for Mahathir and Anwar. Following the crisis of hegemony, invariably greater authoritarian control was imposed through the introduction of new acts such as Peaceful Assembly Act (PAA) and Security Offences Act (SOSMA) that are even more restrictive in comparison to past Acts. (Ambiga 2012:11). The Peaceful Assembly Act was drafted four months after the Bersih 2.0 rally.

Political analyst, Loh (2009) succinctly points out that the democratization process is not merely just to have a regular election but also includes the right of people to freely express their opinions, and the right to organize and assemble peacefully, and if arrested; there should be a fair trial for the people. It really refers to having checks and balances by different autonomous government institutions, and negotiation or consultation with the people, greater transparency and accountability to the people, more and diversity in information to enable the populace to make sound judgment and decisions.

However, literature review has indicated that media carrying certain ideological parameter in news reporting. In the freer western media, Schachter (2003:70) writes, "*News is a 24-hour-a-day operation, done hastily, and while it can be controlled in some aspects it is totally out of control of the editor or publisher.*" He further claims that political ideology plays an important role in affecting the news reporting included the editorial, column and even news decision and news writing style. Similarly, Meier (2002:299) argues that '*no research in mass communication can ignore questions of mass media ownership and the economic implications of that control*'. Commenting on a more authoritarian regime, Zaharom and Wang (2004:249) state that Malaysia's economy and media system were heavily controlled, thus leave little space for expression. Rucker (2012) in his study of "*The Media, Politics, and Ideology: A Critical-Analytical Perspective*" also pointed that media and the information distribution typically uphold the status quo and ruling corporate elite who own it. The central question to media political economists is whether media could serve to promote or undermine the democratic practices. For the political economists of media, changing a media system goes part and parcel with the changing of wider economic system in providing a balance society.

Hence, this study attempts to examine how power is conferred and legitimized by both mainstream newspapers *The Star* and *Utusan Malaysia* in portraying protests and demonstration during the Bersih 3.0 demonstration. This study aims to look at the content of demonstration news and the link between the media control, media structure and political power as well as explore how media, through its production, legitimizes powerful groups and their ideologies through the Bersih 3.0 demonstration report.

This is crucial because the way media portrays demonstrations or protests by giving space and voice only to a selected few; reflects on the democratic process of a society. In other words, what audience consumes from the mainstream cannot be assumed to be benign and therefore, it is important to deconstruct what is seen and read in the media and its production process within the context of the state and the market.

News and Political Power

Mosco (1997:22) aptly points out that if we want to understand the structure of our culture, the role of the mass media; its production and reproduction; and the consumption of what had been produced, then there is a need to confront some of the central questions of political economy in general.

Political Economy approach has been widely applied by the scholars (Mosco, 1996; McChesney, 2008) in examining and studying of the media system. It is an important concept which has practical value due to its ability to help us understand how the communication business operates within political systems and this can lead us to further understand how a producer or distributor operate within power structures and relations and how certain ideas are legitimized.

For example, Hearn-Branaman (2009:121-123) claims media units are part of government where their mission have been shifted to support and advance the policies of the government in power. In other words, media functions as tool for its owner to legitimize the ruling interest. On the other hand, Lane and Ersson (1990:15) emphasized a relationship between the media, state and the market where the state manages and decides on policies while at the distribution process it is handled by the market. In other words, people who have power to control the economy foster a close relationship with the state, thereby allowing both the state and the market to influence media operations. This is similar to what Sparks (1986:83) sees the role of the state as the patron, the censor, the actor, the masseur, the ideologue and conspirator.

In the case of Malaysia, the state as patron regulates the field to limit competition by providing licenses to whom it deems fit. The state can also act as censor directly through bans on what does and does not appear in the media or indirectly through its allocative control of media corporations owned by political parties, particularly in the ruling Barisan Nasional coalition. In most of the news reports, the state largely acts as the main source of news for the media. This news are by and large massaged and provided in the form that legitimizes the dominant views of the ruling elites. While the media make the state their main source of news, they also adopt definitions of certain events made by the state, thereby making the state the ideologue. This can be seen in reports in media aligned to the political parties in the ruling coalition or the authorities. Lastly, the people occupying the top post in the state and those in the media have very similar experiences, so much so that those *"who call the shots in the state and in the media are indistinguishable"*. With this, media become a propaganda tool in spreading ideologies and legitimizing the ruling elites views instead of functioning as check and balance to the state power.

The six roles of the state in influencing the media as pointed out by Colin Sparks is apparent in the Malaysian media that enabled the dominant ruling group to exert its power and influence over the process of production and distribution of news and information.

Newspapers Ownership and Control

In Malaysia, the media are controlled directly or indirectly by the state. Loh (2009:59-60) pertinently pointed that the end of the independence of presses began when the Chinese daily

Nanyang Siang Pau and Malay daily *Utusan Melayu* were taken over by MCA and UMNO respectively. The politically motivated takeover of the Chinese press was opposed by Dong Jiao Zong, Dong Jiao Zong, the Federation of Chinese Associations of Malaysia (FECAM) and Associated Chinese Chambers of Commerce and Industry (ACCIM). They pointed out that, “*It is the responsibility of every party to ensure the independence of the media from partisan control or intervention*”. Thus, MCA as a member of ruling party should not directly or indirectly control the media operation. In the protest, 40 columnists and regular contributors to the *Nanyang Siang Pau*, *China Press*, *Sin Chew Jit Poh* and *Guangming* stopped writing for the dailies. They claimed that the takeover was “pushing through a scheme that runs counter to democratic principles” and which spelled “the end of the independence and autonomy of Chinese dailies”.

Similarly, the acquisition of *Utusan Malaysia* by UMNO also impinges on freedom of the press to report without fear or favour of all parties. *Utusan Malaysia* began its publication in 1939 to advocate Malay rights, articulating issues pertaining to the Malay interest and development. However, when Ibrahim Fikri, an UMNO member, was appointed as the director of operations, the newspaper workers staged a strike to protest his appointment (Zaharom and Wang, 2004:252). Said Zahari, a participant of the strike stated that “*Utusan is owned by the Malays. It is supposed to serve the Malay community, not to serve a small group of Malays who are members of Umno. There are Malays in the Labour Party, in the People’s Party; Malays in Pan-Malaysian Islamic Party (PAS)*” (Siew, 2008 at <http://www.thenutgraph.com/strike-for-press-freedom>). In other words, acquisition of *Utusan Malaysia* by UMNO will end press freedom; thereby allowing the interest of the ruling elites to be promoted at the expense of all other parties.

Subsequently, all of the mainstream media are under control of political parties closely linked to the ruling coalition. For instance, *New Straits Times*, *Berita Harian*, *Malay Mail*, *Harian Metro*, *TV3*, *8TV* are owned by Media Prima which is closely link to the UMNO and government of the day. Newspaper such as *The Star*, *Nanyang Siang Pau* and *China Press* were owned by Huaren Holdings Sdn. Bhd., the investment arm of MCA which is a component in the BN coalition. However in 2010, *The Star* was bought over by MCA when Huaren Holdings, transferred its entire 42.45% stake in Star Publications to MCA. In the same year, Huaren Holdings also sold its entire 3.6% equity in the Media Chinese International Ltd (MCIL) thereby relinquishing its stake in Nanyang Press Holding and the two newspapers *Nanyang Siang Pau* and *China Press*.

In short, the ownership implies that media can no longer serve as the watchdog as their task have changed to promote and spread the ideology of the dominant group who owned them, rather than provide truth and balance information for its audience.

Aside from being controlled by the stakeholders, Malaysian media companies are also restricted by laws and regulations set by the government. A slew of laws and regulations that hamper media freedom and expression such as Printing Presses and Publications Act (PPPA) that gives power to the Ministry of Home Affairs to revoke or suspend a publishing license at any time on the ground if the publication is detrimental to public order. This Act instills fear in journalists in covering issues. Three publications for instance *The Star* and *Sin Chew Jit Poh*, and Malay biweekly, *Watan*, had their license of media publication revoked during *Operasi Lalang* in Malaysia, 1987. Their licenses were revoked because they covered issues on Chinese education which were deemed seditious as it has

taken sides with the Chinese community. The PPPA has been used to restrict the political discourse by silencing political opponents and manipulating the media content released to the public (Borneo Post Online, 2011). Although the latest amendments to the PPPA had done away with the annual renewal of license and the Home Minister no longer has the absolute discretion to decide, it has not gone far enough for a freer and fairer media. There are other laws in operation that can still curb the media.

The Official Secrets Act also prevents journalist from reporting on matters of public interest (Malaysiakini, 2012, May 3). Similarly, the introduction of Acts such as Peaceful Assembly Act could have similar effects when it is misused by the authorities in handling issues regarding public gatherings as in the case of Bersih 3.0 demonstration. Hence, it is easy to see democracy can hardly exist in Malaysia due to the fact that that people have no freedom of speech; and media too have been restricted from reporting stories of truths and especially in stories that touches on political issues.

Portraying Bersih 3.0

In this study, both quantitative and qualitative procedures are involved in the news interpretation. A content analysis was conducted on two Malaysian mainstream newspapers, *Utusan Malaysia*, a daily published in the Malay language and *The Star*, an English language daily in covering the Bersih 3.0 demonstration. *The Star* holds the highest circulation with a total of 291,068 daily sales while *Utusan Malaysia* is a Malay newspaper with a circulation of 171,663 print copy sales in 2014 (Audit Bureau of Circulation, 2014 from <http://www.the-star.com.my/business/business-news/2014/12/01/the-star-keeps-its-momentum/?style=biz>).

The sample of this study was drawn from 20th April 2012 to 5th May 2012, which represents the peak period of the report on the Bersih 3.0 issue. One hundred and thirty eight news stories were analysed from both newspapers with 52 news articles in *The Star* and 86 news articles in *Utusan Malaysia*.

In the content analysis, a coding scheme is applied to obtain the quantitative aspects of data such as the frequency of articles that were covered in the newspapers. Few important themes were operationalized to ensure systematic collection of data to provide for the data's validity and reliability. Firstly, the source of news stories was identified. Following that themes of these stories were analyzed. The themes includes "Actors Behaviour" which refer to the authorities and protesters behaviour during the demonstration; "Laws and Regulations" discuss the compliance and the legality of Bersih 3.0 demonstration to Malaysia law and regulations especially in compliance the Peaceful Assembly Act; "Manipulation" refers to the act of being wrongfully informed or being manipulated to achieve certain party's interest; "Leadership" which is related to the issue of Bersih co-chairman Ambiga, and her capability in leading the demonstration; "Blaming" that highlight on the people that should be blamed when the assembly turned ugly; "Public Interest and Properties" concerned on the general public welfare; "Economy" refers to the tourism attraction and investment in the country; "Polluted Politics" which relates to the dirty tactics used by a party to obtain self's interest as well as "Professionalism" which refers to the practices of responsibility by professionals such as police and Bar Council.

To ensure the reliability of this study, two communication graduates were chosen as the second coder. Riffie, Lacy and Fico (2005) suggest having a random selection of 10-25% of the body

content to be tested. Therefore, a ten percent which is 14 articles were tested. Using Holsti's formula (cited in Wimmer & Dominick, 2006), it was found that the intercoder reliability was 0.7857 which proved that the data collection is valid and reliable.

However, merely studying the quantitative nature of text without deeper investigation in its context is not enough. Textual analysis is often chosen to overcome the common limitation of quantitative content analysis. Yin, Miike, (2008:20) stated that textual analysis has been widely used in analyzing the ideologies in the text. Thus, a textual analysis is used to further analyze what gets reported in the newspaper articles and its ideological aspects rather than just counting the frequency of the news being presented. Through textual analysis, the newspaper articles could be described in a critical way since the premise of texts is always signified as having relation with hegemony and ideology.

In this study, the textual analysis was used to identify the words and language media use to legitimize the Bersih 3.0 demonstration as well as the actors of participants, Bersih committee, opposition parties and the authorities. The words media uses in terms of whether it projects the ideology of reinforcing or challenging the authorities as well as the language and words that were used to portray the opposers and how they were delegitimized are examined.

The research objective is to examine the media portrayal on Bersih demonstration news in *The Star* and *Utusan Malaysia* to compare how power is conferred and legitimized by both mainstream newspapers. Finding reveals that the number of authorities or leaders of pro-government parties mentioned in both the mainstream newspapers are 35% in *Utusan Malaysia* and 41% in *The Star*. However, there is a 29% portrayal of opposition leaders compared to 20% in *The Star*. Other actors such as Bersih Committee members, protesters, professional bodies and media in both mainstream newspapers shared nearly similar percentage of news portrayal.

In addition, results also show that the newspapers have cited the authorities as their main sources with 52% and 53% respectively in *Utusan Malaysia* and *The Star*. On the other hand the opposition leaders were cited as sources only at 7% in both the newspapers. Protesters were cited as source at only 1% in *Utusan Malaysia* and 2% in *The Star*. The Bersih Committee were cited as source only at 6% in *The Star* and not at all in *Utusan Malaysia*. It is clear that there is a clear bias in the use of sources in the news report on news of Bersih 3.0. Other sources that were deemed more important than the protesters, Opposition and Bersih Committee were taxi driver, car rental and company operators.

In portraying the actor's behaviour, *Utusan Malaysia* highlights at 49% that the protesters acted aggressively during the demonstration by attacking authorities and journalists. However, the police were reported aggressive only with 9% of the news in *Utusan Malaysia*. On the other hand, *The Star* reported both protesters and police as aggressive with 18% and 21% respectively. In reporting the aggressive acts of the police the news in *The Star* were mostly on journalists being assaulted by the police as compared to *Utusan Malaysia* that highlighted the police attacked the protesters.

In reporting the issue of laws and regulations, Bersih 3.0 demonstration, *Utusan Malaysia* reported with 61% that the demonstration was illegal and contravenes the Malaysian laws whereas *The Star* only reported with that focus 3.8% of the news. Additionally, *Utusan Malaysia* and *The Star*

also reported actors such as Bersih Committee, protesters and the leaders of opposition parties as violators of the law.

Aside from this, in the theme of manipulation, *Utusan Malaysia* has 42% of the news that tend to portray the protesters as selfish law breakers that were manipulated by certain parties. Compared with *Utusan Malaysia*, *The Star* shows in 23% of news that the Bersih 3.0 demonstration was hijacked by politicians and individuals. Additionally, *The Star* also reported in 33% of news that the protesters were manipulated by certain parties instead of being a movement that champion for a fair and clean election.

In the Leadership theme, *Utusan Malaysia* tend to question the Ambiga's fitness in leading the Bersih 3.0 demonstration with 25% news portrayal that show her as unfit to lead because she was also the chairman of Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, and Transgender (LGBT) Community which they allude that it contradicts with the Islamic principle. On the other hand, *The Star* highlighted with 31% news that Ambiga had failed to keep her promise in ensuring a peaceful which turned unruly after the tear gas and water cannon were released on the crowd by the Federal Reserve Unit.

In the Blaming theme, both newspapers blamed the leaders of opposition parties *Utusan Malaysia* (25%) and in *The Star* (13%) for instigating the protesters to create chaos. Specifically, the Bersih Committee was blamed for organizing the demonstration despite authorities' disapproval and the protesters were blamed for breaking the police barriers. On the contrary, police was portrayed as members who should not be blamed but should be praised for their responsible action in controlling the situation in *Utusan Malaysia* with 11%. *The Star* shows almost equal number of police that should or should not be blamed during the demonstration around 5%.

In the theme of Public Interest and Public Properties, the result indicates that both newspapers portrayed the Bersih 3.0 demonstration had caused the loss of local business revenue with 27% of news in *Utusan Malaysia* and 20% news in *The Star*. The number of reports of protesters who caused damage to the public and private properties in *Utusan Malaysia* is higher than in *The Star* with 15% and 3% respectively. Moreover, both newspapers portrayed authorities in the positive light highlighting them practicing public safety by rejecting the demonstration to be launched in Dataran Merdeka with 4% in *Utusan Malaysia* and 7% in *The Star*.

In reporting the theme of economy, *Utusan Malaysia* tends to portray Bersih 3.0 demonstration affecting the tourism trade with 60% compared to 10% in *The Star*. The news reports in *Utusan Malaysia* tend to portray that the tourists who plan to visit our country were forced to cancel their trip in order to avoid traffic jam and other possible matter such as chaos that might be happened. Besides, 30% of news in *Utusan Malaysia* also alludes that the foreign investors might lose their confident to invest in the country thereby resulting in economic crisis in the country.

The theme of polluted politics, *Utusan Malaysia* news shows 43% portrayed leaders of opposition parties for having intention to topple the government while *The Star* only showed 7% with the intention of toppling the government through the demonstration. It shows that the main concern of fighting for a clean and fair election was sidelined in the reports.

In reporting the issue of professionalism, *Utusan Malaysia* shows a high percentage of 25% in portraying both the authorities as fair during the Bersih 3.0 investigation and the Election Commission as fair and clean. In other words, the news reports contradict the demands of Bersih 3.0 demonstration and its demand for a clean and fair election. In depicting the Bar Council as acting unfairly in conducting the investigations *Utusan Malaysia* (8%) and *The Star* (4%) is an attempt to delegitimize independent bodies in their investigations after the Bersih 3.0 demonstration. However, *The Star* (8%) portrayed SUHAKAM as acted fairly during the investigation.

The result of the content analysis raises a few important points. The number of authorities mentioned is much higher than other actors as well as the use of authorities as news sources in both newspapers provide a clear picture of the role of the state as patron and actor in events that are used to legitimize the role and control of the state. Although the media are privately owned but because the owners are closely linked to political parties in the ruling coalition, it is not unreasonable to surmise “who calls the shots” in the kind of coverage of media events such as the Bersih 3.0 demonstration. The ownership and control of the media still affect the reliability of news reports especially when there is an imbalance in the use of news sources skewed towards the authorities. The news sources of both media show that they reinforce the action, goal, interest and position of the authorities and the dominant elites.

Furthermore, by highlighting the protesters’ aggressive behaviour and self-interest of opposition leaders and violation of the court order by Bersih committee, the news constructed a negative image of the Bersih 3.0 organizers and supporters. This concurs with views from Mosco (2009) and McChesney (2008) who believe that the media tend to support and protect the ruling power. News then seems to be natural, normal but always done by legitimizing the powerful political and economic classes; protecting those in powerful positions and those with close links between the ruling elites and media business. Therefore, it is not surprising when both newspapers portray Bersih 3.0 demonstration as illegal and unlawful. This concurs with what Chomsky points out that news can be manufactured to gain the consent of the populace that what the authorities like the police were doing were right and the protesters and the Bersih committee were wrong.

Reading the Text

Van Dijk (1998) states that, in processing the news, media will generally select or highlight those “facts” that are consistent with the elite interest and attempt to persuade and influence the public at large in their portrayals. At the moment when there are inconsistencies or a challenge to the ruling elite’s hegemony, the elite will have special means of media access and control, thus manipulating the information to ensure it is consistent with their own ideology to draw consensus from the people. Therefore, when the dominant ideology is being challenged, the media will be used to legitimize the action of the ruling elites, and at the same time, de-legitimise the opposition. This is how the powerful dominant group influences the news reports in newspapers through their ownership. This can be seen when both newspapers invariably place the blame on protesters, the Bersih Committee members and leaders of opposition parties while the authorities such as the police always appear as the protector of the people even though they fire tear gas and water cannon to control the crowd. This is especially obvious in the news reports in *Utusan Malaysia*.

Furthermore, other negative reports in de-legitimising of the Bersih 3.0 demonstration is by painting the co-chairman, Ambiga in a negative light, painting her as an incapable leader and inept in keeping her promise to ensure a peaceful assembly. The Bar Council, an independent body, was also painted in a dim light.

In addition, Bersih 3.0 demonstration and the protesters were depicted as being manipulated by the opposition parties when both newspapers portrayed the opposition leaders as exploiting the situation for political mileage rather than championing for fair and clean election. News that are related to the objective of fighting for fair and clean election is extremely limited.

Just as Rucker (2012:54) had pointed out that almost all of the knowledge in this world reflects the ruling interest, it is obvious that the content analysis shows that the media provided a very skewed portrayal of the source and actors of the Bersih 3.0 demonstration, legitimizing the authorities and delegitimizing the organizers, participants and even the Bar Council.

Since the content analysis only provides a general view of what is portrayed in the news about Bersih 3.0 demonstration, the textual analysis further investigates the language and words that carry certain ideological parameters in portraying four actors such as Bersih 3.0 demonstration, the Bersih Committee, leaders of the opposition party and protesters. These four actors are studied in depth to examine how the media legitimizes or delegitimizes them in the news headlines and the text.

Headlines and news text in *Utusan Malaysia* and *The Star* labeled the demonstration as harmful to economy, illegal, dirty, violent, unlawful, uncivilized, deception, and conspiracy. For example, headlines like *"Pemandu Teksi Rugi RM5.4j Jika Bersih Diteruskan"* [Taxi Driver Lose RM5.4j If Bersih Continues]; *"Bersih 3.0: Agensi Pelancongan Terjejas"* [Bersih 3.0: Travel Agency Affected]; *"Bersih mahu lemahkan Negara"* [Bersih Wants to Weaken the Country]; *"Demonstrasi halal untuk guling kerajaan"* [Illegal demonstration want to topple the government]; *"Malaysia boleh jadi seperti negara Arab Dr. M"* [Dr M: Malaysia can be as Arab Country]; *"Bersih, Umat Islam patut malu"* [Bersih, the Shame of Muslim]; *"Bersih 3.0 titik hitam sejarah politik Negara"* [Bersih 3.0 Dirty Mark of the Political History in the State]; *"RapidKL Wants Compensation for Losses Incurred Due to Rally"*; *"Big Mess after Bersih"*; *"Rally just an excuse to smear Barisan"* and *"Rally hijacked by politician, say BN reps"*.

Similarly, both newspapers headlines also tend to portray the Bersih Committee, especially the co-chairman of Bersih 3.0 demonstration involved in a conspiracy, deception and therefore she was unfit to lead the movement. For instance, *"Apa Muslihat Penganjur? Mohd Jurit"* [What is the deception of the organizer, Mohd. Jurit]; *"Majoriti belia ditipu penganjur"* [Majority of the youth have been tricked by the organiser]; *"Ambiga tidak matang pertikai SPR"* [Ambiga is not mature to dispute SPR]; *"Penganjur Bersih 3.0 perlu dilucutkan kerakyatan"* [Bersih 3.0 organiser should have her citizenship removed]; *"Jangan bersekongkol dengan pejuang keadilan"* [Do Not Conspire with the Ruthlessness Fighter]; *"NGO terus desak KDN bertindak ke atas Ketua Pembangkang, Ambiga"* [NGO force KDN to take action against the opposition leader, Ambiga]; *"Organisers failed to keep their promise, says IGP"* and *"Ambiga not fit to lead, says senior PAS leader"*.

In portraying the opposition parties, similar words were used in portraying the leader of opposition parties especially Anwar and Azmin alluding that there were hidden ideology that the

opposition had planned to create a riot in order to achieve their political objectives. This is shown by the following *Utusan Malaysia* headline, “Anwar mahu cetus suasana revolusi” [Anwar wants to ignite revolution spark]; “Pembongkaran Anwar, Azmin dilondeh wartawan” [Anwar and Azmin lie is revealed by the journalists]; “Strategi Guna Kanak-kanak Gagal” [The Strategy to Use Children Exploited]; “Rakyat Jangan Mudah Diperalat” [Citizen do not be Easily Manipulated]; “Anwar Patut Digelar Pemberontak” [Anwar should be granted the name of insurgent]; “Pembangkang sengaja mengambil kesempatan” [Opposition taking opportunity]; “Anwar hilang selepas arah merusuh” [Anwar disappears after directing the crowd to break in] and “Nik Aziz tidak sayang Negara” [Nik Aziz did not love the country].

Additionally, protesters were portrayed in the *Utusan Malaysia* and *The Star* headlines as violent and trouble maker that turned the peaceful assembly into chaos when they disobeyed the court order and rushed into the Dataran Merdeka, “Polis buru perusuh Bersih 3.0” [Police arrest Bersih 3.0 trouble maker]; and “They (protesters) would not stop hitting me (TV Videographer)”. With these labels on Bersih 3.0 demonstration, Bersih Committee, opposition parties and protesters we see as trouble makers, and as a result the more essential point of reform, change for clean and fair election gets lost in the flow of news because the news were defined by authorities and the newspapers closely linked to the ruling parties.

To further garner consensus of the readers, *Utusan Malaysia* news not only emphasized the Bersih 3.0 demonstration as unlawful, uncivilized, but also an attempt to destroy the Islamic country and tarnish the image of country. The religious and the national interest/security ideology were used to delegitimize Bersih as a movement that demands and champion for a fair and clean election.

“Demonstrasi Bersih 3.0 yang dianggapnya sebagai perlakuan tidak bertamadun kerana sanggup membelakangkan undang-undang dan mencederakan pasukan keselamatan.”

[Translation]: Bersih 3.0 demonstration is an uncivilized act as it has violated the laws and cause harm to the security force.

(“5,000 hadir Makan,” 2012)

“Ini racun Yahudi yang hendak merosakkan umat Islam dan Negara Islam sebagaimana mereka lakukan di Mesir, Libya, Afghanistan dan sekarang jarum mereka tujukan kepada Malaysia”.

[Translation]: Jewish poison is used to destroy Muslim and Islamic country like what they have done in Mesir, Libya, Afghanistan and now they target on Malaysia.]

(“Jangan Bersekongkol dengan,” 2012)

“Demonstrasi jalanan yang bertukar menjadi rusuhan ganas itu adalah tindakan yang tidak bertanggungjawab dan langsung tidak berkaitan dengan tuntutan mereka seperti pilihan raya yang bersih”.



[Translation]: Street demonstration that turns to violent riot is irresponsible action and it does not relate to the demand such as fight for clean election.]

(“Anwar mahu cetus,” 2012)

Similarly, *The Star* also delegitimizes the objectives of Bersih by linking the movement with dirty politics of the opposition parties to topple the government, which has nothing to do with fair and clean election.

“Bersih is just the opposition excuse to threaten, condemn and smear the image of Barisan National, said MCA president Datuk Seri Dr Chua Soi Lek”

(Chua, 2012)

“...nothing to do with pushing for polls reforms and was purely an opposition play to convince foreign powers that Malaysia was run by a dictatorship”

(“Barisan leaders take,” 2012)

Besides this, newspapers also disregarded the protester’s perspectives by labeling them as illegal, unlawful, impolite as well as troublemaker in the text itself. The newspapers highlighted their intention in creating chaos and sensationalized the violence act of protesters by portraying the protesters as causing damage to properties, threatening public safety and destroying the image of the country internationally.

“Para peserta Bersih 3.0 pada perhimpunan di ibu Negara kelmarin telah mengakibatkan keadaan menjadi tidak tenteram dan mengancam keselamatan orang awam”.

[Translation]: Participant of Bersih 3.0 demonstration who participated in the rally yesterday caused unrest and threatens public safety.]

(“NGO, Pemuda BN,” 2012)

“Peserta perhimpunan haram itu yang sebenarnya melanggar perintah mahkamah untuk tidak berhimpun di Dataran Merdeka dan bertindak melulu.”

[Translation]: Illegal demonstration protesters have violated the court orders in not to gather at Dataran Merdeka and acting restlessly.

(“NGO terus desak”, 2012)

“Mestipun golongan berkenaan menerima pendidikan tinggi, namun jiwa mereka jelas kosong dan miskin...kerana sanggup bertindak luar batasan sehingga mencederakan anggota keselamatan”

[Translation]: Although the group has high education, yet obviously their mental are empty and poor...as willing to act restlessly that caused physical hurt to the security personnel.

(“Mereka miskin jiwa”, 2012)

Apart from that, both newspapers also attempted to defend the authorities by blaming the protesters for being the first to enter Dataran Merdeka despite being prohibited by the Court Magistrate, hence, prompting the authorities to take stern action against them. In other words, the news had legitimized the authorities' action against the protesters including the release of tear gas and water cannon. From the authorities' perspective, the protesters should be blamed for entering Dataran Merdeka despite the government's prohibition. Therefore, the protesters should pay the price for what they did at the demonstration notwithstanding what they were championing.

"Peserta perhimpunan itu yang terlebih dahulu memulakan provokasi dengan merusuh dan merempuh sekatan serta melanggar perintah mahkamah untuk memasuki Dataran Merdeka."

"Tindakan agresif para peserta tersebut menyebabkan pihak berkuasa terpaksa mengambil tindakan sewajarnya dengan menggunakan meriam air dan melepaskan gas pemedih mata bagi mengelakkan insiden yang lebih buruk."

[Translation]: Protesters of the rally started the provocation first by rushing and breaking through the barricade and also violated the magistrate court order by entering Dataran Merdeka.

[Translation]: The aggressive act of protesters forced the authorities to take action against them by releasing tear gas and water cannon to avoid far worse incident.

(Wan Noorhayati and Ilah, 2012)

Additionally, the news had sensationalized the violent acts of protesters who were highlighted as irrational with acts like overturning police vehicle, throwing hard objects at the police vehicle and repeatedly beating up the police. It had painted an image of protesters as cold-blooded and lacking humanity and violent against the police and journalists:

"Mereka bertindak menendang sebuah motosikal anggota trafik yang bertugas, lebih mengejutkan, selepas anggota terbabit terjatuh dan ada pula sanggup menendang kepalanya."

[Translation]: They not only knock down the motorbike of the on duty police, but surprisingly when the policeman fall down, some of the protesters started to kick him in his head.]

(*"Mereka miskin jiwa,"* 2012)

"Saya bantu polis itu kerana memikirkan dia manusia biasa yang ada keluarga dan tidak mahu kejadian lebih buruk (mati) menimpa dirinya."

"Tidak kiralah perbezaan ideologi, polis, media atau orang awam, adakah sebagai manusia rasional dan diberi akal, kita nak biarkan kejadian seperti itu berlaku di depan mata?"

[Translation]: I had helped the police because he is an ordinary human being who has a family, and I do not wish for a far worse fate for him (death).



[Translation]: Regardless of ideological differences between the police, media or the public, is it rational for an individual with given intellect, to allow such incident to happen in front of our eyes?

(“Selamatkan anggota polis,” 2012)

The Star journalist also interviewed the members of the police force and the journalists who were attacked by angry protesters. The conversation is reported in the following text.

“I began to panic when the crowd turned unruly, as I was the only one in the car; I was worried for my safety. Some of the objects thrown caused the front window to crack. I could barely see anything”

(“Injured cops: I,” 2012)

I tried to push the demonstrators aside to stop them from attacking the policeman but they pulled me away and started beating me,” said Mohd Azri (Al-hijrah Journalist), adding that he was still wearing his crash helmet at the time. They thought I was an ally of the policeman. I was merely a sympathetic human being.

(“They would not,” 2012)

Bersih committee is responsible for planning and organising the Bersih 3.0 demonstration. In other words, they play a crucial role before and after the demonstration, thus it should be taken into account as an important source for any news concerning the demonstration. However, there is a lack of news from the Bersih committee, instead, the news were taken from the authorities’ point of view in evaluating the identity of Bersih demonstration. Among the Bersih committee, Ambiga who is the co-chairman in Bersih 3.0 demonstration was highly covered by both mainstream media; but most of the news articles painted her negatively by portraying her as the cause of violence and depicted her resorting to trickery.

“Penganjur perhimpunan haram Bersih 3.0 yang mencetuskan huru-hara di ibu Negara minggu lalu harus dikenakan tindakan tegas termasuk dilucutkan kerakyatan mereka.”

[Translation]: Illegal Bersih 3.0 organiser that created chaos should be taken stern actions including having their citizenship revoked.

(“Penganjur Bersih 3.0,” 2012)

Ambiga memperbodoh-bodohkan orang Melayu kerana tujuannya hanyalah semata-mata politik.

[Translation]: Ambiga make fool of Malay as her objective is just simply about politics.

(“Jangan Bersekongkol dengan”, 2012)

Additionally, both newspapers also negate her credibility in leading up Bersih 3.0 demonstration by highlighting on her personal characteristic as chairman of LGBT which contradict with the Islamic principle.

“Ambiga sama sekali tidak layak mengetuai apa-apa disebabkan beliau sudah dikotori najis kekufuran apatah lagi pejuangnya dalam perhimpunan tersebut hanyalah daripada suara minority masyarakat dalam Negara sahaja.”

[Translation]: Ambiga is unfit to lead anything because she have been smudged by filth of blasphemy, let alone her fight in the demonstration which only represent a minority in the country.

(Juani Munir and Norhidayu, 2012)

“Adalah haram bagi umat Islam daripada terlibat di dalam sebarang majlis atau program diketuai seorang pejuang LGBT kerana seks songsang merupakan perbuatan jijik lagi hina di sisi Islam.”

[Translation]: It's forbidden for Muslims to participate in any program that is led by an LGBT leader because same sex relationship in disgusting and despicable in the eyes of Islam.

(“Jangan bersekongkol dengan,” 2012)

“there is fatwa against homosexuality, saying that homosexuals are not even fit to be dined with. If we follow the fatwa, then yes, Ambiga should definitely not lead the Bersih 2.0 movement or the demonstration (Bersih 3.0)...It is better for PAS to lead it instead of someone who supports the LGBT cause”

(Regina, 2012)

Furthermore, there were also claims of rejection for organising the Bersih 3.0 demonstration in other venues by the organiser is related to Bersih co-chairman Ambiga's trickery. *Utusan Malaysia* delivered a report which shows Ambiga had purposely created provocations during the demonstration and that the demonstration is not related to her claim to fight for fair and clean election. This also implied that Ambiga should take the full responsibility when the demonstration turns unruly.

“Kita tidak menolak kemungkinan pihak penganjur Bersih 3.0 itu sememangnya dari awal-awal lagi telah berniat mencetuskan kekacauan serta huru-hara.”

[Translation]: We do not rule out on the possibility of Bersih 3.0 organiser had planned with intention to trigger chaos and riot.

(“Majoriti belia ditipu,” 2012)

“Apa muslihat penganjur sehingga mereka bertindak menolak lokasi alternatif yang memudahkan orang ramai ini?”

[Translation]: What conspiracy does the organiser have to reject the alternative venue that could ease public access?

("Apa muslihat penganjur?", 2012)

On the other hand, the participation of opposition parties has strengthened the power of Bersih 3.0 demonstration; it should be good news to the protesters who fully support the movement. However, the participation of opposition parties have been portrayed as planned action to achieve their own political interest especially when Anwar and Azmin were suspected for instigating the participants into breaking through the police barricade at Dataran Merdeka. Although Anwar and Azmin denied it by explaining that the hand gesture pointing to Azmin was to ask him to negotiate with the police nearby in dispersing the crowd, however, more news reported that there was a hidden ideology claiming that they had planned early in creating the riot, in order to achieve their political mileage. The text showing below once again has de-legitimized the objective of Bersih 3.0 demonstration in demanding for electoral reform by linking it with the political trick.

"Rakyat Negara ini perlu lebih rasional agar tidak terus diperbodoh dan diperlalatkan pemimpin pembangkang yang tergamak menghalalkan demonstrasi ganas demi kepentingan tertentu dan cita-cita mereka untuk merebut kuasa."

[Translation]: The people of the country need to be more rasional to avoid continue besotted and manipulated by the opposition leaders who attempted to legalise the violent demonstration, in order to achieve certain interest and their aims in toppling the government.

(Radhuan, 2012)

"Datuk Seri Anwar Ibrahim untuk menjatuhkan kerajaan dengan memperalatkan kanak-kanak dan golongan muda menerusi demonstrasi perhimpunan haram Bersih 3.0 Sabtu lalu, gagal mencapai matlamatnya"

[Translation]: Datuk Seri Anwar Ibrahim's plan in toppling the government with the manipulation of children and young people through the illegal Bersih 3.0 demonstration has failed.

("Strategi guna kanak-kanak", 2012)

"Anwar juga berniat mencetuskan kemarahan rakyat dan menimbulkan suasana bergolak seperti revolusi yang berlaku di beberapa Negara Arab."

[Anwar intends to provoke outrage and provoked a revolutionary upheaval as happened in Arab countries.]

("Anwar mahu cetus", 2012)

"The opposition should not fool the people with claims that elections in the country are not clean or fair, says Datuk Seri Najib Tun Razak."

(Sharon and Zora, 2012, April 29)

"Some non-governmental organisations had been manipulated by the opposition to take part on Bersih 3.0, he (Chua Soi Lek) said he hoped the people could see the Opposition's true colours"

("Rally just an", 2012)

News stories reported that Anwar and Azmin ran away to disclaim their responsibility when things got out of hand.

“Anwar tidak layak lagi jadi ketua pembangkang, malah dia patut dilabelkan sebagai ketua pemberontak kerana sanggup melakukan apa sahaja untuk mencapai cita-cita peribadinya menjadi perdana menteri.”

[Translation]: Anwar is not fit to be the leader of opposition instead he should be labeled as a rebel leader because he willing to do anything in achieving his dream to be Prime Minister.

(“Anwar patut digelar,” 2012)

“itulah modus operandi biasa Anwar, dia menghasut penduduk dan kemudian dia akan lari supaya orang tidak boleh menuduh beliau”

[Translation]: That was tactic often used by Anwar, he instigated the citizens and ran away to prevent others from accusing him.

(Nazmil, 2012)

Datuk Seri Anwar Ibrahim and Azmin Ali probably decided to disclaim their responsibility for the chaos of Bersih 3.0 after they saw the aftermath and violence carried out by the protesters.

(Chai, 2012)

In general, it shows that more than half of the news spaces were given to the authorities, while a little space were only given to the likes of Bersih committee, protesters and opposition parties which is problematic as stated in The News Manual (2008) that a professional resource for journalist and the media, news reported should be fast, fair and accurate. Fairness here refers to allow diverse sources and different people to have equal chances to express themselves.

This points us to the ownership and control of the media can cause media representation to generally favour the side of elite or at least gives respectful representation to the ruling party. In other words, the elite can always use media to reinforce their dominant views and reduce of the opposition who tend to challenge their power. When it is found to be inconsistent with the view of those in power, the powerful ruling will use the media to control to manipulate the opinions to get it consistent with ruling interest. It will help them gain consensus and support to their hard line approach to the Bersih Committee, the protesters and the opposition leaders. Ideologically, the newspapers have linked this demonstration as a conspiracy against Islam, and to the elected government. In this context, the ruling idea in the ruling class champions the benefit and interest of the populace and the others were not. The media did not only fail in providing fair and balance representations but it also promoted the ideology that is defined by the authorities and the ruling elites.

Hence the media are involved in the practice of define reality. It re-present and reproduces the ideology of the owners and ruling elite. Hence instead of functioning as a watchdog in ensuring transparency and good governance; it becomes the platform for the state to influence the media in its six roles as patron, censor, actor, the masseur, the ideologue and the conspirator (Sparks, 1986:77).

Conclusion

Meier (2002:298) pertinently points out that the media had a double relation to democracy. It can be a powerful democratizing force especially with the emergence of a global information society. However it can also destroy the very public space of dialogue they open up by trivializing and personalizing political issues. This is exactly what *Utusan Malaysia* and *The Star* had done in reporting Bersih 3.0 by trivializing and personalizing political issues. The demands for a clean and fair election was trivialized to incapable leadership of the Bersih Committee, trouble maker protesters, opportunist opposition. So many reports highlighted personalities such as Ambiga, Anwar and Azmin and questioned their capabilities and motives instead of the main issue at hand which was the demand for a clean and fair election.

Mass media act as important link of the public and the government. It plays an important role in forming public opinion as well as functions as the watchdog by monitoring the politicians, government agencies and other authorities, exposing the mismanagement or corruption, the abuse of power and to hold the government accountable and transparency (Armin, 2010:15). It is clear that the media in Malaysia is not free from control. The ownership and legislation control have oppressed the media journalists making them incapable of carrying out their watchdog's role. News media inadvertently is politically and ideologically biased.

It has been pointed by Loh (2009) and Rucker (2012) that free and responsible media is vital in shaping a democracy country. A democratic society involves the participation of people in monitoring and ensuring a transparent and accountable government. Democratic media depends on the free flow of accurate, responsible and trustworthy information where the citizens have access to the information and they are able to appraise it, and engage in public discussion about the important issues. It is fundamental to have freedom of information that allows the citizenry to make any informed decision without distorted or bias information.

In short, this study not only looks at what is portrayed in the media but more pertinently whose view is represented in the media and whose view defines the event and reality. In the case of the Bersih 3.0, the definers of news are the authorities in the positive light as defenders of the people, religion and national security.

The control of the media and the news that are portrayed on an important event and issue highlights a need for the democratization of every major sphere of life, including access of information and free expression and assembly in the country. The freedom of press is not just getting free information, but it is about the developing a media that is constantly engaged with the public in providing information and space for the citizenry to express. That is lacking in the Malaysian media in the case of its portrayal on Bersih 3.0 demonstration. The recently launched of Bersih 4.0 on 29th and 30th of August 2015 in demanding for the designation of Prime Minister Najib Razak against the corruption was also proven that the practice of media freedom and democracy in Malaysia are still curbed and there is a long journey towards democracy.

Hence, this study emphasizes that there is a need to have free media and free information to ensure a vibrant democracy. Without reforms such as revision and repealing of the existing media laws, ownership structures that hinder participation and access to life and information, Malaysia can

only have limited democracy. Based on this, it is fair to state in any society the rights to freedom of expression, for assembly and free access of information is fundamental.

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Youtube, the Next TV Generation:

Netnography Studies of Commentary Box Features in Youtube

(Video D'Academy 2 "*Konser Final 3 Besar*", X-Factors, AXIS ad Iritology No. 36, Mata Najwa Episode "*Pejabat Pemburu Rente, 'Setya Novanto Versus Sudirman Said'*")

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Abstract

Youtube occupying the fourth position in the ranking of social media which the most accessible in the world. Recorded 100 million accessed with an average duration of 17 minutes per visit for each video, or 20 million internet users as a whole in every month. Achievement of this phenomenal obtained because YouTube is able to accept new video content every minute for 24 hours, equivalent to 140.000 per week in Hollywood movie, or exceeds 2 billion views per day (Net Ratings-Nielsen in Biel & Perez, 2014). This potential is read by broadcast media industry who tempted to share digital data within two minutes that can be enjoyed all over the world without restrictions of space and time. YouTube phenomenon that could attract millions of visitors in seconds for one show is an impact on the number of advertisers who fill the slot. YouTube strength in dyeing patterns of media consumption encourages unique collaboration between broadcast media with social media. How did this collaboration in the future? Will YouTube can compete with the broadcast media? Therefore, the authors apply the theory of Computer-mediated Communication (CMC) in collaboration with netnography method from cybernetics tradition. Qualitative-descriptive study is expected to determine the future of YouTube from interpretive view through analysis features commentary box Video D'Academy 2 "*Konser Final 3 Besar*", X-Factors, AXIS ad Iritology No. 36, Mata Najwa Episode "*Pejabat Pemburu Rente: Setya Novanto versus Sudirman Said*". This research is also expected to obtain potential of YouTube in the future and can mapping the needs of YouTube users as a contribution to other media that into consideration in integrating with YouTube, or even make their own change.

Keywords: Computer-mediated Communication, YouTube, Box Commentary, Views.

1. Introduction

YouTube became the most popular online video site in the world, with a record of 4 billion users per video and a total of 72 hours of video uploaded per minute. It's achievement in becoming the "Primadona" amongst the viewers also participated in beating cable TV with users aged between 18 years to 34 years (YouTube Insights: Quarterly Stats, Trends and Insights on Video from YouTube and Google, 2014). All this achievement cannot be separated from a variety of features integrated in it, which made it possible to alter the behavior of its users. It is this potential that is read by professionals which makes YouTube a medium to promote products or services.

YouTube's potential in becoming a magnet for the viewers was read by professionals. As a result, practitioners have put YouTube as the second platform for their programs originating from mass media broadcasts, especially television. Despite being the second platform, YouTube was able to minimize a 2-minute difference in time of the premiere on television. Robbins, owner of one YouTube channel called "AwesomenessTV", was able to prove YouTube's superiority by gaining popularity very quickly and beating the same genre program that appeared on television stations and cable TV. "Awesomeness TV" has got 54 million registered customers who watch their 88,000 videos or 1 billion views per month (Gillette, 2014).

YouTube itself is a video site that provides a variety of informations, including reliable 'moving images'. This site is provided for those who want to search and watch video informations directly. We can also participate in commenting and giving our views towards contents that exist in YouTube. It's a very interesting phenomenon, especially when each of the community of the world plays a role and participate in commenting and interacting without any coercion or influence of others without any limit, because the commentary box provided in YouTube has unlimited space for interactions.

By doing so, YouTube collaborates mass media with interactive media. As we understand that the nature of the mass media is always one direction, YouTube allows interactivity. YouTube's existence presents a new force that can color the pattern of media consumption which encourages unique collaboration between broadcast media and social media. This collaboration combines each impression as the mass media are essentially one-way, but with the features including comments, views and "like" button, ultimately YouTube became an interactive media that tend to be bidirectional or commonly called the media 2.0.

But the question is, will it be possible for YouTube to be a projection of television in the future? What are the features that can enable audience interactivity? And how those features can be adopted by the television in the future?

In answering the research questions above, the researcher should conduct this research. The goal is to determine and project whether the YouTube Media could be the future of television, and then define and describe the features of YouTube that supports the audience's interactivity. Finally, to find out, the characteristics of those features and likely to be adopted by the TV of the future.

2. Literature Review

2.1 Youtube is 2.0 Network Technology

In today's era of media convergence, the technology becomes the means chosen to spread anything. The presence of new media enables more and more media options that can be used, such as blogs and other social medias. Being the community's favorite place to channel their aspirations, the Social Media for sharing videos is YouTube. In YouTube, people can freely upload videos or images that are recorded using a camera or personal mobile phone. This is due to the reason that the video can be enjoyed not only by themselves but also the wider community, in this case the YouTube audience.

YouTube was found in February 14, 2005 by Steve Chen, Chad Hurley, Jawed Karim. The three of them are former employees of paypal. Since November 2006, YouTube was purchased by Google. Until 2015, Youtube's active subscribers has reached more than a billion (YouTube Statistics). This suggests that one in two people who access the Internet visit YouTube. YouTube, has also been named the biggest-generated content sites by Nielsen Worldwide (Adweek, 2007).

In Indonesia, YouTube is the fourth most visited website of internet users (www.alexa.com). Each month YouTube's follower continues to increase by 40 565 people (www.socialbaker.com). YouTube's success reached its peak in 2012, the video 'Gangnam Style' hosted by PSY from South Korea, was viewed by one billion people from around the world. Due to that, YouTube issued a statement expressing gratitude to all the users.

"From filmmakers in the garage until the popular musicians' candidate, and fans who continue to be loyal to watch and share videos to the planet, thank you for making YouTube be what it is today. You've really made something special." This is because the video uploaded can bring huge profits for YouTube, especially from advertisers. Thus indirectly, YouTube managed to monopolize the site or website that contains a collection of videos.

YouTube is a medium that can upload videos for free and can be shared online. Additionally, YouTube is also considered as a social media, media whose content is created and distributed through social interaction (Straubhaar, 2012). Meanwhile, according to Patricia G. Lange (2007), YouTube is a public video sharing site, and people can experience varying degrees of engagement with videos, ranging from simply "Looking up" to sharing videos maintaining social relationships. YouTube can also be used as a medium of entertainment, news, music, song, the latest information about the world, and movies. Even on YouTube, we can also reveal our creativity, such as video singing, dancing, and so forth. This video can then be watched by many people, and could get their response in the comment column that is available on YouTube. Many interesting features to offer, which increases the number of their loyal users.

The Journalism Project for Excellence from the Pew Research Center in January 2011 to March 2012 indicated the increasingly popular YouTube site is used as a source of news. For example, a video of the tsunami in Japan was watched 96 million times up to seven days after the event. Pew said that what people watch in the video became a new form of journalism image, because most who recorded are ordinary people caught up in the disaster situation. Thus, this becomes a mean of professional digital journalism mixed with news presented by the layman (m.voa.indonesia.com).

This makes YouTube's success continue to show an upward trend and become the latest in the world. So if you want to upload and download video, YouTube's the place. The new media that

have the same role with the old television media, namely audio and visual display images. In fact, the current television media are utilizing YouTube as a place to promote the program, or even broadcast on YouTube with live streaming.

The era of convergence, the integration of the mass media, computer, and telecommunications make various platforms such as text, images, audio, and video can be easily accessed or "sharing resources" (Straubhaar, 2012). Media organizations benefit from this convergence era as the source of the data and information needed can be obtained anywhere and anytime. Basically the cultural and social conditions of the people which originated from the needs of society and technology confirms the requirements. Similarly, the presence of YouTube plays a role in helping people who have a need to share via video.

Old media such as newspapers, TV, and magazines are undergoing digitalization by following the development of new media which are Unstoppable (Pacey, 2000). Seen from the newly formed medium to convey messages, such as Kompas which made kompas.com, detik.com online news station, Metro TV that provides live streaming through its website, and others. When the old media limit their interaction with their audience, new media would open maximum interaction with the audience. Usually they do this through the forum on the website. This interactivity value is the selling value offered by the new media in reaching more and more consumers.

If you look at the model of the communication of Wilbur Schramm, the source - message - channel - receiver, interactivity process is a process of delivering a message from the source to the receiver, then get feedback from the receiver, and the process is repeated continuously. For example, the show Indonesian Idol, the TV show ratings shot up because of the many consumers who tweeted, and the singers became an idol not only in Indonesia but in other countries because of the video circulating on YouTube. In fact, the artist of the song sung by idol do respond to the quality of the singing idol through twitter or YouTube.

It is seen that traditional media such as TV, do not want to miss the new media phenomenon. They add a new media lifestyle into the show to make it positive. There is a community term 'spoiling survivor' i.e. community that always follow the development of a program, maybe television shows, and find info about the artist of the event. The nature of this community is temporary, and volunteers with the awareness of his own struggle to get any information about his idol in the TV show (Jenkins, 2006: 57). For example, the reality show program X Factor, which features various unique singers, and a lot of fans who download their videos on YouTube singing and spread it through social media to the artist for the respond. This occurred as Fatin who sang 'Painfull' Bruno Mars, got her an immediate response from the original singer.

This phenomenon is formed because of the ease and generosity offered by the new media. They do not need to spend a lot of money to form a community. They just need an internet-based technology, and then interact with other users who have an interest in the same things.

With YouTube's presence, in addition to new opportunities for the actors in the video to be a star, there are opportunities for -entrepreneurship, which to become the producer of YouTube. Thus, it takes readiness for anyone who is involved in making the video to understand matters relating to economics, law, marketing, and management to one day meet the creative talent (Straubhaar, 2012).

In addition, currently YouTube is not just a media that distributes video, but also a medium that is able to reconstruct the contents of popular culture. For example, a video featuring unique music stream and not in the conventional media such as radio or television, and then the video gets comments from the viewers who either support or not (Consalvo, 2011: 419). Communities often develop a new genre, preferring YouTube as early distribution media (Fahs, 2008: xvi). Because for them, YouTube is a friendly media and is accessible by anyone, making it an appropriate medium to test the market. In this case YouTube also serves as an online distributor. (Straubhaar, 2012: 260).

Feature of mass communication that distinguishes new media to old media is the interactivity process, particularly in the social media (social networking). Interactivity is the ability for recipient to choose the news they want, answer back, to exchange information and connect with other recipients directly, flexibility of form, content, and usage (McQuail, 1987: 16). This Value is what makes anyone tempted to use it, including the television media practitioners.

All of this stems from digitization, which then extends its impact in the use of technology. By using technology that has been transformed from analog to digital code, which also provides benefits to users, such as the number of channels. Thus, the user is treated specially. The impact of this digitization is that it cover aspects such as that disclosed (Pacey, 2000) that is technical, cultural, and organizations which relate to each other.

2.2 Television as Media Broadcast

For broadcast media, television is a medium that is very effective because of the content of the information provided in the form of pictures or visual TV is much greater than other medias, such as print media and radio. Discussions on the rapid delivery of pictures through the electromagnetic wave has begun from the 19th century, and the advancement surprise everyone, because it was quicker than expected but now even become a window to the world.

By utilizing satellite technology, at this time, the television can be displayed or published anywhere, at home, on television and even television in any electronic gadgets. Then, in addition to satellite television, cable television is also produced which is equipped with digital technology, leaving the outdated analog technology behind. Currently, television technology can already be combined with the Internet, thus becoming internet television or digital television, which also means that television broadcasting no longer needs the Internet network. Digital television has more advanced technology specifically for mobile television. If the analog television for mobile does not really produce a good picture, the digital television has a very good quality although they are still dependent on the internet signal for smooth broadcast.

2.3 Computer Mediated Communication (CMC)

2.3.1 Perspectives CMC

View of Computer Mediated Communication (CMC) explains that all forms of communication activity is mediated by digital technology. However, communication through the Internet which are

included in the digital technology is not entirely categorized as CMC. It became a reference point that must be remembered in particular to all activities that occur within virtual region. To reinforce this distinction, CMC emphasizes the concept of communication, not information or entertainment. Specifically, browsing activities on the World Wide Web or downloading information becomes part of Web activity 1.0 (the first technology of the internet), but not included in the CMC. Next generation technology known as Web 2.0 has supported the emergence of interactivity in the interaction between one individual with another individual, either person to person or the mass to the mass, to share text, sound and images.

On the other hand, the explanation helped to explain that CMC brings the concept of interactivity. However, it is not a guarantee that two-way communication always brings interactivity. CMC believes the presence of other concepts that also characterizes the CMC, among them interchangeably. Besides that, Rafaeli also adds an element of connectivity and reactivity as a marker of CMC. That is, all activities that occur within virtual region must meet the elements of interactivity, interchangeably, connectivity and reactivity. Interactivity explains that the interaction between the user is active by presenting a visual variation on the screen (either with or without audio) as "essential products" if the visual appears in the eyes of users (Bjarnason, Winter, 2014). "Interchangeably" concept found various forms of text, sound and images that can be exchanged by the user, although it is difficult to detect the source of the media being exchanged. Diverse media can be exchanged in the process of interaction between users depending on the quality of connectivity to the Internet network. Furthermore, the exchange interaction of various texts via Internet connectivity raises reactivity (response) between consumer (Holmes, 2009).

To meet the needs of this study, the researchers set element of interactivity, interchangeably and reactivity. Researchers believe, these three concepts is able to answer the problems that form the basis of this study.

2.3.2 Computer-mediated Communication

CMC terminology is described as a computer-mediated communication. This terminology is explained also by the December (1997), that CMC is a process of human communication through a computer that involves the audience, situated in certain contexts, in which the process of utilizing the media for a particular purpose. In terms of communication mediated by technology, technology is meant here is not as understanding technology in general. In CMC, the technology is more specific and technically technology that is designed, made, used to enable the exchange of data and information (Thurlow et al., 2004: 19). Cantoni and Tardini (2006: 43) defines CMC as interpersonal interactions that occur through the computer. Marc Smith (1995) describe some aspects of communication in the cyber world. First, it is explained that the communication or interaction in the cyber world and does not require the existence of similarity between users (aspatial) while cyber media interaction function through cyber media is still there. Means that the interaction does not necessarily occur in the same time, sender and receiver do not have to be in the same location as was the case in two-way communication, either face to face or through media such as the telephone. But that does not mean the content or environment interaction was limited by time. Content and the environment is always "live" and is present anytime.

Secondly, it is explained that in the cyber media interaction can be conditioned in accordance with, for example, the schedule desired by the user when the same space and time are same (synchronous) and can also be different (asynchronous). A simple example to illustrate this condition is "status" in one of the social media, namely Facebook. Status on the wall (wall) in social media is often commented on by other users, as well as the owner of the account. It is this interaction in cyber media that doesn't necessarily need similarity of time and can involve users in any location.

Third, the interaction that occurs in the cyber world occur through the medium of text. The text in its various forms with symbols (icons) became a medium used by the user in communication. Unlike the face-to-face communication where signs such as facial expressions or tone of voice to be decisive in the delivery and top of formreceiving of message, in the cyber world is represented by the expression and intonation of the text (the dyadic expressions).

Fourth, the interaction that occurs does not require the existence of similarities such as the status or level of knowledge (astigmatic). Text communication in cyber world also does not involve the visualization of the user, as in the real world. Social status, rank, position and so forth that make stratification in the classroom in the real society (offline) does not apply in cyber media.

2.4 Youtube Based On CMC'S Framework

Features box commentary on YouTube presents a variety of different sources which affect the CMC, the external context (unity which includes language and municipal), the structure of time in groups (synchronous or asynchronous), the infrastructure of computer systems (speed, number of computers, the capacity for anonymity, user-friendly), the purpose of the use of CMC (orientation importance, usefulness and satisfaction), the characteristics of the group and its members (quantity group, character and level of education of its members) (Baym in Holmes, 2009).

Furthermore, researchers have narrow down aspects that will be applied in analyzing the Youtube site and its consumer. These aspects of which, external context (which includes language and the unity of the city), the infrastructure of computer systems (speed and user-friendliness).

2.5 YouTube and Television

In the current globalization era, social media is an online media that are often used by people to carry out communication activities, either to seek or provide information to other users. One of the media used is YouTube, in the form of audio-visual mass communication. YouTube is not inferior to television, but even more advanced.

On YouTube, we can play back the video we played, not in television. The media strongly influence the audience watching, which is equipped with visual and audio. With a clear picture and sound, it is easier to digest and understand the message delivered by YouTube, and therefore this greatly affects human attitudes and behavior afterwards.

2.6 Framework for Thinking

YouTube became the most popular online video site in the world, with a record of 4 billion users per video and a total of 72 hours of video uploaded per minute. It's achievement in becoming

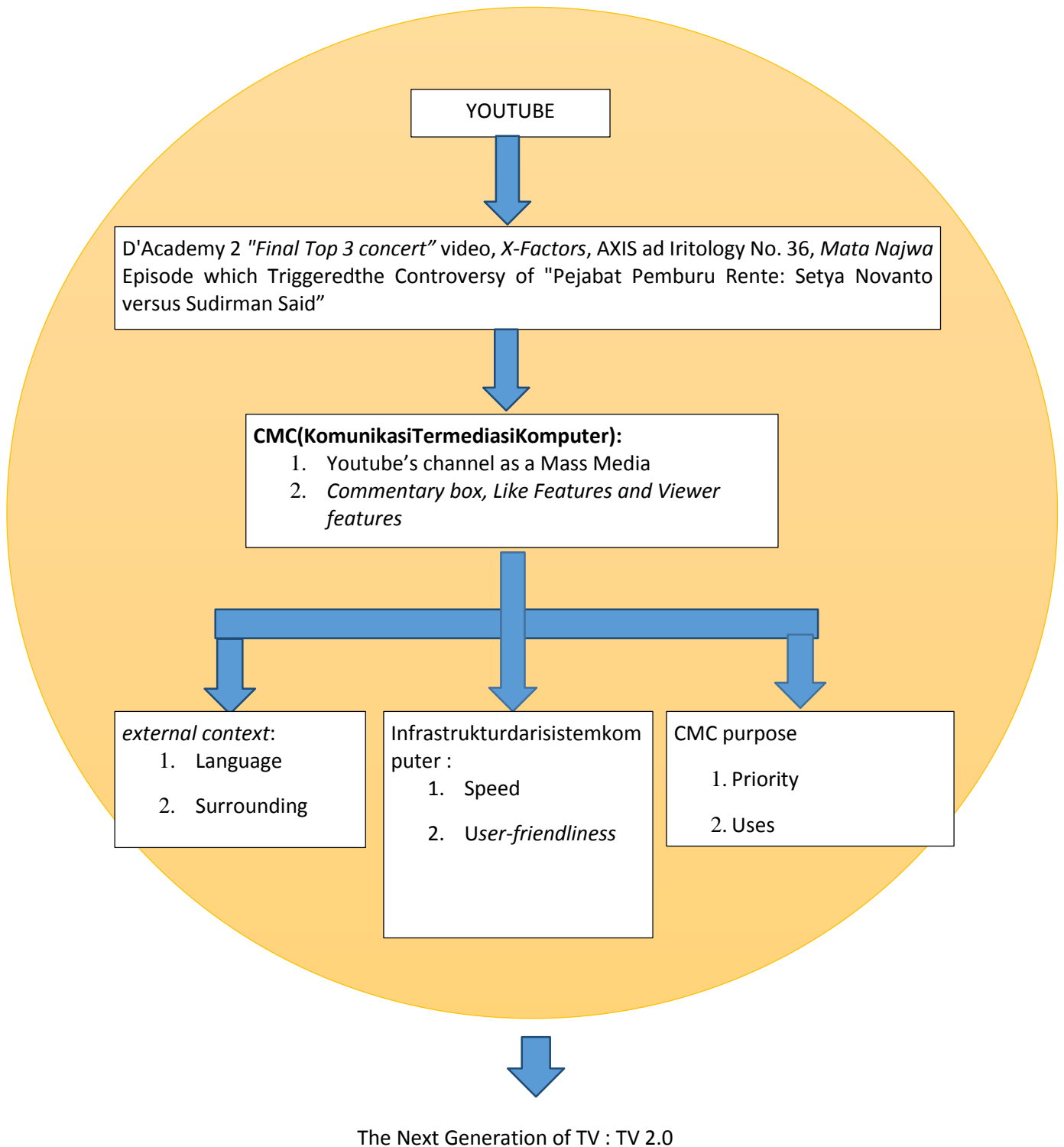
the “Primadona” among the viewers also participated in beating cable TV with users aged between 18 years to 34 years (YouTube Insights: Quarterly Stats, Trends and Insights on Video From YouTube and Google, 2014). The popularity of YouTube can be assumed to beat the popularity of television and other medias in the future. Many television viewers are beginning to switch to YouTube because of its permanent nature. Society can replay what they have seen.

YouTube collaborates mass media with interactive media. As we understand that the nature of the mass media is always one direction, YouTube allows interactivity. YouTube’s existence presents a new force that can color the pattern of media consumption which encourages unique collaboration between broadcast media and social media. This collaboration combines each impression as the mass media are essentially one-way, but with the features including comments, views and "like" button, ultimately YouTube became an interactive media that tend to be bidirectional or commonly called the media 2.0.

Features that enables the interactivity in YouTube can be adopted by future television so that later they can collaborate mass media with interactive media. There are two things that are analyzed in YouTube, first being YouTube’s videos as the mass media. YouTube is a media which conveys the message or information in the form of audiovisual videos, which are then Broadcasted all around the world. The shows that are in YouTube can be seen by viewers in all parts of any country. In this study, only we will focus on three (3) videos of YouTube namely D'Academy 2 "*Final Top 3 concert*" video, *X-Factors*, AXIS ad Iritology No. 36, *Mata Najwa* Episode which Triggered the Controversy of "Pejabat Pemburu Rente: Setya Novanto versus Sudirman Said". Second, researchers will analyze in depth the *Commentary Box*, *viewer feature*, and *Like icons* as an interactive media.

We use the CMC theory (Computer Mediated Communication) to analyze interactivity that is in YouTube. Of the three impressions, researchers will be narrowing down aspects of CMC to be applied in analyzing the Youtube site and its consumer. These aspects include external context (unity which includes language and the city), the infrastructure of computer systems (speed and user-friendliness) and the purpose of the use of CMC (orientation importance, usefulness and satisfaction) (Baym in Holmes, 2009).

Figure 2.1 Framework for Thinking



3. Research Methodology

This chapter will explain the methodology used in this study. Aspects of the methodology includes: the research paradigm, the research approach, the nature of the research, strategy research, data collection methods, the subject of research, data analysis methods, research instruments, criteria for quality research, and the limitations of the study.

3.1 Research Paradigm

This study uses a constructivist paradigm. Constructivist paradigm view social science as a systematic analysis of the actions that results from direct observation of the recipients in a daily setting to be able to understand and interpret how the recipients are concerned to create and manage their social world (Hidayat, 2004: 45). Neuman call this paradigm as an interpretive paradigm, in which the interpretive paradigm is a systematic analysis of any social action observed in the natural human life in order to gain an understanding of how humans create and organize his world (Neuman, 2003: 68).

Constructivism paradigm aims to understand the complex world of life experiences from the perspective of those who live it. A person is seen as a social actor who can give meaning and definition of his situation (Denzin and Lincoln, 1994: 118). This study uses a constructivist paradigm, which looked at YouTube as not just a social media but also one of the latest trends in the virtual world that will be projected to be one of the future of television with its interactive nature.

3.2 Approach and Strategy Research

This study used a qualitative research methodology netnography research strategy. This netnography research stages are similar to the stages of traditional ethnography. Early stage begins with a limitation of the study and make inquiries, selecting an online community, conduct observation participation, followed by analyzing the data and presents the ethnographic report. In terms of substance, the traditional ethnography and netnography are not very much different. In the book *Netnography*, netnography is defined as "a form of ethnography that is adapted to the social world of computer-mediated devices" (Kozinets, 2009: 1). In short, netnography is a method for studying cybernetics space (cyberspace). Netnography has recently been promoted as the only method that is specifically designed to study the culture and online communities (Bowler Jr., 2010). Kozniaks further explain the advantages netnography in studying social interaction online: "... online interactions are valued as a cultural reflection that yields deep human understanding. Like in-person ethnography, netnography is naturalistic, immersive, descriptive, multi-method, adaptable, and focused on context. Used to inform consumer insight, netnography is less intrusive than ethnography or focus groups, and more naturalistic than surveys, quantitative models, and focus groups. Netnography fits well in the frontend stages of innovation, and in the discovery phases of marketing and brand management".

These advantages make the method of observation (often considered the method of "stalking"/lurking), content analysis and text mining that once was used to investigate the activities of online netizens, to become more profound. Because in principle, ethnography and netnography have many similarities. The most fundamental equations of these two methods is equally emphasized the importance of involvement of researchers and the importance of context in the portrayal of the online culture. The difference between these two methods lies in how research is conducted and how the

anthropologist doing research. How to find, record and record, store, analyze and display the cultural representation of online? Searching for data in cyberspace is certainly not the same as field research in a community on the coast of Java, for example. If the ethnographic study, especially the data obtained through in-depth interviews, in netnography the data mainly obtained from the interaction of hypertext netizens.

3.3 Sources and Data Collection Techniques

The data collected in this study are primary data and secondary data. Primary data were obtained from online observation and content analysis of interactions hypertext internet users. Secondary data is general data which supports research, derived from previous studies and netnography books, plus books related to consumer behavior and social media. From the combination of secondary data and primary data will get a comprehensive analysis related to the development trend of YouTube as a projection of the future of interactive television.

3.4 Location and Object Observation Research Online

In this study, because the study aims to map consumer behavior in social media, the object of online research and observations made on some impressions of YouTube which has a high rating, *D'academy 2 "Final Concert Big 3"*, *X-Factors*, Advertising AXIS Iritology No. 36, *Mata Najwa* Episodes "*Pejabat Pemburu Rente: Setya Novanto versus Sudirman Said*".

Online observation will be carried out by directly observing in depth of the hypertext interaction between Internet users who watch YouTube and leave a comment and have conversations actively in commentary box.

Through the commentary box of some channels above, the hope is that the researchers get an overview and in-depth study on YouTube as collaboration of mass media in one direction with the comment feature, viewer and "like" button that can be used as interactive media that tend bidirectional or regular called the television media 2.0.

3.5 Method of Data Collection

3.5.1 Online Observation

Observations online is one of the main data collection techniques in virtual ethnography. In this study, online observation became the method of collecting primary data for the observation. This way, online researchers can witness firsthand how the collaboration between mass media, namely YouTube with "Viewer" features, "like" button and the social interaction of the subject in the virtual world in the commentary box. However, unlike other social media which only allows researchers to observe the elements that do not move like the video in YouTube, the number of viewers and the number of "likes" from each impression, the content and interactivity in the commentary box within YouTube itself allows researchers to move to the subject of activity as in real life. Researchers will pour findings of this observation into the diary ethnography.

3.5.2 Real-time Online Chat

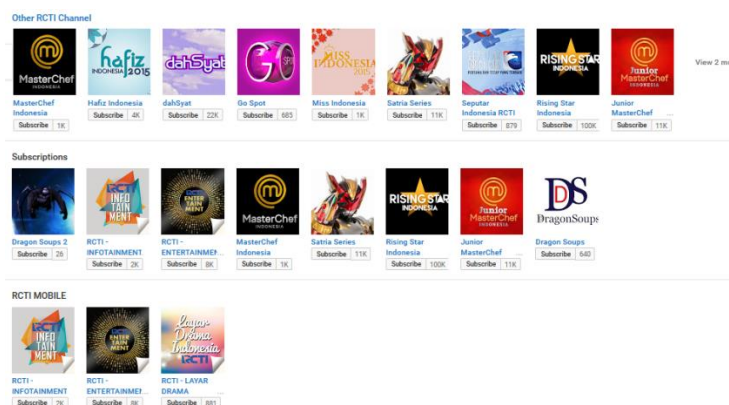
YouTube is possible for fellow viewers to converse directly or real-time. Researchers will utilize the commentary box features to interact with the subject of his research. However, because the “conversation” feature in YouTube can be recorded (unless deactivated/deleted owner account) and to anticipate the open comments (visible to everyone), the researchers will use this method to ask the things that are practical and related to activities undertaken subject at that time only. The essence of this conversation will be recorded in an ethnographydiary.

4.Results

Computer-mediated communication(CMC) is basicallyrepresentedbytext. The textis inthe interactionthatnot only displaysmessages to be delivered, butalsocontainedthe meaningofthe expressionas well asexpressioninface to face communication. The presence ofYouTubeasone of themassmediawhich collaborates a one-waymassmediawiththe comment feature, viewerand"like" buttonthat canbe used asan interactivemediatedbidirectionalor commonly called themedia2.0.



YouTube official channel of RCTI (YCO-RCTI) has been listed since December 9, 2012 and the record number of visitors as much as 57.2 million and 86.708 of them are customers. YCO-RCTI has uploaded 4.240 videos for a period of 3 years. In the "About" menu-tab, YCO- RCTI pinned their Television’s broadcast address.

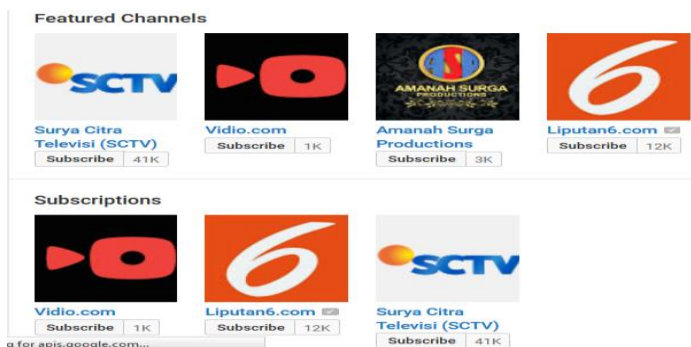


From the channel tab menu, YCO-RCTI divide it into several menus, the menu of other YCO-RCTI channels, subscriptions and mobile of RCTI. In the segment of other channels, YCO-RCTI publish back the country’s creation programs in a variety of channels. In addition, there are several channels from RCTI program who become customers YCO-RCTI. Mobile RCTI last menu consisting of RCTI-Infotainment, RCTI-Entertainment and RCTI-screen drama.



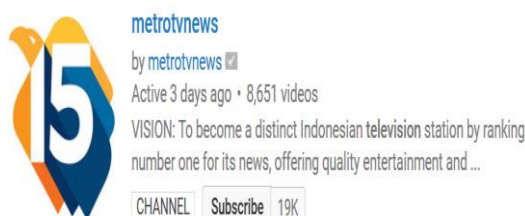
4.1.3 Indosiar

Indosiar's official YouTube Page (YCO-Indo) was presented on September 22, 2013 and 1676 videos have been distributed. YCO-Indo visitors are as much as 16.6 million, while 29.197 of whom are customers. In the "About" menu tab, YCO-Indo pinned their tagline as Indonesia's national television pioneer (A Leading National TV station in Indonesia).

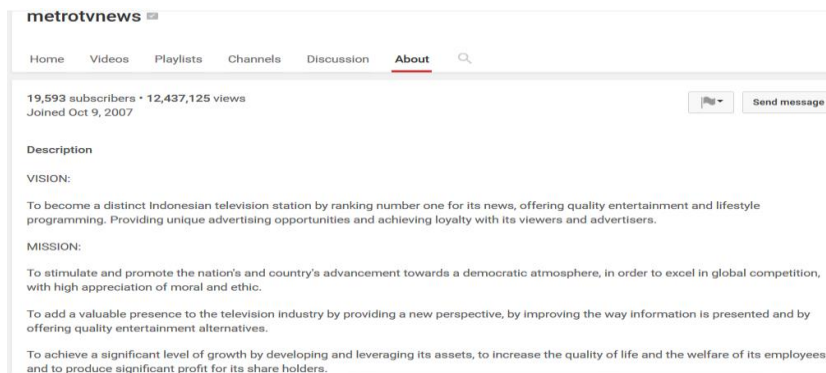


YCO-Indo tab menu is divided into two channels, the channel features and subscriptions. Features channel consist of media companies led by PT Surya Citra Media Tbk (SCMA), among them YCO-SCTV, Video.com, Amanah Heaven Productions and Liputan6.com. Three of the four media companies (except AmanahHeaven Productions) are part of YCO-Indo subscriptions as well. YCO-Indo does not publish other informations on the menu tab "About".

4.1.4 Metro TV



Metro TV News official YouTube Channel (YCO-MTVN) was introduced to YouTube on October 9, 2007. In a period of 8 years, YCO-MTVN able to attract more customers from 19.593 to 12.4 million visitors. In addition, there are 8.651 videos that have been distributed YCO-MTVN through Youtube.



metrotvnews

Home Videos Playlists Channels Discussion **About**

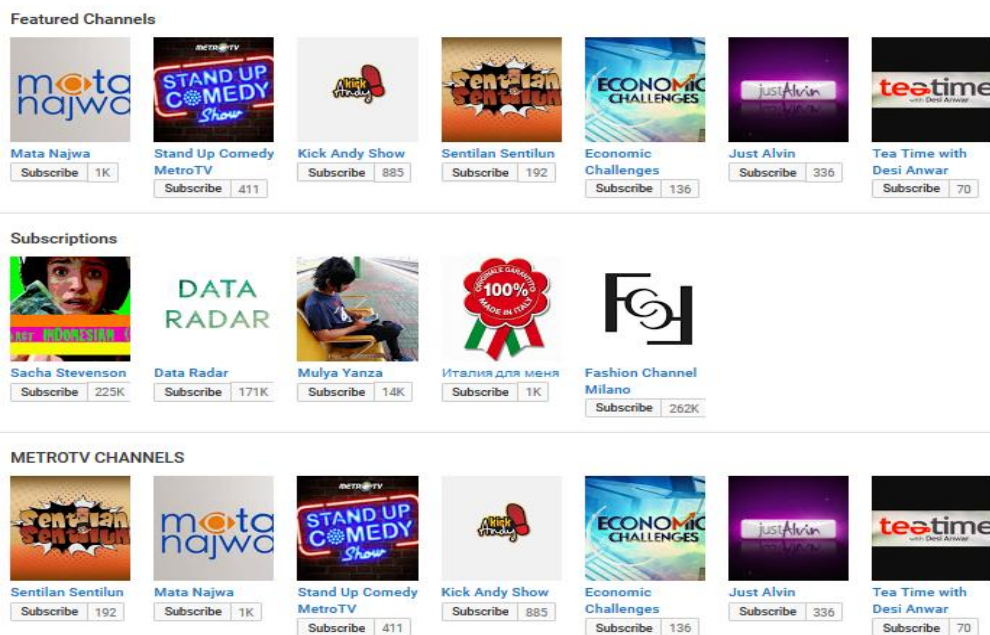
19,593 subscribers · 12,437,125 views
Joined Oct 9, 2007

Description

VISION:
To become a distinct Indonesian television station by ranking number one for its news, offering quality entertainment and lifestyle programming. Providing unique advertising opportunities and achieving loyalty with its viewers and advertisers.

MISSION:
To stimulate and promote the nation's and country's advancement towards a democratic atmosphere, in order to excel in global competition, with high appreciation of moral and ethic.
To add a valuable presence to the television industry by providing a new perspective, by improving the way information is presented and by offering quality entertainment alternatives.
To achieve a significant level of growth by developing and leveraging its assets, to increase the quality of life and the welfare of its employees, and to produce significant profit for its share holders.

On the “About” menu tab, YCO-MTVN pinned their mission and vision comprehensively. While in the channels menu tab, YCO-MTVN 7 channels of their 7 best programs. The interesting part is that there is the subscriptions menu, this menu shows if YCO-MTVN customers does not come from programs sponsored by Metro, including Sacha Stevenson, Data Radar, MulyaYanza, Fashion Channel Milano and channel companies Italy (Италиядляменя).



Featured Channels

- Mata Najwa (Subscribe 1K)
- Stand Up Comedy MetroTV (Subscribe 411)
- Kick Andy Show (Subscribe 885)
- Sentilan Sentilun (Subscribe 192)
- Economic Challenges (Subscribe 136)
- Just Alvin (Subscribe 336)
- Tea Time with Desi Anwar (Subscribe 70)

Subscriptions

- Sacha Stevenson (Subscribe 225K)
- Data Radar (Subscribe 171K)
- Mulya Yanza (Subscribe 14K)
- Италия для меня (Subscribe 1K)
- Fashion Channel Milano (Subscribe 262K)

METROTV CHANNELS

- Sentilan Sentilun (Subscribe 192)
- Mata Najwa (Subscribe 1K)
- Stand Up Comedy MetroTV (Subscribe 411)
- Kick Andy Show (Subscribe 885)
- Economic Challenges (Subscribe 136)
- Just Alvin (Subscribe 336)
- Tea Time with Desi Anwar (Subscribe 70)

4.2 Internal and External Context Context

In the Internal and External Context, there are three main points that need to be addressed. The first are related to the use of language or words in the cyber world, especially in YouTube. The second being the environment, in which the context here is not like in a real world environment, but the cyber world, how context or virtual environment are displayed in the YouTube. Finally, the type of audience. Type of audience here refers to audience or spectators from YouTube, the characteristics of the audiences in the cyber world, especially in YouTube.

4.2.1 Language

The language in the Internet and in the cyber media experiences change, which in the view of David (2001) "Internet language" is the fourth medium after written language (writing), speech language (speaking), and the sign language. There are two terms that can be used to approach the language in the cyber media, in this case YouTube, which is "Netspeak" and "Netlingo".

First, Netspeak are talks which are interpreted as writing. Netspeak occurs when users interact directly (synchronous) as in online chats, or instant messaging (Thurlow, et al). For example, Box Commentary on YouTube which is a feature or an application to have a conversation or chat directly using the mediation of text. Typography text appears in the YouTube comments feature as words, letters and punctuation marks.



The first picture is one of the commentary language in the *Axis* advertisement, and the second picture is one commentary language on *D'Academy*. Various types of abbreviations, acronyms, a combination of letters and numbers, punctuation, capital letters and emoticons are present in each of the show's comments.

Secondly, Netlingo is a text entry which mimics talking. In YouTube, where the communication forms relies on text, it does deviate from the formal usage of language into words as if they were speaking in person. One of the reasons why the language that involves the prerequisite of writing is often violated in cyber media, is due to the fact that cyber media's user seem to not have much time, or because of the influence of the technology itself. For example, if in the standard language we usually use "Sincerely", then in cyber medias it becomes "Hi, Hello".

Associated with the development of language in the cyber world, especially on YouTube from the view of netspeak and netlingo, appears in cyberspace amongst user in Indonesia called "Alay" language. Alay word is not found in KBBI (Indonesian official Dictionary), but are often used and interpreted as a popular word to represent the use to become cool, beautiful, great among the others. Alay language in the virtual space only exist in the form of written or text format instead of verbal language. Alay language in the virtual space, it is hardly possible to be used in everyday conversation. Alay language itself is actually preferred by young children as assessed in accordance with their free

spirit and their willingness to be different from the others (Misandra, and so forth). This language gradually evolved into slang, for the children don't want to be judged as obsolete.

In YouTube, the use of Alay language is more dominant because they are more relaxed, informal, and not too "strict". Even the user of "Alay" words or language claims to be able to express themselves more freely than when using languages in general.

4.2.2 Characteristics Youtube Audience

In the YouTube, there are various characteristics or the type of audience that is found in this study, amongstthem:

1. Active Audience: the audience as a prosumer

User's relations with the media in cyberspace is no longer in an unbalanced position as in the old media. The concept of active audiences, or what Biltereyst&Meers call as "new audiences" (in Wasko et al, 2011: 415-435), that the audience no longer acts as consumers, but they emerged to become a producer or "prosumer". In YouTube, the audience not only be consumers of the shows that are in YouTube, but also a producer who redistributes (sharing activity) every content that they enjoy in their other social media. YouTube in providing a means of "sharing" for each audience for the videos that they watch. Usually if the audience liked the video, they will immediately distribute to all friends in the social media.

2. Visitor (Visitor)

As a visitor, the user visited certain websites based on their interests, depends entirely on the willingness of users, and never leave "traces" of presence on the site. In the YouTube, there are also visitors who see the content that exist in the YouTube. The difference is, in YouTube there is a feature to know the number of viewers who visit and viewing the video. This column or feature on YouTube viewers can determine the rating and enthusiasm of the specific video. Video footage Axis, Iritology.

3. Resident (resident/subscription)

Users consciously spend their online time for social interaction and not just to gather information. The existence of these users can be known because they continues remains to be active participant and the audience of a video show. In YouTube, there are features that are used to determine the Resident users using the subscription feature (subscribers), showing how many of them subscribe to the official account in YouTube. Usually the number of subscribers can be seen on the video-related features in the bottom.



4. Active participant

This is an active participant who constantly gives comments on a specific video. Besides active comments, usually they also reply to comments in the YouTube videos. Usually these active participants do not actually know each other in the real world, but because of similar interest in a show, they actively communicate and interact with each other in YouTube's commentary box features.

5. lurkers (reconnaissance)

The existence of the surveillance is a separate issue to see traces of computer users in mediated communication, because in the commentary box's group discussion, these rangefinders just watch and do not leave traces or messages/responses to videos watched. Scouts are also not doing any interaction with other users.

4.3 Infrastructure Computer Systems (Speed and User-Friendliness)

Speed 4.3.1

<p>Official RCTI by Official RCTI Active 4 days ago</p>	<p>Indosiar by Indosiar Active 1 hour ago</p>	<p>metrotvnews by metrotvnews ✓ Active 4 days ago ·</p>
--	--	--

The above analysis shows the speed of the third official account on top of the television station. Official RCTI to update their channel four days ago. Similarly metrotvnews, which updated their channel 4 days ago. Meanwhile, Indosiar are very active in updating their page, we can see that they updated 1 hour ago. This proves that Indosiar is very active in updating their page as compared to RCTI and INDOSIAR.

If it is measured from the amount of time between shows in YouTube and Television, shows that are uploaded on YouTube has much less time gaps as compared to Television. Based on researchers' experience in watching the four shows, it is proven that the shows uploaded to YouTube are much faster, especially for "live" events such as D'Academy Grand Final in the official account of Indosiar and X-Factor's Grand Final in RCTI. But for programs that usually are not "live" or with a process of "tapping" before they are aired on television, usually it takes much longer after they are aired on television. One example of this is the Mata Najwa show on Metro TV. Because YouTube also allows all users to have an account and upload any video, the show usually are already present on YouTube as they are uploaded by users who watched the show.

Besides those three shows, the most distinct is the Axis advertisement video, which have some few video uploaded before they are aired on television. There are also video impressions shown on YouTube in the same time as the television.

4.3.2 User Friendliness

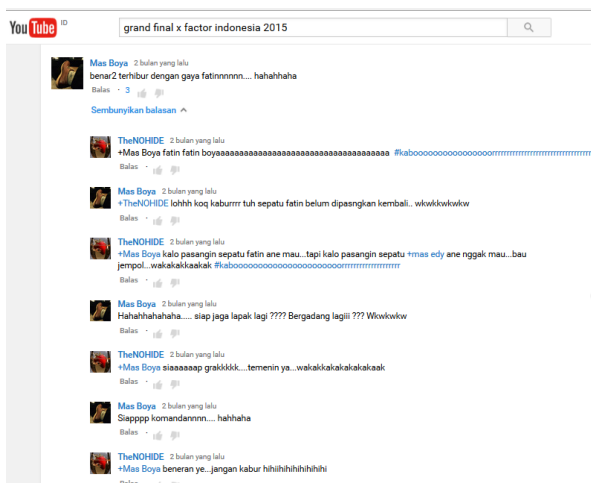
a. User Friendliness of the Axis Iritology advertisement.



From both interactivity seen in the commentary box, there exist interactivity amongst the audience. More people usually reply comments made by fellow audience instead of Axis who did reply to the viewers in their comment box. The content of the comments also is more informal and relaxed. Whereas most of the users do not know each other, they comment on each other and reply comments as though they had known each other. This proves that interactivity in YouTube's Commentary Box are done by people who do not know each other. However, with each comment and replies, even though the audience does not know each other but they can communicate with each other. Here we can see that the Commentary Box are connecting or integrating the audience who do not know each other.

Similarly, Commentary on D'Academy, X Factor and Mata Najwa shows are pretty much the same. Interactivity in the comments field are carried out by viewers who do not know each other but share the same interest.

b. User Friendliness in X Factor Grand Final Video

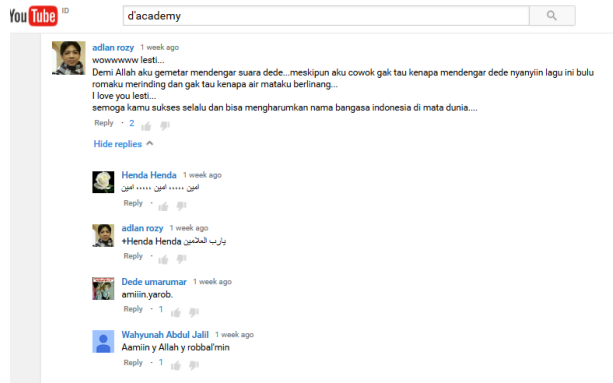


Within two Commentary box, it appears that the comments and reply are also done by audiences who does not know each other. The comments and replies are only associated with the X Factor show, seen by the number of times a reply on the interaction of the commentary box at the first picture. This indicates that the commentary box can connect or integrate the audience through the video show on YouTube.

There is a difference in the second commentary box, where the reply from one of the comments on the show X Factor Grand Final is carried out by Jepeeps community Indonesia, a

community supporting the X-Factor candidate Jebe and Petty. This does not occur only on one comment, but on some few comments to motivate the viewers in supporting the candidates.

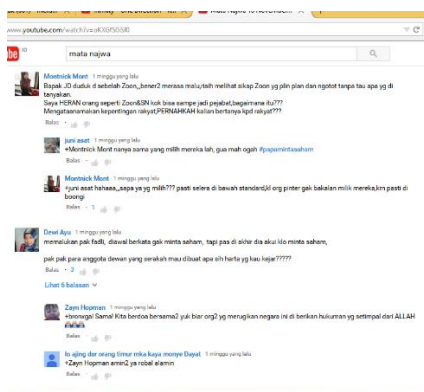
c. User Friendliness on D'Academy Video



Just like the X Factor Grand Final and ad Axis Irotologyvideo, D'Academy video also has shown interactivity in YouTube media by using written text in the form of comments. Then, comment replies are also made by other viewers who watched the show in question. Although the audience did not know each other, but they can be interconnected and integrated because of the similarity shows they watch. This proves that interaction in YouTube media can connect heterogeneous and anonymous audiences (not knowing each other).

Interactions in Youtube are classified as temporary, in contrast to interactions in the real world or face to face communication. Because, usually the interaction of the audience simply reciprocated comments associated with those impressions. At other time or in another show, most likely interactions between the same audience, is unlikely to happen again. This is because the content of the interaction are only in regard to any existing display. Unless the audience is fixed (subscription) and is an active participant, most likely they will always make comments or simply echo the comments of other videos.

d. User Friendliness at Mata Najwa impressions Episodes "The interest Hunters officials, Novanto versus Sudirman Said"



Interactivity in Mata Najwa video Episode "The official interest Hunters, Novanto versus Sudirman Said" was to make a high level of audience interactivity. Many of the comments in the commentary box assess the case Novanto and Sudirman Said. In the Commentary Box, there are a lot of comments which shows disappointment and resentment against one of the speakers who strongly defended Novanto. Interactivity seen here shows more support for Sudirman Said to put Novanto behind bars.

This video proves that shows with "Hot" issues such as political economies triggers a lot of comments and replies amongst the audiences. Though the audience did not know each other, the show connects them. They seemed bound together in that episode. From those three YouTube videos, it can be concluded that the interaction and interrelation of the user or audience proves that, first, communication or interaction in the cyber world does not require anyone to interact in it, no matter if the audience knows each other, but the common interests and the video they watched connects them together.

Second, the interaction is done in the Commentary Box are usually dependent on the videos concerned. For example, Mata Najwa's episode "The official interest Hunters, Novanto versus Sudirman Said" has a high level of interactivity in the comments column. This indicates that the interaction in YouTube depends on the content of the video displayed.

Thirdly, interaction in Commentary Box does not require the characteristics of the audience, all of them using informal language and words (everyday language) so it does not require the existence of similarities such as the status or level of knowledge (astigmatic).

Fourth, the interaction that occurs in the cyber world takes place through the medium of text. Comments written in text form involves various symbols and text to shape vary. In the cyber world, expression and intonation of the audience comments are represented by text (the dyadic expressions). Simple text and usage of everyday language helps the audience to understand and appreciate each other, triggering the integration and bond with each other.

4.4 Interest, Usage and Satisfaction in Using YouTube

1. Replaying Activity

Aside from the Audiovisual source for their audience, a feature which makes YouTube stand out from other Mass Media are the possibility for the audience to play back the video they like. Even if viewers miss their favorite shows to watch on television, they can always watch the repeated videos on YouTube. Because YouTube presents space to store videos uploaded in YouTube. That way, the audience can easily replay their favorite video many times.

2. Features "Skip Ad"

Most hated activity in YouTube is the presence of "Ads". Audience would usually skip the ads in television. In YouTube, there's the "Skip Ad" feature which can provide freedom for the audience to watch more ads or skip commercials that will air (Skip Ad) after the count of five. With no advertising or "Skip Ad" in the video we watch, we can maximize our watching time without advertising, which saves time.

3. Freedom to Choose Content/Videos We Watch

There are many YouTube videos that can be chosen freely without scheduled as in Television. Viewers can choose which they want to watch and which they don't. This option certainly makes the audience more satisfied because they can watch only their favorite shows.

4. Flexibility in Watching Impressions

The most important feature in YouTube is the Flexibility to watch videos. YouTube can be watched anywhere and anytime, with no limits of Distance and Time. Spectators can watch videos any time without having to follow any schedule. If in the television, they are tied only to a fixed schedule of the concerned Television Station. Meanwhile, YouTube allows viewers to replay the videos, which certainly gives flexibility to the audience to watch anytime. Then, associated with the limited distance or space, YouTube allows all viewers to access this media anywhere. Because the YouTube Media is one of the virtual world media so the audience can access them from anywhere using an electronic gadget that is connected to the internet signal.

5. Conclusion

This study suggests that in YouTube, three convergencies of Media applies, namely in terms of technology, economy, and culture. Looking ahead, it is possible that there will be an official consolidation between television and YouTube, which is a process in which the media industry merges to one another to form an even larger media industry. Then, the future development of television media will also lead to the television model 2.0 by adopting the features that exist in the YouTube media. Because, YouTube is a role model that combines a one-way mass media with interactive media through the Commentary Box feature. Based on these results, it proves that this time people began to move into new media as compared to conventional media. Evidently, many people are switching from television to YouTube.

Features that allow interactivity in YouTube will most likely be adopted by the television media of the future. The features include YouTube's Commentary box, viewers feature and "like" icon. By Using the CMC concept, we obtain proof based on the Internal and External Contexts, that there exists active participants in this research known as the "New Audience" concept. Media audiences has the Producers + Consumers (Prosumen) characteristic, Visitor (Visitor), Resident (Fixed or subscription) and lurkers/stalkers (Scouts). All types of these audiences will bring more color to our future television.

YouTube audiences who will be the future television viewers will indeed be more likely to use the language commonly used in daily life, but is different for all interactivity through a text box that is sent to the media commentary on YouTube. The language used by the YouTube audience are also very expressive, because it enables audience to use language that is more "Relaxed", Not standardized, and based on how they want. When viewed from the concept of user friendliness, the actual audience in YouTube does not know each other, but the interactions that occur between them shows that they are bound by the show they watch. Thus, interaction in Commentary Box enables the audience to be more connected and integrated with each other because of the similarity of interest or enjoyment of a video or show.

Lastly, one thing which makes it possible for YouTube to become future television is the profit that can be obtained from the features of YouTube itself. Advantages that can be obtained from YouTube includes replaying Activity (replaying the video that are uploaded), the "Skip Ad" feature, the freedom in choosing the video we want to watch, and the last and the main thing is we can watch these movies anywhere and anytime without limitation of time and space. With the features that allow interactivity and the advantages derived from digital-based media such as YouTube, the projection of future television will lead to future collaboration between the one-way mass media with interactive media like YouTube. This study contributes to a concept called television 2.0 which will color the future of society.

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**Socialization of Media Literacy through
the Development of Information Technology for Parents in Indonesia
(Studies in Two Private Elementary Schools in Jakarta)**

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Abstract

Transformation in information and communication technology changes very quickly. Various kinds of new innovations make it easy to access information. In this globalization era, advances in ICT are important. With the ICT, information can be accessed easily and rapidly, that ICT development is difficult to control. Negative impacts of these developments are, people now is easy to access pornography. And a culture of plagiarism is increasingly, also rampant fraud through online transactions. One of the things that should be notice is online games more intense lately. And has become a worrisome thing as happened in the USA when an 8-year-old boy shot his grandmother due to follow online games known as the GTA. Here the role of parents becomes very necessary to be able to guide the children to be directed to use ICT in a positive way. The parents must understand the impact of the development of ICT in order to steer their children. This study conducted on parents in two private elementary schools in Jakarta.

Keywords: socialization, media literacy, Information, communication and technology

Introduction

The era of globalization has a strong influence in all aspects of life in society, one of which is a communication technology. When you look back 20 years ago, the news can be read from newspapers or television media with not coincide. In contrast to today, where the public can see an event in person and at the same time the incident is reported through various media. It is also one of the impact of developments in science and technology (science and technology). Where the purpose of the development of science and technology is to help people to be more advanced, efficient and effective.

As a developing country, Indonesia has been following the progress of various fields advancement, one of which advances in information technology. In the current era of globalization, advances in technology led to changes in the field of information and communication technology, or better known as ICT. Therefore, ICT make help a person can quickly get information easily. The progress of ICT has become very important for everyone to learn if they want to keep up with the information because with the ICT, information can be accessed easily and quickly. Each news can be easily reported and public can be informed more quickly.

Even in 2012, the advancement in the field of ICT has been use and has lead to success in the political field as when President Jokowi won the election of the Governor of Jakarta at the time. Jokowi-Ahok team was successful team when they uses ICT sophistication with intensive disseminate the vision and programs, attract new voters, against the various issues raised in the real forum, and others. Information and Communication Technology (ICT), which physically in the form of mobile phones and computers and information content (Internet) as the spirit, which are connected via a cable or the wireless, it has entered into various domains of life. The development of ICT has been very rapid, and have a great impact on individuals, businesses and governments. ICT reduce distance constraints due to physical, psychological distance, and economic distance; allows people to communicate and contribute information and ideas freely around the world in an instant (www.bappenas.go.id/blog/indeks-kesiapan-berjejaring-indonesia-2012).

Indirectly, progress in the field of ICT is a difficult thing and almost inevitable. The existence of a wide range of innovations that emerge in line with advances in ICT provides a lot of convenience for someone. Such as the sophistication of ICT is currently one will more quickly get information about events that occurred at the same time from various corners of the world. In addition to progress in the field of ICT is one can more easily obtain and access the information needed. Even in the field of education, learning systems in e-learning is more and more. Can easily communicate without being limited by distance with very low with the technology on mobile phones, such as skype, facetime, facebook, twitter, yahoo and others. Also the ease in conducting business transactions.

But it is inevitable also accompanying impact, various kinds of illegal things like pornography can also be obtained through the mass media who use the internet. This is what should be observed because of the bad impact of technological development is considered very influential to the younger generation. The existence of this new phenomenon raises cultural shift has transferred human habits that usually meet in real world turning to the virtual world. Progress in information technology makes people entered the new communications revolution. Various kinds of things can be changed from the start point of view, lifestyle and culture that already exists. It is become difficult to filter out the information that comes with this quickly so that little by little have affected patterns of behavior and culture in the society, especially the younger generation.

This has led to the emergence of moral decline among citizens, especially among children and students. It could even make seseorang become addictive, especially those involving pornography and able to spend money because of the addiction only to serve. Developments in the field of information and communication technology is contributing to changes in a person's behavior patterns, especially young people and children today who receives information from these media. Examples of changes in patterns of behavior that can dilihat by naked eye, among others, their lifestyle. For example they do impersonation of being idolized figures (based on the information they get from the media), such as in terms of their appearance. Such as dress, stylish hairstyle to the way they behave idol.

Another impact caused by the sophistication of information and communication technologies is also the behaviors that deviate from social norms or cultural values. In addition, the development of information and communication media very rapidly can be enjoyed easily lead people tend to think

practically. As the next generation, the children must be protected from the negative impact of ICT sophistication.

A wide range of negative impacts that often occurs in children is the loss of social skills. Technology is able to poison and cause opium to users, like psychotropic substances. Psychotropic substances known to relieve depression and lead to a calming effect for some time, but secretly psychotropic substances capable of damaging the user's body and cause opium. Similarly, technology.

Children who experience addiction to technology in general only spend time at home to play computer and rarely left the house to socialize. Of course this is very dangerous and capable of making children who are addicted to technology becomes difficult fused with the values, norms and social structures in the community. One of the phenomena associated with the negative impact that this one is a hikikomori phenomenon in Japan, where the youth of Japan to withdraw from social relationships and prefers to shut himself in the house. There are many factors that lead to the emergence of the phenomenon of hikikomori, one of which is the craze Japanese teens will be games and gadgets.

Decreased desire to learn that affect the learning achievement due to the effects of the opiate of the game played by children. Addicted to playing computer suspected to trigger the children become lazy writing / writing skills decline, drawing or social activities

In terms of health, too much use of IT equipment such as laptops and gadgets also give adverse impact on the health problems of the eyes and back. Usually, children love to 'consume' games that feature elements such as violence and aggression. Many education experts warn that violence and aggression flavorful games are trigger aggressive behaviors and sadistic child. And has become a worrisome thing as happened in the USA an 8-year-old boy shot his grandmother due to follow the game online games known as the GTA (Grand Thief Auto).

Another example, as reported by the National Commission on Children Education statement stating as much as 62.7 percent of teenagers in Indonesia never committed relationship like husband and wife. Supported data from the BKKBN which states that 51 percent of teens have had sex free (jpnn.com). In addition, drug use in adolescence aged 12-21 years in 2013 estimated at around 14,000 people from the number of teenagers in Indonesia about 70 million people (kompas.com). Supported by the data BNN that from 2003 to 2010 there was an increase of 300 percent drug transactions. This problem does not include fighting between students, murder, and other negative cases among the youth. Allegedly, the mass media is one of the causes of this is the case.

Several times the media also often preach about the minors who were abducted and raped by a man who had met through social networking sites. We also often hear the news of a child who died when imitating stunt she saw on television. It is certainly causing concern in the community. Angapan can arise in society that the media has now become something dangerous.

To prevent cases and assumptions as above so it will need for media literacy or commonly known as a layman "media literacy". It is really important, but often overlooked when we are

reviewing a medium. The number of cases like the above is a sign that the level of media literacy in Indonesian society is still very low.

This study is an important movement among clusters advocacy in developed countries to control the interests and influence of communication and information media in the lives of individuals, families and communities as well as helping us to design actions in dealing with the influence of the mass media. In other words, this study helps individuals become media literate.

The basic aim of media literacy is to teach the public and the media to analyze the message conveyed by the media of communication and information, consider commercial purposes and the politics behind an image or media messages, and examine who is responsible for the message or idea implied by the message or image that someone media users who have media literacy or media literacy would seek to react and judge things media messages with full awareness and responsibility. Media literacy studies provide knowledge, information and statistics about the media and culture, as well as provide media users with a set of tools to think critically against the idea, product or image disampaikan and sold by the mass media content.

Childhood is a time to play. Children still learn and play because that's the way of life and their way of enjoying life. However, despite that, the role of parents is also very influential to consider the impact it will have on children for what they used to play. Here the role of parents becomes very necessary to be able to guide the children to be directed to use ICT in a positive way.

Within the framework showed concern for the future generation, then one of the things that can be done by parents is to know what is called media literacy. Where are the parents in this era of globalization required to be more concerned and aware of the information and communication technologies, for the sake of their children as the next generation. Various kinds of things that can be done by parents, for example by searching for information through various media available, such as via the Internet.

From interviews with officials in the KPI (Indonesian Broadcasting Commission) researchers found that the government in this case the Ministry of Communications and Information has held a media literacy focus on parents and children alike. So is the KPI. And researchers found that non-government organizations ICTWatch or also known as Internet Sehat already conducting media literacy to children and parents. Some of the things to do is to create brochures, leaflets, booklets, campaigns through the website and the internet. Even doing counseling at several elementary schools in South Tangerang. Based on the above explanation, the authors were interested in doing research on "Socialization of media literacy through the development of information technology for parents in Indonesia"

Research Problem

One of the things that can make a person or society at large and small in scope to be "aware" of the problem or the problem is something that is happening is through socialization. This study is based on the anxiety that occurs among parents who have children on the impact of technological advances and information. For that we need a preventive of parents who are familiar with the advancement of

technology and this information. Here are needed for socialization media literacy, particularly regarding the development of information technology.

Research Objective

This study aimed to get an overview of information about the socialization of media literacy on the development of information technology.

Significance of Research

This research is expected to have theoretical significance, academic, practical, social and methodological as follows:

E.1. Theoretically expected results of this research into an information about the socialization of media literacy to parents regarding the development of information technology.

E.2 Academically, the expected results of this research is useful for the development of courses in the field of communications, particularly public relations.

E.3 In practical terms, this research is expected to be a reference for related parties include:

a. For parents; is expected to be a reference to develop a better role and right, or even adopting the same thing in performing its role as an agent of socialization

b. For the government, expected to be input to contribute to the dissemination of media literacy in the face of the development of information and communication technology.

E.4 Socially

We hope this research benefit the community, raise awareness among parents to make media literacy by actively seeking informasimengenai it.

E.5 In Methodological

Get the expected results of this study developed for advanced research using approaches and other methods.

Limitations of the Study

This study is only done to the parents who have children in two private elementary school in Jakarta. This caused the limited time and funds owned by the researcher.

Here are the benefits of communication technology development according to Bovee and Thill (2002: 390):

1. Improve communication flow with technology, information flows faster from more sources.
2. Facilitate communication. individuals and organizations will be easier to communicate due to technology. Technology able to narrow or even eliminate distance and time difference.
3. Changing the structure of communication. The organizational structure undergone many changes as a result of communication technology. Communicate with your boss and co-workers do not need

to be done at one location in a formal meeting. Communication can occur between people who were in the office with other people who were in the field, on the go or at home.

4. Lowering the cost of communication. Technology makes it easy to manufacture and distribution of information. Easily manufactured and distributed will result in reduced communication costs.

Alavi and Gallupe (2003) found some purpose utilization of information technology, namely

- (1) Improving competitive positioning
- (2) Improve brand image
- (3) Improve the quality of teaching and teachers

Socialization is a process by which individuals acquire the knowledge, language, social skills, and value to conform to the norms and roles required for integration into a group or community. It is a combination of both self-imposed (because the individual wants to conform) and externally-imposed rules, and the expectations of the others. In an organizational setting, socialization refers to the process through which a new employee 'learns the ropes,' by becoming sensitive to the formal and informal power structure and the explicit and implicit rules of behavior.

Socialization is a process of planting or transfer customs or values and rules from one generation to another in a group or community. A number of sociologists call socialization as a theory about the role (role theory). Because in the process of socialization taught the roles that must be carried out by individuals. The socialization process will run smoothly if the messages conveyed by the agents of socialization that does not contradict or should support each other. However, in the community, socialization undertaken by private individuals in a conflict situation as confused by the different socialization agents.

Fuller and Jacobs translated by Kamanto Sunarto in his book "Introduction to Sociology" identifies four main socialization agents, namely:

a) Family

At the beginning of human life socialization agents usually consists of parents and siblings. On the people who know the family system wide (extended family) could socialization agents were more numerous and includes also grandma, grandpa, uncle, aunt, and so on. The first agent of socialization significance lies in the importance of skills taught at this stage. To be able to interact with significant others at this stage of a baby learn to communicate not only through sight and hearing, but also through other senses, especially physical touch.

b) Friends Playing

After starting to be able to travel, a child in order to obtain the other socializing. Playmates, both consisting of relatives and neighbors and schoolmates. At this stage the child enters the game stage

(stage ready to act) learn the rules that govern those messages whose position equals. In group play also the child begins to learn the values of justice.

c) School

The following agents of socialization within the community who has known is the formal education system. Here someone to learn things that have not been learned in the family or group play. Formal education prepared him for mastery of new roles in the future, at a time when a person no longer dependent on their parents.

d) The mass media

Light, Keller and Calhoun argued that the mass media consists of print media (newspapers, magazines) and electronic (radio, television, movies, internet) is a form of communication that reach large numbers of people. The mass media was identified as an agent of socialization that influenced the behavior of the audience. Improved technology allows improving the quality of the message as well as the frequency of application of any community members an opportunity for the media to act as an important agent of socialization (Sunarto, 26-28).

One theory used in this research is the theory of interpersonal communication, which since the beginning of life of every human being can not stand alone. Humans are one always needs to establish another human life. Of relationships that need each human being has the emblems messages to exchange information among each other. Humans also can not be separated from the relationship among humans, because humans have a place ke1uarga born, reared and bred. The family is the place where people live that can not be separated from the community where the family resides.

The importance of the relationship between human beings proposed by Klinger (1977) who said that the relationship with the other man turned out to influence the man himself. Humans depend on other people because other people are also trying to influence through the understanding given, information is shared, and the spirit donated. Everything is shaping knowledge, reinforce feelings, and affirming human behavior.

Yet many experts finally found all the pressure in the inter-personal communication ultimately towards the perspective of the situation. Perspective of the situation according to Miller and Steinberg (in Liliweri, 1991) is the situation of a perspective that emphasizes that the success or failure of interpersonal communication is very highly dependent on the communication situation, referring to the face-to-face between two individuals or a small percentage of individuals relying on a force immediately to each other approaching one another at that time.

Based on the opinion of Miller and Steinberg above, the notch communicator can be alternated with the communicant at an advanced stage should create an atmosphere of human relationships involved. At this stage, the communication between individuals must be humane, so that individuals who do not know each other less than the communication quality of interpersonal communication between parties who already know each other beforehand. Interpersonal communication from those who know each other more qualified because each party gain a better understanding of the intricacies of life of others, thoughts, feelings, and respond tingkal behavior. The conclusion that if you want to create an inter-personal communication quality it must be preceded by a familiarity.

Interpersonal communication (interpersonal communication) is communication between individuals (Littlejohn, 1999). Special forms of interpersonal communication is communication dyadic involving only two people in face-to-face, which allows each participant capture reactions of others directly, either verbal or nonverbal, such as husband and wife, two colleagues, two close friends, a teacher with his students, and so on.

Interpersonal communication potential of functioning of instrumentation as a tool to influence or persuade others, because we can use our five senses tools to enhance persuasiveness message we communicate to the communicant us. As communication is the most complete and the most perfect, interpersonal communication plays an important role until whenever, as long as people still have emotions. Face-to-face communication in reality it makes humans feel more familiar with each other, in contrast to communication through the mass media such as newspapers, television, or through technology tercanggihpun.

Some definitions of interpersonal communication are as follows:

1. Proses sending and receiving messages between two people or among a small group of people, with some effects and some instant feedback (DeVito in Effendi: 2003)
2. The process of exchanging meaning between people (Pearson: 1982)
3. Communication which is usually associated with a meeting between two people or three people or four people that may occur in a very spontaneous and unstructured (Barnlund in Liliwari: 1991).

The development of the mass media grew in line with technological developments. Where as one of the elements of culture, technology and culture influence each other. Technology is always evolving over time. In an age of globalization, technological advances, especially in information technology is indispensable to people's lives. With the advances in information technology will affect the culture of our nation's youth. Globalization has brought advances in information technology and change some of the culture that we already have.

The younger generation are groups of people who are particularly vulnerable to the influence of foreign culture, so in building a social culture, especially the young generation, the necessary preparation, so that they can take positive benefits and fend off the negative impact of globalization of the world that was developing this. As well as the hope of the nation that the foundation will continue the development in all fields, the young generation should be provided as early as possible with knowledge about the way of taking the positive benefits of advances in information technology are developing rapidly and exponentially.

Don Tapscott in his book entitled "Growing Up Digital: The Rise of the Net Generation" (1998), considers the emergence of the Internet as a public space which offer a blessing to the realization of everyone's participation. The Internet has become a virtual space to build communities that are considered democratic or a cyberdemocracy. He also highlighted the revival of a new generation known as the 'net generation' with the habits and character of its own.

The Net Generation has entered the culture of today's young generation, and positive and negative impacts. Following the negative impact of the information technology:



- Rapid flow of information and telecommunications give rise to a tendency that leads to waning indigenous cultural values of our nation.
- Reduces can even eliminate bonding and morale is usually close in the social relations between people. Examples: social networking site that many emerging makes people have a need to meet in person.
- The weakness of the authority of traditions that exist in society, such as the erosion of the attitude of welcoming, cooperation and courtesy are influenced by western culture, such as changes to the way they dress, the use of mixed-interfering foreign language (the language is also one of the nation's culture), as well as free association.
- Too emphasis on the fulfillment of various material desires, has led some citizens to be "rich in material but poor in spirit".
- The pattern of human interaction has changed. The presence of computers in most households upper middle class have changed the pattern of family interaction. Computers connected to the phone has opened up the opportunity for anyone to get in touch with the outside world. Program internet relay chat (IRC), the Internet, and e-mail have made people preoccupied with her own life. Besides the availability of a variety of internet cafes (cafe) has been given an opportunity to many people who do not have their own computer and internet channels to communicate with others via the Internet. Now more and more people are spending time alone with a computer. Program through internet relay chat (IRC) kids can be chatting with friends and strangers anytime.
- Use of certain information and certain sites that are on the internet that could be misused particular party for a specific purpose.

With the information technology also had a positive impact on the culture of the younger generation, namely:

- Faster obtain information that is accurate and up to date on any part of the world via the internet.
- Can communicate with friends, family and very much simply through available technology.
- Provide a lot of convenience, as well as a new way to human activity. In the field of technology people can enjoy many benefits brought by innovations that have resulted in these technologies.
- Through technology, we can preserve the culture of Indonesia to the eyes of the world.
- Save time and money in doing various activities.

Media literacy is the ability to use various media to access, analyze and produce information for various purposes in everyday life. Someone will be influenced by the media that is around in the form of television, film, radio, recorded music, newspapers and magazines. From the media it was coupled with the Internet even now also accessible via mobile phone.

Media literacy is the ability to understand, analyze, and deconstruct media images. The ability to do this is intended to allow viewers as consumers of media (including children) become aware (literacy) about the way the media is constructed (created) and accessible.

Media literacy appeared and started frequently discussed because the media is often considered to be the source of truth, and on the other hand, not many know that the media has the intellectual power in public and become a medium for interested parties to monopolize meaning will be thrown to the public. Because the media workers are free to reconstruct the hard facts in the context of the

public interest (*pro bono publico*) and is part of the freedom of the press (freedom of the press) responsibility for an outcome reconstruction of the facts is in the hands of journalists, which is supposed to be neutral and not be influenced by emotion and opinion will be a resource, rather than a resource.

McCannon defines media literacy as the ability to effectively and efficiently understand and use mass communication (Strasburger & Wilson, 2002). Another expert James W. Potter (2005) defines media literacy as a device perspective in which we are actively empower ourselves in interpreting the messages we receive and how to anticipate them.

To understand more deeply the definition of media literacy should be understood that there are seven main elements in it. The main elements in media literacy (Silverblatt, 1995) is as follows:

- 1) An awareness of the impact of media on individuals and society
- 2) An understanding of mass communication processes
- 3) Development of strategies used to analyze and discuss media messages
- 4) An awareness of the contents of the media as a 'text' which provides insight and knowledge into the contemporary human culture and man himself
- 5) Increased enjoyment, understanding and appreciation of media content.

Based on the definition and main elements of media literacy that we can classify various types of media literacy. First, based on the destination media, media literacy is composed of: literacy, media literacy (in the narrow sense), and new media literacy. Secondly, based on the level of proficiency that seeks raised media literacy can be divided into the initial level, intermediate, and advanced. Initial levels in media literacy is usually in the form of the introduction of the media, especially the positive and negative effects of potential given by the media. Media literacy aims to foster an intermediate level proficiency in understanding the message. While advances in childbirth output media literacy skills to understand the complete media production messaging, knowledge structures of the media is relatively complete, and a critical understanding of the level of action, for example, provide input and critique on the organization and mobilize action to criticize the media. Moreover, media literacy is based on location of does at least appear in three places, namely: home / residence, school, and community groups.

Can be said to understand and bring an individual's ability to use the media is a major goal in media literacy activities. This goal is more important when compared with the purpose of introducing media or grow a critical understanding of the media. There are seven skill or ability that sought appears from media literacy activities (Potter, 2004: 124), namely:

- 1) Analyze / Analyze.

The next competence is the ability to analyze the structure of the message, which is packaged in a medium, utilizing the basic concepts of science to understand the context in a message to a particular media. For example, capable of rogue-use information in the media to compare the statements of public officials, in accordance with the basic theory of the realm of science. Other competency could be examined with a verb like, differentiate, recognize errors, interpret, and so on.

- 2) Evaluate / Assess.



Once able to analyze, then the next competence that is needed is to make a judgment (evaluation). Someone who is able to judge, meaning that it is able to connect information in the mass media with her condition, and make judgments about the accuracy and quality of the relevance of that information to himself; whether the information is very important, unusual, or stale. Of course the ability to judge it is packed with good information or not, also is part of competence. Here, the case comparing social norms and values of the content encountered on the media.

3) Grouping / grouping

Determine any common element in several ways: determining every element that differ in some ways.

4) Induction / Induction

Deduce a pattern in a small set of elements, then the pattern generalization for all elements in the set.

5) Deduction / deductions - use general principles to explain specific

6) Synthesis / synthesis - assemble the elements into the new structure

7) Abstracting / abstract

Creating a short, clear and accurate picture captures the essence of the message in a small number of words of the message itself.

Skills above should also be strengthened with the aspects that must be understood in media literacy activities (Silverblatt, 1995: 13), namely: Process, Context, Framework and production value.

The process of strengthening activity in media literacy is strongly influenced by the purpose of the activity. If the purpose of the activities is to introduce media literacy media effects, the process is of course prioritize access to the contents of the message are assumed to have an effect is not good. Meanwhile, if the goal to introduce aspects of production, of course, the process involves the production and all its aspects. Context is also very influential in media literacy activities. The rise of talk about pornography create media literacy activities should also refer to cases of pornography in the media. Aspects of the framework is primarily concerned with aspects of production. Framework for viewing media content affect media literacy activities, especially those associated with commercial motives. Finally, media literacy activities should make individual media audience has its own value, where the media content that is considered good and bad seen.

5.1 The function of media literacy

Media literacy is needed so that people become intelligent. Society must have the ability to access, analyze, evaluate and communicate the message, so that they can choose which media is good and which are bad. In the era of information technology is evolving so quickly, where we are now surrounded and inundated by information, there is no other way than "enter" involved in it, in our daily lives. There is no way out, another way to escape from the "pursuit" of information. We need information to be able to survive in this era, so too we must be able to produce the information correctly.

The beginning of the development of media literacy is divided into two: those who believe that the impact of the media may harm the public, especially children; and those who 'just' conduct an assessment of media content alone (Marten, 2010).

In Indonesia, there are symptoms that indicate that media literacy activities closer to the first. This group saw that interaction and consumption patterns of children with media showed high intensity and poorly controlled, and see that the media content consumed by children are not safe enough for their psychological development. The amount of adult material, lifestyle offered by the media in a way that is very persuasive, seductive advertising, and various other materials should be considered not consumed by a child with a swift entry into the heads and minds of children. In addition, when used to access and consume media for about seven hours a day, is a huge waste of time and vain. (Guntarto, 2009).

To respond to this phenomenon, the various activities carried out are attempting to suppress the negative influence it as small as possible to provide reinforcement and advice to parents, teachers, and even the children themselves. This step is almost entirely done by groups of people who are aware of the media in the context of threats to protect themselves from the negative influence of the mass media. This issue became more relevant after the start of the reform era in 1998 where the media feels have great freedom and therefore entitled to use the means at their disposal to obtain maximum financial gain.

Groups concerned with children's patterns of interaction with the media and concerned with media content that is unsafe and unhealthy usually come from the parents, NGOs concerned with child protection, institutions, schools, religious institutions, universities, student groups, and so on. The group is trying hard to find ways that can be applied in reducing the hours children watch TV, choose impressions, the correct guidance, and socialize through various forums.

Some organizations can be said to have concerns such example is the Indonesian Child Welfare Foundation, and the Buah Hati Kita Foundation, PP. Aisyiyah, Community Care Media Center of Media and Popular Culture, Women's Journal Foundation, the Association of Public Reject pornography, Yayasan Masjid Salman, Foundation for Media Development of the Child, Community Wellspring Student Association Ilmu Communication - Social UI, Student Association of Communication Studies (IMIKI) Movement JBDK, Bandung School of Communication Studies, National Coalition Day Without TV, the Foundation Friends of Light, the Indonesian Broadcasting Commission (at the central level and in various regions), various colleges that have a network of cooperation with YPMA, and others.

From the identification of the program they are doing, it is known that not all institutions have the same understanding of the concept of media literacy standard (concepts that many dikembangkan in Europe, Canada and then the United States). This is reflected in the naming or theme programs they run, the title material sources, and so on. It appears that the motivation and reference them to organize specific program is to empower parents, teachers, and others in an effort to make the protection of children from the negative effects of the media. Themes such as the understanding of the media industry, on how to understand and assess the content of the media message, an understanding of advertising, media characteristics, and others which are themes in media literacy according to the concept of raw, untouched.

On the other hand, there is a more focused group of individuals critical attitude towards media content that they consider to violate the code of ethics or other rules. This group memangan that media literacy is more concerned with the function of oversight by the public to the media. For example, as stated by a media observer: In the "media literacy," active audiences not just as an observer or observers but actively do something if the media had been irregularities. This deviation can be about information that is incorrect, inaccurate, unbalanced, and the like. If that happens then the audience can protest. (Mulyana, 2002).

Mulyana identify the presence of a passive audience to media content, and audiences are active in criticizing the media content. He called the audience both as audience "media literacy". Mulyana also stressed the importance of the right of reply and the right corrections to the media when the audience feels aggrieved by the news media. According to him, the people engaged in the media watch is active audiences with high literacy levels. They published the results of the observation in the media are deliberately made to it. Quite a lot of people who follow the media results and media watch mengritisinya. They include super active audience (Mulyana, 2002).

The family is as a system consisting of individuals who interact and socialize with each other and organize. The family is the place where most of us learn the communication, even to say where most of us learn how we think about communication. This definition emphasizes interpersonal relationships intertwined among family members, though only based on blood ties or contracts valid as the basis for a family.

Forms - forms of communication within the family according to Pratikto one of which is a parent-child communication. Communication between parents and children in one family bonds where parents take responsibility for educating children. The relationship between parents and children here is two-way, along with a common understanding about something in which between parents and children have the right of expression, thought, information or advice.

Interpersonal relationships between parents and children emerged through the transformation of values. Transformation of values is done in the form of socialization. In the process of socialization in childhood parents are shaping the personality of their children by instilling the values held by parents. It made the parents of children in early growth is affecting various psychological aspects of the children. The family is a place in the interpersonal relationship between parents and children who carry a process of transformation activity value associated with the development of the child. Interpersonal relationships emerge in the form of family communication between parents and children. Interpersonal relationships in the family interpersonal relationships developed in phases to achieve the goal of family communication.

McLeod and Chaffee focused their studies on how the communication environment the children were more focused on their views of social reality. It has adjusted the position that children learn a style of communication through the repetition of their interactions with peers, teachers, and their parents. Style of communication that keep children then formed a structure of interpersonal interaction experience. The structure of the child's experience of interpersonal interaction helps define their personality, how they will perceive, react and confront life situations.

The concept of family communication patterns M.Leod is influenced strongly by the previous sociological research field that has been widely conceptualize family relationships in the form of the power dimension of 'power' (democracy and authoritarian). Mc Leod and Chaffee argued that the implementation of the 'power' is manifested in family communication environment itself. Measurements were designed to emphasize the anticipation of a difference in families with emphasis on (1) the harmony of the family, (2) the decision hierarchy vs. egalitarian, (3) a pluralist, (4) focus on anticipation social consequences.

Family communication proposed by McLeod and Chaffee suggested socially-oriented communications and communications-oriented concepts. Socially-oriented communication is communication that is relatively emphasize the relationship of harmony and pleasant social relationships within the family. In this pattern directly or child is taught to avoid conflict and suppress their feelings in order to avoid a debate with people who are more mature or avoid attack other people's feelings. This social dimension mencerninkan absolute or unquestioned parental / adult authority.

Communication oriented communication concept is to encourage children to develop views and consider the issue. Oriented communication concept more attention to aspects of the functioning and encourage children to weigh all the alternatives before retrieval decisions and allow the child to be in controversy to discuss the problems openly. The dimensions of this concept mencerninkan open discussion of problems and questioned the opinions of others.

In the composition of the high and low both orientations, both social and concepts, then gave birth to four types of family communication patterns as follows:

- a. Family Communication with patterns of laissez-faire, marked by low-oriented communication concept, which means that the child is not directed to develop themselves independently, and also low in socially-oriented communication. This means that children do not foster harmonious relations in the form of interaction with parents. Children and parents have little or no understanding of communication objects, which can result in the wrong communication.
- b. Family communication with protective pattern, characterized by lack of communication in the orientation of the concept, but a high communication in social orientation. Compliance and alignment very overlooked. Children who come from families who use the protective pattern in communicating easily persuaded, because they do not learn how to defend or maintain their own opinion.
- b. Family communication with a pluralistic pattern of communication family run model of communication open in discussing ideas with all members of the family, respect the interests of other members and support each other.
- c. Family communication with consensual pattern, characterized by consensus. This form of communication emphasize family-oriented social and communication-oriented concepts. This pattern encourages and provides opportunities for each family member put forward the idea of different points of view, without disturbing the structure of the family strength.

Research Methodology

This is a descriptive study using interpretive paradigm that aims to build and construct something social life is based on a natural setting. His approach is qualitative stated Bogdan and Taylor as the

research that produces descriptive data in the form of speech, writing and behavior of the people being observed, so that researchers can identify the subject and feel what they experience in everyday life, the importance of the process (how things happen) instead of the resulting product. Meaning in this study is concerned with how the perceptions and experiences of people who are making it appear to each other to understand how people make sense of life, in this case the researchers are as instrument and using ideographic interpretation in a natural setting.

In this study the author uses descriptive research. Descriptive study "aims to describe systematically the facts or characteristics of a particular population or a particular field, whether it be the state, problems, attitudes, opinions, conditions, procedures, or systems in a factual and research aimed at" making a systematic description, factual, and accurate about the facts and properties of the population or specific objects".

Data Collection Techniques

Data collection methods are the techniques or methods that can be used by researchers to gather data. Data collection can use primary and secondary data. Primary data is data obtained directly from the source. Secondary data is a source that does not directly provide the data to the data collector. According to Grace Kriyantono "Represents data obtained from sources the first data or first hand in the field."

1. Primary Data

Primary data obtained from interviews with key informants and informants. The interview is a conversation with a purpose. The conversation was conducted by the two parties, namely the interviewer (interviewer) who asked questions and interviewees (interviewee), which provides an answer to that question.

According to Berger (Rachmat Kriyantono) "interview is a conversation between the researcher someone who hopes to get information and informants someone who is assumed to have important information about an object."

Researchers conducted interviews with using this type of semi- structured interviews of the parents at two elementary schools in Jakarta. Researchers understand that in these types of semi- structured interviews interviewer usually have a list of written questions but allowed to ask questions freely, which is associated with problems.

2. Secondary Data

Secondary data are research data obtained indirectly. Through its medium produced other parties or used by other institutions that are not prepared, but can be utilized for a particular study. Secondary data is generally in the form of notes or data report documentation by the agency or the particular company published.

a. Studies Documentation

Data collection techniques with documentation is retrieval of data obtained through the documents. Related to this documentation study techniques, according Suharsimi Arikunto explained that "the

study is to look for documentation on matters of data or variables such as notes, transcripts, books, newspapers, magazines, prastasti, minutes, meeting, legger, and agenda."

Meanwhile, according to Rachmat Kriyantono "secondary data is data obtained from a second source." The secondary data utilized and acquired can be text, such as books, articles found in the print media, the articles through the surf on the internet, and journals scientific.

In the collection of secondary data, the authors collect data through documentation method in which the author conducted data collection and information through books, magazines, the internet and so once collected, then do next is processing data.

b. Observation

Observation is the observation deliberate, systematic social phenomenon familiar with the symptoms of psychic and then do the recording. By observation we can obtain information about the world around us. As for the definition of Karl Weick which is observed as the election, conversion, recording and coding a series of behavioral and atmosphere with respect to the organism, in accordance with the objectives of the empirical. Basically observation useful to explain, check and detailing symptoms occur. Researchers did not make observations on the two sekolah.

D. Data Analysis Techniques

Data analysis process starts with examining all available data from various sources, from interviews, observations that have been written in the field notes, personal documentation, official documents, drawings, photographs and so on. Having read, studied, and analyzed, then the next step is data reduction is done by making abstractions. Abstraction is a summary of the data obtained from the field and later in the process, and the images in it are not changed, even elaborated between the data obtained in the field with the theory that corresponds to the problem.

The next step is arranged in units, the units are then categorized in the next step. The final stage of the analysis of this data is examining the validity of the data. After completion of this stage, begin to phase in the process of data interpretation results while being substantive theory by using some particular method.

E. Validity Data

Validity of the data is an important concept that is updated from the concept of validity (validity) and reliability (realibilitas) version of positivism and adapted to the demands of the knowledge, the criteria and the paradigm itself.

Technique authenticity used by the author in the research is to use triangulation techniques namely engineering examination of the validity of data used for something else and is the best technique to eliminate differences in the construction of a reality that exists in the context of a study when collecting data about the various events and relationships of the various views ,

As noted by Patton (Moleong) that triangulation is divided into four, namely triangulation, triangulation method, investigator triangulation and triangulation theory. In this study to test the validity of the data used triangulation techniques using source. Triangulation means to compare and

confirm the degree of confidence the information obtained through the time and different tools with qualitative methods. Through triangulation techniques writer can conduct interviews with the resources needed to collect a variety of data sources required.

b. Studies Documentation

Data collection techniques with documentation is retrieval of data obtained through the documents. Related to this documentation study techniques, according Suharsimi Arikunto explained that "the study is to look for documentation on matters of data or variables such as notes, transcripts, books, newspapers, magazines, prastasi, minutes, meeting, legger, and agenda."

Meanwhile, according to Rachmat Kriyantono "secondary data is data obtained from a second source." The secondary data utilized and acquired can be text, such as books, articles found in the print media, the articles through the surf on the internet and scientific journals ,

In the collection of secondary data, the authors collect data through documentation method in which the author conducted data collection and information through books, magazines, the internet and so once collected, then do next is processing data.

It seems socialization media literacy has not reached the parents where researchers conducted the study. Where in the era of information so rapidly at this time, parents who have children are expected to be the gate keeper before the information obtained by the child should not get into the hands of children. Because children can not choose or find out where the information is correct and can be taken as an example for them to emulate or should they 'waste'.

Technological advances so rapidly at this time led to the ease of access that can be done by children to get information with the help of technology. It was not unusual today to see a child in urban tertama even still attending kindergarten looks good in using a computer, laptop or gadget. Development and technological progress in the field of information and communication makes parents should prepare themselves in conditioning and direct the child in their utilization.

Usually the interest of a child who is in the age range 5 to 12 years experience in using the tools of information technology is to play games (in this case referred to by the authors is the children using the tools of information technology is not to look for information but to play as one One thing that is reasonable according to age). Though childhood is the golden age where children are in a period of play and learning to what is not yet known. But, where is now the rapid technological changes, many children, especially in children aged 5 to 12 years is more like playing with new technologies such as playstation, online games, mobile phone, tablet or ipad.

Advances in technology are already being felt by almost all levels of society. In fact, many children, especially at age 5 to 12 years the most widely utilize these technological advances. And do not be surprised if the positive impact of the impact of technological development for children aged 5-12 years were given the nickname generation of multi-tasking. And here are some things that have a positive impact on the technological progress of the child. Can not be denied if the child can not get away from technological advances, especially in information technology is increasingly rapidly. And this can make it easier for the child to get information as well as easy to establish communication with distances. Due to advances in technology, many games are creative and challenge that turned out

much liked by children. And it indirectly very beneficial for children because it influences the level of creativity of children.

The negative side of the current technology is easily hypnotized, so that not a few who like the virtual world and forget about the real world. And it is also impinge on children, especially in children aged 5 to 12 years. And here are some other negative effects: Children are too easily satisfied with the knowledge gained from the world of internet when information from the internet containing much of a conclusion only. Because the technology provides a lot of convenience, not a few children have little patience with the slowness and difficulty. In addition, technological advances have an impact on the lack of socialization of the child to her friends because it prefers to be alone with game technology.

One of the things that became a major focus of research is the socialization of media literacy to parents, due to the negative impact of these ICT advances. It is very worrying not only lead to negative behaviors of children outside the home but also in Indonesia was already the case disebabkan by 'addicted' children would progress of ICT. Over the last six months are known seven children steals to satisfy his desire to play in internet cafes or rental playstation. This is based on the observation of non-governmental organization Friends of Cotton, Solo, against children assisted. Coordinator of Friends of Cotton Dian Sasmita say, the age of children who were in the stage of growth vulnerable to the impact of the Internet.

The negative impact of the move in front of the color screen and moves, among others, on the pattern of social relationships with family and friends. According to Dian, association child only in online games have made addicts of online games become isolated from friends and real milieu. They are also affected by the aggressive behavior of what is seen and played in the online game.

To that end, the role of parents is indispensable in assisting children use technology and the Internet to something positive. One possible solution is to limit the time children when playing games and the internet. Of course the parents are also required to understand the sophistication of these ICT technologies so they can teach their children. Here, the role of government is needed in moving the media literacy of the parents in the face of ICT developments.

In the effort to confront the information age already can not be stopped, it should be the parents' example by step approach interpersonal communication with their children, in making preventive measures deal with the impact of technological development of ICT. parents today increasingly busy with work, communication with children is a pattern of effective and practical education. In fact, good communication can help develop self-confidence of children, self-esteem and good relationships with others, which can make life a child-children become more fun, and maintain good relationships with others in the process of growth in the future at a later time.

When the children were little, where if the parents and children to build a close relationship, can help children seek your help when facing problems and disappointments. As a parent will also become more sensitive to changes in mood. The relationship familiar / harmony between parent and child can minimize the mental health problems in the growth process of children.

Parents should really listen to the words of the children, because it is the process of expressing thoughts, opinions and feelings. Although sometimes it is not so clear with what they reveal, but it

contains a lot of information. And in this process, enabling parents to better understand the personality, character and the growth of children.

Dialogue equal, harmonious and full of encouragement can make children more confident with their language skills and presentation, building confidence, can help parents improve children's bad behavior, delivers a sense of affection and attention. Will be able to deliver powerful information during a dialogue to the contrary, namely bahwasannya problem or conflict that can be discussed openly and resolved.

Effectiveness Interpersonal Communication begins with five general quality to be considered, namely openness (openness), empathy (empathy), the attitude of support (supportiveness), a positive attitude (positiveness) and equality (equality).

The research was conducted by interviewing some parents, especially mothers, who have children aged 6-12 years in two private elementary schools in Jakarta. Interviews were conducted several times with face to face, by telephone, text message and email.

From the summary of the interview is known that on average children in two private elementary schools are already used to access the Internet through various media such as laptops, mobile phones, computers, other gadgets. As expressed by the mother, "Usually when again no school, the children play on the computer that I put in the family room and the screen facing toward where I was or father can control the website or whatever they are trying to access from your computer, if you're in road or just to fill the time in between their regular leisure time use android".

The parents said that their children know that they used to access the Internet using a computer, laptop or gadget. "Usually after that they became interested in searching and downloading kinds another game finally see deh game is not suitable for children or an adverse impact on the child may initially only as a race, the police, eventually bringing them to games like GTA proven adversely affect the development of the child until the child killed in America because bandwagon GTA".

Based on interviews with several sources showed that the children in the study to play with their electronic devices to access the Internet can reach 4 hours in a day. It could even reach 8 to 12 hours during the weekend. When asked, about the impact of what is most felt when the child has started, the speakers answered the same or similar, as the child looks "fun" so forget the situation around, forget perform obligations such as homework and studying. Forgot meet their needs such as eating and drinking and lazy to do other activities.

The speakers all of whom are mothers who have children aged 7 to 10 years this has concerns about the negative impact of ICT advancement. The thing they worry about is any element of pornography and violence when their children access the Internet. This is the average delivered by mothers when asked, what impact are in fear when their child to access the Internet.

The speakers perform various efforts so that their children can understand the negative impact of the development of ICT technology, in various ways. Like to find out more and give sense to their children. Commit early before the kids that they're accessing the Internet is one of them. Also to include

physical activity as a child to enroll their children to sports clubs, associations or martial arts. As well menginfokan their children about the negative impact of ICT sophistication that could adversely affect health. As against the eye or back caused by spending long hours in front of a laptop or PC. In fact, they deliberately keep the article or a link that they can be for show to their children about the negative impact of these ICT advances.

From interviews with ICTWatch a nonprofit organization or also known by the name internet.sehat, researchers get information that ICT Watch often socialize through the medium of the Internet, brochures, leaflets, booklets, CDs and even direct counseling to parents in primary schools. While from the government such as the Ministry of Communication, or KPI that there has been no focus hold media literacy activities for parents.



**Health Communication on Generasi Berencana Program
(A Study on Information Center and Student Counsel at UPN "Veteran" Yogyakarta)**

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Abstract

Health communication is a study focusing on how to use a communication strategy to spread health information that influence individual and community so they can make a good decision about health management. Health communication studies are needed because health experts and social scientist realized that health and disease problems are not only caused by individual negligence but also caused by ignorance and misconception about health information. Government, especially BKKBN have an innovation on Keluarga Berencana program campaign for young generation. Generasi Berencana (GenRe) program is developed in line with necessity and because the government concerns about youth problems in Indonesia. The purpose of our research is to know health communication strategy on Generasi Berencana program especially on Information Center and Student Counseling (or PIK-M) at UPN "Veteran" Yogyakarta. Qualitative methodology is applied for this research. Data has been Gathered by interview, observation and focus group discussions. The result shows that PIK-M is a health communication strategy that is effective to provide information service and counseling for the students. PIK-M is managed by the student, from student and for the student. PIK-M activity is empowering students' potential for youth character building. Information mastery and life skills are expected to prevent any youth problems such as free sex, drugs, HIV/AIDS. Moreover, PIK-M is a platform for the students' future preparation. Besides, PIK-M UPN "Veteran" Yogyakarta is also used as the socialization to improve health and the awareness of GenRe program.

Keywords: health communication, Planned Generation (generasi berencana), Information Center and Student Counsel (pusat informasi dan konseling mahasiswa/PIK-M)

Background of the Problem

Health is the result of the interaction of various factors, both internal factors (from inside the human) and external factors (from the environment). Internal factors consist of physical and psychic. Similarly, external factors consist of several factors, such as, social, cultural, physical environment, politic, economic, education, and so on. Broadly speaking, the factors affecting the health of individuals, groups, and communities are grouped into 4, they are as follows:

1. The environment, which includes the physical environment, social, cultural, politic, economic, and so on.
2. Behavior
3. Health service
4. Bloodline. (Notoatmodjo, 2010: 19-20)

This means that health is not always related to the individual internal factors alone. Quoting the communication expert Liliwari (2011: 29-30), the need for health communication studies is when I saw the title of general introduction "Health Communication, Lead Agency: Office of Disease Prevention and Health Promotion" within the framework of "The Health People 2010 Information". With this title Liliwari reminds us to think over that there is no other way to make the community healthy but through communication. Based on that consideration then all analysis of efforts to improve the quality of humans' life must include the role of communication science, particularly communication strategies, to spread information that may affect individuals and communities in order to make the right decisions for the sake of maintaining their health.

Conceptually, health communication is the connection between "communication" and "health", so the concept of communication describes the word that follows. (e.g: business communication, cultural communication, gender communication, etc.). Some descriptions from Liliwari (2011: 45-48) can be cited to explain the definition of health communication, they are:

1. The study that learns how to use communication strategies to disseminate information that could affect the health of individuals and communities so that they can make the right choice related to health management.
2. The study that emphasizes the role of communication theory that can be used in researches and practices related to health promotion and health maintenance.
3. Health education is an approach that emphasizes on the effort to change health behavior widely so that people become aware of health issues.
4. The process of partnership between the participants based on a two-way dialogue in which there is an interactive atmosphere, an exchange of ideas, an agreement on a unity of ideas about health, also the technique of the sender and receiver to obtain information about health balance to renew mutual understanding.

According to Corcoran (2013: 9) that health communication is communication in health takes places on many constructs, including individuals, groups, community, or the mass media. Communication in health can be defined: a transactional process. Kreps (in Corcoran) summaries the addition of "health" to the definition of the term communication as a 'resource' that Allows health messages (e.g. prevention or awareness) to be used in the education and avoidance of ill health. This broad definition of health incorporates the fact that communication can take place at many levels.

There are a range of f communication channels that usually fall into four categories: interpersonal, organizational, community and public/mass. These are hierarchical in nature with interpersonal (one-to-one communication) reaching the least amount of people, and community reaching the whole population. Outside the channels are a variety of approaches which practitioners may use to achieve their goals. These include strategic communication, behavior change communication, advocacy, and social mobilitation.

Below is an illustration depicting the hierarchy of communication channels:

Type of Channel	Definition of the channel	Examples of each channel
Interpersonal	Individual communication one-to-one	Health practitioner to patient / client, parent to child
Organisational	Locations where people live, work and play	Schools, workplaces, universities, supermarkets, places of worship, or leisure centre
Community and public/mass	Wider media and wider community structures	Mass media channels, political or structural channels

Image. Channels of Communication examples

Source: Communicating Health Strategies for Health Promotion, 2nd Edition, Sage Publication, Los Angeles, London, New Delhi, Singapore, Washinton DC, 2013, p. 10.

GenRe (stands for Generasi Berencana program) or Planned Generation program was developed in line with the needs and the government's attention to the problems of teenagers in Indonesia. GenRe program needs to be developed because this program provides information related to the preparation of the adolescents in starting a better family life, preparing mature people to start a family, as well as confirming the planning in life management for family harmony.

The definition of Generasi Berencana is teenagers and young adults who have the knowledge, act and behave as a teenager, to be well-prepared in starting a family life. Ideally, Generasi

Berencana's adolescents and young adults are able to carry out their education, have a career, and be married according to the appropriate cycle of reproduction; all are well prepared.

The Government of Indonesia (BKKBN) communicate GenRe program to all students in Indonesia. This program is directly approaching the schools and colleges gradually, to invite Indonesian teenagers away from any problems. BKKBN wants GenRe to become a way of life among teenagers. Through the program, teenagers are expected to avoid drugs, free sex and HIV/AIDS and so they can plan out a better family in the future. The approach is for reproduction health and family planning for adolescents. BKKBN carries out this program into GenRe Goes To School and GenRe Goes To Campus. BKKBN is targeting the teenagers ranging from high school students to college students as the target of the implementation marital family program.

To realize GenRe Program, BKKBN develops PIK (Information Center and Counseling) in each province in Indonesia, both at school and college/PT (campus), and a group of Bina Keluarga Remaja (BKR) for the community. The existence of PIK at school/PT is one of the aids to run the program. Through PIK at each college, it is expected that there will be social changes among teenagers/students. Through PIK it is also expected that there will be a management program related to youth education.

University of Pembangunan Nasional "Veteran" Yogyakarta is now also developing Pusat Informasi dan Konseling Mahasiswa or PIK-M (Student Information and Counseling Center). Students are expected to develop their potential and prepare their future through activities in PIK-M.

Purpose of the Research

To understand the implementation of Generasi Berencana program through the development of Pusat Informasi dan Konseling Mahasiswa in UPN "Veteran" Yogyakarta.

Method of the Research

This study applies a qualitative approach. Qualitative research is a research that is interpretive (using interpretation) which involves many methods, in analyzing the problem of the research. The use of many methods is often called triangulation - meant for the researchers to gain a comprehensive understanding (holistic) about the phenomenon that the research is conducted on. In accordance with its epistemological principles, it is common for qualitative researchers to analyze things that are in their natural environment, trying to understand, or interpret the phenomena based on the meanings that people give to these things. (Denzin and Lincoln, in Mulyana, 2007: 4). Conventionally qualitative methods tend to be associated with the researchers' desires to analyze the meaning, context, and a holistic approach on the phenomenon. (Hayes in Mulyana, 2007: 5-6).

Results and Discussions

The campaign of GenRe program is to say no for free sex, no drugs, no of being HIV and AIDS victims, and encourage young people to plan their family life or maturation age of marriage. Specifically, the goals of this program are (1). Young people can understand and put a healthy lifestyle into practice, and live with morals (2). Young people can understand and implement a lifestyle that can teach them to be strong (3). Young people can understand and prepare themselves to be Generasi

Berencana of Indonesia. The targets of GenRe program are (1). Youth/teenagers (10-24 years old) and unmarried; (2). Unmarried students; (3). Family/family with a teenager in it; (4). The people who cares for teenagers. This GenRe program has a tagline which sounds *GenRe for a better Future*.

PIK-M is a vessel of GenRe program activities in order to prepare family life for adolescents/students, by and for adolescents/students in order to provide information services and counselings on family life planning for adolescents/students, and other supporting activities. Adolescents/students of PIK as a source of information about GenRe program. The activity of Adolescents/students of PIK: "Friendly Teenagers". The substance of the PIK-R/M is (a) 8 The Function of a Family; (b) Maturation Age of Marriage; (c) TRIAD KRR: Sexuality, drugs, HIV and AIDS; (d) Life Skills Education; (e) Advocacy Skills and "KIE"; (f) Gender.

The founding of Pusat Informasi dan Konseling Mahasiswa (PIK-M) Bidik UPN "Veteran" Yogyakarta turned out to be of great benefit to the students as an alternative activity for the students. In addition to being a forum to understand the student world with various problems better, this organization is also a vessel of self-expression and character development for the activists. Later, it is expected that PIK-M becomes one of alternative solutions to the problems of the students who are still in the category of teenagers.

To explore how the PIK-M "Bidik" is beneficial as a forum for self-expression and students' character development, and how the activists of this organization understand teenager's issues and contribute solutions, this study collects the data in the form of opinions and perceptions and the managers of PIK-M "Bidik". The results are used as inputs in the making of a health communication strategy model for students, and the development of PIK-M "Bidik" in the future.

As a new student organization, PIK-M "Bidik" has not been widely known by the students of UPN "Veteran" Yogyakarta. Students are more familiar with the various Student Activity Unit (Unit Kegiatan Mahasiswa/UKM) at the university level and other Student Organizations at their Faculty and Study Program, such as the Students Executive Council, Student Association of Study Program and various Student Study Group (Kelompok Studi Mahasiswa/KSM).

When first initiated, the activists of PIK-M "Bidik" is derived entirely from the Communication Science Study Program of Social Faculty at UPN "Veteran" Yogyakarta. In this study program previously existed various Student Organizations and various forums such as Association of Communication Students (Himpunan Mahasiswa Komunikasi/Himakom), Audio Visual Communication (Audio Visual Komunikasi/Avikom), Photography Communication (Fotografi Komunikasi/Fotkom), Radio Station Communication (Crastr FM), Attitude Magazine, and UPN TV. All provide opportunities for students to be creative and to practice how to be in an organization.

Although there are many other alternatives for student activities already, PIK-M still attracts the students to join. Motivation to join diverse, from looking for knowledge, experience, insight and new friends and to practice to be in an organization. The entire board who joins in can feel the benefit from the existence of PIK-M "Bidik".

Alifa justisia, Student of Communication Science who enrolled in 2014 for example, she feels great benefits of this organization because she gets a lot of experience and new friends. A student

from Surakarta who is also an activist of several other student organizations such as AISEC, HIMMFIS, and is an Islamic Mentoring Tutor sees that this organization is important for students personal development. "PIK-M is expected to be growing and more visible because it is still in the start-up level", he said.

According to Alifia, students' interest to join the activities of PIK-M is quite high, and in the future she hopes that this organization is growing rapidly. Although as a new organization, there must be many obstacles. From the lack of coordination and the action of the board that is not optimal. "Sometimes there is a feeling of back and forth to carry out this mandate because our organization is still in the start-up so there is still a lot of homework to be completed," said Alifia. According to her, with all its limitations, PIK-M has been of great benefit to the activists. "The thing is that experience makes me more aware and know about the world of peers. I'm also motivated to continue to contribute to providing services to the peer as best I can," said Alifia.

Alifia's experience is in line with her fellow Nurmala Bustanuddin, a student of Communication Science who enrolled in 2014, from Jakarta. In addition to joining PIK-M she is active in the KSM FOTKOM for photography. According to her, PIK-M is beneficial to add new knowledge about GenRe program, knowing the potential threat that could undermine teenagers world, including to find new friends and insights.

Nurmala is assigned as treasurer and peer educator in PIK-M Bidik. She was also in peer counselors training held by BKKBN DIY. Although she has not done many activities as an educator and peer counselor in campus, she admits that her friends always look for her to share about their problems.

Some of PIK-M's programs which she thinks are important to be held are socialization to more students in order to understand the function and role of PIK-M, and further can be active in it as an activist, or take advantage of the consultation services that have been provided. She also believes that workshops on counseling is important to be held as well.

Lack of coordination and meeting between the board of PIK-M Bidik is felt by Nurmala as an important obstacle to be overcome. Including the lack of space for consultation and PIK-M secretariat that allows the members and administrators to interact and coordinate. So far, they rely on social media such as Line for group discussions.

According to other PIK-M administrator, Kristi Dwi Utami, a student of Communication Science year 2013, from Wonogiri, Central Java, this activity is beneficial for students to gain experiences and knowledge to become a healthy teenager, smart and cheerful. Kristi has attended many student activities, including the marching band, Scout, Photographic Arts, PIK-M, Attitude, Chelsea Indonesia Supporters Club of Solo Region, and several others.

Kristi hopes that this organization evolved into a useful organization for all students of UPN "Veteran" Yogyakarta and its surrounding areas. As a new organization, PIK-M still has many obstacles, including solidity and coordination that are not strong enough in the management of PIK-M. To overcome these problems, Kristi proposes to frequently hold joint activities, especially activities aiming at the bonding and togetherness between members.

Monika Juliani, another PIK-M's administrator, a student of Communication Science year 2013, from Riau, has the motivation to seek knowledge by joining this organization. She feels the benefits of this activity, because she can understand the problems of young people's world today, and slowly become a part of the solutions of various problems. She suggests that the PIK-M runs more programs so that its existence is more visible for the students. Coordination problem is still also felt as a constraint in this organization she pioneered.

PIK-M's officials agreed that their respective organization is a forum to express themselves and develop students' characters at the same time, in order to be stronger in the face of various challenges.

Based on their respective experiences, it is interesting to note that these officials began to actively engage in the issues of young people that are happening around them. They started paying attention and trying to be a part of the solutions.

According to Alifia, most of teenagers' problems encountered this time around are: lazy and less sensitive to the surrounding environment, even less sensitive to their own needs (needs to keep moving, accomplish something and right-minded). Although she herself claims to have gone through times like that. "I've experienced it as well. There was a period where I really didn't know what to become, how, and where to go and just stayed quiet. Finally I forced myself to start reorganizing," said Alifia. She thinks there are several factors causing problems among teenagers to occur, they are: oneself, family, friends, fierce competition, and the surrounding environment.

In particular, Alifia is paying attention to the various cases of promiscuity that struck teenagers today. Here is her statement:

"In my old house, once there was a neighbor who were talked about because she was an MBA (married by accident). Not just once but twice. The first was when she was still in junior high, with her father's employee. She was about to be proposed but her family rejected the man because they felt he was from a poor family. Finally this man was imprisoned because at that time the victim was underage. After birth, the baby was taken care of by her grandmother and the baby later called her own mother as sister instead of mother. Unfortunately this incident repeated when that neighbor entered high school. She was MBA again with her own classmate. Eventually they were forced to marry.

Concerned with various cases such as the case, Alifia determined to become a peer counselor so that similar cases could be prevented. According to her, there are some principles that must be developed if one acts as a counselor, they are: friendly, honest, open when they speak, closed to protect the client. "Frankly I'm still confused. Probably the same as when I listen to my friends everyday. Let them talk with any overflowing emotion, but do not get involved emotionally. Do not impose something that they are not ready to tell," she said.

According Nurmala Bustanuddin, the most common adolescent problems today are: romance problems and promiscuity. She also admits to having problems of romance. "To deal with it I talked to my peers and listened to their advices," said Nurmala. According to her, the lack of maturity in

adolescents, the role of the parents that is less active, and still following what their peers do, are all factors of the various problems of the adolescents.

Specifically, Nurmala tells a case of one of her peers that she knew:

A close friend of mine was pregnant out of wedlock. My friend was originally Purwokerto but she migrated to Jogja to attend a university, from before she was in Jogja she was already known to be promiscuous. Arriving in Jogja she became even more free because she was away from her parents, and here she went to a club often. So often that she met a guy who turned out to be her senior at her Vocational High School. After weeks of meeting, texting, phoning and so on, they finally started dating. At the time of dating, they often had sexual intercourse. Exactly eight months after dating, the girl missed her period and after checking it out, it turned out that my friend was already 2.5 months pregnant. My friend and the guy panicked. Finally the guy searched on the internet about how to abort the fetus, but the girl refused to do so out of fear, yet the guy still insisted. At last they got the drug to do the abortion that costed them Rp. 500.000. The girl was depressed and wanted to commit suicide by cutting her wrist with razor. Now the girl is better, but when she thinks about it, she would cry by herself and ram her head on the wall.

In that issue, Nurmala positions herself as a friend, even though the acts are just merely listening to the story and giving her hugs when she is crying and depressed, and also encouraging her to be patient. She believes, as a peer counselor, a few tips which are important to be developed is active listening, paying attention to verbal and non-verbal aspects, assist clients in making decisions.

Almost similar, in Kristi's observation, the most dominant adolescent problems encountered today are promiscuity and drugs. She is convinced that these problems occur because of the lack of attention from people around them, especially from family. Kristi also shares about the problems that befell her friend:

"I have a friend who ran away from home and lived with her boyfriend in a rented house. They did inappropriate things that my friend was pregnant. After she was pregnant she disappeared for a few months. When it was about the time of childbirth she came home and after giving birth she went back to school outside the city. Now she is studying again and living a normal life as a teenager her age does. "

Kristi is trying to give solutions to the problems her friend faced. "I was trying to find where he was. I've always got her back and listen to her laments. Until today we are still good friends," Kristi said.

Similarly, Monika Juliani also agrees that the problems faced by today's teenagers are related more to issues of romance and promiscuity. She shares the story of her peer as well:

I have a friend, my friend and her boyfriend are not just dating but more than that, and I've also seen once that my friend took her boyfriend into her room and it looks like it is still going on, and they go to night club often. my friend is not the type of a person who is open and we rarely meet, so it makes it so hard to get the information about her and the most information about her I got is from my other friends.

Furthermore, Monika suggests her opinion on being a peer counselor: "I would reflect on myself first, I would give my best effort to be ready to hear their stories and I would listen more to their story and then provide advices based on the facts."

Based on the stories and experiences of the board of PIK-M Bidik of UPN "Veteran" Yogyakarta, it can be seen that they are trying to understand the problems faced by their peers, and trying to be a part of the solutions. Indirectly, empathy and willingness are developed to help and find a way out in PIK-M that they have joined in. Including various efforts to make young people aware, so they will not get involved up in promiscuity and other adolescent problems.

PIK-M's officials who share their opinions and their stories have agreed to make a variety of media as a channel that is used by today's teenagers, as a vehicle to promote a healthy lifestyle, in accordance with the concept of GenRe.

"Social media such as LINE and INSTAGRAM are interesting to use, because teenagers tend to like visual things and both social media are now considered as a hit. I'm used to promoting through LINE when I'm in other organizations because it is practical and attractive," said Alifia.

"All media can be utilized. Online media, television and radio, can also be used. But the increasing number of online media used by teenagers, it makes them to consider using online media to promote health program and GenRe program," Nurmala Bustanuddin suggested. "Through public service advertisements and events that are related to the problem solvings of teenager problems. And using social media, because many teenagers use social media as well. Perhaps by retweeting and reposting the posts of PIK-M's account," said Kristi.

In terms of communication strategy, these speakers provide practical advice. According Nurmala Bustanuddin, health communication strategies, particularly in the GenRe program, it is better to socialize to various schools and colleges of how important the role of peers is. In addition to that, holding various seminars and workshops to provide teenagers knowledge to build up their awareness.

According to Kristi, the right communication strategy is listening. Teenagers need to be heard about their complaints and problems they face. Only then try to give solutions and suggestions if asked and the time is right. Interpersonal communication skill of peer counselors is needed in this regard.

Monika Juliani's view of the right communication strategy is empathetic communication, to listen more to their complaints, listening actively to lighten the burden they face. The use of peer counselors to discuss about problems and to find a solution together and to build up awareness through preventive measures to prevent the problems from occurring are also important things to do. Providing various channels of information in schools and colleges, according to Monika, is also important. Including promoting healthy lifestyle, GenRe style, to the students through workshops and seminars is considered to be necessary.

The stories and opinions of the speakers who are also the administrators of PIK-M provide valuable lesson to the evaluation to upgrade the role of this organization in the future. Including providing additional insight on the development of health communication strategy related to GenRe program among students.

Conclusion

Health communication is a study to learn how to use communication strategies to disseminate information that could affect the health of individuals and communities so that they can make the right decisions related to health management. Generasi Berencana program initiated by BKKBN through Pusat Informasi dan Konseling Mahasiswa/PIK-M (Information Center and Student Counsel) gives space to help teenagers or young people to express and develop themselves in preparing their future. PIK-M Bidik of UPN "Veteran" Yogyakarta as a forum for activities of, by, and for the students is empowering students' potential so that they can shape their adolescents character in the control of the information and life skills, in order to prevent the problems that are often experienced by young people such as free sex, drugs misuse, the dissemination of HIV/Aids. In addition to that, PIK-M is used as a means to help the students to prepare their future. PIK-M at UPN "Veteran" Yogyakarta also serves as a socialization program to raise awareness within the students' mind of health and Generasi Berencana program.

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East & West Collaboration Perspectives in a Global Media System

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Abstract

This paper intends to describe the media systems in the Asian regions through a method of comparative literature analysis of media systems in five representative countries which are consisting of Japan, China, South Korea, India and Indonesia with the consideration of their common similarity in geographical position, socio-cultural plurality and influence power on political and economic both in the regional and international arena. The analysis will be focused on understanding how the model of Hallin and Mancini is combined with an alternative model about media freedom and social responsibility offered by Yin to determine which media system is more suitable for the five selected countries especially Indonesia. These two combinations may be conceived as the way to collaborate the Western and Eastern perspectives in explicating the media systems in a more global context. The study finds that the comparative dimensions should be arranged according to the three main perspectives called economic, political, and social pillars of media as they contain the four dimensions of Hallin & Mancini and another complementary dimension such as media finance, media ownership, media freedom and social responsibility of the media as well as ideology of the state. Furthermore, study also finds that the collaborative perspectives between Hallin & Mancini and Yin can complement each other particularly in order to improve the freedom of the media yet still socially responsible to the society which tend to be overlooked rather than economic and political significances. The social responsibility and freedom are considered as the key problems which reflect the Asian media system specifically in Indonesia. In sum, a media system model evidently should be associated with another system model as long as this collaboration is able to provide a comprehensive explanation of a country's media practices.

Keywords: Global media system, Asian media system, Hallin & Mancini's model, Yin's model

Introduction

Fred S. Siebert (the Director of the School of Journalism and Communications at the University of Illinois), Theodore Peterson (the Associate Professor of Journalism and Communications at the University of Illinois) and Wilbur Schramm (the former Dean of the Communications Division of the University of Illinois and Professor of Journalism and Communications at Stanford University) are the three notable figures behind the old four theories of the press (comprising of the authoritarian theory, the libertarian theory, the social responsibility theory and the Soviet communist theory) that we know

and probably still use to determine the classification of mass media system at present. In a book first published in 1956 and then republished in 1963 by the University of Illinois Press entitled *Four Theories of the Press*, they proposed a major question, why did the press form and serve the different roles and positions in different nations? (Hallin & Mancini, 2004:1; Siebert *et al.*, 1956).

In general, four theories of the press are a linear combination of the two analytical sub-dimensions based on authoritarian and liberal state systems (Ostini & Yung, 2002:42). The theory of authoritarian press was developed in the late Renaissance and based on the idea that truth is the product of thought of the few sages; the theory of libertarian press which emerged from the works of Milton, Locke, Mill and Jefferson, asserted that the search for truth is one of the man's natural rights; the theory of social responsibility press pertained on the social obligations of the press; and the theory of the Soviet communist press was an expanded version of the old authoritarian theory (Hallin & Mancini, 2004:7-13; McQuail, 2005:176-178; Siebert *et al.*, 1956). These four press theories are very prominent and are still involved as a starting point for communication experts and scholars to describe the tendency of global media systems nowadays (Sparks, 2010:552).

Nevertheless, the four theories of the press is a normative theory because they formulate specific standards and norms on what should and should not be done by the media so that they are considered less specific in describing the dynamic media system which continues to evolve towards globalization. In other words, comparative study should be detailed in order to solve their shortcomings in determining the rapid transformation of media system all over the world.

According to Hallin & Mancini (2004:2-5), the application of comparative studies to examine the media system has two basic functions which are (i). The function in the formulation and clarification of the concept means that a comparative analysis can clarify the scope and find possible variations and similarities which contribute greatly to the formation of concepts and the refinement of conceptual ideas; (ii). The function of causal inference which defines as a comparison study that allows the hypothesis testing among the interrelated social phenomena.

They introduced a framework of comparative analysis to compare media systems in Mediterranean countries (Northern and Central Europe) and Northern America with two assessment categories consisting of political system and four dimensions of comparison. The results defined three new models of media system called the pluralist model, the democratic corporatist model and the liberal model (Hallin & Mancini, 2004; Voltmer, 2008:24-25).

Unfortunately, either four theories of the press or three models of Hallin & Mancini still cannot precisely accommodate the peculiarities and dynamics of media system outside the Western countries (Hallin & Mancini, 2004:6). The uniqueness of media circumstances in the non-Western countries particularly in Asian regions can be viewed from the major tendency on government and market coexistences, democratic and meritocracy parities, as well as individuals initiatives and groups orientations (Tu Wei-ming in Yin, 2008:39-40). In this case, there are conflicts of interests between media freedom and its social responsibility—the media more tend to fulfill the hegemony of economic and political interests rather than the social interests. In brief, it can be assumed that Asian media systems require a model that encourage media freedom and do not ignore its social dimensions—Yin then introduces another model namely freedom and social responsibility coordinate models to explain

Asian media system from the accentuation of relationship between press freedom and social responsibility perspectives.

Therefore, this paper intends to describe the Asian media system through a relevant literature analysis of comparative media systems in some countries such as Japan, China, South Korea, India and Indonesia regarding their commons in geographical positions, social and cultural richness, as well as economic and political influences both in regional and international arena. The analysis will focus on how the comparison dimensions of Western side (Hallin & Mancini's model) can be combined with alternative comparisons of Asian side (Yin's model) to determine which media systems are suitable to the five countries (especially Indonesia).

Redefining the Dimension of Comparative Media Systems

Admittedly, there is a relationship between the media system and the political system of a country (Dahlgren & Gurevitch, 2005; Hallin in Engesser & Franzetti, 2011:275). Referring to this, Hallin and Mancini (2004:21) employed political perspective to breakdown four dimensions of media system comparison composing of (i). The development of media markets which indicated by the high and low circulations; (ii). The political parallelism defined by the level and nature of the relationship between media and political figures or, more broadly, the extent to which the media system reflects the major political power in community; (iii). The professionalism of journalistic such as autonomy, operational standard of the profession and public orientation; (iv). The level of state intervention in media practices. With four evaluation criteria, Hallin and Mancini may claim that they have managed to outperform the lack points of the too broad, unspecified and static of four theories of the press.

However, the offered four dimensions along with the described criteria are still not able to eliminate the gap to be criticized. First, it will be disproportionate if a political perspective considered as the only main entry point to examine the media system of a country as there are at least three other main entities that should be considered namely economic, social and technology matters.

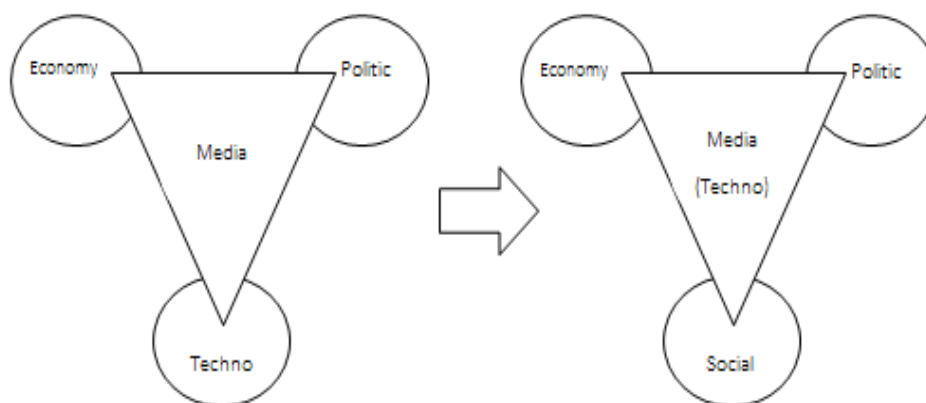


Figure 2.1. Positioning social aspects of media (Source: modified by writer from McQuail, 2005:220)

As the figure shown above, the social affair seen as an exogenous element that is more often to be neglected, so it should be put as an integral part among the other strong dominations. Accordingly, the comparative analysis should be divided into three main perspectives,

namely the perspective of economic, social and political, while the perspective of technology can be included as the technical core of the internal media. In this case, the emphasis of the three perspectives is given to how the existing social perspective of the media system can be strengthened so it will not be defeated by the economic and political interests. Briefly, the existing four dimensions of Hallin & Mancini should be grouped into three principal pillars so that there will be possibility to add, delete, or combine the relevant dimensions or sub dimensions based on those grand terms.

The emphasis of social dimension in the redefining of the model of Hallin and Mancini is necessary in order to promote the role and social function of the media in society. This adding is actually a fusion of alternative model of media system offered by Yin (2008) which focuses on freedom and social responsibility of the media as a two mutual dimensions. Yin's model is deemed to meet the social perspective of journalistic professionalism proposed by Hallin and Mancini. Thus, the combination of these two models may clarify the reinforced social part in the media system.

Second, as mentioned before, the economic, social and political pillars can be separated more detail into the primary and supplementary dimensions for analyzing the global media system specifically Asian media system. This specific separation will fill some missing units in the regular dimensions of Hallin and Mancini since the world media system needs more comprehensive illustration on each dimension.

Hallin and Mancini's original four dimensions namely media market, political parallelism, journalistic professionalism and state's intervention in the media system play a core dimension, while the extra dimensions such as media finance, media ownership, social responsibility of the media, media freedom, as well as political and governance system will serve an additional description. These sub dimensions are perceived as an extended part of the four dimensions and each of them will be classified according to the similarity for example media finance and media ownership sub dimensions will complete the dimension of media market in the economic perspective; the sub dimensions of media freedom and social responsibility of the media are seen more dominant as social perspective with the major dimensions of journalistic professionalism; and the sub dimensions of political and authorities system are categorized into the dimensions of political parallelism and the government's role in the media system (Hallin & Mancini, 2004; Rohrhofer, 2003; Yin, 2008).

Based on the entire adjustment of comparison dimensions, the clearer grouping of perspectives and dimensions can be elaborated in the following table:

Table 2.1. Adaptation & Modification of Comparative Dimensions of Media Systems

Perspective	Main Dimension	Description	Additional Dimension	Description
Economic	Media Market	Newspaper Circulation	Media Finance	Media funding source
			Media Ownership	Related Aspects of Public or Private Media Ownership

Social	Journalistic Professionalism	Media Autonomy, Operational Standards of the Profession and the Orientation of the Media	Social Responsibility of the Media	Social Functions or Role of Media
			Media Freedom	Media Censorship
Political	Political Parallelism	Media Political Orientation	The Political and Government System	Ideology of the State
	The Role of The State in Media System	State's Control on Media System		

Source: adapted and modified from Hallin & Mancini, 2004; Rohrhofer, 2013; Yin, 2008

Both of media finance and media ownership are considered as the two main additional points of the economic perspective in media because they define the main source of media funding and constitute which way the funded media will be operated for, either governmental operations or commercial purposes. Social responsibility of the media and media freedom are assumed as the two ideal or utopist dimensions in social perspective of media because they always trigger ongoing debate whether they can or cannot be embodied in a country's media system—they have translated by Yin into a model named freedom-social responsibility coordinate system and with these two dimensions added to Hallin & Mancini's comparison dimension would help to emphasize the notion of free and socially responsible media for a better media experience in global or Asian communities. Political and governance system also needs to be included to the political perspective along with political parallelism and the state's role since this element will reflect the entire country's political situation and policies as well as country's treatment to the media. These three major perspectives, four core dimensions of Hallin & Mancini and five sub core dimensions are expected to provide better indicators to assess the evolving system of global media in general and the five studied Asian countries in particular.

Assessing Asian Media Systems

Asia as the world's largest continent and the most populated one has five largest political and economic powers in the world consisting of Japan, China, South Korea, India and Indonesia. The five mentioned countries are also the representative of Asian socio-cultural pluralities as well as the diversities in media system practices. Below are several concise explanations about the media system practices in those five Asian states explored with the three main perspectives from the previous adapted and modified comparative dimensions.

Japan (East Asia)

Japan is one of the most advanced countries in the invention, innovation and application of digital technology for the sake of human life. Nonetheless, it does not cause dramatic changes in the level of consumption of the mainstream media especially newspaper and magazine which had already

emerged before the new digital media itself.

There are three kinds of newspapers in Japan called national newspaper (circulated in and to the whole country), regional newspaper (circulated in and to more than one prefecture) and local newspaper (circulated in and to one prefecture only) (Sugiyama in Curran & Park, 2000:193). Until now, the newspapers circulations are still dominated by the five largest national newspapers (Godaishi) called the Yomiuri newspaper (Yomiuri Shimbun), the Asahi newspaper (Asahi Shimbun), the Mainichi newspaper (Mainichi Shimbun), the Nikkei newspaper (Nihon Keizai Shimbun) and the Sankei newspaper (Sankei Shimbun) with up to 50 million of total circulation per day.

The existence of home to home distribution system for customers has helped to reduce the decreasing of circulation that might cause a lot of disadvantages in other countries. What is more, the establishment of network news agency and the influence of the exclusive club named Kisha (a press club system which gathers news and complicates outsiders to penetrate the primary domain of news makers) have led the five reputable newspapers to their success in mainstream media industry including their expand to the digital platform (Oishi *et al.*, 2012:20).

Japan has a public broadcasting corporation namely Nippon Hoso Kyokai (NHK) which internationally known as Japan Broadcasting Corporation and five private broadcasting corporations comprising of the Nippon News Network (NNN), the All Nippon News Network (ANN), the Japan News Network (JNN), the TX Network (TXN) and the Fuji News Network (FNN). These five commercial TV networks can only supply their news material from each of the five national newspapers, NNN from Yomiuri Shimbun, ANN from Asahi Shimbun, JNN from Mainichi Shimbun, TXN from Nikkei Shimbun and FNN from Sankei Shimbun (Oishi, *et al.*, 2012:20).

The liberal democratic system of the country's administration has made Japan as a country with a free status of press freedom in the world based on the latest data conducted by U.S. NGO, Freedom House, in 2015 (<https://freedomhouse.org/report/freedom-press/freedom-press-2015#.VIMQsfkrLIU>, accessed on 23 November 2015). Media in Japan are owned and served for public and private with the funding sources from the state and the market.

Despite its freedom of the press, Japanese media are still applying strict internal censorship. This censorship is intended to control and restrict reporting on some sensitive issues such as Japanese empire, Yakuza (a member of transnational syndicate of organized crime originating in Japan) etc. through the national, regional and local media all over Japan. Those issues are classified as restricted zone for the press. Political parallelism is at a moderate level, journalistic professionalism is still low in line with the poor quality of the social responsibility of media as they tend to chase the commercial side or increase rating and profiting (Sugiyama in Curran & Park, 2000:195).

China (East Asia)

China which known for its authoritarian government, fully owns, organizes and funds the existing media in the country. The Communist Party do tight control on political expression, speech, religion, association and any individual or large-scale movement of social group perceived as threaten

for the country (Yong Kun, *et al.*, 2012:15). China's Communist Party leaders exploited state-controlled media to propagate official views and vilify their perceived enemies (Freedom House, 2015).

However, some major changes have occurred since the commercialization of media which encouraged institutional transformation almost in all types of Chinese media (Ma in Curran & Myung, 2000:21-22). State has begun to reduce funding for the media which means that the state is no longer has a total intervention on the media so that the media will not merely become a mouthpiece for the party and the government, but the media can start to produce entertainment content to stimulate interest in the audience in order to gain more profits through advertising and subscriptions. The non-state actors also have begun to emerge and compete in the midst of media competition (Majid, 2004:557-558). Even though, the party and the government have issued numerous rules or policies which among of them is to apply strict content censorship both on the traditional media and online media (Yong Kun, *et al.*, 2012:16).

There are ± 3.000 TV stations in China, with the China Central Television (CCTV) as the predominant national television broadcasting corporations. It started trial-broadcasting in 1 May 1958 with TV programs and then went into an official operation in 2 September 1958. CCTV features 11 channels with a daily air time of more than 200 hours. About 66.4% of the television programs are produced by CCTV itself including general news, economics, the arts, opera, music, sport, movies, military affairs, science and technology, agriculture and programs for children. CCTV decided to open its online version in December 1996 and turned to be one of the country's first websites with contents in Chinese media. The internationalized website of CCTV ([cctv.com / cctv.com.cn](http://www.cctv.com/cctv.com.cn)) is aimed to provide wide-ranging information services in news programs and also entertainment attractions. Overall, CCTV plays an important role in education, information dissemination, culture, entertainment and social services (<http://www.cctv.com/english/20030805/101215.shtml>, accessed on 23 November 2015).

Radio network coverage is limited with the exception of the government-owned stations. One prestigious national radio is the China Radio International (CRI) that was founded in 3 December 1941 to introduce China to the rest of the world, introduce the world to China, report global affairs to the world and promote understanding and friendship between the Chinese and peoples from other countries. CRI uses 61 languages in its overseas reporting work and broadcasts a daily total of 2.700-plus programming hours. But unfortunately, CRI content is carefully scripted with the treatment of sensitive topics such as the banned Falun Gong spiritual group.

There are basically two types of newspapers called the official newspaper and the city newspaper with a total of ± 1.954 newspapers wholly owned and regulated by the government (Yong Kun, *et al.*, 2012:25-27). Similar to the radio, all sensitive matters on newspapers are also strictly censored and most of their contents reflect official policies and promote state programs. Xinhua News Agency is the biggest and the most influential news agency in China. It was founded in 1931 as the press outlet of the Chinese Communist Party. At present, Xinhua has 29 domestic channels and companies globally (<http://www.britannica.com/topic/Xinhua-News-Agencymedia>, accessed on 23 November 2015). Xinhua develops their own websites called Xinhuanet to provide the online channel for collecting and providing news and information among the Chinese and non-Chinese network media and audiences (http://news.xinhuanet.com/english/special/2015-09/06/c_134594253.htm, accessed on 23 November 2015). In spite of its tight state's control, China

has the high level of newspapers circulations which is similarly to Japan.

The political parallelism of Chinese media is really high as the government's control is remarkably firm on them. It affects to the low or poor condition of journalistic professionalism in China because they not only grow under the state pressures but also take more focuses on the profitable purposes. Moreover, propaganda authorities tightened control over liberal media outlets and alternative channels of news dissemination during 2014. Professional journalists from established news agencies were subjected to the long-term detention and imprisonment alongside freelancers, online activists and ethnic minority reporters for the first time in several years. The new regulations on journalist accreditation and restricted reporters' ability to publish articles in foreign and Hong Kong-based news outlets led to the firing of few journalists. Government even limits the using of social networking sites such as Sina Weibo, Tencent Weibo, as well as Tencent WeChat messenger originating in China to share uncensored information by ordinary citizens and journalists (Freedom House, 2015:10-11). The Chinese government and Communist Party are seemingly paying serious attention to the censorship policies either for general mass media or internet in order to dispel all possibly dangerous information.

South Korea (East Asia)

South Korea has started to implement a more democratic system in the practice of government authorities and this implementation has contributed greater implications in determining this country's media system (Kwak, 2012:1). The democratic system of the government had led to the emerging new powers in the media industry both printed and electronic platforms which seek to escape from the confines of the state.

Since the political system transition to democracy in 1987, the three newspapers industries consisting of the Chosun Ilbo, the Dong-A Ilbo and the JoongAng Ilbo have transformed into the more powerful printed media companies. Interestingly, these three largest newspapers in South Korea were stemmed from the family business. Chosun newspaper was owned by Bang Woo-Young who also had a hospitality business, Dong-A newspaper was owned by the family of former President Kim Young-sam and JoongAng newspaper were once owned by Samsung Group (Kwak, 2012:72). In terms of circulation ranking, Chosun Ilbo was ranked in the top level followed by JoongAng Ilbo and Dong-A Ilbo (<http://www.pressreference.com/Sa-Sw/South-Korea.html>, accessed on 24 November 2015). The three major newspapers also publish their own magazines focusing on fashions, literatures, sports, etc.

All broadcasted news is supplied from the national news agency named Yonhap. Yonhap News Agency has dozens of correspondents all over the cities and overseas to cover not only South Korean affairs, but also international issues from the unique perspective. This agency also collaborates with various numbers of global news agencies including the Associated Press, Reuters, Agence France-Presse, Xinhua News Agency and many more. They even started to provide North Korean news by exchanging news services after a contract with the Korean Central News Agency (KCNA) signed in December 2002.

In the broadcasting industry, South Korea has two major groups of television networks consisting of two public broadcasting services called Korean Broadcasting System (KBS) and Munhwa

Broadcasting Corporation (MBC) while the other one commercial broadcasting company named Seoul Broadcasting System (SBS). MBC is a unique institution because the funding relies heavily on advertising while the ownership is held by the government (Kwak, 2011:93). Additionally, Yonhap Television News (YTN), a subsidiary of the Yonhap News Agency, is emerging as an all-news channel. South Korean media also has one leading broadcast network in instructional and educational programming called Educational Broadcasting System (EBS) and a number of small-scale cable television channels. Young people of Koreans watch the American Forces Korea Network (AFKN) television channel in order to improve their English or to follow the latest trend of American programs (<http://www.pressreference.com/Sa-Sw/South-Korea.html>, accessed on 24 November 2015).

Overall, in contrast to Japan or China, according to the most recent data of press freedom by Freedom House 2015, the level of media freedom in the South Korea is partly free (<https://freedomhouse.org/report/freedom-press/freedom-press-2015#.VIMQsfrLIU>, accessed on 23 November 2015). Although this country does not have an official government agency to control the media, the press does have the tight regulations of self-censorship towards the sacred territory such as the will of the president or the empire. Newspapers circulations are not high, journalistic professionalism, political parallelism and state's control are all at the low level due to the media focus mostly on business and entertainment purposes.

India (South Asia)

India is the largest democratic country in the world and during the last five years, there have been a significant number of expansions of print media in the regional market. The five largest newspapers in India are Dainik Jagran (Hindi language), Dainik Bhaskar (Hindi language), Hindustan (Hindi language), Amar Ujala (Hindi language) and Lokmat (Marathi language) (Parthasarathi, *et al.*, 2012:30).

In addition to the rapid growth of Indian newspapers, television news channel also experienced the same growth during the 2000s. The market share of news channels increased dramatically in 2008, a year with a lot of news events including the terrorist attacks in Mumbai. The Indian Ministry of Information & Broadcasting plays an important role in helping peoples to have their access to information from radio, television, film, the press, publication, advertisement, dance show and drama. The ministry fosters the dissemination of knowledge and entertainment in all sectors of society and encourages the balance between public interests and commercial needs (<http://www.pressreference.com/Gu-Ku/India.html>, accessed on 24 November 2015).

Data based on Freedom House in 2015 showed that Indian press freedom is partly free with the absence of strict control of the government (<https://freedomhouse.org/report/freedom-press/freedom-press-2015#.VIQOsPkrLIU>, accessed on 24 November 2015). Even so, the media self-censorship and self-regulatory are still enforced. The same with other democratic countries, the press is the fourth pillar in the embodiment of democratic life in India. The press attempts to perform the role as a watch dog of state's misappropriation such as the corruption of the political elites (Yin, 2008:34). The press also has an independent self-regulatory body named the Press Council of India (PCI) to investigate complaints or irresponsible reporting, but it does not have punitive powers. As a result, the political parallelism and the state's control of the Indian media tend to decrease (low) while

the journalistic professionalism and the social responsibility of the media are fairly in the medium level.

Indonesia (Southeast Asia)

Indonesian media have been through tough and complicated times. There's no doubt about the tremendous pressures and restraints of mass media from the old order to the new order of Indonesian government regimes. At that time, most of the media were in a dilemmatic conflict of interests between the acquiescence to the state's authorities and the fulfillment of people needs—they would be perceived as enemies if opposed the state or would be considered as friends if favored the regime (Siregar, 2000:175). Then the reformation order arises and spearheads to the media legitimacy—it is pretended as a reborn for the press that has been silenced for long time as they could define this freedom by doing what they were afraid to do before. But unfortunately, this freedom of the press 'celebration' sometimes gets too excessive and out of control.

There are ± 1.000 new newspapers since 2008 though many of them only have small readers amount. Among these thousands of newspapers, there are five biggest newspapers consisting of Kompas, Warta Kota, Jawa Pos, Pos Kota, Pikiran Rakyat and Suara Merdeka. Kompas, the leading and most widely read newspaper, is the national newspaper based in Jakarta with the target readers are educated, upper and middle urban classes that are in their productive ages. Kompas has clinched 2015 WAN-IFRA's Top World Young Reader Prize for its multimedia approach to reach a young audience and help them become more active in society (<http://www.wan-ifra.org/articles/2015/08/25/anf-julaug-2015>, accessed on 24 November 2015). Jawa Pos, similar to Kompas, based in Surabaya, targeting the middle and lower middle class which are at a young age. Pos Kota, a yellow newspaper targeting the lower middle class with criminal, sex, law and sport contents. Warta Kota, owned by Kompas Group, is similar to Pos Kota in terms of contents. Pikiran Rakyat and Suara Merdeka are the local newspaper; both of them respectively located in Bandung (covering West Java province) and Semarang (covering Central Java province) (Ambardi, *et al.*, 2014:21).

In the realm of broadcasting media, there is a public broadcasting radio, Radio Republik Indonesia (RRI) and there are at least sixteen popular national television stations today which consisting of one public television, Televisi Republik Indonesia (TVRI) and nine private television stations for instance Rajawali Citra Televisi Indonesia (RCTI) (the first and the oldest Indonesian private television station), ANTV, Global TV, Indosiar, iNews TV, Kompas TV, Metro TV, MNC TV (formely TPI), Rajawali Televisi, SCTV, Trans TV, Trans 7, tvOne (formerly Lativi), Televisi Edukasi (TVE) and NET (<http://www.asiawaves.net/indonesia-tv.htm>, accessed on 24 November 2015). The most watched news programs are broadcasted by entertainment and current affairs channels; none of them is aired by channels specializing in news such as Metro TV, tvOne, Kompas TV, or iNews TV. Each of these news programs generally takes 30 minutes long and broadcasts common news for instance economic and political news (Ambardi, *et al.*, 2014:22).

Indonesia is categorized as a country with a partly free press according to Freedom House in 2015. It is because there are two regulatory agencies of the press and broadcasters such as Dewan Pers (Indonesian legitimated Press Council) and Komisi Penyiaran Indonesia (KPI) (Indonesian Broadcasting Commission) which carry out the functions of external censorship on the performance

of the media—but still the media need to implement their own internal censorship.

The professionalism of journalistic can be considered low by the lack of professional standards and ethical codes among journalists (Yin, 2008:16). Indonesian journalists remain subject to attacks and physical harassment from both the authorities and non-state actors as they tried to report sensitive topics for example conflicts, separatism movements, etc. Moreover, the state’s intervention and political parallelism are simply increased as showed in the 2014 national presidential election recently—some media were indicated to show their supports openly for one of the two pair candidates.

The level of social responsibility of the press is quite low because at the most parts of the mainstream media only prioritize commercial interests rather than the interests of society (Sendjaja in Noeradi, 2008:458). What is more, TVRI as the only public broadcasting institution in the country has started to accentuate the television programs driven by ratings in order to attract as many ads and profits (Sudiby, 2004:317).

Accumulated Assessment of the Five Countries

It is obviously can be summarized that the five assessed Asian countries have a number of characteristics that can be equated and cannot be equated. Those characteristics can be tabulated as follows:

Table 3.1. Five Asian Media Systems Characteristics

No.	Dimension	Japan	China	South Korea	India	Indonesia
1.	Media Market (Newspaper Circulation)	High	High	Low	High	Low
2.	Media Finance	State & Market	State & Market	State & Market	Market	State & Market
3.	Media Ownership	Public & Private	Public & Private	Public & Private	Private	Public & Private
4.	Journalistic Professionalism	Low	Low	Low	Low	Low
5.	Social Responsibility of the Media	Low	Low	Low	Low	Low
6.	Media Freedom	Free	Not free	Partly Free	Partly Free	Partly Free
7.	Political Parallelism	Moderate	High	Moderate	Low	High

8.	State Role	Weak	Strong	Weak	Weak	Weak
9.	State Ideology	Libertarian-Democratic	Authoritarian-Libertarian	Democratic	Democratic	Democratic

Source: compiled from Ambardi *et al.*, 2014; Curran & Park, 2000; Freedom House, 2015; Kwak, 2012; Parthasarathi, *et al.*, 2012; Oishi *et al.*, 2012; Yong *et al.*, 2012.

The accumulation results indicate that although the four main criteria from Hallin & Mancini have already inserted to examine the model of media practices in five Asian countries, but still there is no exact results matched with the models proposed by Hallin & Mancini in the media systems of Mediterranean, European and American countries—the models of media systems by Hallin & Mancini are: (i). Polarized pluralist model is characterized by a low level of media market, a low journalistic professionalism, a high political parallelism and a strong role of the state; (ii). Democratic corporatist model is characterized by a high level of media market, journalistic professionalism and political parallelism and a strong role of the state; (iii). Liberal model is characterized by a medium level of media market, a high journalistic professionalism and political parallelism and a strong-weak role of the state (Hallin & Mancini, 2004:67). It means that the system of Asian media cannot simply adopt the three introduced models by Hallin and Mancini because of the significant differences in those four criteria results.

In spite of the differences, there is a possibility to combine that three models to the five Asian countries based on the proximity consideration in some assessed characteristics for instance (i). Japan and China media systems tends to the collaboration of two models, democratic corporatist and liberal models, because they both have a high level of media market, journalistic professionalism and political parallelism (which almost near to the condition of democratic corporatist model) but with the weaker state's control in Japan and stronger control in China (can be grouped to the state's control condition in liberal model), (ii). South Korea, India and Indonesia tend to apply the fusion model of polarized pluralist and liberal as three of them have a low level of media market and journalistic professionalism with a high political parallelism but a weaker state's control.

However, the crossing combination of Hallin & Mancini's models to explain the media systems in five Asian countries will not provide another perspective as it is just show a repetition of the existed models. Put another way, Hallin & Mancini's model derived from four dimensions alone is still not sufficient to portray the five new added characters of Asian media systems, so that again the efforts are to combine all of them as one unity and put more accentuation on social perspective which is considered more Asian as discussed previously.

Overall, the analysis proves the idea that media system is a system that is very dynamic and not easy to establish one specific model as it may contain certain weaknesses. Nevertheless, the dynamic nature should be considered as first and foremost component to be possessed by a media system model. Thus, besides the necessary of a dynamic model of media system that can accommodate changes immediately, the social values of media are also required on each media system all around the world (Yin, 2008:27).

Emphasizing Asian Perspective: A Freedom-Responsibility Coordinate System Model

Jiafei Yin (2008) introduced the freedom-responsibility coordinate system model with the assumption that the previous model of media systems are not able to cover all aspects and social dynamic as characters that should be owned by a global media system especially in Asian countries. Yin also claimed that there is a disharmony between the values of Western culture and Eastern culture (Asian)—Western cultures always considered to be superior to other cultures. One of the distinctive cultures of Asia and could counterbalance the Western culture is a culture of Confucianism (particularly originated in China) which has developed different modernization, reduced hostility and individualism. For Yin, Eastern and Western cultures are alike in exclusivity and uniqueness which must be harmonized in order to produce the concept of universality in determining the world media system (Yin, 2008:39).

Yin’s model illustrates that a free press can be responsible or irresponsible and that a non-free press can also be responsible or not responsible (Yin, 2008:46). In addition, this model also believes in the possibility of a responsible authoritarian system and a responsible liberal system (Merrill in Yin, 2008:46).

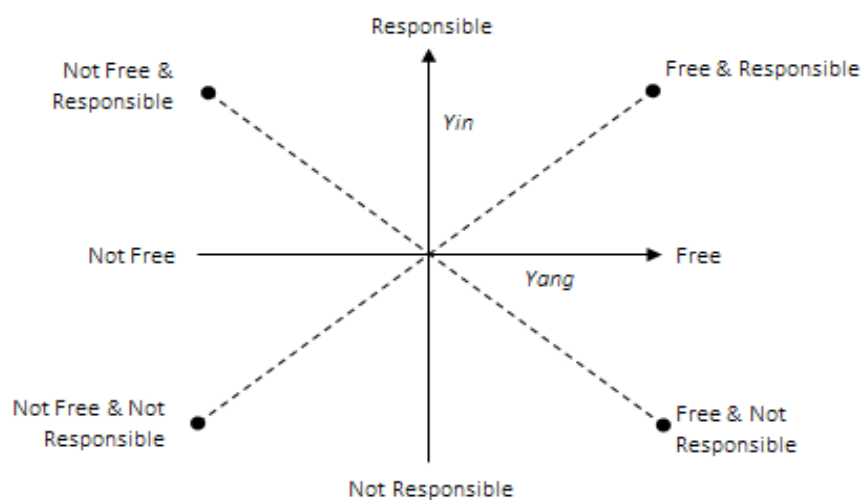


Figure 4.1. Yin’s media system model (Source: Yin, 2008:50)

This model is claimed more dynamic not only because it can accommodate changes in certain media system, but also it can reflect changes in the structure of the model. In the debate on press freedom and responsible press in Western countries, the concept of freedom of the press often defeats the concept of a responsible press. But, through the axis line *yin* and *yang*, these two concepts will be complementing and balancing one another (Yin, 2008:54). The empty areas around axis indicate the possibility of a partly free media system and partly social responsible.

First, free and social responsible model: it is difficult to find a perfect example of a free press and socially responsible, but major countries such as America, Britain and Japan have a free press and

continue to attempt the attention in the social affairs. In the process, the press must be consistent in maintaining position as a social agency that is responsible to the public both in the midst of the insistence of the media market and the restraints of state propaganda (Yin, 2008: 50).

Second, free but socially irresponsible model: this system is usually tends to exist in the new democratic country with highly competitive media market—the media can be a pure business industry that take profits from advertising, subscriptions and sponsorships. Political partisan press is also possible to form mainly due to the implementation of a young democratic system. Consequently, the contents will be too political, sensational and entertaining. Japan, Indonesia, South Korea, India and some Eastern European countries are the appropriate examples (Yin, 2008: 50-51).

Third, not free but socially responsible model: the press in this model tends to favor social purposes under government or public pressure, or both. For example, in Saudi Arabia and most of the Islamic countries, the newspaper is forbidden to criticize Islam and must be free from pornography. In many developing countries in Asia, Africa and South America portray the national development as a top priority and expect the media to serve as a tool for national improvement. In Indonesia, the issue of ethnicity, religion and race (SARA) and the other risky issues are banned to be reported so government can maintain the integrity of society and state. Likewise the Chinese government will imprison anybody who endangers the country's regime. Despite the tight control, media in this system still can obtain financial support from the government, public or social institutions (Yin, 2008:51-52).

Fourth, not free and not responsible model: This is the most extreme model because the media do not have a lot of freedom, control implemented unilaterally by the government even though most likely not supported by the people. Media in this group are also banned to criticize the government or expose the corrupt political elite. The media do not have the freedom to make their own editorial decisions and the public opinion suppressed by the state. The most common example is the media in North Korea (Yin, 2008: 52-53).

On the whole, from the four models offered by Yin with the emphasis on the social responsibility of the media and media freedom can be said that there are two models which can reflect the media system in Asia called free but irresponsible model for media system in India, South Korea, Japan and Indonesia and not free but responsible in the country of China and again Indonesia.

The Combination Model of Hallin & Mancini and Yin

The meeting point of the two Yin's model combined with the two models obtained from the reanalysis of Hallin & Mancini's model can be determined that the media systems of five Asian countries are: (i). Japan is likely to implement a model of democratic corporatist and liberal with freedom of its press but socially irresponsible, (ii). China is having a model of democratic corporatist and liberal with the least of freedom of media but highly responsible to the public, (iii). South Korea regulates polarized pluralist and liberal model with the lack of media freedom but socially responsible, (iv). India is practicing polarized pluralist and liberal model with responsible media and (v). Indonesia is tends to employ polarized pluralist and liberal model yet perceived unstable in terms of media freedom and social responsibility—Indonesia has a blurred position in between the two existing models. In this case, it can be concluded that media system model in Indonesia have a fairly serious problem in freedom and social responsibility of the media. Therefore, it is necessary to assert

a position of freedom and social responsibility of the media in Indonesia.

Indonesian Focus

For approximately three decades, Indonesian media have gone through several problems related to the government banning, censorship, repression, exploitation, criminalization and other things that bury deep the freedom and social responsibility of the press.

Reflecting to the past, Indonesia which currently holds the title as one of the largest democracy countries in the world, certainly will not reenact the authoritarian media system that implemented during the reign of President Soeharto. But unfortunately, as can be seen today, there is no solid media system adapted perfectly to the circumstances of Indonesian media as indicated by the poor implementation of media practices. Indonesian media systems act like a chameleon that changes its color according to the habitat that it lived—the dynamic adjustment yet inconsistent and elusive (Hallin & Mancini, 2004; McCargo, 2012).

The chameleon-like media system historically proved when the media changed its role and functions during the three substantial phases of government started from old order, new order, to reformation order—media began as an instrument tool of development and a country's political vehicle then projected to have a lack of freedom but still socially responsible to the masses and finally demanded to gain a full freedom. Implicitly, it can be analyzed that the main problems of the media system in Indonesia are questioning the media freedom and social responsibility.

Referring to the two models that have been analyzed: (i). Hallin and Mancini's model, by looking at the proximity of the assessment characteristics conducted on four dimensions, the Indonesian media system is currently leaning on the model of polarized pluralist characterized by the low newspaper circulations, low journalistic professionalism, high political parallelism but loose state's control (Hallin & Mancini, 2004:67-68) and (ii). Yin's model shows that Indonesian media system are in between the junction of the two models which are the free media but with the absence of responsibility (also called free but not socially responsible model) and the social responsibility model yet not free (known as not free but socially responsible model). In other words, it can be said that Indonesian media system model is the model which is not completely free and it does not entirely carry out its social responsibility to the public (partly free and partly social responsible) (Yin, 2008:50-52).

Although there are two system models that can describe the tendency of the media system today, there is only one system model which is the most superior one to be adopted by Indonesian country. The system is a blend of the system polarized pluralist and partly free but socially responsible according to some terms and conditions:

(i). Journalistic professionalism should be improved by setting a firm and obvious standardization of press organization and practice,

(ii). High political parallelism must be dealt strictly by the government under the press council and other related parties when the parallelism of political starts to disturb and detrimental to the public

in terms of obtaining information—should be kept in mind that the press is not the political accomplices,

(iii). Rethinking the definition of national press referred to Law No. 40 year 1999 as it raises the question of whether the national press includes the local press and the private press organized by the Indonesian press company. The clarity of definition is important because it will affect the translation of press freedom in article 4,

(iv). The needs to redefine the meaning of freedom or freedom of the press as well as censorship in Law 40 year 1999 particularly in article 4 paragraph 1 and 2 which states that freedom of the press is guaranteed as citizens' rights and the national press is not subject to censorship, banning or prohibition of broadcasting. Both paragraphs seem to emphasize that freedom of the press is a total free without censorship, but in fact the censorship must still be done by the internal media itself or the government if the offending forbidden things like ethnicity, religion and race (SARA) may threat the integrity of the state, intimidate and cause excessive anxiety, disrupt social stability, etc.,

(v). Enforcing the status of the press as a social institution by strengthening its social responsibility function as stated in Law No. 40 year 1999 article 1-3. In article 1 paragraph 1 has been expressly stated that the press is a social institution and a vehicle for mass communication conducting journalistic activities and in article 3 paragraph 1 explains that the press serves as a medium of information, education, entertainment and social control, while paragraph 2 says that the press can play as economic institution with the intention of giving welfare to journalists and press employees. But unfortunately, the implementation of article 3 paragraph 1 and paragraph 2 should be made recklessly toward the establishment of Indonesian media capitalists who care more about ratings and profits rather than social affairs. Therefore, the government and press must agree on the rules and strict sanctions if the press intentionally or unintentionally ignores its social responsibility,

(vi). Setting the clear limitations on what can and cannot be done by the public press and private press—public press should be used for the greatest public interest and is not allowed to do business interests alone as well as private press which is also not justified subject to the market interests and dismisses its social responsibility.

Indonesian media system needs to be chosen and clarified its color at this time. The freest of media freedom is not the best choice when there is still a social responsibility that will always be contained in media. The model of free but responsible to the social is a long time effort to win the guise of freedom but beat social responsibility. Therefore, it is better if the Indonesian media are not entirely free with some serious corrections in terms of regulations and enforcements. Overall, Indonesian media system must fight for its social responsibility so that the political and economic hegemony could be disallowed.

Conclusion

The four classic press system models and the four comparative dimensions of Hallin and Mancini are still relevant to be used as a fundamental reference for assessing the media system not only in Western countries but also in Asian countries such as Japan, China, South Korea, India and

Indonesia. Indeed it will be very difficult to match the results as similar as possible with the Asian condition that mostly seeks to revive the new democratic atmosphere, but the existed dimensions of evaluation still can be combined with other key dimensions (not only in political perspective, but also in economic and social perspectives e.g. state ideology, media ownership, media freedom, media financing and social responsibility of the media) so the result can be more comprehensive and holistic.

One of the offered system models that can be used is a model named coordinate system of freedom-social responsibility delivered by Jiafei Yin. The emphasis of her model is based dominantly on the social perspective of media and considered as an input from Asian perspective to Hallin & Mancini's model systems that tend to observe the media system in more political and economic ways. With four proposed models that focus on freedom and social responsibility of the media, Yin combines the eastern and western perspectives to produce harmonization and dynamism of the media system for Asian countries and the world.

The literature analysis finds that the media system models of five chosen countries cannot be precisely defined or grouped into one proper model. One media system model should be combined with other media system models in order to encompass the entirety of media implementations in a country.

According to the history records, Indonesian media system is still caught by the problems of press freedom and its social responsibility. Yin's model indicates that Indonesian media system is not completely free and does not profusely perform its responsibility to the public. Similar to the analysis, based on Indonesian media system characteristics compiled from four regular dimensions of Hallin and Mancini and another five extra dimensions found that Indonesian media system can be classified to the merged model of polarized pluralist and liberal with low level of media market, low performance of journalistic professionalism, high political parallelism and weak state's control. Based on these results, the most appropriate model system to be run in Indonesia is a media system which is not completely free (do self-censorship or state-censorship in the proper situation and condition). The media should increase the social responsibility functions and do not allow the political and economic interests rules everything.

All in all, the important agenda that must continue to be done in the future is the search for the new well established models with a universal perspective in describing worldwide media systems.

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NATIONAL STREAM

Analisis *Job Dissatisfaction* dan Strategi Mengeliminir *Job Dissatisfaction* Pekerja Sosial dalam Organisasi Komunitas Peduli Autisme

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Abstrak

Tulisan ini merupakan makalah konseptual yang akan mereview tentang alasan munculnya *job dissatisfaction* pada diri pekerja sosial dan bagaimana strategi mengeliminir *job dissatisfaction* pada diri mereka dengan melakukan *theoretical building* dalam menjelaskan *job dissatisfaction* dengan menggunakan penggabungan beberapa teori yang terkait dengan *dissatisfaction* seperti teori *hierarchy theory*, *ERG theory*, *motivators-hygiene theory*, *expectancy theory* dan *social exchange theory*. Fenomena ini diangkat karena pekerja sosial baik itu yang menangani *abuse*, *homelessness*, *poverty*, *discrimination*, *illness*, dan *disability* terutama yang menangani *autism* seringkali memiliki dilema antara mengutamakan kepentingan organisasinya, kepentingan keluarga maupun kepentingan dirinya sendiri. Kenyataan inilah yang cenderung memicu *job dissatisfaction* pada diri pekerja sosial. Makalah konseptual ini akan berusaha melakukan *theoretical building* dalam menjelaskan fenomena ini.

Kata kunci: *job dissatisfaction*, pekerja sosial, strategi mengeliminir *job dissatisfaction*

1. Pendahuluan

Tulisan ini merupakan makalah konseptual yang akan mereview dan menganalisis teori terkait dengan *Job Dissatisfaction* dan Strategi Mengeliminir *Job Dissatisfaction* Pekerja Sosial Dalam Organisasi Komunitas Peduli Autisme, yang melihat tentang: 1) *job dissatisfaction* apa yang dirasakan pekerja sosial ketika bergabung dengan *autism community organization*, 2) bagaimana strategi organisasi komunitas autism dalam upaya mengeliminir *job dissatisfaction* pekerja sosial ini. Kesemuanya ini akan dilihat melalui tinjauan teoritis *community organization* dan penerapan teori *hierarchy theory*, *ERG theory*, *motivators-hygiene theory*, *expectancy theory* dan *social exchange theory* dikaitkan dengan masalah ketika seorang individu pekerja sosial bergabung dalam organisasi komunitas yang *concern* pada masalah autism di Indonesia.

Tema ini diangkat berdasarkan fenomena di masyarakat yang tidak hanya terjadi di Indonesia tetapi di negara lainpun juga mengalami hal serupa, yaitu pekerja sosial baik yang bekerja di organisasi komunitas yang menangani *abuse*, *homelessness*, *poverty*, *discrimination* dan *illness* maupun yang menangani *disability* termasuk autism rawan akan stress yang berkorelasi pada rendahnya tingkat *job*

satisfaction (usnews.com, n.d.). Stress ini bisa berasal dari dalam organisasi komunitas seperti hubungan dengan *co-worker* lain dan hubungan dengan klien maupun dari keluarga mereka. Hal inilah yang mendorong penulis untuk mengkaji tema ini, karena asumsinya para pekerja sosial ini harus meluangkan waktu yang tidak sedikit dalam mengikuti aktivitas sosialnya termasuk pula harus membagi waktu dengan keluarga mereka. Kondisi ini seringkali memicu konflik dalam diri pekerja sosial ketika diposisikan untuk menentukan prioritas perhatian khususnya kepada siapa? Kepada komunitas autismenya ataukah kepada keluarganya? Apakah ini membuat mereka *satisfied* (nyaman) dengan aktivitas mereka sekarang?

Dari penjabaran di atas maka tulisan ini ingin mengulas dan menganalisis tentang *job dissatisfaction* yang dirasakan pekerja sosial ketika bergabung dengan *autism community organization*, analisis *job dissatisfaction* dari berbagai tinjauan teori dan strategi organisasi komunitas autism dalam mengeliminir *job dissatisfaction* pekerja sosial ini.

2. Pembahasan

2.1 Analisis tentang *Job Dissatisfaction* Pekerja Sosial di Beberapa Studi Terdahulu

Dissatisfaction adalah kondisi tidak nyaman bagi seseorang yang disebabkan oleh faktor internal dan eksternal dirinya, dan bila dikaitkan dengan pekerjaan (*job*) maka *job dissatisfaction* adalah kondisi tidak nyaman yang dirasakan seseorang di tempat kerja karena faktor internal ataupun karena faktor eksternal dirinya.

Hasil studi sebelumnya menemukan bahwa pekerja sosial yang menangani masalah *abuse, homelessness, poverty, discrimination, illness* dan *disabilities* memiliki tingkat stress yang tinggi. Pekerja sosial ini seringkali merasa depresi, tidak gembira, tidak mendapatkan perhatian yang sepatutnya, tidak bisa memberikan kebahagiaan bagi keluarganya dan tidak sejahtera hidupnya (Jessen, 2010, p. 1-18; usnews.com, n.d.).

Munculnya perasaan *dissatisfaction* pekerja sosial ini menurut analisis penulis berdasarkan beberapa jurnal yang menjadi referensi tulisan ini—walau tidak seluruhnya berasal dari pekerja sosial yang peduli autism—disebabkan beberapa faktor diantaranya adalah:

Pertama, tuntutan penggunaan kemampuan empati yang tinggi.

Memang pada kenyataannya, seorang pekerja sosial dihadapkan pada tuntutan untuk menggunakan kemampuan empati yang tinggi dalam menangani klien yang bermasalah dalam *abuse, homelessness, poverty, discrimination, illness* dan *disabilities* termasuk pula *disabilities* autism. Tuntutan ini seringkali membuat klien *satisfied*, nyaman, bahagia dan tenang, sementara di pihak lain justru semakin lama tuntutan ini semakin membuat individu pekerja sosial jenuh dan terjerat dalam stress dan depresi. Hal ini bisa dimaklumi karena sebenarnya individu pekerja sosial memang memiliki keterlibatan personal, perasaan dan emosional yang dalam (Collins, 2008, p. 1173-1193) ketika menangani masalah klien terutama yang mengidap *disabilities* autisme, sehingga semakin lama berimbas pada timbulnya rasa kelelahan menangani berbagai macam masalah klien.

Klien autisme memang sebagian besar memiliki kecenderungan hiperaktif terutama ketika sedang *tantrum* dan pekerja sosial dituntut memiliki tingkat kesabaran yang luar biasa dalam

menangani klien autisme, agar bisa dekat dengan kliennya. Tuntutan terhadap tingkat empati dan kesabaran yang tinggi dalam menangani klien autisme inilah yang seringkali membuat individu pekerja sosial juga memerlukan bantuan seseorang untuk mengurangi tingkat depresi dan stress yang dimilikinya.

Bantuan ini diharapkan datang dari pihak supervisornya, *co-worker*-nya, maupun dari keluarganya. Namun ditemukan hal yang menarik dalam studi sebelumnya, bahwa ada perbedaan bantuan yang diharapkan dari pekerja sosial berdasarkan gender. Pekerja sosial perempuan lebih menginginkan bantuan berupa dukungan emosional seperti memahami perasaan dan emosinya serta mampu menampung segala keluhannya, sedangkan pekerja sosial laki-laki cenderung menginginkan bantuan berupa solusi pemecahan masalah (*problem solving*) (Collins, 2008, p. 1173-1193).

Kedua, konflik tuntutan peran dalam pekerjaan dan keluarga (*inter-role conflict*).

Seringkali tuntutan yang dihadapi individu pekerja sosial tidak bisa dianggap remeh. Mereka terkadang dituntut untuk melakukan peran yang baik di kedua sisi yaitu dalam pekerjaan dan keluarga. Kondisi ini menyebabkan terjadinya *inter-role conflict* (Grant-Vallone & Donaldson, 2001, p. 214-226).

Data menunjukkan bahwa dalam hal pekerjaan sosial terkadang jumlah klien tidak seimbang dengan jumlah pekerja sosialnya. Jumlah klien terutama penyandang autisme dari tahun ke tahun angkanya bertambah, sedangkan jumlah tenaga atau pekerja sosialnya sedikit dan cenderung tidak bertambah (Retno & Yeremia, 2012, p. 5-7). Kenyataan ini menyebabkan *overloaded hours worked* pada pekerja sosial di lingkungan kerjanya. *Work stressors* atau *work pressures* semacam ini menyebabkan individu pekerja sosial merasa tidak mendapat suport *resources* yang memadai dari organisasi komunitasnya terutama supervisornya. Sementara mereka sendiri juga diharuskan bisa membagi waktunya dalam berperan di keluarganya. Tekanan dalam keluarga ini seringkali disebut *non work stressor* atau *home pressures* seperti masalah yang timbul dalam hubungan perkawinan mereka dan jumlah anak yang mereka miliki—yang semuanya ini harus ditanggung juga oleh pekerja sosial.

Hasil penelitian sebelumnya menunjukkan bahwa pekerja sosial yang berjenis kelamin perempuan, berstatus *dual earner couples* dan *single parents*, serta yang sudah memiliki anak atau memiliki banyak anak berkecenderungan memiliki tingkat *inter-role conflict* yang tinggi daripada pekerja sosial yang berjenis kelamin laki-laki, tidak berstatus *dual earner couples* dan tidak berstatus *single parents*, serta belum memiliki anak (Grant-Vallone & Donaldson, 2001, p. 214-226). *Inter-role conflict* ini semakin parah ketika pekerja sosial ini sudah berkeluarga dan memiliki anak terlebih jika memiliki banyak anak sementara kondisi pernikahannya juga tidak mendukung (dalam arti sedang mengalami goncangan). *Non-work stressors* (seperti banyak anak, perkawinan yang tidak bahagia) semacam ini menyebabkan individu pekerja sosial tidak mendapat suport dari keluarganya seperti yang diharapkannya.

Data lain menunjukkan pekerja sosial yang sudah menjadi orang tua lebih cenderung mengalami konflik peran dalam pekerjaan dan keluarga sebesar 58% dibanding dengan yang belum menjadi orang tua hanya 42%. Biasanya konflik yang terjadi dalam diri individu pekerja sosial yang telah menjadi orang tua adalah *objective conflict* dan *psychological conflict* (Grant-Vallone & Donaldson, 2001, p. 214-226). Contoh dari *objective conflict* adalah ketidakmampuan individu pekerja sosial ini dalam mensejajarkan kepentingan pekerjaan dengan kehidupan rumah tangga, seperti mana

yang akan didahulukan antara *morning report* (laporan pagi) dengan mengantarkan anaknya ke sekolah. Sedangkan contoh dari *psychological conflict* adalah ketidakmampuan individu pekerja sosial ini dalam membagi dan meluangkan waktu antara pekerjaan dan keluarga, seperti mana yang akan diprioritaskan antara waktu untuk *gathering* atau lembur di kantor dengan *gathering* dengan keluarga.

Inter-role conflict ini erat kaitannya dengan *gender role theory* (Grandey, Cordeiro, & Crouter, 2005, p. 1-20), di mana negara-negara yang menganut sistem patriarki seperti Indonesia masih banyak membebankan tanggung jawab rumah tangga kepada istri (kaum perempuan), sehingga selain istri juga bekerja sebagai pekerja sosial di luar rumah, dia tetap harus mengemban tugas sebagai pengurus rumah tangga setelah pulang dari organisasi komunitas autism. Waktu dan energi pekerja sosial perempuan dalam organisasi komunitas autism ini seringkali habis untuk pekerjaan dan keluarganya, yang menyebabkan dirinya tidak memiliki waktu untuk kesenangan dirinya sendiri. Inilah yang menyebabkan pekerja sosial perempuan memiliki tingkat stress dan depresi lebih tinggi daripada pekerja sosial laki-laki.

Dari penjabaran di atas dapat dikatakan bahwa *inter-role conflict* inilah yang membuat pekerja sosial mengalami *higher stress, depression, lower life satisfaction* dan *lower quality of family life* terlebih bila tidak mendapat dukungan dari supervisor maupun keluarganya. Data menunjukkan 75% responden pekerja sosial yang didukung oleh keluarga dan temannya bisa melaksanakan pekerjaan organisasi komunitasnya lebih mudah daripada yang tidak didukung oleh keluarga dan temannya (Collins, 2008, p. 1173-1193).

Ketiga, tuntutan pekerjaan *administrative* yang tinggi.

Seorang pekerja sosial seringkali selain menangani klien juga dihadapkan pada kegiatan dan pekerjaan *administrative* lain seperti *report meeting, report writing, phone calls*, memberi ceramah dan seminar serta masih banyak kegiatan *administrative* yang lain (Collins, 2008, p. 1173-1193). Pekerjaan semacam inilah yang membuat pekerja sosial merasa mengemban tanggung jawab ganda atau lebih dari sekedar ganda yaitu pekerjaan dengan klien, pekerjaan *administrative* di organisasi dan pekerjaan di rumah mereka sendiri. *Work loads* semacam inilah yang membuat pekerja sosial seringkali merasa tidak *satisfied*.

Keempat, ketidakseimbangan *reward* yang diterima dengan *energy* yang dikeluarkan oleh pekerja sosial.

Seorang pekerja sosial walaupun dalam hatinya memiliki komitmen untuk menolong sesama, namun di saat tertentu pasti juga akan memperhitungkan antara energi yang dikeluarkan dengan *reward* yang diterimanya. *Reward* yang diharapkan ini tidak selalu berupa materi tetapi bisa juga berupa non materi seperti *job security, support and assistance from leaders*, dan penghargaan dari organisasi komunitasnya. Jika pekerja sosial merasa bahwa energi yang dikeluarkan lebih besar daripada *reward (outcome)* yang diterima maka dia akan merasa *dissatisfied*.

Keempat faktor inilah yang menyebabkan *job dissatisfaction* para pekerja sosial termasuk para pekerja sosial di organisasi komunitas peduli autism di Indonesia. Bila dianalisis lebih lanjut, sebenarnya *job dissatisfaction* ini erat kaitannya dengan ketidak- seimbangan antara harapan,

kebutuhan dan keinginan pekerja sosial dengan *rewards (outcome)* yang diterimanya. Ketidakseimbangan ini dapat dianalisis dengan menggunakan keterkaitan tiga teori kebutuhan (yaitu *hierarchy theory*, *ERG theory*, *motivator-hygiene theory*) dengan *expectancy theory* dan *social exchange theory* yang akan dijelaskan berikut ini.

2.2 Analisis *Job Dissatisfaction* Pekerja Sosial Dilihat dari Berbagai Sudut Teori seperti *Hierarchy Theory*, *ERG Theory*, *Motivator-Hygiene Theory* dengan *Expectancy Theory* dan *Social Exchange Theory*

Berbicara tentang *job satisfaction* dan *job dissatisfaction* pekerja sosial—tidak bisa dilepaskan keterkaitannya dengan kebutuhan dari individu pekerja sosial itu sendiri. Kebutuhan individu ini dapat dibahas ke dalam 3 teori yaitu *hierarchy theory*, *ERG theory* dan *motivation-hygiene theory* yang akan dijelaskan berikut ini:

Hierarchy theory

Menurut Maslow dalam *hierarchy theory*, ada 5 kebutuhan individu yang ingin dicapai yaitu *physiological needs*, *safety security needs*, *belonging needs*, *esteem needs* dan *self-actualization needs* (Pace & Faules, 1994, p. 81). *Physiological needs* merupakan kebutuhan dasar dari individu seperti sandang, pangan dan papan termasuk pula gaji. Jika kebutuhan pertama ini sudah terpenuhi maka individu akan bergerak untuk mencari kebutuhan *safety security* seperti tunjangan keluarga dan *pesangon* di masa pensiun. Bila kebutuhan kedua ini sudah terpenuhi maka individu akan menginginkan pemenuhan akan *belonging needs* seperti pertemanan yang menyenangkan, *social activities*, *gathering* dan *togetherness* dalam pekerjaan. Ketika kebutuhan ketiga ini sudah tercapai, maka individu akan bergerak mencari pemenuhan *self esteem needs* seperti *incentive* dan posisi jabatan yang meningkat dari sebelumnya. Saat kebutuhan keempat ini sudah terpenuhi, individu akan mencari pemenuhan kebutuhan *self actualiazation* seperti mencari *achievement* dan *challenging job*. *Hierarchy theory* ini digambarkan dengan jenjang piramida dalam gambar 1.

ERG theory

Jika Abraham Maslow mengkategorikan kebutuhan ke dalam 5 kategori, maka berbeda dengan Alderfer yang mengkategorikan kebutuhan individu ke dalam 3 kategori yaitu *existence (E)*, *relatedness (R)* dan *growth (G)* (Pace & Faules, 1994, 82). *Existence needs (E)* ini merupakan kebutuhan *physiological* dan *security* yang bisa diidentikkan dalam *hierachy theory*-Maslow seperti kebutuhan akan makan, minum, reproduksi, dan kebutuhan akan rasa aman. Sedangkan *relatedness needs (R)* merupakan kebutuhan untuk terlibat dalam sebuah interaksi *relationships* seperti menjalin *relationships* yang baik dengan anggota keluarga, teman dan supervisor. Kebutuhan *relatedness* ini sama dengan kebutuhan *belonging* dalam *hierarchy of Maslow*. Kebutuhan yang terakhir adalah *growth needs (G)* merupakan kebutuhan untuk menjadi individu yang produktif dan kreatif sehingga bisa mencapai tujuan yang diharapkannya. *Growth needs* ini identik dengan *self esteem needs* dan *self actualization needs* yang ada dalam piramida Maslow.

Walaupun *ERG theory* mirip dengan *hierarchy theory* tetapi ada 2 hal yang membedakannya, yaitu:

- 1) *ERG theory* tidak dibuat sebagai sesuatu yang berjenjang seperti piramida Maslow, karena menurut Alderfer walaupun di *existence needs* belum terpuaskan namun *needs* yang lain bisa menjadi motivator untuk mencapai tujuan. Jadi pemenuhan kebutuhan yang lain tidak menunggu terpuaskannya *existence needs* terlebih dahulu.
- 2) Dalam *ERG theory*, walaupun *needs* (misal *existence needs*) ada yang sudah terpenuhi, namun tetap saja seorang individu masih bisa meningkatkan keinginan atas *needs* tersebut ke tingkat yang lebih tinggi lagi.

Motivator-hygiene theory

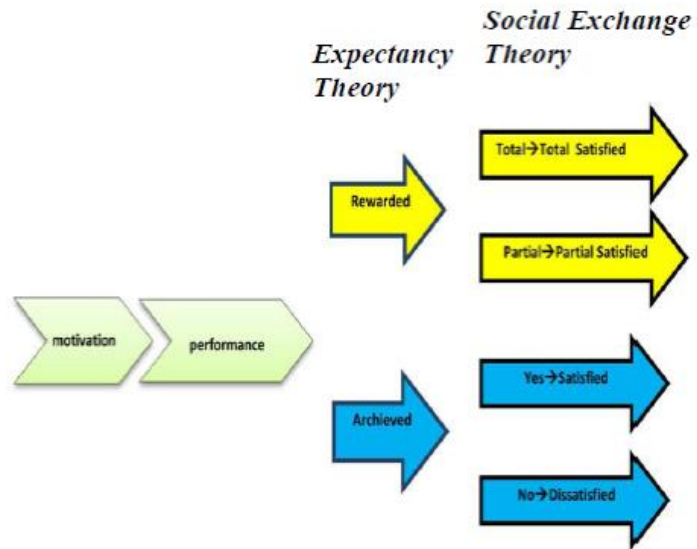
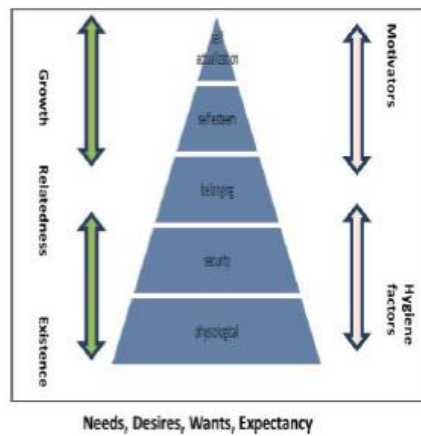
Teori kebutuhan yang lain adalah yang dikemukakan oleh Herzberg yang dikenal dengan *motivator-hygiene theory*. Herzberg inilah yang mengatakan bahwa sebuah kebutuhan akan berimplikasi pada dua hal yaitu *satisfaction* dan *dissatisfaction* dalam pekerjaan dan ini akan berimbang pada motivasi seseorang dalam bekerja (Pace & Faules, 1994, p. 82). Faktor yang mempengaruhi *job satisfaction* disebut *motivators*, contohnya bisa berupa perolehan prestasi, pengakuan, pemberian tanggungjawab, kemajuan kerja maupun promosi dimana semuanya ini terkait dengan pekerjaan itu sendiri. Sedangkan faktor yang mempengaruhi *job dissatisfaction* disebut *maintenance* atau *hygiene factors*, contohnya seperti gaji, supervisi, keamanan kerja, kondisi kerja, administrasi, kebijakan organisasi dan hubungan interpersonal dengan teman kerja dimana semuanya ini lebih terkait pada lingkungan atau konteks kerja daripada pekerjaan itu sendiri (Pace & Faules, 1994, p. 82). Sistem yang diperkenalkan Herzberg ini lebih menjelaskan tentang kebutuhan yang dijadikan sebagai motivasi untuk mencapai kebutuhan itu sendiri.

Dari penjelasan tentang ketiga teori kebutuhan di atas, dapat ditarik kesimpulan bahwa memang kebutuhan yang sudah dijabarkan sebelumnya baik di *hierarchy theory*, *ERG theory* maupun *motivator-hygiene theory* merupakan:

- a. faktor pendorong yang dapat memotivasi performa/kinerja.
- b. faktor pendorong juga mampu menciptakan keadaan *satisfaction* maupun *dissatisfaction* seorang pekerja sosial.
- c. istilah *self actualization*, *growth* dan *motivators* merupakan istilah yang sama; sedangkan istilah *physiological and security*, *existence needs* maupun *maintenance/hygiene factors* merupakan istilah yang sama; dan istilah *relatedness* cenderung memiliki kesamaan makna dengan *belongings needs*.

Dari penjabaran 3 teori kebutuhan di atas, penulis berusaha menggambarkan dan mengkaitkan ketiga teori tersebut dengan *satisfaction* dan *dissatisfaction* yang bisa dilihat dalam gambar 1 sebagai berikut ini:

Needs menurut ERG theory, hierarchy theory dan motivator-hygiene theory



Gambar 1. Kebutuhan yang mendorong *job satisfaction* dan *job dissatisfaction* (Sumber: Olahan penulis)

Gambar 1 di atas menjelaskan 5 asumsi penulis bahwa:

- tiap individu memiliki kebutuhan yang sudah terjabarkan dalam 3 teori kebutuhan (*ERG theory, hierarchy theory* dan *motivator-hygiene theory*).
- kebutuhan yang dimiliki tiap individu berbeda satu dengan yang lainnya.
- kebutuhan individu ini mendorong dan memotivasi individu untuk memenuhinya. Ketika individu termotivasi untuk memenuhi kebutuhannya, sebenarnya dapat dikatakan bahwa motivasi ini sebenarnya merupakan penggabungan dari 3 prinsip yaitu: a) adanya perilaku yang mengarah untuk mencapai *rewards* atau *outcome* tertentu, b) *rewards* atau *outcome* tersebut bernilai positif bagi individu tersebut, c) *outcome* atau *rewards* hanya dapat dicapai dengan usaha yang keras (Pace & Faules, 1994, p. 83-84).
- untuk memenuhi kebutuhannya tersebut maka individu akan berusaha melakukan performa terbaiknya.
- bila performa terbaiknya mendapat *reward* sesuai dengan yang diharapkannya maka yang terjadi adalah *satisfaction* dan bila sebaliknya maka yang terjadi adalah *dissatisfaction*.

Berbicara tentang *satisfaction* dan *dissatisfaction*, maka tidak bisa terlepas dengan konsep performa dan *rewards (outcomes)*. Gambar 1 tersebut sebenarnya juga menunjukkan bahwa ada keterkaitan antara performa dan *reward (outcome)* yang diharapkan oleh pekerja sosial dengan yang diharapkan oleh organisasi komunitasnya. Dalam hal ini seringkali ada kesenjangan antara performa dan *reward (outcome)* yang diharapkan oleh pekerja sosial dengan yang diharapkan oleh organisasi komunitasnya. Hal ini disebabkan karena *expectancy* antara organisasi komunitas dan pekerja sosial yang berbeda. Ini bisa dijelaskan melalui *expectations theory* yang dikemukakan oleh Vroom yang memiliki 3 asumsi dasar yaitu:

- tiap individu maupun organisasi komunitas memiliki *outcome (reward) expectancy*.

- B. setiap *outcome (reward) expectancy* ini memiliki nilai yang berbeda bagi tiap individu maupun bagi organisasi komunitasnya.
- C. setiap *outcome (reward) expectancy* ini tergantung pada persepsi tiap individu dan persepsi organisasi komunitasnya (Pace & Faules, 1994, p. 83-84).

Ketiga asumsi dalam *expectancy theory* inilah yang menyebabkan *rewards (outcomes)* yang diharapkan masing-masing individu dan organisasi komunitasnya berbeda satu sama lain.

Besar kecilnya gap atau kesenjangan *expectancy* antara individu pekerja sosial dengan organisasi komunitasnya berimbas pada *satisfaction* dan *dissatisfaction*. Bila tidak ada kesenjangan berarti yang terjadi adalah *total satisfied*, bila sedikit kesenjangan yang terjadi adalah *partial satisfied*, jika agak melebar kesenjanganannya maka yang terjadi adalah *satisfied*, dan yang terakhir bila yang muncul adalah besar kesenjangan maka yang terjadi adalah *dissatisfied*.

Berkaitan dengan *satisfaction* dan *dissatisfaction*, Sauter sependapat dengan Herzberg yang mengatakan bahwa stress dan *job dissatisfaction* yang berupa kelelahan fisik maupun emosional dan dialami pekerja terutama pekerja sosial yang peduli pada autism terjadi karena ketidakseimbangan antara kemampuan/energi yang dikeluarkan, sumber daya yang disediakan oleh organisasi komunitas dan kebutuhan dari pekerja sosial itu sendiri (Papa, Daniels, & Spiker, 2008, p. 410-411). Dari pihak pekerja sosial adanya *workloads, infrequent breaks, long hours, hectic, routine tasks*, dan kehadiran teknologi komunikasi serta komputer semakin membuat pekerja sosial tidak dapat melarikan diri dari rutinitas maupun hanya untuk sekedar rekreasi dan istirahat di rumah (Papa, Daniels, & Spiker, 2008, p. 410-411). Namun dari sisi organisasi komunitas kehadiran teknologi, *workloads, infrequent breaks, long hours* membuat semakin produktif bagi organisasi komunitasnya dalam membantu klien sebanyak-banyaknya. Perbedaan *expectancy* pada performa inilah yang menyebabkan *job dissatisfaction* pada diri pekerja sosial, seperti frustrasi, marah, defensif dan merasa tidak aman.

Untuk mengetahui besar kecilnya gap *expectancy* ini perlu dilakukan penghitungan kesenjangan *expectancy* antara pekerja sosial dengan organisasi komunitasnya dengan menggunakan teori *social exchange theory*. *Social exchange theory* merupakan penggabungan 3 teori yakni:

- 1) *equity theory* (yang menekankan tentang keseimbangan antara energi yang dikeluarkan dengan *outcomes* yang diterima).
- 2) *interdependence theory* (yang memfokuskan diri pada adanya ketergantungan antara pencari *rewards* dan pemberi *rewards* dimana masing-masing pencari dan pemberi *rewards* ini memiliki kepentingan yang hendak dicapai sehingga diantara mereka terbentuk sebuah kondisi ketergantungan yang satu sama lain saling mempengaruhi).
- 3) *resource theory* (yang menekankan tentang adanya sesuatu yang dipertukarkan untuk mencapai kepuasan baik bagi pencari dan pemberi *rewards*. Kepuasan ini tidak berarti harus berupa materi tetapi bisa juga berupa non materi seperti penghargaan).

Ketiga teori tersebut berakar dari disiplin antropologi, ekonomi, psikologi dan sosiologi. *Social exchange theory* ini bisa diterapkan dalam konteks komunikasi interpersonal maupun konteks komunikasi organisasi (Littlejohn & Foss, 2009, p. 894). Inti dari *social exchange theory* ini ada 3 yaitu:

- 1) adanya transaksi antara pekerja sosial dengan organisasi komunitasnya.

- 2) adanya *rewards (outcomes)* yang ingin dicapai.
- 3) adanya penghitungan secara ekonomi tentang besarnya kesesuaian antara tenaga yang dikeluarkan dengan *rewards* yang diterima.

Transaksi ini bila diperhitungkan dalam *social exchange theory* tersebut bisa digambarkan dengan pola 2x2 seperti yang dikemukakan oleh Cropanzano, Mitchell (Cropanzano & Mitchell, 2005, p. 887) dan Jessen (Jessen, 2010, 1-18) dalam gambar 2 berikut ini.

		Type of Transaction	
		Social Exchange	Economic Exchange
Type of Relationship	Social Exchange	<u>Cell 1: Match</u> Social Transaction in a Social Relationship	<u>Cell 2: Mismatch</u> Economic Transaction in a Social Relationship
	Economic Exchange	<u>Cell 3: Mismatch</u> Social Transaction in an Economic Relationship	<u>Cell 4: Match</u> Economic Transaction in an Economic Relationship

Gambar 2 *Type of Transaction*

Gambar 2 di atas menjelaskan bahwa dalam sebuah transaksi, ketika kondisi yang terjadi adalah adanya kesamaan antara yang diinginkan individu dengan yang diperolehnya, maka kondisi seperti ini dikatakan sebagai *match* (cocok/sesuai), begitu juga sebaliknya. Contohnya, jika yang diinginkan individu adalah *relationship* yang baik dengan komunalnya dan dia mendapatkan seperti yang diinginkannya maka yang terjadi adalah *match*, dan bila yang diperolehnya adalah kenaikan jabatan maka yang terjadi adalah *mismatch*. *Match* dan *mismatch* ini berimplikasi paralel pada *satisfaction* dan *dissatisfaction*.

Dari penjelasan Jessen, Cropanzano dan Mitchell di atas penulis mencoba untuk memolakan hal yang sama dengan bentuk transaksi yang berbeda. Penulis menggambarkan bahwa di sini ada 2 model yang akan ditransaksikan, yaitu transaksi antara *intrinsic* dan *extrinsic* (dapat dilihat dalam gambar 3) dan transaksi *social* dan *organization* (seperti yang terlihat dalam gambar 4). Secara lebih detail hal ini dapat dijelaskan sebagai berikut:

		Type of Transaction	
		Intrinsic Exchange	Extrinsic Exchange
Type of relationship	Intrinsic Exchange	Cell 1. Match Intrinsic transaction in an intrinsic relationship	Cell 2. Mismatch Extrinsic transaction in an intrinsic relationship
	Extrinsic Exchange	Cell 3. Mismatch Intrinsic transaction in an extrinsic relationship	Cell 4. Match Extrinsic transaction in an extrinsic relationship

Gambar 3
Type of Transaction between Intrinsic and Extrinsic Exchange
(Sumber: Olahan Penulis)

Gambar 3 di atas menunjukkan bahwa transaksi *intrinsic* sebenarnya lebih berupa kepuasan emosional seperti ada perasaan senang jika dapat membantu, menaikkan semangat hidup, menaikkan kepercayaan diri dan menaikkan keberkayaan klien autism. *Intrinsic* ini lebih mengarah pada semangat diri dari pekerja sosial itu sendiri. Sementara transaksi *extrinsic* lebih mengarah pada kepuasan yang berasal dari luar diri pekerja sosial seperti gaji, *job security*, *chances of promoting* dan lainnya.

		Type of Transaction	
		Social Exchange	Organizational Exchange
Type of relationship	Social Exchange	Cell 1. Match Social transaction in a social relationship	Cell 2. Mismatch Organizational transaction in a social relationship
	Organizational Exchange	Cell 3. Mismatch Social transaction in an organizational relationship	Cell 4. Match Organizational transaction in an organizational relationship

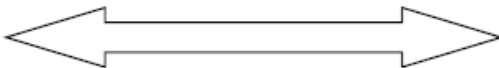
Gambar 4
Type of Transaction between Social and Organizational Exchange
(Sumber: Olahan Penulis)

Sedangkan gambar 4 menunjukkan bahwa adanya transaksi *social* yang lebih mengarah pada kepuasan yang berasal dari adanya dukungan pihak lain kepada diri pekerja sosial seperti dukungan dari *co-workers*, *communal*, *supervisors*, *citizens*, *clients*, *leaders* dan *families* untuk menanggulangi tingkat ke-stress-an. Sedangkan transaksi *organizational* lebih mengarah pada kepuasan yang berasal dari kebijakan organisasi komunitasnya seperti tempo kerjanya, sistem pengontrolan kerjanya, kebebasan kerjanya dan hubungan antara atasan dan bawahan.

Dari gambar 3 dan 4 penulis berusaha menggabungkannya dengan *expectancy theory*. Sehingga dari penggabungan tersebut dapat dilakukan pengukuran gap atau kesenjangan antara *expectancy* dan *rewards (outcomes)* yang didapat oleh pekerja sosial ini dari dalam dirinya sendiri dan dari lingkungan sekitar dirinya termasuk dari organisasi komunitasnya. Pengukuran ini kemudian dianalisis dengan menggunakan *social exchange theory 2x2*. Bila ditemukan kondisi antara yang diinginkan pekerja sosial dan yang diperolehnya sama, maka yang terjadi adalah *match (cocok/sesuai)*, begitu juga sebaliknya. *Match* dan *mismatch* ini berimplikasi paralel pada *satisfaction* dan *dissatisfaction* pada pekerja sosial.

Setelah menghitung kesenjangan antara *expectancy* dan *rewards (outcomes)* ini dengan menggunakan penghitungan *social exchange 2x2*, penulis berusaha memberikan nilai *satisfaction* dan *dissatisfaction* seperti yang tercantum pada alur gambar 1. Pengkategorian *outcomes/rewards* yang tercantum di gambar 5 tersebut merupakan hasil penjumlahan dari gambar 3 dan 4. Kemudian hasil penjumlahan gambar 3 dan 4 di kategorikan dalam 4 kategori sebagai berikut (lihat Gambar 5) :

Gambar 5. Pengkategorian *satisfaction* dan *dissatisfaction*

No or Low Discrepancies			High Discrepancies
Total satisfied/ Very satisfied (1)	Partial satisfied/ Moderately satisfied (2)	Satisfied/ Confirm being positively satisfied (3)	Dissatisfied/ Not satisfied (4)

(Sumber: Olahan Penulis)

Penelitian terdahulu menemukan bahwa pekerja sosial 14% merasa *dissatisfied*, 24% merasa *total satisfied*, 61% merasa *partial satisfied* dan 86% merasa *satisfied* (Jessen, 2010, p.-18). Data ini mengindikasikan bahwa walaupun dalam segi transaksi *economic, extrinsic, social, dan organizational* para pekerja sosial komunitas ini tidak mendapat *rewards (outcomes)* seperti yang diharapkannya tetapi mereka cukup nyaman (*satisfied*) karena merasa dirinya berguna dan masih diperlukan orang lain. Bagi mereka yang bekerja sebagai pekerja sosial dapat membantu, meringankan beban, menaikkan taraf hidup, menaikkan kepercayaan diri dan meningkatkan keberkayaan orang lain yang kekurangan sudah merupakan kebahagiaan tersendiri dan berimbas pada terpenuhinya kepuasan emosional mereka. Sehingga karena tingkat kepuasan transaksi *intrinsic* ini tinggi maka bisa menutupi tingkat kepuasan transaksi lain (*economic, extrinsic, social, dan organizational*) yang rendah. Yang perlu dicatat dalam hal ini sebenarnya walaupun kebutuhan (*needs*) dapat digunakan sebagai cara untuk memotivasi pekerja sosial, tapi organisasi komunitas harusnya peka dalam mengetahui *rewards (outcomes)* apa yang diinginkan pekerja sosial dan kapan mereka membutuhkannya, dengan kata lain harus mengetahui *what they need and when they need it*.

Melalui analisis lima teori dalam tulisan ini, penulis ingin menunjukkan bahwa tulisan ini mempunyai signifikansi yaitu:

Pertama, signifikansi teoritis. Penulis berusaha menggabungkan dan mengkaitkan beberapa teori untuk menjelaskan *dissatisfaction* pekerja sosial. Sebenarnya gambar 1, 3, 4 dan 5 tidak ada dalam referensi buku maupun referensi jurnal ilmiah, tetapi penulis berusaha menggabungkan *hierarchy theory*, *ERG theory*, *motivator-hygiene theory*, *expectancy theory* dan *social exchange theory* ke dalam sebuah gambar untuk memperjelas hubungan antar teori dan untuk menganalisis *job dissatisfaction* dari pekerja sosial terutama bila diterapkan untuk menganalisis *dissatisfaction* pekerja sosial pada organisasi komunitas yang peduli pada autism Indonesia.

Kedua, belum ada penelitian sebelumnya yang mengulas dengan berbagai pendekatan teori seperti ini, sehingga dengan adanya tulisan ini diharapkan penulis akan menggunakan review teori ini ke dalam penelitian lanjutan yang menggunakan model dan konsep yang telah disebutkan dalam analisis teori di tulisan ini, terutama bila dikaitkan dengan kasus *dissatisfaction* pekerja sosial dalam organisasi komunitas yang peduli pada autism Indonesia.

Setelah menganalisis tentang *job dissatisfaction* pekerja sosial maka selanjutnya perlu dibahas pula tentang bagaimana strategi mengeliminir *job dissatisfaction* pekerja sosial ini yang akan diulas berikut ini.

2.3 Strategi Organisasi Komunitas Autism dalam Mengeliminir *Job Dissatisfaction* Pekerja Sosial

Sebenarnya dalam mengeliminir *job dissatisfaction* pekerja sosial perlu adanya *support system* baik yang formal maupun yang informal (Collins, 2008, p. 1173-1193), yang akan dijelaskan berikut ini.

Support system yang formal berasal dari *line management* di organisasi komunitasnya baik dukungan dari *leader*, *supervisors* maupun kebijakan organisasinya. *Support system* yang formal ini bisa menggunakan strategi antara lain:

1. *Communication*: dengan memberikan kesempatan pada pekerja sosial untuk sharing keluhan atau problem yang dihadapinya ketika berhadapan dengan klien.
2. *Hire "Satisfied" Employees*: dalam merekrut pekerja sosial, leader maupun supervisors harus benar-benar mengetahui karakteristik, latar belakang dan motivasi dari pekerja sosial ini. Hal ini penting karena karakteristik, latar belakang dan motivasi pekerja sosial ini menjadi faktor pendorong dirinya dalam berkomitmen pada organisasi komunitas.
3. *Express appreciation and provide proper feedback*: jika pekerja sosial bekerja dengan performa yang tinggi harusnya organisasi komunitas memberikan penghargaan sesuai dengan yang diinginkan atau sebaliknya ketika pekerja sosial dalam keadaan stress karena pekerjaan maka organisasi komunitas harus bisa memberikan tempat untuk menampung keluh kesah pekerja sosial. Sehingga di mata pekerja sosial, organisasi komunitas memberikan perhatian yang besar pada dirinya.



4. *Increase opportunities to socialize*: melakukan piknik bersama atau makan bersama dengan pekerja sosial dan keluarganya.
5. *Hold special events and friendly competitions*: melakukan kebiasaan peringatan hari-hari spesial dengan permainan yang menyenangkan dan membuat kehangatan diantara pekerja sosial dan pimpinan, seperti acara permainan 17 Agustus, ulang tahun organisasi dengan melakukan kompetisi pembuatan logo organisasi komunitas, atau di hari tertentu boleh memakai baju bebas dan lainnya.
6. *Have surprises*: semisal order makan siang untuk semua pekerja sosial atau pada waktu tertentu memulangkan pekerja sosial lebih awal dari jam kerja biasanya.
7. *Assign the right tasks to the right people*

Dukungan yang berasal dari organisasi ini sifatnya lebih menuntut keaktifan yang tinggi dari pihak organisasi komunitas dalam memberikan dukungan pada pekerja sosialnya. Hal ini perlu dilakukan karena sebenarnya organisasi komunitas sangat tergantung dan membutuhkan banyak pekerja sosial yang harus di “*maintain*” dengan baik supaya tidak keluar dari pekerjaannya. Bila mereka keluar maka organisasi komunitas akan susah untuk mencari orang yang istilahnya “mau memberikan yang terbaik dan segalanya” bagi keberlangsungan organisasi komunitas ini.

Sedangkan *support system* yang informal merupakan dukungan yang berasal dari diri sendiri, keluarga dan teman. Dukungan yang berasal dari diri sendiri bisa dilakukan dengan strategi antara lain:

- A. *Challenge*: dengan menganggap bahwa kesulitan dan stress sebagai tantangan yang harus dihadapi dan bukan untuk dihindari.
- B. *Positive attitude*: bersikap lebih positif dalam menghadapi *workload*, semisal menganggap banyaknya klien autism yang dihadapi atau ditanganinya dapat meningkatkan pahala lebih banyak lagi.

Dukungan yang berasal dari keluarga antara lain bisa dilakukan dengan strategi:

- A. *Balanced lifestyle*: menyeimbangkan antara kepentingan keluarga dan kepentingan organisasi komunitas.
- B. Berbagi peran dengan pasangan: seperti siapa yang mengantar jemput anak, yang membereskan rumah, yang menyiapkan sarapan dan sebagainya.
- C. *Communication*: menjalin komunikasi baik *face-to-face* maupun melalui *mobile phone*, *SMS* ataupun *WA (WhatsApp)* dengan anggota keluarga yang lain supaya hubungan antar keluarga tetap terjaga dan harmonis.
- D. Meluangkan waktu untuk kebersamaan dengan keluarga seperti piknik bersama atau hanya sekedar nonton bioskop bareng.

- E. Memberikan surprise pada anggota keluarga saat ulang tahun atau saat anggota keluarga memperoleh penghargaan dalam prestasi.

Strategi pencarian dukungan dari keluarga ini perlu dilakukan oleh pekerja sosial, karena dengan dia bersikap aktif dalam menjaga hubungan yang baik dengan anggota keluarga yang lain, maka akan berdampak pada anggota keluarga yang lain pun ikut memperingan tingkat ke-stress-an pekerja sosial. Dengan kata lain bila keluarga “langgeng” maka pekerja sosial dalam bekerja di organisasi komunitasnya menjadi lebih ringan dan tanpa beban.

Yang terakhir dukungan yang berasal dari teman bisa dilakukan dengan strategi antara lain:

- Communication*: menjalin komunikasi baik *face-to-face* maupun melalui *mobile phone*, *SMS* ataupun *WA (WhatsApp)* dengan teman baik sekantor maupun teman lama sehingga rasa lelah dan penat dalam pekerjaan bisa berkurang ketika melakukan obrolan ringan apalagi bila disisipi dengan humor.
- Memberikan *surprise* semisal ketika teman sedang berulang tahun.

Dukungan yang berasal dari teman ini bisa diperoleh jika pekerja sosial ini aktif dalam *maintain* hubungan yang baik dengan teman sekantor ataupun dengan teman baiknya, sehingga ketika pekerja sosial membutuhkan bantuan dan saran, mereka tidak kesulitan mendapatkannya dari teman mereka tersebut.

3. Penutup

Dari keseluruhan penjelasan di atas dapat ditarik kesimpulan bahwa faktor penyebab *job dissatisfaction* pekerja sosial antara lain:

- Tuntutan penggunaan kemampuan empati yang tinggi.
- Konflik tuntutan peran dalam pekerjaan dan keluarga (*inter-role conflict*).
- Tuntutan pekerjaan administrative yang tinggi.

Keempat faktor inilah yang menyebabkan *job dissatisfaction* para pekerja sosial termasuk para pekerja sosial di organisasi komunitas peduli autisme di Indonesia. Bila dianalisis lebih lanjut, sebenarnya *job dissatisfaction* ini erat kaitannya dengan ketidak- seimbangan antara harapan, kebutuhan dan keinginan pekerja sosial dengan *rewards (outcome)* yang diterimanya. Ketidakseimbangan ini dapat dianalisis dengan menggunakan keterkaitan tiga teori kebutuhan (yaitu *hierarchy theory*, *ERG theory*, *motivator-hygiene theory*) dengan *expectancy theory* dan *social exchange theory*.

Dengan menggunakan lima teori dalam menganalisis *job dissatisfaction* pekerja sosial, maka tulisan ini dapat dikatakan memiliki dua signifikansi, yaitu:

Pertama, signifikansi teoritis. Penulis berusaha menggabungkan dan mengkaitkan beberapa teori untuk menjelaskan *dissatisfaction* pekerja sosial. Sebenarnya gambar 1, 3, 4 dan 5 tidak ada dalam referensi buku maupun referensi jurnal ilmiah, tetapi penulis berusaha menggabungkan *hierarchy theory*, *ERG theory*, *motivator-hygiene theory*, *expectancy theory* dan *social exchange theory*

ke dalam sebuah gambar untuk memperjelas hubungan antar teori dan untuk menganalisis *job dissatisfaction* dari pekerja sosial terutama bila diterapkan untuk menganalisis *dissatisfaction* pekerja sosial pada organisasi komunitas yang peduli pada autism Indonesia.

Kedua, belum ada penelitian sebelumnya yang mengulas dengan berbagai pendekatan teori seperti ini, sehingga dengan adanya tulisan ini diharapkan penulis dapat menggunakan review teori-teori ini ke dalam penelitian lanjutan dengan menggunakan model dan konsep yang telah tersebutkan dalam analisis teori di tulisan ini, terutama bila dikaitkan dengan kasus *dissatisfaction* pekerja sosial dalam organisasi komunitas yang peduli pada autism Indonesia. Signifikansi yang kedua inilah yang penulis anggap sebagai saran dari tulisan ini.

Terkait dengan strategi mengeliminir *job dissatisfaction* pekerja sosial maka perlu adanya dua *support system* yaitu 1) *support system* yang formal berasal dari *line management* di organisasi komunitasnya baik dukungan dari *leader, supervisors* maupun kebijakan organisasinya. 2) *support system* yang informal berasal dari diri sendiri, keluarga dan teman.

Support system formal ini yang diharapkan lebih aktif memberi dukungan adalah organisasi komunitasnya dengan menggunakan strategi antara lain:

1. *Communication*
2. *Hire "Satisfied" Employees*
3. *Express appreciation and provide proper feedback*
4. *Increase opportunities to socialize*
5. *Hold special events and friendly competitions*
6. *Have surprises*
7. *Assign the right tasks to the right people*

Sedangkan *support system* informal ini yang diharapkan aktif dalam mencari dukungan adalah diri sendiri. Dengan bersikap aktif dalam menjaga hubungan yang baik dengan anggota keluarga yang lain maupun dengan teman, maka akan berdampak pada anggota keluarga yang lain maupun teman ikut memperingan tingkat ke-stress-an pekerja sosial. Dengan kata lain bila keluarga "langgeng" dan hubungan antar teman harmonis maka pekerja sosial dalam bekerja di organisasi komunitasnya menjadi lebih ringan, rileks dan tanpa beban.

Dukungan yang berasal dari diri sendiri bisa dilakukan dengan strategi antara lain:

- Challenge*: dengan menganggap bahwa kesulitan dan stress sebagai tantangan yang harus dihadapi dan bukan untuk dihindari.
- Positive attitude*

Dukungan yang berasal dari keluarga antara lain bisa dilakukan dengan strategi:

- *Balanced lifestyle*
- Berbagi peran dengan pasangan
- *Communication*
- Meluangkan waktu untuk kebersamaan dengan keluarga

- Memberikan surprise pada anggota keluarga

Yang terakhir dukungan yang berasal dari teman bisa dilakukan dengan strategi:

1. *Communication*
2. Memberikan *surprise*

Semoga tulisan ini dapat menginspirasi penulis untuk segera munculkan penelitian tentang *job dissatisfaction* pekerja sosial dalam organisasi komunitas autisme di Indonesia dengan menggunakan analisis penggabungan lima teori (*hierarchy theory, ERG theory, motivator-hygiene theory, expectancy theory* dan *social exchange theory*) yang belum pernah ada penelitian yang melakukan ini sebelumnya dan juga menginspirasi penulis untuk melakukan penelitian tentang strategi dalam mengeliminir *job satisfaction* pekerja sosial dalam organisasi komunitas autisme ini baik secara kuantitatif maupun kualitatif.

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**Keterbukaan Diri Orang Tua Anak Berkebutuhan Khusus dalam Berkomunikasi
Melalui Media Baru Ditinjau Dari *Cultural Studies***

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Abstrak

Memiliki anak berkebutuhan khusus merupakan sebuah kondisi yang tidak dapat dihindari. Salah satu yang dimasukkan dalam kategori kebutuhan khusus adalah anak-anak dalam *spectrum autisme*, yaitu yang mengalami masalah dalam berkomunikasi dengan lingkungan sosial. Berdasarkan pengamatan yang dilakukan, ditemukan bahwa terdapat cukup banyak orang tua anak berkebutuhan khusus yang cenderung menutupi keberadaan anaknya dari kehidupan sosial. Munculnya media baru membawa perubahan bagi para orang tua dengan anak *autistic*. Orang tua menjadi mau berkomunikasi melalui *maillist* dan facebook Putra Kembara. Tujuan dari penelitian ini adalah memahami penggunaan media baru oleh orang tua anak berkebutuhan khusus dalam membuka diri. Teori yang digunakan adalah teori *Cultural Studies* dan media baru, sedangkan metode penelitian yang dipakai adalah observasi teks pada mailist dan akun facebook Putra Kembara, wawancara orang tua yang menjadi anggota, dan kajian literatur. Hasil penelitiannya adalah media baru digunakan oleh orang tua untuk mendiskusikan permasalahan dan pengalaman, serta sebagai ajang untuk mencari informasi. Berdasarkan penelitian, ditemukan bahwa fenomena keterbukaan diri orang tua anak berkebutuhan khusus bukan cuma disebabkan oleh adanya karakter media baru, tetapi juga karena aspek sosiokultural yang terkait dengan rasa kebersamaan, dan budaya paguyuban.

Kata kunci: media baru, *cultural studies*, komunitas virtual, rasa kebersamaan

1. Pendahuluan

a. Latar Belakang

Anak berkebutuhan khusus (selanjutnya akan disebut ABK) adalah istilah yang digunakan untuk mengacu pada sekelompok anak yang memiliki keterbatasan fisik maupun mental. Salah satu kategori ABK yang kini mendapat perhatian adalah kelainan spektrum autis atau *Autism Spectrum Disorders (ASD)*. Jumlah menyandang kelainan spektrum autis yang tercatat hingga tahun 2015

diperkirakan sebesar 134.000 (www.klinikautis.com/2015/09/06/jumlah-penderita-autis-di-indonesia/).

Autisme adalah kelainan perkembangan sistem saraf pada seseorang yang merupakan salah satu dari lima jenis gangguan dibawah payung gangguan perkembangan pervasif atau *Pervasive Development Disorder (PDD)*. Autisme merupakan suatu gangguan yang terjadi pada otak sehingga tidak dapat berfungsi selayaknya otak normal, karenanya autis tidak dapat dikategorikan sebagai penyakit kejiwaan. Jumlah penyandang autis di Indonesia diperkirakan sebesar jiwa 12.800.

Dari penjelasan di atas dapat diketahui bahwa kelainan spectrum autis berbeda dengan autis. Kelainan umum yang masuk dalam kelompok kelainan spektrum autis, selain autistik (*autistic disorder*) itu sendiri adalah; *asperger syndrome, childhood disintegrative disorder (CDD), pervasive developmental disorder (PDD)* (<http://researchautism.net/autism/types-of-autism>). Namun demikian, sebagian besar masyarakat tidak memahami perbedaan tersebut dan kerap menyebutnya sebagai autis. Ketidaktahuan masyarakat tentu saja bukan sepenuhnya kesalahan sepihak, karena diperlukan peran pemerintah yang lebih nyata untuk mengedukasi masyarakat mengenai hal terkait.

Saat ini perhatian akan keberadaan penyandang ASD semakin meningkat seiring dengan semakin banyaknya komunitas yang peduli. Namun demikian, bila kita menilik sejenak pada perlakuan diskriminatif yang dialami oleh penyandang ASD maka dapat diketahui bahwa masih ada stigma yang menempatkan penyandang ASD sebagai 'pengganggu'. Kondisi tersebut yang memicu banyak pihak independen untuk berkontribusi mulai dari memberikan pemahaman, informasi seputar ASD, hingga edukasi bagi para orang tua dan pendidik. Bentuk kontribusi yang banyak dilakukan adalah dengan membentuk komunitas yang berisikan para penggerak yang peduli akan keberadaan para penyandang ASD.

Hingga saat ini, penyandang ASD sering mendapat perlakuan tidak semestinya dari sebagian masyarakat. Mulai dari perlakuan tidak manusiawi seperti kekerasan fisik, pengucilan paksa dari masyarakat, hingga pengabaian keberadaan. Cerita tentang adanya keluarga yang memiliki ABK malu untuk mengakui anaknya adalah hal yang sangat lazim menjadi buah bibir. Sangat sedikit orang tua yang mengakui dan bersedia menceritakan anak yang menyandang ASD. Ketertutupan para orang tua cukup beralasan karena lingkungan dimana anak-anak penyandang ASD berada belum siap untuk memberikan ruang.

Seperti diceritakan seorang ibu yang mendampingi 2 putra yang menyandang ASD. Pada saat kedua anaknya marah (tantrum) ditempat umum maka kemungkinan akan muncul pertanyaan apa yang ada dipikiran ibu anak ini?. "Saya menjawab, karena saya adalah seorang ibu dari dua anak, Indis (11 tahun) dan Ero (8 tahun), yang didiagnosa mengalami gangguan spektrum autistik (*autistic spectrum disorder*, atau ASD), yang sering bertingkah laku seperti anak yang saya ceritakan di atas. Jawaban saya sembilan tahun yang lalu mungkin adalah bingung dan malu. Bingung menghadapi sang anak, dan malu karena diperhatikan orang banyak. Seiring berjalannya waktu, lama kelamaan saya tidak peduli pada apa yang dipikirkan orang banyak, dan malah cenderung reaktif ketika melihat orang

lain mulai melihat dengan pandangan yang aneh, atau jika mereka protes karena merasa terganggu.” (<http://nengkoala.com/2012/09/11/ya-anak-saya-autis/>)

Permasalahan lain yang timbul terkait keberadaan penyandang ASD adalah sedikitnya informasi mengenai ASD yang mudah diakses. Minimnya akses informasi menjadikan penanganan secara dini tidak dapat dilakukan. Pengetahuan yang terbatas akan hal tersebut menyebabkan terjadinya kesalahan dalam penanganan pengasuhan, mulai dari pola makan, pola tidur, pendidikan, hingga kemandirian. Sebagai contoh, beberapa anak penyandang ASD sangat sensitif dengan kandungan zat tertentu dalam makanan, dan hal tersebut membuatnya menjadi hiperaktif bila mengkonsumsi. Karena orang tua tidak memiliki pengetahuan tersebut maka tidak jarang anaknya mendapat perlakuan yang tidak sewajarnya dari lingkungan sosial dan dikategorikan anak nakal. Contoh lain adalah walaupun orang tua sudah mengetahui informasi tentang asupan yang boleh dan tidak, ada juga orang tua yang tidak tahu adanya obat-obatan yang bisa atau tidak bisa dikonsumsi.

Hal lain yang menjadi kesulitan bagi orang tua adalah minimnya informasi tentang sekolah yang menjalankan program inklusi. Ada beberapa sekolah yang menawarkan program inklusi dimana anak penyandang ASD bisa ikut belajar, namun tidak semua sekolah tersebut menjalankan program itu berdasarkan kesiapan kurikulum dan tenaga pengajar yang sesuai dengan kebutuhan anak penyandang ASD. Permasalah ini tentunya tidak sepele dan bisa menimbulkan rasa frustrasi yang mendalam. Pendidikan sebagai salah satu cara mempersiapkan anak penyandang ASD untuk bisa menyatu dengan lingkungan sosial tidak bisa dilakukan secara maksimal.

Berdasarkan paparan di atas, diketahui bahwa informasi dan pengetahuan tentang hal-hal yang terkait dengan tumbuh kembang anak penyandang ASD merupakan kebutuhan penting dalam mempersiapkan anak penyandang ASD untuk dapat bersosialisasi dengan lingkungan. Salah satu pihak yang terpanggil dan berupaya menyediakan medium komunikasi tempat para pihak yang concern atas keberadaan anak penyandang ASD adalah Komunitas Putrakembara, melalui layanan situs www.putrakembara.org. Situs ini bukan cuma memberi layanan informasi, tetapi juga menyediakan milis sebagai sarana interaksi bagi orang tua. Tidak ada batasan konten dalam milis yang disediakan, tetapi sudah disepakati bahwa milis ini dibuat bukan untuk berjualan atau menawarkan jasa.

Milis Komunitas Putrakembara (selanjutnya akan disebut MKP) adalah milis yang anggotanya merupakan orang tua anak penyandang ASD, dokter, psikolog, dosen, guru, terapis, mahasiswa, dan semua orang yang memiliki perhatian pada keberadaan anak penyandang ASD. Milis ini didirikan pada Januari 2000 oleh Leny Marijani, ibu dari seorang penyandang *asperger disorder*, yang tergerak untuk menyediakan informasi bagi semua lapisan masyarakat yang peduli dengan masalah autisme, termasuk keluarga dan para orang tua anak penyandang ASD. Tujuan dari penyediaan informasi dalam MKP adalah agar dapat menumbuhkan kesadaran dan penerimaan masyarakat akan keberadaan anak penyandang ASD. Setelah menerima informasi dari MKP, orang tua anak penyandang ASD diharapkan dapat lebih mengetahui apa yang perlu dilakukan untuk mengarahkan dan memaksimalkan kemampuan anak dalam mempersiapkan mereka untuk dapat mandiri dan berguna bagi masyarakat.

Ada beberapa hal yang menarik untuk dikaji lebih mendalam terkait dengan keberadaan MKP. Berdasarkan pengamatan awal yang dilakukan oleh penulis, ditemukan bahwa milis ini telah diikuti oleh lebih dari 1000 anggota. Perbincangan yang terjadi via ruang maya tersebut juga dapat disebut aktif karena hampir setiap hari ada topik baru yang dimunculkan. Namun yang paling menjadi perhatian penulis adalah munculnya perilaku berkomunikasi yang unik, yaitu banyaknya partisipan milis yang mencantumkan identitas asli dengan menyertakan nama serta sindrom yang dimiliki oleh anaknya. Contohnya; Ibu A, mama Anak A, 4 tahun, ADHD; atau bapak B, Ayah anak C, 18 tahun, autisme. Pola penyampaian identitasnya serupa, yaitu dengan menuliskan nama orang tua, nama anak, usia anak, dan sindrom yang dimiliki.

Mengakui memiliki seorang anak penyandang ASD bukanlah hal yang mudah dan kerap dilakukan oleh orang tua di Indonesia. Tidak jarang para orang tua 'menyembunyikan' keberadaan anak penyandang ASD yang dianggap sebagai aib dalam keluarga atau sebuah kekurangan. Menyebutkan bahwa seorang anak penyandang ASD dapat dianggap memberikan 'label' pada anak tersebut, dan membuat anak tersebut semakin terlihat berbeda dengan anak-anak lainnya. Di beberapa negara selain Indonesia keterbukaan mengakui kondisi anak penyandang ASD lebih lazim terjadi dan orang tua tidak berusaha tidak ditutup-tutupi. Hal ini tentu saja akan memberikan nilai positif dan negatif. Nilai positif yang dapat dirasakan adalah masyarakat sekitar menjadi paham apabila ada perilaku yang dianggap tidak biasa pada anak penyandang ASD. Sedangkan nilai negatifnya adalah seperti mengelompokkan mereka pada kelompok tertentu, baik untuk anak penyandang ASD maupun keluarganya.

Fenomena yang muncul dalam MKP ikut mengubah cara berkomunikasi para orang tua yang memiliki anak penyandang ASD. Melalui MKP para orang tua tidak lagi membatasi dirinya dari lingkungan sosial, para orang tua sudah tidak lagi ragu mencantumkan jati diri seorang anak penyandang ASD dengan detail. Kehadiran MKP menjadi salah satu medium bagi orang tua anak penyandang ASD untuk keluar dari belenggu pemisahan diri dari lingkungan sosial. Dengan bertambahnya jumlah anggota milis maka dapat dilihat bahwa medium untuk menceritakan kondisi anak penyandang ASD sangat diperlukan. Bentuk media baru yang digunakan menjadi salah satu persentase kenyamanan tersebut, dimana dalam menceritakan kondisi seorang anak penyandang ASD tidak perlu bertatap muka, bahkan tidak perlu terjadi perkenalan fisik antara satu anggota milis dengan anggota lainnya.

Kenyamanan para orang tua berkomunikasi melalui MKP tidak terlepas dari karakteristik masyarakat Indonesia yang penuh dengan sopan santun ketimuran. Menceritakan kekurangan anggota keluarga lainnya yang dianggap tabu cukup memberikan kontribusi akan tertutupnya para orang tua dengan anak penyandang ASD dari lingkungannya. Pertemanan dalam dunia maya berbentuk milis terlihat dapat membuka ketertutupan yang selama ini terjadi. Rasa kebersamaan yang kental milik masyarakat Indonesia atau dipahami sebagai budaya paguyubuan muncul sangat jelas dalam MKP. Setiap orang tua anak penyandang ASD saling bertukar informasi dan pengalaman. Nasehat dalam bentuk saran yang sering kali muncul tidak dibantah atau tidak memunculkan resistensi, dan justru ditanggapi dengan positif. Kondisi tersebut menarik bagi penulis untuk mendalami lebih lanjut bagaimana milis dapat membuat para orang tua untuk keluar dari pola pikir tertutup dan membatasi diri.

Peran budaya yang mempengaruhi perilaku orang tua anak penyandang ASD menjadikan penulis melihat fenomena tersebut dari sudut pandang kajian budaya. Kajian ini membantu penulis mengungkapkan bagaimana sebuah budaya dapat berubah dengan kehadiran media baru dengan karakteristiknya yang sangat lentur.

b. Tujuan Penelitian

Berdasarkan paparan di atas, penulis tertarik melihat fenomena perubahan perilaku berkomunikasi orang tua anak penyandang ASD dalam mengungkapkan identitas diri. Oleh karena, melalui penelitian ini, penulis bertujuan untuk memahami bagaimana keberadaan media baru mengubah perilaku komunikasi orang tua anak penyandang ASD, dan aspek sosial budaya apakah yang turut mendorong terjadinya fenomena tersebut.

c. Kerangka Teori

a. Studi literatur

Salah satu pertanyaan penting yang kerap mengemuka dalam kajian budaya adalah terkait dengan posisi manusia sebagai pembentuk atau yang dibentuk oleh kebudayaan. Raymond Williams mendefinisikan kajian budaya sebagai sebuah deskripsi dari cara hidup tertentu yang mengekspresikan sejumlah makna dan nilai tertentu. Dan pada kenyataannya, manusia tidak pernah bisa keluar dari jejaring makna dan pemaknaan, sebagaimana yang diutarakan oleh Greetz. Hal ini sesuai dengan pandangan Cassirer (1944: 44) yang mengatakan bahwa manusia adalah *animal symbolicum*. Maksudnya adalah manusia tidak hanya terikat pada perilaku dan akal budi, tapi dicitrakan sebagai makhluk yang mencari makna, yang mengenali dirinya dalam bentuk simbol.

Pada dasarnya, bahasa sering kali diposisikan sebagai artifak budaya yang mampu menghubungkan manusia sehingga mereka dapat berinteraksi dan membentuk peradaban. Bahasa dinilai mampu mempersatukan perbedaan dengan cara menerima perbedaan itu, membentuk kesepakatan atas adanya 'yang berbeda', sekaligus mengafirmasi kesamaan ide, atribut, karakter, cita-cita sehingga bila muncul kesamaan tersebut, akan membuat mereka menjadi satu dan mampu menunjukkan eksistensinya, serta merasa nyaman. Dengan demikian, 'aku' tidak dapat dipahami tanpa adanya diskursus bahasa yang menghubungkan tiap individu menjadi kelompok yang merasa sama. Dan hal ini seperti juga yang dikemukakan oleh Barker (2003: 225-230) mengenai subjek sosiologis, dimana subjek dibentuk oleh interaksi dengan 'yang lain' secara rasional.

Bila menilik pada apa yang dikemukakan oleh Simmel tentang interaksi kreatif di antara individu dan masyarakat yang menyebabkan bagaimana kelompok masyarakat terbentuk, ditemukan bahwa bahasa, dalam hal ini komunikasi, merupakan aspek pembentuk peristiwa-peristiwa mikro-sosial dalam kehidupan interaktif yang mendorong adanya status sebanding (Cabin et. al. 2009: 64-65). Kesamaan status yang muncul akibat pertukaran pandangan dan pengalaman hidup.

Komunikasi tidak hanya memberi ruang bagi para individu untuk dapat menyatukan pengetahuan, pengalaman, maupun tujuan, tetapi juga memberi kenyamanan selayaknya di *rumah (feel at home)*. Hal itu, secara natural, menimbulkan keberanian untuk melampaui sekat-sekat ruang



individu dan masuk ke dalam ruang sosial. Dengan kata lain, bahasa, melalui komunikasi, menciptakan *channel* yang dapat membentuk ruang dialogis bagi terbentuknya kelompok masyarakat.

Salah satu perilaku dalam budaya komunikasi yang mengakar kuat dalam kehidupan masyarakat Indonesia adalah paguyuban. Paguyuban merupakan ruang tatap muka dimana setiap individu dapat mengutarakan pemikirannya dalam suasana kekeluargaan. Orang Jawa memiliki istilah '*mangan ora mangan, seng penting ngumpul*'. Hal tersebut memunculkan komunitas yang akrab dengan basis rasa kekeluargaan yang kental.

Dalam kelompok paguyubannya, karakter individu dapat menjadi berbeda dengan apa yang ia tampilkan di keseharian. Ia dapat mengungkapkan keberadaannya sampai pada inti diri terdalam, menceritakan hal-hal yang bersifat sangat pribadi dan, dilain sisi, memberi toleransi yang besar kepada sesama anggota komunitas. Dalam hal ini, kita dapat melihat bahwa membuka diri bukan cuma dalam tataran *encode*, tetapi juga *decode* (Hall, 2009: 224-226). Dan kedua konsep dasar komunikasi tersebut memiliki fungsi penting dalam menciptakan logika dan suasana emosional.

Lalu apa yang terjadi bila tatap muka digantikan oleh pertemuan maya yang difasilitasi komputer? Ada beberapa karakter media baru yang sangat memungkinkan terjadinya proses pembangunan rasa nyaman, di antaranya; interaktivitas, sosiabilitas, otonomi, privasi, personalisasi, dan *media richness* (McQuail, 2005: 143). Interaktivitas memiliki 5 dimensi, yaitu; arah komunikasi, fleksibilitas waktu dan peran, dapat merasakan lingkungan komunikasi, pengendalian lingkungan komunikasi, dan identifikasi tujuan komunikasi.

Komunitas virtual dapat dibentuk berdasarkan adanya interaksi, tujuan bersama, kesadaran identitas dan rasa memiliki, serta seperangkat norma dan aturan tidak tertulis. Turner et al. (2001) mengemukakan hasil penelitiannya yang menyebutkan bahwa pertemuan tatap muka dan *online* sebenarnya tidak terlalu berbeda, dan pada dasarnya dapat saling menguatkan hubungan antar anggota (McQuail, 2005: 149). Perbedaan yang paling mencolok adalah adanya kesempatan untuk menjalin komunikasi di ruang dan waktu yang ditentukan oleh anggota komunitas virtual. Keleluasaan pemilihan waktu dan ruang merupakan kondisi yang memberikan kenyamanan berkomunikasi.

Ada beberapa aspek yang menjadi kekurangan dalam komunitas virtual. Mcquail (2005) menyebutkan bahwa kekurangan tersebut adalah kurangnya transparansi dan otentisitas group yang dibentuk melalui CMC. Selain itu, Postman (1993) menyampaikan kritik terkait hal serupa, yaitu kurangnya akuntabilitas dan tanggung jawab bersama. Selain mampu menghilangkan sekat sosial budaya, komunitas virtual juga memungkinkan terjadinya pembatasan interaksi sosial dan budaya. Media baru bukan hanya mempengaruhi bagaimana individu melihat dan mengalami dunia, tetapi juga merupakan produk dunia dimana individu tersebut hidup di dalamnya (Lister et al. 2009: 176).

Media baru yang semakin berkembang memiliki berbagai macam *platform*, salah satunya adalah bentuk email yang dapat dikirimkan kepada banyak *user* secara bersamaan. Fasilitas media baru itu



disebut dengan milis. Karakteristik yang spesifik dari milis adalah bahwa setiap partisipan harus terdaftar sebagai anggota, berita yang disampaikan akan terkirim pada alamat surat elektronik, anggota selalu menerima surat elektronik yang masuk, dan tidak ada penyaringan konten oleh moderator.

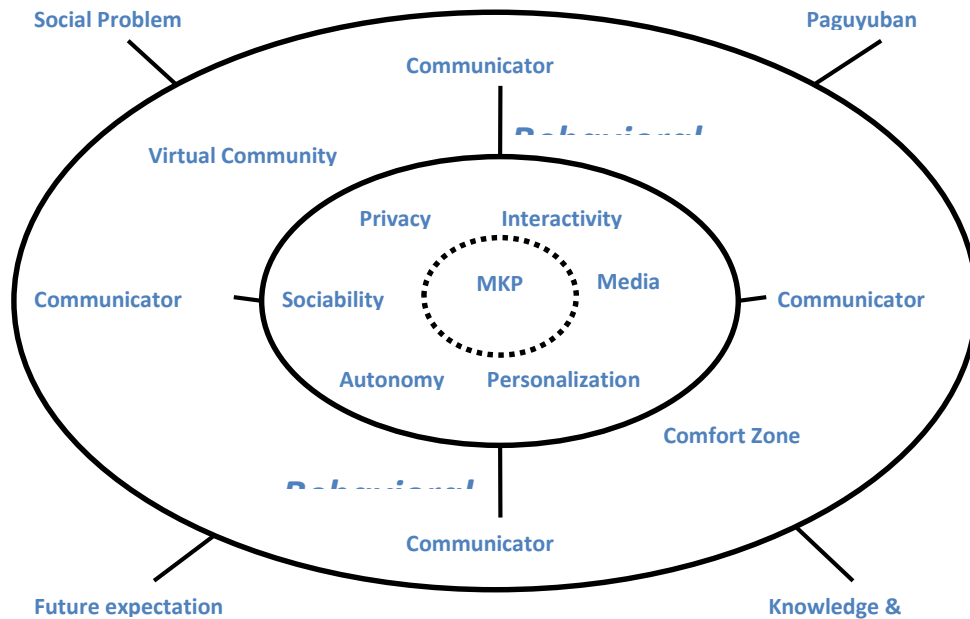
Ada 2 macam milis yang digunakan; yaitu *unmoderated mailing list* dan *moderated mailing list*. *unmoderated mailing list* adalah e-mail yang dikirim oleh seorang anggota langsung didistribusikan ke semua anggota. Sedangkan *moderated mailing list* merupakan e-mail yang dikirim akan diperiksa terlebih dahulu oleh seorang moderator untuk kemudian dikirim ke seluruh anggota. Moderator yang dimaksud tidak selalu harus seorang administrator atau koordinator.

b. Kajian teoretis

Berdasarkan kajian fenomena dan studi literatur yang telah dikemukakan di atas, penulis melihat bahwa MKP merupakan *virtual community* yang memberi ruang nyaman (*comfort zone*) bagi anggotanya sehingga mereka mau mencantumkan identitas diri dan anak. Hal tersebutlah yang disebut sebagai perubahan perilaku (*behavioral change*). *Virtual community* terbentuk karena adanya dua faktor utama, yaitu eksternal dan internal.

Yang dimaksud dengan faktor internal adalah faktor yang merupakan karakter media baru, yang melekat pada MKP. Faktor internal terdiri dari interaktivitas, sosiabilitas, otonomi, privasi, personalisasi. Sedangkan yang dimaksud dengan faktor eksternal adalah *social problem, knowledge & experience, future expectation*, dan paguyuban sebagai akar budaya berkumpul.

Bagan 1. Kerangka Konseptual



Sumber: olahan penulis

d. Metode Penelitian

a. Penelitian Kualitatif

Sesuai dengan tujuan dari penelitian yaitu untuk memahami lebih dalam mengenai penggunaan media baru maka jenis penelitian yang digunakan adalah kualitatif. Sifat penelitian kualitatif yang mengambil data dari kondisi disekitarnya tidak berangkat dari sebuah teori. Data yang didapat oleh peneliti saat dilapangan akan dimaknai dan dipahami. Creswell (dalam Herdiansyah, 2010: 8), menyebutkan: *“Qualitative research is an inquiry process of understanding based on distinct methodological traditions of inquiry that explore a social or human problem. The researcher builds a complex, holistic picture, analyzes words, report detailed views of information, and conducts the study in a natural setting”*.

Pendapat lain adalah Penelitian kualitatif merupakan penelitian yang digunakan untuk menyelidiki, menemukan, menggambarkan, dan menjelaskan kualitas atau keistimewaan dari pengaruh sosial yang tidak dapat dijelaskan, diukur atau digambarkan melalui pendekatan kuantitatif (Saryono, 2010: 1).

a. Unit Analisis

i. Subjek Penelitian

Dalam penelitian ini yang menjadi subjek penelitian adalah milis dari sebuah komunitas bernama “Putera Kembara” pada penelitian ini dituliskan sebagai MPK. Milis ini berisikan orang tua, keluarga, guru, dan para pemerhati anak berkebutuhan khusus yang mau meluangkan waktunya



untuk berbagi. MPK juga dibentuk sebagai wadah untuk saling bertukar informasi serta saling berbagi pengalaman.

Bagian dari milis yang diteliti adalah percakapan para orang tua yang mencantumkan identitas anaknya secara detail. Percakapan tidak dibatasi pada topik tertentu karena semua isi transkrip akan digunakan untuk analisis.

Milis Putera Kembara dapat ditemui di www.puterakembara.org

ii. Lokasi Penelitian

Berlokasi di Jakarta. Kampus London School of Public Relations Jakarta. Jl. KH Mas Mansyur kav. 35. Jakarta Pusat. Indonesia.

b. Teknik Pengumpulan Data

Data yang dikumpulkan berupa catatan pengamatan pada transkrip percakapan di dalam MPK periode bulan Juli 2014 hingga Juli 2015. Percakapan yang dipilih hanya percakapan dimana orang tua anak penyandang ASD mencantumkan identitas anak secara detail. Transkrip percakapan akan dibaca secara keseluruhan dalam topik yang sama. Pencantuman nama dalam analisis akan disamarkan guna menghindari kesalahpahaman.

c. Teknik Analisis Data

Pada analisis data akan dilakukan beberapa tahapan, yaitu: reduksi data, penyajian data, dan penarikan kesimpulan.

i. Reduksi Data.

Data yang sudah terkumpul akan dipisah-pisahkan sesuai kriteria awal yang sudah ditentukan, yaitu penulisan identitas anak secara detail. Keseluruhan transkrip percakapan akan dibaca secara keseluruhan guna memahami cara orang tua berinteraksi melalui MKP. Data yang dianggap tidak dapat digunakan akan dipisahkan untuk disimpan apabila nantinya akan ditemukan sebagai penunjang.

ii. Penyajian Data.

Transkrip yang sudah dipisahkan sesuai dengan kriteria yang ditentukan, kemudian dianalisis dalam bentuk naratif. Analisis dilakukan berlandaskan teori *Cultural Studies* serta konsep Media Baru yang menjadi fokus penelitian. Analisis tidak dirangkum dalam bentuk tabel ataupun grafik, tetapi akan dilengkapi dengan gambar pendukung. Gambar pendukung yang digunakan adalah bentuk situs dari Puterakembara untuk memberikan gambaran tata letak dari milis MKP.

iii. Penarikan kesimpulan

Berdasarkan data yang sudah direduksi serta disajikan dalam analisis maka dapat ditarik kesimpulan penelitian dalam bentuk naratif. Keragaman topik percakapan dalam MPK akan mempengaruhi analisis peneliti. Kesimpulan penelitian akan menjawab tujuan penelitian

4. Temuan dan Analisis

4.1. MKP Sebagai Komunitas Virtual

MKP merupakan komunitas virtual dimana setiap anggota MKP dapat mengemukakan cerita, pendapat, keluhan, pertanyaan, dll. Pesan yang disampaikan beragam mulai dari cerita populer seputar anak penyandang ASD, informasi klinis, pengalaman, obat-obatan, terapi, empati dan simpati, respon atas berita tertentu, motivasi, persuasi, dan sebagainya. Penulis melihat adanya keterbukaan di antara anggota, yang merupakan orang tua anak penyandang ASD, anggota keluarga, atau partisipan yang memiliki perhatian pada perkembangan bidang ini.

Sebagai contoh, PW (nama yang disingkat) mengirimkan surat elektronik pada 9 Nopember 2015, pukul 15:06, mengenai informasi tentang identitas anaknya yang menyandang sindrom ADHD, dan beberapa pertanyaan tentang terapi wicara yang bisa dipanggil ke rumah, guru les berenang, serta tempat tes alergi dan logam berat. Pertanyaan mengenai tempat tes alergi dan logam berat langsung dijawab lengkap berikut harga dan keterangan referensi oleh LH pada hari yang sama pukul 16:17.

Contoh lain adalah informasi tentang penggunaan obat abilify pada anak penyandang ADHD yang disampaikan oleh KC pada tanggal 1 Juli 2014. Karena tidak ada informasi yang cukup tentang dosis penggunaan obat per hari maka KC mengirim surat elektronik pada pukul 17:20, yang segera dijawab oleh TS pada pukul 18:15 yang menjelaskan pengalaman tentang dosis yang diberikan kepada anaknya, dan memberi saran agar KC membawa anaknya kepada psikiater.

Ada kesamaan tujuan yang dimiliki para anggota, yaitu saling berbagi pengalaman dan pengetahuan, serta saling memberi motivasi demi memperoleh pengetahuan dan kekuatan dalam menghadapi berbagai permasalahan saat membesarkan anak penyandang ASD. Tujuan untuk memperoleh pengetahuan sering kali dilandasi oleh munculnya pengalaman baru saat merawat anak atau adanya permasalahan tumbuh kembang anak yang belum juga terpecahkan. Terkadang ditemukan juga pesan tersamar yang menyiratkan adanya rasa frustrasi yang ditutupi. Biasanya akan selalu ada anggota lain yang member informasi dan motivasi untuk menguatkan.

Hal di atas dapat dilihat pada surat elektronik yang disampaikan oleh KA pada 2 Juli 2014. KA menyampaikan bahwa ada kekhawatiran yang sangat untuk memberi anaknya jenis obat tertentu karena masih terlalu kecil. Namun demikian, pada sisi lain, anaknya terlalu aktif dan sulit diajak bicara. Berdasarkan kalimat yang digunakan, penulis dapat mengetahui bahwa bukan cuma kekhawatiran yang tersirat, tetapi ada rasa frustrasi karena tidak tahu apa yang harus diperbuat. Dalam waktu singkat, respon datang dari CH, SM, AS, dan EJ.

Melalui partisipasi dalam MKP, para anggota menemukan identitas baru sebagai bagian dari kelompok masyarakat yang memiliki rasa sepenanggungan. Karenanya, muncul sopan santun yang



dijaga saat berkomunikasi agar tidak menyinggung perasaan sesama anggota. Hal tersebut terlihat dari stilistik yang digunakan, yang cenderung bersifat positif dan membangun. Tidak ada kata-kata kasar yang digunakan, dan kalupun ada perbedaan pandangan, permasalahan diselesaikan dengan saling menghargai. Perilaku komunikasi yang saling menghargai dan menjaga perasaan orang lain ini merupakan wujud dari kesadaran identitas sebagai bagian dari komunitas dan rasa memiliki.

Perilaku komunikasi yang santun itu pada akhirnya membentuk perangkat norma yang diberlakukan dalam komunitas tersebut, sebuah kesepakatan tidak tertulis yang dijalani secara sukarela oleh tiap anggota demi terjaganya keberlangsungan komunitas dan kenyamanan dalam berkomunikasi.

4.2. Faktor Internal

4.2.1. Interaktivitas

Salah satu indikator interaktivitas adalah rasio respon atas apa yang disampaikan melalui media baru. Hal yang menarik dari MKP adalah banyak dan beragamnya topik pembahasan yang disampaikan oleh anggota, serta respon yang disampaikan oleh anggota lain. Selain itu, kecepatan merespon topik juga cukup tinggi. Contohnya yang disampaikan oleh MK pada 19 Januari 2015 pukul 13:27.

MK menceritakan pengalaman pribadi tentang upaya menghentikan kebiasaan anaknya menyaksikan salah satu film animasi terkenal di stasiun televisi. Usaha tersebut tidak mudah dilakukan karena setiap TV dimatikan, tak lama kemudian anaknya tantrum. Konten seperti ini sebetulnya merupakan konten yang paling banyak ditemui dalam MKP, tetapi respon yang diperoleh cukup tinggi dan cukup cepat, yaitu hanya berselang 2 menit. Respon yang disampaikan oleh TS, KH, DR, yang juga menceritakan pengalaman individu terkait dengan hal tersebut.

Arah komunikasinya relatif satu arah dan tidak bertumpuk tindih dengan topik lain. Hal ini merupakan kode etik yang tidak tertulis, dimana pembahasan topik biasanya dibiarkan selesai dahulu, sebelum dimunculkan lagi topik baru. Jadi walaupun dalam konteks interaktivitas, komunikator memiliki kendali atas ruang, waktu, arah komunikasi, dan peran dalam komunikasi, para anggota memilih untuk memberi ruang bagi anggota lain untuk berkomunikasi.

4.2.2. Sosiabilitas

Berdasarkan pengamatan penulis, ditemukan bahwa pengalaman pertama bagi seorang anggota baru, hampir selalu dimulai dengan perkenalan diri dan masalah yang dihadapi oleh anak mereka. Jawaban dari anggota lain adalah salam balasan dan konten milis yang terkait dengan topik yang disampaikan. Pengalaman pertama ini merupakan ukuran yang biasanya dianut oleh para anggota baru untuk menilai apakah sebuah komunitas virtual layak diikuti.

Contohnya adalah surat elektronik yang pertama kali disampaikan oleh AG yang disampaikan pada 12 Nop 2015 pukul 15:23. Balasan atas surat eletronik datang dari PU 1 menit kemudian dengan

sapaan yang hangat. Pengalaman pertama bergabung dengan milis MKP ternyata sangat berkesan bagi AG sehingga AG menjadi rajin mengirim topik untuk bertegur sapa dengan anggota lain.

4.2.3. Otonomi

Semua anggota MKP memiliki hak yang sama dalam penggunaan milis, dan juga memiliki kontrol atas konten dan penggunaan. Hal ini terlihat dari bagaimana para anggota hanya merespon sesuai dengan pengetahuan yang dimilikinya saja. Pada percakapan melalui milis juga tidak terlihat perdebatan yang mengarah pada perbedaan pendapat.

Kondisi otonomi juga muncul dalam kecepatan anggota dalam merespon pertanyaan lain dari anggota lain. Ibu TS merespon email dari ibu KNH pada tanggal 19 Januari 2015 pada pukul 13.29, hanya berseling beberapa menit saja (email ibu KNH jam 13.02). Berbeda lagi dengan email yang dikirimkan oleh ibu PW ketika menanyakan terapis wicara dan guru les renang bagi anaknya. Email tersebut dikirimkan pada tanggal 9 November 2015 pukul 15.06, kemudian direspon oleh ibu LH dihari yang sama pada pukul 16.17. Respon balik dari ibu PW adalah pukul 18.09.

Dari percakapan yang terjadi maka terlihat bahwa setiap anggota memiliki kebebasan untuk menentukan konten mana yang ingin ditanggapi dan kapan waktu untuk menanggapi. Pengirim juga tidak memaksakan untuk mendapatkan jawaban saat itu juga atau memaksa anggota lain dihubungi secara pribadi.

4.2.4. Privasi

Anggota milis memiliki privasi yang sudah disepakati bersama, yaitu mendaftarkan alamat surel dan mengetahui akan keberagaman anggota. Untuk menjadi anggota tidak diperlukan data pribadi yang lengkap, sehingga privasi anggota tidak akan terganggu atau mempengaruhi percakapan yang terjadi.

Prosedur dari milis yang mengharuskan semua anggota mendaftar diri kepada moderator untuk disaring juga menambah kenyamanan anggota dari sisi privasi. Kebebasan untuk menjawab topik yang dianggap menarik juga menjadi bagian dari privasi yang diberikan oleh media baru, artinya tidak akan ada intervensi dari pihak manapun untuk menentukan keaktifan seorang anggota.

4.2.5. Personalisasi

Keluwasan dalam milis menunjang personalisasi dalam berkomunikasi. Penulisan nama pada akhir percakapan sangat bebas tergantung dari setiap anggota. Seperti yang muncul di percakapan pada tanggal 2 Juli 2014, ada keragaman penulisan nama misalnya Mamanya R 10 thn autis, Mama dari M, C – mama MK atau hanya insial SPA.

4.2.6. *Media richness*

MKP memberikan ruang bagi anggotanya untuk bisa saling berkomunikasi dengan nyaman. Hal ini terjadi karena sesama anggota milis tidak terjadi dominasi satu dengan yang lainnya. Kondisi yang

sama, yaitu memiliki anak penyandang ASD menghilangkan ambiguitas dalam percakapan. Kepercayaan satu dengan yang lainnya terbentuk dengan sendirinya. Melalui milis para anggota juga berusaha mendapatkan pengetahuan tambahan.

Muncul dalam percakapan pada tanggal 12 July 2015 dengan topik 'Tes alergi dengan Bioresonance treatment'. MY menanyakan mengenai tes alergi yang akan dijalani oleh anaknya RK 7 tahun, terlihat bahwa saran dari tenaga medis masih dikonfirmasi kembali pada anggota milis lainnya. Hal ini memperlihatkan bahwa milis menjadi salah satu sumber yang dapat dipercaya oleh anggotanya.

4.3. Faktor Eksternal

4.3.1. Masalah sosial

Kenyamanan dalam berkomunikasi melalui milis terjadi karena kesamaan masalah sosial yang dihadapi. Kurangnya informasi dan lingkungan yang belum memahami anak penyandang ASD membuat milis menjadi sebuah pilihan. Rasa kebersamaan untuk menghadapi kondisi sosial tercermin sangat kuat dalam milis ini, seperti pada percakapan 9 Oktober 2015 dengan topik 'Ayah tega bunuh anaknya penyandang Autis'. Respon yang muncul dari RDL 'takkan lelah sampai akhir hayat merawat dan membesarkannya', respon lain YD 'mari saling menguatkan, saling bantu tetap bertahan dalam keadaan sulit, dan ER 'semoga kita semua sabar dan tabah dalam mendidik anak2 istimewa kita, aamiin'.

Terlihat di sana bahwa lingkungan yang belum siap menerima anak penyandang ASD dapat dihadapi sesama anggota milis dengan saling memberikan semangat. Kalimat yang dituliskan juga sangat santai menggunakan ejaan yang tidak resmi, mencerminkan kedekatan setiap anggota milis di dalamnya.

4.3.2. Pengetahuan dan pengalaman

Setiap anggota milis memiliki pengetahuan dan pengalaman yang berbeda-beda. Hal ini terjadi karena anggota milis tidak dibatasi dengan kategori tertentu. Rasa nyaman dengan menuliskan identitas anak dengan jelas menjadikan anggota milis merasa dapat mempercayai informasi yang dibagi oleh anggota lainnya. Seperti dalam percakapan pada tanggal 1 Juli 2015 dengan topik 'Penggunaan obat abilify pada anak ADHD 3 tahun'. KC menanyakan apakah aman memberikan obat abilify pada anaknya yang berumur 3 tahun, kemudian dijawab oleh TS bahwa anaknya sudah menggunakan obat yang sama dalam jangka waktu yang cukup lama. Dengan pengetahuan baru yang dimiliki KC menjadi lebih yakin menghadapi masalah. Usia anak KC yang lebih tua dari anak TS menjadikan pengalaman KC dapat diterima.

4.3.3. Harapan masa depan



Kondisi yang dialami oleh orang tua anak penyandang ASD bukanlah kondisi yang umum dialami oleh setiap orang tua. Mereka berjuang sepanjang hidup anaknya untuk bisa memberikan yang terbaik bagi tumbuh kembang anak. Pada masa yang silam, permasalahan itu ditanggung oleh para orang tua secara terpisah karena lingkup mereka tertutup. Kalaupun ada komunikasi di antara mereka, itu hanya terjadi di dalam arena komunitas yang kecil. Munculnya MKP sebagai ruang yang memungkinkan mereka berkomunikasi menimbulkan kekuatan dalam membesarkan anak. Komunitas virtual ini tidak hanya membuat para orang tua bisa berbagi dan saling memberi motivasi, tetapi juga menumbuhkan harapan akan adanya masa depan lebih baik.

Hal itu dapat dilihat dari beberapa surat elektronik yang disampaikan oleh orang tua, terutama pada saat ada informasi baru tentang penanganan tantrum, pola makan, dan pengobatan anak. Puji syukur kerap disampaikan sambil menuliskan harapan-harapan akan terjadinya perubahan menuju keadaan yang lebih baik. Harapan-harapan tersebut bukan terkait dengan kesembuhan anak karena kebanyakan orang tua sudah menyadari bahwa apa yang terjadi pada anak mereka tidak dapat menjadi normal seperti anak-anak lain, tetapi mereka cukup realistis untuk mengharapkan perubahan jangka pendek.

4.3.4. *Paguyuban*

Budaya paguyuban di Indonesia yang sangat kental memberikan kontribusi pada kenyamanan anggota milis untuk berbagi rasa. Dalam budaya paguyuban yang mengedepankan kebersamaan tanpa pamrih dalam berbagai kondisi sangat pas dengan karakteristik MKP. Rasa percaya tumbuh dengan sendirinya saat melihat anggota lain yang menuliskan identitasnya secara lengkap, terutama dalam penyebutan kondisi anak.

Dialog dalam MKP yang bersifat santai dan tidak saling menggurui menambah nilai kekeluargaan bagi sesama anggotanya. Hal ini dikuatkan dengan adanya latar belakang pendirinya yang juga memiliki anak berkebutuhan khusus, sehingga anggota percaya bahwa MKP didirikan bukan untuk tujuan komersial. Kondisi saling berbagi pendapat, pengalaman, dan saran dapat membentuk sebuah ikatan antar sesama anggota. Dengan demikian, para anggota tersebut memperlakukan MKP sebagai 'rumah' dimana ia bisa menjadi dirinya sendiri tanpa harus sungkan dengan kondisi anak mereka.

4.4. **Perubahan Perilaku**

Kehadiran MKP terlihat dapat mengubah perilaku orang tua anak penyandang ASD. Pada dasarnya sikap orang tua anak penyandang ASD tidak terlalu terbuka, terlebih lagi ketika harus mengakui kondisi anak mereka di muka umum. Rasa takut untuk diadili dan dikucilkan sering kali muncul.

Berlandaskan kebutuhan akan informasi, berbagi pengalaman, dan menceritakan kondisi anak penyandang ASD maka muncul perubahan perilaku pada para orang tua. MKP menjadi sebuah tempat untuk bisa mengungkapkan jati diri mereka dengan apa adanya. Pencantuman nama orang tua disertai detail kondisi anak menjadi hal yang biasa, dan bahkan merupakan kebanggaan.

Keterbukaan tersebut terjadi karena adanya rasa nyaman dalam berkomunikasi antara sesama orang tua anak penyandang ASD.

4.5. Analisis

Kebiasaan orang tua anak penyandang ASD yang enggan menyebutkan identitas diri dan anak banyak disebabkan oleh batasan yang diciptakan sendiri oleh para orang tua. Kekuatiran dan ketakutan psikologis atas pandangan serta perlakuan berbeda dari masyarakat sosial menjadi dasar timbulnya perilaku tersebut. Akibatnya, orang tua anak penyandang ASD cenderung tidak memiliki informasi yang cukup untuk membesarkan anaknya.

Munculnya MKP membuat orang tua yang menjadi anggotanya menjadi lebih terbuka. Orang tua anak penyandang ASD tidak lagi malu untuk mengungkap jati diri dan mencantumkan nama anak dan sindrom yang disandangnya. Hal ini merupakan perubahan besar bila dilihat dari aspek sosial karena orang tua anak penyandang ASD tidak lagi mengasingkan diri, bahkan membentuk komunitas yang memiliki kebersamaan semangat dalam menghadapi problema saat ini dan masa depan.

Perubahan perilaku itu disebabkan oleh karakter media baru yang mampu menciptakan ruang nyaman yang fleksibel, memberi keleluasaan kendali atas lingkungan komunikasi, memberi akses untuk bisa berkomunikasi dengan orang tua lain, berinteraksi sesuai dengan situasi keseharian yang dihadapi, serta mendapatkan informasi yang banyak dan cepat. Ruang nyaman ini menimbulkan suasana seperti di rumah sendiri (*feel at home*). MKP merupakan produk sosial berubah menjadi atribut pribadi.

Penyebab lain dari terjadinya perubahan perilaku orang tua adalah adanya kesamaan historis yang berlandaskan pada kesamaan budaya, dalam hal ini yaitu paguyuban. Kebiasaan berkumpul dalam bentuk tatap muka berubah menjadi pertemuan dalam dunia maya. Kesamaan historis juga dapat ditemukan dalam bentuk situasi kehidupan yang sama sehingga muncul rasa senasib dan sepenangunan.

Selain itu, faktor lain yang mendorong untuk terbuka adalah dihadapkannya orang tua anak penyandang ASD pada permasalahan yang sama, yaitu permasalahan sosial dan kurangnya informasi serta pengalaman dalam membesarkan anak. Hal tersebut memberikan kelegaan karena orang tua anak penyandang ASD tidak lagi merasa mengalami permasalahan tersebut sendiri, dan di lain pihak, mereka dapat mengkomunikasikan pemikiran dan mendapatkan informasi.

Kondisi tersebut di atas membuat para orang tua tidak lagi terasing dalam sendirian saat memupuk harapan, namun secara bersama-sama mereka memecahkan masalah dan mengharapkan masa depan yang lebih baik bagi putra-putri mereka. Orang tua anak penyandang ASD dapat saling mempersuasi dan memotivasi untuk tetap semangat mengejar apa yang mereka mimpikan.

Faktor eksternal lain yang penting dalam perubahan perilaku orang tua anak penyandang ASD adalah pengalaman dan pengetahuan yang terkait dengan tumbuh kembang anak. Sebelum ada



MKP, pengetahuan dan pengalaman yang sedikit itu merupakan bagian dari apa yang disimpan dalam memori orang tua anak penyandang ASD. Namun setelah bergabung dengan MKP, pengetahuan dan pengalaman menjadi informasi yang saling dipertukarkan antara anggota komunitas.

MKP merupakan komunitas virtual yang terbentuk atas kesamaan sejarah budaya, konteks sosial, dan harapan masa depan, yang mampu mengubah perilaku tertutup orang tua penyandang ASD menjadi terbuka dan mau mengakui identitas diri dan anak mereka. Faktor eksternal menjadi pendorong terwujudnya partisipasi komunikasi, sedangkan faktor internal media baru memberikan suasana nyaman sehingga partisipan dapat leluasa berkomunikasi.

e. Kesimpulan

Keberadaan MKP sebagai salah satu bentuk media baru yang ditawarkan oleh Komunitas Putrakembara mampu mengubah perilaku sosial orang tua anak penyandang ASD, dari yang tadinya menutupi keberadaan anak menjadi mau menyampaikan identitas diri dan anak, serta sindrom yang dimiliki. Hal tersebut disebabkan karena adanya karakter media baru yang melekat pada MKP. Kemampuan media baru dalam menyediakan interaktivitas, sosiabilitas, otonomi, privasi, personalisasi, dan *media richness* menciptakan suasana *'feel at home'* sehingga partisipan memiliki keleluasaan dan kenyamanan berkomunikasi. Faktor lain yang terkait dengan keterbukaan partisipan MKP adalah sosial budaya, yaitu; kesamaan historis, konteks sosial, pengetahuan dan pengalaman, dan harapan masa depan. Faktor eksternal ini memunculkan dorongan bagi orang tua penyandang ASD untuk mau berkomunikasi melalui MKP.

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**Jejaring Sosial sebagai Media dalam Melanggengkan Hegemoni Budaya Dominan
(Studi Kasus Pembelajaran Gaya Hidup Urban melalui
Penggunaan Ask.fm oleh Remaja di Kota Bekasi)**

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Abstrak

Studi ini mencoba menjelaskan bagaimana hegemoni budaya dominan dalam bentuk praktik gaya hidup urban dilanggengkan melalui penggunaan jejaring sosial oleh remaja. Menggunakan paradigma kritis, studi ini akan berfokus untuk melihat bagaimana gaya hidup urban menjadi budaya dominan dan menciptakan hegemoni melalui penanda kelas dan berbagai bentuk kapital dalam jejaring sosial. Untuk menjawabnya, studi ini menggunakan pendekatan kualitatif dan teknik pengambilan data melalui wawancara mendalam dengan lima informan remaja. Studi ini menemukan bahwa gaya hidup urban memiliki arti penting bagi remaja di Kota Bekasi terkait identitas dan penerimaan sosial. Studi ini juga menemukan bahwa terdapat upaya mobilitas sosial ke atas di antara remaja kelas menengah Kota Bekasi dengan menjadikan kaum muda Jakarta dalam Ask.fm sebagai panduan nilai dan gagasan.

Kata kunci: Jejaring sosial, Hegemoni budaya, Ask.fm, Remaja, Jakarta, Budaya, Gaya hidup, Urban.

Pendahuluan

Penelitian ini akan mencoba menjelaskan bagaimana hegemoni budaya dominan dilanggengkan melalui penggunaan jejaring sosial oleh remaja. Hegemoni budaya merupakan sebuah kondisi di mana budaya yang seharusnya beragam dapat diarahkan dan didominasi oleh sebuah kelompok maupun kelas yang berkuasa (Pisoe & Dischaba, 2013). Meskipun kemudian media baru atau internet hadir dan dikatakan sebagai alat *counter-hegemony* (O'Shaughnessy & Stadler, 2005), hal tersebut tidak serta merta menjadikan internet bebas dari isu kekuasaan dan status-quo (Fusch, 2014). Gaya Hidup sebagai bagian dari sebuah budaya dalam perpektif kritis memiliki kaitan erat dengan kelas sosial dan kapitalisme (Lears, 1985). Merujuk pada konsep *Taste Culture* atau Budaya Selera oleh Bourdieu, selera individu atau kelompok yang kemudian menjadi dasar pengambilan sikap

dan keputusan bukan semata-mata dilihat sebagai hasil dari preferensi pribadi, melainkan hal yang dikondisikan secara sosial (Allen & Anderson, 1994).

Power dan pertarungan dalam menentukan budaya dominan juga terjadi dalam *platform media online*. Menurut Fusch, dalam jejaring sosial, kelompok ataupun kelas-kelas tertentu memiliki *cultural power* atau kekuasaan budaya untuk mendefinisikan nilai moral dan makna yang akan membentuk persepsi mengenai apa saja yang dianggap penting, memiliki reputasi, dan harus dimiliki di tengah masyarakat. Hegemoni budaya dominan yang dibangun dan dipertahankan oleh *ruling class* melalui berbagai cara pada akhirnya dapat membuat kelompok subordinat berupaya mencapai identitas dominan itu sendiri (Giampapa, 2004). Dalam konteks Karenanya, kesenjangan dan distribusi *power* yang tidak merata di Indonesia menghasilkan upaya untuk melakukan mobilitas sosial ke atas (*upward social mobility*) salah satunya melalui gaya hidup (Naafs, 2012).

Kajian mengenai gaya hidup sendiri banyak membahas mengenai remaja sebagai kelompok atau khalayak yang penting dalam konteks budaya kapitalistik (Armando, 2002). Terlebih, dalam konteks Indonesia, Sarwono (2014) menemukan pula adanya ketegangan dan kebutuhan bagi remaja untuk merujuk pada gaya hidup remaja di pusat Kota Jakarta. Bagaimana gagasan mengenai gaya hidup tertentu menjadi populer dapat dilihat pula pada jejaring sosial Ask.fm. Salah satu aktivitas yang khas pada Ask.fm di Indonesia adalah mencari informasi mengenai hal-hal yang sedang menjadi tren di kalangan anak muda (Nikmah, 2013). Hal ini terlihat dari kemunculan kelompok tertentu yang menjadi kiblat bagi remaja lainnya. Dengan demikian, penelitian ini ingin mencari tahu bagaimana budaya dominan gaya hidup urban dilanggengkan dalam ruang *online* dan bagaimana kemudian jejaring sosial berperan dalam menciptakan hegemoni tersebut.

Tinjauan Teoritis

Penelitian ini secara garis besar akan menggunakan beberapa konsep sebagai landasan berpikir, antara lain Hegemoni Budaya dan Kontestasi Kekuasaan, Budaya Selera dan Gaya Hidup, serta Jejaring Sosial dari perspektif kritis. *Cultural Hegemony* atau hegemoni budaya merupakan konsep yang diajukan oleh Gramsci untuk menggambarkan hubungan antara budaya dan kekuasaan di bawah kapitalisme (Lears, 1985). Dalam sebuah hegemoni, kelompok dominan dan subordinat terus mengalami pertarungan, negosiasi, dan upaya dalam memelihara kekuasaan terhadap nilai dan gagasan tertentu. Namun, pada kondisi di mana kelompok dominan memenangkan penerimaan (*consent*), kelompok subordinat akan menganut dan mengikuti nilai yang berlaku serta mengalami kesadaran palsu. Fanon (2008) mengaitkan penerimaan kelompok subrodinat ini dengan dialektika Hegel mengenai upaya mendapat eksistensi dan pengakuan kelompok dominan.

Di sisi lain, Bourdieu (1984) menjelaskan bagaimana kontestasi kekuasaan dan kapitalisme kemudian dapat menjelaskan konstruksi selera dalam masyarakat melalui konsep Budaya Selera (*Taste Culture*). Menurutnya, selera individu atau kelompok dikondisikan secara sosial oleh kelas yang dominan untuk menjaga kesan perbedaan dan mempertahankan status quo (Allen & Anderson, 1994). Selera tersebut misalnya terkait cara konsumsi seperti pakaian apa yang digunakan, makanan apa yang dibeli, hingga penentuan sikap seperti kegiatan apa yang dilakukan sehari-hari. Dalam sistem kelas yang digambarkan oleh Bourdieu, terdapat faktor-faktor tertentu yang berangkat dari distribusi

kapital di mana kapital menjadi sumber *power* dan penanda kelas (Weininger, 2005). Bourdieu membagi kapital menjadi tiga bentuk, yakni kapital sosial, kapital ekonomi, dan kapital budaya.

Keberadaan kaum muda urban menjadi hal yang penting dalam perkembangan budaya kaum muda di Indonesia. Kaum muda memiliki ketertarikan yang tinggi terhadap modernitas, tidak hanya dengan menghubungkan diri dengan tren budaya populer global tetapi juga mengambil inspirasi dari gaya hidup terbaru dari pusat daerah urban di Pulau Jawa seperti Jakarta (White & Naafs, 2011). Dalam penelitiannya, Sarwono (2014) menemukan bahwa kaum muda di Indonesia dihadapkan pada kebutuhan yang kuat untuk mereplikasi karakteristik “*Anak Jakarta*”.

Seperti yang telah dipaparkan sebelumnya, jejaring sosial kini menjadi ruang bagi kontestasi kekuasaan yang menarik untuk dilihat. Terlepas dari karakteristiknya yang membuka peluang bagi pemberdayaan diri dan kelompok, peluang akan menguatnya hegemoni juga tidak bisa dielakkan terjadi pada *platform* ini. Kembali merujuk pada argumen Fusch, dalam jejaring sosial, kelompok ataupun kelas-kelas tertentu memiliki *cultural power* atau kekuasaan budaya untuk mendefinisikan nilai moral dan makna yang akan membentuk persepsi mengenai apa saja yang dianggap penting, memiliki reputasi, dan harus dimiliki di tengah masyarakat. Jika *cultural power* ini hanya dimiliki oleh kelompok dan kelas tertentu, maka jejaring sosial justru dapat merepresentasikan realita yang bias (Fusch, 2014).

Metode Penelitian

Penelitian ini dilakukan menggunakan paradigma kritis yang dianggap sesuai dalam melihat realita sebagai hasil perkembangan, penerimaan, maupun perbenturan dari waktu ke waktu. Pendekatan kualitatif kemudian digunakan untuk menggambarkan dengan jelas fenomena dan permasalahan dalam penelitian ini yang berusaha menggali konteks sosial, ekonomi, dan budaya dari penggunaan jejaring sosial dalam melanggengkan hegemoni gaya hidup urban. Penelitian ini termasuk ke dalam kategori penelitian dengan jenis deskriptif dengan strategi studi kasus (*case study*). Sementara itu, data dalam penelitian ini didapatkan melalui wawancara mendalam dengan lima orang informan berdasarkan teknik pemilihan purposif.

Pemilihan remaja di Kota Bekasi sebagai subjek penelitian dilatarbelakangi oleh aktivitas penggunaan internet yang cukup tinggi serta kondisi sosial budaya dan ekonomi yang dirasa unik. Perkembangan pesat Kota Bekasi dari segi ekonomi, sosial, dan infrastruktur (Diela, 2014) dengan area efektif perkotaan lebih dari 50% (Ditjen Cipta Karya, 2014) memunculkan kemungkinan pergeseran gaya hidup dan upaya adaptasi kaum muda. Hal tersebut beriringan dengan argumen Naafs (2011) bahwa pergeseran gaya hidup dan upaya adaptasi kaum muda akan muncul dalam konteks daerah yang tengah mengalami perkembangan infrastruktur dan ekonomi.

Hasil Penelitian

1. Penggunaan Ask.fm

A. Profil Informan



A. No. Informan	B. Usia	C. Konsumsi Media
D. I-1	E. 18	F. Ask.fm, Snapchat, Twitter, Instagram, Path
G. I-2	H. 15	I. Ask.fm, Instagram, Televisi
J. I-3	K. 16	L. Instagram, Path, Snapchat, Ask.fm, Televisi
M. I-4	N. 17	O. Instagram, Path, Snapchat, Ask.fm, Televisi, Majalah
P. I-5	Q. 16	R. Instagram, Ask.fm, majalah

B. Motivasi dan Frekuensi Penggunaan Ask.fm

Kelima informan dapat dikatakan telah akrab menggunakan *platform* ini. Ask.fm paling banyak digunakan oleh para informan selama setahun, meskipun informan 1 baru menggunakannya selama 5 bulan terakhir. Informan 5 bahkan telah menggunakan Ask.fm selama hampir dua tahun. Awal Penggunaan Ask.fm oleh kelima informan pun rata-rata memiliki latar belakang yang tidak berbeda jauh. Awalnya, para informan menggunakan Ask.fm karena melihat beberapa temannya yang aktif bermain di ask.fm, sehingga para informan merasa tertarik untuk mencoba menggunakannya.

“Jadi waktu itu karena waktu itukan gue pengguna Twitter kan. Nah, terus kok orang-orang udah jarang banget pada buka, terus gue liat, kok dari Ask.fm itu bisa dishare kan ke Twitter. Nah terus kok pada ini, pada apa, pada mainnya Ask.fm. Akhirnya gue kepo. Terus, ada juga emang, ada juga, gue suka sama satu orang kayak seleb gitu, Seleb Twitter. Cuma dia udah gak di Twitter lagi.. Dia malah mainan Ask.fm. Ya udah karena tuh seleb itu gue jadi buka-buka” (Informan 1)

Dalam hal tujuan dan motivasi menggunakan Ask.fm, kelima informan umumnya juga memiliki motif yang mirip. Terdapat dua tujuan utama yang dikemukakan kelima informan. Pertama, tujuan menggunakan Ask.fm adalah untuk memenuhi rasa penasaran karena teman-teman informan yang mulai berpindah ke *platform* Ask.fm. Kedua, *Kepo* atau mencari informasi mengenai hal-hal yang sedang tren di kalangan anak muda menjadi hal yang disebutkan oleh semua informan. Menurut kelima informan, di dalam Ask.fm, mereka bisa membuka banyak akun remaja yang dianggap kekinian dalam berbagi hal.

“Untuk cari informasi, kepo, dan untuk cuci mata, liat seleb yang cantik dan ganteng, lihat aktivitas mereka” (Informan 4)

“Biar supaya, apa ya, termotivasi aja sih, kayak misalkan di Ask.fm kan banyak yang suka pamer. Pamer apapun...” (Informan 5)

Di samping itu, kelima informan mengakses Ask.fm paling sering setiap hari, dan paling jarang dua hari sekali.

“Sering. Setiap malam pasti buka liat, liat twit apa twit-twit dari seleb Ask.fm.....terus kalo lagi belajar, terus kan nanti istirahat sambil nunggu buka Ask.fm” (Informan 5)

Model Partisipasi dan Karakteristik Akun yang Diikuti

Kelima informan memiliki model partisipasi dalam Ask.fm yang beragam. Informan 1 dan 4 misalnya tergolong dalam partisipasi yang cukup pasif. Kedua informan ini lebih banyak menggunakan Ask.fm untuk mengikuti akun-akun dan mencari tahu hal-hal yang diminati. Informan 2 dan 5 tidak hanya pasif memantau akun yang mereka ikuti, tetapi turut bertanya, menjawab, dan berbagi *posting*. Di sisi lain, informan 3 menunjukkan model partisipasi yang berbeda, yakni sebagai akun yang memiliki banyak pengikut dan dirujuk sebagai *Seleb* lokal.

Selain mengikuti akun beberapa teman di dunia nyata, kelima informan mengikuti akun-akun anak muda yang populer atau yang biasa disebut dengan *Seleb Ask*. terdapat beberapa kesamaan deskripsi dan juga beberapa perbedaan, tergantung pada bidang apa yang membuat informan tertarik. Beberapa karakteristik yang mirip misalnya adalah anak Jakarta, *gaul*, populer, memiliki banyak *likes* pada *answersnya*, *smart*, dan cantik.

“Orang yang keren-keren kadang, kalo nggak yang romantis-romantis gitu. Kebanyakan yang aku follow anak Jakarta” (Informan 2)

Selain itu, beberapa informan juga memperhatikan aspek status pendidikan dari akun-akun yang akan mereka ikuti. Contohnya informan 4 dan 5 yang sangat peduli pada di mana *Seleb Ask* yang ia ikuti menempuh pendidikannya

2. Gaya Hidup dan Identitas Diri

A. Makna Gaya Hidup dan Pergaulan Teman Sebaya (*Peer Group*)

Peneliti menemukan bahwa kelima informan melihat gaya hidup sebagai sesuatu yang berkaitan erat dengan identitas dan citra diri. Tidak hanya itu, gaya hidup kemudian memiliki pengaruh pada hubungan dengan teman sebaya. Ketika para informan tidak mengikuti perkembangan gaya hidup seperti pakaian, tempat berkumpul, dan makanan yang sedang tren, maka para informan merasakan adanya kesenjangan atau jarak dengan teman-teman di sekitarnya. Di sisi lain, gaya hidup juga dimaknai informan 2 sebagai sebuah daya tarik diri dalam bergaul dan lawan jenis.

“Kan kita juga harus ngikutin tren, gaya berpakaian, itu harus apalagi cewek gitu kan ya.. cewek, eeh.. untuk gaya berpakaian tuh apa sih.. iyaa, trus kayak untuk tempat-tempat terbaru kita juga harus update dong masa kita di.. kudet banget gatau apa-apa gitu. Kalo aku sih mikirnya gitu kak..” (Informan 3)

Para informan mempelajari dan mengimitasi gaya hidup urban dalam bentuk beragam dari jejaring sosial. Informan 1, 4 dan 5 memiliki kegemaran untuk mengikuti perkembangan *tren* makanan dan tempat berkumpul. Ketiga informan ini senang menghabiskan waktu bersama teman-temannya dengan mengunjungi tempat makan dan tempat berkumpul yang sedang ramai diperbincangkan. Sementara itu, informan 2 dan 3 lebih memfokuskan diri mereka dalam mengamati dan mengimitasi tren gaya berpakaian. Kedua informan ini mempelajari tren gaya berpakaian paling banyak dari akun-akun *Seleb Ask* Jakarta yang dijadikan panutan.

“Sering ke Jakarta. Kalo Mall paling Kokas. Ke Wargih, aku taunya dari seleb Ask.fm, terus ke sate Oppai Jepang apa gitu, terus ee.. Gulai, gulai Tikungan di Blok M, terus ee. Wod, Woodpecker di Kemang. Banyak sih” (Informan 5)

B. Identitas Anak Bekasi dan Anak Jakarta

Kelima informan secara sadar menjadikan Anak Jakarta sebagai referensi dan kiblat dalam hal gaya hidup. Pemilihan Anak Jakarta sebagai referensi ini pada umumnya dilatarbelakangi oleh alasan yang hampir serupa. Informan 1, 2, dan 4 misalnya, merasa bahwa Anak Jakarta selalu menjadi awal mula tren dan mendapat perhatian akan gaya mereka yang dianggap *keren*. Hal ini juga dirasa informan 1 berkaitan dengan keberadaan pusat perbelanjaan dan merk-merk tertentu yang hanya ada di Jakarta. Mereka kemudian mendeskripsikan gambaran Anak Jakarta secara kurang lebih sama secara visual dan kegiatan yang dilakukan.

“Di luar negeri lagi hits-hitsnya, dan kota pertama yang keluar makanan itu tu selalu di jakarta. Jadi itu pasti anak Jakarta duluan dong yang nikmati” (Informan 4)

Di sisi lain, informan juga memiliki gambaran mengenai identitas diri mereka sendiri sebagai Anak Bekasi. Namun, kelimanya mengaitkan identitas mereka sebagai Anak Bekasi dengan Identitas Anak Jakarta.

“Yang aku rasain? Sebenarnya anak Bekasi tuh nggak kalah gaul sama anak Jakarta sih sebenarnya, untuk Bekasi ya, soalnya rata-rata temen aku, ya gaul.. gaul malah gaul banget.. hehe” (Informan 3)

3. Imitasi Gaya Hidup Urban

Imitasi gaya hidup urban dilakukan dengan cara dan derajat yang berbeda. Informan 1 yang memiliki hobi berburu tempat makan dan tempat berkumpul yang sedang tren bisa menjalankan hobi tersebut paling tidak dua sampai tiga kali sebulan. Informan 1 biasa berburu tempat berkumpul dan tempat makan tidak hanya di Bekasi, tapi juga tempat-tempat di Jakarta yang dilihat informan melalui jejaring sosial. Untuk menjalankan hobi ini, informan 1 bisa menghabiskan Rp 100.000 – Rp 250.000 dalam sekali pergi. Jumlah tersebut biasanya didapat dari menyisihkan uang jajan informan, yaitu Rp 900.000 per-bulan.

Sementara itu, informan 2, 3 dan 5 memiliki ketertarikan untuk mengikuti tren gaya berpakaian. Ketiganya memiliki model imitasi yang berbeda. Informan 2, informan 3 dan informan 5 mengikuti perkembangan gaya berpakaian dengan membeli barang dan merk ternama yang serupa dengan panutan mereka. Informan 5 berburu merk yang disukainya seperti *H&M* dan *Forever 21* hingga ke Pusat Perbelanjaan di Jakarta.

Setelah mengimitasi gaya hidup urban baik dalam bentuk gaya berpakaian, makanan, ataupun tempat berkumpul, terdapat bentuk-bentuk *reward* tertentu yang didapatkan oleh para informan. Dalam hal ini, kelima informan pada umumnya menggambarkan *reward* yang mereka dapatkan berupa kesenangan pribadi dan juga terkait dengan penerimaan lingkungan atas mereka. Informan 3 dan 5 yang gemar berbagi (*share*) gaya berpakaian dan produk berpakaian mereka di jejaring sosial mengungkapkan kepuasan yang mereka dapat dalam bentuk *likes* yang didapatkan.

Di tengah masyarakat, para informan menjelaskan adanya hubungan yang positif antara dua hal tersebut. Informan 1 mengatakan bahwa ia bisa melihat level atau kelas tertentu di mana dirinya dan teman-temannya berada dari gaya hidup seperti apa yang mereka praktikan. Informan 3 yang menyukai dan mengimitasi tren gaya berpakaian dengan cukup total menyatakan sikap yang sama. Lebih jauh lagi, Informan 4 menjelaskan, bahwa imitasi gaya hidup dalam bentuk gaya berpakaian menunjukkan dengan jelas mengenai kelas dan level sosial serta ekonomi. Informan 4 dalam hal ini mengasosiasikan gaya berpakaian dengan keberadaan barang-barang ber-merk. Di samping itu, informan 4 juga menggambarkan bagaimana destinasi tujuan wisata (*traveling*) turut menunjukkan level seseorang di mata informan.

4. Gaya Hidup Urban dan Ask.fm

A. Pemilihan Ask.fm

Kelima informan memiliki alasan tersendiri mengapa *platform* Ask.fm yang dipilih dalam upaya mempelajari dan mengimitasi gaya hidup urban, di mana Anak Jakarta menjadi referensi utama. Alasan pertama adalah alasan teknis dan fitur. Berbeda dengan Instagram dan Twitter, Ask.fm tidak memiliki batasan karakter dalam *posting*. Hal ini dikatakan memudahkan informan untuk mendapatkan gambaran atau informasi secara rinci, karena seseorang akan berbagi informasi dengan lengkap dan dalam berbagai bentuk baik teks, foto, dan video.

Sifat dari *platform* jejaring sosial Ask.fm yang memang memiliki format tanya jawab pun membuat para informan merasa terbantu dalam mendapatkan jawaban dari *seleb* Ask. Di *platform* jejaring sosial lain misalnya, akun-akun yang populer justru jarang membalas komentar atau pertanyaan dari orang lain. Selain itu, fitur untuk tampil sebagai anonim membuat para informan sedikit banyak merasa lebih nyaman dalam mengutarakan berbagai pertanyaan dan rasa ingin tahu terkait gaya hidup.

“Karena, ya kalau aku nggak pake anon, aku ketahuan temen-temen aku, aku nanya orang (tertawa)” (Informan 5)

Dari data yang didapat, beberapa informan mengungkapkan kecenderungan untuk lebih tertarik dan mempercayai informasi-informasi yang mereka lihat di jejaring sosial dibandingkan dengan media lain seperti televisi. Dalam mengamati perkembangan gaya hidup misalnya, para informan merasa bahwa apa yang mereka lihat di jejaring sosial terasa lebih nyata karena mereka dapatkan langsung dari orang-orang yang mereka ikuti. Hal ini membuat para informan melihat bahwa jejaring sosial, khususnya Ask.fm, sebagai sebuah media yang lebih nyata.

B. Representasi Gaya Hidup Urban dalam Ask.fm

Ask.fm sebagai *platform* yang dipilih para informan untuk mempelajari gaya hidup urban memberikan representasi dan kesan tertentu mengenai gaya hidup urban itu sendiri bagi informan. Dalam hal ini, akun-akun anak muda Jakarta kelas menengah ke atas menjadi perhatian. Beberapa informan melihat gambaran gaya hidup urban yang disajikan dalam Ask.fm sebagai sesuatu yang *gaul*, kekinian, glamor, modern, dan kekinian. Informan 2 misalnya merasa salah satu hal yang sering ia lihat dari gaya hidup anak muda kota adalah seringnya bepergian (*traveling*) dan seringnya *Seleb* Ask mengunggah foto-foto liburannya ke tempat-tempat yang



dirasa *keren*. Selain itu, informan juga menggambarkan pola konsumsi dan kepemilikan barang-barang tertentu yang sering diperlihatkan.

C. Standar “Gaul” dan Populer dalam Ask.fm

Dalam menggambarkan pengalaman mempelajari gaya hidup urban melalui Ask.fm, para informan sering menggambarkan akun-akun anak Jakarta yang populer sebagai “anak *gaul*”. Menurut kelima informan, terdapat beberapa standar atau karakteristik yang membuat seseorang atau sebuah kelompok dikatakan *gaul* dalam Ask.fm. Beberapa standar yang digambarkan oleh informan salah satunya terkait dengan popularitas yang dapat dilihat dari jumlah jawaban dan jumlah *likes*.

“Kalo lifestyle yang biasanya jadi seleb itu biasanya yang cantik dan ganteng... Yang banyak tu kan sekarang kan cewe-cewe abg kan lagi sukanya alis ditebel-tebelin, pake liptint, pake kayak gitu-gitu, jadi keliatan aja” (Informan 4)

Selain itu, informan lainnya menggambarkan bahwa istilah *seleb* atau anak-anak *gaul* di Ask.fm biasa ditujukan bagi mereka yang sering berbagi atau mengunggah foto-foto seperti lokasi-lokasi tertentu maupun barang-barang tertentu.

“Kayak harus ngepostnya itu harus di tempat bagus. Terus harus ngepost itu barangbarang mewahnya dia. Gitu sih, apalagi ada yang sering nanya, “kak, pap dong rumahnya” gitu lah...” (Informan 5)

5. Budaya Dominan dan Kelas dalam Ask.fm

A. Simbol dan Kemunculan Kelas dalam Ask.fm

Dalam *platform* Ask.fm, para informan menjelaskan terdapat kelas-kelas ataupun level secara sosial dan ekonomi. Meskipun tidak ada indikator secara resmi, namun kelas-kelas tersebut menurut para informan dapat terlihat dari simbol-simbol gaya hidup tertentu dari setiap *posting*, baik itu dalam bentuk teks cerita, PAP (*post a picture*), foto profil, dan VR (*video record*). Serupa dengan gambaran-gambaran sebelumnya, para informan mengatakan bahwa simbol-simbol gaya hidup yang dimaksud diantaranya terlihat dari pola konsumsi dan kepemilikan barang mewah.

“Dari barang-barang dia juga kan, kadang sering ditanya “ini beli di mana?” “di sini” gitu. Terus misalnya dia traveling ke mana, itu juga. Di Ask.fm kan sering ada, kayak misalnya, di Ask.fm kan sekarang setiap ada HP baru yang keluar kan dipost” (Informan 5)

Menurut para informan, munculnya level atau kelas dalam Ask.fm ini kemudian memunculkan kembali banyak akun yang berkompetisi dan berusaha untuk menjadi sama dengan *Seleb*. Para informan menggambarkan akun-akun demikian sebagai “*Social Climbers*”

B. Popularitas Anak Jakarta dalam Ask.fm

Seperti yang sebelumnya telah disebutkan, akun-akun yang populer dan biasa disapa dengan sebutan *seleb* Ask menurut informan sebagian besar adalah Anak Jakarta. Beberapa informan



mengungkapkan bahwa akhir-akhir ini, mulai bermunculan pula akun-akun populer atau *seleb* lainnya yang bukan berasal dari Jakarta. Namun, informan mengatakan bahwa karakteristik akun-akun tersebut kurang lebih mirip bahkan sama dengan *Seleb Ask* Jakarta.

“Yaaa sama aja sih kayak anak Jakarta juga gaya-gayanya ikut.. Mirip aja sih.... Kalo yang seleb Medan itu malah suka PAP dia abis belanja-belanja dari Jakarta. Ya Jakarta juga sih tetep dia ikutnya. Mereka gitu juga... Semuanya pengen ngikutin” (Informan 1)

Sementara itu, ditemukan pula bahwa pengaruh dari akun-akun populer ini tidak hanya dalam hal pembentukan tren terkait gaya hidup, tapi sampai pada pembentukan opini publik dalam hal politik. Informan 5 mengingat bahwa dirinya sempat menyaksikan kehebohan di Ask.fm ketika para *seleb Ask* mengungkapkan preferensi politik mereka, kemudian mendapat begitu banyak perhatian dan *likes*.

C. Identitas “Anak Bekasi” : Memes Bullying dan Mobilitas Sosial

Dari data yang didapat, kelima informan memiliki pengalaman tersendiri terkait identitas mereka sebagai Anak Bekasi di Ask.fm. Hal ini umumnya berhubungan dengan maraknya *memes* dan perbincangan *viral* mengenai Bekasi yang salah satunya terjadi di Ask.fm. Menurut pengalaman kelima informan, mereka melihat bagaimana awal mula ejekan mengenai Bekasi di Ask.fm dimulai dan bagaimana akhirnya hal tersebut menjadi viral salah satunya karena akun-akun *Seleb Ask* Jakarta turut menyebarkannya. Tak hanya itu, informan 1 merasakan dampak dari *memes* bullying di Ask.fm turut mempengaruhi dirinya di dunia nyata ketika teman-temannya yang tinggal di Jakarta jadi ikut mengejeknya.

Ejekan melalui *memes* di Ask.fm tersebut ternyata menjadi pemicu bagi para informan untuk membuktikan eksistensi diri mereka. Beberapa informan seperti informan 1, 3, dan 4 misalnya menyatakan bahwa hal tersebut membuat mereka ingin menunjukkan bahwa mereka juga bisa menjadi *keren* dan *gaul* seperti Anak Jakarta.

“Iya. Kayak apa gue kan, emang kan istilahnya ‘Bekasi gak senorak yang lo pikirin’ gitu kan. Bekasi juga masih keren-keren gitu. Gak, gak kayak dia juga sih” (Informan 1)

Pembahasan

A. Gaya Hidup dan Identitas Remaja

Dari hasil wawancara mendalam yang telah dipaparkan, peneliti menemukan bahwa gaya hidup menjadi sebuah praktik budaya yang memiliki kaitan erat dengan identitas remaja di Kota Bekasi, terutama dalam pergaulannya dengan teman sebaya (*peer group*). Dalam konteks penelitian ini, identitas remaja yang dimaksud berkaitan dengan upaya mendapatkan pengakuan dan penerimaan sosial. Menurut Sarwono (2014), remaja berupaya beradaptasi dengan norma dan nilai kelompok seperti penampilan, bahasa, dan gaya hidup untuk memenuhi kebutuhan akan penerimaan sosial. Hal ini terlihat pula pada remaja di Kota Bekasi. yang berupaya mempelajari dan mengimitasi praktik-praktik gaya hidup tertentu, dengan bentuk dan derajat yang berbeda pula. Peneliti melihat bahwa remaja di Kota Bekasi merasakan dorongan yang paling utama dari



lingkungan pertemanan (*peer pressure*). Hal ini menciptakan jarak antara remaja yang kekinian dan tidak mengetahui *tren* terbaru.

Mengenai gagasan dan nilai gaya hidup tertentu, peneliti menemukan bahwa para remaja di Kota Bekasi menjadikan anak muda Jakarta sebagai referensi atau panutan utama. Gambaran mengenai nilai dan gagasan tersebut didapatkan oleh para remaja melalui jejaring sosial Ask.fm, Instagram, Path, dan media konvensional seperti majalah. Gambaran nilai dan kebiasaan terkait gaya hidup anak muda Jakarta tersebut menjadi sesuatu yang akhirnya diterima dan diikuti secara luas, termasuk oleh remaja di Kota Bekasi, di mana terdapat konsekuensi tertentu ketika anggota kelompok tidak menganut hal yang sama. Kondisi di mana seperangkat nilai dan gagasan ditentukan oleh kelompok dominan dan diterima secara luas sedikit banyak menggambarkan konsep budaya dominan yang dijelaskan oleh Gramsci.

Dalam konteks remaja di Kota Bekasi, Gaya hidup anak muda Jakarta menempati posisi sebagai kelompok dominan, dan remaja di kota Bekasi menggambarkan posisi kelompok subordinat. Hal ini dapat dilihat dari bagaimana remaja di Kota Bekasi menggambarkan identitas mereka dengan tetap mengaitkan dan membandingkannya dengan remaja di Kota Jakarta. Menurut Gramsci dalam Shahughnessy dan Stadler (2005), pada kondisi di mana kelompok dominan memenangkan penerimaan (*consent*), kelompok subordinat akan menganut dan mengikuti nilai yang berlaku. Penerimaan akan standar ini terkait dengan upaya para remaja dalam mendapatkan pengakuan diri, baik dalam konteks lingkungan pertemanan mereka, maupun dalam ruang yang lebih luas, yakni ruang *online*. Hal ini sejalan dengan gambaran yang diberikan Fannon dalam konteks kelompok masyarakat kulit putih, di mana kelompok subordinat berusaha menjadi bagian dari kelompok dominan atau bahkan melakukan perlawanan didorong oleh kebutuhan akan pengakuan dan eksistensi sebagai bagian dari masyarakat (Fanon, 2008). Pola yang sama terlihat pada remaja di Kota Bekasi. Remaja menyadari keberadaan tuntutan gaya hidup urban yang diciptakan oleh kelompok remaja yang lebih dominan dalam rangka melakukan mobilitas sosial ke atas sehingga mendapatkan pengakuan dan keberadaan seperti kelompok dominan.

B. Kemunculan Kelas & Dominasi “Anak Jakarta” dalam Ask.fm

Sarwono (2014) mengungkapkan bahwa remaja di wilayah perkotaan masih memiliki dorongan untuk mereplikasi karakteristik Anak Jakarta yang ditransmisi dan dipertahakan melalui lingkungan dan media. Praktis, gaya hidup kaum muda Jakarta dapat dikatakan masih menjadi nilai dan gagasan dominan (Sarwono, 2014). Dalam konteks penelitian ini, para remaja di Kota Bekasi memiliki gambaran yang kurang lebih seragam mengenai karakteristik kaum muda Jakarta yang mereka ikuti. Karakteristik Anak Jakarta digambarkan oleh para Remaja di kota Bekasi dari segi visual, preferensi mengenai kebiasaan, *power* dalam menentukan tren, dan kedekatannya dengan modernitas misalnya seperti teknologi dan *gadgets*. Data yang didapat menunjukkan bahwa remaja di Kota Bekasi paling banyak mendapatkan gambaran tersebut dari media *online*, yakni jejaring sosial di mana Ask.fm kini menjadi *platform* utama bagi remaja dalam upaya mempelajari gaya hidup. Hal tersebut menjadi fakta temuan yang menarik, oleh karena jejaring sosial yang dianggap membuka celah bagi keberagaman informasi ternyata masih menyuguhkan gambaran keseragaman (*uniformity*) nilai dan gagasan terkait gaya hidup itu sendiri.



Peneliti menemukan bahwa alasan utama adalah kepercayaan terhadap selera Anak Jakarta dalam berbagai preferensi gaya hidup dianggap baik oleh para remaja. Di sisi lain, peneliti menemukan pula adanya kesadaran para remaja bahwa kegiatan konsumsi dan produksi terkait gaya hidup seperti gaya berpakaian, restoran, dan lainnya berpusat di kota Jakarta. Peran Jakarta sebagai daerah urban yang signifikan terhadap budaya konsumen muda terlihat jelas pada upaya adaptasi yang dilakukan oleh remaja di Kota Bekasi. Konsisten dengan argumen Naafs (2011), budaya kaum muda urban di Kota besar seperti Jakarta akan menjadi inspirasi dalam upaya remaja lain di sekitarnya mendekati modernitas. Munculnya tren yang di Indonesia selalu diawali oleh Anak Jakarta ini tidak terlepas pula dari pengaruh tren global di mana Jakarta menjadi pintu masuk. Di sisi lain, hal tersebut menggambarkan konstruksi selera yang menurut Bourdieu tidak terlepas dari peran kapitalisme. Dalam hal ini, selera Anak Jakarta sebagai referensi dapat dilihat sebagai bagian dari hasil konstruksi kapitalisme. Kemudian, selera hasil konstruksi tersebut menjadi turut berpengaruh pada remaja-remaja yang mengikutinya, termasuk remaja di Kota Bekasi.

Dalam *platform* Ask.fm, terdapat konstruksi yang terbentuk mengenai bagaimana anak muda di wilayah perkotaan melakukan praktik gaya hidup. Representasi Anak Jakarta yang muncul umumnya tertuju pada kelompok Anak Jakarta kelas menengah ke atas. Peneliti menemukan bahwa representasi Anak Jakarta yang muncul dalam Ask.fm ini dimungkinkan oleh karena adanya *power* tertentu yang dimiliki Anak Jakarta dalam Ask.fm. *Power* ini diperoleh melalui simbol-simbol gaya hidup yang ditampilkan dalam *feeds* Ask.fm akun-akun Anak Jakarta yang populer. Dalam kaitannya dengan konsep kelas, peneliti menemukan bahwa simbol-simbol di atas menjadi penanda kelas dan menggambarkan bentuk-bentuk kapital bagi remaja dalam Ask.fm. Ketiga bentuk kapital yang dijelaskan Bourdieu; ekonomi, sosial, dan budaya; saling berhubungan satu sama lain. Misalnya, remaja menerima kapital budaya melalui pengetahuan terkait tren produk budaya seperti makanan, gaya busana, bahasa, dan musik. Kapital budaya ini memberikan *power* bagi remaja untuk kemudian menjadi referensi lagi bagi orang lain, baik dalam ruang Ask.fm maupun dalam lingkungan pertemanan di dunia nyata. Di sisi lain, bentuk kapital budaya ini tidak bisa terlepas dari kapital sosial. Hal ini terlihat ketika kapital budaya yang dimiliki lebih jauh lagi menentukan kapital sosial yang didapat. Ketika remaja memiliki kapital budaya berdasarkan standar dominan yang berlaku, remaja tersebut memiliki *power* untuk masuk ke dalam hubungan dan jaringan di mana para *Seleb Ask* berada di dalamnya.

Dalam Ask.fm, simbol-simbol penanda kelas di atas mendapatkan perhatian dan visibilitas yang tinggi. Hal tersebut memunculkan akun-akun populer yang disebut dengan *seleb Ask*. Akun-akun ini memiliki jumlah *followers* dan *likes* yang besar, dan membuat *feeds* atau *posting* dari akun-akun ini kemudian sering muncul pada linimasa (*timeline*) para pengguna lainnya. Popularitas dan sorotan yang lebih besar pada akun-akun ini pada akhirnya membentuk gambaran atau representasi yang dominan mengenai gaya hidup anak muda kota (urban) yang diperankan oleh anak muda Jakarta pada kelas menengah ke atas. Kondisi demikian memperlihatkan argumen Fusch (2014) bahwa kekuasaan (*power*) dalam ruang online pada akhirnya berada di tangan kelompok yang mendominasi perhatian dan visibilitas.



Secara tidak langsung, seleb Ask Jakarta dalam Ask.fm memiliki pengaruh dalam memandu persepsi remaja di Kota Bekasi mengenai hal-hal apa saja yang seharusnya dan tidak seharusnya dilakukan terkait praktik gaya hidup. Menurut Fusch, dalam jejaring sosial, kelompok ataupun kelas-kelas tertentu memiliki *cultural power* atau kekuasaan budaya untuk mendefinisikan nilai moral dan makna yang akan membentuk persepsi mengenai apa saja yang dianggap penting, memiliki reputasi, dan harus dimiliki di tengah masyarakat (Fusch, 2014). Seperti yang sebelumnya disebutkan, *power* yang asimetris membuat banyak remaja lainnya berupaya mendapatkan perhatian yang sama. Jika kembali pada salah satu data temuan, terdapat kondisi-kondisi di mana Seleb Ask memberikan penilaian terhadap pengguna lain yang berupaya menjadi *social climbers* namun dianggap tidak sesuai dengan standar yang ada. Kemudian, penilaian yang bersifat bullying tersebut bisa menjadi *viral* dan membuat pengguna lainnya memberikan sikap serupa. Penanda kelas dan *power* yang telah kemudian membawa Seleb Ask Jakarta pada posisi yang menyerupai konsep *ruling class*, di mana mereka mampu menentukan dan mempertahankan nilai dan gagasan budaya tertentu.

C. Imitasi Gaya Hidup Urban: Kesadaran Palsu dan Penerimaan (*Consent*) Budaya Dominan

Selain dilatarbelakangi oleh dorongan pergaulan (peer pressure) dan representasi remaja Jakarta dalam jejaring sosial, peneliti menemukan bahwa dorongan untuk mempelajari dan mengimitasi gaya hidup urban oleh remaja di Kota Bekasi ini juga didorong oleh tekanan dan label yang diberikan pada mereka di media online. Bullying dalam bentuk memes mengenai kota Bekasi diakui para remaja memiliki dampak yang mereka rasakan baik dalam ranah online maupun offline. Dalam konteks platform Ask.fm, bullying memes tersebut diramalkan oleh Seleb Ask Jakarta. Hal tersebut akhirnya menjadikan memes mengenai Bekasi sangat viral, bahkan tidak hanya di platform Ask.fm tapi juga platform lain seperti Path dan Instagram. Memes tersebut bagi para remaja memberikan label-label negatif pada identitas Anak Bekasi sebagai anak muda yang tidak gaul dan tidak update.

Fenomena tersebut ternyata menjadikan remaja di Kota Bekasi merasa semakin terdorong untuk membuktikan eksistensi diri mereka dengan cara mengikuti perkembangan tren. Dengan mengikuti tren dan selalu mengikuti informasi terkait gaya hidup Seleb Ask Jakarta di Ask.fm, remaja di kota Bekasi ingin membuktikan bahwa mereka mampu menjadi sama. Hal ini mencerminkan ada semangat dan upaya untuk mendapat pengakuan (*struggle for recognition*). Di satu sisi, para remaja melihat upaya mempelajari dan mengimitasi gaya hidup urban ini sebagai bentuk perlawanan atau resistensi. Padahal, jika dilihat lebih jauh, apa yang dilakukan oleh para remaja ini justru mengarah pada penerimaan (*consent*) dan bentuk melanggengkan standar serta nilai dan gagasan anak dominan mengenai gaya hidup urban oleh Anak Jakarta. Agar bisa diterima dan mendapatkan pengakuan, para remaja di kota Bekasi justru mengikuti format dan standar yang sudah ada dan diterima secara luas oleh masyarakat. Hal ini meletakkan resistensi atau perlawanan yang mereka lakukan dalam posisi yang dilematis.

Power yang dimiliki oleh para remaja di Kota Bekasi seharusnya memberikan celah untuk mendapatkan penerimaan dengan nilai serta gagasan yang bebas dan beragam. Namun, power ini justru menjadikan simbol-simbol gaya hidup menjadi homogen mengikuti standar yang dibuat oleh *ruling class*. Hal ini menggambarkan bagaimana keberadaan budaya dominan dan *ruling*

class memiliki hubungan erat dengan kesadaran palsu. Menurut Lears, nilai dan gagasan budaya dominan dipertahankan dan diterima secara sadar. Hal ini dikarenakan adanya bentuk-bentuk kenyamanan maupun prestise yang diterima oleh seseorang atau sebuah kelompok ketika mengikuti nilai dominan. Hal ini dapat menjelaskan realita yang ditemukan peneliti, bahwa para remaja di Kota Bekasi secara tidak sadar turut melanggengkan keberadaan kelas serta budaya dominan dalam upayanya mendapat penerimaan dan pengakuan

Kesimpulan

- Praktik imitasi gaya hidup yang dipelajari oleh remaja kelas menengah di Kota Bekasi berkaitan dengan upaya mendapat pengakuan dan penerimaan sosial.
- Penggunaan Ask.fm sebagai media menunjukkan fungsi jejaring sosial yang pada awalnya bertujuan sebagai alat *counter* dari media arus utama ternyata menghasilkan representasi yang masih seragam mengenai karakteristik kaum muda Jakarta.
- Terdapat simbol-simbol penanda kelas dan menggambarkan bentuk-bentuk kapital bagi remaja dalam Ask.fm. Ketiga bentuk kapital yakni ekonomi, sosial, dan budaya, yang saling berhubungan satu sama lain.
- Distribusi *power* yang tidak seimbang dalam Ask.fm melahirkan upaya mobilitas sosial ke atas, di mana terdapat ketegangan dan kompetisi yang menuntut remaja Bekasi menggunakan taktik dan strategi dalam Ask.fm.
- Selain dilatarbelakangi oleh dorongan pergaulan (*peer pressure*) dan representasi remaja Jakarta dalam jejaring sosial, dorongan untuk mempelajari dan mengimitasi gaya hidup urban oleh remaja juga didorong oleh penilaian dan label yang diberikan pada mereka di media *online*, termasuk Ask.fm.
- Upaya mengimitasi gaya hidup urban di tengah remaja kelas menengah kota Bekasi secara tidak sadar menjadi bentuk penerimaan dan melanggengkan nilai dan gagasan yang diperkuat melalui penggunaan jejaring sosial.

Saran

Terkait dengan keterbatasan dalam penelitian ini, peneliti memiliki beberapa rekomendasi bagi penelitian mengenai Ask.fm dan representasi gaya hidup urban di masa yang akan datang. Pertama, kesulitan peneliti dalam menemukan informan laki-laki oleh karena sikap yang sangat tertutup menjadi fakta yang menarik untuk lebih jauh diteliti. Peneliti merasa bahwa kajian serupa dengan keterwakilan gender yang lebih imbang mungkin dapat menghasilkan data dengan perspektif yang lain yang juga menarik. Selain itu, peneliti menemukan adanya signifikansi sosial dan akademis yang tinggi jika penelitian di masa yang akan datang mengenai Ask.fm dan budaya dominan dilihat dari sudut pandang kelompok yang dominan atau *ruling class*. Dengan demikian, akan terlihat semakin jelas bagaimana sesungguhnya *power* bersirkulasi dalam *platform* jejaring sosial dan bagaimana budaya dominan itu sendiri berusaha dipertahankan oleh kelompok dominan dalam jejaring sosial, dalam hal ini *platform* Ask.fm.

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Peran Teknologi Media dalam Penyebaran Inovasi Perguruan Tinggi

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ABSTRAK

Perubahan teknologi berkembang sejalan dengan kebutuhan manusia. Demikian juga dengan perubahan pada media sangat dipengaruhi oleh perubahan teknologi. Perubahan tersebut menghasilkan variasi media yang disesuaikan dengan kebutuhan manusia. Hal ini dapat membuka berkembangannya peran teknologi media dalam berbagai hal. Berbicara mengenai peran teknologi dan media sangat menarik karena hingga saat ini masih berjalan dinamis dan terus berkembang. Pada dasarnya teknologi dan media bersifat netral, dalam arti bahwa penggunaannya akan memiliki dampak positif atau negatif tergantung siapa yang menggunakannya. Salah satu dampak positif dengan adanya kehadiran teknologi media yaitu dapat memberikan kemudahan atau mempercepat penyebaran informasi dan pengetahuan, termasuk dalam penyebaran berbagai inovasi perguruan tinggi. Sebagai wujud pelaksanaan Tri Dharma, perguruan tinggi telah menghasilkan banyak hasil penelitian dan berbagai inovasi lainnya yang bermanfaat bagi pengembangan ilmu pengetahuan dan pengembangan masyarakat. Seluruh inovasi tersebut akan sangat bermanfaat bagi masyarakat jika mampu disebarluaskan dengan baik pada masyarakat luas, seperti yang dilakukan oleh GreenTV Institut Pertanian Bogor (IPB) yang menggunakan televisi berbasis *web streaming* untuk menyebarluaskan inovasi. Ulasan yang disajikan dalam paper ini merupakan hasil elaborasi dari kajian teori berbagai studi literatur, antara lain teori difusi inovasi dari Everett Rogers dan ulasan konsep mengenai teknologi media dari beberapa tokoh yang menekuni teknologi media komunikasi.

Kata Kunci: teknologi media, penyebaran pengetahuan dan inovasi, perguruan tinggi

PENDAHULUAN

Tulisan ini merupakan kajian teori mengenai peran teknologi media dalam penyebaran inovasi perguruan tinggi. Tulisan ini dilatarbelakangi oleh banyaknya jumlah inovasi yang dihasilkan oleh perguruan tinggi yang setiap tahun selalu meningkat. Sebagai contoh, inovasi yang dihasilkan oleh Institut Pertanian Bogor (IPB). Dalam kurun waktu 6 (enam) tahun terakhir (2008-2013), IPB telah mendominasi daftar Karya Inovatif Indonesia paling prospektif hasil seleksi *Business Innovation Center* (BIC) dan pada tahun 2014 inovasi IPB mendominasi buku 106 Inovasi Indonesia. Selama 7 (tujuh) tahun tersebut, dari total 721 inovasi Indonesia paling prospektif sebanyak 278 inovasi merupakan karya inovatif yang dihasilkan oleh para inovator IPB atau sekitar 38.56 persen¹. Inovasi yang telah banyak dihasilkan tersebut, idealnya akan memberikan dampak positif jika dapat disebarluaskan dan diaplikasikan oleh masyarakat dalam kehidupan sehari-hari.

Aplikasi *Web streaming* GreenTV IPB merupakan contoh nyata dari adanya perubahan teknologi media yang mendorong perkembangan inovasi komunikasi. Straubhaar (2011) memberikan ilustrasi melalui perkembangan telekomunikasi yang dari waktu ke waktu mengalami perkembangan pesat yang bertujuan agar informasi menjadi lebih mudah, murah dan cepat (efektif dan efisien). Berkembang dari kabel hingga *wireless*, dari analog ke digital, dari *mobile phone* ke *cellular phone* hingga satelit. Selain itu, saat ini seiring dengan perkembangan sistem telekomunikasi turut mendorong perkembangan infrastruktur, seperti: sistem *broadband* yang menyediakan kapasitas tinggi untuk transmisi penyiaran.

Disamping itu perubahan teknologi dan media mempengaruhi berbagai kebijakan. Seperti yang dijelaskan oleh Grant and Meadows (2009), bahwa kebijakan komunikasi telah dibentuk oleh berkembangnya teknologi komunikasi. Banyak kebijakan dibuat untuk mendorong difusi teknologi baru artinya kebijakan komunikasi berkembang menyesuaikan dengan perubahan teknologi dan media. Kebijakan komunikasi sering berbentuk sebagai reaksi terhadap pengembangan teknologi baru. Akibatnya, kebijakan bervariasi sesuai dengan rezim kebijakan komunikasi tertentu, mencakup: penyiaran, TV kabel, dan internet. Kecenderungan kebijakan ini disebut sebagai teknologi partikularistik pendekatan yang mengarah ke kebijakan yang berbeda dan struktur regulasi untuk setiap teknologi baru.

Perubahan teknologi dan media membawa dampak positif dan negatif. Positif dalam hal percepatan informasi mengenai berbagai peristiwa sosial yang penting yang dapat memberikan edukasi kepada masyarakat, atau lebih dikenal dengan sikap pro-sosial yang dapat memberikan contoh perilaku baik yang patut ditiru oleh audiens. Pemanfaatan teknologi media dalam penyebaran inovasi perguruan tinggi merupakan salah satu contoh nyata dari dampak positif adanya perubahan teknologi dan media yang bertujuan untuk memperluas informasi yang bermanfaat bagi masyarakat luas.

KERANGKA TEORI

Pengertian Teknologi Media

¹ <http://dri.ipb.ac.id/?p=437> di akses pada tanggal 20 November 2015

Straubhaar (2011) menjelaskan bahwa pada masa masyarakat informasi, informasi menjadi komoditas dominan dalam aktivitas ekonomi, sehingga diperlukan teknologi untuk lebih mudah memperoleh dan memproduksi informasi secara cepat dan tepat. Saat ini, telah terjadi perubahan teknologi media komunikasi dari analog ke digital. Cara kerja teknologi analog yaitu meniru sesuai aslinya (sama), termasuk lambang suara, sangat rentan mengalami gangguan. Oleh karena itu, teknologi digitalisasi hadir untuk mengatasi kekurangan teknologi analog. Perubahan ini turut mempengaruhi keragaman penggunaan media komunikasi,

Teknologi komunikasi digital memindahkan suara, gambar, dan teks ke dalam komputer dengan format yang mudah dibaca dengan merubah ke dalam bentuk *binary digit* (bits) dibuat secara elektronik menjadi 1 dan 0, singkatnya dimana semua aneka lambang bentuk informasi dapat disederhanakan. Berdasarkan uraian tersebut terlihat jelas bahwa komputer merupakan alat sekaligus media yang sangat diperlukan dalam aplikasi teknologi digital (digitalisasi).

Perubahan media sejak informasi diwujudkan dalam bentuk bit pada data komputer memudahkan orang menikmati dan memproduksi informasi. Saat ini, setiap orang dengan mudah mengumpulkan, mengorganisasikan, memproduksi dan mendistribusikan informasi. Terlebih lagi dengan adanya teknologi internet, semakin memudahkan proses berbagi informasi tanpa batasan ruang dan waktu. Hal ini sejalan dengan pernyataan Mirabito (2004) yang menjelaskan mengenai teknologi *wireless* dan *mobile communication* yang mencoba menjadi solusi mengatasi keterbatasan jarak dalam komunikasi. Jenkins (2006) menjelaskan bahwa hadirnya teknologi memungkinkan terwujudnya kecerdasan kolektif yaitu jumlah total dari informasi yang dimiliki secara individual oleh anggota kelompok yang dibangun dari pengetahuan bersama yang diyakini benar dan dimiliki bersama oleh seluruh kelompok. Maksud dari kalimat tersebut sangat jelas menunjukkan kehadiran internet telah membawa budaya konvergensi, bukan hanya konvergensi pada media yang digunakan, namun juga konvergensi dari segi penyebaran informasi dimana setiap partisipan dalam proses komunikasi dapat saling berbagi informasi yang dapat membentuk pengetahuan komunitas.

Pengertian konsep internet menurut penulis ialah suatu jaringan dari berbagai jaringan yang menghubungkan komputer di seluruh belahan dunia sehingga dapat saling mempertukarkan dan membagi informasi yang tersimpan di komputer. Kehadiran Internet memungkinkan terjadinya komunikasi dan interaksi diantara pengguna jaringan komputer. Adapun pengertian konvergensi ialah integrasi dari media massa, komputer dan telekomunikasi. Jika sebelumnya pada sistem analog, setiap media perlu beberapa perangkat dengan teknologi berbeda, namun kini dengan sistem digitalisasi, beberapa media dapat dipadukan secara konvergensi dengan teknologi dan dapat mencakup seluruh tataran komunikasi (antar individu, kelompok, massa, sosial dan publik).

Pada dasarnya, perubahan teknologi media akan selalu terjadi pada setiap generasi. Konsep teknologi digitalisasi yang memadukan media massa konvensional kedalam bentuk media baru melalui kemajuan teknologi digital dan jaringan telekomunikasi. Teknologi digital ini menjanjikan kualitas gambar dan suara yang lebih baik dari analog, lebih banyak pilihan channel yang dapat memudahkan orang memperoleh berbagai pilihan informasi yang diinginkan, serta adanya interaktivitas. Selain itu digitalisasi dapat memberikan efisiensi dan optimalisasi dalam penyimpanan, keamanan dari berbagai bentuk gangguan, untuk meningkatkan kualitas resolusi, gambar dan suara lebih stabil. Hal ini merupakan celah bagi industri bisnis content provider dengan sistem televisi kabel

berbayar atau demi memperoleh kualitas gambar yang lebih baik dan konten bervariasi, banyak orang menjadi sasaran atau target pasar untuk menjadi pelanggan televisi kabel berbayar. Hal ini tentu gambaran atau bukti nyata bahwa kehadiran digitalisasi dapat meningkatkan perkembangan industri telekomunikasi.

Grant dan Meadows (2009) menjelaskan mengenai *digital signage* yang pada dasarnya sejalan dengan penjelasan mengenai digitalisasi oleh Straubhaar. *Digital signage* merupakan sebuah media baru yang menggantikan media konvensional dengan aplikasi dan teknologi yang bervariasi. Adanya *digital signage* dapat memperbaharui lambang secara cepat dan efisien, dan pesan yang ingin disampaikan dapat terkirim secara cepat dalam satu waktu secara bersamaan. *Digital signage* dapat mengedit pesan dan informasi secara terintegrasi. *Digital signage* merupakan kombinasi dari berbagai teknologi yang ada. Sistem *digital signage* terdiri dari layar *display digital*, *media player*, konten, dan sistem manajemen konten. Hal ini mempertegas kembali bahwa aplikasi atau praktek teknologi idealnya harus membuat *hardware* dan *software* serta jaringan agar tujuan yang diinginkan dapat tercapai. Hal ini tentu menggambarkan kembali secara jelas bahwa kecanggihan teknologi dapat memperluas industri media komunikasi dan telekomunikasi.

Teknologi digital menciptakan media baru yang memberi dampak terhadap budaya, sehingga perlu penyesuaian maupun adaptasi, mencakup pembentukan gaya hidup baru, muncul pekerjaan baru, merubah jangkauan media, membutuhkan peraturan baru, dan menyajikan isu-isu sosial baru yang unik. Bentuk nyata media baru yaitu dengan hadirnya internet, yang menyebabkan konvergensi. Akibat konvergensi ini lah yang menyebabkan perubahan industri. Hal ini sejalan dengan penjelasan Grant dan Meadows (2009) bahwa bidang teknologi komunikasi adalah salah satu bidang studi yang paling dinamis studi. Salah satu faktor yang membuatnya begitu dinamis adalah fluktuasi yang terus-menerus dalam struktur organisasi industri komunikasi.

Teknologi baru membuat dampak yang besar dan membuat terjadinya pergeseran organisasi secara terus-menerus terjadi, sehingga hampir mustahil untuk mengetahui semua aktor pada struktur organisasi industri komunikasi pada waktu tertentu. Meskipun aktor berubah, struktur organisasi industri komunikasi relatif stabil. Cara terbaik untuk memahami industri yaitu dengan melihat perkembangan akuisisi, *merger*, *start-up*, dan kegagalan, adalah untuk memahami fungsi struktur organisasi dalam komunikasi. Secara singkat, uraian diatas memperlihatkan bahwa terdapat hubungan antara struktur organisasi dan fungsi industri komunikasi akibat adanya perkembangan teknologi digitalisasi.

Teori Difusi Inovasi

Penelitian difusi adalah sebuah riset atau kajian hasil dari bentuk kontrol sosial untuk memulai, mencoba, dan menyebarkan ilmu pengetahuan tentang informasi yang telah dikembangkan. Dapat dikatakan juga penelitian difusi adalah satu jenis penelitian komunikasi yang khas, tetapi penelitian ini dimulai dari penelitian sosiologi (Rogers, 2003). Difusi adalah proses melalui mana inovasi tersebar di suatu masyarakat. Keputusan inovasi menurut Rogers (2003) yaitu keputusan pada tingkat individu (*optional*), keputusan pada tingkat kelompok atau masyarakat (kolektif) dan keputusan otoritas (organisasi formal). Empat komponen yang mempengaruhi difusi inovasi program antara lain inovasi, saluran inovasi, anggota sistem sosial dan waktu.



1. Inovasi adalah ide atau gagasan, tindakan, atau barang yang dipandang baru oleh seseorang.
2. Saluran inovasi/komunikasi adalah komponen penunjang dari penyebaran inovasi, komponen ini bisa berbentuk media apa yang digunakan dalam penyebarannya (media cetak, elektronik, dan media langsung).
3. Anggota sistem sosial adalah suatu kumpulan unit yang berbeda secara fungsional dan terikat dalam kerjasama untuk memecahkan masalah, dalam rangka mencapai tujuan bersama.
4. Waktu merupakan pertimbangan yang penting dalam proses difusi. Dimensi waktu tampak dalam (1) proses pengambilan keputusan inovasi, (2) keinovatifan seseorang yaitu relatif lebih awal atau lebih lambat seseorang dalam menerima inovasi, dan (3) kecepatan pengapdosian inovasi dalam sistem sosial. Pengambilan keputusan inovasi adalah proses mental sejak seorang mulai mengenal suatu inovasi sampai memutuskan untuk menerimanya atau menolaknya, dan pengukuhan terhadap keputusan itu. Proses keputusan inovasi itu memerlukan waktu; dimana ada tahap-tahap yang harus dilalui, yaitu tahap pengenalan, persuasi, keputusan, dan tahap pengukuhan.

Mengacu pada atribut-atribut inovasi yang mempengaruhi adopsi. Suatu inovasi akan mudah mempengaruhi, jika memiliki sifat sebagai berikut.

- a. Keuntungan-keuntungan relatif (*relative advantages*) yaitu apakah cara-cara atau gagasan baru ini memberikan sesuatu keuntungan relatif bagi mereka yang kelak menerimanya.
- b. Keserasian (*compatibility*) yaitu apakah inovasi yang hendak didifusikan itu serasi dengan nilai-nilai, sistem kepercayaan, gagasan yang lebih dahulu diperkenalkan sebelumnya, kebutuhan, selera, adat istiadat, dan sebagainya dari masyarakat yang bersangkutan. :
- c. Kerumitan (*complexity*) yakni apakah inovasi tersebut dirasakan rumit. Pada umumnya masyarakat tidak atau kurang berminat pada hal-hal yang rumit, sebab selain sukar dipahami, juga dapat dirasakan sebagai suatu tambahan beban yang baru
- d. Dapat dicobakan (*trialability*) yaitu bahwa suatu inovasi akan cepat diterima, bila dapat dicobakan dulu dalam ukuran kecil sebelum orang terlanjur menerimanya secara menyeluruh. Ini adalah cerminan prinsip manusia yang selalu ingin menghindari suatu resiko yang besar dari perbuatannya.
- e. Dapat dilihat (*observability*) yaitu jika suatu inovasi dapat disaksikan dengan mata, dapat terlihat langsung hasilnya, maka orang akan lebih mudah mempertimbangkan untuk menerimanya, dibanding bila inovasi itu berupa sesuatu yang abstrak, yang hanya dapat diwujudkan dalam pikiran, atau hanya dapat dibayangkan.

METODE PENULISAN

Metode penulisan yang digunakan dalam penulisan makalah ini adalah studi literatur yakni dengan kajian analisis berbagai teori maupun konsep yang menjadi fokus utama dalam pembahasan makalah ini. Studi literatur ini diperoleh dari berbagai sumber yang berkaitan dengan topik makalah

ini, yaitu Peran Teknologi Media dalam Penyebaran Inovasi Perguruan Tinggi. Selain itu, untuk mendukung kajian analisis, penulis melakukan pengamatan terhadap salah satu penerapan teknologi media *Web Streaming* GreenTV IPB.

ANALISIS

GreenTV IPB

Green TV IPB merupakan media yang berfungsi memfasilitasi komunikasi dan mendiseminasikan hasil penelitian dan pemberdayaan masyarakat dari seluruh unit yang berada di lingkungan IPB, bagi masyarakat dan pemangku kepentingan lainnya. Pada awal pembentukan GreenTV IPB berperan sebagai lembaga penyedia konten dalam bidang pertanian secara luas, pengelolaan sumber-sumber alam, lingkungan hidup dan pembangunan berkelanjutan. Konten GreenTV IPB telah dapat diakses oleh khalayak luas secara *live streaming* sejak 23 November 2011 melalui *website*

<http://greentv.ipb.ac.id>.

Kehadiran GreenTV merupakan salah satu wujud nyata dari kontribusi Institut Pertanian Bogor dalam membangun pertanian nasional yaitu dengan menyediakan bahan-bahan informasi mengenai teknologi dalam bidang pertanian, pengelolaan sumber-sumber alam dan lingkungan hidup, untuk mengangkat martabat kehidupan pertanian dan gaya hidup baru yang berkelanjutan, dan mendistribusikannya melalui berbagai saluran yang memadai.

GreenTV IPB diharapkan dapat terus membangun diri sebagai fasilitas akademik yang bermanfaat dalam memberikan edukasi bagi masyarakat. Sesuai dengan *tagline* "Inovasi Peradaban Baru", GreenTV mengusung misi menyebarluaskan dan mempromosikan ilmu-ilmu pertanian dan lingkungan hidup (*green science*) dan gerakan ramah lingkungan (*green movement*). Visi GreenTV yaitu menjadi penyedia konten dan lembaga penyiaran rujukan di bidang pertanian, pengelolaan sumber-sumber alam, dan lingkungan hidup yang mengangkat martabat kehidupan pertanian dan gaya hidup baru yang berkelanjutan. Sedangkan misi GreenTV yaitu: (a) memfasilitasi kegiatan akademik/pengembangan kapasitas yang berkaitan dengan kompetensi produksi dan distribusi materi audio visual di bidang pertanian, pengelolaan sumber-sumber alam dan lingkungan hidup; (b) memproduksi bahan tayangan pendidikan bidang pertanian, pembangunan dan lingkungan bagi masyarakat luas; (c) mendistribusikan materi tayangan secara mandiri maupun melalui kerjasama penayangan dengan stasiun televisi lainnya.

Sejak tahun 2015 GreenTV menjadi menjadi Unit Pelaksana Teknis (UPT). Green TV sebagai sebuah UPT melaksanakan tugas teknis dalam produksi program audio visual dan penyiaran hasil-hasil riset IPB dan melaksanakan berbagai fungsi, antara lain: menyusun rencana produksi materi audio visual hasil-hasil riset, melaksanakan koordinasi pembuatan produksi audio visual diseminasi hasil riset, melaksanakan pengelolaan media penyiaran IPB, melayani kegiatan penunjang akademik dan peningkatan kapasitas dalam bidang produksi materi audio visual, dan mengembangkan jejaring kerjasama dengan berbagai media penyiaran untuk penyebaran informasi hasil riset.

Peran Teknologi Media dalam Penyebaran Inovasi melalui GreenTV IPB

Aplikasi *web streaming* GreenTV IPB merupakan wujud aplikasi teknologi untuk memproduksi tayangan berbagai inovasi hasil karya civitas akademika IPB dan memberikan akses yang lebih mudah bagi masyarakat untuk memperoleh berbagai informasi inovasi secara cepat dan tepat dimana pun dan kapan pun. Teknologi digitalisasi dalam *Web Streaming* hadir untuk mengatasi kekurangan teknologi analog yang memiliki keterbatasan kualitas tayangan dan jangkauan wilayah siaran. Aplikasi *web streaming* sangat membutuhkan penggunaan komputer untuk proses digitalisasi yaitu memindahkan suara, gambar, dan teks ke dalam format yang mudah dibaca dengan merubah ke dalam bentuk *binary digit (bits)*.

Aplikasi *web streaming* sebagai wujud teknologi konvergensi memudahkan khalayak menikmati tayangan inovasi dan berbagai informasi tanpa batasan ruang dan waktu yang dapat mewujudkan kecerdasan kolektif diantara khalayak dimana setiap partisipan dalam proses komunikasi dapat saling berbagi informasi yang dapat membentuk pengetahuan komunitas. Tayangan yang disajikan pada *web streaming* memiliki kualitas gambar dan suara yang lebih baik dari analog, lebih banyak pilihan menu yang dapat memudahkan orang memperoleh berbagai pilihan informasi yang diinginkan, serta adanya interaktivitas karena dapat terkoneksi langsung dengan media sosial yang dimiliki oleh GreenTV. Selain itu, digitalisasi pada *web streaming* GreenTV dapat memberikan efisiensi dan optimalisasi dalam penyimpanan tayangan. Khalayak dapat dengan mudah mengakses dan menyimpan *file* tayangan untuk lebih menyebarluaskan tayangan mengenai inovasi.

GreenTV IPB dapat menjadi salah satu *content provider* mengenai berbagai inovasi pertanian. Sebagai salah satu Perguruan Tinggi ternama di bidang pertanian, IPB menyimpan banyak informasi dan inovasi yang dapat menjadi sumber *content* yang tidak terbatas. Maka, beberapa perusahaan media berminat untuk menjalin kerjasama dengan GreenTV untuk penyediaan informasi dan inovasi pertanian.

Aplikasi *web streaming* GreenTV IPB merupakan wujud dari pemanfaatan *digital signange* karena televisi melalui *web streaming* merupakan sebuah media baru yang menggantikan televisi konvensional. Tayangan dapat terkirim secara cepat dalam satu waktu secara bersamaan. Mengedit pesan dan informasi secara terintegrasi dalam satu media yang sama yaitu komputer. Dampak pemanfaatan *web streaming* sebagai teknologi baru membuat dampak pada struktur organisasi dan infrastruktur media menjadi lebih efektif dan efisien.

Aplikasi *web streaming* GreenTV merupakan hal yang menarik karena merupakan suatu inovasi cara bagi perguruan tinggi dalam proses diseminasi inovasi. Artinya konten dan media sama-sama sebagai inovasi, dimana informasi inovasi disebarluaskan dengan menggunakan inovasi media terbaru. *Web streaming* GreenTV menjadi alat untuk melakukan difusi inovasi pada masyarakat. Jika dikaji dalam empat komponen yang mempengaruhi difusi inovasi, maka dapat diuraikan sebagai berikut:

- a. Inovasi: *web streaming* GreenTV IPB dan informasi yang disampaikan merupakan ide atau gagasan, yang dipandang baru bagi perguruan tinggi dan masyarakat.
- b. Saluran inovasi/komunikasi: *web streaming* GreenTV IPB merupakan alat penyebaran inovasi, yang berwujud media elektronik.

- c. Anggota sistem sosial: *web streaming* GreenTV IPB merupakan unit yang memiliki fungsi untuk tujuan IPB dalam menerapkan Tri Dharma Perguruan Tinggi, khususnya dalam penelitian dan pengabdian masyarakat.
- d. *Web streaming* GreenTV IPB memiliki peran untuk mengefektifkan waktu dalam proses difusi, mencakup pengenalan inovasi, mempersuasi khalayak, dan mendorong khalayak untuk mencoba mengaplikasikan informasi inovasi dalam kehidupan sehari-hari.

Mengacu pada atribut-atribut inovasi yang mempengaruhi adopsi. *Web Streaming* GreenTV IPB sebagai suatu inovasi memiliki potensi untuk mempengaruhi khalayak, karena antara lain sebagai

- a. *Web streaming* GreenTV IPB memberikan keuntungan-keuntungan relatif (*relative advantages*) yaitu salah satunya kemudahan akses bagi khalayak yang ingin menonton tayangan tanpa dibatasi ruang dan waktu, selama terkoneksi jaringan internet.
- b. *Web streaming* GreenTV IPB memuat keserasian (*compatibility*) yaitu media yang digunakan dan informasi inovasi yang didifusikan serasi dengan nilai-nilai pendidikan dan kebutuhan civitas akademika.
- c. Sasaran khalayak utama *Web streaming* GreenTV IPB merupakan akademisi yang sudah terbiasa menggunakan teknologi media, sehingga kerumitan (*complexity*) dapat diminimalisir. Sekaligus dapat dengan mudah dicoba untuk digunakan (*trialability*) oleh khalayak.
- d. Wujud *Web streaming* GreenTV IPB dapat mudah dilihat (*observability*) secara langsung selama khalayak memiliki akses dengan jaringan internet.

KESIMPULAN

Di akhir uraian makalah ini, penulis mencoba menarik kesimpulan bahwa kehadiran teknologi baru dalam bentuk digital yang dibantu oleh perangkat komputer dan jaringan internet membawa perubahan besar terhadap perkembangan penggunaan media komunikasi, khususnya dalam penyebaran informasi termasuk penyebaran inovasi oleh perguruan tinggi. Digitalisasi telah memberikan kemudahan dalam penyebaran informasi dan membentuk budaya konvergensi.

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Tantangan Komunikasi Keluarga di Era Digital

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Abstrak

Perkembangan media digital yang pesat dewasa ini mendorong perubahan sosial di segala bidang. Di satu sisi, perkembangan ini memudahkan setiap orang untuk membangun hubungan melalui media sosial, namun di sisi lain mengurangi waktu komunikasi antara orangtua dengan anak. Penelitian ini bertujuan untuk mengidentifikasi pola komunikasi remaja dengan keluarga, serta menganalisis pengaruhnya terhadap kecerdasan emosional dan prestasi belajar. Responden adalah siswa kelas 2 SMA di Kota Bogor berusia 15-18 tahun sebanyak 372 orang. Penelitian berlangsung mulai Februari sampai Juli 2014 dengan metode survei. Temuan penelitian menunjukkan bahwa pola komunikasi remaja dengan ayah sebagian besar berada dalam kategori rendah dan sedang. Pada pola komunikasi remaja dengan ibu, sebagian besar berada dalam kategori sedang dan tinggi. Hasil analisis dengan *structural equation modeling* (SEM) memperlihatkan bahwa pola komunikasi remaja dengan keluarga berpengaruh nyata terhadap kecerdasan emosional dan prestasi belajar siswa. Komunikasi remaja dengan keluarga berkontribusi terhadap prestasi belajar yang lebih tinggi dari kecerdasan emosional.

Kata kunci: remaja, pola komunikasi, kecerdasan emosional, prestasi belajar

Pendahuluan

Perkembangan media digital yang pesat dewasa ini telah mempercepat perubahan sosial di masyarakat, yang berdampak positif maupun negatif terhadap kehidupan keluarga. Dampak positif yang timbul dari perubahan tersebut adalah bertambahnya kecepatan dan cara berpikir di berbagai bidang, sehingga hidup menjadi lebih efisien dan pragmatis. Namun demikian, perubahan ini juga menimbulkan dampak negatif, yaitu sebagian masyarakat mengalami kesulitan dalam memahami dan mengikuti perubahan yang kian cepat (Friedman, 2009).

Banyak orang yang tidak menyadari bahwa pemanfaatan teknologi informasi dan komunikasi (TIK) yang berlebihan dapat memengaruhi perkembangan otak manusia, serta berdampak negatif terhadap pola asuh dan komunikasi keluarga (Friedman, 2009; Carr, 2011). Dewasa ini anak-anak, terutama remaja, lebih banyak menghabiskan waktunya dengan komputer dan peralatan gawai (*gadget*). Tidak jarang berbagai aktivitas dilakukan secara simultan. Misalnya, siswa sekolah mengerjakan tugas atau pekerjaan rumah (PR) sambil mendengar musik dengan pemutar MP3, sambil

membalas *e-mail* di layar komputer, dan mengetik SMS di ponsel atau memperbarui status di media sosial mereka.

Carr (2011) mengungkapkan bahwa waktu yang dibutuhkan seseorang untuk mengakses media *online* dari tahun ke tahun selalu meningkat. Hasil penelitian pada anak-anak Amerika berusia 11 sampai 12 tahun memperlihatkan bahwa pada 2009 mereka menggunakan internet sekitar 11 jam seminggu atau meningkat lebih dari 60 persen sejak 2004. Data tersebut belum termasuk waktu yang dihabiskan seseorang dengan telepon seluler. Rata-rata remaja Amerika mengirimkan atau menerima 2.272 teks setiap bulan. Di seluruh dunia, lebih dari dua triliun pesan instan melintas antartelepon seluler setiap tahun.

Perubahan tersebut bukan hanya dapat menurunkan daya konsentrasi seseorang, tetapi juga menghasilkan budaya instan dan menciptakan jurang komunikasi antara orangtua dan anak. Anak-anak menghabiskan banyak waktu untuk bermain *game* dan berkomunikasi di dunia maya dengan teman-teman sebayanya, sehingga mengurangi interaksinya dengan keluarga. Padahal, proses tumbuh kembang anak dipengaruhi pertama dan langsung oleh lingkungan keluarga, dan setelah itu lingkungan di luar keluarga dari mikro sampai makro. Apabila terjadi penyimpangan di dalam proses pembentukan individu, hal itu merupakan serangkaian hasil dari pengaruh keluarga dan lingkungan luarnya (Bronfenbrenner, 1994).

Semiawan (2002) mengatakan bahwa lingkungan keluarga merupakan media pertama dan utama yang secara langsung maupun tidak langsung berpengaruh terhadap perilaku anak. Agar proses tumbuh kembang anak berlangsung optimal, orangtua wajib memenuhi kebutuhan dasar anak yang meliputi kebutuhan akan perhatian dan kasih sayang. Terlebih ketika memasuki usia remaja, anak mengalami masa transisi yang ditandai dengan perubahan dalam segala aspek baik fisik, sosial, psikologi, dan mental. Di masa remaja, kebutuhan untuk mengekspresikan diri dan bersosialisasi dengan teman-teman sebaya berkembang pesat. Remaja merasa dirinya sudah mandiri, memiliki rasa ingin tahu yang besar, selalu ingin mencoba banyak hal baru yang belum diketahuinya, serta tidak ingin ketinggalan dari teman-temannya.

Remaja juga menghadapi kompetisi pengaruh antara keluarga dengan lingkungan teman-temannya. Kelompok teman sebaya ini sangat berbeda posisinya dengan keluarga maupun sekolah (Puspitawati, 2006). Teman sebaya di samping dapat memberi pengaruh yang positif kepada remaja, di sisi lain juga dapat menimbulkan pengaruh negatif. DePorter (2011) mengidentifikasi kesulitan-kesulitan yang sering dihadapi remaja dan merangkumnya ke dalam tujuh masalah utama remaja, yaitu: 1) Hubungan yang bermasalah, 2) Perasaan yang terluka, 3) Citra diri negatif, 4) Rasa takut akan perubahan besar, 5) Nilai-nilai buruk di sekolah, 6) Fokus yang kurang, dan 7) Motivasi yang rendah.

Menurut DePorter, ketujuh masalah di atas terjadi karena remaja dan orangtua sering berbicara melalui dua sudut pandang yang berbeda. Para orangtua terpaku pada perspektif mereka. Sebaliknya, remaja berbicara berdasarkan perspektif dirinya. Melalui komunikasi dan interaksi yang positif di dalam keluarga, orangtua dan remaja dapat mempererat hubungan antarpribadi sehingga remaja tidak mudah percaya apalagi terpengaruh oleh ajakan negatif teman-temannya. Lickona (2012) menegaskan bahwa ketika anak-anak tidak memiliki hubungan dekat dengan orangtua mereka dan

tidak mengenal nilai-nilai yang berlaku dalam keluarga, mereka akan menjadi lebih lemah dalam menghadapi tekanan dari teman-temannya.

Pola komunikasi remaja dengan orangtua yang harmonis dapat meningkatkan hubungan interpersonal yang baik sekaligus memupuk kecerdasan emosional remaja (Ritchie & Fitzpatrick, 1990; Naghavi & Redzuan, 2012). Gottman (1997) menunjukkan bahwa orangtua yang baik tidak hanya membutuhkan kecerdasan tetapi juga melibatkan emosi. Bagi remaja, pelajaran yang paling memberi pengalaman tentang emosi berasal dari keluarga. Hal itu mencakup kemampuan untuk mengontrol impuls, menunda kepuasan (*delay gratification*), memotivasi, membaca isyarat-isyarat sosial orang lain, dan mengatasi kesulitan hidup. Remaja yang orangtuanya konsisten mempraktikkan pembinaan emosi memiliki kesehatan fisik yang baik dan skor akademis yang lebih tinggi dari remaja yang keluarganya tidak menawarkan bimbingan (Naghavi & Redzuan, 2012).

Goleman (1997) menggolongkan lima aspek dalam mengembangkan kualitas kecerdasan emosional. Pertama, mengenali emosi diri, yaitu kemampuan untuk mengetahui perasaan sewaktu perasaan itu terjadi (bahagia, sedih, marah, takut, bingung) yang dialaminya dan dapat mengungkapkan sikap yang dilakukan untuk mengutarakan emosi, serta kemampuan memantau perasaan untuk mengambil keputusan. Hal ini merupakan dasar kecerdasan emosional dan merupakan hal yang penting bagi wawasan psikologi dan pemahaman diri. Kedua, mengelola emosi, yaitu kemampuan seseorang untuk menangani perasaan agar perasaan dapat terungkap dengan baik dan berdampak positif dalam melaksanakan tugas dan pencapaian suatu tujuan serta kemampuan untuk segera pulih dari tekanan emosi yang dialami. Kemampuan ini sangat tergantung pada kesadaran diri yang dimiliki.

Ketiga, yaitu memotivasi diri sendiri. Memotivasi diri adalah kemampuan seseorang dalam mengatur, menata emosi dalam mencapai tujuan, kemampuan untuk berkreasi, keterampilan untuk bertindak lebih produktif, efektif dan inovatif dalam hal apa pun yang dijalankan. Keempat, mengenali emosi orang lain (empati). Kemampuan ini sangat diperlukan dalam pergaulan sehari-hari. Orang yang mampu berempati akan dapat menangkap tanda-tanda sosial yang mengisyaratkan apa yang dibutuhkan orang lain. Kemampuan ini akan menumbuhkan rasa saling percaya dan menyesuaikan diri dengan berbagai macam orang.

Kelima, kemampuan membina hubungan. Aspek yang terakhir ini adalah kemampuan dalam menangani emosi secara baik ketika seseorang bergaul dengan orang lain, dapat membaca situasi dengan baik, berinteraksi dengan lancar, memimpin musyawarah, menyelesaikan perselisihan dengan baik serta mampu bekerja sama dengan orang lain. Keterampilan ini menunjang popularitas, kepemimpinan dan keberhasilan antarpribadi. Seorang yang hebat dalam keterampilan ini akan sukses dalam bidang apa pun yang mengandalkan pergaulan dengan orang lain. Kemampuan orang dalam mengembangkan keterampilan ini berbeda-beda. Beberapa orang terampil dalam menangani kecemasan diri tetapi memiliki hambatan dalam menyesuaikan diri dengan orang lain.

Mengingat pentingnya perkembangan emosi dan pencapaian prestasi di masa remaja, sudah sepantasnya orangtua meluangkan waktu lebih banyak untuk berkomunikasi dengan remaja. Sering kali kesibukan orangtua merupakan salah satu sebab kurangnya komunikasi antara remaja dan orangtua. Sehubungan dengan permasalahan di atas, penelitian ini bertujuan untuk: (1)

Mengidentifikasi karakteristik remaja dan karakteristik keluarga, dan (2) menganalisis pengaruh pola komunikasi remaja dengan keluarga terhadap kecerdasan emosional dan prestasi belajarnya.

Metode

Waktu, Tempat, dan Desain Penelitian

Penelitian ini berlangsung selama 6 bulan, yaitu Februari – Juli 2014, dilaksanakan di 4 SMA negeri dan 2 SMA swasta di Kota Bogor. Metode yang digunakan adalah metode survei dengan desain *cross-sectional study*.

Sampel dan Teknik Penarikan Sampel

Jumlah sampel sebanyak 372 orang diperoleh berdasarkan rumus Slovin. Usia responden berkisar 15–18 tahun. Responden dari setiap sekolah diambil sebanyak 2 kelas, yaitu 1 kelas dari jurusan IPA dan 1 kelas lainnya dari jurusan IPS. Kelas dipilih secara acak oleh guru, selanjutnya seluruh siswa di kelas tersebut baik laki-laki maupun perempuan menjadi responden untuk mengisi kuesioner yang telah disiapkan.

Jenis dan Teknik Pengumpulan Data

Data penelitian ini diperoleh dari data primer dan data sekunder. Data primer terdiri dari: (1) karakteristik remaja, (2) karakteristik keluarga, (3) pola komunikasi remaja dengan keluarga, (4) kecerdasan emosional remaja, dan (5) prestasi belajar. Data primer didapat dari siswa melalui pengisian kuesioner yang dilakukan sendiri oleh siswa di sekolah. Data sekunder berupa nilai raport selama 3 semester diperoleh dari sekolah atas izin Kepala Sekolah.

Pola komunikasi remaja dengan keluarga menggunakan instrumen penelitian yang dikembangkan berdasarkan konsep *Revised Family Communication Pattern* (RFCP) (Ritchie dan Fitzpatrick, 1990) dan telah melalui uji reliabilitas dan validitas. Instrumen ini menggunakan skala *Likert* mulai dari 1 (tidak pernah), 2 (sekali-sekali), 3 (sering), dan 4 (selalu). Pola komunikasi remaja meliputi 5 dimensi, yaitu: (1) topik pembicaraan; (2) durasi pembicaraan; (3) frekuensi pembicaraan; (4) media komunikasi; dan (5) situasi komunikasi.

Instrumen kecerdasan emosional berasal dari konsep Kecerdasan Emosional yang dikeluarkan oleh Goleman (1997). Instrumen ini memiliki 5 dimensi, meliputi: (1) kesadaran emosi diri; (2) pengelolaan emosi; (3) kemampuan memotivasi diri; (4) kemampuan empati; dan (5) kemampuan membina hubungan. Hasil uji reliabilitas pada masing-masing peubah menunjukkan nilai *alpha Cronbach* sudah sangat reliabel, sebagai berikut: dimensi topik pembicaraan ($\alpha = 0,868$), durasi pembicaraan ($\alpha = 0,863$), frekuensi pembicaraan ($\alpha = 0,864$), media komunikasi ($\alpha = 0,728$), situasi komunikasi ($\alpha = 0,752$), dan kecerdasan emosional ($0,858$).

Prestasi belajar terdiri dari prestasi akademik dan non-akademik. Prestasi akademik dilihat berdasarkan nilai raport dari 4 mata pelajaran inti selama 3 semester, sedangkan prestasi non-

akademik di luar nilai raport seperti menjuarai lomba di bidang seni, musik, olahraga, pidato, debat, fotografi, dan menulis.

Pengolahan dan Analisis Data

Data dianalisis dengan menggunakan program komputer. Analisis yang digunakan dalam penelitian ini adalah: (1) analisis deskriptif digunakan untuk menjelaskan karakteristik remaja dan keluarga; dan (2) analisis *structural equation modeling* (SEM) untuk melihat pengaruh pola komunikasi remaja dengan keluarga terhadap kecerdasan emosional dan prestasi belajar. Analisis deskriptif dilakukan dengan bantuan spss versi 19.0, sedangkan analisis SEM menggunakan program LISREL 8.70.

Hasil dan Pembahasan

Karakteristik Remaja dan Keluarga

Tabel 1 memperlihatkan karakteristik remaja dan keluarga. Dilihat dari jenis kelamin, persentase siswa perempuan lebih besar daripada siswa laki-laki. Jumlah siswa perempuan adalah 206 orang (55,4%), sedangkan siswa laki-laki 166 orang (44,6%). Tidak ada perbedaan yang nyata pada usia remaja perempuan dan laki-laki. Sebanyak 67,5% siswa dalam penelitian ini berusia 16 tahun atau berada di kelompok usia remaja akhir. Sebanyak 174 siswa (46,8%) adalah anak pertama dalam keluarga dan menerima uang saku per bulan rata-rata Rp675.448,92.

Rata-rata usia ayah lebih tinggi daripada rata-rata usia ibu. Dilihat lebih rinci, rata-rata usia ayah pada remaja laki-laki lebih tinggi (50,81 tahun) daripada rata-rata usia ayah pada remaja perempuan (49,05 tahun). Demikian pula rata-rata usia ibu pada remaja laki-laki lebih tinggi (46,32 tahun) daripada rata-rata usia ibu pada remaja perempuan (45,04 tahun). Ditemukan perbedaan sangat nyata antara usia ayah dan ibu pada remaja perempuan dan laki-laki.

Kebanyakan orangtua remaja pada penelitian ini mencapai jenjang pendidikan tinggi. Rerata pendidikan ayah mencapai 15 tahun lebih, sedangkan rerata pendidikan ibu adalah 14 tahun lebih. Sebanyak 50% remaja perempuan dan 44,6% remaja laki-laki mempunyai ayah dengan pendidikan sarjana (S1). Demikian pula dengan pendidikan ibu, 37,9% remaja perempuan dan 38% remaja laki-laki mempunyai ibu lulusan sarjana. Hanya 0,6% ayah dan 1,8% ibu yang berpendidikan lulus SD.

Tabel 1. Rata-rata Karakteristik Remaja dan Keluarganya Berdasarkan Jenis Kelamin

Karakteristik	Rata-rata + SD		P-value
	Perempuan	Laki-laki	
Remaja			
Usia (tahun)	16,30 ± 0,49	16,32 ± 0,53	0,66
Urutan lahir	1,64 ± 0,78	1,94 ± 0,96	0,001**
Uang saku (ribu Rp/bulan)	693,3 ± 363,8	653,3 ± 386,5	0,31

Keluarga

Usia ayah (tahun)	49,05 ± 5,23	50,81 ± 6,13	0,003**
Usia ibu (tahun)	45,04 ± 4,81	46,32 ± 5,11	0,013*
Pendidikan ayah (tahun)	15,63 ± 2,57	15,79 ± 2,56	0,54
Pendidikan ibu (tahun)	14,67 ± 2,20	14,67 ± 2,61	1,00
Jumlah anak (orang)	2,65 ± 0,94	2,77 ± 1,00	0,215
Pendapatan keluarga (juta Rp/bulan)	14,51 ± 15,80	14,73 ± 17,7	0,9

Keterangan: **berbeda sangat nyata pada $P < 0,01$; *berbeda nyata pada $P < 0,05$

Lebih dari 30% remaja berasal dari keluarga yang memiliki 2 atau 3 orang anak. Meskipun remaja pada penelitian ini ada yang berasal dari keluarga dengan anak lebih dari 4 orang, namun jumlahnya relatif sedikit. Pendapatan keluarga pada penelitian ini memiliki rentang yang sangat lebar. Nilai minimum pendapatan keluarga adalah Rp1.000.0000 dan maksimum sebesar Rp151.000.000. Dilihat dari rata-rata pendapatan, orangtua remaja laki-laki memiliki rata-rata pendapatan lebih tinggi (Rp14.731.686) dibandingkan dengan remaja perempuan (Rp14.507.281). Sebagian besar (59,9%) siswa memiliki orangtua berpenghasilan antara Rp5.050.000 sampai Rp20.000.000.

Pola Komunikasi Remaja dengan Keluarga

Komunikasi keluarga adalah seperangkat norma yang mengatur antara informasi dan tujuan relasional komunikasi di dalam keluarga. Lingkungan keluarga dapat diklasifikasikan apakah anak didorong untuk mengembangkan dan mengekspresikan pendapat otonom dan ide-ide (orientasi konsep) atau untuk mengejar tujuan-tujuan relasional yang sesuai dengan otoritas orangtua (orientasi sosial) (Ritchie & Fitzpatrick, 1990). Komunikasi keluarga merupakan cara utama bagi anak untuk belajar berkomunikasi dan menafsirkan perilaku orang lain, mengalami emosi, dan bertindak dalam hubungan mereka. Motif komunikasi dan pilihan orangtua memberikan model yang membentuk keterampilan komunikasi dan berperilaku bagi remaja. Komunikasi dalam keluarga juga memengaruhi perilaku komunikatif dan persepsi dari masing-masing anggota keluarga (Barbato *et al.*, 2009; Koerner & Fitzpatrick, 2004; Orrego & Rodriguez, 2001).

Djamarah (2004) mengartikan pola komunikasi sebagai hubungan antara dua orang atau lebih dalam pengiriman dan penerimaan pesan dengan cara yang tepat, sehingga pesan yang dimaksud dapat dipahami. Komunikasi keluarga terjadi karena ada pesan yang ingin disampaikan oleh orangtua kepada anak, dan sebaliknya dari anak kepada orangtua. Jika komunikasi berlangsung dua arah, maka kedua pihak – anak dan orangtua – terlibat dalam komunikasi yang sama-sama aktif dan kreatif dalam mengemukakan berbagai ide atau gagasan, baik secara lisan maupun tulisan (melalui pesan pendek di telepon pintar, surat elektronik, dan media sosial). Dengan begitu, komunikasi keluarga akan berlangsung dinamis dan komunikatif.

Menurut Djamarah (2004), interaksi sosial yang berlangsung dalam keluarga tidak terjadi dengan sendirinya, tetapi ada tujuan atau kebutuhan bersama antara ibu, ayah, dan anak. Komunikasi dalam keluarga dapat berlangsung secara vertikal maupun horisontal. Proses komunikasi terjadi silih berganti antara suami-istri, ayah-ibu atau ibu-ayah; ayah-anak dan ibu-anak, atau sebaliknya, anak-ayah dan anak-ibu; serta anak dengan saudara kandung lainnya. Namun demikian, penelitian ini dibatasi hanya mengukur dan menganalisis pola komunikasi yang berlangsung antara remaja-ayah dan remaja-ibu.

1. Pola Komunikasi Remaja dengan Ayah

a. Dimensi Topik Pembicaraan

Pada dimensi topik pembicaraan, baik remaja perempuan maupun laki-laki lebih banyak menjawab “sekali-sekali” dalam hal memberitahukan nilai ulangnya ke ayah, menceritakan perihal teman-teman, menanyakan pelajaran sekolah, mengungkapkan isi hati, mengajak diskusi tentang perkembangan teknologi informasi, dan membicarakan masalah di sekolah. Lebih dari 30% remaja perempuan dan laki-laki mengatakan bahwa ayah “selalu” menjelaskan tentang pengaruh negatif dari masalah kenakalan pelajar seperti tawuran, narkoba, hubungan seks bebas, dan merokok. Dalam hal pembicaraan mengenai masa depan, sebagian besar remaja perempuan dan laki-laki juga mengatakan “selalu” memberitahukan cita-citanya kepada ayah. Persentase remaja perempuan yang menjawab “selalu” tentang memberitahukan cita-cita kepada ayah lebih besar (51,9%) dibandingkan dengan remaja laki-laki (38,0%).

Temuan lain, hampir setengah remaja perempuan dan laki-laki mengungkapkan bahwa ayah tidak pernah bertanya soal pacar. Hal ini menunjukkan bahwa baik remaja perempuan maupun laki-laki tertutup untuk membicarakan tentang teman lawan jenisnya (pacar) kepada ayah. Sebanyak 35,4% remaja perempuan menjawab “selalu” meminta bantuan ayah jika ada masalah keuangan, dan 8,7% mengatakan “tidak pernah”. Sebaliknya 39,8% remaja laki-laki menjawab “sekali-sekali” meminta bantuan ayah jika ada masalah keuangan, dan 12,0% mengaku “tidak pernah”. Dapat disimpulkan bahwa remaja laki-laki lebih mandiri dalam mengatasi masalah keuangannya.

b. Dimensi Durasi Pembicaraan

Pada dimensi durasi pembicaraan, ditemukan lebih banyak remaja perempuan yang menjawab “sering” berkomunikasi dengan ayah lebih dari 15 menit (37,4%), sedangkan 35,5% remaja laki-laki mengatakan “sekali-sekali”. Untuk komunikasi yang cukup panjang (lebih dari 30 menit), baik remaja perempuan maupun laki-laki lebih banyak yang menyatakan “sekali-sekali”. Penelitian ini juga mengungkapkan bahwa komunikasi remaja dengan ayah yang dilakukan di dalam perjalanan, sambil menonton televisi, atau kegiatan bersama, bisa dikatakan jarang atau “sekali-sekali” saja.

c. Dimensi Frekuensi Pembicaraan

Berhubungan dengan frekuensi pembicaraan remaja dengan ayah, penelitian ini menunjukkan bahwa lebih dari 40% remaja perempuan dan laki-laki “selalu” berkomunikasi dengan ayah setiap hari. Meskipun jumlahnya tidak banyak, ada 2,9% remaja perempuan dan 5,4% remaja laki-laki yang

mengaku “tidak pernah” berkomunikasi dengan ayah setiap hari. Hal ini bisa disebabkan ayah sangat sibuk atau ayah bekerja di kota yang berbeda, sehingga komunikasi tidak terjadi setiap hari. Sebanyak 51% remaja perempuan dan 47,6% remaja laki-laki mengungkapkan bahwa “sekali-sekali” mereka berkomunikasi dengan ayah saat sarapan. Sebagian besar remaja perempuan dan laki-laki juga menjawab “sekali-sekali” berkomunikasi dengan ayah saat menjelang tidur dan sebelum berangkat sekolah. Remaja laki-laki mengaku “sering” berkomunikasi dengan ayah saat makan malam (34,9%), sedangkan remaja perempuan yang “sering” berkomunikasi dengan ayah saat makan malam persentasenya lebih kecil (21,8%). Lebih dari 30% remaja perempuan menyatakan pada hari libur ayah “selalu” menyediakan waktu untuk berkomunikasi, sedangkan lebih dari 30% remaja laki-laki menjawab “sering”.

d. Dimensi Media Komunikasi

Media komunikasi memegang peranan penting dalam mendekatkan hubungan dan memperlancar komunikasi antara remaja dengan ayah di masa kini. Sekalipun ayah sibuk atau bekerja di kota lain yang tidak memungkinkannya pulang setiap hari, keberadaan media komunikasi seperti telepon pintar (*smart phone*) dapat memfasilitasi kebutuhan remaja untuk berkomunikasi dengan ayah. Hasil penelitian menunjukkan bahwa komunikasi remaja perempuan dengan ayah lebih terbuka daripada remaja laki-laki. Jika terlambat pulang, lebih dari 30% remaja perempuan menjawab “selalu” memberitahu ayah melalui telepon genggam atau media komunikasi lainnya. Sebaliknya, lebih dari 30% remaja laki-laki mengatakan “sekali-sekali” memberitahu ayah melalui telepon genggam atau media komunikasi lainnya.

Sebanyak 28,2% remaja perempuan mengatakan “sekali-sekali” ayah mengingatkan agar berhati-hati menulis sesuatu di media sosial, sementara lebih dari 40% remaja lelaki mengungkapkan “tidak pernah”. Jika ada hal yang penting, 37,4% remaja perempuan “selalu” menyampaikan ke ayah secara langsung, sedangkan 34,9% remaja laki-laki mengatakan “sekali-sekali”. Demikian pula ketika ayah bertugas ke luar kota/luar negeri, hampir 40% remaja perempuan “selalu” berkomunikasi melalui *email/handphone*, sedangkan persentase remaja laki-laki lebih kecil (28,9%).

e. Dimensi Situasi Komunikasi

Lebih dari 30% remaja perempuan dan laki-laki menjawab “sering” merasa nyaman berkomunikasi dengan ayah. Selain itu, ayah dinilai “sering” memahami diri mereka. Di mata remaja perempuan dan laki-laki, ayah juga “sering” tampak kesal jika pendapatnya dibantah. Hampir 40% remaja perempuan menyatakan ayah “selalu” mendorong untuk mengemukakan ide, sedangkan 36,7% remaja laki-laki mengatakan “sering”. Lebih banyak remaja perempuan yang menjawab “selalu” berkomunikasi dua arah dengan ayah (41,3%), dan berani mengungkapkan pendapatnya (36,9%). Sementara sebagian besar remaja laki-laki menjawab “sering” untuk kedua pertanyaan tersebut. Hasil penelitian juga memperlihatkan bahwa lebih banyak remaja perempuan yang berbicara dengan ayah menggunakan bahasa informal dibandingkan dengan remaja laki-laki.

B. Pola Komunikasi Remaja dengan Ibu

a. Dimensi Topik Pembicaraan

Dilihat dari dimensi topik pembicaraan, remaja perempuan bisa dikatakan lebih terbuka kepada ibu untuk membicarakan berbagai hal dibandingkan dengan remaja laki-laki. Sebagian besar remaja perempuan mengungkapkan bahwa ibu “selalu” menjelaskan pengaruh negatif dari masalah kenakalan pelajar seperti tawuran, narkoba, hubungan seks bebas, dan merokok (44,2%), sedangkan persentase remaja laki-laki yang menjawab “selalu” lebih kecil (37,3%). Jika ada masalah keuangan, 39,3% remaja perempuan akan “selalu” meminta bantuan ibu, sementara remaja laki-laki sebagian besar menjawab “sekali-sekali”. Temuan lain menunjukkan bahwa lebih banyak remaja perempuan yang “selalu” mengungkapkan isi hatinya, membicarakan masalah di sekolah, dan memberitahukan cita-citanya kepada ibu. Selain itu, lebih banyak remaja perempuan yang mengungkapkan bahwa ibu “selalu” menanyakan siapa pacar mereka (27,7%) dibandingkan remaja laki-laki (12,7%). Penelitian ini memperlihatkan bahwa dibanding remaja laki-laki, remaja perempuan lebih terbuka mengungkapkan perasaannya kepada ibu. Diduga bahwa kesamaan jenis kelamin merupakan faktor utama keterbukaan remaja perempuan dengan ibunya.

Pembicaraan mengenai nilai ulangan, pelajaran sekolah, dan perkembangan teknologi informasi, baik remaja perempuan maupun remaja laki-laki lebih banyak yang menyatakan “sekali-sekali” memberitahukan atau bertanya ke ibu. Remaja laki-laki bisa dikatakan lebih banyak menjawab “sekali-sekali” untuk beberapa pertanyaan yang berhubungan dengan topik pembicaraan. Lebih dari 40% remaja perempuan mengaku “sering” menceritakan perihal teman-temannya kepada ibu, sebaliknya lebih dari 40% remaja laki-laki mengatakan “sekali-sekali” saja. Demikian pula pembicaraan yang berkaitan dengan pelajaran di sekolah, lebih dari setengah remaja laki-laki menyatakan “sekali-sekali” bertanya kepada ibu.

b. Dimensi Durasi Pembicaraan

Sehubungan dengan durasi pembicaraan remaja dengan ibu, baik remaja perempuan maupun laki-laki sebagian besar berkomunikasi cukup lama (lebih dari 30 menit). Hampir 60% remaja perempuan mengungkapkan “selalu” berkomunikasi dengan ibu lebih dari 15 menit, dan 30% “selalu” berkomunikasi dengan ibu lebih dari 30 menit saat dalam perjalanan dan melakukan kegiatan bersama. Pada remaja laki-laki, 40% lebih menyatakan “sering” berkomunikasi dengan ibu lebih dari 15 menit, dan sekitar 30% “sering” berkomunikasi dengan ibu lebih dari 30 menit saat dalam perjalanan dan menonton tayangan televisi. Dengan demikian, durasi pembicaraan remaja perempuan dan laki-laki dengan ibu dapat dikatakan intens dan tidak ada perbedaan yang menyolok di antara keduanya.

c. Dimensi Frekuensi Pembicaraan

Dimensi frekuensi pembicaraan menunjukkan bahwa sebagian besar remaja perempuan (76,7%) dan remaja laki-laki (61,4%) menyatakan “selalu” berkomunikasi dengan ibu setiap hari. Remaja perempuan memperlihatkan kecenderungan jawaban “selalu” yang lebih tinggi dibandingkan dengan remaja laki-laki. Sebanyak 56,8% remaja perempuan dan 36,7% remaja laki-laki mengungkapkan bahwa ibu selalu menyediakan waktu pada hari libur untuk berkomunikasi. Lebih dari

40% remaja perempuan “selalu” mempunyai kesempatan untuk berkomunikasi dengan ibu saat makan malam dan sebelum berangkat ke sekolah, serta hampir 40% “selalu” berkomunikasi dengan ibu saat sarapan. Untuk pertanyaan yang sama, 40% lebih remaja laki-laki mengatakan “sering” berkomunikasi dengan ibu saat makan malam dan hampir 35% mengatakan “sekali-sekali” berkomunikasi saat sarapan.

d. Dimensi Media Komunikasi

Pada dimensi media komunikasi, tampak bahwa intensitas remaja perempuan untuk berhubungan dengan ibu lebih tinggi dibandingkan dengan remaja laki-laki. Mayoritas remaja perempuan (63,1%) menyatakan “selalu” memberitahu ibu melalui telepon genggam atau media komunikasi lain jika terlambat pulang, sedangkan remaja laki-laki sebanyak 32,5% menjawab “selalu”. Lebih dari 30% remaja perempuan mengatakan bahwa ibu “selalu” mengingatkan agar berhati-hati menulis sesuatu di media sosial. Untuk hal yang sama (mengingatkan agar berhati-hati menulis sesuatu di media sosial), remaja laki-laki lebih banyak yang menyatakan “sekali-sekali” (34,9%). Namun demikian, remaja perempuan dan laki-laki sepakat bahwa sekalipun ibu sedang sibuk, mereka tetap dapat berkomunikasi dengan ibu melalui media komunikasi apa pun. Jika ada hal yang penting untuk disampaikan kepada orangtua, sebanyak 60% remaja perempuan dan 40% lebih remaja laki-laki memilih menyampaikan ke ibu secara langsung.

e. Dimensi Situasi Komunikasi

Situasi komunikasi remaja perempuan dan laki-laki dengan ibu terlihat baik. Lebih dari setengah remaja perempuan dan 40% lebih remaja laki-laki mengungkapkan bahwa mereka “selalu” merasa nyaman berkomunikasi dengan ibu. Lebih dari 40% remaja perempuan dan laki-laki menilai bahwa ibu “selalu” memahami diri mereka. Temuan lain, hampir setengah remaja perempuan menyatakan bahwa komunikasi dengan ibu “selalu” berlangsung dua arah, sedangkan remaja lelaki lebih banyak yang mengatakan “sering” (45,8%). Demikian pula dalam hal keberanian mengungkapkan pendapat kepada ibu, lebih dari 50% remaja perempuan menjawab “selalu”, sedangkan 40% remaja lelaki menjawab “sering”. Hampir 40% remaja perempuan menyatakan bahwa ibu “selalu” mendorong untuk mengemukakan ide, sedangkan persentase remaja lelaki yang menjawab “selalu” sebanyak 25,3%. Di mata remaja perempuan, ibu hanya “sekali-sekali” tampak kesal jika pendapatnya dibantah (34,5%), sementara 38% remaja laki-laki mengatakan “sering”.

Pola komunikasi remaja perempuan-ayah tampaknya lebih baik dibandingkan dengan pola komunikasi remaja lelaki-ayah. Hal ini berhubungan dengan keterbukaan komunikasi antara remaja dengan orangtua. Driscoll & Pianta (2011) mengatakan bahwa ayah melaporkan lebih dekat dengan anak perempuan dibandingkan dengan anak laki-laki. Terhadap ibu, anak-anak baik perempuan maupun laki-laki relatif merasakan kedekatan. Berbeda dengan temuan Driscoll & Pianta (2011), Barbato *et al.* (2009) mengungkapkan bahwa ayah melaporkan berkomunikasi lebih banyak dengan anak laki-laki dan ibu lebih banyak dengan anak perempuan ketika motif mereka untuk menjauh dari tekanan kerja dan kekhawatiran. Barbato *et al.* (2009) menyimpulkan bahwa orangtua lebih senang berbicara dengan anak-anak yang memiliki kesamaan jenis kelamin.

Penelitian ini juga menunjukkan bahwa komunikasi remaja dengan ibu lebih baik daripada komunikasi remaja dengan ayah. Sesuai dengan penelitian Heller *et al.* (2006), keterbukaan komunikasi remaja dengan ibu lebih tinggi daripada remaja dengan ayah. Hal ini karena Ibu menghabiskan lebih banyak waktu dengan anak-anak. Tak heran jika remaja merasa lebih nyaman bertanya kepada ibu daripada kepada ayah, terlebih pertanyaan-pertanyaan yang berhubungan dengan masalah seksualitas. Dalam 20 tahun terakhir ternyata peran ayah tidak menghasilkan banyak perbedaan (Downie & Coates, 1999). Temuan Charoenthaweesub & Hale (2011) menguatkan bahwa remaja melaporkan kesenjangan komunikasi dengan ayah (32,6%) lebih besar daripada dengan ibu (23,6%).

Temuan ini juga membuktikan bahwa ada perbedaan cara berkomunikasi antara remaja perempuan dan remaja laki-laki dengan orangtuanya. Menurut Supriadi (2004), perempuan untuk mendapatkan kedudukan yang setara harus berjuang dengan daya upaya sendiri, bahkan menyelesaikan masalahnya sendiri. Dari sisi orangtua pun ada perbedaan dalam cara berkomunikasi dengan anak-anaknya. Hasil penelitian Barbato *et al.* (2009) mengungkapkan bahwa ayah cenderung berkomunikasi dengan kasih sayang terhadap anak-anak melalui kegiatan bersama daripada menampilkan secara verbal.

Barnes & Olson (Galvin *et al.*, 2004) mengungkapkan bahwa keluarga yang memiliki kohesi dan fleksibilitas tinggi, komunikasi dengan remajanya lebih baik dibandingkan keluarga yang tingkat kohesi dan fleksibilitasnya rendah. Orangtua yang berkomunikasi baik dengan remajanya melaporkan bahwa mereka mengenal teman-teman anaknya. Namun demikian, komunikasi remaja dan keluarga yang baik tidak berarti menghilangkan konflik antara orangtua dan remaja. Konflik terjadi karena remaja sedang mengembangkan nalar dan keterampilan berpikir kritisnya (Sacks *et al.*, 2014).

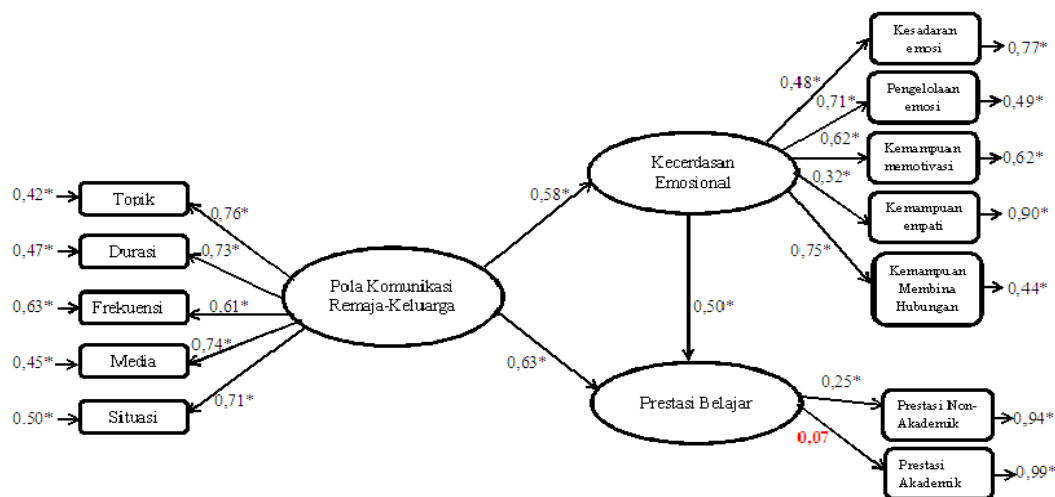
Pengaruh Pola Komunikasi Remaja dengan Keluarga terhadap Kecerdasan Emosional dan Prestasi Belajar

Berapa banyak orangtua yang menyadari bahwa pola komunikasi remaja dengan keluarga berpengaruh terhadap kecerdasan emosional dan prestasi belajar? Hasil analisis SEM memperlihatkan bahwa model pada Gambar 1 telah mencapai tingkat kesesuaian yang memadai. Model SEM yang dihasilkan memiliki *Goodness of Fit* yang baik atau cocok dengan data yang dikumpulkan (Tabel 3).

Hasil penelitian membuktikan bahwa *item loading* untuk peubah laten pola komunikasi remaja dengan keluarga menunjukkan kelima dimensi yang dianalisis (topik, durasi, frekuensi, media, dan situasi komunikasi) valid dan reliabel. Gambar 1 menunjukkan kontribusi (*loading factor*) dari masing-masing dimensi pola komunikasi remaja dengan keluarga terhadap kecerdasan emosional dan prestasi belajar. Pada pola komunikasi remaja dengan keluarga, kontribusi terbesar sampai terendah berturut-turut adalah: topik pembicaraan (0,76), media komunikasi (0,74), durasi pembicaraan (0,73), situasi komunikasi (0,71); dan frekuensi pembicaraan (0,61).

Tabel 3. Kriteria Kesesuaian Model SEM Pengaruh Pola Komunikasi Remaja dengan Keluarga terhadap Kecerdasan Emosional dan Prestasi Belajar

<i>Goodness of Fit</i>	<i>Cutt off Value</i>	Hasil	Keterangan
RMR (Root Mean Square Residual)	≤ 0,05 atau ≤ 0,1	0,040	<i>Good Fit</i>
RMSEA (Root Mean square Error of Approximation)	≤ 0,08	0,048	<i>Good Fit</i>
GFI (Goodness of Fit)	≤ 0,9	0,99	<i>Good Fit</i>
AGFI (Adjusted Goodness of Fit Index)	≤ 0,9	0,98	<i>Good Fit</i>
CFI (Comparative Fit Index)	≤ 0,9	1,00	<i>Good Fit</i>
Normed Fit Index (NFI)	≤ 0,9	0,94	<i>Good Fit</i>
Non-Normed Fit Index (NNFI)	≤ 0,9	0,95	<i>Good Fit</i>
Incremental Fit Index (IFI)	≤ 0,9	1,00	<i>Good Fit</i>
Relative Fit Index (RFI)	≤ 0,9	0,97	<i>Good Fit</i>



Gambar 1. Pengaruh Pola Komunikasi Remaja dengan Keluarga terhadap Kecerdasan Emosional dan Prestasi Belajar (2014)

Hal ini berarti kebutuhan remaja untuk membicarakan berbagai topik pembicaraan dengan orangtuanya sangat tinggi. Temuan ini sesuai dengan hasil penelitian kualitatif Tinnfa² et al. (2015) pada remaja Swedia berusia 16–17 tahun yang mengungkapkan bahwa remaja memiliki keinginan untuk berkomunikasi dengan orangtuanya tentang banyak hal, seperti perasaan, teman, dan sekolah,

dan mereka ingin orangtua mengambil bagian aktif dalam komunikasi itu. Dalam upaya ini, orangtua harus membantu, mendengarkan, serta memberikan dukungan dan saran kepada remaja.

Faktanya, Baxter & Akkooor (2011) mengungkapkan bahwa remaja dan orangtua jarang membicarakan masalah seksualitas. Sebaliknya, topik persahabatan dan kegiatan sehari-hari adalah perbincangan yang sering dilakukan orangtua dan remaja. Orangtua tampaknya memberi ruang untuk membicarakan topik persahabatan dan kegiatan sehari-hari secara bebas di lingkungan terbuka.

Hasil dekomposisi efek memperlihatkan bahwa pola komunikasi remaja dengan keluarga berpengaruh langsung dan nyata terhadap kecerdasan emosional siswa sebesar 0,58. Peubah prestasi belajar dipengaruhi baik langsung maupun tidak langsung dari pola komunikasi remaja dengan keluarga dan kecerdasan emosional. Pola komunikasi remaja dengan keluarga memberikan pengaruh langsung paling besar terhadap pencapaian prestasi belajar siswa sebesar 0,63 ditambah pengaruh tidak langsung sebesar 0,29. Kecerdasan emosional berpengaruh langsung kepada prestasi belajar sebesar 0,50. Data disajikan pada Tabel 4.

Tabel 4. Hasil Dekomposisi Efek Pola Komunikasi Remaja dengan Keluarga terhadap Kecerdasan Emosional dan Prestasi Belajar (n = 372)

Peubah	Total		
	TE	DE	IE
Kecerdasan Emosional η_1			
Pola Komunikasi Remaja-Keluarga ξ_1	0,58*	0,58*	0,00
Prestasi Belajar η_2			
Pola Komunikasi Remaja-Keluarga ξ_1	0,92*	0,63*	0,29
Kecerdasan Emosional η_1	0,50	0,50	0,00

TE= Efek Total DE=Efek Langsung IE= Efek Tidak Langsung

Keterangan: *berbeda nyata pada $P < 0,05$

Berdasarkan Gambar 1 dapat dilihat bahwa kontribusi terbesar hingga terendah yang dihasilkan oleh peubah kecerdasan emosional sebagai berikut: kemampuan membina hubungan (0,75); pengelolaan emosi (0,71); kemampuan memotivasi (0,62), kesadaran emosi (0,48), dan kemampuan empati (0,32). Penelitian ini menunjukkan bahwa remaja akhir sudah dapat mengelola emosinya dengan benar dan mampu membina hubungan baik dengan orang lain. Temuan ini juga memperlihatkan bahwa kemampuan empati remaja masih relatif rendah dan perlu lebih dikembangkan. Hal ini dapat dipahami mengingat penelitian dilakukan di wilayah Kotamadya Bogor,

sehingga karakteristik remaja yang diteliti cenderung memperlihatkan karakter remaja kota yang kurang peduli terhadap lingkungan di sekitarnya.

Gottman (1997) menemukan bahwa orangtua yang terlibat dalam pembinaan emosi, yang berfokus membahas emosi dan berkembang sesuai kemampuan memecahkan masalah, membesarkan anak-anak yang bergaul lebih baik dengan teman-temannya, memiliki masalah perilaku lebih sedikit, dan kurang rentan terhadap tindak kekerasan, mereka lebih mampu menenangkan diri, bangkit kembali dari marabahaya, dan melanjutkan dengan kegiatan produktif. Individu yang menderita keengganan bicara (bersikap diam) tidak mungkin belajar cara-cara yang produktif untuk mengatasi emosi negatif, seperti rasa takut karena dianggap bodoh. Ketika rasa takut karena dianggap bodoh membayangi kebutuhan untuk berkomunikasi, keengganan bicara pun terjadi.

Pembicaraan memperkuat hubungan keluarga melalui peningkatan kepercayaan, pengertian, dan komunikasi terbuka (Keating *et al.*, 2013). Temuan Gottman memperlihatkan bahwa anak-anak belajar dari diskusi mengenai perasaan mereka dengan orangtuanya dan bagaimana memanfaatkan emosi secara tepat dalam situasi yang berbeda. Orientasi percakapan yang tinggi, tampaknya menciptakan lingkungan belajar yang positif bagi anak-anak sekaligus membentuk sikap memahami emosi orang lain. Di sisi lain, orientasi percakapan yang rendah juga membentuk sikap pada anak-anak bahwa mereka tidak perlu membicarakan perasaan mereka dan menyimpulkan bahwa emosi mereka tidak penting dan dapat disimpan untuk diri sendiri (Keaton & Kelly, 2008). Temuan Hojatkhah *et al.* (2014) menguatkan bahwa keluarga dengan skor orientasi dialog (percakapan) yang tinggi membuat anggota keluarga bebas dan sering berkomunikasi satu sama lain tanpa batasan, mengungkapkan perasaan dengan mudah, berkonsultasi dalam mengambil keputusan, berkomunikasi dan berinteraksi yang tinggi, serta fleksibel.

Jumlah anak dalam satu keluarga juga menentukan perkembangan emosinya. Hasil penelitian Naghavi & Redzuan (2012) [tentang hubungan](#) antara lingkungan keluarga dan kecerdasan emosional mengungkapkan bahwa remaja dari lingkungan keluarga yang memiliki anggota lebih sedikit cenderung menunjukkan kecerdasan emosional lebih tinggi. Lebih dari 30% remaja dalam penelitian ini berasal dari keluarga yang memiliki 2 atau 3 orang anak. Meskipun ada sebagian remaja yang berasal dari keluarga dengan anak lebih dari 4 orang, jumlahnya relatif sedikit. Bila orangtua meningkatkan intensitas komunikasinya dengan remaja dan mengarahkan topik pembicaraan untuk menggali dan mengembangkan emosinya, maka besar kemungkinan kecerdasan emosionalnya pun akan meningkat.

Berkaitan dengan peubah prestasi belajar, hasil penelitian memperlihatkan bahwa pola komunikasi remaja dengan keluarga berkontribusi lebih besar terhadap prestasi belajar daripada kecerdasan emosional. Pengaruh total pola komunikasi remaja-keluarga terhadap prestasi belajar yaitu 0,92; sedangkan pengaruh total terhadap kecerdasan emosional adalah 0,58. Hal ini berarti, jika kualitas dan kuantitas komunikasi remaja dengan keluarganya ditingkatkan, maka prestasi belajar remaja pun akan lebih baik lagi. Temuan ini sekaligus membuktikan bahwa orangtua lebih mengedepankan (memprioritaskan) pengembangan intelektual remaja dan kurang memberi perhatian serius terhadap pengembangan emosinya.

Untuk meningkatkan perilaku prososial, remaja dan orangtua harus berada dalam satu tujuan (Heller *et al.*, 2006). Hoffman (1991) dalam Heller *et al.* (2006) mengungkapkan bahwa jenis kelamin dan persepsi remaja dalam komunikasi orangtua-remaja merupakan faktor penting dalam memahami empati remaja. Ketika orangtua dan remaja berkomunikasi secara terbuka, remaja melaporkan tingkatan empati yang lebih tinggi, yang pada gilirannya dapat memberikan motivasi bagi keterlibatan prososial dalam penilaian moral, pengambilan keputusan, dan perilaku. Empati juga merupakan faktor kunci yang berkaitan dengan kecerdasan emosional remaja.

Hasil penelitian Yuliawati (2008) mengungkapkan dua karakteristik yang diperlukan orangtua untuk menjadi model dan mentor kecerdasan emosional. Pertama, memiliki waktu kebersamaan yang lebih lama dengan remaja. Kedua, memiliki kualitas pribadi sebagai berikut: dapat dipercaya, memberikan kenyamanan emosional, dan dapat memahami gaya komunikasi remaja. Remaja yang orangtuanya konsisten mempraktikkan pembinaan emosi memiliki kesehatan fisik yang baik dan skor akademis yang lebih tinggi dari remaja yang keluarganya tidak menawarkan bimbingan (Naghavi & Redzuan, 2012).

Kecerdasan emosional memiliki efek positif dan tampaknya peka terhadap pengaruh lingkungan. Oleh karena itu, penting mempelajari bagaimana anak-anak dan remaja dapat mengembangkan kecerdasan emosional yang lebih besar. Bagi anak, interaksi antarmanusia yang paling penting adalah dengan orangtua mereka. Kehangatan dan pemantauan orangtua, serta pembinaan emosional orangtua, berdampak positif terhadap pengaturan diri anak, eksternalisasi perilaku yang lebih rendah, harga diri yang lebih tinggi, dan penyesuaian psikologis yang lebih baik, juga berkorelasi positif dengan dimensi kecerdasan emosional seperti pengetahuan dan pengertian emosi oleh anak-anak, dan regulasi emosional. Sebaliknya, praktik pengasuhan orangtua yang negatif, seperti pemberian hukuman yang keras, dapat mengakibatkan kesejahteraan emosional yang rendah, gangguan kepribadian, perilaku prososial yang rendah, kecemasan kognitif, juga terkait dengan pemahaman emosional dan regulasi emosional yang lebih rendah (Alegre, 2011).

Kesimpulan

Pola komunikasi remaja dengan keluarga memberikan pengaruh langsung dan nyata terhadap kecerdasan emosional dan prestasi belajar. Dilihat dari kontribusinya, dimensi topik dan media komunikasi memberikan kontribusi terbesar pada pola komunikasi remaja-keluarga. Hal ini menunjukkan bahwa remaja menyukai pembicaraan dengan topik yang beragam dan memanfaatkan media. Kontribusi terbesar dari kecerdasan emosional adalah kemampuan membina hubungan dan pengelolaan emosi. Penelitian ini memperlihatkan bahwa remaja akhir sudah dapat mengelola emosinya dengan benar dan mampu membina hubungan baik dengan orang lain, namun kemampuan empatinya masih perlu dikembangkan.

Pola komunikasi remaja dengan keluarga berkontribusi lebih besar terhadap prestasi belajar daripada kecerdasan emosional. Hal ini dapat disimpulkan bahwa orangtua lebih mengedepankan (memprioritaskan) pengembangan intelektual remaja dan kurang memberi perhatian serius terhadap pengembangan emosinya. Karena itu diperlukan pelatihan emosi bagi orangtua untuk mengembangkan kecerdasan emosional remaja, terutama yang berkaitan dengan kemampuan empati dan kesadaran emosi diri.

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Cyberstalking on Twitter: Analisis Isi Akun @farhatabbaslaw

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ABSTRAK

Pengguna media sosial seakan menemukan ruang untuk mengemukakan segala hal yang seseorang pikirkan dan rasakan untuk disampaikan oleh masyarakat biasa maupun public figure. Penggunaan media sosial seperti Twitter telah menimbulkan fenomena baru yang dikenal sebagai cyberstalking. Istilah cyberbullying adalah untuk tindakan bullying secara online dengan korban para anak dan remaja sedangkan cyberstalking lebih pada tindakan yang ditujukan pada orang dewasa. Salah satu figur publik yang diidentifikasi melakukan hal ini adalah Farhat Abbas (@farhatabbaslaw) yang karena tindakan cyberstalkingnya terhadap Ahmad Dhani, Farhat Abbas sempat masuk penjara. Penelitian ini bertujuan untuk mengetahui bagaimana bentuk dan kecenderungan cyberstalking yang dilakukan akun Twitter @farhatabbaslaw yang ditujukan terhadap Ahmad Dhani. Pesan menjadi unsur penting dalam sebuah komunikasi. Karena esensi dari komunikasi adalah isi pesan yang bisa disalurkan lewat beragam saluran. Apalagi media mampu menyebarkan pesan secara cepat. Pesan yang disampaikan para cyberstalker dilakukan melalui teknologi canggih dengan segala kemudahan di dalamnya kini telah disalahgunakan untuk menakut-nakuti, mengintimidasi, mengancam, memaksa, melecehkan. Stalking didefinisikan sebagai perbuatan yang dilakukan berulang baik secara fisik, lisan, tulisan, ancaman tersirat atau kombinasi yang dapat menyebabkan seseorang merasa takut. Banyak yang menjadikan media sosial seperti Twitter untuk melakukan tindakan cyberstalking. Penelitian ini menggunakan analisis isi kuantitatif dengan 76 sampel tweet yang dinilai mengandung cyberstalking terhadap Ahmad Dhani. Reliabilitas diukur menggunakan formula Holsti. Hasilnya adalah bentuk cyberstalking di akun @farhatabbaslaw ada empat, yaitu 1) pesan mengandung ancaman, 2) melecehkan secara fisik, kepribadian dan sebagainya, 3) merusak dan menjelekkan reputasi korban dan 4) kesenangan yang dirasa pelaku. Sementara itu kecenderungan cyberstalking di akun @farhatabbaslaw adalah merusak dan menjelekkan reputasi korbannya (Ahmad Dhani) memiliki reliabilitas sebesar 91%. Kecenderungan selanjutnya adalah pesan mengandung ancaman 93%, melecehkan secara fisik, kepribadian dan sebagainya 76% dan kesenangan yang dirasa pelaku 0%.

Kata kunci: cyberstalking, cyberbullying, media sosial Twitter, akun @farhatabbaslaw

PENDAHULUAN

1. Latar Belakang

Media sosial merupakan salah satu bentuk dari perkembangan teknologi yang menyajikan kecepatan dan kemudahan dalam berkomunikasi dengan siapa saja, dimana saja, dan kapan saja. Penggunaan media sosial yang tinggi, kini diikuti dengan lahirnya kebebasan berekspresi dan berpendapat. Pengguna media sosial seakan menemukan ruang untuk mengemukakan segala hal yang seseorang pikirkan dan rasakan untuk disampaikan kepada orang lain, baik masyarakat biasa maupun publik figur.

Media sosial sendiri mulai eksis di Indonesia sejak kemunculan Friendster pada tahun 2002. Media sosial ini cukup ramai dan kemudian Facebook hadir pada tahun 2006. Tak berselang lama, pada tahun yang sama Twitter muncul menyempurnakan media sosial yang sudah ada sebelumnya. Facebook dan Twitter sangat diminati pengguna Indonesia, kemunculan media sosial baru sampai tahun 2013 belum mampu menggeser dominasi Facebook dan Twitter di Indonesia (Abugaza, 2013: h. 38).

Pengguna internet di Indonesia sudah mencapai 83,7 juta user pada tahun 2014. Kini, Indonesia sudah menempati peringkat enam dunia dalam hal pengguna internetnya (www.kominfo.go.id/). Kemudahan akses ke internet membuat media sosial semakin diminati. Apalagi media sosial memiliki banyak manfaat untuk bersosialisasi dengan orang lain. Media sosial telah menjelma menjadi kekuatan besar yang mengubah kehidupan manusia (Abugaza, 2013: h. 16). Komunikasi elektronik seperti jejaring sosial, email, dan situs-situs internet lainnya. Jika disalahgunakan, teknologi tersebut tentunya akan menghasilkan dampak seperti mengganggu orang lain.

Penggunaan media sosial tersebut kini menimbulkan fenomena baru yang dikenal sebagai cyberstalking. Istilah cyberstalking di Indonesia sebenarnya tidak setenar cyberbullying. Cyberstalking diciptakan untuk menggambarkan bentuk dari perilaku pelecehan menggunakan media. Cyberstalking merupakan bagian dari cyberbullying sehingga pada prinsipnya tidak dibedakan karena hasil atau akibat dari perbuatan. Namun, lebih dibedakan kepada siapa tindakan tersebut ditujukan. Penggunaan istilah cyberbullying adalah untuk tindakan bullying secara online dengan pelaku atau target tindakan (korban) adalah para anak dan remaja. Sedangkan cyberstalking lebih pada tindakan yang ditujukan dan dilakukan oleh orang dewasa (Valentino, 2013 dalam Juditha, 2015: h. 16). Di Amerika Serikat, cyberstalking didefinisikan sebagai perilaku mengancam atau perilaku yang tidak diinginkan yang ditujukan kepada orang lain dalam bentuk online melalui komputer (Maple, et al., 2011: h. 2).

Berdasarkan survei yang dilakukan oleh (Maple, et al., 2011: h. 13), ada banyak sarana yang digunakan pelaku untuk dapat mengintai korbannya. Salah satunya adalah penggunaan situs jejaring sosial, pesan teks, atau forum internet. Pria lebih cenderung dilecehkan menggunakan instant messaging dan email kerja. Sedangkan wanita, lebih melaporkan karena adanya pelecehan melalui ponsel atau teks. Pelaku cyberstalking akan menggunakan teknologi komunikasi informasi untuk memantau dan mengontrol korban-korban mereka baik melalui situs



internet dan kini pelaku cyberstalking dapat dengan mudah menggunakan teknologi canggih yang tersedia seperti software (spyware) dan hardware.

Penggunaan media sosial kini telah menjangkau berbagai lapisan masyarakat. Salah satu kalangan yang menggunakan media sosial datang dari kalangan para publik figur. Hampir setiap publik figur memiliki akun media sosial, salah satunya adalah media sosial Twitter. Twitter itu sendiri dianggap sebagai media sosial yang sangat menguntungkan bagi kalangan publik figur, di antaranya adalah penggunaannya sebagai media komunikasi dengan seseorang tanpa batasan jangkauan. Melalui Twitter, untuk dapat berkomunikasi biasanya follower (pengikut) akun mereka adalah para penggemar publik figur tersebut atau yang memiliki kesamaan minat dengan isi tweet (kicauan) suatu akun Twitter.

Kecenderungan percakapan di media sosial Indonesia sebagian besar masih digunakan untuk menyampaikan pesan-pesan ringan yang cenderung “curhat”. Data analisis lembaga media sosial Tracking Win and Wise Communication menyebutkan 80 persen percakapan masih digunakan untuk update status dan memberikan informasi tentang keadaan pemilik akun sambil menampilkan foto “narsis”, sementara 20 persen diantaranya sudah mulai memanfaatkan media sosial untuk promosi merek bisnis dan politik (Abugaza, 2013: h. 42).

Facebook dan Twitter dinyatakan masih mendominasi pengguna media sosial di Indonesia. Namun, keduanya memiliki basis yang berbeda. Facebook masih didominasi pengguna kalangan menengah ke bawah dengan kategori usia muda, sementara Twitter yang memiliki karakter terbatas lebih didominasi kalangan elit menengah ke atas (Abugaza, 2013: 42).

Asosiasi Penyelenggaraan Jasa Internet Indonesia (APJII) mengatakan bahwa, sampai tahun 2012 pengguna Twitter Indonesia berada di posisi keempat dunia dengan jumlah users sekitar 19,7 juta. Rentang usia pengguna Twitter di Indonesia berkisar antara 20 hingga 44 tahun. Jakarta sempat menempati posisi puncak dengan kesibukan percakapan di Twitter mengalahkan New York, Tokyo, London dan Sao Paulo (Abugaza, 2013: h. 40-42).

Salah satu penyebabnya adalah karena harga smartphone (telepon seluler pintar) semakin terjangkau bagi semua kalangan. Pasar smartphone pada 2013 tumbuh sebanyak 44 persen atau setara pertambahan 40.000 unit. Dari semua warga negara ini yang memiliki ponsel (telepon seluler), 15 persennya mempunyai smartphone. Data Global Web Index Survei juga menegaskan bahwa Indonesia merupakan negara yang warganya paling tergilagila dengan media sosial. Persentase aktivitas media sosial Indonesia mencapai 79,72 persen tertinggi di Asia, mengalahkan Filipina, Malaysia dan Cina (Mohamad, 2013 dalam Juditha, 2015: h. 16). Abugaza (2013: h. 41) juga menjelaskan faktor lain yang mendorong media sosial berkembang pesat di Indonesia adalah didukungnya infrastruktur dan teknologi yang semakin maju.

Penelitian mengenai cyberstalking pernah dilakukan sebelumnya oleh Christiany Juditha dengan judul “Cyberstalking di Twitter @TrioMacan2000 Pada Pemilu 2014”. Penelitian tersebut menggunakan metode analisis isi kualitatif. Hasil penelitian tersebut menunjukkan bahwa, sebagian besar tweet dan gambar yang diposting di akun @TrioMacan2000 pada masa kampanye pemilihan legislatif masuk ke dalam seluruh kategori cyberstalking. Penelitian tersebut memfokuskan pada bentuk tindakan cyberstalking berupa keinginan untuk menyakiti,



ketidakseimbangan kekuatan postingan, pengulangan atau repetisi, serta kesenangan yang dirasa.

Penelitian tentang bullying di media sosial juga dilakukan oleh Whittaker dan Kowalski yang berjudul “Cyberbullying Via Social Media” dengan jumlah partisipan sebanyak 169 perempuan dan 75 orang laki-laki. Hasilnya penelitian mereka di antaranya mengungkapkan bahwa pesan teks dan media sosial menjadi tempat yang paling umum digunakan untuk tindakan cyberbullying.

Istilah bullying belum banyak dikenal masyarakat, terlebih karena belum ada padanan kata yang tepat dalam bahasa Indonesia. Beberapa istilah dalam bahasa Indonesia seringkali dipakai masyarakat untuk menggambarkan fenomena bullying. Rigby (2005) dalam Juditha (2015: h. 17) menyebutkan bahwa, unsur-unsur yang terkandung dalam pengertian bullying antara lain keinginan untuk menyakiti, tindakan negatif, ketidakseimbangan kekuatan, pengulangan atau repetisi, bukan sekadar penggunaan kekuatan, kesenangan yang dirasakan oleh pelaku dan rasa tertekan di pihak korban.

Cyberbullying merupakan bentuk kekerasan yang diakibatkan oleh kecanggihan teknologi sejak 15 sampai 20 tahun terakhir. Kecanggihan internet dan cellular phone merupakan teknologi yang paling berpengaruh terhadap kemunculan fenomena cyberbullying dan cyberstalking. Cyberbullying ataupun cyberstalking juga bisa disebut sebagai “social terror by technology”, kekejaman sosial online dan electronic bullying (Kowalski, 2012: h. 1-2).

ECHO Pilot Survey juga mengatakan bahwa konsekuensi yang ditimbulkan akibat cyberstalking mampu mempengaruhi aspek psikologis sosial, sosial, dan ekonomi kehidupan. Cyberstalking juga mampu memberikan dampak kepada perubahan hubungan, kegiatan kerja, keuangan serta mempengaruhi kehidupan pribadi dan profesional (pekerjaan) (Maple, et al., 2011: h. 18).

Kasus cyberstalking di media sebenarnya bukan untuk pertama kalinya terjadi di Indonesia. Namun, hanya beberapa kasus yang sampai ke ranah hukum dan tampil dalam pemberitaan berbagai media. Kurangnya kesadaran akan bahaya yang ditimbulkan oleh perilaku kejahatan cyberstalking membuat beberapa korbannya tidak meneruskan hal tersebut ke pihak yang berwajib. Seperti survei yang dilakukan oleh ECHO Pilot Survey menunjukkan bahwa, laki-laki lebih mungkin untuk melaporkan perilaku cyberstalking dibandingkan wanita yaitu sebesar 24,2 persen. Padahal, di Indonesia pelanggaran cyberstalking telah diatur dalam Undang-Undang ITE No. 11 Tahun 2008, pasal 27 ayat 1 hingga 4, mengenai dilarangnya dengan sengaja dan tanpa hak mendistribusikan dan/atau mentransmisikan dan/atau membuat dapat diaksesnya informasi elektronik dan/atau dokumen elektronik yang memiliki muatan yang melanggar kesusilaan, memiliki muatan perjudian, penghinaan dan/atau pencemaran nama baik, serta memiliki muatan pemerasan dan/atau pengancaman.

2. Permasalahan Penelitian

Salah satu kasus cyberstalking yang hingga kini masih ramai diperbincangkan adalah kasus cyberstalking yang dilakukan oleh publik figur Farhat Abbas. Kicauannya seringkali menjadi sorotan media karena dinilai mengumbar sensasi dan tak jarang merugikan pihak yang



disinggungnya. Namun, kasus dengan musisi Ahmad Dhani lah yang menjadi sorotan paling ramai di media. Kicauan yang ia tujuikan untuk Ahmad Dhani dinilai menjadi permasalahan dan pelanggaran yang dilakukannya melalui media massa. Farhat Abbas tidak segan-segan menuliskan nama Ahmad Dhani melalui berbagai kicaumannya dengan mengomentari kehidupan pribadi serta segala permasalahan yang saat itu sedang dihadapi oleh Ahmad Dhani.

Lewat kicauan yang ia posting, Farhat Abbas cenderung bertujuan untuk mengejek, menyudutkan, mencemarkan nama baik, hingga menghina Ahmad Dhani. Sehingga, Ahmad Dhani merasa dirugikan dan akhirnya meneruskan hal ini hingga ke meja hijau. Keduanya juga sempat saling berbalas tweet lewat akun Twitter yang dimilikinya masing-masing. Tidak sedikit dari masyarakat yang ikut mengomentari posting-an yang dikicaukan oleh keduanya itu, baik komentar yang ikut menyudutkan atau memberi dukungan bagi salah satu pihak.

Berdasarkan rumusan masalah yang telah dijabarkan sebelumnya, tujuan penelitian ini bertujuan untuk mengetahui bagaimana bentuk dan kecenderungan kekerasan verbal yang dilakukan oleh Farhat Abbas melalui akun Twitter @farhatabbaslaw yang ditujukan terhadap Ahmad Dhani.

3. Fokus dan Batasan Penelitian

Penelitian ini hanya berfokus untuk melihat kecenderungan isi tweet yang diidentifikasi sebagai bentuk dari cyberstalking. Kecenderungan isi tweet ini dilihat dengan menggunakan metode analisis isi kuantitatif. Batasan penelitian ini adalah tidak meneliti pada komentar yang dilakukan oleh akun lain atas tweet yang dilontarkan @farhatabbaslaw. Selain itu, peneliti tidak melihat bagaimana penerimaan khalayak atas pesan yang dikicaukan oleh akun @farhatabbaslaw.

Penelitian ini terbatas hanya pada level teks yang diteliti. Menurut Sobur (2012: h. 145-146), analisis isi hanya melihat isi komunikasi yang tampak (manifest) dari teks media. Selain itu, dengan metode analisis isi dalam penelitian ini juga tidak mampu menangkap konteks tempat suatu teks tertulis diberi makna. Konteks di sini dapat diartikan sebagai alur narasi (plot), lingkungan semantik (maknawi) yang paling dekat, gaya bahasa yang berlaku dan kaitan antara teks dengan pengalaman atau pengetahuan.

KERANGKA TEORI

a. Pesan Dalam Komunikasi

Komunikasi merupakan hal yang sangat penting dalam kehidupan manusia untuk menyampaikan segala bentuk ide atau gagasan. Unsur penting dalam komunikasi adalah pesan itu sendiri. Pesan adalah sesuatu yang dikirim dan diterima selama tindak komunikasi berlangsung. Pesan dapat berbentuk bahasa verbal maupun nonverbal. Pesan sendiri merupakan suatu bentuk informasi yang memiliki makna. Pesan juga bisa berbeda-beda maknanya dari satu individu dengan individu lainnya. Hal ini karena adanya penafsiran yang berbeda ketika menerima pesan (Suryanto, 2015: h. 175; Hardiyansyah, 2015: h. 42).



Menurut Suryanto (2015), dalam pesan paling tidak ada dua aspek, yaitu isi pesan dan lambang atau simbol untuk mengekspresikannya. Lambang utama dalam komunikasi adalah bahasa yang digunakan untuk menyampaikan perasaan. Lambang tadi wujud nyatanya adalah pesan yang dapat berupa gagasan, pendapat dan lain-lain.

Sari (1993: h. 25) menjelaskan bahwa pesan adalah sekumpulan simbol (lambang) komunikasi yang mengandung arti yang disampaikan komunikator kepada komunikan. Isi pesan adalah materi dari sebuah pesan. Materi pesan adalah masalah yang dikandung oleh pesan tersebut. Misalnya masalah ekonomi, perburuhan, sumber daya manusia, olahraga dan sebagainya. Dalam kajian kehumasan biasanya disebut produk, jasa dan citra. Dalam kajian beberapa ahli isi pesan juga meliputi bagaimana pesan itu diisi.

Widjaja dan Wahab (1987) dalam Suryanto (2015: h. 182) menyebutkan adanya 3 (tiga) bentuk pesan, yaitu:

- a. Informatif. Memberikan keterangan fakta dan data untuk kemudian diambil kesimpulannya oleh si komunikan.
- b. Persuasif. Ini adalah pesan bujukan. Pesan ini bisa membangkitkan pengertian dan kesadaran manusia bahwa yang disampaikan akan mengubah sikap penerima pesan.
- c. Koersif. Pesan yang sifatnya memaksa dengan menggunakan sanksi-sanksi. Pesan koersif ini biasanya berbentuk perintah, semacam instruksi penyampaian suatu target.

Pesan menjadi unsur penting dalam sebuah komunikasi. Karena esensi dari komunikasi adalah isi pesan itu sendiri. Pesan bisa disalurkan lewat beragam saluran, baik melalui media maupun komunikasi secara langsung (face to face). Pesan melalui media kini sudah beragam, mulai dari media massa tradisional hingga media baru (new media) berupa internet yang memiliki jangkauan dan efektivitas yang lebih baik. Internet kini semakin cepat dalam menyebarkan sebuah pesan dan memiliki dampak yang lebih luas juga akan isi pesan tersebut.

B. Cyberstalking dan Cyberbullying

Bocij (2004: h. 3-4) mengatakan bahwa, cyberstalking merupakan bentuk baru perilaku menyimpang yang menggunakan teknologi. Perilaku tersebut memiliki tujuan untuk melecehkan orang lain dalam berbagai cara. Ketergantungan kita pada internet, email, pesan instan, chat room, dan teknologi komunikasi lainnya, telah membuat perilaku cyberstalking menjadi masalah sosial yang berkembang dan dapat mempengaruhi pengguna komputer manapun di dunia. Teknologi canggih dengan segala kemudahan di dalamnya kini telah disalahgunakan untuk menakut-nakuti, mengintimidasi, mengancam, memaksa, melecehkan, dan mengorbankan pengguna yang tidak sadar akan bahayanya media. Stalking didefinisikan sebagai perbuatan yang dilakukan berulang (dua atau lebih) baik secara fisik, lisan, tulisan, ancaman tersirat, atau kombinasi yang dapat menyebabkan seseorang merasa takut (Maple, et al., 2011: h. 2).

Westrup (1998), menunjukkan definisi yang dikatakan sebagai perilaku tidak diinginkan dan mengganggu. Penelitian mengenai cyberstalking memiliki identifikasi bahwa, perilaku cyberstalking akan dilakukan dengan pelecehan berbasis telekomunikasi melalui pemantauan komunikasi e-mail secara langsung seperti mengancam, menghina, atau melecehkan.



Mengganggu e-mail korban dengan mengirimkan e-mail yang tidak diinginkan, atau program virus. Menggunakan identitas korban dengan tujuan mencemarkan nama baik korban. Menggunakan internet untuk mencari keberadaan atau kehidupan korban yang akan digunakan sebagai pelecehan (Finn & Banach, 2000; Kranz, 2001; Ogilvie, 2000; Spitzberg & Hoobler, 2002, tersedia di <https://www.victimsofcrime.org/docs/src/intimate-partner-violence-technology-and-stalking.pdf?sfvrsn=2:842>)

Ditegaskan kembali, cyberstalking merupakan tindakan yang melibatkan lebih dari perilaku yang melibatkan atau menggunakan sarana elektronik untuk menyebabkan penderitaan, takut, dan kegelisahan. Reaksi yang ditimbulkan oleh tindakan cyberstalking bersifat negatif seperti depresi, stress, kecemasan, menurunkan harga diri, dan hilangnya kepercayaan kepada orang lain (Maple, et al., 2011: h. 4).

Bocij (2014) memaparkan bahwa, perilaku cyberstalking tidak hanya sekedar melibatkan satu orang dengan mengejar orang yang lainnya. Cyberstalking kini telah berkembang dan telah digunakan untuk tindakan seperti penipuan pasar saham, pencurian identitas, pelecehan seksual, pencurian data, penipuan, penipuan konsumen, monitoring komputer, dan serangan oleh kelompok-kelompok politik dipelayanan pemerintah. Lebih bahayanya lagi, pornografi dan pedofilia telah mulai menggunakan cyberstalking sebagai cara yang mudah untuk mencari korbannya.

Berbagai kasus mengenai perilaku pelecehan di internet dapat dikatakan sebagai perilaku cyberstalking. Siapapun dapat menjadi korban dari perilaku cyberstalking. Korbannya dapat secara acak atau didasarkan oleh perilaku tertentu misalnya, penilaian buruk terhadap seseorang mengenai identitas dirinya di media sosial. Perilaku kriminal ini muncul ketika teknologi mulai berkembang maju, dimana ketika kecanggihan teknologi mencapai tingkat tertentu atau telah digunakan oleh orang banyak. Penggunaan teknologi berbasis informasi dan komunikasi untuk melecehkan individu lain mulai berkembang dan muncul sebagai masalah (Bocij, 2004: h. 3-4).

Teknologi komunikasi elektronik mempermudah cyberstalker dalam mendorong pihak ketiga untuk melecehkan atau mengancam korban. Perilaku cyberstalker dapat dilakukan dengan meniru korban, memposting pesan ancaman atau gangguan di papan buletin dan percakapan langsung. Sehingga, viewers akan kembali mengirim pesan ancaman balik kepada si korban atau penulis pesan tersebut. Teknologi komunikasi elektronik juga menurunkan hambatan untuk melakukan pelecehan dan ancaman dikarenakan pelaku cyberstalker tidak memerlukan tindakan secara fisik dalam menghadapi korban, melainkan hanya melalui teknologi elektronik seperti media internet (Bocij, 2004: h. 3-4).

Dalam melihat penderitaan psikologis korban, Pathé dan Mullen (1997) menemukan bahwa, lebih dari setengah kelompok yang diteliti menampilkan gejala umum terkait dengan gangguan stress post-traumatic stress disorder (PTSD). Sebanyak 37 persen korban memenuhi kriteria untuk diagnosis PTSD. Pathé dan Mullen (1997, h. 16) juga menemukan efek dari perilaku menguntit akan mempengaruhi kesehatan fisik korban seperti (Bocij, 2004: h. 85):

- A. 83 persen mengalami tingkat kecemasan tinggi, yang digambarkan sebagai "jumpiness", "shakes", serangan panik, atau hypervigilance.



- B.** 74 persen mengalami gangguan tidur kronis, seperti mimpi buruk yang terjadi berulang-ulang.
- C.** 48 persen melaporkan bahwa selera mereka telah dipengaruhi. Hampir setengah dari kelompok (45 persen) melaporkan perubahan berat badan mereka. Meskipun kebanyakan orang kehilangan berat badan, beberapa korban lainnya menaikkan berat badannya dalam upaya untuk membuat diri mereka kurang menarik bagi penguntit mereka.
- D.** 30 persen melaporkan sering mual, dan 27 persen melaporkan sering mengalami gangguan pencernaan.
- E.** 23 persen mengalami peningkatan konsumsi rokok atau alkohol.
- F.** 55 persen melaporkan mengalami kelelahan atau kelemahan.
- G.** 47 persen melaporkan kenaikan atau sakit kepala lebih parah.

Penggunaan istilah cyberstalking sebenarnya tidak setenar istilah cyberbullying. Cyberstalking merupakan bagian dari cyberbullying sehingga pada prinsipnya tidak dibedakan karena hasil atau akibat dari perbuatannya. Karena, cyberstalking dan cyberbullying merupakan tindakan atau perilaku untuk tujuan yang sama. Kebanyakan orang menggunakan istilah cyberbullying untuk tindakan bullying secara online dengan target atau pelaku adalah para anak dan remaja. Sedangkan, cyberstalking merupakan perilaku kejahatan yang lebih ditujukan pada orang dewasa (Valentino, 2013 dalam Juditha, 2015: h. 16).

Cyberbullying sendiri didefinisikan sebagai perilaku agresif, tindakan yang disengaja dilakukan oleh kelompok atau individu, menggunakan alat elektronik secara berulang kali dari waktu ke waktu terhadap korban yang tidak dapat dengan mudah membela dirinya (Whitney & Smith, 1993; Olweus, 1999). Smith & Sharp (1994) dan Rigby (2002) juga menegaskan bahwa, cyberbullying adalah bentuk bullying yang dalam beberapa tahun terakhir menjadi lebih jelas, seperti peningkatan penggunaan perangkat elektronik seperti komputer dan ponsel oleh orang-orang muda.

Cyberbullying juga dikenal sebagai electronic bullying atau kekejaman sosial media. Cyberbullying memiliki banyak bentuk seperti pesan yang mengancam atau mengintimidasi yang dilakukan melalui pesan digital seperti melalui email, pesan instan (instant messaging), in chat room, situs web, situs games online, atau melalui pengiriman gambar melalui cellular phone (Kowalski, 2012: h. 1-2).

C. Media Sosial Twitter Digunakan sebagai Cyberstalking

Media sosial adalah struktur sosial yang terdiri dari elemen-elemen individu, kelompok atau organisasi yang terhubung dan terjadi interaksi satu sama lain dengan menggunakan perantara teknologi informasi. Andreas Kaplan dan Michael Haenlein juga memaparkan bahwa media sosial adalah sebuah kelompok aplikasi berbasis internet yang membangun di atas dasar ideologi dan teknologi web 2.0 dan memungkinkan penciptaan dan pertukaran user-generated content (Abugaza, 2013: h. 16).



Istilah social media pertama kali muncul dan diperkenalkan oleh Professor J.A. Barnes pada 1954. Baru pada tahun 1995, media sosial sebagai satu kesatuan yang utuh muncul dengan berfokus pada hubungan antar mantan teman sekolah, ikatan pertemanan dan memiliki basis kepercayaan pertemanan. Inovasi berikutnya muncul, media sosial tidak lagi mengenai pertemanan namun memberi pengguna kontrol yang lebih akan isi dan hubungannya. Maka media sosial mulai tampil dengan sebuah revolusi yang dikenal eksis oleh khalayak hingga kini, seperti salah satunya adalah Twitter (Abugaza, 2013: h. 16-17).

Twitter merupakan layanan jejaring sosial yang memungkinkan penggunanya mengirim dan membaca pesan berbasis teks dengan maksimal 140 karakter. Layanan ini didirikan oleh Jack Dorsey, Evan Williams dan Biz Stone pada Maret 2006. Twitter mulai diluncurkan pada bulan Juni 2006 dan sukses menjadi salah satu dari sepuluh situs yang paling sering dikunjungi di internet (Abugaza, 2013: h. 32).

Abugaza (2013) juga menjelaskan bahwa Twitter mengalami pertumbuhan pesat dan dengan cepat meraih popularitas di seluruh dunia. Hingga bulan Januari 2013, ada lebih dari 500 juta pengguna Twitter dan 200 juta diantaranya adalah pengguna aktif. Namun sayangnya, media sosial ini kerap menjadi media bagi para cyberstalker yang kurang bijak dalam menggunakan media sosial ini.

Istilah kegiatan yang bertujuan untuk tujuan kejahatan atau pelecehan di media sosial kini telah digantikan dengan sebutan stalking dan cyberstalking. Sejak kata stalking yang berarti menguntit melibatkan segala unsur ancaman dan atau bertujuan untuk menyebabkan korban mengalami stress. Stalking merupakan tindakan fisik dengan cara menguntit orang lain secara diam-diam atau hanya sekedar tindakan memantau atau mengawasi tindakan orang lain. Sedangkan, cyberstalking merupakan tindakan menguntit, memantau, atau mengawasi lebih lanjut orang lain di media elektronik dengan tujuan tertentu. Perilaku offline stalking memerlukan pelaku dan korban yang berlokasi dalam wilayah geografis yang sama, sedangkan pelaku cyberstalkers dapat terletak di seberang jalan atau di seluruh negeri.

METODE PENELITIAN

Penelitian ini menggunakan metode analisis isi untuk melihat kecenderungan isi suatu teks media. Unit analisis dalam penelitian adalah tweets yang dilontarkan oleh akun @farhatabbaslaw (tidak termasuk komentar, foto dan video). Populasinya adalah seluruh tweet @farhatabbaslaw tentang seorang musisi, Ahmad Dhani. Dari populasi tersebut, diperoleh sebanyak 76 sampel melalui convenience sampling. Menurut Eriyanto (2011), convenience sampling (sampel sembarang) bisa digunakan dalam 2 (dua) kondisi, yaitu salah satunya jika ada bagian dari teks yang hilang. Hal ini terjadi pada akun @farhatabbaslaw karena sekitar pertengahan Oktober 2015 lalu, akun @farhatabbaslaw ditutup (suspended) oleh pihak Twitter karena dianggap melakukan unsur-unsur SARA atau spam. Maka dari itu, peneliti mengambil sampel tersebut melalui google search dengan keyword 'tweet Farhat Abbas untuk Ahmad Dhani'.

Validitas dalam penelitian ini menggunakan validitas muka. Sementara untuk menguji reliabilitasnya, peneliti menggunakan formula atau rumus Holsti untuk mengetahui kesepakatan antar coder yang bisa menunjukkan derajat kepercayaan dari validitas yang dipakai. Ada dua orang coder dalam penelitian ini, yaitu dua peneliti itu sendiri.

Analisis isi kuantitatif berbeda dengan analisis isi lainnya seperti semiotika, framing, wacana, naratif dan lain sebagainya. Masing-masing memiliki karakteristik yang berbeda. Secara umum, analisis isi dapat diartikan sebagai teknik penelitian ilmiah yang tujuannya mengetahui gambaran karakteristik isi dan untuk menarik inferensi isi. Selain itu, analisis isi dilakukan untuk mengetahui secara sistematis dan mengidentifikasi isi komunikasi yang tampak, objektif, valid, reliabel dan dapat direplikasi (Eriyanto, 2011: h. 115).

Eriyanto (2011) dan Subiakto & Ida (2012) memaparkan bahwa, analisis isi merupakan salah satu metode utama yang digunakan untuk meneliti isi komunikasi dalam periode waktu dan ruang tertentu. Tujuannya adalah untuk mengetahui kecenderungan isi pesan yang disampaikan, baik itu yang tersurat maupun yang tersirat. Contoh isi komunikasi yang dapat diteliti dengan analisis isi adalah pidato, dokumen tertulis, foto, surat kabar, acara televisi, radio dan lain sebagainya. Melalui analisis isi ini peneliti dapat menarik suatu kesimpulan atau mengetahui gambaran isi, karakteristik pesan, serta perkembangan tren suatu isi. Holsti (1969) dan Payne & Payne (2011) dalam Martono (2015) menjelaskan sebagai berikut:

“Secara kuantitatif, analisis isi memfokuskan pada pengkajian mengenai jumlah atau frekuensi suatu objek (teks, simbol) yang sedang diamati.”

Analisis isi memiliki manfaat atau dampak yang luas bagi masyarakat karena mampu menghasilkan temuan serta informasi yang jarang menjadi perhatian masyarakat. Neuendorf (2002) juga menambahkan bahwasanya analisis isi ini tidak hanya dapat diterapkan dalam penelitian akademis, namun juga penelitian non-akademis (Martono, 2015: h. 23).

Barelson (1951) juga mendefinisikan analisis isi sebagai suatu teknik penelitian komunikasi yang dibuat secara objektif, sistematis dan kuantitatif. Metode analisis isi akan sistematis apabila melalui prosedur yang benar, objektif apabila hasil yang sama diperoleh oleh kedua peneliti berdasarkan tatacara yang digunakan, serta analisis isi merupakan penelitian yang bersifat kuantitatif, namun tidak menutup kemungkinan untuk cara lain.

Analisis isi dapat bersifat manifest coding yaitu berdasarkan kata-kata atau kalimat, gambar, atau simbol yang dinyatakan secara eksplisit dalam suatu teks dan juga dapat bersifat latent coding yang juga disebut sebagai analisis semantic, yaitu analisis isi yang didasarkan pada tema atau ide yang dinyatakan secara insplisit dalam suatu teks. Pada penelitian ini, kedua peneliti akan menggunakan analisis isi berdasarkan manifest coding yang berasal dari tweet Farhat Abbas untuk Ahmad Dhani melalui kata-kata yang telah dikategorisasikan mengandung unsur-unsur kekerasan verbal sebagai bentuk dari cyberstalking.

TEMUAN DAN ANALISIS

Manusia tidak bisa lepas dari kehidupan sosial. Dalam bersosialisasi mereka tidak bisa tidak berkomunikasi dengan saling bertukar pesan. Baik itu secara langsung maupun lewat media sosial yang tersedia. Sesuai dengan namanya, media ini menjadi perantara atau alat bantu untuk bersosialisasi atau berkomunikasi dengan siapa pun dan di mana pun tanpa batasan jarak dan waktu. Alat yang berupa teknologi canggih dengan segala kemudahannya ini di dalamnya kini telah disalahgunakan untuk menakut-nakuti, mengintimidasi, mengancam, memaksa, melecehkan dan mengorbankan pengguna yang tidak sadar akan bahayanya media.

Kecepatan media internet dalam menyampaikan pesan memiliki beragam dampak di masyarakat. Apalagi internet ini sudah terasa melekat dan luas di masyarakat. Dampak positifnya bisa diterima sebagai bagian dari kemajuan dan perkembangan di beberapa bidang tertentu. Namun ada saja oknum yang memanfaatkan internet ini dengan tidak bijak dan tidak bertanggungjawab. Salah satunya dengan adanya tindakan perundungan atau bullying yang dilakukan via internet, khususnya media sosial seperti Facebook dan Twitter. Kedua jenis media sosial tersebut adalah yang paling banyak digunakan.

Bullying merupakan tindakan mengancam, menghina, bahkan mengintimidasi korban baik secara verbal maupun non verbal. Jika tindakan ini dilakukan melalui dunia siber, maka tindakannya disebut sebagai cyberbullying. Setidaknya dalam cyberbullying pelaku tidak harus bertemu langsung atau bertatap muka dan tidak dapat melihat reaksi korbannya. Tindakan cybersbullying bukan serangan secara fisik namun lebih kepada penyerangan kepada psikis dan mental korban dengan menggunakan kata-kata, gambar dan sebagainya. Selain itu tindakan ini juga bisa muncul kapan saja dan bisa menyebarkan dengan cepat sebuah berita buruk si korban dengan bantuan internet. Sama halnya seperti yang dikatakan King (2006) dalam Kowalski (2012), yaitu "what makes cyberbullying so dangerous is that anyone can practice it without having to confront the victim. You don't have to be strong or fast, simply equipped with all cell phone or computer and a willingness to terrorize."

Seperti yang telah dipaparkan sebelumnya, cyberbullying merupakan tindakan bullying secara online dengan target atau pelaku adalah para anak dan remaja sedangkan cyberstalking lebih ditujukan pada orang dewasa. Salah satu tindakan yang diidentifikasi sebagai cyberstalking dilakukan oleh akun Twitter @farhatabbaslaw. Akun tersebut sering mendapat sorotan media karena kicauannya sangat sensasional dengan memberi kritik tajam kepada siapa saja yang diinginkannya. Ini juga dikarenakan si pemilik akun tersebut adalah seorang public figure bernama Farhat Abbas. Ia merupakan seorang pengacara dan juga sempat menjadi bagian dari dunia hiburan.

Tidak sampai di situ, tidak sedikit dari masyarakat yang mengomentari kicauan yang dilontarkan akun @farhatabbaslaw. Ada yang mendukung, namun ada lebih banyak lagi yang balik menyerang dengan sikap kontra karena kicauannya tersebut dianggap tidaklah pantas dipublikasikan melalui media sosial. Apalagi mengandung kata-kata yang dapat merugikan orang lain atau korban yang menjadi target perundungannya. Salah satu targetnya adalah seorang musisi bernama Ahmad Dhani. Kicauan di akun @farhatabbaslaw yang ditujukan untuk Ahmad Dhani bermula ketika anak Ahmad Dhani yang bernama Dul, mengalami kecelakaan mobil. Dul yang masih di bawah umur kala itu sedang melaju di tol Jagorawi dan menabrak hingga menyebabkan tujuh nyawa tewas. Lama kelamaan, Ahmad Dhani merasa adanya indikasi pencemaran nama baik melalui kicauan

pedas yang disampaikan akun @farhatabbaslaw tentang dirinya dan keluarganya. Singkat cerita Ahmad Dhani melaporkan Farhat Abbas dan kini ia di penjara dan akun Twitter @farhatabbaslaw diblokir.

Dikarenakan adanya pemblokiran akun @farhatabbaslaw, peneliti sempat mengalami kesulitan ketika ingin mengumpulkan kicauan akun @farhatabbaslaw untuk di analisis. Namun, melalui google search ternyata peneliti masih bisa menemukan sebanyak 76 kicauan @farhatabbaslaw dengan kata kunci "kicauan Farhat Abbas untuk Ahmad Dhani". Hal ini dikarenakan ada beberapa dari masyarakat melakukan capture atau screen shoot beberapa kicauan Farhat Abbas yang pedas tentang Ahmad Dhani. Bahkan ada pula yang mengumpulkan beberapa kicauan tersebut di web atau blog pribadi mereka. Maka dari itu, peneliti hanya menemukan sebanyak 76 kicauan Farhat Abbas yang di tujukan untuk Ahmad Dhani dan diidentifikasi sebagai tindakan cyberstalking.

Kowalski (2012) dalam bukunya yang berjudul "Cyberbullying: Bullying in the Digital Age" menyebutkan content dari tindakan perundungan ini dapat dilihat dari sisi korban dan sisi pelaku, yaitu:

Dari sisi korban:

1. Mengancam korban dengan ancaman kematian.
2. Korban diancam untuk tidak mengatakan kepada orang lain.
3. Korban akan diejek, dihina dan pelecehan terhadap fitur fisik, kepribadian dan sebagainya.
4. Mengancam dengan memukul bahkan menembak korban.
5. Pelaku yang marah akan mengancam dan mengintimidasi.
6. Akan terjadinya serangan pribadi terhadap korban.
7. Melecehkan korban.
8. Merusak dan menjelekkkan reputasi korban.

Dari sisi pelaku:

1. Pelaku melakukannya dengan senang hati.
2. Pelaku akan melakukan tindakan cyberbullying kepada korbannya secara acak melalui instant messaging atau chat room.
3. Pelaku memanggil korbannya dengan sebutan noob (cupu).
4. Pelaku mengubah detail informasi identitas korban pada sosial medianya.
5. Pelaku akan melakukan berbagai cara untuk merendahkan dan mengintimidasi korban seperti membuat akun sosial media hate victims. Misalnya dengan membuat akun @AntiFarhatAbbas.

Berdasarkan pernyataan Kowalski di atas, maka peneliti membuat kategorisasi untuk menganalisis isi akun @farhatabbaslaw dengan menarik garis besar poin-poin di atas. Maka ada 4 (empat) kategori besar yang digunakan peneliti untuk menganalisis akun @farhatabbaslaw, yaitu:

- 1) Pesan mengandung ancaman,
- 2) Melecehkan secara fisik, kepribadian dan sebagainya,
- 3) Merusak dan menjelekkkan reputasi korban, dan
- 4) Kesenangan yang dirasa pelaku.

Dari 76 kicauan akun @farhatabbaslaw yang diperoleh, dianalisis dan dikategorikan oleh dua coder ke dalam empat kategori tadi. Coder dalam penelitian ini adalah peneliti itu sendiri yang terdiri dari dua orang. Hasil coding dari kedua pengcoder di coding sheet disajikan dalam tabel di bawah ini.

Tabel 1. Hasil coding oleh coder 1

Coder 1	Jumlah	Persentase
A. Pesan mengandung ancaman	24	31,5%
B. Melecehkan secara fisik, kepribadian, dsb.	12	15,7%
C. Merusak dan menjelekkan reputasi korban	39	51,3%
D. Kesenangan yang dirasa pelaku	1	1,3%
Total	76 kicauans	100%

Sumber: hasil olahan peneliti.

Tabel 2. Hasil coding oleh coder 2

Coder 2	Jumlah	Persentase
A. Pesan mengandung ancaman	21	27,6%
B. Melecehkan secara fisik, kepribadian, dsb.	8	10,5%
C. Merusak dan menjelekkan reputasi korban	46	60,5%
D. Kesenangan yang dirasa pelaku	1	1,3%
Total	76 kicauans	100%

Sumber: hasil olahan peneliti.

Setelah melakukan coding, kedua coder memasukkan data yang diperoleh ke dalam tabel seperti yang dapat dilihat di atas. Hasilnya menunjukkan bahwa kategori merusak dan menjelekkan reputasi korban menjadi kategori yang paling banyak diperoleh dengan jumlah kicauan sebanyak 39 menurut coder 1 dan sebanyak 46 kicauan menurut coder 2. Kategori pesan mengandung ancaman menjadi yang kedua dalam perolehan porsi tentang cyberstalking. Kategori ini mendapat 24 kicauan menurut coder 1 dan 21 kicauan menurut coder 2. Berikutnya adalah kategori melecehkan secara fisik, kepribadian dan sebagainya mendapat 12 kicauan menurut coder 1 dan 8 kicauan menurut coder 2. Terakhir, kategori kesenangan yang dirasa pelaku masing-masing mendapatkan 1 dari 76 kicauan yang dianalisis. Berikut adalah penjelasan dari masing-masing kategori di atas.

Pesan Mengandung Ancaman

Berdasarkan tabel coding di atas, untuk kategori “pesan mengandung ancaman”, coder 1 menyatakan ada 24 dari 76 kicauan, sementara menurut coder 2 berjumlah 21 pesan yang

mengandung ancaman atau sekitar 27 persen kicauan di akun @farhatabbaslaw. Ini merupakan salah satu contoh kicauan yang mengandung pesan ancaman. Terlihat jelas bahwa kicauannya ini mengancam targetnya dengan ancaman membayar hutang nyawa. Dalam Kamus Besar Bahasa Indonesia (KBBI), tindakan mengancam merupakan maksud untuk melakukan sesuatu yang merugikan, menyulitkan, menyusahkan atau mencelakakan pihak lain.

Gambar 1. Kicauan @farhatabbaslaw yang mengandung ancaman



Sebagian besar pesan yang berisi ancaman dari akun ini adalah tentang hutang nyawa yang harus dibayar Ahmad Dhani. Selain itu, dalam pesan ancamannya juga akun @farhatabbaslaw sering kali menyebut Ahmad Dhani dengan sebutan lain yaitu "si botak". Bentuk ancaman lainnya juga dilontarkan akun @farhatabbaslaw seperti mengajak orang lain untuk merobohkan kesombongan dan keartisan Ahmad Dhani, bahwa Ahmad Dhani tidak akan bisa seenaknya lepas dari hukum dan hutang nyawanya, sering mengungkit janji-janji Dhani yang harus ditepati, bahkan akun @farhatabbaslaw juga menyerang pengacara Ahmad Dhani dengan mengatakannya sebagai pengacara palsu.

Gambar 2. Kicauan @farhatabbaslaw yang mengandung ancaman



Bocij (2004: h. 3-4) mengatakan bahwa teknologi komunikasi elektronik mempermudah cyberstalker dalam mendorong pihak ketiga untuk ikut melecehkan atau mengancam korban. Perilaku cyberstalker dapat dilakukan dengan meniru korban, memposting pesan ancaman atau gangguan di papan bulletin dan percakapan langsung. Hal ini bisa membuat viewers akan kembali mengirim pesan ancaman balik kepada si korban atau penulis pesan tersebut. Hal ini juga terjadi pada akun @farhatabbaslaw yang mempublikasikan pesan ancaman dan didukung oleh beberapa orang dengan me-retweet atau membalasnya dengan komentar setuju. Meskipun begitu ada pula yang kontra bahkan menyerang balik pesan yang disampaikan oleh akun @farhatabbaslaw.

Melecehkan Secara Fisik, Kepribadian dan Sebagainya

Kategori “melecehkan secara fisik, kepribadian dan sebagainya”, coder 1 menyatakan ada sebanyak 13 kicauan sementara menurut coder 2 ada 8 kicauan. Akun @farhatabbaslaw melecehkan Ahmad Dhani secara fisik dengan menyebutnya dengan sebutan lain, yaitu si botak. Akun ini juga menghina Ahmad Dhani dengan mengatakan bahwa Ahmad Dhani tidak memiliki suara bagus, tidak memiliki wajah tampan, hingga melecehkan karya-karya yang dibuat oleh Ahmad Dhani. Kamus Besar Bahasa Indonesia (KBBI) menjelaskan bahwa melecehkan adalah tindakan dengan memandang rendah, menganggap tidak berharga, menghina, serta mengabaikan sesuatu atau pihak tertentu.

Gambar 3. Kicauan @farhatabbaslaw yang melecehkan karya Ahmad Dhani



Gambar 4. Kicauan @farhatabbaslaw yang melecehkan secara fisik



Hal ini berkaitan erat dengan apa yang diungkapkan Bocij (2004) bahwa berbagai kasus mengenai perilaku pelecehan di internet dapat dikatakan sebagai perilaku cyberstalking. Perilaku kriminal ini muncul ketika teknologi mulai berkembang maju, di mana ketika kecanggihan teknologi mencapai tingkat tertentu atau telah digunakan oleh orang banyak. Penggunaan teknologi berbasis informasi dan komunikasi untuk melecehkan individu lain mulai berkembang dan muncul sebagai masalah.

Sebelumnya, akun @farhatabbaslaw juga menyerang tokoh-tokoh publik lainnya. Namun sebelumnya tidak ada yang menggubrisnya terlalu serius. Baru kali ini akun @farhatabbaslaw dilaporkan oleh Ahmad Dhani hingga diproses di pengadilan dan akhirnya si pemilik akun @farhatabbaslaw ditahan di penjara dan akunnya diblokir.

Perbuatan melecehkan hingga menghina pihak tertentu ini bisa dikatakan sebagai kekerasan verbal melalui media. Lardellier (2003: h. 18) dan S. Jehel (2003: h. 123) dalam Haryatmoko (2007: h. 119-120) mendefinisikan kekerasan sebagai tindakan atas kekuatan yang memaksa pihak lain tanpa persetujuan. Ada unsur dominasi dalam tindak kekerasan berbentuk apa pun: fisik, verbal, moral, psikologis bahkan bisa juga melalui gambar. Pihak yang menggunakan kekuatan, memanipulasi, fitnah, menyebar kebohongan, merugikan pihak lain, kata-kata yang memojokkan, serta penghinaan

merupakan bentuk nyata dari kekerasan. Sementara itu, Rasyid (2013: h. 95) dan Astuti (2008: h. 22) mengungkapkan bahwa kekerasan verbal atau verbal violence dari segi komunikasi dapat diartikan sebagai bentuk kekerasan yang halus, jorok, menghina, meledek, serta berkata kasar.

Merusak dan Menjelekkan Reputasi Korban

Kategori “merusak dan menjelekkan reputasi korban” memperoleh 39 kicauan dari coder 1 dan menurut coder 2 berjumlah 46 kicauan. Kicauannya sering mengungkit tentang masa lalu Ahmad Dhani yang ada kaitannya dengan kehidupan pribadi Ahmad Dhani. Misalnya tentang istrinya, nikah sirihnya, mantan rekan musisi yang berada dalam naungan Ahmad Dhani dan juga tentang kasus tewasnya orang-orang yang ditabrak oleh Dul. Hal ini sangat mudah dilihat sebagai upaya akun @farhatabbaslaw untuk menjatuhkan, menjelekkan hingga merusak reputasi korbannya. Dari keseluruhan sampel kicauan yang dianalisis, kategori merusak dan menjelekkan reputasi korban ini mendapat porsi yang paling besar dan menjadi yang paling sering dilakukan akun @farhatabbaslaw.

Gambar 5. Kicauan @farhatabbaslaw yang merusak dan menjelekkan Ahmad Dhani



Reputasi seseorang berkaitan erat dengan nama baiknya. Apa yang dilakukan akun @farhatabbaslaw sudah jelas dimaksudkan untuk membuat buruk nama baik seseorang, yaitu Ahmad Dhani. Media sosial bisa jadi representasi dari kehidupan seseorang di dunia nyata. Media sosial seperti Twitter bisa digunakan untuk membuat citra diri yang positif dari kicauan-kicauan yang diposting. Apa yang dilakukan oleh akun @farhatabbaslaw tidak hanya dianggap merusak reputasi dirinya sendiri dengan sering mengkritik orang-orang, tapi juga bisa menjelekkan dan merusak reputasi orang lain yang dikritiknya. Hal ini terlepas dari apakah kicauan tersebut mengandung kebenaran atau tidak, tapi tentu pengaruhnya serta dampaknya tidaklah kecil. Juditha (2015) menjelaskan bahwa cyberstalker mencoba merusak reputasi korbannya dengan memengaruhi orang lain agar terdorong untuk melakukan hal yang sama. Para cyberstalker menginginkan adanya kontribusi publik untuk mendukung pernyataan negatifnya di media sosial.

Sudibyo (2014) dalam Juditha (2015) menyatakan bahwa ada masalah besar di media sosial dalam hal kebebasan berpendapat. Kebebasan berpendapat ini tidak sepenuhnya dibarengi dengan penghormatan penuh terhadap hak orang lain dan nilai keadaban publik. Sayangnya, media sosial seperti digunakan sebagai sarana untuk menghujat, memaki, serta merendahkan pihak-pihak tertentu. Tindakan cyberstalker ini merupakan tindakan menguntit, memantau atau mengawasi lebih lanjut orang lain di media elektronik. Maka dari itu cyberstalker bisa menyebutkan segala yang ia ketahui tentang targetnya hanya untuk kepentingan menjatuhkan reputasi si korban cyberstalking.

Kesenangan yang Dirasa Pelaku

Untuk kategori terakhir, yaitu “kesenangan yang dirasa pelaku” kedua coder sama-sama memiliki angka 1 di kategori tersebut. Namun, kicauan yang mengandung kategori ini tidaklah pada kicauan yang sama menurut para coder. Coder 1 mengindikasikan adanya kesenangan yang dirasa pelaku karena adanya kata “wkwkw” yang berarti tertawa lepas. Ini mengindikasikan adanya kesenangan yang dirasakan pemilik akun @farhatabbaslaw.

Sebuah riset yang dipublikasikan oleh Dailymail pada tahun 2013, memaparkan bahwa ada juga kesenangan yang dirasa para pelaku cyberstalker di situs Facebook dan Twitter dengan memicu kemarahan. Pelaku sengaja memancing kemarahan pengguna media sosial lain untuk kesenangan diri mereka sendiri. Hal ini cenderung dianggap sebagai humor dan kenakalan biasa, padahal ini merupakan bentuk dari pelecehan dan hate speech. Para pelaku yang melakukan cyberstalking merasa mempunyai kekuasaan, untuk mencari hiburan, melepaskan diri dari kebosanan, untuk balas dendam dan lain sebagainya (Juditha, 2015: h. 25).

Kowalski (2012) mengungkapkan bahwa cyberbullying merupakan metode bullying yang diakibatkan oleh kecanggihan teknologi sejak 15 sampai 20 tahun yang lalu. Kecanggihan internet dan cellular phone merupakan teknologi yang paling berpengaruh terhadap kemunculan fenomena cyberbullying. Cyberbullying juga dapat disebut sebagai “social terror by technology”, kejahatan sosial online, dan electronic bullying.

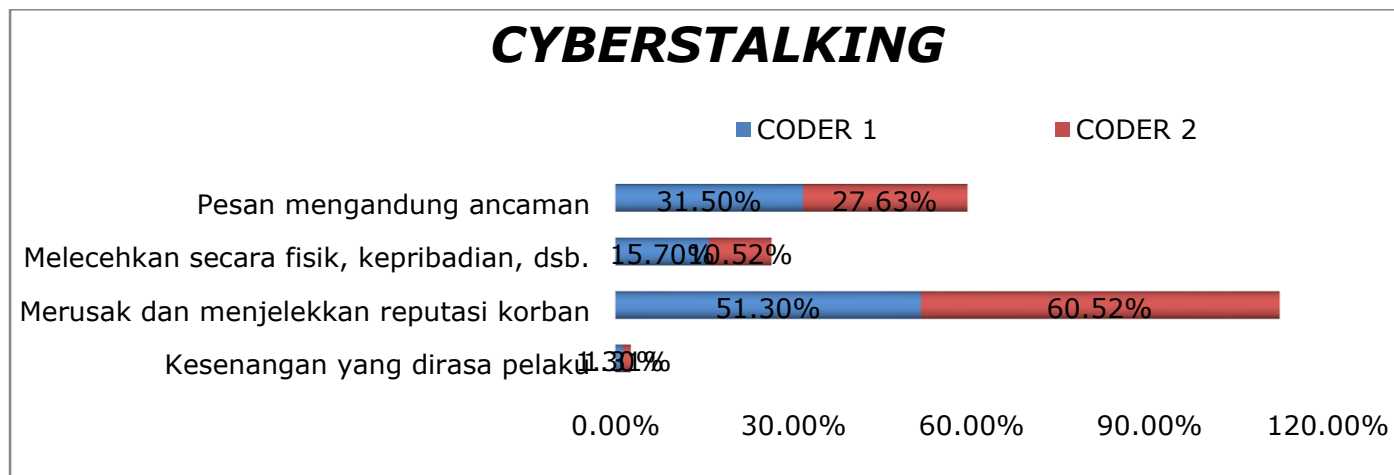
Koefisien Reliabilitas

Eriyanto (2011, h. 281) memaparkan bahwa reliabilitas penting dalam analisis isi. Reliabilitas bisa menentukan sejauh mana alat ukur yang kita pakai akan menghasilkan temuan yang sama setelah berapa kali pun digunakan. Ini artinya reliabilitas terkait dengan alat ukur yang dipakai peneliti dalam mengukur suatu gejala atau fenomena. Jika dalam penelitian survei yang digunakan adalah kuesioner, maka dalam analisis isi yang digunakan adalah lembar coding atau coding sheet sebagai instrumen penelitiannya. Lembar coding memuat seluruh kategori serta aspek yang ingin diketahui. Jika dua orang yang sama mengukur atau menilai tentang gejala yang sama, maka temuan yang dihasilkan pun akan sama pula. Ini artinya alat ukur yang digunakan terpercaya (reliable). Yang mengisi coding sheet tadi disebut dengan coder.

Secara keseluruhan, kedua coder bisa dikatakan memiliki derajat kesepakatan yang hampir sama. Hal ini terlihat dari Grafik 1 di bawah ini di mana panjang warna kedua batang coder tidak

berbeda jauh. Selain itu, kedua coder juga terlihat memiliki kesepakatan yang sama bahwa dari kicauan di akun @farhatabbaslaw yang mengandung cyberstalking paling banyak masuk ke dalam kategori “merusak dan menjelekkkan reputasi korban”. Di posisi kedua terdapat kategori “melecehkan secara fisik, kepribadian, dsb”. Posisi ketiga dan keempat kedua coder menempatkan kategori “pesan mengandung ancaman” dan “kesenangan yang dirasa pelaku”. Jika disajikan dalam bentuk persentase maka grafiknya akan terlihat seperti ini.

Grafik 1. Perbandingan persentase kedua coder



Sumber: hasil olahan peneliti.

Derajat kesepakatan antar-coder lebih jauh lagi bisa dilihat reliabilitasnya dengan menggunakan rumus atau formula Holsti. Berikut adalah hasil hitung dengan rumus atau formula Holsti untuk melihat reliabilitas antar-coder. Rumus atau formula Holsti yaitu:

$$CR = \frac{2M}{N1 + N2}$$

Keterangan:

- C : Coeficient Reliability (Koefisien reliabilitas)
- M : Jumlah pernyataan yang disetujui oleh dua orang coder
- N1+N2: Jumlah pernyataan yang diberi kode oleh coder

Tabel 3. Hasil hitung koefisien reliabilitas kedua coder

Kategori: Cyberstalking	Coeficient Reliability	Persentase
A. Pesan mengandung ancaman	$(2 \times 21) / 24 + 21$	93%
B. Melecehkan secara fisik, kepribadian, dsb.	$(2 \times 8) / 13 + 8$	76%

C. Merusak dan menjelekkkan reputasi korban	(2x39) / 39+46	91%
D. Kesenangan yang dirasa pelaku	(2x1) / 1+1	0%

Sumber: hasil olahan peneliti.

Eriyanto (2011) menyatakan bahwa kedua coder dapat dikatakan reliabel jika persentase coding dari setiap kategori minimal sebesar 70 persen. Ini artinya, hampir semua kategori dapat dikatakan reliabel karena berada di atas 70 persen. Kategori “pesan mengandung ancaman” memiliki reliabilitas yang sangat tinggi yaitu sebesar 93 persen. Untuk kategori “melecehkan secara fisik, kepribadian, dsb” memiliki reliabilitas yang lebih dari cukup, yaitu sebesar 76 persen. Sementara itu kategori “merusak dan menjelekkkan reputasi korban” juga mendapat reliabilitas yang sangat tinggi, yaitu sebesar 91 persen. Sayangnya untuk kategori terakhir yaitu “kesenangan yang dirasa pelaku” memiliki reliabilitas yang buruk.

Jika dilihat dari frekuensi cyberstalking yang kerap dilakukan akun @farhatabbaslaw, pelaku bisa dikatakan merasa senang atas tindakan cyberstalking yang dilakukan. Hal ini karena pelaku melakukannya secara terus menerus dan berulang. Namun hasil penghitungan reliabilitas tidak menunjukkan demikian. Faktor kesenangan yang dirasakan pelaku juga bisa dilihat dengan keinginannya untuk membuat pengguna lain ikut melakukan tindakan yang sama, yaitu dengan melakukan bullying terhadap korban. Ada beberapa kicauan di akun @farhatabbaslaw yang seperti itu, akan tetapi jika dilihat lebih seksama maka masuk ke dalam kategori yang lain. Salah satu hal yang mengindikasikan adanya kesenangan adalah jika dalam kicauannya memiliki kata-kata yang menertawakan, seperti “wkwkwk”, “hehe”, “haha” dan lain sebagainya. Hal ini berdasarkan penelitian terdahulu yang membahas tentang cyberstalking. Astuti (2008) juga memaparkan bahwa tindakan bullying ini dilakukan dengan tidak bertanggung jawab, berulang-ulang, serta dilakukan dengan perasaan senang oleh si pelaku.

Penelitian ini menjawab bagaimana bentuk dan kecenderungan isi cyberstalking yang dilakukan Farhat Abbas melalui akun Twitter @farhatabbaslaw terhadap Ahmad Dhani. Dari hasil yang telah dipaparkan di atas, ditemukan adanya 4 (empat) bentuk cyberstalking yang dilakukan akun @farhatabbaslaw, yaitu 1) pesan mengandung ancaman, 2) melecehkan secara fisik, kepribadian dan sebagainya, 3) merusak dan menjelekkkan reputasi korban dan 4) kesenangan yang dirasa pelaku.

Cyberstalking di akun @farhatabbaslaw memiliki kecenderungan dalam merusak dan menjelekkkan reputasi korbannya, yaitu Ahmad Dhani. Hal ini bisa dilihat dari frekuensi kicauan yang ia publikasikan di akun Twitter pribadinya. Dari Tabel 1, Tabel 2 dan Grafik 1 bisa dilihat bahwa kedua coder sepakat bahwa frekuensi akun @farhatabbaslaw yang merusak dan menjelekkkan reputasi korbannya besarnya lebih dari 50 persen dengan koefisien reliabilitas yang sangat tinggi, yaitu sebesar 91 persen (lihat Tabel 3). Ini berarti kecenderungan cyberstalking yang dilakukan oleh akun @farhatabbaslaw adalah merusak dan menjelekkkan reputasi korbannya.

Kecenderungan isi cyberstalking di akun @farhatabbaslaw selanjutnya adalah pesan yang dimuatnya berisi ancaman. Bentuk cyberstalking ini mendapat koefisien reliabilitas yang sangat tinggi pula dari kedua coder, yaitu sebesar 93 persen. Kecenderungan yang ketiga adalah melecehkan secara fisik, kepribadian dan sebagainya. Bentuk cyberstalking ini juga memiliki koefisien reliabilitas yang tinggi, yaitu sebesar 76 persen dari kedua coder. Bentuk serta kecenderungan cyberstalking yang terakhir adalah kesenangan yang dirasa pelaku atau si cyberstalker. Kecenderungan pelaku dalam merasakan kesenangan ketika melakukan tindakan cyberstalking tidak terlalu kentara. Hal ini menyebabkan koefisien reliabilitas untuk bentuk cyberstalking ini memiliki koefisien reliabilitas 0 persen.

Jika koefisien reliabilitasnya dihitung secara keseluruhan kicauan yang disepakati antara kedua coder (koefisien reliabilitas tidak dihitung per kategori) maka akan menghasilkan temuan yang reliabel. Cukup dengan menggunakan rumus sederhana yang paling banyak dipakai dalam analisis isi. Rumusnya adalah A/N , di mana A merupakan jumlah pernyataan yang disetujui oleh kedua coder dan N adalah jumlah pernyataan yang diberi kode oleh kedua coder (Eriyanto, 2011: h. 288). Maka hasil hitungannya akan menjadi $A/N: 60/76 = 0,78$. Angka ini bila dijadikan persen maka akan menjadi 78 persen. Ini artinya reliabilitasnya lebih dari cukup untuk dikatakan reliabel.

KESIMPULAN

Penggunaan teknologi berbasis informasi dan komunikasi untuk melecehkan individu lain mulai berkembang dan muncul sebagai masalah. Kecanggihan internet dan cellular phone merupakan teknologi yang paling berpengaruh terhadap kemunculan fenomena cyberbullying. Cyberbullying merupakan tindakan bullying secara online dengan target atau pelaku adalah para anak dan remaja sedangkan cyberstalking lebih ditujukan pada orang dewasa.

Media sosial kerap menjadi sarana untuk melakukan tindakan cyberbullying maupun cyberstalking. Masalah besar lain di media sosial ada dalam hal kebebasan berpendapat. Kebebasan berpendapat ini tidak sepenuhnya dibarengi dengan penghormatan penuh terhadap hak orang lain dan nilai keadaban publik. Sayangnya, media sosial sepertinya digunakan sebagai sarana untuk menghujat, memaki, serta merendahkan pihak-pihak tertentu. Hal ini pastinya memiliki dampak yang luas serta merugikan dan berbahaya bagi korbannya.

Penelitian ini menjawab bagaimana bentuk dan kecenderungan isi cyberstalking yang dilakukan Farhat Abbas melalui akun Twitter @farhatabbaslaw terhadap Ahmad Dhani. Dari hasil yang telah dipaparkan di atas, ditemukan adanya 4 (empat) bentuk cyberstalking yang dilakukan akun @farhatabbaslaw, yaitu 1) pesan mengandung ancaman, 2) melecehkan secara fisik, kepribadian dan sebagainya, 3) merusak dan menjelekkkan reputasi korban dan 4) kesenangan yang dirasa pelaku.

Kecenderungan isi cyberstalking di akun @farhatabbaslaw selanjutnya adalah pesan yang dimuatnya berisi ancaman. Bentuk cyberstalking ini mendapat koefisien reliabilitas yang sangat tinggi pula dari kedua coder, yaitu sebesar 93 persen. Kecenderungan yang ketiga adalah melecehkan secara fisik, kepribadian dan sebagainya. Bentuk cyberstalking ini juga memiliki koefisien reliabilitas yang

tinggi, yaitu sebesar 76 persen dari kedua coder. Bentuk serta kecenderungan cyberstalking yang terakhir adalah kesenangan yang dirasa pelaku atau si cyberstalker. Kecenderungan pelaku dalam merasakan kesenangan ketika melakukan tindakan cyberstalking tidak terlalu kentara. Hal ini menyebabkan koefisien reliabilitas untuk bentuk cyberstalking ini memiliki koefisien reliabilitas 0 persen.

Sejumlah besar kicauan yang dilontarkan akun @farhatabbaslaw untuk Ahmad Dhani masuk ke dalam seluruh kategori cyberstalking yang diteliti, yaitu pesan mengandung ancaman, melecehkan secara fisik, kepribadian dan sebagainya, merusak dan menjelekkan reputasi korban, serta kesenangan yang dirasa pelaku. Ancaman yang dilontarkan akun @farhatabbaslaw adalah mengajak orang lain untuk merobohkan kesombongan dan keartisan Ahmad Dhani, bahwa Ahmad Dhani tidak akan bisa seenaknya lepas dari hukum dan hutang nyawanya, sering mengungkit janji-janji Ahmad Dhani yang harus ditepati.

Pelecehan yang dilakukan oleh akun @farhatabbaslaw terhadap Ahmad Dhani ada yang secara fisik, kepribadiannya, hingga karya-karyanya. Bahkan akun ini juga menyebut Ahmad Dhani dengan sebutan lain, yaitu si botak. Akun ini juga menghina Ahmad Dhani dengan mengatakan bahwa Ahmad Dhani tidak memiliki suara bagus, tidak memiliki wajah tampan, hingga melecehkan karya ciptaan Ahmad Dhani yang dibidang biasa saja, bukan musik asli Indonesia dan diklaim meniru lagu-lagu barat.

Sebagian besar kicauannya masuk ke dalam kategori merusak dan menjelekkan reputasi korban. Hal ini dilakukan dengan mengungkit masa lalu korban dan mencari-cari kesalahan korban. Kicauannya beragam, mulai dari tentang istri Ahmad Dhani, Ahmad Dhani yang menikah sirih, kasus-kasus tentang mantan rekan musisi yang berada dalam naungan Ahmad Dhani dan juga tentang kasus tewasnya orang-orang yang ditabrak oleh Dul, anak kandung Ahmad Dhani yang masih di bawah umur.

Dilihat dari koefisien reliabilitasnya, kedua coder dapat dikatakan reliabel jika persentase coding dari setiap kategori minimal sebesar 70%. Kategori "pesan mengandung ancaman" memiliki reliabilitas yang sangat tinggi yaitu sebesar 93%. Untuk kategori "melecehkan secara fisik, kepribadian, dsb" mendapat memiliki reliabilitas yang cukup yaitu sebesar 76%. Sementara itu kategori "merusak dan menjelekkan reputasi korban" juga mendapat reliabilitas yang sangat tinggi, yaitu sebesar 91%. Sayangnya untuk kategori terakhir yaitu "kesenangan yang dirasa pelaku" memiliki reliabilitas yang buruk yaitu 0%.

Pelaku bisa dikatakan merasa senang atas tindakan cyberstalking yang dilakukan dengan memancing kemarahan dan membuat pengguna lain ikut melakukan tindakan yang sama, yaitu dengan melakukan bullying terhadap korban. Selain itu frekuensi yang secara terus menerus dan berulang yang dilakukan akun @farhatabbaslaw bisa dikatakan sebagai kesenangan si cyberstalker. Salah satu indikasi adanya kesenangan yang dirasa cyberstalker adalah dengan adanya kata-kata tawaan seperti wkwkwk, hehe, haha dan sebagainya. Namun kata-kata tersebut sangat jarang digunakan akun @farhatabbaslaw untuk menunjukkan kesenangannya dalam bullying.

Kasus Farhat Abbas ini menjadi peringatan sekaligus pembelajaran bagi masyarakat agar lebih bijak dalam menggunakan teknologi informasi. Kata-kata, suara bahkan gambar yang memiliki kecenderungan cyberstalking atau cyberbullying atau hate speech atau segala hal yang berhubungan dengan kekerasan verbal di media elektronik bisa dipidanakan. UU ITE (Informasi dan Teknologi Elektronik Pasal 27 dengan jelas menyebutkan bahwa setiap orang dilarang memuat hal yang melanggar kesusilaan, dilarang memiliki muatan perjudian, dilarang memiliki muatan penghinaan dan/atau pencemaran nama baik serta pemerasan dan/atau pengancaman. Serta Pasal 29 UU ITE yang menyebutkan bahwa setiap orang dilarang mengirimkan Informasi Elektronik dan/atau Dokumen Elektronik yang berisi ancaman kekerasan atau menakut-nakuti yang ditujukan secara pribadi.

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**Mengkaji Ulang Mixed Effects Model,
Studi : Efek Kekerasan dalam Video Games dan Televisi terhadap Anak.**

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Abstrak

Transformasi old media menuju new media memantik kembali diskusi era baru efek minimal media yang sebelumnya muncul sekitar tahun 1940an dan mendasari munculnya penelitian mengenai efek media, apakah minimal atau kuat. Dalam perkembangannya, sebuah konsep alternatif mengenai efek media ditawarkan, yaitu model efek campuran yang memprediksi bahwa media memiliki efek kombinasi yakni terkadang lemah terkadang kuat. Kaitannya dengan media violence, model ini melihat bahwa kebanyakan anak yang menonton televisi, film dan mendengar rekaman yang mengandung kekerasan, tidak selalu menjadi anak yang melakukan tindakan kekerasan. Model efek campuran memprediksi prosentase yang kecil bahwa anak-anak menjadi lebih berperilaku agresif akibat penggunaan media yang mengandung kekerasan di sekitar mereka. Tetapi model ini mengeneralisir seluruh konten media dianggap memiliki efek campuran. Padahal berdasarkan literatur terkait efek media violence terhadap anak menunjukkan efek yang kuat. Demikian, menarik untuk melakukan kajian ulang terhadap model efek campuran terutama pada media violence khususnya dalam video games dan tayangan televisi melalui penelusuran beberapa penelitian/literatur, apakah model campuran tersebut tepat digunakan untuk melihat seluruh fenomena media termasuk efek media violence terhadap anak. Hasil analisis menunjukkan bahwa terdapat kecenderungan anak untuk berperilaku lebih agresif dan atau mengandung kekerasan setelah mengakses media violence baik melalui old maupun new media atau dalam arti media violence mempunyai efek yang kuat. Sehingga dalam hal ini penulis berpendapat bahwa model efek campuran tidak tepat digunakan untuk mengamati seluruh fenomena efek media terhadap khalayak, khususnya efek media violence terhadap anak-anak.

Kata Kunci : Efek Media, mixed effect model, media violence, video games dan Televisi

1. Pendahuluan

Menteri Pendidikan dan Kebudayaan (Mendikbud) Anies Baswedan dalam Seminar Pendidikan Karakter di Bandung Sabtu (28/2), menyinggung tentang maraknya berita kekerasan oleh dan terhadap anak akhir-akhir ini. Anies juga menyinggung tentang berita pembegalan yang marak dan ternyata banyak dilakukan remaja di bawah umur sebagai salah satu contoh berita kekerasan yang banyak dibicarakan¹. Dalam diskusi tersebut Anies Baswedan menyampaikan bahwa salah satu faktor penyebab kekerasan bahkan dalam bentuk kriminalitas terjadi adalah bebasnya akses media seperti akses video game mengandung nilai kekerasan yang dapat diakses anak secara bebas. Anak-anak dalam masa perkembangan memiliki pemahaman yang belum optimal tentang situasi kompleks yang dihadapi dibanding orang dewasa. Mereka kadang kesulitan membedakan antara yang maya dan nyata, serta belum memahami secara utuh batasan-batasan benar-salah, boleh-tidak boleh, menyakiti-tidak, dan terutama dampak tindakannya terhadap dirinya ataupun orang lain untuk jangka waktu jauh ke depan. Penelitian terkait pengaruh terpaan media, atau pengaruh televisi terhadap anak sudah dilakukan bertahun-tahun dengan berbagai hasil penelitian. Namun sejauh ini, masih menjadi perdebatan apakah pengaruh media (dalam hal ini media violence) termasuk strong effect ataukah minimal effect. Perdebatan tersebut memunculkan teori efek campuran (mixed effect model)

Dalam jurnalnya, W. Lance Bennet dan Shanto Iyengar mengetengahkan pertanyaan tentang efek media pada era sekarang, apakah masuk dalam era baru efek minimal. Diskusi era efek minimal dari media muncul sekitar tahun 1940an dan mendasari munculnya penelitian mengenai efek media, apakah minimal atau kuat, atau ini saatnya era baru efek minimal dimana manusia dipandang sudah independen dalam membuat keputusan apakah akan mengikuti isi media atau tidak. Hal ini berbeda dengan efek minimal sebelumnya, dimana manusia tergantung pada orang lain dalam memutuskan sesuatu.

The Payne Fund dalam *Mass Media in A Changing World* mendukung efek kuat media dengan menyampaikan bahwa:

“which predicts that media will have an immediate and potent influence on their audiences, causing teenagers fo example to change from good behaviour to bad following the viewing of movie”²

Sementara dalam penelitian lain, *People’s Choice dan The American Soldier* mempunyai argumen yang berbeda, yaitu

“led to the minimal-effects model, which predicts that media will have little influence on behaviour”³

Diantara diskusi efek minimal, kuat dan minimal era baru, penelitian kemudian menerima sebuah konsep baru efek media, yaitu model efek campuran, dimana diprediksi kadang kadang media membuat efek minimal kadang kadang kuat⁴. Teori ini melihat bahwa kebanyakan anak yang menonton televisi, film dan mendengar rekaman yang mengandung kekerasan, tidak selalu menjadi

¹ Gatra News 28 Februari 2015 (diakses tanggal 5 Nopember 2015)

² Rodman, George.(2012). *Mass Media in a Changing World*. 4th ed. New York : Mc Graw Hill Company pg. 39

³ Ibid. Hal 39

⁴ Ibid. Hal 39

anak yang melakukan tindakan kekerasan. Teori model efek campuran memprediksi prosentase yang kecil bahwa anak-anak sungguh-sungguh menjadi lebih berperilaku mengandung kekerasan dari penggunaan media yang mengandung kekerasan di sekitar mereka⁵.

Namun, pada fakta lain, Grand Theft Auto (GTA), video games yang terjual lebih dari 15 juta (dimana pemain diijinkan untuk memainkan ; memukul jendela, mencuri mobil, menjual kokain, dan mendistribusikan pornografi, membunuh petugas kepolisian, membunuh pejalan kaki dengan menembak saat menyetir, menyewa PSK untuk sex, membunuhnya dan mencuri uangnya) beredar, menyebabkan kritik yang serius dari masyarakat karena beberapa waktu kemudian 2 remaja Tennessee membunuh 1 orang pengendara motor dan melukai 2 lainnya dengan pengakuan bahwa tindakan tersebut meniru video games Grand Theft Auto (GTA)⁶. Berdasarkan dua hal tersebut diatas, kesimpulan sementara yang dapat diambil adalah bahwa media mempunyai efek campuran (mixed effects model), yaitu kadang kuat dan kadang minimal/lemah⁷.

Berdasar pada asumsi dan fakta yang disajikan diatas, penulis berpendapat bahwa keputusan menerima mixed effects model tersebut digeneralisir untuk seluruh media, tanpa pembatasan yang signifikan, apakah dia media cetak atau media elektronik atau new media. Sebagaimana Teori Priming, yaitu merupakan proses sebuah media massa berfokus pada sebagian isu dan tidak pada isu yang lainnya. Hal tersebut menjadi standar evaluasi dalam penilaian khalayak terhadap suatu realitas sosial, jadi teori ini berusaha untuk menjelaskan adanya pikiran yang terbentuk lewat apa yang ditampilkan oleh media itu sendiri. Disini media memperhatikan dampak dalam perilaku khalayaknya. Berdasar penelitian fakta-fakta dari terjadinya kekerasan di beberapa kasus membuktikan bahwa terdapat efek media yang kuat dalam hal ini dikerucutkan dalam konsumsi video games dan tayangan kekerasan dari televisi. Selanjutnya, penulis merasa perlu mengupayakan pengkajian ulang terkait teori mixed effects model, apakah teori tersebut dapat diterapkan terhadap seluruh media atau beberapa media tertentu. Sehingga, terkait kepentingan tersebut penulis mengambil judul Mengkaji Ulang Mixed Effects Model, Studi : Efek Kekerasan Dalam Video Games Dan Televisi terhadap anak.

2. Diskusi Teori Efek Media

a. Penelitian dan Teori Media

Penelitian pada bidang media mengalami banyak perkembangan pada perjalanannya, seiring dengan perkembangan teknologi media yang beranjak maju, dinamisasi dilakukan oleh para peneliti yang melihat terdapatnya faktor-faktor baru di seputar pembahasan mengenai media. Penelitian-penelitian tersebut menghasilkan teori, yang berarti sekumpulan pernyataan terkait upaya mencari metode untuk menjelaskan dan memprediksi tingkah laku manusia, secara khusus obyek media ; pembaca, penonton dll. Teori dibangun dari penelitian, teori tersebut diuji dan dimodifikasi melalui penelitian selanjutnya, sesuai dengan perkembangan media dan masyarakat. Pembahasan efek, dikenal tiga kekuatan dari efek media ; (1) powerful effects model, yaitu teori yang memprediksi

⁵ Dalam buku tersebut teori ini dipakai untuk melihat efek media, kemudian efek media dikerucutkan pembahasannya dalam melihat fenomena relasi media violence dan efeknya terhadap anak

⁶ Fakta tersebut terdata dalam kurun waktu 2012

⁷ 2 hal dimaksud adalah penjelasan bahwa efek media kadang kuat kadang lemah, dan adanya fakta bahwa efek media menunjukkan efek kuat karena mendasari tindakan kekerasan oleh remaja

bahwa media secara cepat dan berpotensi mempengaruhi audiens. (2) minimal effects model, teori ini berlawanan dengan powerful effects. Teori ini memprediksi bahwa media mempunyai efek yang kecil dalam perilaku. Teori berikutnya adalah mixed effects model yang memprediksi bahwa media mempunyai pengaruh kombinasi, yaitu kadang kuat kadang lemah⁸.

Sejarah penelitian media menunjukkan evolusi teori yang cukup berarti, dari flow theories (teori alir) yang menjelaskan bagaimana efek berjalan dari media massa terhadap para audiensnya. Pembelajaran dan penelitian paling awal dari efek media yang sangat kuat (powerful effects) mengembangkan pendekatan yang kemudian disebut (1) teori peluru (bullet theory), dimana teori ini menyiratkan bahwa efek media mengalir secara langsung dari media ke individu⁹, seperti peluru. Menurut Joseph Klapper teori peluru ialah Komunikasi massa yang memiliki dampak atau efek umum yang mempengaruhi penguatan sikap suatu komunitas masyarakat¹⁰. Berdasarkan teori Jarum, orang yang menonton televisi atau memainkan video games yang mengandung kekerasan akan langsung terpengaruh sehingga dia akan melakukan kekerasan di kehidupan nyata sebagaimana yang dia lihat dari media.

Penelitian selanjutnya, mengembangkan (2) teori two step flow, dimana efek media terjadi sebagian besar dalam interaksi dengan komunikasi antar perseorangan. Media tidak mempunyai efek langsung, namun efek media terbantu oleh yang dinamakan opinion leader yang menyampaikan informasi yang sama dengan media atau menguatkan informasi dari media.

Perkembangan komunikasi dan teknologi komunikasi yang semakin beragam mendorong adanya penelitian selanjutnya sehingga di kenal (3) teori multi step flow, yang artinya efek media adalah bagian dari kompleksitas interaksi¹¹. Pada satu level, opini media massa dapat dipertajam oleh opini dari opinion leader, namun pada saat yang sama interaksinya dengan orang-orang di sekitarnya atau informasi dari berbagai sumber mampu menguatkan atau melemahkan opini media massa tersebut. Interaksi yang kompleks tersebut dapat bersumber dari interaksinya dengan teman, keluarga, sekolah, perusahaan yang kemudian akan menjadi penyaring (filter) informasi dari media yang akan mempengaruhi reaksi individu terhadap informasi media.

Teori bullet yang menandai powerful effects media, terlihat semakin melemah/minimal pada teori two step flow, kemudian semakin melemah lagi pada teori multi step flow, dimana media tidak berperan seratus persen dalam mempengaruhi audiens.

Dari perspektif pengetahuan sosial (social science perspective), teori media berkembang. Perspektif pengetahuan sosial atau sering juga disebut teori model berdasar dari asumsi bahwa orang mempelajari bagaimana untuk bertingkah laku adalah dengan mengamati orang lain, termasuk mengamati yang digambarkan oleh media massa. Teori yang terkenal dari perspektif pengetahuan sosial beberapa diantaranya adalah (1) individual differences theory. Teori ini memprediksi bahwa orang dengan karakteristik yang berbeda akan dipengaruhi dengan cara yang berbeda oleh media

⁸ Rodman, George.(2012). Mass Media in a Changing World. 4th ed. Mc Graw Hill Company. New York. Pg. 39

⁹ Melvin, See L.DeFleur and Sandra Ball Rokeach.(1989). Theories of Communication.5th ed. Longman. New York.Hal 145-166

¹⁰ <http://smallbusiness.chron.com/magic-bullet-theory-mass-media-3346.html>

¹¹ Sandman, Peter. M. David M Rubin and David B Sachman.(1982). Media : An Introductory analysis of American Mass Communication. 3rd ed.(Englewood Cliffs, NJ : Printice Hall. Hal 4-5

massa¹². Perbedaan termasuk umur, jenis kelamin, wilayah geografis audiens, dan tingkat pendidikan, serta level kekerasan yang terjadi di keluarganya itulah yang akan membedakan reaksi ketika mendapat tayangan atau informasi dari media massa.

Pengembangan dari teori ini, hampir sama dengan teori dari psikologi yaitu teori difusi inovasi yang menyatakan bahwa perbedaan tipe orang akan mengadopsi pemikiran baru pada saat yang berbeda. Kedua teori tersebut di atas menunjukkan efek media yang minimal/lemah.

Pendekatan (2) Cultivation Theory beranggapan bahwa media mempertajam bagaimana orang melihat dunia¹³. Teori ini menjelaskan bagaimana persepsi orang terhadap permasalahan dunia semakin tajam atau justru terbelokkan oleh media. Pendekatan efek media yang lain adalah (3) Agenda Setting Theory yang di usulkan oleh peneliti pada tahun 1970an¹⁴. Teori ini menganggap bahwa isi media itu tidak mengubah persepsi orang pada beberapa isu, namun mengubah persepsi orang untuk memikirkan apa yang penting untuknya¹⁵. Agenda setting yang dikembangkan oleh Maxwell E. Mc Comb dan Donald L. Shaw menyatakan bahwa media massa merupakan pusat penentuan kebenaran dengan kemampuan media massa untuk mentransfer dua elemen yaitu kesadaran dan informasi ke dalam agenda publik dengan mengarahkan kesadaran publik serta perhatiannya kepada isu-isu yang dianggap penting oleh media massa. Dalam teori agenda setting, audiens bersifat pasif sehingga tidak bisa mengontrol efek yang menimpanya

Pandangan berbeda terdapat dalam Uses and gratifications theory, teori tersebut berdasarkan pada hal dimana konsumen media secara aktif memilih dan menggunakan media untuk memenuhi kebutuhannya¹⁶. Teori ini tidak menganggap konsumen sebagai orang yang pasif yang tingkah lakunya dikontrol oleh industri media.

Teori teori tersebut di atas digunakan dalam berbagai penelitian efek media termasuk dalam penelitian media violence, sampai kemudian para peneliti menerima bahwa efek media kadang kuat dan kadang lemah atau mempunyai pengaruh kombinasi yang disebut mixed effects model.

b. Studi Komparatif powerful effects – minimal effects atau mixed effects model

Berdasar teori efek media di atas, maka akan dipaparkan diskusi sejumlah hasil penelitian dan kesimpulan beberapa peneliti yang meneliti efek media secara umum yang lebih tepatnya sebagai studi komparatif hasil dari beberapa penelitian mengenai media dan efeknya terutama terhadap anak sebagai audiens. Penelitian utama terhadap efek media baru, *Television in the lives of our children*

¹² De Fleur and Ball Rokeach. *Theories of Mass Communication*. Hal 172 - 186

¹³ Gerbner, George, L.Gross, M Morgan and N Signoriell.(1994). *Living with Television: The Cultivation perspektive*. In J Bryant and D Zilman, eds. *Media effect: Advances in Theory and Research*. Hillsdale, NJ. Erlbaum. Hal 17 -41

¹⁴ Shaw Donald and Maxwell Mc Combs. (1977). *The Emergence of American Political Issue: The Agenda Setting Function of The Press*. St. Paul MN: West, 1977. Hal 7

¹⁵ Brosius, Bernd Hans and Gabriel Weimann. (1996). "Who Sets The Agenda? Agenda Setting as a Two Step Flow "Communication Research 23" . No 5. Hal 561 - 580

¹⁶ Baran and Davis. (2010). *Mass Communication Theory, provides a concise, readable overview of uses and gratifications theory*. See ch.10, *Using Media: Theories of the Active Audience*. Hal 210 - 275

diselenggarakan oleh Wilbur Schamm dan rekannya di Stanford University pada akhir tahun 1950an¹⁷. Ribuan anak sekolah dan orangtua mereka diwawancarai, disurvei (melalui kuisisioner dan penulis harian) kemudian dilakukan tes. Penelitian tersebut dimaksudkan untuk melihat bagaimana anak-anak menggunakan televisi dan bagaimana penggunaan televisi mempengaruhi mereka. Penelitian tersebut menjadi pembuka bagi penelitian penelitian selanjutnya terkait efek media terhadap anak. Secara spesifik telah dilakukan 50 penelitian tentang efek TV (yang mengandung kekerasan) pada anak yang menyimpulkan bahwa menonton media yang (mengandung kekerasan) berhubungan dengan meningkatnya agresifitas tingkah laku, nilai dan sikap¹⁸. Perubahan tersebut dapat berjangka pendek maupun panjang.

Berdasarkan Lesley Anne dan C. Glenn Cupit menyampaikan bahwa media itu mempengaruhi anak dengan sangat jelas. Seorang Psikolog, Steve Biddulph (2009) mengklaim bahwa media itu lebih hadir, lebih meyakinkan, lebih konsisten dan lebih menonjol dari pada teman-teman atau keluarga¹⁹. Milton Chen (1996) seorang pakar Televisi dan anak – anak menyampaikan bahwa tidak ada hal lain dalam kebudayaan ini yang mampu menandingi kemampuan TV dalam menyentuh anak-anak. Beberapa pendapat diatas menyampaikan bahwa terdapat dampak peniruan dan dampak perilaku oleh anak-anak karena menonton media televisi atau memainkan video games ; yaitu proses tertanamnya nilai-nilai sosial budaya yang telah ditayangkan media kemudian diterapkan dalam kehidupan sehari-hari. Ulasan The Daily Mirror tahun 1950 di Inggris, tepat untuk menggambarkan media televisi sebagai pembuka diskusi, yaitu “ jika anda membiarkan televisi masuk ke rumah anda, maka kehidupan tak akan pernah sama lagi”²⁰

Secara umum anak-anak menghabiskan lebih banyak waktu menonton televisi dan lebih sedikit menghabiskan waktu untuk membaca atau melakukan aktivitas yang merangsang intelektual yang membawa mereka berprestasi dalam pendidikan. Masa kecil anak-anak, mereka habiskan untuk berinteraksi dengan media terutama media visual seperti TV dan Video Game (Biro Statistik Australia 2009, Otoritas Media Australia 2010). Anak-anak usia 8 tahun ke bawah menghabiskan kira-kira 6-7 jam dengan media setiap harinya (Kaiser Family Foundation, 2006), sementara anak-anak dinegara berkembang menghabiskan lebih banyak waktu dengan media pada waktu luang selain tidur²¹.

Selain anak kecil yang menjadi audiens media, kategori “Tween” yang muncul di awal 1990an untuk mengidentifikasi demografi orang muda antara anak-anak dan dewasa yaitu 9-12 tahun yang menjadi audiens media visual. Di Indonesia, usia tersebut adalah masih tergolong usia anak di bawah umur, karena batasan dewasa menurut Undang Undang adalah 17 tahun. Pembahasan terkait anak-anak sebagai audiens media adalah fakta bahwa otak mereka mengalami perubahan yang cepat selama 3 tahun awal kehidupan mereka (Barkovich, Kjos, Jackson & Norman, 1998, Giedd at al, 1999;

¹⁷ Rodman, George.(2012). *Mass Media in a Changing World*. 4th ed. Mc Graw Hill Company. New York. Hal 36

¹⁸ Murray, John P.(2008). *Media Effect : The Effect Are Both Real and Strong*. Journal. SAGE Publications. London.

¹⁹ Anne Ey, Lesley and C Glenn Cupit.(2013). *Primary School Children’s Imitation of Sexualised videos and Artists*. Journal Vol 38. Hal 115 - 123

²⁰ Briggs, Asa and Peter Burke.(2006). *Sejarah Sosial Media dari Gutenberg sampai Internet*. Terjemah. Yayasan Obor Indonesia. Jakarta. Hal 299

²¹ Heim, Jan and Petter Bae Brandzaeg , et. al. (2007). *Children’s Usage of Media Technologies and Psycosocial Factors*. Vol 9(3). SAGE Publications. Hal 425 - 454

Greenough, Black & wallace, 1987). Daya tangkap anak, daya tiru yang handal, memungkinkan anak menjadi peniru ulung pada apa yang dilihatnya di televisi atau apa yang dimainkannya di video games, apapun yang dilihatnya termasuk media violence.

Anak-anak mempelajari dengan mengamati dan meniru role model yang dipresentasikan di media dan mereka mempelajari tingkah laku yang kemudian menyatu menjadi bagian dari pemahaman anak-anak²². Mereka juga mengembangkan sebuah pemahaman sebagai sebuah penerimaan sosial dari mereka atau eksistensi melalui role model dan anak-anak sering meniru tingkah laku para role model tersebut (Papadopoulus, 2010, Zurbriggen et al, 2007). Peniruan itu adalah proses mengadopsi seseorang atau apa yang mereka lihat sebagai norma sosial dan menggunakannya sebagai rujukan prinsip untuk menjadi pemahaman/acuan dalam mengubah tingkah laku dan keputusan mereka (Thomson, et al, 2004). Perubahan yang belum bisa diantisipasi oleh generasi muda terutama anak-anak, dimana anak-anak dapat melihat salah satu contohnya Avatar dari media itu menjadi nyata, berkesan bagi anak-anak sehingga mereka menjadikannya sebagai bagian dari mereka dan mereka (anak-anak) seperti punya kehidupan virtual atau semacam itu²³

Penelitian lain dilakukan oleh John P. Murray tentang Media Violence. Bagaimana media baik media di awal perkembangannya yaitu komik, buku cerita yang kemudian berkembang menjadi TV, video dan internet menyumbang jumlah kekerasan yang dilakukan anak²⁴. Penelitian yang dilakukan di USA, Inggris dan Canada dalam kurun waktu 50 tahun, menunjukkan efek kekerasan yang ditampilkan di media (terutama TV) menyimpulkan bahwa anak yang menonton media yang mengandung unsur kekerasan meningkatkan sikap, nilai dan tingkah laku agresif. Efek media yang menampilkan kekerasan begitu nyata dan kuat, bahkan disampaikan dalam penelitian tersebut bahwa efek media dengan unsur kekerasan adalah efek membius yang membuat anak kecanduan menonton dan meniru atau berperilaku imitasi terhadap apa yang ditonton. Penelitian ini dilakukan dari tahun 1950an. Kesimpulan dari penelitian ini menunjukkan bahwa media sampai abad internet ini masih sangat kuat pengaruhnya, secara khusus dalam menentukan sikap dan tingkah laku anak, sebagai pengguna media.

Akibat tersebut tentu bukan akibat instan, tetapi karena anak anak mengkonsumsi media tersebut dalam waktu berulang sehingga terbentuk dalam memorinya. Efek bagi anak-anak yang bermain game beberapa jam setiap hari memungkinkan akan menghilangkan atau melemahkan kemampuan untuk berempati pada orang lain atau kejadian di sekitarnya. Mirra Noor Milla Dosen Psikologi Sosial di Fakultas Psikologi Universitas Islam Negeri Sultan Syarif Kasim, Riau dalam menyebut kekerasan media audio-visual, termasuk video game, mempengaruhi agresivitas kognisi (memproses pengetahuan) dan afeksi (emosi)seseorang²⁵. Dari meta analisis efek media terhadap

²² Anne Ey, Lesley and C Glenn Cupit.(2013). Primary School Children's Imitation of Sexualised videos and Artists. Journal Vol 38. Hal 115 - 123

²³ Freemann, Joan. (2014). Possible Effect Of Electronic Social Media On Gifted And Talented Children's Intelligence and Emotional Development. SAGE Publications. London.

²⁴ Murray P. John.(2008). Media Violence. The Effects Are Both Real and Strong. SAGE Publication. London.

²⁵ Milla, Mirra Noor (2006).Pengaruh Terpaan Kekerasan Media Audio-Visual pada Kognisi Agresif dan Afeksi Agresif: Studi Meta Analisis Jurnal Psikologi Fakultas Psikologi Universitas Gadjah Mada, Yogyakarta, Volume 33 Nomor 2

anak yang memasukkan unsur sosial di TV seperti empati, menolong, berbagi, dan negosiasi ditemukan bahwa terdapat kecenderungan memperendah tingkah laku anti sosial selama anak-anak menjadi penonton media visual (Pasquier, 1994). Zurbriggen (2007) mengatakan bahwa karakter media serupa sebagaimana Spiderman yang mampu mempengaruhi anak-anak lebih daripada orang tua, teman-teman dan guru²⁶.

Pengaruh dari Televisi bermain di ranah proses neuromaturasional yang tidak bisa dimengerti²⁷, walaupun teknologi media TV ini merupakan media dengan frekuensi penggunaan terbesar oleh anak (Living Stone, 2003). Walaupun juga para peneliti pada isu kesehatan masyarakat mengindikasikan bahwa terpaan media massa mempunyai efek yang kuat dalam perubahan pengetahuan dan tingkah laku²⁸.

Media (secara umum, tidak hanya orang-orang dengan konten kekerasan) memainkan peran penting dalam kehidupan orang muda. Anak-anak berusia 13- 16 tahun menghabiskan rata-rata sekitar dua jam per hari di depan komputer dan menonton permainan 3,5 jam dari TV atau DVD. Dua-pertiga dari remaja laki-laki menonton film-film kekerasan sering atau sangat sering, sedangkan laju kekerasan game-play masih cukup tinggi, dengan maksimum 59 persen pada usia 15. Untuk anak laki-laki, kekerasan yang demikian merupakan topik yang menonjol dari TV dan DVD serta game komputer²⁹. Hasil penelitian itu juga menyiratkan bahwa kekerasan di film mungkin memiliki dampak yang lebih besar pada keyakinan normatif remaja muda. Hal ini bisa disebabkan fase orientasi norma pada saat itu lebih rentan pada usia remaja sedangkan yang lebih tua kurang rentan. Selain itu, remaja laki-laki yang lebih muda cenderung lebih mudah mengikuti keyakinan mereka sedangkan remaja laki-laki yang lebih tua – mungkin karena kapasitas yang lebih besar untuk mengontrol impuls mereka - lebih mampu membedakan antara keyakinan dan kesesuaian perilaku aktual dalam situasi tertentu³⁰

Secara khusus, pembahasan pengaruh media yang mengandung kekerasan didapatkan lebih dari 50 penelitian³¹, dimana sebagian besar hasil penelitian menunjukkan efek yang kuat dari media yang mempengaruhi tindakan anak atau remaja dalam melakukan kekerasan. Studi mengenai pengaruh video games dan televisi diselenggarakan Universitas negeri Iowa yang hasilnya mendukung pemikiran bahwa video games yang mengandung kekerasan menimbulkan tingkah laku agresif.

Penelitian juga dilakukan oleh Mat DeLisi dkk di daerah Western Pennsylvania tahun 2009 – 2010 dengan sampel anak laki-laki dan perempuan yang terlibat berbagai perilaku anti sosial dan pernah di adili di pengadilan karena kasus kejahatan. Prosedur dalam penelitian ini menggunakan protokol yang disetujui oleh Institutional Review Board di University of Pittsburgh. Hasil dari penelitian

²⁶ Anne Ey, Lesley and C Glenn Cupit.(2013). Primary School Children's Imitation of Sexualised videos and Artists. Journal Vol 38. Hal 115 - 123

²⁷ Cristakis, Dimitri A, and Frederick J Zimmerman. Young Children and Media Limitations of Current Knowledge and Future Directions for Research. SAGE Publications. New York. Hal 1177 - 1185

²⁸ Brown, Shannon Self. Alyssa A R, Carole Campbell. And Michael A de Arello. (2008). A Media Campaign Prevention Program For Child Sexual Abuse. Vol 23 (6). SAGE Production. Hal 728 – 743.

²⁹ Kanz Maria, Kristina. (2015). Mediated and Moderated Effects of Violent Media Consumption on Youth Violence. European Journal of Criminology. SAGE Publication. Germany. Hal 8

³⁰ Ibid, Hal 11

³¹ Murray P. John. (2008). Media Violence. The Effects Are Both Real and Strong. SAGE Publication. London.

ini menunjukkan ada korelasi yang signifikan antara permainan game kekerasan dengan perilaku agresif remaja³².

Teori yang dapat digunakan dalam powerful effects media diantaranya bullet theory, cultivation theory dan agenda setting theory.

Namun, terdapat pendapat melemahkan efek kuat media. Dalam beberapa penelitian termasuk yang dilakukan oleh universitas di Australia dan Universitas negeri Washington yang menemukan bahwa tidak ada hubungan media violence dengan kekerasan dalam dunia nyata³³. Jam heim dan Petter Bae Brandtzaeg juga menyampaikan dalam jurnalnya, bahwa terdapat pola yang berbeda terkait bagaimana penggunaan media dalam hubungannya dengan kemampuan sosial anak, interaksinya dengan keluarga dan teman temannya dan konsep diri mereka³⁴. Ini adalah indikator kunci dari sikap utama, faktor perkembangan, kepercayaan dan meniru kemampuan yang terkait dengan anak-anak jika dilihat dari faktor psikologi (de Haan dan huysman, 2004 ; Harter, 1993 ; Jordan, 2004 dan Krosnick, 2003). Bahkan Steve Johnson penulis buku *Everything Bad is Good For You* memberi argumennya tentang televisi dan video games bahwa kedua media tersebut membuat anak-anak semakin cerdas dengan belajar kepada media bagaimana berpikir dan menyelesaikan masalah yang kompleks³⁵. Bahkan salah satu teori yang membantah efek media adalah carthasis theory, yang mempunyai pandangan bahwa dengan melihat kekerasan di media sebenarnya mengurangi tingkah laku/perbuatan yang mengandung kekerasan karena orang yang agresif sudah terpuaskan dengan melihat media violence

Menurut Kanz dkk kekerasan akibat mengkonsumsi media yang menayangkan film kekerasan tidak sepenuhnya mempengaruhi perilaku kekerasan pada usia anak-anak sampai remaja. Penelitian ini dilakukan di sebuah kota Duisburg di Jerman yang mengambil sampel sekitar 3400 siswa kelas tujuh dari semua jenis sekolah yang rata-rata berusia 13 tahun. Penelitian ini dilakukan pada tahun 2002 – 2005 dengan melakukan wawancara pada sampel tiap interval tahun. Hasilnya menunjukkan bahwa perilaku agresif pada anak tidak hanya dipengaruhi oleh konsumsi media kekerasan akan tetapi juga pengaruh perilaku orang tua yang non – empati. Berdasarkan penelitian tersebut pengaruh keduanya lemah terhadap timbulnya perilaku agresif dari anak-anak usia remaja³⁶.

Teori efek media yang tepat untuk menggambarkan efek media yang minimal/lemah adalah teori two step flow, multi step flow, individual differences, dan difusi inovasi. Sedangkan teori uses and gratification mempunyai karakteristik yang berbeda karena keputusan awal untuk melihat media ada pada audiens.

Adapun mixed effects model, dikarenakan teori tersebut adalah kombinasi dari powerful efek dan minimal efek media. Penulis tidak menemukan kesimpulan dari penelitian yang dibaca, yang

³² DeLisi, Mat. (2012). *Violent Video Games, Delinquency, and Youth Violence : New Evidence*. Journal Youth Violence and Juvenile Justice. II (2). SAGE Publication USA. Hal. 132-142

³³ Rodman, George. (2012). *Mass Media in a Changing World*. 4th ed. Mc Graw Hill Company. New York. Hal 30

³⁴ Heim, Jan and Petter Bae Brandtzaeg , et. al. (2007). *Children's Usage of Media Technologies and Psychosocial . Factors*. Vol 9(3). SAGE Publications. Hal 425 - 454

³⁵ Rodman, George. *Mass Media in a Changing World*. 4th ed. Mc Graw Hill Company. New York. 2012. Hal 30

³⁶ Kanz Maria, Kristina. (2015). *Mediated and Moderated Effects of Violent Media Consumption on Youth Violence*. European Journal of Criminology. SAGE Publication. Germany. Hal 6-17

menyimpulkan kesepakatan peneliti bahwa media violence mempunyai efek kombinasi ; kadang kuat dan kadang minimal/lemah.

III. Pembahasan

Penulis mendapatkan dari berbagai literatur revidu, bahwa hasil penelitian pengaruh media violence dalam bentuk tayangan TV dan video games cenderung menunjukkan kuatnya pengaruh media terhadap anak-anak. Kuatnya pengaruh tersebut dapat dilihat pada fakta yang disajikan dalam penelitian dan lebih dari separuhnya cenderung melihat dampak negatif dari media violence baik dalam meningkatkan kekerasan yang dilakukan oleh anak maupun hanya meningkatnya agresifitas anak.

Aksi agresif adalah sebuah perilaku terarah yang ditujukan untuk memberikan kesakitan fisik maupun psikologis (Aronson, 2006). Berarti sebuah perilaku agresif tidak hanya kesakitan fisik melulu (berupa tamparan, tinjauan, pukulan, dll) tapi juga dapat berupa pemberian kesakitan psikologis yaitu melalui cacian, hinaan, intimidasi, dll. Agresi adalah aksi yang ditujukan untuk menyakiti orang lain (Peplau, 2004).

Penyebab agresi bisa disebabkan oleh 2 hal, yaitu: i) adanya skema agresi (kerangka mental yang membantu kita mengorganisasikan hal-hal yang berhubungan dengan agresi) yang bisa terbentuk dari proses belajar di masa lalu maupun imitasi dan reinforcement yang berasal dari orang tua; ii) aksesibilitas pada pikiran tentang agresi yang bisa disebabkan dari kekerasan di media—gambaran aksi kekerasan di media massa. Makin banyak film atau program televisi dengan kandungan kekerasan yang ditonton saat kanak-kanak, makin tinggi tingkat agresi mereka saat dewasa. Dampak lainnya dari menonton kekerasan di media dikenal sebagai efek desensitasi—setelah menonton adegan kekerasan, individu menjadi bebal pada kesakitan dan penderitaan orang lain. Dampak ketiga dari menonton adegan kekerasan: dapat menghidupkan pikiran hostile “utama”, sehingga pikiran tersebut menjadi lebih mudah diakses oleh pikiran yang sadar dan kemudian dapat meningkatkan kecenderungan seseorang untuk terlibat dalam agresi terbuka (Anderson, 1997). Karena pemaparan terhadap kekerasan di media secara berulang-ulang dapat menguatkan dampak utama tersebut seiring dengan waktu, pengaruh dari menonton tersebut bisa terakumulasi.

Kekerasan pada dasarnya tergolong ke dalam dua bentuk -- kekerasan sembarang, yang mencakup kekerasan dalam skala kecil atau yang tidak terencana, dan kekerasan yang terkoordinir, yang dilakukan oleh kelompok-kelompok baik yang diberi hak maupun tidak -- seperti yang terjadi dalam perang (yakni kekerasan antar-masyarakat) dan terorisme. Perilaku kekerasan semakin hari semakin nampak, dan sungguh sangat mengganggu ketentraman hidup kita. Jika hal ini dibiarkan, tidak ada upaya sistematis untuk mencegahnya, tidak mustahil kita sebagai bangsa akan menderita rugi oleh karena kekerasan tersebut. Kita akan menuai akibat buruk dari maraknya perilaku kekerasan di masyarakat baik dilihat dari kacamata nasional maupun internasional.

Perilaku kekerasan dapat dipicu oleh berbagai faktor. Salah satu faktor yang menyebabkan timbulnya kekerasan adalah peniruan tindak kekerasan dari berbagai media pemberitaan. Seperti yang kita ketahui saat ini, banyak sekali berita-berita yang menggambarkan kekerasan seperti berita kriminal, konflik, ataupun kerusuhan. Berita-berita itu dimuat dalam berbagai media, baik itu media cetak seperti majalah dan koran maupun media elektronik seperti televisi, radio, dan internet.

Dalam beberapa kasus terkait video game dan televisi yang mengandung kekerasan (media violence) menjadi kekhawatiran banyak pihak. Misalnya video game *Zombie game Left 4 Dead 2* adalah salah satu game yang haus darah dan penuh kekerasan. Game ini telah diedit untuk meminimalkan scene yang berbahaya untuk anak-anak. Termasuk juga video game *The Getaway* sempat tidak lulus sensor karena game tersebut penuh dengan kekerasan. Salah satu scene-nya pemain dimungkinkan dapat menembak penari topless di tempat bilyar. Konten penyiksaan telah diedit dan dihilangkan dalam game untuk dapat lulus sensor.

Adapun tayangan Televisi yang mengandung kekerasan seperti *Tom & Jerry*, *Bima*, *Little Krishna* dan *Naruto* dalam konteks Indonesia KPI (Komisi Penyiaran Indonesia) sudah melakukan teguran kepada sejumlah stasiun Televisi yang menayangkan program-program tersebut yang mana akan di khawatirkan menimbulkan dampak negatif pada anak-anak. (rancah.co.id tgl 24 Juni 2015).

Dalam keseharian film atau sinetron yang ditayangkan oleh stasiun TV Nasional maupun Swasta lebih banyak mengandung kekerasan (violence). Banyak kasus kekerasan yang terjadi Indonesia karena menonton TV. Kasus tersebut diantaranya adalah kasus yang terjadi pada tahun 2009, seorang anak laki-laki berusia 12 tahun di Jakarta Pusat ditemukan tewas tergantung di ranjangnya yang bertingkat. Menurut keterangan orang tua korban dan saksi lainnya, diketahui bahwa ia gemar meniru aksi seorang pesulap di televisi. Setiap selesai menyaksikan tayangan “*Limbad The Master*”, korban mempraktikkan adegan yang ditontonnya. Korban juga sempat menusuk tangannya dengan sejumlah jarum kemudian dipertontonkan kepada teman-temannya. Orang tua korban sering marah dan menegur kebiasaan anaknya ini. Ketika akhirnya kebiasaan korban meniru sulap *Limbad* merenggut nyawanya, orang tuanya sedang berjualan di pasar.

Berdasar penelitian di Kabupaten Kudus yang meneliti Hubungan Kekerasan menonton Tayangan Kekerasan di Televisi dengan Perilaku Agresif Anak menunjukkan bahwa 62.5 % dari jumlah kuisioner yang disebar mempunyai perilaku agresif yaitu memukul teman yang membuat marah, tidak mau meminjamkan barangnya, berkata kata kasar, dan melawan perintah yang diberikan dimana 40% dari data 62.5% tersebut sering menonton tayangan yang mengandung kekerasan.³⁷

Kasus lainnya yang terjadi pada April 2015 lalu, seorang anak kelas 1 SD di Pekanbaru meninggal akibat pengeroyokan teman-temannya. Menurut keterangan orang tuanya, korban dan teman - temannya sedang bermain-main menirukan adegan perkelahian dalam sinetron “*7 Manusia Harimau*” yang ditayangkan RCTI. Teman - temannya memukul dengan sapu dan menendang seperti tergambar dalam sinetron. Akibat kejadian ini, korban mengalami kerusakan syaraf dan meninggal setelah sempat dirawat di rumah sakit³⁸.

Kemudian Tragedi Reza Ikhsan Fadillah, yang meninggal dunia akibat di-smackdown kakak kelasnya pada 2006 silam, terulang lagi pada 2015. Kali ini korbannya berinisial NA. Dia baru bocah 8 tahun, siswa SD Negeri 07 Pagi, Kelurahan Kebayoran Lama Utara, Jakarta. NA meregang nyawa setelah dihajar teman sekolahnya pada 18 September 2015. Dia langsung tak bergerak setelah

³⁷ Mawardika, Tina et all (2013). Hubungan Kebiasaan Menonton Tayangan Kekerasan di Televisi dengan Perilaku Agresif Pada Anak Pra Sekolah di TK Islam Terpadu Al Akhyar Kabupaten Kudus. STIKES :Jurnal Keperawatan Anak

³⁸ <http://www.remotivi.or.id/kabar/79/5-Kasus-Kekerasan-Anak-Karena-Tayangan-Televisi>

kepalanya dipukul, ditendang, dan diinjak oleh temannya, yang berinisial R, juga berumur 8 tahun. Kejadiannya berlangsung di dalam ruang kelas³⁹.

Dari semua media yang ada, yang paling sering diperhatikan oleh masyarakat adalah tayangan kekerasan dari televisi. Hampir setiap warga masyarakat memiliki televisi. Televisi telah menjadi sebuah barang kebutuhan dalam sebuah rumah tangga. Televisi hanyalah sebuah kotak yang bisa dimatikan atau dibuang, bisa sebagai sumber malapetaka atau sumber pengetahuan. Kendali utama mestinya tetap pada pencipta televisi, yakni manusia. Banyaknya bukti dampak tayangan kekerasan hendaknya menjadi informasi tambahan untuk mengkaji ulang perilaku kita dalam menonton televisi. Sudahkah kita menjadikan televisi sebagai pilihan di antara banyak pilihan aktivitas positif lain dalam melepas kepenatan, atau televisi yang menguasai setiap detik kehidupan kita? Selain mempunyai sisi positif, keberadaan televisi juga bisa menimbulkan efek negatif. Televisi dipercaya mampu mempengaruhi sikap dan perilaku penonton. Unsur audio dan visual merupakan kelebihan televisi dibanding media lainnya.

Jadi, tidak mengherankan apabila tayangan kekerasan sudah dianggap biasa oleh masyarakat. Masyarakat tidak pernah mengetahui apakah tayangan itu berbahaya atau tidak. Bagi masyarakat, tayangan kekerasan di televisi hanyalah sebuah hiburan dan tidak membahayakan. Memang benar, itu hanyalah sebuah tayangan dan sama sekali tidak berbahaya. Namun, dibalik tayangan kekerasan itu, kita bisa saja mencontoh apa yang dilakukan oleh pelaku - pelaku kekerasan di televisi. Terutama bagi anak-anak, mereka akan merasa terbiasa dengan tindak kekerasan. Hal itu memungkinkan anak-anak melakukan tindak kekerasan tanpa adanya rasa takut. Seperti contoh kasus diatas, akibat meniru adegan dalam tayangan televisi '7 manusia harimau', seorang anak meninggal dan seorang anak lain tewas tergantung karena meniru adegan dalam acara "Limbad The Master". Tentu kita merasa prihatin atas kejadian ini. Anak - anak yang tidak tahu apa - apa, menirukan begitu saja adegan kekerasan yang bagi mereka hanya berupa hiburan.

Komisi Penyiaran Indonesia (KPI) sependapat dengan pandangan bahwa televisi berpengaruh besar dalam membentuk perilaku kekerasan pada anak. Namun televisi bukan satu-satunya sebab. "Pengawasan orang tua, faktor media lain selain televisi, seperti internet, gadget atau PS (permainan PlayStation)," kata Wakil Ketua KPI, Idy Muzayyad. KPI telah membuat regulasi, di antaranya, menetapkan klasifikasi tayangan yang aman untuk anak-anak, hanya untuk orang dewasa, atau baik buat semua umur. Misalnya, tayangan yang baik untuk anak-anak diberi kode A/SU (Anak/Semua Umur), tayangan yang boleh ditonton anak-anak tapi dengan bimbingan orang tua diberi kode BO/A (Bimbingan Orangtua/Anak), tayangan yang hanya untuk orang dewasa dengan kode D (dewasa). Tetapi, kata Idy, klasifikasi itu pun tak menjamin tayangan benar-benar aman untuk anak-anak. Tayangan berita yang dalam klasifikasi SU, misalnya, bisa memuat informasi tentang kekerasan dan tetap memerlukan bimbingan orang tua⁴⁰.

Setidaknya ada tiga penjelasan yang menarik bagaimana media dapat memberikan efek yang tajam dari tayangan kekerasan terhadap penontonnya,

³⁹ <http://sorot.news.viva.co.id/news/read/678996-televisi-pengajar-kekerasan>

⁴⁰ <http://sorot.news.viva.co.id/news/read/678996-televisi-pengajar-kekerasan>

Pertama, media memudahkan orang untuk mempelajari ‘cara-cara baru’ kekerasan yang kemungkinan besar tidak terpikirkan sebelumnya. Disebut juga dengan ‘Copycat crimes’, di mana kekerasan yang bersifat fiksi maupun nyata yang ditayangkan oleh media kemudian ditiru oleh orang lain di tempat lain dengan harapan akan mendapatkan hasil yang serupa.

Kasus anak korban ‘smack down’ menjadi gambaran yang sedang hangat. Terlebih bagi anak-anak, tayangan tersebut bisa memberikan pemahaman yang keliru tentang rasa sakit dan kondisi tubuh manusia. Betapa tidak, tayangan yang menampilkan dua orang yang berbadan kekar saling hantam dengan gaya bebas namun tetap terlihat ‘tidak kesakitan’. Anak akan menganggap bahwa meloncat dan menjatuhkan tubuh di atas tubuh kawannya, misalnya, tidak akan menimbulkan rasa sakit apalagi cacat tubuh bahkan meninggal.

Kedua, de-sensitization effects, berkurang atau hilangnya kepekaan kita terhadap kekerasan itu sendiri. Studi menunjukkan, akibat dari banyaknya menonton tayangan kekerasan, orang tidak lagi mudah merasakan penderitaan atau rasa sakit yang dialami orang lain (Baron, 1974 dalam Baron & Byrne, 2000).

Secara biologis, ketika menonton tayangan yang menyakitkan atau kekerasan, aktivitas otak akan bergerak dari ranah bahasa di otak kiri ke otak kanan yang mendominasi proses emosi dan pengkodean gambaran visual. Itu sebabnya menonton memberi dampak emosional yang lebih kuat dari pada membaca. Jika hal ini terlalu banyak, maka kita akan menjadi kebas dan tidak peka lagi dengan kekerasan (Flora, 2004).

Sejak reformasi, televisi kita bisa lebih bebas dalam pemilihan tayangan. Seiring dengan itu, kekerasan pun merebak, berita mulai didominasi dengan tindakan-tindakan anarkis yang tidak jarang bersumber dari sesuatu yang sepele. Masyarakat menjadi sangat mudah disulut api kekerasan. Sayangnya, televisi pun makin getol dengan adegan kekerasan bahkan sebagai hiburan. Coba telusuri program serangkaian film asing yang dijanjikan akan diputar dalam satu bulan, sulit sekali menemukan film keluarga yang bisa menciptakan senyum, tawa, perasaan santai, melepas beban rutinitas dan mendapatkan insight yang positif.

Padahal banyak sekali film yang mengedepankan nilai-nilai kehidupan dari hal kecil seperti perasaan seorang anak di tengah kesibukan orangtua yang disajikan begitu santun, menggelitik, tanpa didominasi teriakan amarah. Mrs. Doubtfire, salah satunya yang sudah berulang kali ditayangkan oleh televisi kita, dan masih banyak lagi yang lain yang semestinya bisa ditampilkan ketimbang film-film yang lebih banyak memamerkan kekerasan. Lebih miris lagi, sinetron-sinetron yang berbungkus nama agama pun diwarnai dengan umpatan, saling pukul dan saling tampar.

Ketiga, periklanan menganggap tayangan kekerasan lebih menjual. Bushman (1998), dalam Baron & Byrne, (2000) menemukan hal yang kurang menggembirakan, ternyata orang yang menonton tayangan kekerasan, kemungkinan besar hanya mampu sedikit mengingat isi dari suatu tayangan komersial atau iklan.

Bushman dan Bonacci (2002), dalam Gunter, Furnham & Pappa, (2005) semakin menemukan betapa kuatnya pengaruh tayangan kekerasan terhadap penontonnya. Studi mereka menunjukkan bahwa iklan yang tidak menampilkan kekerasan, jika ditayangkan di program televisi yang

menayangkan kekerasan, akan sulit diingat dari pada jika ditayangkan di program televisi non-kekerasan. Sebaliknya, iklan yang menampilkan kekerasan akan semakin mudah diingat ketika ditampilkan di program televisi kekerasan. Hal ini dikarenakan tayangan tersebut mendukung dan memudahkan penonton untuk mengingat iklan yang juga berisi adegan kekerasan.

IV. Solusi

Terkait dengan kekerasan di lingkungan anak dan pelajar, perlu diadakan diskusi bersama untuk menghasilkan pendekatan yang komprehensif. Prioritasnya adalah pembentukan budaya ekosistem pendidikan di sekolah, rumah dan masyarakat yang menguatkan dan membiasakan semua pihak untuk berperilaku positif, mempraktekkan nikmatnya saling peduli sejak dini. Ada begitu banyak praktek baik pendekatan positif yang sudah dilakukan di yang perlu kita tangkap dan sebarkan agar jadi pilihan rujukan bagi sebanyak-banyaknya sekolah dan orangtua. Dalam mengatasi dampak media violence maka solusi yang dapat direkomendasikan adalah :

a. Sistem

Sistem yang berpihak pada anak dan akan menjadi perisai bagi ibu dan anak agar tetap terjaga adalah sistem Islam. Dimana, pendirian media massa dan distribusi kontennya hanya diperbolehkan konten yang berkualitas untuk anak. Dengan sistem Islam, penjagaan terhadap anak dapat dilaksanakan menyeluruh tanpa tumpang tindih dengan kepentingan sistem yang lain, baik pendidikan, sosial politik ekonomi, hukum dll.

Dalam sistem saat ini, yaitu sistem sekuler (pemisahan agama dari kehidupan), dengan adanya dikotomi pendidikan, liberalisasi ekonomi yang menyebabkan semakin kompleksnya masalah menjadikan permasalahan anak sulit diatasi secara menyeluruh. Terdapat tumpang tindih kepentingan jika ingin menerapkan regulasi yang tegas. Misal, sensor terhadap media violence, atau perpindahan jam tayang maka berpengaruh pada media yang menayangkan terkait dengan rating dan pemasukan media dari iklan. Sehingga wajar ketika, beberapa tayangan televisi yang di sanksi oleh KPI, masih dapat melanjutan acara 4 hari atau 5 hari setelah jatuhnya sanksi tanpa perubahan konten yang berarti, hanya karena rating program tersebut tinggi dan memberi banyak pemasukan dari iklan.

b. Regulasi

a. Blok dan sensor

Melakukan blocking terhadap konten kekerasan seperti yang dilakukan China memungkinkan walaupun beresiko menimbulkan masalah baru terkait kebebasan pers, namun negara mempunyai kewajiban untuk lebih mengutamakan kepentingan anak bangsa dan harus berani bertindak tegas dengan segala hal yang dapat menimbulkan kerugian besar bagi bangsa. Yaitu, agresifitas dan kemungkinan kekerasan oleh anak sehingga membuat anak tidak mampu mengemban tugas melanjutkan pembangunan Indonesia dengan baik.

b. Sistem rating



Sistem rating untuk menjadi filter, dan berperan untuk memberikan peringatan tentang kecocokan konten dalam game untuk dimainkan usia tertentu. Ada banyak sistem rating yang diimplementasikan di berbagai negara dunia, seperti ESRB (Amerika), CERO (Jepang) & PEGI (Eropa). Contohnya dalam ESRB, terdapat enam kategori rating disesuaikan dengan kontennya, Di Amerika Serikat misalnya, terdapat sistem Entertainment Software Rating Board. Dalam sistem ESRB ini, terdapat enam kategori rating, yaitu: Early Childhood (cocok untuk anak usia dini), Everyone (untuk semua umur), Everyone 10+ (untuk usia 10 tahun ke atas), Teen (untuk usia 13 tahun ke atas), Mature (untuk usia 17 tahun ke atas) dan Adults Only (untuk dewasa), serta satu kategori antara Rating Pending. Klasifikasi ini menjadi sangat penting karena prinsipnya berbagai pihak disekeliling pemerintah wajib bertanggungjawab terhadap anak yang termasuk kelompok rentan terhadap berbagai pengaruh teknologi. Walaupun masih dalam perdebatan dan mendapat protes dari Komnas Perlindungan Anak, namun perlu dikaji ulang untuk menambal celah celah peluang masuknya kandungan kekerasan di media baik televisi maupun video game.

- c. Regulasi distribusi konten media termasuk konten video game dapat dibatasi oleh pemerintah dengan melakukan pengawasan ketat masuknya produk konten video game baru yang akan masuk ke Indonesia. Pengetatan pengawasan akan menjadi efektif karena mampu menutup kran media violence beredar di masyarakat, kemudian menindak tegas pelaku penyelundupan maupun pembajakan konten media dari luar negeri ke Indonesia. Bahkan dalam bentuk ekstrim dapat menutup atau memblock new media (internet) yang mengandung kekerasan agar tidak dapat diakses oleh anak-anak.

Undang-undang (UU) Nomor 11 Tahun 2008 tentang Informasi dan Transaksi Elektronik (ITE) melarang materi tayangan termasuk game online yang terkait persoalan kesusilaan, perjudian, penghinaan, pemerasan, berita bohong, SARA, dan ancaman kekerasan dan pelaku bisa diancam kurungan penjara hingga 12 tahun atau denda Rp 2 miliar, namun menilik dari distribusi game online yang beredar terlihat bahwa dalam era new media, UU tersebut kurang bergigi.

- d. Media Literacy, kemampuan untuk melek media-memahami alat dan content yang mereka gunakan dan mampu memilih yang tepat dan berpengaruh positif. Penggunaan video game yang baik mampu menghibur tanpa berisiko memberikan dampak buruk, dimainkan dalam porsi yang pas dan seimbang dengan berbagai alternatif kegiatan lain. Orangtua juga perlu mahir dalam memanfaatkan video game sebagai salah satu media pembelajaran sesuai minat dan kebutuhan anak.

- e. Optimalisasi Kota Layak anak

Otonomi daerah menjadikan penancangan kota layak anak belum merata. Pembentukan wadah partisipasi anak yang dibangun di kabupaten dan kota guna mendengarkan dan menyuarakan pendapat serta harapan anak sebagai bentuk partisipasi anak dalam proses pembangunan berdasar Perpres No. 7 Tahun 2005 masih belum optimal karena banyaknya intervensi orang dewasa, belum sepenuhnya menjadi forum anak. Ketidakmerataan juga terkendala terdapatnya kabupaten dan kota yang tertinggal sehingga konsentrasi pembenahan masih dalam tahap pembenahan ekonomi. Hal ini, dapat menjadi evaluasi besar bagi pemerintah



untuk menyeragamkan konsentrasi penanggulangan masalah anak di berbagai daerah baik kabupaten maupun kotamadya.

C. Masyarakat

A. Institusi Pendidikan

Wadah formal, terstruktur, untuk mencetak anak didik dengan karakter tertentu. Program sekolah layak dilanjutkan dengan lebih mengoptimalkan berjalannya program tersebut

B. Lembaga Swadaya Masyarakat dan Lembaga Partner Pemerintah

Upaya prevensi dapat dilakukan oleh Lembaga lembaga ini sebagai bentuk tanggung jawab sosial. Lembaga ini dapat melakukan pendampingan, pencegahan dan kritik sosial terhadap berbagai fenomena yang terjadi di masyarakat. Lembaga semacam Komisi Perlindungan Anak, Yayasan Buah Hati, Remotivi dan berbagai lembaga yang fokus pada tumbuh kembang anak menjadi sinergi yang luar biasa dalam meningkatkan kualitas generasi. Jika fungsi ini berjalan optimal maka dapat meminimalisir terjadinya kekerasan pada dan oleh anak, sebagaimana yang kini dilakukan oleh lembaga tersebut diatas yang secara rutin fokus pada penanganan tumbuh kembang anak termasuk kampanye masif dalam bentuk penyuluhan untuk penyadaran tanggung jawab negara dan orangtua terhadap masa depan anak.

C. Lingkungan

Lingkungan disini adalah tetangga sekitar anak berdomisili maupun dimanapun area dia bermain. Lingkungan harus berfungsi menjadi kontrol sosial. Kasus kasus sederhana ketika anak bermain bersama dalam suatu rumah (tetangga), maka lingkungan berkontribusi untuk menjadi filter media violence sampai kepada anak.

D. Media Massa

Media massa sebagai sumber rujukan bagi masyarakat merupakan salah satu kunci penting pengarus utamaan opini mengenai penting bahkan mendesaknya permasalahan anak di Indonesia untuk segera di evaluasi penanganannya. Media mampu membentuk opini publik dan melakukan upaya agenda setting agar penanganan anak menjadi fokus pemerintah. Tanpa mengenyampingkan keberpihakan media pada kapital dan rating serta iklan, seharusnya media mempunyai kepedulian dan tanggung jawab sosial untuk memajukan bangsa

D. Keluarga

1. Pendampingan orangtua dari memilihkan, memberi masukan, mengajarkan tentang apa yang boleh diakses dan tidak bahkan pendampingan pada saat tayangan televisi berlangsung dengan menonton bersama atau bermain video game bersama sangat penting untuk menjaga anak anak tetap dalam koridor adab sopan santun dan meminimalisir pengaruh konten media violence tersebut terhadap anak.

V. Kesimpulan

Penggunaan teori mixed effect model dapat digunakan untuk menjadi pisau analisa fenomena komunikasi dan media, namun secara khusus dalam frame media violence maka seyogyanya menyesuaikan dengan berbagai fakta dan penelitian yang telah dilakukan yang menunjukkan bahwa media violence bersifat strong effect, sehingga semua pihak dapat melakukan tindakan yang diperlukan sebagai antisipasi terjadinya tindak kekerasan oleh anak-anak baik dari sisi regulasi, kerjasama masyarakat, LSM dan sekolah serta orang tua.

Dengan melihat pada literatur revidu dan fakta – fakta kehidupan nyata penulis sendiri, penulis membuat kesimpulan bahwa Mixed Effect Model tidak tepat jika diterapkan pada seluruh media. Seyogyanya terdapat pengklasifikasian media baik dari fisik yaitu apakah media cetak atau elektronik, maupun dari sisi isi ; apakah hiburan, politik, bisnis dan lain lain, sehingga hasil penelitian dapat benar-benar bermanfaat untuk masyarakat. Jika terjadi penggeneralisasian media, maka dikhawatirkan akan terjadi dampak-dampak atau efek media yang negatif namun tanpa dapat disadari oleh masyarakat/pengguna media termasuk para orang tua yang akan membiarkan anaknya untuk bisa menikmati media apa saja karena merasa media mempunyai efek yang bisa saja diadopsi anak tapi bisa juga tidak diadopsi oleh anak.

Penulis menyimpulkan, secara khusus bahwa efek kekerasan dalam video games dan televisi terhadap anak adalah power full effect, artinya setiap video games dan atau tayangan yang mengandung kekerasan pasti berdampak negatif pada anak, entah itu dalam jangka pendek atau jangka panjang. Diperlukan regulasi yang tegas dan segera untuk menangkal dampak negatif tersebut sampai pada anak-anak dengan mencegah tayangan yang mengandung kekerasan masuk ke rumah rumah mereka.

Gerakan ini seharusnya dapat menjadi gerakan bersama antara pemerintah, masyarakat, sekolah dan keluarga. Dari sisi akademisi, para intelektual dapat menyumbang dengan melakukan penelitian yang dinamis serta menjadikan hasil penelitian sebagai dasar untuk melakukan langkah langkah preventif yang dapat melindungi generasi emas Indonesia dari terpaan kekerasan dari media.

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**Transformasi Sistem Media dan Peluang Ruang Publik yang Merdeka
Pasca *Open Door Policy* Di Republik Rakyat Tiongkok**

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Abstrak

Perubahan membawa sistem media Tiongkok berubah dari *Totaliterism* menjadi *Marketized-Authoritarianism*; (1) *Open Door Policy* yang digagas oleh Deng Xiao Ping di tahun 1970an yang menaikkan ekonomi secara pesat dan mewarnai sistem media, (2) *Tiananmen Square Protest* di tahun 1989 yang mengubah perangai negara memperlakukan media, (3) Tekanan untuk *going global*, (4) Kemunculan Internet yang mempengaruhi *public sphere*. Akses Internet telah masuk ke Tiongkok lama dan bagi pemerintah Internet merupakan alat untuk meningkatkan pertumbuhan ekonominya. Disisi lain, mereka khawatir ketika *virtual space* menjadi ruang publik yang merdeka maka pemerintah merepresinya, menerapkan sensor dan mengontrol aktivitas *online*. Pemerintah menghujani dan memlimitasi media dengan regulasi (khususnya Internet), maka Tiongkok disebut *The Great Firewall*. Perubahan secara ideal ditujukan untuk kebaikan *civil society*, begitu juga perubahan sistem media yang diharapkan bisa berpijak pada kepentingan masyarakat. Hal ini termasuk pengharapan akan ruang publik yang merdeka. Tulisan ini fokus pada bagaimana Sistem Media di Tiongkok berubah dari *Totalitarianism* ke *Marketized Authoritarianism*, termasuk peluang ruang publik yang merdeka di Tiongkok- *The Great Firewall*. Perkembangan teknologi komunikasi dan Informasi serta pertumbuhan kelas menengah di Tiongkok sangat berpotensi menjadi kunci pembuka transformasi media selanjutnya, dimana ada tempat bagi masyarakat untuk mengoptimalkan ruang publik dan mewujudkan kebebasan berpendapat dan ruang publik yang berkualitas.

Kata Kunci : Media, Sistem, ruang publik , Transformasi

PENDAHULUAN

Kebijakan pintu terbuka atau *Open Door Policy* pada masa Deng Xiao Ping di tahun 1978 tidak hanya membawa Republik Rakyat Tiongkok dalam babak baru di bidang ekonomi namun juga mendorong modernisasi di Republik Rakyat Tiongkok. Deng Xiao Ping melakukan reformasi yang menggeser keadaan Tiongkok yang tertutup, miskin dan radikal di era Mao Ze Dong menjadi Tiongkok yang bertumbuh secara progresif dan lebih membuka diri. Deng Xiao Ping menyadari bahwa Tiongkok harus menjalin hubungan yang baik dengan dunia internasional bersamaan dengan upayanya

mempertahankan kekuatan ekonominya. *Open Door Policy* merupakan titik penentu sejarah Tiongkok, kebijakan ini mendorong modernisasi Tiongkok lewat sektor pertanian, industri, teknologi, pendidikan, dan pertahanan (militer). Kebijakan ini bertumpu pada dua hal. Pertama, keterbukaan terhadap investasi-investasi asing. Kedua, institusi-institusi negara mulai membuka diri.

Semangat Deng Xiao Ping yang ingin meningkatkan investasi di dalam negeri memang berbeda dengan pendahulunya yang cenderung anti kapitalis. Sejak tahun 1978, merayap naik karena pemerintahan saat itu memberi akses luas terhadap modal yang menggerakkan detak perekonomian dalam negeri. Dari data yang dirilis *Asian Development Bank* (ADB) tahun 2012 menunjukkan Tiongkok memimpin pertumbuhan *Product Domestic Bruto* (PDB) sebesar 8,5%.

Dilansir dari *kompas.com*, Biro Statistik Tiongkok, mengumumkan Produk Domestik Bruto (PDB) Tiongkok pada kuartal II-2015 naik sebesar 7 persen, atau tidak mengalami perubahan dari kuartal sebelumnya. Level tersebut sekaligus melampaui perkiraan para ekonom yang sebelumnya meramal pertumbuhan ekonomi negara itu berada di 6,8 persen. Sementara itu, *output* industri mengalami kenaikan sebesar 6,8 persen per Juni, sedangkan investasi aset tetap tumbuh 11,4 persen. Pencapaian tersebut makin menguatkan prospek target ekonomi Tiongkok tahun 2015 yang dipatok PM Li Keqiang sebesar 7 persen.

Bank Pembangunan Asia (ADB) meramalkan kekayaan negara-negara di kawasan Asia Tenggara (ASEAN), Tiongkok dan India atau ACI bakal melampaui Amerika Serikat dan Eropa. Kondisi itu paling lambat tercapai pada 2030 mendatang, atau 18 tahun lagi. Prediksi tersebut disampaikan Bank Pembangunan Asia (ADB) dan Asian Development Bank Institute (ADBI) dalam laporan terbarunya bertajuk *ASEAN, the PRC, and India: The Great Transformation* Pada 2030, ketiga kawasan ekonomi ini bakal memiliki setengah dari jumlah populasi kelas menengah di dunia. Tiongkok bakal menambah jumlah kelas menengah dalam jumlah yang besar yaitu naik dari 16 persen pada 2010 menjadi 65 persen pada 2030. (<http://m.news.viva.co.id/news/read/310519-17-modal-kekayaan-asean--china--india> diakses 30 November 2015 pukul 20.01 WIB)

Kerja keras dari kebijakan pintu terbuka secara cepat menempatkan Tiongkok dalam dua hingga tiga dekade menjadi kekuatan ekonomi terbesar kedua di dunia. Semangat Deng Xiao Ping kala itu memang berbeda dari pendahulunya Mao Ze Dong. Dimasa Mao Ze Dong, ekonomi nasional cenderung sentralistik. Pada akhir kekuasaannya, Mao Ze Dong mewariskan kelabilan ekonomi nasional dengan tingkat inflasi yang tinggi. Deng Xiao Ping muncul dengan semangat reformasi ekonomi dan pada titik tertentu dia terbuka terhadap permodalan asing. Selain itu, Deng Xiao Ping ingin mengubah legitimasi politik dari legitimasi berdasar personalitas dari seorang pemimpin yang diagungkan menjadi kepemimpinan kolektif. Kemudian hal ini menghasilkan apa yang dinamakan “Sosialisme Ala Tiongkok”, dimana terdapat liberalisasi ekonomi.

Memang hal ini merupakan sebuah perubahan besar karena saat awal berdirinya, Tiongkok kuat memegang kolektivisme dan alergi dengan liberalisme ekonomi. Kolektivisme yang berakar kuat tersebut bertahan hingga kematian Mao Ze Dong. Saat Mao Ze Dong berkuasa media mengemban tugas untuk mempropagandakan segala kebijakan Partai Komunis, melakukan edukasi terhadap masyarakat, menjadi alat untuk mengorganisasikan massa dan memobilisasi massa. Di masa Mao Ze Dong pemerintah memberi subsidi pada media. Ketika negara memperlakukan media, negara secara

bersamaan juga memberi nilai pada media. Saat negara memperlakukan media secara *authoritarian*, maka secara bersamaan nilai politis juga disematkan pada media. Media kemudian menjadi alat politik bagi penguasa di era tersebut. Di tahun 1949-1966 terjadi Revolusi Kebudayaan di Tiongkok yang memperkuat kolektivisme. Kepemilikan pribadi atas media dihapuskan dan media kemudian menjadi organ partai. Kemudian, di tahun 1966-1978 perkembangan media semakin memburuk. Hampir semua surat kabar berhenti terbit kecuali yang telah menjadi organ partai.

Namun pada Desember 1978, Deng Xiao Ping membuat kebijakan pintu terbuka (reformasi nasional). Perusahaan media mulai terbit kembali, pemotongan subsidi negara, iklan mulai banyak dan media lebih mandiri secara ekonomi. Kalangan privat pun mendapatkan kesempatan ekspansi pada industri media. Sebagai hasilnya, pada tahun 1990an media Tiongkok diwarnai oleh marketisasi dan privatisasi, munculnya genre media yang baru, program-program baru dan publikasi yang mengemuka. Dari data yang bersumber dari *Asian Network Information Centre* menyebutkan pada kurun tahun 1985-1995 siaran televisi meningkat menjadi dua kali lipat, siaran radio meningkat enam kali lipat meskipun komputer berjangkauan agak lambat perkembangannya. Baru pada tahun 1997-2000 terdapat peningkatan jumlah komputer berjangkauan dari 620.000 menjadi 16,9 juta. Dan peningkatan ini terus berjalan. Menurut *CIA World Factbook* (2007) saat ini Tiongkok memiliki lebih dari 700 stasiun TV Lokal, 200 stasiun penyiaran kabel dengan total 56.000 jam program mendukung pertumbuhan ekonomi. Teknologi mendorong penggunaan media yang masif. Hingga Juni 2015, pengguna Internet di Tiongkok terus naik. Menurut data resmi yang dirilis *China Internet Network Information Centre* pengguna Internet Tiongkok mencapai 667 juta dengan angka penetrasi mencapai 48,8% (persen).

Semangat yang disemat Deng Xiao Ping dalam *Open Door Policy* diteruskan oleh pemimpin setelahnya baik itu pada era Jiang Ze Min, Hu Jin Tao dan Xi Jin Ping. Jiang Ze Min meneruskan kebijakan Deng Xiao Ping terutama keterbukaan ekonomi dimana pada pemerintahan Hu Jin Tao berkonsentrasi pada peningkatan laju perekonomian. Hu Jin Tao mendorong pertumbuhan ekonomi yang pada akhirnya memperlebar pintu untuk teknologi masuk guna mendukung ekonomi.

Masuknya capital atau modal memudahkan media berkembang, Media kemudian banyak secara kuantitas namun ia tidak bebas. Terjadi komersialisasi pada media namun tidak mengubah perangai negara memperlakukannya secara terbatas.

Pada satu dekade reformasi ekonomi yang dilakukan Deng Xiao Ping, sebenarnya ada sebuah peluang dimana media bisa bersikap kritis yang kemudian mampu menggerakkan masyarakat mengkritik kebijakan pemerintah. Peluang tersebut merupakan *turning point* yang menentukan posisi media selanjutnya. Peluang itu bernama Peristiwa *Tiananmen* tahun 1989 yang terjadi di Beijing tahun 1989, disana media sempat melebur dalam sebuah gerakan prodemokrasi yang mengkritik pemerintah. Demonstran menganggap bahwa keadaan ekonomi yang membaik merupakan sebuah prekondisi bagi demokratisasi Tiongkok, dimana kekuasaan tidak dimonopoli oleh satu kelompok saja – saat itu hingga sekarang Partai Komunis Tiongkok memegang otoritas tertinggi. Pada kenyataannya, negara lebih kuat dan berhasil memberangus gerakan itu melalui militer. Meski pemerintah Tiongkok menghapus Peristiwa *Tiananmen* dari sejarah resmi negaranya, namun dunia mencatat peristiwa tersebut kelak akan mengubah cara negara Tiongkok memperlakukan media. Meski totalitarisme terkikis oleh kebijakan ekonomi Deng Xiao Ping yang mendorong adanya marketisasi dan privatisasi media, peristiwa *Tiananmen* menjadi peristiwa yang menandai perubahan politik di Tiongkok akan

mengubah wajah medianya kelak. Dari Peristiwa *Tiannanmen*, negara (pemerintah) mencoba mengencangkan pengawasan dan kontrol media lebih dari sebelumnya. Ini mengubah sistem media Tiongkok menjadi *Marketized-Authoritarianism*.

Republik Rakyat Tiongkok merupakan salah satu negara yang menarik. Selepas *Open Door Policy* dan disusul dengan Peristiwa Tiananmen 1969, pemerintah melakukan represi terhadap aktivis-aktivis yang melancarkan protes terhadap negara. Mereka mulai menangkapi dan memenjarakan aktivis serta membatasi media-media konvensional. Ruang gerak yang dibatasi ini membuat para aktivis maupun *protesters* beralih ke Internet dan melakukan perjuangan melalui *cyberprotest*. Ruang-ruang virtual dalam Internet menjadi arena pertarungan politik. Meski demikian, pemerintah menekan *Cyberprotest* dengan menciptakan banyak aturan main dalam Internet. Berbagai kebijakan dan aturan menghujani media *online* hingga negeri itu sering disebut sebagai "*The Great Firewall*".

Bicara soal perubahan di Republik Rakyat Tiongkok, kita menyadari bahwa perubahan merupakan sebuah konsekuensi ketika sebuah sistem berada di dalam lingkungannya. Sistem media, seperti yang ditelaah Hallin & Mancini (2004) mengalami berbagai perubahan ketika dia hidup di lingkungannya. Perubahan inilah yang nantinya menyebabkan transisi yang berujung pada transformasi.

Tiongkok merupakan negara yang mengalami transformasi sistem media yang diakibatkan oleh perubahan di lingkungan sekitarnya, didorong pertama kali karena kebijakan *open door policy*. Dalam bahasan ini, akan dikaji perubahan sistem media di Tiongkok, dengan kunci pembuka perubahan *Open Door Policy* yang digagas oleh Deng Xiao Ping yang membawa sistem media Tiongkok dari *Totaliterism* (era Mao) menuju *Marketized-Authoritarianism*. Adapun proses yang berjalan dari perubahan mediator tersebut dipengaruhi oleh banyak hal dengan momen penanda sebagai berikut; (1) kebijakan ekonomi *Open Door Policy* yang mengubah tata ekonomi Tiongkok yang kelak akan mewarnai sistem media, (2) Peristiwa Politik Tiannanmen 1989 yang mengubah cara negara memperlakukan media, (3) Tekanan *going global*, (4) Kemunculan Internet (Teknologi) yang mempengaruhi *media sphere* di Tiongkok.

Perubahan secara ideal ditujukan untuk kebaikan *civil society*, begitu juga perubahan sistem media yang diharapkan bisa berpijak pada kepentingan masyarakat. Hal ini termasuk pengharapan akan ruang publik yang merdeka. Di akhir tulisan ini, penulis akan membahas sejauh apa dampak perubahan sistem media di Tiongkok pada perwujudan ruang publik yang merdeka.

KERANGKA TEORI

Kata "Perubahan" dari Tiga Sudut Pandang

Perubahan merupakan sebuah konsekuensi ketika sebuah sistem berada di dalam lingkungannya. Sistem media, seperti yang ditelaah Hallin & Mancini (2004) mengalami berbagai perubahan ketika dia hidup di lingkungannya. Perubahan inilah yang nantinya menyebabkan transisi yang berujung pada transformasi.

Transformasi bisa merupakan sebuah proses yang mendadak ataupun sesuatu yang beralur

dan berfase. Media hidup sebagai suatu sistem berdampingan dengan sistem-sistem yang lain dalam sebuah struktur sosial, bagaimana media merespon perubahan dilingkungannya, dan domain apa yang akan dipilih sistem media dalam menempatkan dirinya. Inilah inti dari transformasi sistem media.

Sebenarnya perubahan pada suatu sistem bisa dipotret dari sudut pandang yang diajukan oleh tiga tokoh; Emile Durkeim, Talcott Parson, dan Niklas Luhman. Durkeim lebih menitik beratkan pada kompleksitas organisasi dan fungsi, Parson menysasar evolusi fungsi orisinal dan khusus, sedangkan Luhman menekankan otonomi dari suatu sistem. Durkeim yang cenderung positifis menganalogikan kehidupan sosial sama seperti alam bahwa fenomena alam yang terjadi menyebabkan fenomena alam yang lainnya. Struktur sosial sama obyektifnya dengan alam yang bertindak dengan sendirinya secara alamiah, namun ada ketergantungan didalamnya. Struktur sosial bekerja seperti organisme hidup yang bekerja saling ketergantungan satu sama lain. Setiap organ dari organisme hidup tersebut akan optimal jika memiliki fungsi yang spesifik dalam sistem. Talcott Parson pun memiliki kecenderungan statis seperti Durkeim. Parson melihat struktur sosial tersusun atas sistem-sistem yang tertata. Agar tetap eksis, suatu sistem harus terstruktur dan cenderung stabil. Meski terdengar kaku, Parson memiliki respon berbeda tentang perubahan. Perubahan dari lingkungan mengubah sistem, namun hal tersebut merupakan proses evolusi yang beranjak dari sistem lama, sebagai bentuk respon terhadap lingkungan. Sedangkan Luhman memandang bahwa sistem merupakan segala entitas yang memilih segala kemungkinan dari lingkungan dan sistem itu sendiri lebih sederhana dari lingkungan itu sendiri. Sistem itu bersifat autopoietic, merujuk pada diversitas sistem-sistem dari sel biologis sampai keseluruhan masyarakat dunia. Lingkunganlah yang memiliki kemungkinan paling besar dalam perubahan suatu sistem. Sistem kemudian mengorganisasikan batas-batas sendiri dan struktur internalnya. Sistem bergerak dinamis mengikuti alur lingkungannya (Pip Jones, 2003)

Pemikiran Durkeim dan Parson cenderung kaku statis dan Luhman lebih dinamis, namun ketiga pandangan diatas memiliki persamaan. Mereka sama-sama menyebut lingkungan sebagai sumber dari adanya perubahan. Perubahan inilah yang nantinya memungkinkan adanya transformasi dalam sebuah sistem. Rujukan semacam ini merupakan pijakan dalam memperhitungkan lingkungan sebagai aspek penting dalam proses perubahan.

Pandangan Luhman bahwa sistem bergerak dinamis mengikuti alur lingkungannya menjadi dasar dalam membaca perubahan-perubahan di lingkungan sekitar sistem media yang mendorong sistem media meresponnya dengan cara bertransformasi. Namun diluar lingkungannya, sistem itu sendiri melakukan pembenahan dan penguatan diri. Sistem dianggap mampu mendewasakan dirinya dan memiliki mekanismenya sendiri. Habermas melihat konflik sebagai transisi, namun Luhmann melihat konflik bukan sebagai transisi dan tidak harus berakhir dengan konsensus. Bentrokan atau konflik antar sistem dipandang bagian dari proses evolusi kearah lebih baik atau lebih buruk. Tidak terkecuali sistem media.

Konflik antar sistem dan perubahan-perubahan di lingkungan sekitar sistem media yang kemudian mendorong transformasi sistem media diantaranya. Faktor-faktor yang melingkupinya terdiri dari; perubahan sistem politik, sistem ekonomi, konteks masyarakat, perkembangan teknologi dan arus globalisasi dalam ranah kehidupan sosial.

Faktor faktor yang Mempengaruhi Transformasi Media

Ada lima faktor yang mendorong Transformasi Sistem Media yakni ; (1) Perubahan politik, (2) Perubahan Ekonomi, (3) Konteks masyarakat, (4) Perkembangan Teknologi, dan (5) Globalisasi. Berikut penjelasannya;

1. Faktor Perubahan Politik pada Transformasi Media

Dalam buku *Comparing Media System* , Hallin dan Mancini menempatkan perubahan politik dalam porsi yang penting dalam mendorong transformasi sistem media. Hallin dan Mancini memberikan contoh negara-negara bertipe *The North Atlantic or Liberal Model* yakni Inggris, Irlandia, Amerika Serikat dan Kanada. Dijelaskan oleh Hallin dan Mancini (2004, h.198-248) bahwa transformasi politik membawa konsekuensi perubahan pada sistem media, bahkan paralelisme politik kelak mewarnai media. Revolusi Inggris misalnya, menghasilkan dunia politik yang modern, darinya juga mengarah perkembangan *“the fourth estate”* sebagai bagian dari transformasi politik. Sistem Politik menjadi rasional, didiskusikan dalam konteks kebutuhan, pengalaman dan rasa kebersamaan. Kemudian hal ini mengakibatkan persetujuan pemerintah dan oposisi di parlemen yang nantinya memercik warna pada sejarah media di Inggris. Media Inggris kental relasinya dengan politik, dimana sistem politik memiliki kekuatan lebih terhadap sistem media. Lain lagi dengan Amerika Serikat yang dulu merupakan koloni Inggris melepaskan diri pada sistem media yang dibangun Inggris pada koloni-koloninya setelah Revolusi Amerika terjadi. *The First Amendment* dari Deklarasi Kemerdekaan Amerika menempatkan media secara fundamental dan legal menjunjung kebebasan pers. Sistem media di Amerika Serikat berbeda ketika dia merdeka dari Inggris. Secara politik Amerika saat itu tidak perlu mengadopsi sistem media yang diterapkan Inggris terhadap koloninya. Kecenderungan perbedaan sistem media antara kedua negara ini pun berlanjut hingga sekarang, dapat dilihat dari sistem penyiaran. Sistem penyiaran Inggris lebih dominan di penyiaran publik, sementara Amerika Serikat lebih kental pada penyiaran privat.

Moment perubahan politik sendiri pernah mengubah wajah media di Indonesia. Krisis di Indonesia tahun 1997 menimbulkan rekonfigurasi *power* dimana basis-basis kekuatan berpindah. Hadiz (2005) menyebutnya paduan gelombang perubahan politik dan ekonomi yang menggulung Indonesia. Rezim orde baru melanggengkan kekuasaannya dengan mengendalikan media sekaligus menjadikannya sebagai corong kepentingan pemerintah yang berkuasa. Dahulu tekanan politik orde baru merupakan *barrier* utama bagi media untuk berkembang dan menjadi terbuka.

Ketika ada satu moment politik terjadi, maka hal itu mendorong media yang tadinya tertutup menjadi terbuka. Namun demikian, lingkungan disekitar sistem media selalu berubah. Sistem media berubah seiring dengan perubahan sistem politik di lingkup lingkungannya

2. Faktor Ekonomi pada Transformasi Media

Ekonomi merupakan salah satu kekuatan besar di dunia. Isu dasar dari faktor ekonomi pada transformasi media berkenaan dengan profit dan kekuatan ekonomi. Hal ini dikarenakan gelombang komersialisasi yang mengubah wajah media dari *small scale enterprises* menjadi *highly profitable business*. Seperti yang diungkap oleh Robert G. Picard;

*“We must recognize that mass media are economic institution,
engaged in the production and dissemination of the content*

targeted towards consumer” (Picard, 1989).

Picard menyebutkan bahwa kita harus melihat media massa sebagai institusi ekonomi, yang terhubung dan berkaitan dengan produksi dan konten yang diarahkan pada konsumen. Ia mengajak kita melihat media sebagai sebuah entitas bisnis yang juga memerlukan modal untuk terus “hidup”. Sebagai sebuah entitas bisnis, maka faktor-faktor ekonomi di lingkungan media ini diperhitungkan dalam proses transformasi. Dalam kajian ekonomi media, dipilah tataran makro dan mikro. Makroekonomi terkait dengan sistem ekonomi nasional dan internasional, misalnya kebijakan ekonomi, pertumbuhan ekonomi, inflasi dan konsumsi. Sedangkan Mikro ekonomi menyangkut hal yang lebih spesifik yakni sub sistem ekonomi seperti struktur ekonomi, struktur pasar, perilaku konsumen dan sebagainya.

Dalam tatanan mikro ekonomi, Komersialisasi media mengarahkan media menjadi *profit oriented*, kemudian mereka berlomba membuat konten dan menjangkau audiens. Ketika jumlah audiens banyak dan rating naik, audiens “dijual” ke pengiklan. Inilah Bisnis ekonomi media. Karena dorongan ekonomi, media melakukan inovasi dalam menyikapi perubahan sekitar. Ada yang memang mengembangkan konten dengan menaikkan kualitasnya atau menyesuaikan selera audiens, atau justru dengan konten yang tidak berubah namun perusahaan media dengan ekspansi luas ke platform media. Semua itu dilakukan agar media tidak mati dan tetap *survive*.

Ketika berbicara media sebagai entitas bisnis, maka modal menjadi penting. Agar tetap “hidup”, media harus memiliki modal yang kuat. Tidak ada lagi *single owner*. Banyak owner bersekutu untuk penyatuan modal atau kapital dalam perusahaan media dengan jalan bernaung pada *holding company, merger atau akuisisi*. Semua ini dilakukan untuk mencapai empat hal yakni profit yang lebih banyak, penguatan modal, penguatan eksistensi perusahaan media dan membangun jaringan yang lebih kuat. Faktor perubahan-perubahan ekonomi akan memberikan perubahan pada struktur media yang mempengaruhi sistem media itu sendiri.

3. Faktor Konteks Masyarakat dalam Transformasi Media

Faktor selanjutnya adalah bagaimana konteks dalam masyarakat mempengaruhi bagaimana ia melihat media. *Media in Context* menurut Grossberg et al (2006) memiliki dua hal yang mendasar tentang proses *media making* atau pembentukan media. Dalam memahami media menurut Grossberg et al haruslah diawali dari mengenali sifat proses komunikasi. Pertama, proses komunikasi dipandang seperti proses yang sistematis, bahwa komunikasi merupakan proses berpindahnya pesan dari *sender* melalui medium ke *receiver* atau disebut sebagai *transmission model*. Komunikasi kemudian dipahami sebagai sebuah proses yang mengedepankan *personal context* dimana efek yang ditimbulkan hanya antara sender dan receiver. Kedua *Cultural Model*. Berbeda dengan *transmission model*, *cultural model* menekankan bahwa komunikasi digambarkan memiliki hubungan yang sangat erat antara proses komunikasi sosial dan produksi budaya umum.

Mengenai pembentukan media, Grosberg et al kemudian membedakannya menjadi dua model. Pertama, media dibentuk masyarakat dimana media sebagai *transmission model*. Kedua, atau media membentuk masyarakat dimana media sebagai *cultural model*. Ada perbedaan mendasar diantara keduanya ;



<i>Transmission Model</i>	<i>Cultural Model</i>
<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Melihat peristiwa sebagai hubungan di antara berbagai lembaga terkait di dalam produksi berbagai pesan. 2. Melihat reaksi audiens terhadap media. 3. Melihat bagaimana audiens memproses pesan. 4. Melihat bagaimana audiens bereaksi terhadap pesan. 	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Melihat peristiwa di dalam media sebagai sebuah cara audiens untuk memahami berbagai kejadian. 2. Melihat bentuk budaya media di dalam mengkonstruksi pesan. 3. Melihat reaksi yang berbeda dari audiens dalam melihat berita yang sama. 4. Mengenali bentuk-bentuk bahasa, budaya, dan ritual yang digunakan.

Media memotret kejadian tertentu dan menyajikannya dalam intepretasi-intepretasi tertentu dan dikodekan. Kemudian konteks masyarakat mempengaruhi apakah media menjadi *watchdog*, menjadi *sunshine journalism* dan sebagainya. Eksistensi media bergantung dari bagaimana konteks masyarakat memandang media. Apakah masyarakat menempatkan media sebagai *transmition model* atau sebagai *cultural model*. Ketika masyarakat memperlakukan media, mereka memberi nilai pada media. Dan konteks masyarakat inilah yang menentukan warna dan mendorong adanya transformasi sistem media.

4. Faktor Teknologi dalam Transformasi Media

Perkembangan teknologi telah mendorong transformasi dari masa ke masa. Kita bisa melihat dari era paling awal pada teknologi media komunikasi yang sederhana hingga yang kompleks seperti saat ini, perkembangan itu akan memberikan perbedaan cara berkomunikasi. Teknologi bukan berarti jenis-jenis teknologi komunikasi semata. *Technology is the physical means of producing, reproducing, distributing goods, services, materials and cultural products. In the case of communication, technology includes the physical media and techniques, the technical practices and machinery, by which we communicate* (Grossberg et al ; 2006, h.13)

Teknologi misalnya, ada dua pandangan yakni optimis dan skeptis (*techo-utopianism*). Optimis bahwa teknologi memberi manfaat atau skeptis bahwa tidak akan ada gunanya. Apakah teknologi itu dimaknai optimis ataukah skeptis, semua itu bisa dilacak tergantung dari kepentingannya. Institusi misalnya, akan berhitung secara politis apa dampak dan pengaruh pada kehadiran teknologi. *Technology are not an independent part of society. Technologies are often created within, shaped by, and controlled by institution involved in their production* (Grossberg et al ; 2006, h.13-14).

Secara politis, apakah teknologi akan menguntungkan posisi dan eksistensi negara atau tidak. Untuk *Civil Society* misalnya, institusi akan berpikir apakah ini memiliki nilai guna atau tidak. Kadang teknologi sudah ada, tapi *endorse* dari institusi belum ada. Teknologi menjadi politis, tergantung institusi. *Endorse* atau dukungan ini bisa berupa fisik (infrastruktur) dan non fisik (kesiapan masyarakat, payung regulasi dan *low enforcement*)

Untuk beberapa negara, perkembangan teknologi digital dengan cepat mendorong transformasi sistem media menuju digitalisasi. Teknologi memang menjadi salah satu pendorong dari

transformasi sistem media, namun tidak semua stimulus perubahan teknologi yang makin mutakhir menghasilkan transformasi sistem media dengan mudah. Namun transformasi sistem media masih bergantung dan didorong oleh politik, sehingga pemafaatan teknologi menjadi sangat politis.

5. Faktor Globalisasi dalam Transformasi Media

Globalisasi menjadi isu yang mendapat perhatian besar sejak akhir abad ke 20 hingga awal abad ke 21. Tomlinson (1999) telah mengutarakan mengenai globalisasi dalam dua sisi. Pertama, globalisasi dapat memberi keuntungan kepada suatu negara karena globalisasi elah membuat dunia terasa dekat sekali. Seseorang sudah dapat masuk kedalam suatu negara dengan batasan yang tidak berarti. Kedua, globalisasi dapat memberi keburukan pada suatu negara sebab ia menimbulkan imperialisme baru terhadap budaya suatu bangsa.

Globalisasi membuat dunia menjadi lebih kecil, setiap kawasan atau negara saling terhubung dalam jaringan hubungan yang intensif. Wujud proses globalisasi disebabkan ekspansi kapital atau modal dan pesatnya perkembangan teknologi komunikasi yang memudahkan tiap orang menjelajahi dunia tanpa dibatasi ruang dan waktu. Dunia menjadi *borderless*. McLuhan mengatakan bahwa media komunikasi telah membawa penduduk dunia memasuki alam *Global Village*. Dimana penduduk dunia menjadi satu dan tinggal di sebuah desa yang bernama “bumi” atau “dunia”, yang nantinya akan mengarah ke *Global Cultural Homogeneity*.

Dalam era globalisasi, dunia sekarang tidak lagi dikenal berdasarkan ideologi politik yang ada dalam negaranya, tetapi lebih kepada kuasa ekonominya. Kuasa ekonomi dunia yang didominasi oleh Amerika Serikat dan negara maju lainnya, dengan sistem kapitalisnya ingin mewujudkan satu dunia yang global dengan pasar global. Ada tujuh mitos mengenai Globalisasi (Mc.Quails, 2004, h.240-248) yakni *The Myth of : Bigger is Better, More is Better, Time and Space have dissapeared, The Global Cultural Homogeneity, Saving Planet Earth, Democracy for Export via America TV, and The New World Order*.

Kaitannya dengan transformasi sistem media, mitos “*The bigger is Better*” mengarah pada semakin besar kekuatan modal maka bisa *survive*. Sementara itu “*More is Better*” mengarah ke bagaimana menaikkan profit sebesar-besarnya. Inilah yang mengarahkan komersialisasi media semakin kentara, karena kemudian liberalisasi diamini. Selanjutnya kapital asing menginvasi negara-negara berkembang dan akibat tekanan “*going global*” mereka menerima kapital asing. Semua akses dan *policy*nya terbuka untuk internasional.

Ini semua akan mengubah sistem media dibawah tekanan “*going global*” . Sebagai contoh, banyaknya perusahaan media asing yang beroperasi di sebuah negara. Di beberapa negara, pengaturan *ownership* untuk media asing tidak terlalu kuat, sejauh ini hanya peraturan penanaman modal asing yang digunakan, padahal perusahaan media baik itu nasional ataupun asing bukan sebuah bisnis yang konvensional. Contoh lainnya, dalam hal penerapan teknologi, tekanan “*going global*” pun mendorong negara-negara melakukan transformasi sistem media.

METODOLOGI PENELITIAN

Untuk memahami fenomena mengenai transformasi sistem media Tiongkok dan apa yang melatarbelakanginya, penelitian ini menggunakan pendekatan kualitatif-deskriptif. Riset kualitatif

bertujuan untuk menjelaskan fenomena sedalam-dalamnya dan agar mampu memahaminya. Di sini yang lebih ditekankan adalah persoalan kedalaman (kualitas) data bukan banyaknya (kuantitas) data (Kriyantono, 2012: 23). Maka yang dimaksud dengan metode penelitian diatas adalah peneliti hanya menggambarkan hasil-hasil penelitian mengenai fenomena transformasi pada sistem media di Tiongkok dan faktor-faktor yang mempengaruhi transformasi pada sistem media di Tiongkok. Berdasarkan analisis mengenai gejala dan faktor-faktor yang mempengaruhi transformasi sistem media di Tiongkok selepas *Open Door Policy*, peneliti meraba kemungkinan ruang publik yang merdeka.

Penelitian ini merupakan penelitian deskriptif. Neumann (2000) mengatakan bahwa : *“Descriptive research present a picture of a specific details of situation, social setting or relationship. The outcome of a descriptive study is detailed picture of the subject.”*. Penelitian ini menggambarkan situasi dan kondisi sosial secara mendetail agar mendapat gambaran subyek seteliti mungkin.

Selalu ada hubungan antara metode pengumpulan data dengan masalah penelitian yang ingin dipecahkan, masalah memberi arah dan mempengaruhi metode pengumpulan data. Dalam Moleong (2007, h. 248) Bogdan dan Bikken melihat analisis data kualitatif merupakan upaya yang dilakukan dengan jalan bekerja dari data, mengorganisasikan data, memilah-milahnya menjadi kesatuan yang dapat dikelola, menemukan yang penting untuk dipelajari dan memutuskan apa yang dapat diceritakan kepada orang lain. Data yang digunakan bisa dari berbagai sumber dengan bentuk seperti hasil wawancara, hasil pengamatan di lapangan, dokumen-dokumen, foto dan sebagainya.

Metode penelitian yang digunakan adalah metode kepustakaan (*Library Research*). Peneliti mempelajari dan mengumpulkan kepustakaan, yaitu buku-buku, jurnal, majalah, artikel dan karya ilmiah yang berhubungan dengan sistem media dan perkembangan media di Tiongkok. Adapun langkah-langkah yang dilakukan peneliti dengan metode kepustakaan. Peneliti melakukan analisis data dengan mengumpulkan sumber-sumber literatur terkait yang mampu memberikan dukungan terhadap topik dalam penelitian. Sumber literatur berupa buku, jurnal ilmiah, buku prosiding dan artikel ilmiah yang relevan. Kemudian setelah sumber-sumber literatur terkumpul kemudian data diklasifikasikan dan dilihat urgensinya kemudian dirangkaikan. Akan terlihat data yang utama dan data komplementer pada proses klasifikasinya, kemudian disusun sistematis sebagai suatu kesatuan naskah akademik.

TEMUAN DAN ANALISIS DATA

Transformasi Sistem Media di Tiongkok dari Totaliterism ke *Marketized-Authoritarian* didorong oleh banyak faktor. Pertama faktor ekonomi melalui *Open Door Policy* di masa Deng Xiao Ping. Kedua Peristiwa Tiananmen tahun 1989 yang juga merubah politik di Tiongkok. Ketiga gelombang globalisasi menerpa Tiongkok dan tekanan untuk *going global* . Keempat, masuknya teknologi dalam perubahan sistem media Tiongkok.

Pertama, *Open Door Policy* merubah wajah perekonomian Tiongkok dan mendorong transformasi sistem medianya. Dalam kajian ekonomi media, dipilah tataran makro dan mikro. Makroekonomi terkait dengan sistem ekonomi nasional dan internasional, misalnya kebijakan

ekonomi, pertumbuhan ekonomi, inflasi dan konsumsi. Sedang Mikro ekonomi menyangkut hal yang lebih spesifik yakni sub sistem ekonomi seperti struktur ekonomi, struktur pasar, perilaku konsumen dan sebagainya (Picard,1989).

Transformasi sistem media di Tiongkok terlihat setelah kematian Mao Ze Dong yang juga mengakhiri era Mao yang bersifat *Totalierism*. Deng Xiao Ping kemudian hadir membawa reformasi yang dimulai dari sistem ekonomi yang mulai terbuka. Robert DeJke dan Guillaume Vandenbrouke (2006, h. 3-4) pernah melakukan riset di Tiongkok, dan menemukan adanya transformasi ekonomi. Pertumbuhan ekonomi yang signifikan terjadi di Tiongkok antara tahun tahun 1978-2003 dengan penurunan prosentase pekerja di secktor agrikultur dari 70% (persen) menjadi 50% (persen). Penurunan signifikan itu terjadi setelah diberlakukan *Oper Door Policy*. Sektor non agrikultur menggeliat. Sumber utama dari pertumbuhan ekonomi di Tiongkok bersumber pada *Total Factor Productivity* (TFP) yang merupakan sumbangsih terbesar dari sektor private non agriculture. *Setelah Open Door Policy* di Tiongkok juga menimbulkan relokasi pekerja dari sektor publik ke privat. Pertumbuhan ekonomi makin melesat dipicu masuknya teknologi dan ekspansi pada sektor non agrikultur.

Di tahun 1949-1966 terjadi Revolusi Kebudayaan di Tiongkok dibawah kepemimpinan Mao Ze Dong. Kepemilikan pribadi atas media dihapuskan dan media kemudian menjadi organ partai. Kemudian, di tahun 1966-1978 perkembangan media semakin memburuk. Hampir semua surat kabar berhenti terbit kecuali 43 surat kabar yang telah menjadi organ partai. Namun pada Desember 1978 Deng Xiao Ping membuat kebijakan pintu terbuka (reformasi nasional). Perusahaan media mulai terbit kembali, pemotongan subsidi negara, iklan mulai banyak dan media lebih mandiri secara ekonomi. Kalangan privat pun mendapatkan kesempatan ekspansi pada industri media. Sebagai hasilnya, pada tahun 1990an media China diwarnai oleh marketisasi dan privatisasi, munculnya genre media yang baru, program-program baru dan publikasi yang mengemuka (Zao, 1998; Wu, 2000).

Faktor-faktor ekonomi di lingkungan media ini diperhitungkan dalam proses transformasi. Apa yang terjadi di sistem ekonomi Tiongkok berimplikasi pada perubahan media. Perubahan yang kentara adalah sesuatu yang tidak boleh pada masa Mao pada masa Revolusi Budaya, justru diperbolehkan pada masa Deng Xiao Ping seperti hiburan, gaya hidup, berita olah raga, *stock news*, *infotainment*, film kungfu dan kartun Disney. Budaya populer pun menyubur. (Zao, 1998; Wu, 2000).

Dalam analisisnya, Jian Wang (2011, h. 74) menjelaskan bahwa sistem media di Tiongkok berubah, ditandai dengan berubahnya lanskap media. Wang menjelaskan ; *“The Media landscape has been transformed restively quickly, for it no longer serves solely as the “propaganda mouthpiece” of the Chinese of viewer ratings and to maximize advertising income, many state-owned media organizations have changed their content and increased their publications and programing. A few have become ‘media conglomerates’ even expanding into other type of business.”*

Meskipun jumlah media banyak secara kuantitas, media tidak bebas. Ketika media bisa *survive* secara finansial, ada celah dimana media bebas dan bersikap kritis terhadap kebijakan pemerintah. Namun hal itu tidak terjadi di Tiongkok. Industrialisasi tidak banyak berefek kearah demokratisasi, namun hanya mengubah media Tiongkok yang tadinya merupakan instrumen propaganda, pelayan partai/negara berubah menjadi media yang memiliki *multiple social function* (He,

1998; Lee 2000).

Media dapat menuju netral jika ia tidak memiliki ketergantungan baik secara ekonomi terhadap pemberi subsidi. Namun logika tersebut tidak banyak berpengaruh di Tiongkok. Meskipun media terbilang otonom secara ekonomi, ia tetap dibawah intervensi negara yang menggurita. Media di Tiongkok tetap berjuang untuk berkelit dari negara yang tetap menginginkannya sebagai alat perpanjangan kekuasaan. Sementara itu Partai Komunis yang memegang otoritas tinggi berusaha menggunakan media untuk membentuk agenda dalam diskursus politik, melakukan propaganda dan mendukung pemimpin yang berkuasa.

Kedua, Peristiwa *Tiannanmen* Tahun 1989 dan Perubahan Politik Tiongkok mendorong transformasi sistem media. Tiongkok berjuang menjadi bangsa yang unggul dengan reformasi melalui pertumbuhan ekonomi, seperti yang dibayangkan Deng Xiao Ping pada tahun 1978. Modernisasi masuk ke Tiongkok dan membuatnya menjadi negara sosialis dengan karakter tersendiri. Modernisasi menjadi sebuah proses yang tidak terelakkan bagi Tiongkok. Secara teori, modernisasi akan menimbulkan partisipasi politik meningkat seperti yang diungkap oleh Myron Weiner (1971) bahwa modernisasi dalam prosesnya tidak dapat dikontrol dan diklaim oleh sekelompok tertentu.

Dalam satu dekade reformasi, muncul kelompok-kelompok dalam Peristiwa *Tiannanmen* yang menuntut demokrasi, dimana kekuasaan didistribusikan dan tidak sentralistis. Konsekuensi dari kemajuan-kemajuan dan pertumbuhan ekonomi yang dicapai melalui modernisasi akan melahirkan susunan masyarakat yang kompetitif yang akhirnya bisa memaksa kekuasaan diserahkan sebagian melalui lembaga-lembaga politik. Meskipun pada peristiwa *Tiannanmen 1989*, negara mampu menekan tuntutan pembagian kekuasaan dan membatasi jalur komunikasi politik, termasuk mengekang media. Ini merupakan respon politik pemerintah Tiongkok, yang mulai mengkaji ulang penguatan Sosialisme ala Tiongkok sebagai dasar untuk meraih *nation goals*.

Pengekangan ini sangat rapi dilakukan melalui sensorship yang ketat, berkali-kali lebih ketat dibanding sebelum Peristiwa *Tiannanmen*. Menurut Chalaby (2000) negara menindak media dengan empat strategi sensor. Pertama, sensorship melalui legislasi yang melegalkan upaya koersif. Kedua, *sensorship* secara administratif melalui proses registrasi menyangkut pemberian lisensi media dan garansi finansial. Ketiga, *sensorship* melalui jalan kekerasan fisik atau upaya koersif seperti pemberangusan, penahanan, pernyataan bersalah tanpa proses peradilan, serta penculikan. Dan yang terakhir, *sensorship* secara ekonomi seperti pengenaan pajak media yang tinggi. Alih-alih meminimalisasi gerakan-gerakan yang bersifat subversif atau mengancam kekuasaan negara, strategi justru menghilangkan-paksakan kebebasan berpendapat.

Selain itu Tiongkok membangun lembaga-lembaga yang secara sistemik mengendalikan dan mengontrol keberadaan dunia maya. Pertama, *The General Administration of Press and Publication (GAPP)* bertanggung jawab untuk menyensor semua media cetak dan mengekang semua penerbit, termasuk penerbit internet, serta membutuhkan ijin dari GAPP. Kedua, *The State Council Information Office* yang mengontrol konten Internet. Semua organisasi berita dan organisasi swasta dalam memposting di internet wajib melaporkan dan informasi yang akan di posting dapat di sensor lebih dulu. Ketiga, *The Central Propaganda Department* yang melakukan sensor terhadap publikasi semua konten yang terkait dengan pemerintah dan melakukan edukasi terhadap penerbit dan editor

mengenai tipe informasi yang dapat dipublikasikan dan ideologi apa yang dapat direpresentasikan. Selain itu, Tiongkok juga memiliki *the State Administration of Radio, Film and Television; the Ministry for Information Industry; the Ministry of Public Security; dan the General Administration for Customs and the State Secrecy Bureau.*

Dalam konteks konten, tentu saja dibanding sebelum Peristiwa *Tiannanmen*, pengawasan lebih ketat. Meskipun ada marketisasi media, namun konten politis “yang menyerang” pemerintah tidak diijinkan. Ada intimidasi yang lebih kuat dari negara-walaupun tidak separah era Mao-dan hal ini menyebabkan media memperhitungkan gerakannya. Karena intimidasi negara yang kuat dan keinginan media sebagai entitas ekonomi untuk terus “hidup” maka media menyesuaikan diri. Media lebih jarang membicarakan politik dengan format *hardnews*, kebanyakan tampil dengan kemasan *softnews*. Selain itu trivialisasi konten menggejala, dimana *entertainment* menjadi konten yang dominan. Pemerintah memang sengaja menjaga *mediasphere* agar tetap “menenangkan” dan tidak menimbulkan potensi krisis.

Tiongkok merupakan salah satu negara yang menarik. Selepas Peristiwa Tiananmen, pemerintah melakukan represi terhadap aktivis-aktivis yang melancarkan protes terhadap negara. Mereka mulai menangkapi dan memenjarakan aktivis serta membatasi media-media konvensional. Ruang gerak yang dibatasi ini membuat para aktivis maupun *protesters* beralih ke Internet dan melakukan perjuangan melalui *cyberprotest*.

Ruang-ruang virtual dalam Internet menjadi arena pertarungan politik. Meski demikian, pemerintah menekan *Cyberprotest* dengan menciptakan banyak aturan main dalam Internet. Berbagai kebijakan dan aturan menghujani media *online* hingga negeri itu sering disebut sebagai “*The Great Firewall*”

Ketiga, tekanan untuk *going global* . Sejak *Open Door Policy*, Tiongkok memang terbuka dalam kancah ekonomi internasional. Tiongkok mau tak mau terlibat dalam isu yang tengah terjadi di dunia. Globalisasi menjadi isu yang mendapat perhatian besar sejak akhir abad ke 20 hingga awal abad ke 21. Globalisasi membuat dunia menjadi lebih kecil, setiap kawasan atau negara saling terhubung dalam jaringan hubungan yang intensif. Wujud proses globalisasi disebabkan ekspansi kapital atau modal dan pesatnya perkembangan teknologi komunikasi yang memudahkan tiap orang menjelajahi dunia tanpa dibatasi ruang dan waktu.

Isu besar dari globalisasi sebenarnya adalah ekonomi. Pada perkembangannya kapital asing menginvasi negara-negara berkembang dan akibat tekanan “*going global*” mereka menerima kapital asing. Semua akses dan *policy*nya terbuka untuk internasional. Ini semua akan mengubah sistem media dibawah tekanan “*going global*” . Sebagai contoh, adanya perusahaan media asing yang beroperasi di sebuah negara (termasuk Tiongkok). Contoh lainnya, dalam hal penerapan teknologi, tekanan “*going global*” pun mendorong negara-negara melakukan transformasi sistem penyiaran analog ke digital.

Meski isu ini menguntungkan pada sektor ekonomi Tiongkok karena berhubungan dengan kapital, pada titik tertentu ini meresahkan pemerintah. Tiongkok bersikukuh menerapkan “Sosialisme ala Tiongkok” ditengah gempuran nilai-nilai luar yang datang akibat globalisasi. Hal ini juga mempengaruhi sistem media di Tiongkok. Meski terdapat komersialisasi media, kepemilikan media

oleh asing terbatas. Selain itu gerak jurnalis asing dipersempit. Tiongkok menyadari bahwa dalam keadaan dunia yang *borderless*, ada banyak potensi pelemahan fondasi negara.

Ada dua hal yang ditakutkan pemerintah Tiongkok sehingga mereka mengkondisikan sistem media Tiongkok *authoritarian* terkait isu globalisasi; pertama, globalisasi menyebabkan penetrasi nilai-nilai luar seperti konsumerisme, demokrasi, hak asasi manusia dan sebagainya dianggap melemahkan posisi negara dan mengancam proses pencapaian *nation goals*. Kedua, globalisasi dapat memberi keburukan pada suatu negara sebab ia menimbulkan imperialisme baru terhadap budaya suatu bangsa.

Globalisasi memang mempengaruhi sistem media menjadikan media lebih terbuka pada liberalisme ekonomi. Teknologi yang dibawa pada proses globalisasi pun memberikan warna pada *platform* media di Tiongkok. Namun hal ini tidak banyak mengubah perangai sosial dan politik Tiongkok dalam memperlakukan media.

Keempat, Teknologi dalam Perubahan Sistem Media Tiongkok. Teknologi yang oleh Theodor Adorno (1903-1969) dinamai sebagai penaklukan alam oleh manusia, memiliki berbagai dimensi yang menghasilkan berbagai dimensi yang memunculkan berbagai implikasi baik pada manusia sebagai individu atau masyarakat. Akan tetapi di dalam kehidupan manusia itu sendiri tampaknya berbagai perubahan yang terjadi tidak dapat dilihat secara terpisah antara manusia dan teknologi yang ada dalam kehidupannya.

Dengan kata lain, suatu perubahan dalam kehidupan manusia baik yang menghasilkan suatu teknologi maupun yang disebabkan teknologi merupakan pertemuan antara manusia dengan alamnya, termasuk teknologi yang ada di dalamnya. Oleh karena itu setiap melihat perubahan, setiap implikasi seharusnya dipandang sebagai suatu kepanjangan dari implikasi yang ada sebelumnya.

Perkembangan teknologi telah mendorong transformasi dari masa ke masa. Kita bisa melihat dari era paling awal pada teknologi media komunikasi yang sederhana hingga yang kompleks seperti saat ini, perkembangan itu akan memberikan perbedaan cara berkomunikasi dan mewarnai *platform* media di Tiongkok.

Ditengah hiruk pikuk komersialisasi media dan tekanan negara Tiongkok yang kuat terhadap media, perkembangan teknologi komunikasi memberikan alternatif cara berkomunikasi bagi masyarakat. Yang mencolok pada transformasi media di Tiongkok adalah kehadiran *New Media* Internet, dimana ada celah ruang publik yang dirasa lebih baik bagi masyarakatnya.

Sebenarnya Internet masuk Tiongkok pada tahun 1987, diketahui dari email kenegaraan pertama berhasil dikirim dan diterima pada tahun tersebut. Tahun 1994 Tiongkok resmi *going online*. Satu dekade dari tahun 1985-1995 komersialisasi mempercepat pertumbuhan kuantitas media namun penggunaan Internet kala itu belum masif dan terbatas. Keberadaan Internet sebagai media tidak dapat dilepaskan dari keberadaan media-media sebelumnya. Secara birokratis, media seperti Internet diharapkan independen, bebas intervensi seperti sebuah ruang publik yang ideal. Setidaknya, Internet merupakan media yang diharapkan mereduksi keterbatasan yang ditimbulkan oleh peraturan-peraturan yang membelenggu media-media sebelumnya, dan kelebihanannya inilah yang menempatkan Internet sebagai sebuah media alternatif.

Internet di Tiongkok merupakan gambaran bagaimana perkembangan teknologi mempengaruhi sistem media Tiongkok yang dominan marketisasi dan peran negara yang kuat. Secara politis, Internet dapat menjadi alternatif dalam sempitnya ruang gerak media massa nasional, dimana pers dipasung. Luasnya kesempatan berpendapat pada tiap lapis masyarakat merupakan potensi dari media alternatif ini. Akses masyarakat umum makin lebar untuk berpartisipasi dalam wacana yang bersifat politis, yang kemudian memunculkan ruang publik yang demokratis.

Endeshaw (2004) mencatat bahwa ketika Internet menjadi berkembang pesat di tahun 1990an, pemerintah Tiongkok memiliki insting alami untuk membatasinya. Pemerintah Tiongkok sadar bahwa Internet menjadi *tools* untuk *going global*, dan bisnis Tiongkok tidak bisa hidup tanpanya. Namun disisi lain, Pemerintah Tiongkok tidak menginginkan peristiwa Tiananmen terulang. *Virtual space* dianggap teritori nasional Tiongkok, dan negara punya otoritas mengekangnya karena itu bagian dari kedaulatan. Dari perspektif tersebut, maka RRC terlibat dengan apa yang Endeshaw sebut sebagai “*Cat and Mouse Game*” antara regulasi dan deregulasi atas teknologi komunikasi.

Selain itu, friksi pendapat antara negara dan *civil society* mengenai Internet menjadi salah satu pemicu adanya “*Cat and Mouse Game*”. Apa yang diperebutkan keduanya adalah *virtual space* dari Internet itu sendiri. Negara mengklaim bahwa *virtual space* adalah mutlak teritori negara, sementara *civil society* memimpikan *virtual space* menjadi ruang publik (*public sphere*) yang merdeka. Negara, dengan segala kuasanya mencoba melakukan represi terhadap media, khususnya Internet guna meminimalisasi isu-isu sensitif terkait sosial dan politik berkembang dan mengendalikan opini publik.

Internet sebenarnya sebuah fenomena perkembangan teknologi yang unik di Tiongkok. Meski dihujani represi, media ini masih cukup kuat. Perkembangan teknologi menjadi faktor yang berpotensi menentukan arah transformasi sistem media selanjutnya; beralih dari *Marketized-Authoritarianism*.

Internet sebagai sebuah teknologi komunikasi tidak lepas dari perannya dalam mewujudkan berbagai gagasan manusia dalam kehidupannya. Setelah dikutip dari Mahzar dari laporan Bruce Murray tentang akan runtuhnya institusi komando hirarkis yang besar dan digantikan oleh komunitas yang tersebar yang dipimpin oleh kepemimpinan yang mandiri atau *self organizing leadership* yang dimungkinkan oleh teknologi komunikasi interaktif seperti Internet. (Mahzar, 1995:4). Internet kelak akan mereduksi pengaruh partai-negara yang mempengaruhi ide besar dan karakter organisasi dalam politik dalam negeri Tiongkok. Ini kelak menjadi proses yang panjang bagi transformasi media di Tiongkok selanjutnya.

Peluang Ruang Publik yang Merdeka dalam “Sosialialisme ala Tiongkok”

Pada era sebelum *Open Door Policy* dilakukan, media di Tiongkok sangat totaliter dibawah pengaruh Maoisme yang sangat kental. Ruang Publik nyaris tidak ada celah karena banyak *sensorship* dan larangan pemerintah saat itu atas diskursus-diskursus politik, terutama di media. Angin perubahan kemudian datang dari Deng Xiao Ping yang memberlakukan politik pintu terbuka yang

membawa Tiongkok pada babak perekonomian baru. Kebijakan ekonomi ini kemudian membuka jalan komersialisasi media-dengan sedikit catatan bahwa intervensi negara juga besar. Perubahan yang terjadi adalah bahwa sistem media *Totaliterism* bergeser menjadi *Marketized-Authoritarianism*.

Meski pertumbuhan media itu terlihat nyata secara kuantitas, namun hal tersebut berbanding terbalik dengan kualitas media itu sendiri. Pada kondisi yang ideal, ketika media dipandang sebagai institusi sosial maka muncullah ruang publik. Sebuah ruang publik akan berfungsi optimal jika ada kesadaran bernegara, kesadaran politik dan kesadaran nasionalisasi. Di Tiongkok sekarang, media sebagai institusi sosial tidak memunculkan ruang publik.

Saat ini ruang publik di Tiongkok kurang berkualitas dikarenakan dua alasan. Pertama, komersialisasi media, terutama media massa menjadikan ruang-ruang diskusi di media berpijak pada “kemauan pasar”. Komersialisasi menjadikan media mengejar profit. Logika ekonomi menjadikan media sebagai entitas bisnis mengikuti selera pasar, sehingga konten pun mengikuti selera pasar. Pertanyaannya, apakah konten “selera pasar” ini berkualitas? Diskursus-diskursus yang muncul justru tidak substansif, malah mengedepankan hal-hal yang bersifat skandal, bisa dilihat dari trivialisasi konten media di Tiongkok.

Alasan kedua, adalah tekanan dari negara yang sangat besar pada media. Ini terlihat dari bagaimana Tiongkok melakukan represi terhadap media melalui sensorship dan larangan tertentu pada media. Pada konteks yang ideal, ruang publik merupakan wilayah yang bebas sensor dan dominasi dengan akses yang terbuka bagi siapa saja. Namun pada praktiknya, negara menjadi aktor paling kuat selain pasar yang mendominasi sistem media. *Civil Society* di Tiongkok tidak banyak mengambil manfaat dari proses transformasi media. Mereka hanya mendapati ruang publik yang tidak berkualitas, dimana tidak ada kebebasan berpendapat.

Jika memang menginginkan ruang publik yang optimal berpijak pada kepentingan masyarakat, maka perlu adanya sebuah momen yang mendorong transformasi selanjutnya. Momen demokratisasi menjadi kunci pembuka selanjutnya, dan perkembangan teknologi komunikasi yang memungkinkan hal tersebut. Perkembangan *New Media* Internet memberikan sebuah kesempatan untuk Tiongkok mendapatkan ruang publik yang berpijak pada kepentingan masyarakat.

Pada momen kelahiran Internet, ada sebuah keyakinan media ini akan memberi celah bagi kebebasan berpendapat dengan *barrier* yang minim. Internet memberikan kesempatan luas dan terciptanya apa yang disebut Kenichi Ohmae sebagai “*The Borderless World*”- dunia tanpa batas. Menurut Ohmae batas-batas geografis dan politis negara-negara bangsa tidak relevan dan dibutuhkan lagi (dalam Budiarto, 1991). Celah kebebasan yang ditawarkan Internet memunculkan suatu *Counter* terhadap macetnya keran komunikasi politik saat media dipasang. Kita tentu mengenal bagaimana Internet menjadi “pelarian” ketika masyarakat tidak bisa bersuara melalui institusi-institusi konvensional yang telah cemar oleh hegemoni negara. Budiarto Shambazy (2011) menyebut “Galaksi Internet” – dalam analisis politiknya mengenai Revolusi Tunisia dan Mesir – menjadi partai politik bagi masyarakat ketika institusi-institusi konvensional tidak lagi dipercaya. Parlemen, Pemerintah, Partai, Aparat Keamanan, Hukum, Lembaga Swadaya Masyarakat serta media massa tidak lagi dipercaya sebagai pipa untuk mengalirkan aspirasi politik.

Masyarakat yang dibelenggu kebebasannya menasar Internet agar suara mereka dapat

didengar tanpa perantara ke seluruh negeri. Hal ini sejalan dengan pemikiran bahwa Internet sebagai sebuah teknologi komunikasi tidak lepas dari perannya dalam mewujudkan berbagai gagasan manusia dalam kehidupannya. Perkembangan Teknologi Informasi dan Komunikasi (TIK) telah menjadi bagian penting dalam politik dunia. Kemajuan TIK memunculkan aktor-aktor baru politik internasional seperti *Google*, *Yahoo* ataupun Media Jejaring Sosial yang memiliki andil memicu kejatuhan Presiden Mesir. TIK, dengan mengambil contoh Internet, mampu mengubah siapapun melalui diseminasi dan adopsi gagasan serta pendapat di tengah lingkup publik manapun. Diseminasi informasi ini mampu membangkitkan rasa ketidakpuasan pada kinerja atau kekuasaan, kemudian menyulut sebuah gerakan yang mengkritisi negara. Runtuhnya institusi komando hirarkis yang besar dan digantikan oleh komunitas yang tersebar yang dipimpin oleh kepemimpinan yang mandiri atau *self organizing leadership* yang dimungkinkan oleh teknologi komunikasi interaktif seperti Internet.

Ada banyak pihak pesimis bahwa kebebasan berpendapat dan terwujudnya ruang publik yang berkualitas di Tiongkok akan sulit terealisasi. Selain dari friksi pendapat mengenai keberadaan *virtual space* versi negara dan versi publik, ada rasa pesimis bahwa ruang publik di Tiongkok akan bebas dari intervensi dua aktor dominan : Negara dan Pasar.

Apa yang disebut Endeshaw sebagai “*Cat and Mouse Game*” sebenarnya merupakan celah karena disana terjadi proses tarik ulur sebelum terjadi konsensus, dimana belum terjadi sebuah momen yang tepat bagi perubahan besar. Bukan berarti bahwa peristiwa *Tiannanmen* memupuskan mimpi atau upaya kekerasan oleh negara menciutkan nyali. Kebebasan berpendapat menjadi hak asasi manusia, dan secara naluriah manusia akan mengusahakan haknya terpenuhi.

Konsep *counter* - hegemoni adalah konsep yang di kemukakan pula oleh Antonio Gramsci tentang kritik rakyat atas penguasa sebagai jawaban atas proses hegemoni kelompok dominan. Lebih lanjut, Gramsci menjelaskan bahwa ideologi adalah ‘ruh’ atau spirit yang menjadi penggerak dalam membangun kekuatan untuk melawan tirani dari hegemoni ideologi dominan (Wahid, 2008:10).

Adanya hegemoni kekuasaan pemerintah (satu-satunya aktor penguasa) yang disadari oleh masyarakat ini yang kemudian memunculkan *counter*-hegemoni dimana merupakan bentuk respon perlawanan dari pihak yang bertentangan atau tidak menyetujui atas kebijakan yang ada yaitu masyarakat. Meski “penjara berlapis” coba dibangun oleh pemerintah Tiongkok untuk melawan *counter-hegemoni* yang muncul dari perkembangan media, khususnya Internet, namun aktor-aktor di dalamnya tidak pernah berhenti dan mati. Hal ini didukung oleh perkembangan pesat kelas menengah Tiongkok yang muncul karena kondisi ekonomi Tiongkok yang membaik.

Pemerintah Tiongkok menginginkan eskalasi ekonomi yang melesat, namun dititik lain ia juga berekspektasi mengenai “Negeri Kepatuhan”. Apa yang dilakukan RRT dalam mengendalikan media, khususnya kepada media online adalah memperoleh superioritas informasi. Superioritas informasi merupakan modal dalam menguasai lini pada komunikasi politik secara lokal, regional dan internasional. Superioritas informasi dapat dicapai jika punya kontrol penuh terhadap diskursus-diskursus yang dianggap potensial melemahkan negara. Media adalah tempat terbentuknya diskursus dan opini publik, dan bagi negara ini berbahaya.

Celah optimisme Internet akan mendorong kebebasan dalam ruang publik walau ia di bawah pemerintahan yang authoritarian. Min Tang dan Narisong Huhe (2013, h. 2-3) menyebut bahwa

optimisme tentang efek di Internet di negara-negara *authoritarian* dibangun terutama pada tiga prinsip. Pertama, diyakini bahwa perluasan akses ke informasi alternatif yang ditawarkan oleh Internet menantang kontrol informasi dari rezim otoriter. Kedua teknologi informasi digital dipuji untuk memfasilitasi gerakan politik anti rezim. Ini terkait dengan kekuatannya mendiseminasikan pesan dan mengorganisir aksi. Ketiga, Internet dapat membantu perkembangan masyarakat sipil dengan pluralitas arus informasi melebarkan, dan mengintensifkan public deliberation, mempromosikan saluran alternatif interaksi sosial dan memfasilitasi jaringan antara aktivis.

Pertumbuhan kelas menengah di Tiongkok meningkat dari tahun ke tahun, dan dalam dua decade lebih meningkat. Dua puluh tahun lebih setelah peristiwa Tiannanmen, penduduk Tiongkok mengalami pergeseran fundamental baik secara ekonomi maupun sosial, khususnya di kalangan kelas menengahnya. Hal ini secara evolutif mempengaruhi hubungan penduduk dan pemerintah, yang gilirannya akan mewarnai proses demokratisasi ke depan.

Masyarakat kelas menengah merupakan pendorong terjadinya perubahan sosial ekonomi dan politik. Mereka memiliki posisi yang dapat menjadi faktor yang mendinamisir menuju perkembangan sosial. Mereka mampu melakukan hal itu karena mereka benar-benar mandiri dalam pandangan dan sikap politik serta memiliki kekuatan ekonomi yang wajar dan cukup menopang hidupnya. Komitmen mereka terhadap perubahan dan pembaharuan pada dasarnya bukan atas keinginannya untuk menjangkau strata sosial yang lebih tinggi, melainkan atas keinginannya untuk senantiasa menciptakan kemungkinan bagi diri dan lingkungannya untuk berkembang dengan kata lain kelompok masyarakat kelas menengah ini biasanya orang-orang yang sadar politik dalam pengertian sadar atas aspirasinya serta tahu bagaimana aspirasinya disalurkan. (Maryani, 1998, h. 27). Selain itu, kelas menengah adalah mereka yang memiliki akses teknologi dan cukup banyak mendapat terpaan informasi, termasuk Internet.

Teknologi akan berarti tergantung dari pemaknaan yang diciptakan manusia. Teknologi akan menjadi alat yang sedemikian menakutkan mengancam kebebasan atau pada titik tertentu justru membebaskan manusia. Namun, yang perlu dicatat bahwa teknologi hadir untuk kemaslahatan kehidupan manusia dan menjadikan manusia makin “memanusiakan” manusia yang lainnya, termasuk menjamin kebebasan berpendapat. Kelas menengah diharapkan mampu memaknai teknologi yang kemudian membebaskan masyarakat dari dominasi negara dan pasar serta menciptakan ruang publik yang berkualitas dibandingkan sebelumnya.

Perkembangan teknologi komunikasi dan Informasi serta pertumbuhan kelas menengah di Tiongkok sangat berpotensi menjadi kunci pembuka transformasi media selanjutnya, dimana ada tempat bagi masyarakat untuk mengoptimalkan ruang publik dan mewujudkan kebebasan berpendapat dan ruang publik yang berkualitas. Meskipun Tiongkok akan membutuhkan waktu lebih dari satu dekade untuk mewujudkan hal tersebut. Bukankah lingkungan akan terus berubah dan mengubah sistem-sistem di dalamnya? Sistem merupakan segala entitas yang memilih segala kemungkinan dari lingkungan. Dinamis, seperti pemikiran Luhmann.

KESIMPULAN

Luhman memandang bahwa sistem merupakan segala entitas yang memilih segala kemungkinan dari lingkungan dan sistem itu sendiri lebih sederhana dari lingkungan itu sendiri. Sistem

itu bersifat autopoietic, merujuk pada diversitas sistem-sistem dari sel biologis sampai keseluruhan masyarakat dunia. Lingkunganlah yang memiliki kemungkinan paling besar dalam perubahan suatu sistem. Sistem kemudian mengorganisasikan batas-batasan sendiri dan struktur internalnya. Sistem bergerak dinamis mengikuti alur lingkungannya Pandangan Luhman bahwa sistem bergerak dinamis mengikuti alur lingkungannya menjadi dasar dalam membaca perubahan-perubahan di lingkungan sekitar sistem media yang mendorong sistem media meresponnya dengan cara bertransformasi. Namun diluar lingkungannya, sistem itu sendiri melakukan pembenahan dan penguatan diri.

Tiongkok merupakan negara yang mengalami transformasi sistem media yang diakibatkan oleh perubahan di lingkungan sekitarnya. Dalam tulisan ini, penulis memfokuskan diri pada perubahan sistem media di Tiongkok, dengan momen penanda *Open Door Policy* yang digagas oleh Deng Xiao Ping yang membawa sistem media Tiongkok dari *Totaliterism* menuju *Marketized-Authoritarianism*. Adapun proses yang berjalan dari perubahan media tersebut dipengaruhi oleh banyak hal dengan momen penanda sebagai berikut; (1) kebijakan ekonomi *Open Door Policy* yang mengubah tata ekonomi Tiongkok yang kelak akan mewarnai sistem media, (2) Peristiwa Politik Tiannanmen 1989 yang mengubah cara negara memperlakukan media, (3) Tekanan *going global*, (4) Kemunculan Internet (Teknologi) yang mempengaruhi *public sphere* di Tiongkok.

Teknologi menjadi penentu untuk transformasi selanjutnya, terutama dengan perkembangan Internet yang mendorong adanya gerakan politik yang masif dan mendorong ke perubahan selanjutnya. Meski demikian, teknologi akan berarti tergantung dari pemaknaan yang diciptakan manusia. Teknologi akan menjadi alat yang sedemikian menakutkan mengancam kebebasan atau pada titik tertentu justru membebaskan manusia. Kelas menengah diharapkan mampu memaknai teknologi yang kemudian membebaskan masyarakat dari dominasi negara dan pasar serta menciptakan ruang publik yang berkualitas dibandingkan sebelumnya.

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Media Sosial: Mengglobalnya Informasi versus Menurunnya Efek Afektif

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Abstrak

Kehadiran media sosial sebagai salah satu bentuk media massa dalam komunikasi online dewasa ini semakin menarik masyarakat Indonesia sebagai pengguna aktif. Data menunjukkan bahwa lebih dari 90% pengguna internet di Indonesia aktif mengakses Facebook. Tak hanya sampai di situ saja, Jakarta ternyata merupakan kota di mana penduduknya paling banyak menggunakan twitter, yang mampu mengalahkan London dan Tokyo. Fenomena tersebut membuktikan bahwa praktek bermedia sosial merupakan hal yang sangat populer di Indonesia. Hal ini tentu semakin menunjang globalisasi informasi yang membuat masyarakat Indonesia tidak akan tertinggal jika dibandingkan dengan masyarakat di negara-negara lain. Namun di sisi lain, globalisasi informasi ini memiliki potensi berkurangnya unsur afektif dalam proses komunikasi yang terjadi melalui media sosial. Paper ini akan mengelaborasi globalisasi informasi melalui media sosial, berdasarkan karakteristiknya dalam lingkup kajian *new media*, dan menghubungkannya dengan potensi akan menurunnya efek afektif dalam proses komunikasi yang terjadi, berdasarkan pada Teori Dependensi Sandra Ball-Rokeach dan Melvin DeVleur.

Kata kunci: media sosial, globalisasi informasi, afektif, teori Dependensi.

PENDAHULUAN

Komunikasi online dewasa ini semakin menjadi tren di dunia, tak terkecuali di kalangan masyarakat Indonesia. Kebutuhan untuk berkomunikasi online dewasa ini mengalami peningkatan. Hal ini tentu menjadi sangat wajar di tengah-tengah perkembangan teknologi komunikasi. Selain itu, hal ini juga cukup wajar jika menilik pada bagaimana komunikasi itu sendiri – terlepas dari komunikasi tradisional yang tidak melibatkan unsur internet, maupun komunikasi online yang melibatkan unsur internet – menjadi jembatan bagi manusia dalam memenuhi kebutuhan hidupnya. Jika dilihat dari tingkatan kebutuhan manusia yang digagas oleh Maslow, mungkin memang tidak ada kebutuhan

berkomunikasi yang secara spesifik tercantum di sana. Namun, dengan melakukan komunikasi, maka kebutuhan-kebutuhan manusia dapat dengan mudah dipenuhi, mulai dari kebutuhan dasar hingga kebutuhan yang terletak pada puncak hierarki kebutuhan Maslow.

Maslow (dalam Wood, 2007: 11-16) memberikan ilustrasi bagaimana komunikasi menjadi sebuah hal yang dibutuhkan oleh manusia dalam rangka memenuhi kebutuhan-kebutuhan hidup mereka dalam segala tingkatan. Kebutuhan paling dasar misalnya, yaitu kebutuhan untuk bertahan hidup. Berikut ini ilustrasi bagaimana komunikasi menjadi kunci penting untuk pemenuhan kebutuhan dasar bertahan hidup: Untuk bertahan hidup, seseorang membutuhkan makan. Bahkan seorang bayi pun akan melakukan komunikasi dengan orang lain dalam rangka pemenuhan kebutuhan tersebut. Saat merasa lapar, seorang bayi akan berkomunikasi dengan orang tuanya melalui tangisan. Melalui tangisan itulah, sang ibu akan 'membaca' pesan yang sedang coba disampaikan oleh si bayi, yang pada akhirnya, sang ibu bisa mengetahui bahwa bayinya mungkin saja lapar, dan ia pun segera bisa menyediakan makanan dan kemudian memberikannya pada bayi tersebut. Setelah sang ibu memberikan makanan pada bayi itu, maka si bayi pada akhirnya bisa memenuhi kebutuhan akan makanannya, yang sesungguhnya merupakan suatu cara untuk bertahan hidup, sebagai sebuah kebutuhan dasar manusia.

Sebagai salah satu bentuk komunikasi online, media sosial adalah sebuah hal yang tidak bisa dipandang sebelah mata. Secara kuantitas, penggunaan media sosial di kalangan masyarakat Indonesia pun mengalami perkembangan. CEO PT. Merah Cipta Media, sebuah perusahaan yang membawahi sejumlah perusahaan konsultan komunikasi, *startup incubator*, dan perusahaan-perusahaan teknologi online di Indonesia, Antonny Liem, mengatakan bahwa masyarakat Indonesia cukup aktif bermedia sosial. Sebanyak 93% dari pengguna internet di Indonesia, aktif mengakses media sosial Facebook. Sementara itu, Jakarta tercatat menjadi kota dengan pengguna Twitter terbanyak, hingga mengalahkan London dan Tokyo. Hal tersebut membuat Jakarta didaulat sebagai salah satu tuan rumah dalam acara tahunan 'Social Media Week' pada tanggal 23-27 Februari 2015 yang lalu, di mana Antonny bertindak sebagai ketua penyelenggara. Pada saat yang bersamaan, enam kota di dunia lainnya, yaitu New York, Milan, Hamburg, Copenhagen, Lagos, dan Bangalore juga menghelat acara yang sama (Noor, 2015). Data tersebut menunjukkan bahwa berkomunikasi dengan menggunakan media sosial telah menjadi bagian dari tren kehidupan masyarakat Indonesia, tidak berbeda jauh dengan tren yang ada di kota-kota besar dunia yang lainnya.

Sementara itu, data yang tersebut pada paragraf sebelumnya sedikit berbeda dengan data yang dipublikasikan oleh *we are social*, sebuah agensi yang bergerak dalam bidang media sosial dan digital PR serta pemasaran yang berpusat di Singapura. Agensi tersebut mempublikasikan hasil riset ini secara bebas kepada masyarakat sehingga masyarakat dapat dengan mudah mengunduhnya secara gratis. Menurut GlobalWebIndex Wave, per Januari 2015, dari sebanyak 255.5 juta penduduk Indonesia, 28% di antaranya, yakni sebanyak 72.7 juta penduduk adalah pengguna internet aktif. Lebih lanjut, pengguna aktif media sosial tercatat sebanyak 72 juta orang, hal ini berarti hampir semua orang yang menggunakan internet aktif adalah juga pemilik akun aktif media sosial. Pertumbuhan tahunan pemilik akun media sosial aktif tercatat sebesar 16% jika dibandingkan dengan tahun sebelumnya. Data kuantitatif ini sesungguhnya belum cukup menunjukkan posisi Indonesia yang sangat tinggi dalam hal penggunaan internet, lebih khususnya pada penggunaan aktif media sosial.

Hal ini bisa dilihat dari angka yang terdapat pada data-data tersebut di atas masih terbilang kecil jika dibandingkan dengan negara-negara tetangga seperti Singapura, Filipina, dan Malaysia. Negara Singapura, misalnya. Dari 5.47 juta jumlah total penduduknya, 81% di antaranya yaitu sejumlah 4.45 juta orang adalah pengguna aktif internet, dengan kepemilikan akun aktif media sosial sebanyak 3.60 juta orang. Sementara itu, pertumbuhan tahunan dalam penggunaan internet naik sebanyak 12% dengan pertumbuhan pemilik akun media sosial aktif sebesar 13%. Negara tetangga lainnya, Filipina, menurut data yang dirilis tersebut, sekitar 44% dari total penduduknya yang sebanyak 100.8 juta, yakni 44.2 juta merupakan pengguna internet aktif. Dari jumlah tersebut, 40 juta di antaranya adalah pengguna media sosial aktif. Peningkatan jumlah pengguna internet aktif di negara tersebut adalah sebesar 18%, dengan peningkatan pemilik akun media sosial yang aktif juga sebesar 18% jika dibandingkan dengan kondisi tahun sebelumnya. Lebih lanjut Malaysia, dari total penduduknya sebesar 30.5 juta orang, 66% di antaranya adalah pengguna aktif internet, yakni sebanyak 20.1 juta orang. Dari sejumlah orang tersebut, 16.8 juta di antaranya adalah pengguna aktif media sosial, dengan peningkatan pengguna internet aktif sebesar 5%, dan peningkatan pengguna aktif media sosial sebesar 8% jika dibandingkan dengan tahun sebelumnya (Kemp, 2015). Namun demikian, walaupun prosentase penggunaan internet di kalangan penduduk Indonesia masih terbilang kecil jika dibandingkan dengan negara-negara tetangga, namun prosentase peningkatan jumlah pengguna internet terbilang tinggi, yaitu 16%, sementara Singapura sebesar 13% dan Malaysia sebesar 5%.

Dalam konteks komunikasi online, utamanya dalam konteks media sosial, beberapa riset telah dilakukan untuk mengungkap motivasi pengguna media sosial melakukan komunikasi online. Salah satu penelitian yang mengungkap motivasi melakukan komunikasi online, dalam hal ini media sosial, adalah penelitian yang dilakukan oleh Tandun (2010) terhadap remaja Malaka Medan. Penelitian ini menghasilkan temuan bahwa motivasi penggunaan facebook setiap individu berbeda-beda, namun secara umum alasan utamanya adalah untuk bersosialisasi dengan teman-teman lama maupun baru serta dengan anggota keluarga. Mereka tidak hanya sekedar menggunakan facebook tetapi juga mengerti aplikasi yang ada di dalamnya. Nusa (2013) juga mengadakan riset dengan tema serupa. Dalam kajiannya diperoleh temuan bahwa motivasi penggunaan media sosial facebook dan twitter adalah dilandasi oleh kemudahan yang diberikan oleh facebook dan twitter dalam pemenuhan kebutuhan mereka. Lebih lanjut, riset tersebut juga menghasilkan temuan bahwa terdapat banyak kelebihan pada media sosial facebook dan twitter, yaitu memiliki jaringan komunikasi yang luas, kecepatan dalam menyampaikan pesan dan biaya yang dikeluarkan relatif murah jika dibandingkan dengan media konvensional. Selain itu, motivasi lain adalah untuk pemenuhan kebutuhan hiburan serta kebutuhan eksistensi diri (usaha untuk membuat dirinya dikenal dan diakui keberadaannya oleh lingkungan). Lebih lanjut, kajian tentang komunikasi online utamanya mengenai media sosial juga dilakukan oleh Mustafa & Hamzah (2011). Dalam kajiannya berdasarkan survey terhadap 369 responden didapatkan temuan bahwa mayoritas responden memiliki akun lebih dari satu akun media sosial yang menghabiskan 20 jam per minggu untuk mengakses akun media sosial. Penggunaan akun media sosial selain untuk berbagi informasi juga sebagai hiburan, faktor kenyamanan dan pembentukan identitas.

Data-data penggunaan media sosial tersebut di atas menunjukkan tingkat keterhubungan masyarakat Indonesia dengan fenomena global cukup tinggi. Beberapa fitur yang terdapat dalam

media sosial umumnya mampu membuat pemilik akun 'berjalan-jalan' melewati batas ruang dan waktu secara bebas. Selama akun media sosial tersebut aktif dan tersambung dengan jaringan internet, adalah hal yang sangat mudah saat seseorang di Indonesia pada saat yang sama mengetahui apa yang terjadi di belahan dunia yang lain. Tanpa menunggu jeda, masyarakat Indonesia bisa langsung mengetahui berita mengenai pengeboman di Perancis sampai badai di Amerika Serikat. Hal ini tidak akan mungkin terjadi jika tidak terdapat sambungan internet, dan media yang tersedia hanyalah media massa konvensional seperti televisi, radio, dan surat kabar.

Fenomena tersebut di atas memunculkan adanya globalisasi informasi yang tidak bisa dihindarkan lagi. Berdasarkan KKBI Daring, globalisasi merupakan sebuah proses masuknya ke ruang lingkup dunia (KBBI Daring). Dalam kaitannya dengan informasi, maka dalam proses globalisasi ini akan memunculkan keterlibatan setiap orang dalam menyebarkan atau menerima informasi secara mengglobal, tidak terbatas pada lingkup daerah tertentu, karena seperti definisi yang tersebut di atas, bahwa ruang lingkup yang dijangkau adalah dunia, bukan lagi per daerah ataupun per negara.

Di sisi lain, komunikasi merupakan sebuah proses yang akan memunculkan efek tertentu. Para ahli telah banyak bersepakat mengenai efek komunikasi yang terbagi menjadi tiga, yaitu efek kognitif, efek afektif, dan efek behavioral. Ketiga efek tersebut memiliki tingkat yang berbeda-beda, di mana pada tingkat awal adalah efek kognitif yang berhubungan dengan pengetahuan, kemudian meningkat pada level selanjutnya yaitu efek afektif yang berhubungan dengan perasaan. Sementara itu, pada tingkatan paling tinggi adalah efek behavioral, yang banyak berhubungan dengan perilaku.

Meskipun secara teoretis efek-efek tersebut umumnya berkaitan erat dengan komunikasi massa, dalam konteks media sosial efek ini juga bisa diaplikasikan. Hal ini terjadi karena adanya konvergensi dari komunikasi interpersonal dan komunikasi massa yang bisa ditemui dalam karakteristik komunikasi bermedia sosial. Sehingga, media sosial pada level tertentu bisa dimasukkan dalam kategori media komunikasi massa, namun pada situasi tertentu bisa dimasukkan dalam kategori media komunikasi interpersonal.

Paper ini mengkaji mengenai bagaimana posisi efek komunikasi tersebut di tengah-tengah tren komunikasi bermedia sosial yang dilakukan oleh masyarakat Indonesia. Dalam media sosial, banyak ditemukan fitur yang bisa membuat manusia tetap terhubung secara personal, walaupun pada dasarnya komunikasi online berkaitan erat dengan komunikasi massa. Hal ini yang menjadi fokus dalam paper ini, yaitu bagaimana efek dari proses komunikasi di level komunikasi interpersonal yang dilakukan melalui media sosial, di tengah-tengah kemampuan komunikasi online dalam mendatangkan informasi yang mengglobal. Informasi yang mengglobal ini adalah fenomena yang tidak bisa dihindarkan mengingat komunikasi online memiliki karakter-karakter tertentu yang memungkinkan kemunculan informasi yang mengglobal tersebut.

Lebih lanjut, elaborasi mendalam terkait dengan efek komunikasi dalam berkomunikasi menggunakan media sosial ini dilakukan dengan menggunakan teori Dependensi yang digagas oleh Sandra Ball-Rokeach dan Melvin DeVleur. Secara umum, dalam teori ini dijelaskan bahwa setiap orang akan mengalami ketergantungan terhadap media karena kebutuhannya akan informasi, di mana media online mampu memenuhi kebutuhannya tersebut.

TINJAUAN PUSTAKA

Media Sosial dalam Komunikasi Online

Komunikasi online mengacu pada kegiatan membaca, menulis, berbagi video maupun foto yang berasal dari kamera yang dilakukan melalui perangkat komputer yang telah tersambung dengan jaringan internet. Komunikasi online ini juga kerap diistilahkan dengan komunikasi dalam jaringan atau yang biasa disingkat dengan istilah daring. Secara umum, karakteristik komunikasi online adalah komunikasi yang dapat dilakukan di mana dan kapan saja, adanya efisiensi biaya dan efisiensi waktu, terintegrasi dengan layanan TIK (Teknologi Informasi dan Komunikasi), serta terdapat peningkatan intensitas berkomunikasi dan meningkatkan partisipasi (Seamolec, 2014). Dalam lingkup komunikasi online, terdapat media sosial yang dewasa ini semakin menjadi tren di kalangan masyarakat dunia. Media sosial adalah sekelompok jenis media online baru, yang memiliki beberapa karakteristik, yaitu: (1) partisipasi; (2) keterbukaan; (3) percakapan; (4) komunitas; dan (5) keterhubungan (Mayfield, 2008).

Komunikasi yang terjadi pada media sosial banyak berlaku komunikasi antar pribadi melalui *chat* maupun diskusi, di mana istilah komunikasi antar pribadi juga sering diistilahkan dengan komunikasi interpersonal. Menurut Liliwari (1997), komunikasi antar pribadi adalah komunikasi antara seorang komunikator dengan seorang komunikan. Jenis komunikasi tersebut dianggap paling efektif untuk mengubah sikap, pendapat, atau perilaku manusia berhubung prosesnya yang dialogis. Sementara itu, menurut Hardjana (2003), ada beberapa hal yang perlu diperhatikan agar komunikasi antar pribadi bisa berhasil, maka partisipan dalam komunikasi tersebut harus memiliki kecakapan komunikasi baik sosial maupun behavioral. Kecakapan sosial meliputi empati, kepekaan, pengetahuan akan situasi pada waktu berkomunikasi, dan memonitor diri. Sedangkan kecakapan behavioral meliputi keterlibatan interaktif, mendengarkan, gaya sosial, dan kecemasan komunikasi.

Seterusnya menurut McKenna & Bargh (2000), komunikasi interpersonal bermedia internet merupakan interaksi langsung secara simultan, komunikasi tertulis, komunikasi bersifat anonim, hubungan antarpribadi terbentuk berdasarkan minat, tidak ada hambatan fisik dan psikis, penggunaan isyarat tekstual untuk mengatasi keterbatasan nonverbal (isyarat visual dan aural).

Komunikasi interpersonal dengan media internet merupakan perkembangan teknologi komunikasi. Disebutkan oleh Baldwin (2004) teknologi komunikasi baru didefinisikan sebagai sebuah metode baru dalam penyimpanan, penyampaian, dan penerimaan informasi yang meliputi bentuk apapun dari teknologi digital seperti *world wide web*, *chatroom*, radio dan televisi satelit. Dapat disimpulkan bahwa komunikasi antar pribadi merupakan proses penyampaian dan penerima pesan antara pengirim (*sender*) dengan penerima (*receiver*) baik secara langsung maupun tidak langsung, dapat dikatakan komunikasi secara langsung (*primer*) yaitu apabila pihak yang terlibat dalam komunikasi dapat saling berbagi informasi tanpa melalui media, sedangkan komunikasi tidak langsung (*sekunder*) dicirikan dengan adanya penggunaan media tertentu dan komunikasi ini dianggap paling efektif untuk mengubah sikap, pendapat, atau perilaku manusia.

Komunikasi melalui dunia maya atau menggunakan internet ini salah satu kelebihanannya adalah efektif dalam waktu karena berkomunikasi dengan jarak jauh, dapat menjalin komunikasi secara cepat karena tidak perlu untuk bertemu langsung. Namun di antara kedua orang tersebut kurang merasakan kedekatan emosional karena tidak melihat wujud fisik dari lawan bicaranya dan tidak dapat melihat komunikasi non verbal yang diberikan komunikator kepada komunikannya. Perubahan afektif dalam proses komunikasi interpersonal melalui komunikasi online berbeda dengan perubahan yang terjadi melalui proses komunikasi interpersonal secara langsung atau melalui tatap muka. Meskipun dalam fitur *chat* dalam aplikasi media sosial terdapat pilihan *emoticon* yang diharapkan dapat menggambarkan sifat emosional namun tidak cukup menggambarkan dalam perubahan efek afektif. *Emoticon* dalam fasilitas chatting mempermudah orang dalam menunjukkan emosi atau ekspresi yang dirasakan ketika akan menuliskan sesuatu dalam *chat box*.

Globalisasi Informasi

Globalisasi media massa berawal pada perkembangan teknologi komunikasi dan informasi pada tahun 1970. Pada masa itu mulai mengenal istilah era informasi. Hal ini dilatarbelakangi oleh arus informasi yang semakin meluas ke seluruh dunia, globalisasi informasi dan media massa pun menciptakan keseragaman pemberitaan maupun preferensi acara liputan. Kemudian seterusnya, sistem media masing-masing negara cenderung seragam dalam hal menentukan kejadian yang dipandang penting untuk diliput. Peristiwa yang terjadi dalam suatu negara, akan segera mempengaruhi perkembangan masyarakat di negara lain. Menurut istilah John Naisbit dan Patricia Aburdene dalam bukunya *Megatrend 2000* pada tahun 1991, dunia kini telah menjadi "global village" (Kuswandi, 1996).

Globalisasi secara umum merupakan suatu proses yang mencakup keseluruhan dalam berbagai bidang kehidupan yang mengakibatkan tidak adanya batasan-batasan yang mengikat secara nyata sehingga sulit untuk dikontrol. Perkembangan pesat kemampuan sumber daya manusia pada bidang teknologi informasi memungkinkan manusia dengan perangkat keras teknologi ini untuk melakukan komunikasi dengan jarak jauh. Dengan munculnya berbagai perangkat teknologi seperti *notebook* yang beredar di pasaran bahkan dengan harga yang semakin murah menunjukkan bahwa tampak adanya perkembangan globalisasi informasi. Perangkat teknologi tidak hanya digunakan oleh kalangan yang notabene berpenghasilan berlebih, namun kalangan masyarakat menengah ke bawah pun mahir dalam menggunakannya, bahkan sampai kepada anak-anak yang semakin biasa dalam menggunakan *notebook*/ perangkat teknologi.

Munculnya berbagai teknologi informasi tentu dibarengi dengan kemudahan dalam mendapatkan informasi, hal inilah yang menjadi acuan terjadinya globalisasi. Berkembangnya globalisasi memangkas waktu menjadi lebih efisien karena mampu menghubungkan individu satu dengan yang lain walaupun berada pada tempat yang jauh. Masyarakat diharapkan mampu memanfaatkan perkembangan teknologi, apabila berdiam diri dan tidak mengikuti maka akan jauh tertinggal. Globalisasi mempunyai pengaruh yang sangat besar dalam kehidupan manusia saat ini dimana manusia hidup ditengah tengah teknokogi yang semakin berkembang. Seiring dengan berkembangnya zaman globalisasi bukan hanya munculnya teknologi dan informasi, globalisasi juga dipengaruhi dengan sosial, kultur ilmu pengetahuan, dan *style* atau gaya hidup dari manusianya itu

sendiri. Sebagai makhluk sosial manusia tidak dapat hidup sendiri, yaitu selalu terhubung dengan manusia lainnya di era globalisasi.

Media informasi dan teknologi pada saat ini telah memberikan berbagai kemudahan dalam segala aspek. Kemajuan teknologi berefek pada kurangnya sosialisasi individu dengan individu lainnya karena lebih menyukai menyendiri dengan permainan teknologinya (Ameliola & Nugraha, 2013). Kemajuan teknologi memiliki potensi mendorong individu untuk menjalin hubungan yang lemah. Waktu yang seharusnya digunakan untuk bercengkerama secara langsung berkurang karena waktu tersebut tersita hanya untuk menikmati semuanya dalam kesendirian. Bahkan permainan pun bersifat individual sehingga menyebabkan semakin kecil lingkup jalinan hubungan yang luas.

Teori Dependensi

Teori Dependensi merupakan salah satu teori komunikasi, yang tergabung dalam teori komunikasi pada level komunikasi massa. Secara umum, teori Dependensi ini banyak dipelajari dalam kaitannya dengan penggunaan media massa dalam hubungannya dengan kepuasan yang didapat oleh pengguna media massa tersebut. Teori dependensi ini digagas oleh Sandra Ball-Rokeach dan Melvin DeFleur (Littlejohn & Foss, 2005). Model yang ditawarkan oleh Ball-Rokeach dan DeFleur terkait dengan teori dependensi ini berkaitan erat dengan audiens, media, dan sistem sosial yang lebih luas. Teori dependensi memprediksi bahwa setiap orang tergantung pada informasi dari media sebagai alat pemenuh kebutuhan dan tujuan tertentu. Namun, seseorang tidak akan membutuhkan semua media dalam level yang sama.

Faktor yang menentukan ketergantungan seseorang terhadap media tergantung dari seberapa besar media tersebut bisa memenuhi kebutuhan, keinginan, dan tujuan yang ingin dicapai oleh setiap orang. Pertama, seseorang akan menjadi lebih tergantung pada media yang mampu memenuhi keinginannya, dibandingkan dengan media yang tidak mampu memenuhi keinginannya. Kedua, faktor yang menentukan ketergantungan pada media adalah adanya stabilitas sosial. Jika stabilitas sosial berubah, dan konflik yang ada terlalu tinggi, maka mungkin akan memunculkan pilihan-pilihan dalam hubungan pengkonsumsian media akan berubah pula.

Model tersebut di atas menunjukkan bahwa ada unsur lain yang bisa memberikan pengaruh bagaimana seseorang akan menggunakan media, yaitu institusi sosial. Dengan kata lain, jika institusi sosial tersebut berinteraksi dengan audiens akan mampu memunculkan kebutuhan, kesenangan, dan motif yang berbeda pula dalam mengkonsumsi media.

Efek Afektif Media Massa

Semakin berkembangnya teknologi informasi dewasa ini tidak bisa dipungkiri akan memunculkan juga perkembangan media komunikasi massa. Pada akhirnya, perkembangan media komunikasi massa juga membawa kekhawatiran di kalangan masyarakat terkait dengan efek yang

mungkin ditimbulkan dari mengkonsumsi media, terutama media yang telah terintegrasi dengan perkembangan teknologi, yaitu jaringan internet. Hal ini terjadi karena karakter dan sifat media komunikasi yang telah terintegrasi dengan jaringan internet tentu akan memiliki jangkauan yang jauh lebih besar, dalam hal cakupan audiensnya. Selain itu, karakteristik lain yang menjadi kekhawatiran adalah kecepatan penyebaran informasi yang bisa dilakukan oleh media yang terhubung dengan jaringan internet. Informasi akan menyebar dengan sangat cepat, bahkan seakan-akan hampir tidak ada jeda antara kejadian dengan informasi yang tersebar.

Secara umum, dunia psikologi membagi efek media massa menjadi tiga, yakni (1) efek kognitif, (2) efek afektif, dan (3) efek behavioral (Inayah, 2011). Berikut ini adalah penjelasan untuk masing-masing efek:

1. Efek kognitif merupakan efek dari pengkonsumsian terhadap media yang berhubungan dengan pengetahuan, di mana di sini ada unsur informasi yang diperoleh. Di sini pesan yang disampaikan oleh komunikator ditujukan kepada pikiran komunikan. Dengan kata lain, tujuan komunikator hanya berkisar pada upaya untuk memberitahu saja.
2. Efek afektif memiliki kadar yang lebih tinggi jika dibandingkan dengan efek kognitif. Dalam efek yang kedua ini, tujuan komunikasi lebih dari sekedar menginformasikan atau memberikan pengetahuan. Efek afektif lebih menekankan pada bagaimana perasaan yang timbul di benak masyarakat setelah mengkonsumsi suatu isi media.
3. Efek behavioral merupakan akibat yang timbul pada diri khalayak dalam bentuk perilaku, tindakan atau kegiatan.

Lebih lanjut Inayah (2011) menjabarkan mengenai rangsangan emosional yang akan berpengaruh terhadap efek afektif dari proses komunikasi yang terjadi. Beberapa faktor yang mempengaruhi rangsangan emosional tersebut antara lain: (1) suasana emosional, (2) skema kognitif, (3) situasi terpaan (*setting of exposure*), (4) faktor predisposisi individual.

Metode Penelitian

Penelitian ini merupakan penelitian deskriptif kualitatif. Dalam penelitian deskriptif kualitatif, terdapat pendeskripsian kondisi, proses, hubungan mengenai hal-hal pokok yang ditemukan pada sasaran penelitian. Lebih lanjut, tujuan dari penelitian deskriptif kualitatif adalah untuk menggambarkan suatu kondisi, situasi, atau fenomena realitas sosial yang ada di masyarakat, yang selanjutnya dijadikan sebagai objek penelitian, dan diteruskan dengan upaya menarik realitas tersebut sebagai suatu ciri, karakter, sifat, model, tanda, atau gambaran tentang kondisi, situasi, atau fenomena tertentu (Bungin, 2007). Dalam konteks penelitian ini, maka realitas sosial yang dikaji adalah maraknya penggunaan media massa yang telah terintegrasi dengan jaringan internet, atau secara lebih spesifik, media sosial yang telah menjadi tren di kalangan masyarakat Indonesia. Fenomena tersebut dihubungkan dengan kemungkinan menurunnya efek afektif yang merupakan salah satu dari rangkaian tiga efek yang terlibat dalam komunikasi menggunakan media massa.

Sementara itu, penelitian deskriptif dalam hal ini berusaha menjelaskan apa yang sedang terjadi, baik itu sesuatu yang empirik maupun sesuatu yang berada di balik hal yang empirik tersebut. Dalam penelitian deskriptif, tidak ada usaha untuk memperbandingkan antara variabel independen dengan variabel dependen yang terdapat dalam sebuah hubungan sebab akibat, seperti halnya yang terdapat dalam penelitian komparatif (Perry, 2002). Dalam konteks penelitian ini pun tidak akan memperbandingkan antara variabel independen dan dependen.

Metode pengumpulan data dalam penelitian ini dilakukan dengan studi pustaka. Hal ini dilakukan dengan mengumpulkan data-data yang berhubungan dengan penggunaan media sosial, terutama di Indonesia, serta mengumpulkan data-data dari literatur-literatur tertentu yang berhubungan dengan media sosial, efek komunikasi, globalisasi informasi, serta teori Dependensi. Penelitian ini merupakan studi literatur, sehingga tidak secara khusus menggunakan sampel tertentu yang akan dianalisis. Namun demikian, dalam proses analisis, dilakukan elaborasi mendalam mengenai fenomena-fenomena seperti yang telah tersebut pada bagian sebelumnya. Secara praktis, proses analisis dilakukan dengan mengkonfirmasi teori yang ada dengan fenomena yang ada, serta memasukkan *critical thinking* yang bisa memberikan temuan yang berguna bagi studi komunikasi online, utamanya media sosial dalam hubungannya dengan keadaan dua sisi mata uang yang berbeda. Pada satu sisi, media sosial ini akan memunculkan informasi global, namun di sisi lain, media sosial ini juga memungkinkan menurunnya unsur afektif yang sejatinya menjadi salah satu efek yang melekat pada proses komunikasi interpersonal.

Teknik analisis dalam penelitian ini dilakukan dengan cara induktif (tanpa hipotesis). Dalam penelitian ini, analisis data dilakukan bersamaan dengan proses pengumpulan data, bukan setelah proses pengumpulan data selesai. Hal ini dilakukan dengan tujuan agar peneliti bisa segera melengkapi data yang diperlukan, jika dirasa ada kekurangan dari data-data yang telah dikumpulkan pada masa sebelumnya. Hal ini tentu akan lebih menghemat waktu dan juga tenaga (Sutopo, 2006).

Dalam konteks penelitian ini, maka analisis dilakukan dengan cara mendalami fenomena yang berhubungan dengan semakin banyaknya penggunaan media sosial di Indonesia. Kemudian pada tahapan selanjutnya, pendalaman mengenai bagaimana globalisasi informasi bisa terjadi, dilakukan berdasarkan pada karakteristik online, secara spesifik yaitu media sosial. Lebih lanjut, elaborasi mengenai bagaimana efek afektif dalam praktek bermedia sosial menjadi fokus selanjutnya. Pada akhirnya, antara pengglobalan informasi dan efek afektif ini, dihubungkan dengan teori Dependensi menjadi analisis selanjutnya yang sekaligus menjadi temuan utama dari permasalahan dalam penelitian ini.

TEMUAN DAN ANALISIS

Fenomena yang menjadi fokus dari penelitian ini adalah proses komunikasi yang dilakukan menggunakan media sosial, dalam kaitannya dengan kemungkinan akan menurunnya unsur afektif dari efek media massa, di tengah-tengah terjadinya globalisasi informasi dalam komunikasi bermedia

sosial. Seperti yang telah dipaparkan pada bagian sebelumnya, bahwa komunikasi online merupakan akibat yang muncul karena adanya konvergensi jaringan internet pada media massa, sehingga karakteristik yang ada pada komunikasi online pun akan berbeda dengan komunikasi massa konvensional.

Media sosial adalah sekelompok jenis media online baru, yang memiliki beberapa karakteristik, yaitu: (1) partisipasi – media sosial mampu mendorong keterlibatan seseorang dalam memberikan kontribusi dan umpan balik/ *feedback* dari siapapun yang tertarik untuk terlibat di dalamnya, sehingga mampu mengaburkan peran audiens sebagai pengguna media dengan media itu sendiri; (2) keterbukaan – sebagian besar media sosial terbuka untuk bisa dimasuki *feedback* serta partisipasi, karena telah menjadi sifat dasarnya bahwa media sosial mampu mengundang seseorang untuk memberikan komentar maupun saling berbagi informasi; (3) percakapan – media sosial lebih memungkinkan untuk melakukan komunikasi dua arah, dibandingkan dengan media massa konvensional yang sifat lebih kepada menyiarkan saja; (4) komunitas – media sosial sangat memungkinkan adanya komunitas dengan segala kegiatan mereka, dan bisa secara cepat dan secara efektif saling berkomunikasi, di mana komunikasi yang bisa mereka lakukan adalah komunikasi yang berhubungan dengan kesenangan maupun hobi orang-orang yang terdapat dalam komunitas tersebut; (5) keterhubungan – sebagian besar media sosial memungkinkan para penggunanya untuk saling terhubung dengan satu sama lain, baik sesama pengguna media sosial maupun keterhubungan dengan situs tertentu (Mayfield, 2008).

Dari komunikasi online tersebut akan mampu memunculkan globalisasi informasi. Dunia dengan sangat mudah dipenuhi dengan kisah-kisah maupun informasi yang berasal dari belahan dunia yang lain. Saat siapapun bisa menjadi komunikator tanpa perlu memiliki atribut sebagai wartawan atau bagian dari kantor berita tertentu, tentu penyebaran informasi akan semakin luas. Dalam kaitannya dengan media sosial sebagai bagian dari komunikasi online, maka siapapun yang memiliki akun media sosial, ataupun pengguna media sosial bisa menjadi komunikator. Komunikator di sini tentu bisa saja menjadi komunikator utama, atau bisa juga menjadi komunikator kedua, ketiga, keempat, dan seterusnya. Hal ini bisa dilakukan karena media sosial menyediakan fitur yang bisa menjadikan pemilik akun media sosial untuk berlaku menjadi komunikator.

Misalnya dari media sosial facebook, yang menurut data statistic masih menjadi primadona media sosial di Indonesia. Pemilik akun facebook bisa menjadi komunikator utama atau komunikator pertama, ketika dia secara langsung mengunggah status, catatan, maupun foto dan video. Lebih lanjut, pemilik akun facebook juga bisa menjadi komunikator yang kedua, ketiga, keempat, dan seterusnya ketika dia menggunakan fitur ‘bagikan’ atau ‘share’ yang terdapat pada media sosial facebook. Hal yang akan di-‘bagi’ tersebut bisa berupa status, foto, catatan, serta unggahan lainnya dari pemilik akun facebook lain. Unggahan lain di sini maksudnya adalah artikel maupun berita dari portal berita online.

Sementara itu, dari media sosial twitter, seorang pengguna twitter pun bisa berlaku sama seperti pengguna facebook, yaitu menjadi komunikator pertama ataupun komunikator utama, maupun menjadi komunikator kedua, ketiga, keempat, dan seterusnya. Pemilik akun twitter bisa berlaku menjadi komunikator pertama ketika dia mengunggah status (seringkali digunakan pula istilah *ngetweet*), mengunggah status, foto, serta video. Lebih lanjut, pemilik akun twitter juga bisa menjadi

komunikator kedua, ketiga, keempat, dan sebagainya dengan memanfaatkan fitur *'retweet'*, di mana fitur ini memiliki fungsi yang sama persis dengan fitur *'share'* atau *'bagikan'* yang terdapat pada media sosial facebook. Hal yang bisa di-*retweet* pun beragam, bisa berupa status, foto, maupun video dari pemilik akun twitter lain. Selain melakukan *'retweet'* terhadap hal-hal yang diunggah oleh pemilik akun lain, sama seperti media sosial facebook, pemilik akun twitter juga bisa melakukan *'retweet'* terhadap artikel, informasi, dan isi pemberitaan dari portal berita online.

Fitur-fitur tersebut yang terdapat di media sosial, sangat memungkinkan penyebaran informasi yang semakin cepat, semakin tidak terbatas ruang dan waktu, dan lama-kelamaan semuanya akan sama. Informasi yang tersebar benar-benar akan menjadi informasi yang sama yang akan diterima oleh siapapun yang ada di dunia, baik dunia belahan lain sekalipun.

Sebuah studi mengenai *retweet* di twitter pernah dilakukan oleh Boyd (2010). Temuan dari penelitian tersebut di antaranya adalah adanya motivasi yang melatarbelakangi seseorang melakukan *retweet*, salah satunya adalah agar unggahan yang ia *retweet* bisa dibaca oleh lebih banyak orang. Hal ini menunjukkan bahwa fitur *'bagikan'* atau *'retweet'* benar-benar merupakan salah satu hal penting yang semakin mendorong tersebarnya sebuah informasi semakin meluas dalam waktu yang semakin singkat.

Karakter kedua dari media sosial adalah keterbukaan. Dengan berkomunikasi menggunakan media sosial, maka semua informasi bisa dengan mudah diketahui. Bahkan tak jarang informasi yang seharusnya bersifat pribadi pun akan dengan mudah tersebar secara massal sehingga akan memungkinkan diketahui oleh publik. Selain itu, informasi yang belum saatnya dipublikasikan pada publik juga sangat mungkin telah terpublikasi melalui media sosial. Beberapa hal yang sesuai dengan hal ini adalah informasi yang berhubungan dengan kasus yang penyelidikannya masih berjalan, atau informasi yang berhubungan dengan penanganan musibah ternetu maupun bencana alam. Karakter kedua ini erat kaitannya dengan karakter pertama, karena semakin banyak partisipan yang menyebarkan informasi maupun menyebarkan kembali sebuah informasi, maka keterbukaan akan semakin meluas.

Pada karakter media sosial selanjutnya disebutkan bahwa media sosial mengandung percakapan. Percakapan yang dimaksud di sini bisa berupa percakapan secara berkelompok maupun antara dua individu saja. Pada media sosial facebook misalnya, percakapan secara berkelompok bisa dilakukan melalui fitur *group* (kelompok) dan *group* dalam *messenger* yang terdapat di dalamnya. Dalam *group* tersebut, siapapun yang menjadi anggota bisa terlibat dalam percakapan dengan tema apapun yang saat itu sedang dilontarkan. Sementara itu, dalam kaitannya dengan percakapan antara dua orang, fitur *messenger* juga bisa dipilih dalam pada media sosial facebook agar bisa melakukan percakapan dengan lebih personal antara satu orang dengan satu orang lainnya. Berbalas komentar pada status yang diunggah oleh seorang pemilik akun facebook juga mampu mendukung percakapan antara satu orang dengan satu orang lainnya. Pada media sosial yang lain, twitter, percakapan secara personal bisa dilakukan dengan menggunakan fitur *direct message* atau biasa disingkat dengan DM. Berbeda dengan *messenger* pada facebook, untuk bisa menjalin komunikasi interpersonal dengan seseorang menggunakan DM, maka dua orang pemilik akun twitter harus telah saling mengikuti, atau istilah yang digunakan adalah *follow*. Dari percakapan yang ada, tentu akan memungkinkan

berputarnya informasi yang semakin banyak. Terlebih lagi, informasi tersebut bisa berasal dari seseorang yang tinggal jauh dari lawan komunikasinya.

Melanjutkan karakter munculnya percakapan, maka interaksi personal yang ada mampu melahirkan komunitas tertentu. Pada suatu titik tertentu, *group* yang ada dalam media sosial facebook tersebut juga merupakan kelompok yang terdiri dari orang-orang yang memiliki minat yang sama. Selain itu, komunitas juga bisa dimaknai sebagai sekumpulan orang yang tinggal pada daerah atau lokasi yang sama. Komunitas-komunitas tersebut memungkinkan. Pada akhirnya, setelah komunitas terbentuk, maka lama kelamaan akan memunculkan keterhubungan antar partisipan.

Banyak contoh kasus yang bisa dilihat berdasarkan karakteristik media sosial seperti yang tersebut di atas. Terutama jika berkaitan dengan musibah, baik bencana alam maupun bencana lainnya. Tak perlu menunggu berhari-hari, saat bencana terjadi di suatu tempat, saat itulah masyarakat di belahan bumi yang lain langsung bisa menerima informasi tersebut. Misalnya pemberitaan mengenai pengeboman yang terjadi di Paris beberapa waktu yang lalu atau jet Rusia jatuh di Sinai. Dari hal ini tentu mengglobalnya informasi adalah hal yang tak bisa dihindarkan lagi.

Fenomena ini bisa dilihat dari dua sisi, sebagai fenomena yang positif, bisa juga dilihat dari sudut pandang yang negative. Secara positif, fenomena mengglobalnya informasi merupakan suatu hal atau suatu cara untuk mengikuti perkembangan dunia, maka ini adalah hal yang positif. Masyarakat Indonesia bisa mendapat informasi yang sama dengan masyarakat yang tinggal di Amerika Serikat, negara-negara Eropa, negara-negara Arab, serta negara-negara lainnya.

Namun demikian, di sisi lain, komunikasi online juga memungkinkan berkurangnya unsur afektif dari efek konsumsi terhadap media massa. Inayah (2011) mengatakan bahwa efek afektif berhubungan dengan perasaan yang timbul setelah seseorang mengkonsumsi isi media. Di satu sisi, media sosial mampu membawa masyarakat Indonesia menuju globalisasi informasi, namun di sisi lain, dengan interaksi personal menggunakan media sosial, efek yang ada tentu akan berbeda jika dibandingkan dengan interaksi langsung maupun tatap muka.

Lebih lanjut Inayah (2011) menjabarkan mengenai rangsangan emosional yang akan berpengaruh terhadap efek afektif dari proses komunikasi yang terjadi. Beberapa faktor yang mempengaruhi rangsangan emosional tersebut antara lain: (1) suasana emosional, (2) skema kognitif, (3) situasi terpapar (*setting of exposure*), (4) faktor predisposisi individual.

Suasana emosional dipandang bisa mempengaruhi rangsangan emosional seseorang, sehingga ketika seseorang mengkonsumsi isi media, maka respon masing-masing orang dalam kaitannya dengan suasana emosional pun akan bervariasi. Misalnya pesan dari isi sebuah produk media adalah hal yang menyedihkan, maka bagi seseorang yang saat mengkonsumsinya memiliki suasana emosional yang juga sedih, tentu responnya juga akan sedih, berbeda jika seseorang tersebut mengkonsumsi isi media yang mengandung pesan sedih dalam keadaan dia tidak sedang bersedih.

Faktor kedua yang ikut memberikan adil dalam respon seseorang terhadap rangsangan emosional adalah skema kognitif. Skema kognitif ini semacam naskah yang ada dalam pikiran

masyarakat konsumen media yang menjelaskan tentang alur suatu peristiwa atau suatu kejadian. Hal ini bisa dilihat dari pengetahuan atau pemahaman seorang penonton film action, yang mempunyai peran atau aktor/ aktris yang sering muncul, pada akhirnya akan menang. Sehingga, penonton tidak terlalu cemas ketika sang pahlawan jatuh dari gedung tinggi, karena dalam benak mereka sudah tertanam persepsi atau pemahaman berupa naskah yang akan mengatur jalan cerita secara umum sebuah film action.

Situasi terpaan atau setting of exposure merupakan faktor selanjutnya yang ikut memberikan andil dalam respon seseorang terhadap rangsangan emosional seseorang saat melakukan proses komunikasi dan mengkonsumsi isi media. Contoh dari faktor ini adalah ketika seseorang mengkonsumsi film horror, dan ia mengkonsumsi film tersebut sendirian, tanpa ada teman yang menemani, dengan konsidi gelap.

Sesungguhnya media sosial juga menyediakan beragam fitur yang bisa digunakan sebagai saluran melakukan komunikasi antar pribadi, dengan adanya tanda-tanda/ icon-icon berupa smiley ataupun gambar tertentu yang mampu mewakiliperasaan, sehingga mendukung rangsangan emosional yang menjadi faktor yang berperan penting dalam kemunculan unsur afektif dalam praktek berkomunikasi online menggunakan media sosial.

Jika melihat pada teori dependensi mengenai ketergantungan masyarakat terhadap penggunaan media, tentu masyarakat secara umum akan melakukan memilih media sosial ataupun meninggalkan media sosial jika institusi sosial yang ada di sekitar masyarakat mengalami perubahan tertentu, sesuai dengan model teori Dependensi yang dicetuskan oleh Ball-Rokeach dan DeFleur. Pilihan tersebut berada di tangan masing-masing para pemilik media sosial. Sehingga, tidak bisa disebutkan berapa orang atau siapa saja yang akan memutuskan tidak lagi bergantung pada media sosial, karena berkurangnya unsur afektif.

KESIMPULAN

Berdasarkan pemaparan pada bagian sebelumnya, bisa disimpulkan bahwa menurunnya unsur afektif sebagai bagian dari efek komunikasi massa (dalam hal ini komunikasi online) adalah sebuah konsekuensi yang tidak bisa terhindarkan seiring dengan kemunculan komunikasi online tersebut yang berimbas pada mengglobalnya informasi. Sementara itu, jika dikaitkan dengan teori Dependensi, para pemilik akun media sosial tetap memiliki peluang untuk tetap bergantung atau menjadi tidak bergantung terhadap media sosial. Hal ini tentu sangat dipengaruhi oleh kondisi sosial yang ada di sekitar para pengguna media sosial tersebut.

Lebih lanjut, rekomendasi yang bisa diajukan dalam kaitannya dengan temuan tersebut adalah dengan menggalakkan gerakan new media literacy, agar para pemilik media sosial ini bisa dengan lebih bijak menggunakan media sosialnya, sehingga minimal bisa menyeimbangkan antara efek positif da efek negatif kemajuan teknologi komunikasi yang melahirkan komunikasi online.

Penelitian ini masih bisa dikembangkan lagi dengan memilih kasus atau objek tertentu yang bisa dialami secara lebih intensif dalam kaitannya dengan berkurangnya unsur afektif dalam efek komunikasi online terutama melalui media sosial.

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Rekonstruksi Citra "Ibu Ideal" Melalui Interaksi di Media Sosial

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Abstrak

Dewasa ini, pengguna internet di Indonesia terus mengalami kenaikan. Penggunaannya pun sudah merambah seluruh aspek kehidupan. Salah satu pengguna terbesar adalah ibu rumah tangga, dimana mereka memanfaatkan internet untuk mencari informasi seputar pengasuhan. Menariknya, di Indonesia, ibu muda menggunakan internet tidak hanya untuk mencari informasi pengasuhan. Tetapi juga menggunakan internet khususnya media sosial untuk berinteraksi dengan teman dalam rangka memvalidasi informasi pengasuhan yang didapat. Selain itu, interaksi juga digunakan untuk memvalidasi konsep "ibu ideal", dimana ibu akan cenderung mengadopsi konsep "ibu ideal" apabila mendapatkan respon positif. Fenomena inilah yang coba peneliti teliti, dimana peneliti menggunakan teori konvergensi simbolik sebagai landasan. Teori ini menjelaskan tentang proses pertukaran pesan yang menimbulkan kesadaran kelompok yang menghasilkan hadirnya makna, motif dan juga persamaan bersama.

Kata Kunci: pengasuhan, media sosial, konvergensi simbolik, interaksi

PENDAHULUAN

a. Latar Belakang

Pengasuhan atau pola asuh merupakan tanggung jawab yang dimiliki oleh orang tua ketika sudah memiliki keturunan, agar mereka dapat mendidik anaknya menjadi mandiri dan dewasa⁴¹. Sehingga ketika seorang anak lahir ke dunia, mau tidak mau, siap tidak siap, orang tua harus bertanggung jawab penuh terhadap anak hingga mereka dewasa. Tanggung jawab tersebut bisa dalam bentuk memberikan pendidikan yang layak, tempat tinggal, pemenuhan kebutuhan pokok, dan lain-lain.

Sementara itu, Sharon Hays (1996) mengungkapkan pengasuhan sebagai loyalitas yang ada dalam diri seorang ibu, dimana mereka cenderung mengutamakan kebutuhan anak terlebih dahulu (Reilly, 2010). Sebagian peneliti mengkritik definisi yang ditawarkan oleh Hays. Hal tersebut karena definisi tersebut mengandung makna ideal mengenai pengasuhan yang cenderung membebani ibu. Padahal, dalam konteks tertentu ibu tidak harus selalu mendahulukan kebutuhan anak. Misalnya saja

⁴¹ Pengaruh Ibu Bekerja dan Peran Ayah Dalam Coparenting

salah seorang teman peneliti yang tetap memaksakan menyusui anaknya disaat dia sedang diopname. Hal tersebut tentu berlawanan dengan ilmu kesehatan. Akan tetapi sang ibu bersikeras ingin menyusui anaknya secara langsung karena beranggapan bahwa ibu yang ideal adalah ibu yang bisa memberikan yang terbaik untuk anaknya yaitu ASI. Hal inilah yang kemudian banyak dikritisi oleh para peneliti karena secara tidak langsung memberikan tekanan kepada ibu.

Konsep ideal pengasuhan cenderung menggiring ibu untuk ikut menjadi ibu ideal. Sebagian besar peneliti mengungkapkan bahwa ibu ideal adalah ibu yang rela mengorbankan waktu, tenaga, identitas dan karir demi membesarkan anak. Selain itu, ibu ideal dituntut untuk selalu ada dan selalu terlibat dalam setiap aktifitas anak. Hal ini secara tidak langsung mengakibatkan ibu tidak memiliki waktu luang untuk dirinya sendiri, dimana lama kelamaan ini dapat memicu timbulnya stres.

Konsep ibu ideal selalu mengalami perubahan dari zaman ke zaman. Di zaman batu, ibu ideal hanya digambarkan sebagai seorang ibu yang secara alamiah mencintai dan mau membesarkan anaknya. Sehingga tanggung jawab ibu hanya melahirkan, membesarkan, dan memberikan penghidupan yang layak. Sedangkan sekarang, ibu ideal dipandang sebagai ibu super power yang dapat menjalani berbagai aktifitas sekaligus. Seperti membesarkan anak, karir, dan memanjakan keluarga. Tidak hanya itu, ibu ideal selalu diukur dari kesuksesan yang diraih anak. Jika anak juara maka ibunya dapat diklaim sebagai ibu ideal. Namun, jika anak tidak berperilaku baik dan tidak juara maka ibu lah yang patut dipersalahkan. Meskipun pada kenyataannya banyak faktor yang ikut terlibat.

Pelabelan ini lah yang sering ditemukan di masyarakat. Akibatnya, banyak ibu yang sering menyalahkan dirinya sendiri. Selain itu, pelabelan juga memuat kecenderungan ibu untuk berkompetisi dengan ibu lain dalam membesarkan anak. Dampak negatif dari citra ibu ideal sebenarnya dipicu oleh konstruksi yang dilakukan oleh media. Banyak media yang mengkonstruksi citra ibu ideal sebagai ibu yang selalu rela berkorban dan cenderung tidak mementingkan diri sendiri. Selain itu, konstruksi yang dilakukan oleh media menghasilkan dua kutub yang selalu berlawanan. Yaitu ibu yang selalu di rumah atau ibu rumah tangga atau ibu yang bekerja.

Hasil konstruksi yang dilakukan oleh media mengenai citra ibu ideal menghasilkan opini di tengah masyarakat yang menyatakan bahwa ibu yang ideal adalah ibu yang selalu berada di rumah atau ibu rumah tangga. Karena mereka selalu ada menemani anaknya serta mau meninggalkan karir demi anak. Sedangkan ibu bekerja cenderung dinilai egois karena lebih mementingkan karir dibanding dengan membesarkan anaknya. Walaupun fakta yang ditemukan pada penelitian lain menyebutkan bahwa faktor yang mendorong ibu bekerja adalah faktor ekonomi, dimana ibu sengaja bekerja untuk membantu memenuhi kebutuhan keluarga. Pengorbanan ibu dengan ikut mencari nafkah seharusnya juga dibarengi dengan kerelaan ayah untuk ikut terlibat dalam pengasuhan. Hal ini sangat diperlukan dalam rangka meminimalisir tingkat stress pada ibu.

Namun, praktek pengasuhan oleh ayah di Indonesia masih sangat jarang. Pemicunya adalah budaya Indonesia yang sebagian besar menganut sistem patriarki, dimana ayah merupakan kepala keluarga yang bertugas mencari nafkah, sedangkan ibu bertanggungjawab untuk mendidik anak. Hal ini secara tidak langsung menyebabkan ayah masih awam dengan konsep pengasuhan. Sehingga tak jarang kita temukan ayah yang sering bingung dalam menghadapi anaknya sendiri.

Tren pengasuhan oleh ibu tidak hanya terjadi di Indonesia. Di Amerika, sebelum revolusi industri terjadi, pengasuhan dianggap sebagai bagian yang alami dan menyatu dengan ibu. Di saat revolusi industri terjadi, laki-laki diminta untuk bekerja di pabrik-pabrik yang letaknya jauh dari rumah. Sehingga perempuan yang merupakan seorang ibu secara tidak langsung harus tetap tinggal di rumah untuk mengasuh anak. Di sini lah kemudian muncul konsep bahwa ayah bekerja mencari nafkah, sedangkan ibu bertugas di rumah untuk mengasuh anak.

Tren berbeda ditemukan pada perang dunia pertama dan kedua, dimana ibu dituntut ikut serta dalam tugas patriotik. Akibatnya, ibu tidak dapat terlibat langsung dalam pengasuhan karena anak harus dititipkan ke penitipan anak yang dimiliki oleh pemerintah. Pada era ini, terjadi kemajuan di bidang ilmu kesehatan dan psikologis, yang memberikan kontribusi positif dalam konsep pengasuhan. Sebagai contoh, di era ini muncul konsep ASI sebagai satu-satunya makanan yang terbaik untuk anak.

Tidak hanya itu, era ini juga melahirkan konsep ibu ideal adalah ibu yang selalu ada dan terlibat dalam setiap rutinitas anak, atau yang lebih dikenal dengan "*intensive motherhood*". Konsep ini terus berlanjut dari tahun 1945 hingga sekarang, dimana penekanan ide pentingnya rutinitas bersama ibu memunculkan istilah *bounding* yang hingga hari ini populer digunakan. Bak mata uang, konsep *intensive mothering* selain dianggap sebagai konsep ideal dalam pengasuhan, juga kerap kali dikritisi. Karena ibu kerap kali dihadapkan pada kewajiban untuk terus menemani anak tanpa menyadari bahwa mereka juga butuh waktu untuk diri sendiri. Dilema ini lah yang kemudian memicu rasa bersalah pada ibu. Di samping itu, tuntutan tersebut juga kerap membuat ibu stress yang tak jarang berujung pada kekerasan pada anak. Seperti banyaknya yang ditemukan pada pemberitaan mengenai tindak kekerasan pada anak yang dilakukan oleh orang tuanya sendiri. Salah satu kasus yang banyak mendapat perhatian publik adalah kasus kekerasan yang dialami oleh Angeline. Terkuaknya kasus tersebut berawal dari laporan keluarga yang merasa kehilangan anaknya. Gencarnya upaya keluarga dalam mencari Angeline terlihat dari sayembara yang mereka sadakan di media sosial.

Angeline bukanlah satu-satunya anak yang mengalami tindak kekerasan. Sebelum kasus Angeline mencuat, kasus penelantaran anak oleh orang tuanya sendiri juga terjadi di Cibubur. Kasus penelantaran yang juga dibarengi tindak kekerasan tersebut mencuat ketika salah seorang pengguna media sosial mengunggah foto anak yang ditelantarkan. Postingan tersebut dengan cepat menjadi viral di dunia maya.

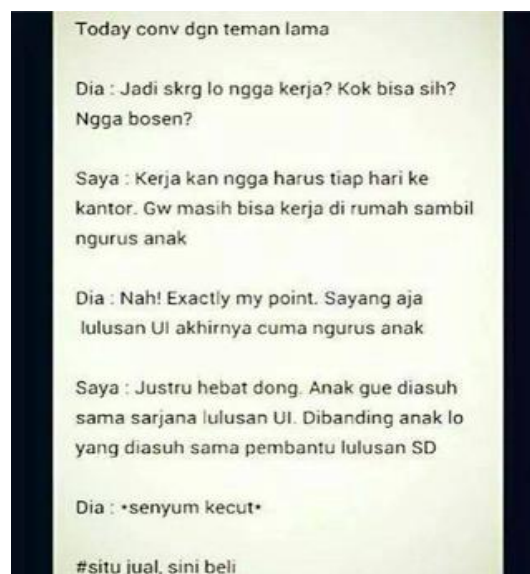
Berbagai opini bermunculan di media sosial terkait isu tersebut. Sebagian besar opini mencela perbuatan kedua orang tua tersebut. Terutama ketika profesi sang ayah yang diduga sebagai seorang dosen. Kecaman terutama berbicara mengenai konsep pola asuh yang dianut oleh orang tua korban. Kedua kasus tersebut hanya beberapa kasus kekerasan pada anak yang marak terjadi, dan kasus ini bukanlah sesuatu yang baru. Data dari Komnas Perlindungan Anak menunjukkan bahwa terjadi peningkatan kekerasan terhadap anak setiap tahunnya. Setidaknya terdapat 3.349 kasus kekerasan pada tahun 2013⁴².

⁴² <http://m.tempo.co/read/news/2015/06/23/174677447/begini-pelaku-dan-penyebab-kekerasan-pada-anak> diakses 6 Oktober 2015

Kekerasan pada anak hanya salah satu dampak negatif dari besarnya tuntutan atau tekanan yang diterima oleh orangtua khususnya ibu terkait dengan pengasuhan. Dampak negatif lain yang dapat muncul dari tuntutan konsep ibu ideal adalah tidak adanya identitas pengasuhan pada ibu. Hal ini karena ibu cenderung menerima dan langsung mengolah informasi seputar parenting yang ia dapat tanpa ada filtering terlebih dahulu. Dengan kata lain ibu selalu mengikuti apa yang dianggap benar oleh orang lain. Pengalaman ini lah yang peneliti alami ketika baru pertama kali memiliki anak. Bermodalkan media sosial khususnya *facebook*, peneliti mencari grup-grup yang dapat memberikan informasi seputar metode pengasuhan.

Grup-grup yang peneliti ikuti sebagian besar banyak memberikan informasi yang bermanfaat bagi peneliti yang ketika itu masih berstatus ibu muda. Semua informasi tersebut langsung dilahap tanpa ada filterisasi. Karena memang tidak ada bekal pengalaman sebelumnya dan tidak ada keluarga atau kolega yang dapat digunakan untuk memverifikasi informasi yang peneliti terima. Hasilnya, peneliti tidak memiliki metode pengasuhan yang jelas dan konsisten. Karena peneliti hanya mengikuti apa yang dianggap ideal oleh grup tersebut. Padahal apa yang dianggap ideal oleh grup tidak selamanya cocok dengan anggota grup. Selain itu, dalam mengasuh anak, setiap ibu hendaknya sudah mempunyai perencanaan yang jelas mengenai tujuan pengasuhan. Misalnya, apa yang ibu harapkan dari pengasuhan tersebut. Apakah ingin anak berkarakter mandiri, berani, dan lain-lain.

Gambar 1 Screen Capture Perdebatan di Dunia Maya

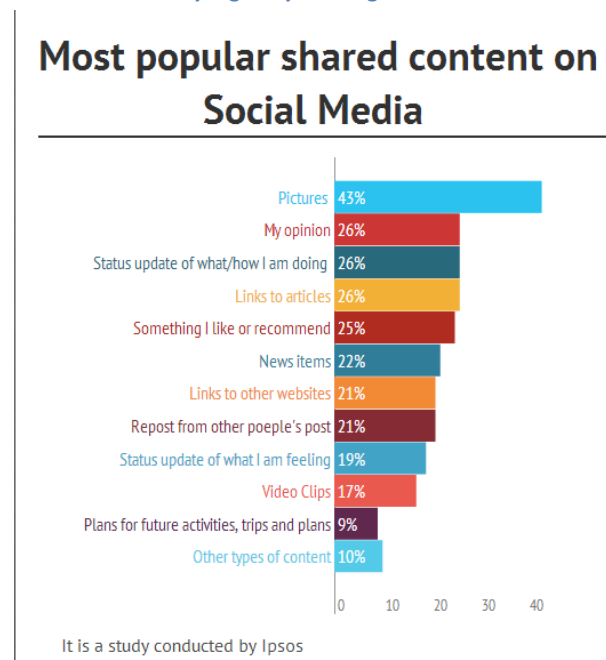


Pada tahap awal pengadopsian konsep ideal dari grup, peneliti tidak merasakan ada yang salah. Peneliti cenderung memiliki mimpi yang tinggi untuk bisa menjadi ibu yang ideal untuk anak-anak. Namun, lama kelamaan peneliti mulai dihindangi kebingungan bahkan stress karena apa yang dianggap ideal oleh grup tidak sesuai dengan apa yang peneliti alami. Sehingga timbul rasa bersalah dan rasa takut untuk tidak menerapkan konsep pengasuhan ideal dari grup. Hal ini tidak hanya dialami oleh peneliti.

Beberapa teman peneliti juga mengalami hal yang sama terutama bagi mereka yang belum memiliki pengalaman dan tidak ada keluarga yang dapat ditanyai mengenai konsep pengasuhan ideal. Dampaknya pun beragam antar satu individu dengan individu lain. Bagi beberapa ibu mungkin hanya memberikan efek stress atau tidak adanya konsistensi dalam metode pengasuhan. Namun, ada juga beberapa ibu yang terkena dampak lebih ekstrim. Misalnya saja memutuskan untuk keluarga dari pekerjaannya. Hal tersebut karena ramainya postingan di media sosial yang menyebutkan bahwa ibu yang ideal adalah ibu rumah tangga, karena mereka senantiasa bisa menemani dan langsung mendidik anaknya. Berbeda dengan ibu bekerja yang dinilai egois. Demi eksistensi diri rela menyerahkan tugas mengasuh kepada asisten rumah tangga yang tingkat pendidikannya rendah. Berikut salah satu postingan yang beberapa waktu lalu sempat ramai di media sosial.

Perubahan konsep pengasuhan juga terjadi di era digital seperti saat ini. Era dimana manusia tidak bisa dilepaskan dari teknologi dan internet. Jill Shepherd (2004) menyebutkan bahwa ciri khas dari era digital adalah adanya teknologi yang dapat mempercepat penyebaran informasi. Selain itu, Jill Shepherd (2004) di dalam bukunya menyebutkan bahwa era digital bisa dilihat sebagai suatu evolusi informasi dimana terjadi keberlimpahan informasi yang diikuti oleh tingginya ketergantungan manusia kepada informasi tersebut⁴³.

Gambar 2 Konten yang banyak dibagikan



Fenomena banjir informasi di atas sesuai dengan data yang diungkapkan oleh Zephoria, dimana terdapat 1.5 Miliar pengguna media sosial, 300 juta foto di upload setiap hari, 4.75 Miliar konten dibagikan setiap hari⁴⁴. Banyaknya konten yang diupload setiap harinya disebabkan oleh sifat media sosial yang mudah digunakan, *real time* dan setiap orang bisa membagikan informasi tanpa harus melewati *gate keeper* terlebih dahulu. Laman Social Media Today pada tahun 2013 menulis

⁴³ <http://www.igi-global.com/chapter/digital-era/29024> diakses 13 November 2015

⁴⁴ Mom Gone Social

bahwa konten yang paling banyak di bagikan oleh pengguna media sosial adalah foto, link artikel, dan status update. Sedangkan sisanya berbagai jenis konten seperti yang tertera dalam gambar di bawah ini⁴⁵.

Ibu muda yang notabeneanya dikenal sebagai ibu yang sudah terbiasa menggunakan internet juga terkenal aktif dalam menggunakan media sosial. Riset yang dilakukan oleh Lembaga Riset Edison menyebutkan bahwa ibu menghabiskan waktunya lima kali lebih banyak dibandingkan pengguna lainnya dalam mengakses media sosial, dimana para ibu lebih banyak menggunakan facebook⁴⁶. Sementara itu, Baby Center mengungkapkan bahwa ibu menggunakan internet untuk mencari informasi seputar pengasuhan⁴⁷.

Keberlimpahan sumber informasi yang dapat diakses oleh ibu dalam mencari informasi pengasuhan disatu sisi dapat memberikan manfaat. Di sisi lain, keberlimpahan informasi menimbulkan ambiguitas, dimana pengguna tidak dapat mengetahui kebenaran suatu informasi. Hal ini lah yang kemudian coba diatasi oleh para ibu melalui interaksi di media sosial. Sebagian besar ibu berdasarkan hasil *preliminary research* yang peneliti lakukan menyebutkan bahwa mereka memanfaatkan interaksi di media sosial untuk memvalidasi kebenaran suatu informasi termasuk informasi seputar pengasuhan.

Misalnya saja, apabila ibu mendapatkan informasi seputar pengasuhan dan masih ragu akan kebenarannya, maka ibu akan cenderung untuk bertanya dengan teman atau di grup terkait dengan informasi tersebut. Apabila respon yang ibu dapat cenderung melemahkan informasi tersebut maka ia tidak akan memprosesnya. Proses validasi ini juga berlaku sama ketika ibu mencari konsep ibu ideal.

Berdasarkan latar belakang di atas, maka peneliti tertarik untuk meneliti bagaimana rekonstruksi citra 'ibu ideal' melalui interaksi di media sosial 'facebook'. Dalam penelitian ini, peneliti akan menggunakan pendekatan kualitatif dengan metode studi kasus, dimana teori yang akan digunakan adalah teori konvergensi simbolik.

b. Pertanyaan Penelitian

Adapun yang menjadi pertanyaan mendasar dari penelitian ini adalah:

- a. Bagaimanakah konsep citra 'ibu ideal'?
- b. Bagaimanakah rekonstruksi citra 'ibu ideal' melalui media sosial 'facebook'?

c. Tujuan Penelitian

Tujuan dari penelitian ini adalah :

- a. Untuk memahami konsep citra 'ibu ideal'
- b. Untuk memahami konstruksi citra 'ibu ideal' melalui media sosial 'facebook'

⁴⁵ <http://www.socialmediatoday.com/content/what-most-popular-content-shared-social-media diakses 13 November 2015>

⁴⁶ Edison Research

⁴⁷ Baby Center

KERANGKA TEORI

2.1 Teori Konvergensi Simbolik

Teori konvergensi simbolik dipelopori oleh Ernest Brooman. Teori ini menjelaskan tentang proses pertukaran pesan yang menimbulkan kesadaran kelompok yang menghasilkan hadirnya makna, motif dan juga persamaan bersama. Kesadaran kelompok yang terbangun dalam suatu kelompok dapat membangun semacam makna, motif untuk bertindak bagi orang-orang dalam kelompok tersebut.

Menurut Ernest Brooman kata lain untuk proses konvergensi simbolik adalah tema fantasi. Tema fantasi adalah pesan yang didramatisasi seperti permainan kata-kata, cerita, analogi, dan pidato yang menghidupkan interaksi dalam kelompok. Setiap individu akan saling berbagi fantasi karena kesamaan pengalaman atau karena orang yang mendramatisasi pesan memiliki kemampuan retorik yang baik. Sekumpulan individu ini dapat berasal dari orang-orang yang sudah lama saling mengenal dan berinteraksi ataupun bisa juga dari orang-orang yang baru saling kenal, lalu saling berinteraksi dan bertukar pengalaman yang sama sehingga menimbulkan proses konvergensi simbolik.

Symbolic Convergence Theory (SCT), menjelaskan bahwa makna, emosi, nilai, dan motif untuk tindakan di retorika yang dibuat bersama oleh orang yang mencoba untuk memahami dari pengalaman yang umum, seperti keragaman kehidupan. Teori ini mengupas tentang fenomena pertukaran pesan yang memunculkan kesadaran kelompok yang berimplikasi pada hadirnya makna, motif, dan perasaan bersama. Artinya teori ini berusaha menerangkan bagaimana orang-orang secara kolektif membangun kesadaran simbolik bersama melalui suatu proses pertukaran pesan. Kesadaran simbolik yang terbangun dalam proses tersebut kemudian menyediakan semacam makna, emosi dan motif untuk bertindak bagi orang-orang atau kumpulan orang yang terlibat didalamnya.

Fungsi dari teori ini adalah menganalisa interaksi yang terjadi di dalam skala kelompok kecil. Kelompok di sini dapat berupa kelompok sosial, kelompok tugas, atau kelompok dalam sebuah pergaulan. Secara proses, teori ini bertujuan untuk mengetahui bagaimana proses terbentuknya *sense of community* dan *group consciousness* dalam sebuah kelompok. Teori ini memiliki anggapan dasar bahwa setiap anggota kelompok melakukan pertukaran fantasi dalam rangka membentuk kelompok yang kohesif. Dengan saling bertukar fantasi tersebut bisa memicu terjadinya interaksi kelompok yang baik. Fantasi yang dimaksudkan di sini bisa berupa ide-ide, cerita, gurauan, dan lain-lain yang mengungkap emosi atau mengandung emosi.

Fantasi bisa meliputi peristiwa di masa lalu atau yang akan terjadi, namun fantasi tidak termasuk pada komunikasi yang berfokus pada kegiatan yang terjadi dalam kelompok tersebut. Contohnya adalah vina sedang mengikuti rapat audit suatu acara seminar dengan anggota lainnya, mereka sedang membicarakan tentang kesalahan susunan acara yang dibuat oleh seksi acara, karena suasana semakin menegang dan diantara anggota kelompok sudah terjalin *sense of belonging* maka vina berbicara tentang rencananya yang ingin mentraktir mereka di tempat favoritnya. Dari analogi diatas, saat mereka berbicara tentang audit susunan acara yang salah bukanlah fantasi, tapi yang fantasi adalah saat vina ingin mentraktir teman-temannya untuk makan di tempat favoritnya.

Kesimpulan dari penerapan fantasi di dalam interaksi suatu kelompok adalah untuk mencairkan suasana dan mempermudah dalam hal pengambilan keputusan. Keterbukaan tiap-tiap individu dalam kelompok juga mendukung terjadinya fantasi dalam konvergensi simbolik.

2.2 Konsep dari Citra Ibu “ideal”

Kamus Besar Bahasa Indonesia mendefinisikan ibu sebagai seorang wanita yang telah melahirkan seseorang. Sehingga, setiap wanita yang telah melahirkan diberikan tanggung jawab untuk membesarkan dan memberikan penghidupan yang layak bagi anak. Tanggung jawab tersebut, secara otomatis, akan terus menempel pada seorang ibu hingga anak dewasa. Banyak yang berpendapat bahwa seorang ibu sudah terlahir dengan tanggung jawab tersebut. Padahal, beberapa penelitian menunjukkan bahwa sedikit banyaknya budaya ikut berperan dalam membentuk tanggung jawab apa yang harus dipikul oleh ibu. Seperti yang diungkapkan oleh Arendel (2000), dimana sebagian besar budaya memandang bahwa ibu berperan dalam mengasuh dan membesarkan anak-.

Shari L. Thurer (1994) menyebutkan bahwa budaya ikut mengintervensi terjadinya perubahan ideologi pengasuhan ibu dari zaman batu hingga sekarang (p. 1). Pada zaman batu, pengasuhan dianggap sebagai suatu yang alamiah, dimana ibu hanya dituntut untuk membesarkan anak tanpa ada keharusan mendidik dengan tujuan khusus. Hal berbeda kita temukan pada ibu-ibu zaman sekarang, dimana ideologi pengasuhan cenderung disamakan dengan tujuan dan identitas ibu.

Selain itu, penelitian yang dilakukan oleh Douglas dan Michaels (2004) menunjukkan bahwa konstruksi sosial juga ikut berperan dalam mengkonstruksi tanggung jawab apa saja yang harus dilakukan oleh ibu. Hasil penelitian tidak hanya membahas mengenai tanggung jawab tetapi juga membahas mengenai konsep ibu “ideal”. Douglas dan Michaels (2004) mengungkapkan bahwa konstruksi sosial juga ikut berperan dalam membentuk konsep ibu “ideal”. Mereka mengungkapkan bahwa ibu di abad ke-12 mendefinisikan ibu yang ideal adalah ibu yang bisa melakukan dua tanggung jawab sekaligus. Yaitu memiliki anak, karir, dan memiliki waktu luang untuk membuatkan makanan sehat bagi keluarga-.

Konsep ibu ideal tersebut memiliki standar yang tinggi, dimana ibu dinilai sebagai manusia super power yang dapat melakukan semua hal dalam waktu bersamaan dengan hasil maksimal. Namun, tingginya standar tersebut membuat ibu susah untuk mencapai kata “ideal”. Bahkan, dampak negatifnya, banyak ibu yang dilanda rasa frustrasi karena apa yang dirasakan tidak sama dengan konsep ideal tersebut. Selain itu, Douglas dan Michaels juga menyebutkan bahwa adanya keinginan ibu untuk terlihat ideal di mata sesama kolega atau ibu-ibu lainnya.

Pendapat senada mengenai ibu ideal juga datang dari Sharon Hays (1996), dimana ia mengungkapkan bahwa ibu ideal adalah ibu yang mau mengorbankan waktu, energi, dan uang untuk membesarkan anak. Konsep ibu ideal ini lebih dikenal dengan istilah *intensive mothering*. Lebih lanjut, Hays menjelaskan bahwa munculnya konsep ideal ini merupakan hasil intervensi dari budaya.

Alyson Schafer dalam bukunya *Breaking The Good Mom Myth* menyebutkan bahwa banyak yang mendefinisikan ibu ideal sebagai ibu yang bertanggung jawab terhadap apa yang dilakukan oleh

anak, mulai dari prestasi hingga tingkah laku. Misalnya, jika anak nakal maka yang patut disalahkan adalah ibu. Padahal banyak faktor yang dapat mempengaruhi anak nakal. Hal ini lah yang kerap kali membuat ibu sering menyalahkan dirinya sendiri, bahkan tak jarang ibu dilanda rasa stres.

Berdasarkan penjelasan di atas, kita dapat mengetahui bahwa budaya memiliki peran dalam membentuk konsep atau citra ibu ideal. Sebenarnya, tidak hanya budaya yang berperan dalam membentuk konsep tersebut. Media juga memiliki andil dalam membentuk konsep atau citra ibu ideal. Seperti yang diungkapkan Kitch (2001) bahwa konsep ibu ideal atau romantisme pengasuhan tersebut sudah muncul di majalah *Good Housekeeping* satu abad yang lalu-. Majalah tersebut membuat kolom khusus "*Mother and Child*" dimana kolom tersebut menampilkan foto salah satu artis yang sedang mengasuh anaknya. Majalah ini pun mendapatkan respon positif dari pasar.

Kesuksesan *Good Housekeeping* diikuti oleh *Ladies Home Journal* dimana mereka mengonstruksi peran wanita sebagai ibu yang selalu ada di rumah. Pada tahun 1925, *Good Housekeeping* juga ikut melakukan konstruksi mengenai citra ibu yang baik melalui ilustrasi berupa foto seorang ibu yang *fashionable* sedang memangku anaknya sambil membaca buku di pantai. Disini, *Good Housekeeping* berusaha menjelaskan bahwa ibu yang baik adalah ibu yang selalu terlibat dalam aktifitas harian anaknya. Dengan kata lain, ibu selalu berada di rumah dan menemani anak.

Konstruksi yang dilakukan media terus berlanjut hingga lahirnya istilah "*Celebrity Mom*", dimana media menggunakan artis untuk menciptakan ilusi bahwa ibu dapat mengurus anak dan karir dengan mudah dalam waktu yang bersamaan seperti yang dilakukan artis. Di samping itu, pada saat yang bersamaan media juga ramai mempromosikan mengenai bahanya yang mungkin akan dihadapi oleh anak kedepannya. Marylynne Viola Lawson dalam penelitiannya berjudul *Blogging, Baby, and Business* mengungkapkan bahwa media melakukan perubahan konsep dalam mengkonstruksi citra ideal, dimana dulu ibu ideal adalah ibu yang secara alamiah mencintai rumah dan anaknya. Namun, saat ini, ibu ideal adalah ibu yang mau mengorbankan waktu dan identitasnya untuk membesarkan anak.

Banyaknya pendapat yang menyebutkan bahwa ibu ideal adalah ibu yang rela mengorbankan waktu, tenaga, uang, dan karir untuk anak mengakibatkan munculnya dua kutub yang selalu berlawanan. Yaitu kutub ibu yang di rumah atau ibu rumah tangga dan ibu bekerja. Ibu yang selalu berada di rumah dianggap ideal dan baik karena dapat selalu menemani dan membesarkan anaknya sendiri. Sedangkan ibu yang memilih untuk bekerja di luar rumah sambil membesarkan anak dinilai cenderung egois dan tidak peduli dengan anak. Hal ini lah yang coba dikonstruksi oleh film *Fatal Attraction*, *Stepmom*, dan *Little Children*.

METODE PENELITIAN

a. Metode Penelitian Kualitatif

Sebelum membahas tentang metode penelitian kualitatif, terlebih dahulu dijelaskan sekilas tentang pengertian metode. Kata metode berasal dari bahasa Latin *methodus* yang berarti cara. Dalam bahasa Yunani, *methodus* berarti cara atau jalan. Sedangkan dalam bahasa Inggris *method* dijelaskan

dengan metode atau cara. (Soemargono, 1983: 17). Kata metode telah menjadi bahasa Indonesia yang memiliki pengertian: "Suatu cara yang bisa ditempuh atau cara yang ditentukan secara jelas untuk mencapai dan menyelesaikan suatu tujuan, rencana sistem dan tata pikir manusia. (Habib, 1992:160).

Penelitian kualitatif pada hakekatnya ialah mengamati orang dalam lingkungan hidupnya, berinteraksi dengan mereka, berusaha memahami bahasa dan tafsiran mereka tentang dunia sekitarnya. Tujuan dari penelitian kualitatif ini adalah untuk memperoleh pemahaman, makna '*verstehen*', untuk mengembangkan teori dan menggambarkan suatu fenomena.

Penulis menggunakan metode penelitian kualitatif dengan beberapa pertimbangan yakni, dengan metode kualitatif mempermudah untuk berhadapan dengan kenyataan ganda, kemudian metode ini juga menyajikan secara langsung hakikat hubungan antara peneliti dan yang diteliti dan selanjutnya kualitatif lebih peka dan lebih dapat menyesuaikan diri dengan banyak penajaman pengaruh bersama dan terhadap pola-pola nilai yang dihadapi. Oleh sebab itu, metode ini diharapkan dapat mengalisis secara mendalam dan menginterpretasikan kondisi atau hubungan yang ada, proses yang sedang berlangsung.

b. Teknik Pengumpulan Data

Pada penelitian kualitatif, manusia dijadikan sebagai instrumen penelitian utama. Alasannya ialah bahwa segala sesuatu belum mempunyai bentuk yang pasti. Masalah, fokus penelitian, prosedur penelitian, bahkan hasil yang diharapkan, itu semua dapat ditentukan secara pasti dan jelas sebelumnya. Oleh karena itu, data dikumpulkan terutama oleh peneliti sendiri secara langsung dengan memasuki lapangan. Dalam penelitian ini penulis sendiri yang menjadi instrumen utama untuk terjun langsung ke lapangan serta berusaha sendiri untuk mengumpulkan informasi melalui observasi, wawancara, dan studi kepustakaan.

1. Observasi

Observasi adalah dasar semua ilmu pengetahuan. Para ilmuwan hanya dapat bekerja berdasarkan data, yaitu fakta mengenai dunia kenyataan yang diperoleh melalui observasi. Data itu dikumpulkan dengan berbagai alat, diantaranya alat yang sangat canggih sehingga dapat diobservasi benda yang sekecil-kecilnya atau yang sejauh-jauhnya di jagat raya. Namun betapapun canggihnya alat yang digunakan, tujuannya satu, yakni mengumpulkan data melalui observasi. (Nasution, 2003: 57). Observasi tidak dapat terlepas dari dua hal yaitu *informasi* (misalnya apa yang terjadi) dan *konteks* (hal-hal yang berkaitan dengan sekitarnya). Segala sesuatu terjadi dalam dimensi waktu dan tempat tertentu. Informasi yang dilepaskan dari konteksnya akan kehilangan *makna*. (Nasution, 2003: 58).

2. Wawancara

Observasi saja tidak memadai dalam melakukan penelitian. Mengamati kegiatan dan kelakuan orang saja tidak dapat mengungkapkan apa yang diamati atau dirasakan orang lain. Itu sebabnya observasi harus dilengkapi oleh wawancara. Dengan melakukan wawancara kita

dapat memasuki dunia pikiran dan perasaan responden. Wawancara merupakan teknik pengumpulan data melalui tatap muka secara langsung atau melalui media, menyampaikan pertanyaan kepada responden dan orang-orang yang dianggap mempunyai hubungan dengan masalah yang sedang diteliti. Tujuan diadakannya wawancara adalah untuk mengetahui apa yang terkandung dalam pikiran dan hati orang lain, bagaimana pandangannya tentang dunia, yaitu hal-hal yang tidak dapat kita ketahui melalui observasi.

3. Studi Kepustakaan

Teknik pengumpulan data berupa teori-teori, pendapat dan atau peraturan-peraturan yang ada hubungannya dengan masalah dalam penelitian. Pengumpulan data diperoleh melalui buku-buku, internet dan catatan yang berkaitan langsung dengan masalah penelitian.

c. Analisis Data

Analisis atau mengolah data merupakan upaya mencari dan menata secara sistematis catatan hasil observasi, wawancara dan studi kepustakaan dengan tujuan meningkatkan pemahaman penelitian tentang temuan-temuan atas permasalahan yang diteliti. Menurut Mile dan Huberman (1992: 16), data yang diperoleh dari lapangan dilakukan analisis melalui tahapan-tahapan sebagai berikut:

- A. Kategorisasi dan mereduksi data,
- B. Data disusun dalam bentuk narasi-narasi,
- C. Melakukan interpretasi pada data,
- D. Pengambilan kesimpulan berdasarkan susunan narasi yang telah disusun pada tahap ketiga, sehingga dapat memberikan jawaban atas masalah penelitian.
- E. Melakukan verifikasi hasil analisis data dengan informan, yang didasarkan pada kesimpulan tahap empat.

Burhan Bungin (2007: 253-259) menyatakan bahwa penelitian kualitatif menghadapi persoalan penting mengenai pengujian keabsahan hasil penelitian. Oleh karena itu, peneliti menggunakan teknik-teknik pemeriksaan keabsahan sebagai berikut.

- A. Ketekunan Pengamatan
- B. Trianggulasi
- C. Pengecekan Sejawat.
- D. Kecukupan *Refensial*

TEMUAN DAN ANALISIS

4.1 Deskripsi Hasil Penelitian

Deskripsi hasil penelitian akan menguraikan tentang berbagai temuan dan informasi yang diperoleh dari lapangan. Informasi yang diperoleh ini berasal dari observasi dan wawancara yang dilakukan langsung oleh peneliti terhadap informan. Informan dalam penelitian ini berjumlah empat orang, dimana dua responden berprofesi sebagai ibu rumah tangga dan dua responden lainnya berprofesi sebagai ibu bekerja. Perbedaan di antara informan hanya terletak pada profesi yang

dimilikinya. Sedangkan terkait dengan tingkat pendidikan, kemampuan menggunakan media sosial, dan jumlah anak yang dimiliki, informan memiliki kriteria yang sama. Berikut data responden dalam penelitian ini.

Tabel 4.1
Deskripsi Penggunaan Facebook bagi Informan

Nama	Profesi	Usia	Pendidikan	Frekuensi penggunaan facebook per hari	Jumlah Anak
Retasari	Bekerja	29	S2	> 5x	1
Putri	Bekerja	27	S1	> 5x	1
C	IRT	27	S1	> 5x	1
D	IRT	26	S1	< 5x	1

Observasi yang peneliti lakukan bertujuan untuk mengamati bagaimana ibu memanfaatkan media sosial khususnya *facebook* dalam memenuhi kebutuhan informasi seputar pengasuhan. Selain itu, peneliti juga memanfaatkan observasi untuk mendapatkan informasi mengenai:

- pendapat ibu mengenai konsep citra ibu ideal yang dapat diamati dari *update status* atau *postingan di facebook*
- interaksi ibu dengan pengguna media sosial lainnya terkait dengan pengasuhan maupun citra ibu ideal. Disini peneliti ingin melihat, apakah dari interaksi tersebut ibu dan pengguna media sosial lainnya saling mendukung atau saling menjatuhkan

Hasil dari observasi didokumentasikan untuk kemudian diolah dan disandingkan dengan data hasil wawancara dengan informan.

Teknik wawancara dalam penelitian ini digunakan untuk melengkapi data tentang konsep citra ibu ideal. Wawancara digunakan sebagai perbandingan dengan data observasi yang telah dilakukan oleh peneliti terhadap aktivitas ibu di media sosial. Pelaksanaan wawancara ini dibatasi oleh pertanyaan-pertanyaan yang telah disiapkan oleh peneliti. Pertanyaan dibatasi hanya terkait dengan penggunaan media sosial dan pendapat ibu mengenai ibu ideal. Hasil wawancara secara keseluruhan didokumentasikan oleh peneliti dalam bentuk transkrip hasil wawancara yang terdapat dalam lampiran.

4.2 Temuan Penelitian

Konsep mengenai citra “ibu ideal”, dalam perkembangannya, banyak mengalami perubahan makna. Pada awal revolusi industri, ibu ideal didefinisikan sebagai ibu yang selalu berada disamping anak serta menemani setiap aktivitasnya. Dengan kata lain, ibu dituntut untuk selalu berada di rumah

agar dapat memenuhi semua kebutuhan anak. Konsep ini muncul karena banyaknya lapangan pekerjaan yang ditawarkan pada saat itu. Sehingga ayah memutuskan untuk bekerja di industri yang lokasinya jauh dari rumah demi perbaikan ekonomi. Sementara itu, penelitian yang dilakukan oleh Douglas dan Michaels (2004) menemukan bahwa konstruksi sosial juga ikut berperan dalam mengkonstruksi peran ibu ideal.

Berdasarkan hasil wawancara yang peneliti lakukan dengan empat informan terdapat perbedaan cara memaknai ibu ideal. Salah seorang ibu bekerja yang peneliti wawancarai bernama Retasari mengungkapkan bahwa konsep ibu ideal adalah ibu yang mau terus menerus untuk belajar, dimana tidak cepat merasa puas dalam mendidik anak. Selain itu, ibu ideal tidak selalu merasa bahwa pola asuh yang dia gunakan paling benar dan cenderung menyalahkan pilihan pola asuh oleh ibu lainnya. Retasari menyebutkan bahwa konsep tersebut ia dapatkan dari ibunya, melalui nasihat-nasihat mengenai pola asuh.

Konsep ibu ideal yang lain datang dari informan lain yang juga berprofesi sebagai ibu bekerja, bernama Putri. Dia mendefinisikan ibu ideal sebagai ibu yang punya banyak waktu untuk buah hati dan keluarganya, termasuk mengurus suami, meskipun ibu bekerja. Menurut Putri, ibu ideal dituntut untuk memprioritaskan keluarga meskipun sedang bekerja. Salah satu caranya adalah dengan tetap menjalin komunikasi dengan anak dan keluarga di saat berada di luar rumah untuk bekerja. Lebih lanjut, responden mengungkapkan bahwa ibu ideal adalah ibu yang dapat mengetahui berbagai hal (selain mendidik anak) dan mampu berdedikasi di lingkungan pekerjaan. Dengan kata lain, ibu dituntut untuk *multi tasking* dapat menguasai semua hal.

Konsep ibu ideal yang informan ungkapkan sejalan dengan konsep ibu ideal yang ditawarkan oleh Douglas dan Michaels (2004), di mana ibu ideal diartikan sebagai ibu yang dapat menjalankan dua buah tanggung jawab sekaligus yaitu, mendidik anak dan memiliki karir yang bagus. Yang menarik adalah pendapat Douglas dan Michaels yang menyatakan bahwa ibu ideal adalah hasil konstruksi sosial terbukti dari jawaban yang diberikan oleh informan ketika peneliti memberikan pertanyaan mengenai bagaimana konsep tersebut bisa muncul.

Sementara itu, bagi ibu yang berprofesi sebagai ibu rumah tangga, ibu ideal diartikan sebagai ibu yang dapat menjadi teladan yang baik untuk anak-anaknya, mendidik dan merawat dengan penuh cinta, madrasah utama tempat belajar bermain dan bertanya juga bisa menjadi sahabat anak. Disini, informan mencoba memberi penekanan bahwa ibu ideal adalah ibu yang tidak hanya mendidik dan merawat tapi juga harus bisa menjadi panutan. Konsep tersebut ia dapatkan dari agama. Hal ini wajar, karena informan selalu menerapkan nilai-nilai agama dalam kehidupan sehari-hari. Jika kita lihat lagi konsep pengasuhan dalam agama, khususnya Islam, maka ibu ideal adalah ibu yang berada di rumah untuk mendidik anaknya, karena ibu dianggap sebagai sekolah pertama untuk anak.

Salah seorang informan lain yang juga berprofesi sebagai ibu rumah tangga,, bernama Tuti menyebutkan bahwa konsep ibu ideal adalah ibu yang selalu ada kapanpun anak membutuhkannya. Lebih lanjut, ia menyebutkan bahwa ibu ideal itu harus mengetahui setiap detail perkembangan anaknya. Informan merasa konsep ini sesuai dengan apa yang dia rasakan sehari-hari mengingat informan tinggal terpisah jauh dari orangtua dan anggota keluarga lainnya. Konsep ibu ideal yang coba

ditawarkan oleh responden keempat menguatkan konsep ibu ideal yang selama ini diungkapkan oleh berbagai tokoh.

Berdasarkan keempat konsep ibu ideal diatas kita dapat menarik kesamaan sekaligus perbedaan mengenai citra ibu ideal, dimana kesamaan konsep terdapat pada ibu yang berprofesi sama, sedangkan perbedaan terletak pada ibu yang berbeda profesi. Kesamaannya adalah ibu yang berprofesi sebagai ibu rumah tangga, mendefinisikan konsep ibu ideal sebagai seorang yang selalu ada disekitar anak untuk mendidik dan membesarkan. Sementara itu, bagi ibu bekerja, konsep ibu ideal diartikan lebih kearah bagaimana mereka harus menjadi lebih baik agar dapat mendidik anak. Informan lain, bernama Reta menyebutkan bahwa menjadi lebih baik diartikan sebagai usaha untuk terus memperbaiki diri agar dapat mendidik anak dengan benar, serta terus memperbaiki diri agar tetap sukses berkarir di luar rumah. Selain itu, ibu bekerja juga mendefinisikan ibu ideal sebagai seorang yang harus bisa membagi waktu antara karir dan membesarkan anak.

Selain persamaan konsep diantara dua informan yang berprofesi sama, terdapat juga perbedaan diantara dua kelompok tersebut, dimana ibu rumah tangga lebih berfokus kepada anak secara langsung seperti memberikan pendidikan atau menjadi panutan. Sedangkan ibu bekerja lebih berfokus kepada usaha untuk memperbaiki diri agar bisa memberikan dan mendidik anak dengan baik. Hal ini disebabkan karena ibu bekerja tidak secara langsung mendidik anak dan sering menghabiskan waktu di luar rumah untuk bekerja. Sehingga muncul rasa bersalah yang berujung kepada ketidakpercayaan diri dalam mendidik anak, serta merasa harus memberikan yang terbaik untuk anak sebagai imbalan dari kurangnya waktu bersama anak.

Di samping itu, ibu bekerja cenderung menyesuaikan pola asuh dengan perkembangan zaman. Misalnya saja salah seorang respon mengungkapkan ia merasa perlu untuk terus belajar karena anak-anak saat ini cenderung kritis. Informan lain yang juga berprofesi sebagai ibu bekerja juga menyebutkan bahwa ibu harus terus belajar mengingat zaman yang belakangan semakin mengerikan. Jadi, ibu bekerja cenderung menggunakan pengalamannya di luar rumah untuk diadopsi menjadi bahan-bahan pembelajaran dalam mendidik anak.

Era digital yang didukung dengan perkembangan teknologi yang begitu cepat dan masif membuat ibu akrab dengan teknologi seperti internet dan *smartphone*. Riset yang dilakukan oleh APJI dan Puskakom UI menunjukkan wanita merupakan pengguna internet terbanyak dengan rentang usia 18-25 tahun, dimana usia ini dapat dikategorikan usia produktif dan usia ideal wanita menikah. Selain itu, APJI juga menyebutkan bahwa penetrasi internet terbanyak ditemukan pada pekerja, pelajar, dan ibu rumah tangga. Meskipun APJI tidak memperinci kategori pekerja tadi ke dalam kategori-kategori yang spesifik, kita dapat melihat bahwa wanita lah yang banyak menggunakan internet baik yang berprofesi sebagai ibu rumah tangga maupun ibu bekerja.

Penggunaan internet yang beragam dalam kehidupan sehari-hari juga terlihat pada informan penelitian ini, dimana mereka menggunakan internet untuk berbagai keperluan. Informasn mengaku bahwa mereka sering menggunakan internet terutama dengan media sosial. Frekuensi mengakses media sosial pun berbeda-beda. Namun, sebagian besar mengakses media sosial paling sedikit lima kali sehari. Bagi mereka media sosial tidak hanya sebagai sumber informasi tetapi juga berfungsi

sebagai media untuk berinteraksi.

Interaksi yang dilakukan oleh informan di media secara langsung maupun tidak langsung memberikan dampak yang juga berbeda kepada masing-masing individu. Informan pertama bernama Retasari, mengungkapkan bahwa dampak yang dirasakan ketika berinteraksi di media sosial adalah adanya kemudahan untuk bersosialisasi dengan teman-teman, kemudahan dalam berbagi pengalaman dan ilmu, serta sebagai sarana hiburan. Dampak serupa juga dirasakan oleh responden lain dimana kehadiran media sosial dapat mempermudah mereka dalam melakukan sosialisasi.

Di samping itu, informan menambahkan bahwa dampak yang juga tak kalah penting dari interaksi tersebut adalah bertambahnya sumber informasi terutama terkait dengan pola asuh. Karena memang informan memanfaatkan media sosial sebagai sarana untuk mencari referensi seputar pola asuh.

Perdebatan mengenai apakah ibu ideal dapat ditemukan pada ibu bekerja atau ibu rumah tangga seakan tiada habisnya. Masing-masing pihak merasa benar dengan posisinya. Namun, perdebatan ini sebenarnya dapat diakhiri dengan melihat bagaimana kedua belah pihak memaknai konsep ibu ideal dalam interaksi kehidupan sehari-hari. Kedua informan yang berprofesi sebagai ibu bekerja memaknai konsep ibu ideal dengan melakukan yang terbaik untuk keluarga dalam kehidupan sehari-hari. Misalnya sajanya, ketika citra ibu ideal adalah ibu yang tidak suka marah-marah, maka responden berusaha semaksimal mungkin untuk tidak marah. Tetapi, jika informan merasakan perlu ketegasan pada kondisi tertentu, maka marah-marah diperbolehkan dengan catatan-catatan tertentu.

Sementara itu, ibu rumah tangga memaknai konsep ibu ideal dalam kehidupan sehari-hari dengan mencoba untuk terus bersabar dan meluangkan waktu untuk mendidik anak sebagai fokus utama. Informan lain mengungkapkan bahwa ia memaknai konsep tersebut dengan selalu menemani dan mendukung setiap kegiatan anak. Perbedaan pemaknaan konsep ibu ideal dalam kehidupan sehari-hari sejalan dengan konsep dari citra ibu ideal yang mereka ungkapkan sebelumnya, dimana ibu bekerja masih berfokus pada upaya menyeimbangkan peran sebagai ibu dan wanita karir. Sedangkan ibu rumah tangga langsung fokus pada mendidik anak tanpa perlu memikirkan karir.

Selain itu, konsep ibu ideal yang menuntut ibu untuk selalu berada disamping anak memberikan tekanan tersendiri pada ibu bekerja. Ibu bekerja terkadang dihantui rasa bersalah karena tidak dapat selalu menemani anaknya. Seperti yang disebutkan oleh salah seorang informan, dimana ia merasa bersalah ketika harus tetap ke kantor disaat anak sedang sakit. Sehingga membuat ibu tidak terlalu fokus terhadap pekerjaannya. Informan lain juga mengungkapkan bahwa terkadang ada perasaan sedih ketika tidak bisa terus menerus melihat pertumbuhan anak karena harus berbagi waktu dengan karir yang mereka ambil. Hal ini sejalan dengan hasil penelitian yang dilakukan oleh Marettih (2013) yang menyebutkan bahwa ibu bekerja sering dihadapkan pada dilema, dimana di dunia kerja ibu dituntut untuk profesional sementara itu ibu juga tidak boleh melupakan kodratnya sebagai orang yang bertanggungjawab dalam mendidik anak.

Rekonstruksi Citra Ibu Ideal melalui Interaksi di Media Sosial

Rekonstruksi citra ibu ideal melalui interaksi di media sosial bisa dilihat dalam deskripsi berikut ini. Interaksi yang terjadi antara informan dengan teman-teman di media sosial terwujud dalam berbagai macam aktifitas seperti memberikan *like*, komentar, atau *me-reshare*. Beberapa informan yang peneliti wawancarai mengakui bahwa mereka terkadang sering berbagi pengalaman seputar pengasuhan maupun cerita tentang pertumbuhan anak masing-masing. Hal ini sejalan dengan observasi yang peneliti lakukan pada akun media sosial informan. Ketika peneliti menanyakan motif mereka berbagi pengalaman seputar anak dan pengasuhan, rata-rata informan menjawab bahwa itu mereka lakukan sebagai reminder bagi diri sendiri dan sebagai sarana berbagi pengalaman dengan teman-teman yang lain.

Respon yang diterima informan pun rata-rata bersifat positif. Sebagian besar teman informan di media sosial memberikan dukungan positif baik dengan memberikan *like* atau komentar positif. Dukungan positif dapat dilihat dari pengalaman salah seorang informan yang mengupdate status bahwa anaknya dalam kondisi sakit, tak berapa lama kemudian muncul komentar-komentar positif berupa doa untuk kesembuhan sang anak. Selain itu, dukungan positif juga ditemukan pada pengalaman salah satu informan yang merasa mengalami kesulitan ketika memberikan makan anak. Maka teman-teman di media sosial memberikan dukungan positif melalui memberikan saran mengenai bagaimana mengatasi anak yang sedang malas makan.

Sejauh ini, informan merasa tidak pernah menerima komentar negatif terkait dengan apa yang mereka bagikan di media sosial khususnya *facebook*. Terkait dengan komentar negatif, peneliti pun menanyakan pendapat responden mengenai kisruh ibu bekerja versus ibu tidak bekerja yang beberapa waktu lalu sempat marak di media sosial. Tanggapan yang diberikan oleh responden relatif sama, dimana masing-masing responden menghargai pilihan yang diambil oleh setiap ibu. Lebih lanjut, responden menyebutkan bahwa pemilihan karir merupakan hak setiap individu, sehingga kita tidak memiliki hak untuk menyalahkan pilihan tersebut.

Komentar menarik datang dari salah satu informan yang berprofesi sebagai ibu bekerja. Dia mengungkapkan bahwa ibu bekerja juga bisa menjadi ideal asalkan pekerjaannya tidak menyita waktu. Sementara itu, ibu rumah tangga dapat dikatakan ideal apabila bisa mendidik dan membesarkan anaknya lebih baik bila dibandingkan dengan ibu bekerja. Informan lain yang juga berprofesi sebagai ibu bekerja, cenderung merasa tidak nyaman dengan ibu-ibu rumah tangga yang kerap menyindir ibu bekerja di media sosial. Hal tersebut karena ibu rumah tangga cenderung menyalahkan pilihan ibu untuk bekerja di luar rumah dengan dalih ibu bekerja tidak peduli dengan perkembangan anaknya.

Pendapat yang diungkapkan informan tersebut sejalan dengan berbagai penelitian terdahulu yang menyebutkan bahwa ibu rumah tangga memandang ibu bekerja sebagai individu yang egois karena lebih mementingkan karir daripada mendidik anak. Sementara, ibu bekerja menanggapi pendapat tersebut sebagai suatu bentuk kecemburuan yang dimiliki oleh ibu rumah tangga karena tidak dapat berkiprah di luar.

4.3 Analisis Teori

Dalam penelitian ini, peneliti menggunakan teori konvergensi simbolik yang relevan dengan topik fokus penelitian, yaitu tentang “Rekonstruksi Citra Ibu Ideal melalui interaksi di media sosial”. Teori konvergensi simbolik dipelopori oleh Ernest Brooman, teori ini menjelaskan tentang proses pertukaran pesan yang menimbulkan kesadaran kelompok yang menghasilkan hadirnya makna, motif dan juga persamaan bersama. Kesadaran kelompok yang terbangun dalam suatu kelompok dapat membangun semacam makna, motif untuk bertindak bagi orang-orang dalam kelompok tersebut.

Menurut Ernest Brooman, kata lain untuk proses konvergensi simbolik adalah tema fantasi. Tema fantasi adalah pesan yang didramatisasi seperti permainan kata-kata, cerita, analogi, dan pidato yang menghidupkan interaksi dalam kelompok. Tema fantasi ini terjadi dalam penelitian ini, yaitu konsep citra ibu ideal. Misalnya ketika salah seorang informan, bernama Putri, yang sering melakukan update status di *facebook* tentang perkembangan putranya. Selain itu, Putri juga selalu bercerita tentang *positioning* dirinya sebagai seorang ibu ideal. Disini, Putri sebagai individu yang saling berbagi fantasi karena kesamaan pengalaman atau karena orang yang mendramatisasi pesan memiliki kemampuan retorik yang baik. Sekumpulan individu ini dapat berasal dari orang-orang yang sudah lama saling mengenal dan berinteraksi ataupun bisa juga dari orang-orang yang baru saling kenal, lalu saling berinteraksi dan bertukar pengalaman yang sama sehingga menimbulkan proses konvergensi simbolik.

Symbolic Convergence Theory (SCT), menjelaskan bahwa makna, emosi, nilai, dan motif tentang “citra ibu ideal” untuk tindakan di retorika yang dibuat bersama oleh orang yang mencoba untuk memahami dari pengalaman yang umum, seperti keragaman kehidupan. Teori ini mengupas tentang fenomena pertukaran pesan yang memunculkan kesadaran kelompok yang berimplikasi pada hadirnya makna, motif, dan perasaan bersama. Dalam hal ini adalah fenomena pertukaran pesan tentang konsep citra ibu ideal. Artinya teori ini berusaha menerangkan bagaimana orang-orang secara kolektif membangun kesadaran simbolik bersama melalui suatu proses pertukaran pesan. Kesadaran simbolik yang terbangun dalam proses tersebut kemudian menyediakan semacam makna, emosi dan motif untuk bertindak bagi orang-orang atau kumpulan orang yang terlibat didalamnya.

Teori ini relevan dengan hasil penelitian peneliti. Misalnya saja dari ilustrasi hasil penelitian berikut ini. Interaksi yang terjadi antara informan dengan teman-teman di media sosial terwujud dalam berbagai macam aktifitas seperti memberikan *like*, komentar, atau *me-reshare*. Beberapa informan yang peneliti wawancarai mengakui bahwa mereka terkadang sering berbagi pengalaman seputar pengasuhan maupun cerita tentang pertumbuhan anak masing-masing. Hal ini sejalan dengan observasi yang peneliti lakukan pada akun media sosial informan. Ketika peneliti menanyakan motif mereka berbagi pengalaman seputar anak dan pengasuhan, rata-rata informan menjawab bahwa itu mereka lakukan sebagai reminder bagi diri sendiri dan sebagai sarana berbagi pengalaman dengan teman-teman yang lain.

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Triangulasi

Pada penelitian ini, peneliti menggunakan triangulasi sebagai metode untuk menguji keabsahan penelitian. Peneliti melakukan wawancara dengan Pakar Psikologi Sosial dan Pakar Komunikasi Keluarga sebagai bahan untuk mengetahui keabsahan dari hasil wawancara yang peneliti lakukan dengan informan. Berikut peneliti uraikan satu persatu hasil wawancara dengan masing-masing pakar.

Peneliti mewawancarai Whinda Yustisia yang merupakan Pakar Psikologi Sosial dari Universitas Indonesia. Berdasarkan wawancara yang peneliti lakukan, Whinda menyebutkan konsep ibu ideal biasanya terbentuk dari hasil *social dan observational learning* si ibu semenjak ia kecil (melihat pola asuh ibunya) hingga dewasa (berdasarkan rujukan dari lingkungan). Konsep ibu ideal terus berkembang. Dahulu, ibu ideal diartikan sebagai ibu yang siaga dengan kebutuhan anak. Tetapi sekarang ibu ideal diartikan sebagai ibu yang mempunyai kemampuan untuk menyeimbangkan berbagai peran yang ia miliki.

Interaksi ibu muda di media sosial pada prinsipnya sama dengan interaksi kelompok lainnya di media sosial. Hanya saja mereka lebih fokus pada isu pengasuhan dan pendidikan anak. Bentuk interaksi yang terjadipun bermacam-macam diantaranya diskusi dan sharing informasi perihal pengasuhan. Hal ini pun akhirnya menimbulkan fenomena ibu "pintar" dalam mengasuh anak hanya dengan bermodal pertukaran informasi di media sosial.

Selain itu, keberadaan media sosial menimbulkan peluang bagi ibu untuk membandingkan kemampuannya mendidik anak dengan ibu lainnya. Apakah saya sudah menjadi ibu yang sama baik,

lebih baik, atau lebih buruk dari teman-teman saya. Fenomena ini menjadikan standar ibu ideal terus meningkat dibandingkan di masa lampau.

Pada kebanyakan ibu, ini dapat memotivasinya untuk terus memperbaiki diri untuk menjadi ibu yang lebih baik. Sedangkan bagi ibu yang tidak mampu untuk mencapai standar tersebut dapat memicu stres. Oleh karena itu, sebaiknya setiap ibu memiliki strategi tersendiri untuk mengatasi atau berdamai dengan masalah yang ada. Misalnya dengan menurunkan standar atau mencari justifikasi bahwa ia sudah cukup dengan kondisi sekarang.

Sementara itu, Pakar Komunikasi Keluarga Aprilina Prastari mengatakan bahwa seorang ibu ideal adalah ibu yang lebih banyak menghabiskan waktu dengan anak-anaknya. Namun dengan kondisi keuangan keluarga, seringkali seorang ibu merasa perlu membantu suaminya dalam menjaga keseimbangan keuangan keluarga sehingga waktu untuk anak semakin berkurang. Aprilina menambahkan meskipun ibu bekerja di luar rumah bukan berarti ibu tidak bisa menyediakan waktu dengan anak. Ibu diharapkan tetap dapat menyeimbangkan perannya meskipun bekerja di luar rumah.

Aprilina menyebutkan bahwa interaksi yang terjadi antar ibu muda di media sosial sebagian besar beorientasi pertukaran informasi seputar pengasuhan. Hal ini terlihat dari banyaknya komunitas-komunitas online yang berkonsentrasi pada isu pengasuhan. Bahkan tak jarang komunitas tersebut melibatkan pakar untuk menambah pengetahuan mereka seputar pengasuhan.

Penjelasan kedua pakar di atas sejalan dengan temuan yang peneliti temukan pada hasil wawancara dengan informan. Hasil wawancara dengan informan juga menyebutkan bahwa citra ibu ideal adalah ibu yang dapat menyeimbangkan perannya berkarir di luar rumah dan mendidik anak ketika berada di rumah. Sementara itu, ibu rumah tangga mendefinisikan ibu ideal adalah ibu yang selalu memperhatikan tumbuh kembang anak. Ini sejalan dengan pendapat pakar komunikasi keluarga yang menyatakan bahwa ibu ideal adalah ibu yang banyak menghabiskan waktu dengan anak. Meskipun terkadang ada ibu yang bekerja di luar rumah, jangan jadikan profesi tersebut merampas waktu yang seharusnya dihabiskan dengan anak.

KESIMPULAN

Penggunaan internet di kalangan ibu muda bukanlah suatu yang baru. Ibu muda yang sangat dekat dengan teknologi terbiasa untuk mengakses internet selama berjam-jam per hari. Sebagian besar, ibu menggunakan internet untuk mengakses media sosial dan mencari informasi seputar pengasuhan. Penelitian ini membuktikan bahwa ibu mengakses media sosial khususnya *facebook* lebih dari lima kali sehari.

Frekuensi yang cukup tinggi dalam mengakses *facebook* diakibatkan karena adanya keinginan ibu untuk bersosialisasi. Bagi mereka, media sosial dapat mempermudah berkomunikasi dengan teman, mengingat mereka memiliki keterbatasan waktu, terutama bagi ibu rumah tangga. Intensnya komunikasi yang dijalin ibu melalui media sosial membuat ibu memiliki banyak teman di dunia maya. Tidak hanya itu, pertemanan tersebut juga memiliki tingkat keakraban yang cukup tinggi. Terbukti

dengan ibu yang senang berbagi pengalaman pengasuhan dengan teman-temannya. Hubungan yang tercipta pun semakin diperkuat dengan respon positif yang sering diterima ibu ketika berbagi pengalaman yang tidak menyenangkan terkait dengan pengasuhan. Melalui interaksi inilah terjadi pertukaran pesan yang nantinya akan menimbulkan makna bagi ibu. Pesan yang sering dipertukarkan oleh ibu adalah pesan seputar pengasuhan, dimana informasi tersebut secara tidak langsung akan membentuk konsep “ibu ideal”. Pesan tersebut secara masif dan terus menerus diproduksi dan didramatisasi dengan tujuan akhir menciptakan makna.

Pada penelitian ini, pesan-pesan tersebut memberikan makna konsep “ibu ideal” yang berbeda-beda bagi setiap ibu. Bagi ibu bekerja, “ibu ideal” diartikan sebagai ibu yang mau untuk terus belajar agar dapat memberikan yang terbaik untuk anak. Selain itu, mereka juga memaknai ibu ideal sebagai ibu yang dapat membagi waktu yang baik antara karir dan membesarkan anak. Konsep ibu ideal tersebut didapat melalui pengalaman yang mereka dapatkan ketika berinteraksi secara langsung dengan anak. Misalnya, ketika di media sosial ramai menceritakan bahwa ibu ideal seharusnya tidak akan memarahi anaknya. Faktanya, di lapangan ibu tidak dapat mengaplikasikannya. Karena ada nilai-nilai yang dianut oleh ibu bertentangan dengan konsep tersebut.

Sementara itu, ibu rumah tangga memaknai konsep “ibu ideal” sebagai ibu yang dapat terus memperhatikan tumbuh kembang anak, dengan kata lain ibu selalu ada disekitar anak. Konsep ini biasa dikenal dengan konsep *intensive mothering*. Ibu rumah tangga mendapatkan konsep tersebut melalui pengalaman yang mereka temui dalam kehidupan sehari-hari. Mereka melihat bahwa anak merupakan makhluk yang masih sangat bergantung kepada orangtua khususnya ibu. Oleh karena itu, sebaiknya ibu harus berada di rumah untuk menemani mereka.

Peran interaksi di media sosial dalam rekonstruksi citra “ibu ideal” kurang begitu terlihat. Hal tersebut karena ibu cenderung mendapatkan respon positif terhadap aktifitas pengasuhan yang mereka lakukan. Sehingga tidak ada perasaan tidak diterima di kelompok yang dapat menstimulus ibu untuk merekonstruksi ulang konsep “ibu ideal”. Namun, ketika dihadapkan pada pertanyaan manakah yang ideal, apakah ibu rumah tangga atau ibu bekerja?

Ibu rumah tangga merespon pertanyaan ini dengan bersifat diplomatis bahwa pemilihan karir adalah hak setiap manusia, sehingga tidak ada yang benar dan salah. Namun, jawaban berbeda diutarakan oleh ibu bekerja, dimana mereka merasa tidak senang dengan sikap segelintir ibu rumah tangga yang kerap menyalahkan pilihan ibu untuk bekerja tanpa mengetahui alasan dibalik keputusan mereka untuk bekerja

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**Praktik Kekuasaan pada Pesan Situs Jaringan (*Website*) Greenpeace Indonesia
(*Cyberprotest* Isu Punahnya Satwa Langka)**

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Abstrak

Kerusakan lingkungan telah menjadi isu global, termasuk di Indonesia. Menyikapi hal ini muncul berbagai lembaga swadaya masyarakat (LSM) bidang lingkungan hidup, seperti Greenpeace. Sebagai lembaga penentang kerusakan hutan, Greenpeace menggunakan strategi *bottom-up* karena posisinya yang sulit memasuki area pengambilan keputusan dan media arus utama. LSM ini memakai dua strategi utama: memprotes dan membuat *website*: www.greenpeace.org, yang berisi pesan-pesan keras (*cyberprotest*) atau *cyberactivism*. Diasumsikan *website* ini mampu merangsang komunitas *online* yang tertarik pada isu-isu lingkungan. Selain itu, ada gerakan *off line* atau gerakan sosial ekologi. Gerakan ini merupakan resistensi terhadap dominasi korporasi raksasa di Indonesia yang dianggap sebagai perusak hutan. Kendati demikian ada yang menilai Greenpeace merupakan bentuk lain kapitalisme ekologi yang gerakannya berkorelasi dengan Amerika Serikat yang menuduh Indonesia sebagai penyebab perubahan iklim. Makalah ini membahas tentang praktik kekuasaan pada pesan situs jaringan (*website*) Greenpeace Indonesia. Tujuannya: mengungkap praktik kekuasaan di balik pesan isu lingkungan. Peneliti menggunakan teori politik ekonomi kritis dari Golding & Murdock yang berasumsi bahwa dalam proses produksi dan konsumsi teks berlangsung praktik kekuasaan. Untuk praktik kekuasaan peneliti mengacu pada konsep Foucault yang menilai bahwa kuasa bukanlah kepemilikan, tetapi strategi yang bekerja melalui normalisasi dan regulasi, bersifat produktif membentuk kebenaran dalam penyebaran wacana. Pengumpulan data dilakukan dengan pengamatan, wawancara mendalam, dan studi dokumentasi. Teknik analisis data dilakukan dengan analisis multi level: mikro, meso, dan makro. Pada level analisis mikro peneliti menggunakan analisis wacana kritis Fairclough untuk menguak kepentingan politik dan kekuasaan di balik teks di dalam *website*. Analisis ini dielaborasi dengan model framing dari Zhongdang Pan dan Kosicki. Berita-berita yang dianalisis adalah yang berkaitan dengan isu satwa langka yang dimuat dalam edisi Januari-Desember 2013. Analisis pada tingkat meso dilakukan dengan mewawancarai pihak

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Greenpeace Indonesia, khususnya mengenai proses produksi pesan. Pada tingkat makro peneliti mengaitkan berita dengan aspek sosial, politik, ekonomi, dan budaya yang melatarbelakangi diproduksi teks. Hasil penelitian menunjukkan bahwa pembentukan pesan dalam *website* Greenpeace Indonesia sesuai dengan teori ekonomi politik kritis yang menekankan pada produksi dan reproduksi makna melalui teks. Proses produksi makna ini sulit dilepaskan dari “*deep ecology*” yang bagi Fairclough merupakan makna yang melayani kekuasaan.

Kata kunci: LSM, kerusakan lingkungan, kekuasaan, *cyberprotest*, dan pesan

I. Pendahuluan

Kehadiran Greenpeace sebagai salah satu LSM lingkungan hidup merupakan salah satu alat kontrol terhadap kebijakan pemerintah atas krisis lingkungan. Gerakan sosial Greenpeace Indonesia merupakan bagian dari gerakan sosial baru yang menekankan pada masalah ide atau nilai gerakan lingkungan melalui perlawanan dalam bentuk aksi kolektif terhadap lawan sosial dan politik tertentu.

Guna memperoleh akses ke pemerintah dan industri kehutanan, Greenpeace memilih dua cara untuk memprotes: a. secara *off line*; b. secara *online* melalui *web* untuk menekan para pembuat kebijakan. *Web* digunakan sebagai wadah untuk melancarkan kritik terhadap praktik-praktik kekuasaan dengan gaya bahasa formal dan informal. Bagi masyarakat madani kehadiran *web* dinilai dapat menghasilkan kapital sosial baru, karena *cyberprotest* (julukan bagi pengguna Internet untuk perlawanan) telah menemukan ruang mobilisasi dan partisipasinya. Greenpeace menjadikan *web* sebagai saluran propaganda, karena media ini dinilai memiliki kekuatan untuk menyalurkan kekuasaan atas pesan yang diciptakan terkait isu penyelamatan hutan di Indonesia.

Kampanye Greenpeace membawa dampak bagi pemasaran kertas dan minyak kelapa sawit di pasar global yang selama ini dinilai memiliki kualitas yang baik dan menguasai pasar Eropa dan Amerika. Terbukti, pada 2003 sektor kehutanan memberikan sumbangan 1,09 persen terhadap PDB Indonesia. Sektor kehutanan mengalami pertumbuhan tinggi dan mampu menggerakkan ekspor Indonesia. Ekspansi besar-besaran pada sektor produksi kayu lapis dan *pulp* (bubur kertas) menyebabkan permintaan terhadap bahan kayu melebihi kemampuan pasokan legal. Seiring dengan kemajuan industri, tidak hanya bahan baku kayu dan kertas yang dibutuhkan pasar global tapi juga kelapa sawit. Sayangnya, ekspor ini menurun pada tahun berikutnya.

Ini disebabkan berkembangnya isu *illegal logging* yang disuarakan oleh Greenpeace. Padahal, rentang waktu yang sama produksi kayu bulat nasional justru meningkat dratis dalam jangka empat tahun, yaitu 11,24 juta/m³, 31,49 juta/m³, 31,98 juta/m³ dan 31, 98 juta/m³. Sektor kehutanan mengalami pertumbuhan tinggi dan mampu menggerakkan ekspor Indonesia. Akibat kampanye ini, banyak pihak yang mencurigai bahwa kehadiran Greenpeace merupakan bentuk penjajahan baru yang berorientasi pada lingkungan (*eco capitalism*).

Selama ini aktivitas Greenpeace di Indonesia diduga erat kaitannya dengan propaganda Amerika Serikat tentang keberlanjutan Protokol Kyoto mengenai pengurangan emisi negara-negara maju dan monopoli industri kehutanan. Greenpeace dijadikan alat oleh Amerika dan Uni Eropa untuk mendesak pemerintah Indonesia menindak perusahaan yang merusak hutan. Kehadiran Greenpeace

sebagai salah satu LSM lingkungan hidup merupakan salah satu alat kontrol terhadap kebijakan pemerintah atas krisis lingkungan.

Ada tiga aspek ekonomi global menjadi perhatian terkait krisis ekologi. *Pertama*, persoalan utang luar negeri negara berkembang (termasuk Indonesia) dalam arus utama globalisasi. *Kedua*, isu lingkungan hidup cenderung digunakan sebagai alat politik dalam interaksi ekonomi dan bisnis global. *Ketiga*, perusahaan multinasional banyak yang menerapkan standar ganda sekaligus superioritas ekonomi dan politik untuk melindungi kepentingan bisnisnya di negara berkembang. Menurut Klaus (2012) sebagai polisi ekonomi, WTO tidak mampu menjalankan fungsinya menjaga kepentingan semua pihak secara adil agar tidak ada yang dirugikan. WTO dituding sebagai alat imperalisme dan kolonialisme karena berpihak pada kepentingan negara maju.

Selain itu, hadirnya *International Monetary Fund* (IMF) sebagai lembaga pemberi utang dinilai turut memicu krisis lingkungan. Dalam praktiknya, negara berkembang memberi “makan” negara maju melalui utang yang dibayar dengan cara mengeksploitasi sumber daya alam. Carol Welch (dalam Keraf, 2010:300) berpendapat, “untuk memaksakan liberalisasi dan deregulasi yang cepat di seluruh dunia, IMF memuluskan eksploitasi sumber daya alam secara luar biasa.” Peran yang dimainkan negara maju sangat ambigu karena di satu pihak menekan negara berkembang untuk melestarikan sumber daya alam demi menjaga keutuhan lingkungan hidup, tetapi di sisi lain menuntut mereka melakukan pembangunan menggunakan pinjaman dan membayarnya dengan mengeksploitasi sumber daya alam.

Tuduhan negara berkembang sebagai perusak alam disebarkan Amerika dan Uni Eropa melalui media massa. Bersama Al Gore, mantan wakil presiden Amerika Serikat, Greenpeace membuat propaganda bahwa kerusakan hutan Indonesia memberikan sumbangsih terbesar atas terjadinya pemanasan global di seluruh dunia. Hal ini karena hutan Indonesia adalah hutan tropis terluas (1.860.359,67 km²) ketiga di dunia setelah Brazil dan Republik Demokrasi Kongo.

Dari paparan di atas, peneliti ingin mengkaji tentang pembentukan pesan isu lingkungan hidup melalui *website* Greenpeace Indonesia sekaligus mengungkap bagaimana Greenpeace melakukan praktik-praktik kekuasaan melalui pesan tersebut.

II. Tinjauan Pustaka

2.1. Penelitian Terdahulu

Penelitian ini menggunakan paradigma kritis. Fokus utama paradigma kritis adalah isu-isu ketidakadilan dan penindasan. Sebagian masalah dalam paradigma kritis tertuju pada konflik kepentingan yang terjadi di masyarakat dan bagaimana komunikasi mengukuhkan dominasi suatu kelompok terhadap kelompok lain (Littlejohn, 2009:15).

Penelitian dengan paradigma kritis telah banyak dilakukan. Di antaranya oleh Lisa Mardiana (2011) yang meneliti tentang ekonomi politik regulasi penyiaran yang berlatar belakang Undang-Undang Penyiaran No. 32 tahun 2002 yang dinilai kontroversial karena memunculkan berbagai polemik. Salah satu yang menjadi perdebatan adalah Sistem Stasiun Berjaringan (SSJ), terutama di media televisi. Dari segi ekonomi, sistem siaran yang tersentralisasi merugikan daerah, sebab uang iklan hanya mengalir ke Jakarta. Dari segi politik, penonton di tiap daerah tidak bisa memperoleh informasi yang relevan dengan kepentingan daerah mereka. Informasi yang menyangkut kepentingan publik di luar Jakarta diperoleh hanya yang bersifat sensasional dan dramatis.

Ekonomi politik penyiaran dalam diskursus komunikasi memiliki dua aliran besar. Pertama, *liberal political economy* sebagai instrumen untuk melihat perubahan sosial dan transformasi sejarah. Instrumen merupakan doktrin dan seperangkat prinsip untuk mengorganisasi dan menangani ekonomi pasar, guna tercapainya efisiensi yang maksimum, pertumbuhan ekonomi dan kesejahteraan individu (Mufid, 2005:83). Kedua, *critical political economy* melihat relasi antara agensi (individu) dan struktur (pasar dan negara) dengan lebih dinamis.

Kesimpulannya, terdapat tarik ulur dan benturan kepentingan antara berbagai pihak sebagai aktor yang terlibat dalam kebijakan. Di samping itu, terjadi saling mempengaruhi (*interplay*) antara kekuatan struktur dengan kekuatan agensi. Tidak idealnya implementasi kebijakan SSJ dapat berimplikasi pada tidak tercapainya prinsip keberagaman isi dan keberagaman kepemilikan.

Penelitian lain dilakukan oleh Raharjo (2011) yang mengkaji tentang Pangkur Jenggleng (tembang *macapat*) yang dikemas dalam acara Seni Budaya di RRI Nusantara II Yogyakarta pada era 1960-1970-an. Pada 2003 acara ini muncul kembali di LPP TVRI Yogyakarta dengan menggandeng Pusat Informasi Amien Rais sebagai sponsor. Acara ini dikemas dalam komedi panggung. Perubahan format media dari audio ke audiovisual dengan segala penyesuaiannya ternyata menimbulkan pergeseran nilai atas makna Pangkur Jenggleng.

Menurut Sunarto, pendekatan ekonomi politik menekankan bahwa masyarakat kapitalis terbentuk menurut cara-cara dominan dalam produksi yang menstrukturkan institusi dan praktik sesuai dengan logika komodifikasi dan akumulasi kapital. Komodifikasi mengacu pada pemanfaatan barang dan jasa dari sisi kegunaan yang ditransformasikan menjadi komoditas yang nilainya ditentukan oleh pasar. Ada tiga bentuk komodifikasi yaitu, isi, khalayak, dan sibernetik.

Penelitian ini menyimpulkan bahwa terjadi komodifikasi isi dalam tayangan Pangkur Jenggleng di TVRI Yogyakarta. Komodifikasi terjadi melalui proses penyesuaian isi tayangan dan perubahan genre acara. Ideologi yang ada di balik proses komodifikasi adalah kekuasaan pasar. Kuasa pasar yang beroperasi dalam tayangan Pangkur Jenggleng juga berimplikasi pada keterlibatan kekuasaan politik melalui relasi yang dibangun TVRI bersama Pusat Informasi Amin Rais. Ideologi kapitalis masuk ke TVRI (sebagai lembaga penyiaran publik) melalui kelemahan regulasi penyiaran yang digunakan oleh aparat organisasi penyiaran untuk menghasilkan akumulasi modal.

Irwan Siregar (2012) meneliti Relasi Jurnalis dengan Sumber Berita pada Komodifikasi Reportase Investigasi (Studi Kasus "Berita Investigasi" di Trans TV). Penelitian ini dilandasi perkembangan televisi yang tidak lagi dilihat semata-mata sebagai institusi sosial, budaya, dan politik melainkan sebagai institusi ekonomi. Faktor ekonomi menjadi penentu dalam mempengaruhi seluruh perilaku media massa modern. Hukum persaingan media yang begitu kuat menuntut media, termasuk televisi harus bisa bersaing dengan televisi lain. Demi menjaga eksistensinya, masing-masing pengelola televisi harus terus berinovasi dan kreatif melahirkan program-program acara yang menarik penonton sebanyak-banyaknya. Namun ongkos produksi televisi lebih tinggi dibandingkan media massa lain. Karena itu sebuah tayangan televisi sangat bergantung pada jumlah iklan.

Menurut Mosco (2009:25), ekonomi politik sebagai studi tentang hubungan-hubungan sosial, khususnya hubungan kekuasaan yang saling menguntungkan antarsumber produksi, distribusi, dan konsumsi, termasuk di dalamnya sumber yang terkait dengan komunikasi. Dalam bentuk yang lebih ambisius, pendekatan ekonomi politik dapat dikatakan sebagai studi tentang kontrol dan

kelangsungan kehidupan sosial. Industri televisi dengan berbagai cara berlomba-lomba meraih peringkat yang tinggi. Peringkat ini menjadi tolok ukur untuk menentukan hidup matinya industri televisi. Peringkat merupakan patokan bagi pemasang iklan.

Media sering tersandera oleh berbagai kepentingan bisnis yang sangat ditentukan oleh kaum kapitalis. Penelitian ini mengkaji komodifikasi proses produksi berita investigasi dengan fokus pada individu reporter dan *camera person*, serta sumber berita. Penelitian ini menemukan adanya komodifikasi (mengubah nilai guna menjadi nilai tukar) dalam proses produksi berita investigasi di Trans TV terkait relasi jurnalis dengan sumber berita.

Komodifikasi ini didorong oleh kebijakan redaksi yang harus diikuti oleh wartawan. Tayangan berita investigasi berusaha mengejar target khalayak sebanyak-banyaknya demi menaikkan peringkat. Hal ini terlihat dalam proses komodifikasi pada proses produksi, penentuan sumber berita, reka ulang, editing, gambar, suara dan konten dalam tayangan. Komodifikasi tayangan ini merupakan refleksi dari fenomena industri media televisi sebagai sebuah institusi bisnis. Melalui komodifikasi berita investigasi secara tidak langsung menyumbangkan keuntungan bagi perusahaan. Peranan *gatekeeping* sebagai individu wartawan dalam hal ini sangat berpengaruh pada hasil produksi berita investigasi.

2.2. Ekonomi Politik Kritis

Menurut Golding dan Murdock (dalam Curran, 1991:17), pendekatan ekonomi politik mempunyai tiga karakteristik penting. *Pertama*, secara holistik melihat pendekatan ekonomi politik memiliki hubungan yang saling berkaitan dengan berbagai faktor sosial, ekonomi, politik, dan budaya di sekitar media dan berusaha melihat berbagai pengaruh dari beragam faktor ini. *Kedua*, secara historis mengaitkan analisis ekonomi politik dalam posisi media dengan lingkungan global dan kapitalistik, di mana proses perubahan dan perkembangan konstelasi ekonomi merupakan hal terpenting untuk diamati. *Ketiga*, studi ekonomi politik berpegang pada falsafah materialisme, mengacu pada hal-hal nyata dalam realitas kehidupan media.

Pendekatan ekonomi politik media dapat dibagi dalam dua bagian, yaitu ekonomi politik liberal (sebagai *mainstream*) dan ekonomi politik kritis. Pendekatan kritis melihat beragamnya posisi dan ketidaksamaan posisi dalam sebuah organisasi media menyebabkan dominasi satu kelompok atas kelompok lain. Secara konstruktivis ekonomi politik kritis melihat faktor ekonomi sebagai sistem yang belum sempurna, sehingga media tidak hanya dipengaruhi oleh faktor ekonomi, namun juga budaya dan individu. Pendekatan konstruktivis melihat dominasi kekuatan ekonomi atau politik tidak bersifat langsung, namun melalui proses yang rumit dan melibatkan mekanisme pembenaran dan hegemoni. Pemilikan dan pengendalian media dilihat sebagai faktor kunci dalam mengendalikan pesan media.

Analisis ekonomi politik menurut Golding dan Murdock (1996) berkenaan dengan produksi makna sebagai praktek kekuasaan, analisis tekstual, dan konsumsi media. Bagi Fairclough, ideologi merupakan makna yang melayani kekuasaan (dalam Jorgensen, 2010:139). Setiap kekuasaan disusun, dimapankan, dan diwujudkan melalui pengetahuan dan wacana tertentu untuk menghasilkan kebenaran. Kekuasaan menurut Foucault (dalam Jorgensen, 2010:25) hendaknya tidak dipahami semata-mata sebagai sesuatu yang menindas, melainkan produktif, kekuasaan menyusun wacana, pengetahuan, benda-benda dan subjektivitas. Konsep Foucault tentang kekuasaan atau pengetahuan juga mempunyai konsekuensi-konsekuensi terhadap konsepsi tentang kebenaran. Foucault membuat

hubungan antara kebenaran dan kekuasaan dengan menyatakan bahwa kebenaran dihasilkan oleh sistem kekuasaan. Kuasa bukanlah kepemilikan, melainkan strategi. Kuasa bekerja melalui normalisasi dan regulasi. Kuasa bersifat produktif. Setiap kekuasaan memiliki tendensi memproduksi kebenaran melalui penyebaran wacana.

Media dimanfaatkan oleh kelompok dominan dan menjadi sarana untuk memojokkan kelompok lain. Bagi pandangan kritis, media memiliki ideologi yang tersembunyi dari kepentingan tertentu. Ideologi menjadi alat untuk menyembunyikan realitas yang sebenarnya sehingga kelas dominan menjadi aman dan kelas tertindas tidak merasa tertindas. Ada dua kepentingan utama di balik media, yaitu ekonomi (*economic interest*) dan kekuasaan (*power interest*). Kepentingan ini terkait isi media (*media content*) berupa informasi dan makna yang disajikan. Paradigma kritis menekankan pada konstelasi kekuatan yang terjadi pada proses produksi dan reproduksi makna.

III. Metodologi

Penelitian ini menggunakan pendekatan kritis. Pengumpulan data dilakukan dengan pengamatan, wawancara mendalam, dan studi dokumentasi. Teknik analisis data dilakukan dengan analisis multi level: mikro, meso, dan makro. Pada level analisis mikro peneliti menggunakan analisis wacana kritis Fairclough untuk menguak kepentingan politik dan kekuasaan di balik teks di dalam *website*. Analisis ini dielaborasi dengan model framing dari Zhongdang Pan dan Kosicki. Berita-berita yang dianalisis adalah yang berkaitan dengan isu satwa langka yang dimuat dalam edisi Januari-Desember 2013. Analisis pada tingkat meso dilakukan dengan mewawancarai pihak Greenpeace Indonesia, khususnya mengenai proses produksi pesan. Pada tingkat makro peneliti mengaitkan berita dengan aspek sosial, politik, ekonomi, dan budaya yang melatarbelakangi diproduksinya teks.

Analisis teks dengan model framing Zhongdang Pan dan Kosicki memusatkan pada ciri-ciri formal (kosakata, tata bahasa, sintaksis, dan koherensi kalimat). Model framing ini diwujudkan dalam empat elemen analisis yang terdiri atas sintaksis, skrip, tematik, dan retorik. Perangkat framing yang digunakan dalam menganalisis teks meliputi; (1) skema berita, (2) kelengkapan berita, (3) detail, (4) koherensi, (5) bentuk kalimat, (6) kata ganti, (7) leksikon, (8) grafis, dan (9) metafora.

Bentuk sintaksis paling populer adalah piramida terbalik yang terdiri atas *headline*, *lead*, episode, latar, dan penutup. Elemen ini untuk melihat bagaimana wartawan memaknai peristiwa dan ke mana berita diarahkan. Informasi yang disajikan pada headline menunjukkan posisi ideologi tertentu. *Headline* digunakan untuk menunjukkan cara wartawan mengkonstruksi isu dengan menekankan makna tertentu.

Pemakaian tanda tanya menunjukkan adanya perubahan sedangkan tanda kutip adanya jarak perbedaan. Selain *headline*, *lead* juga perangkat sintaksis yang sering digunakan untuk menunjukkan perspektif tertentu dari peristiwa yang diberitakan. Pengutipan sumber berita juga elemen penting dalam sintaksis.

Elemen lain adalah skrip yang mengandung unsur 5W+1H. Berita biasanya mengandung unsur *Who*, *Where*, *When*, *What*, *Why* serta *How*. Pencantuman unsur 5W + 1H menandakan cara wartawan memosisikan objek berita. Ada elemen dalam tematik dapat diamati di antaranya, koherensi yang merupakan pertalian antar kata, proposisi atau kalimat.

Koherensi dibedakan menjadi tiga kategori, yaitu sebab akibat, penjelas, dan pembeda. Koherensi sebab akibat biasa ditandai dengan kata "karena" atau "sebab". Koherensi penjelas ditandai

dengan kata “dan” atau “lalu”, sedangkan koherensi pembeda merupakan kebalikan yang ditandai dengan kata “dibandingkan” atau “sedangkan”.

Retoris merupakan struktur wacana yang menggambarkan pilihan gaya atau kata untuk menekankan arti. Elemen retorik yang dipakai leksikon, pemilihan, dan pemakaian kata-kata tertentu untuk menggambarkan peristiwa. Pemilihan kata merupakan ideologis untuk menunjukkan cara seseorang memaknai fakta atau realitas. Pan & Kosicki (Eriyanto, 2011:304) menyebut pilihan kata sebagai designator berfungsi memperkuat hubungan antara *signifier* dan *signified*.

Signifier merujuk kepada komunikator atau partisipan dominan dalam proses komunikasi, sedangkan *signified* mengacu pada objek atau pihak yang tidak dominan. Selain kata, penekanan pesan dalam berita dilakukan dengan menggunakan unsur grafis. Unsur grafis dapat dilihat pada pemakaian huruf tebal, huruf miring, garis bawah, huruf besar (*caption*), raster, grafik, gambar, tabel untuk mendukung arti pesan

Pada tingkat meso (praktik kewacanaan) analisis mencakup berbagai aspek dalam proses produksi dan konsumsi teks. Proses produksi merupakan tugas rutin yang dilaksanakan oleh aktivis Greenpeace. Mulai dari mengumpulkan dan menyeleksi data, merancang strategi kampanye, dan membuat laporan yang diunggah di situs resmi Greenpeace.

IV. Temuan dan Analisis

1) Analisis Sintaksis: **Aktivitas Perkebunan Kelapa Sawit Penyebab Matinya Satwa Langka**

Analisis sintaksis merujuk pada skema yang terdiri atas *headline*, *lead*, latar informasi, sumber, dan penutup sebagai kesatuan teks berita. Skema menjadi pedoman bagaimana fakta disusun, dan biasanya menggunakan struktur piramida terbalik. Struktur sintaksis menandakan arti penting, relevansi, dan menonjol.

Informasi penting disajikan dalam *headline*, ditekankan pada kesimpulan maupun peristiwa dideskripsikan dalam teks menunjukkan posisi ideologis tertentu. Dalam wacana ideologi erat kaitannya dengan subjek. Individu menjadi subjek ideologis melalui proses interpelasi. Interpelasi menggambarkan proses bahasa dalam mengkonstruksi posisi sosial individu atau seseorang membuatnya menjadi subjek ideologis.

Headline merupakan aspek sintaksis paling menonjol untuk menunjukkan kecenderungan berita. *Headline* digunakan untuk menunjukkan bagaimana wartawan mengkonstruksi suatu isu. Pandangan Greenpeace Indonesia diwujudkan dalam skema berita dengan *headline* “**Kuburan Orangutan, Wilmar, dan Kecanduan Minyak Sawit Kotor.**” Teks pada *headline* menunjukkan bahwa investigasi Greenpeace bersama Friends of National Parks Foundation (FNPF) mendokumentasikan tengkorak orangutan di konsesi Bumitama yang baru, yaitu PT ASMR berjarak tidak jauh dari perkebunan kelapa sawit PT BLP.

Bumitama telah melakukan ekspansi perkebunan seluas 15.000 hektar untuk pengembangan kelapa sawit. Luasnya ekspansi ini hampir sama besar dengan 60 lapangan sepak bola setiap hari. Sebelumnya, operasional Bumitama mendapat sorotan publik melalui PT Ladang Sawit Mas. Perusahaan ini telah melakukan ekspansi hutan seluas 6.500 hektar di Kalimantan Barat. Akibatnya, beberapa satwa langka, seperti orangutan terancam hidupnya.



International Animal Rescue Indonesia (IAR-I) mendokumentasikan penyelamatan empat ekor orangutan yang menderita malnutrisi di konsesi tersebut. Hal yang sama juga dilakukan Orangutan Foundation International (OFI) dan FNPF mendokumentasikan orangutan yang masih hidup di antara kedua konsesi PT ASMR dan PT BLP.

Tidak hanya orangutan yang terancam habitatnya, tetapi juga harimau di Sumatera. Ini disebabkan setiap tahun Indonesia kehilangan kawasan hutan hujan tropis seluas 620.000 hektar. Hilangnya kawasan hutan ini hampir sama 100 pulau di Manhattan. Selain *headline*, ada *lead* untuk memberikan sudut pandang tertentu dari peristiwa yang diberitakan.

“Orangutan yang cantik itu duduk hanya beberapa di bawah. Sebuah pengalaman luar biasa melihat makhluk-makhluk ini begitu dekat dan sangat nyaman di hutan, rumah mereka. Tapi orangutan ini hanya mewakili salah satu satwa langka yang hutannya (rumah mereka) sedang berada dalam ancaman.”

Lead di atas merupakan paragraf pembuka dari isi berita yang disampaikan penulis terkait dengan *headline*. Penulis ingin memberi gambaran tentang pengalaman indah melihat orangutan hidup damai di habitatnya. Sayangnya, pemandangan ini tidak berlangsung lama, karena melihat habitat orangutan yang mulai terancam.

Melalui *lead* penulis ingin mempengaruhi kognitif pembaca dengan pengalamannya tentang kondisi orangutan di kawasan hutan Kalimantan. Penulis ingin membangun empati pembaca dengan teks tersebut. Untuk mendukung *headline* dan *lead*, penulis memberitakan latar peristiwa. Latar merupakan bagian berita yang mempengaruhi makna. Latar dipilih untuk menentukan arah pandangan pembaca hendak dibawa.

Sejak Maret 2013, Orangutan Foundation International (OFI) dan FNPF telah mendokumentasikan kawasan orangutan yang hidup sepanjang perbatasan dua konsesi kelapa sawit, yaitu PT ASMR dan PT BLP. Keduanya merupakan anak perusahaan Bumitama dan perkebunan BW. Kedua organisasi tersebut menggambarkan kawasan itu sebagai “kuburan orangutan.” Insiden mengerikan ini terjadi di dua konsesi anggota RSPO. Tidak hanya itu, hutan di Sumatera juga telah diubah menjadi lahan kelapa sawit sehingga mengancam habitat harimau di kawasan tersebut.

Wilmar adalah investor utama bagi kelompok Bumitama dan perkebunan BW. Wilmar merupakan pedagang minyak sawit dan produk turunan terbesar dunia. Dari perdagangan minyak sawit, Wilmar menyumbang sebesar 70% kepada Bumitama dan 30% perkebunan BW. Wilmar menjual lebih dari sepertiga minyak sawit di seluruh dunia. Operasional Wilmar telah menghancurkan habitat harimau di Sumatera.

Latar merupakan cermin ideologis penulis sehingga menjadi alasan pembena gagasan. Bagian lain yang penting adalah pengutipan narasumber. Hal ini merupakan bentuk objektivitas dalam suatu pemberitaan. Dalam pemberitaan ini, penulis tidak mencantumkan kutipan dari narasumber seperti Bumitama maupun Wilmar.

Pengutipan narasumber menunjukkan tiga hal. Pertama, mengklaim validitas atau kebenaran berdasarkan otoritas. Kedua, menghubungkan pandangan penulis kepada pihak berwenang.

Ketiga, mengecilkan pendapat atau pandangan tertentu jika dihubungkan dengan kutipan atau pandangan mayoritas sehingga tampak menyimpang. Dengan tidak adanya kutipan dari narasumber mengindikasikan bahwa teks berita tersebut didominasi oleh Greenpeace Indonesia.

2) Analisis Skrip: **Aktivitas Perkebunan Kelapa Sawit Penyebab Matinya Satwa Langka**

Laporan berita sering disusun sebagai sebuah cerita karena dua alasan. Pertama, laporan berita menunjukkan hubungan antara peristiwa satu dengan lainnya. Kedua, teks dalam berita mempunyai hubungan dengan lingkungan komunal pembaca. Dalam menyusun berita, penulis berhadapan dengan tokoh, karakter dan kejadian yang hendak diceritakan. Hal ini untuk menarik minat pembaca terhadap peristiwa yang ditulis. Bentuk umum dari struktur skrip; *who, what, when, where, dan how*. Skrip merupakan salah satu strategi penulis dalam mengkonstruksi berita. Skrip memberikan tekanan mana informasi yang didahulukan dan disembunyikan. Biasanya, informasi yang disembunyikan diletakkan pada bagian akhir berita. Proses penyusunan ini menimbulkan efek tertentu.

a) Unsur Where

“Operasional Bumitama, PT Ladang Sawit Mas, sebuah perusahaan dengan konsesi mencakup hampir 6.500 hektar **di Kalimantan Barat**, menjadi perhatian publik di awal tahun 2013, karena gambar-gambar dramatis yang dirilis oleh International Animal Rescue Indonesia (IAR-I) yang menyelamatkan empat ekor orangutan yang menderita malnutrisi.”

b) Unsur When

“**Bulan Agustus 2013 lalu**, investigasi Greenpeace dengan Friends of National Parks Foundation (FNPF) mengekspos lokasi kejahatan di dalam konsesi Bumitama yang baru (PT ASMR) dan hanya beberapa meter jauhnya dari perkebunan kelapa sawit PT BLP (bagian dari perkebunan BW). Di sini mereka yang melakukan investigasi mendokumentasikan tengkorak orangutan.”

c) Unsur Who

“**Wilmar** pedagang minyak sawit dan produk-produk turunan terbesar di dunia adalah ‘investor utama’ kelompok Bumitama dan menyumbangkan 70% dari perdagangan minyak sawit Bumitama serta 30% perdagangan dari perkebunan BW.”

d) Unsur What

“**Minyak sawit dapat dan harus memberikan kontribusi nyata** bagi pembangunan Indonesia dan bukan malah menghancurkan masa depan masyarakatnya, satwa serta iklim global yang menjadi sesuatu yang penting bagi semua orang. Tapi kepemimpinan harus dimulai.”

e) Unsur Why

“**Setiap tahun, Indonesia kehilangan kawasan hutan hujan** yang sama besarnya dengan hampir 100 pulau di Manhattan (620.000 hektar) yang mendorong semua jenis satwa ikonik menuju ambang kepunahan.”

f) Unsur How

“**Wilmar berada di pusat jaringan korporasi global** yang mencakup produsen minyak sawit seperti Bumitama dan perkebunan BW hingga perusahaan-perusahaan dibalik merek-merek produk rumah

tangga yang membuat kita semua, konsumen, tanpa disadari menjadi kaki tangan dalam penghancuran ini.”

3) Analisis Tematik: **Aktivitas Perkebunan Kelapa Sawit Penyebab Matinya Satwa Langka**

Struktur tematik dapat diamati dari cara penulis mengungkapkan peristiwa. Struktur tematik berhubungan dengan bagaimana peristiwa ditulis dengan menggunakan kalimat tertentu, juga menempatkan dan menulis sumber ke dalam teks berita secara keseluruhan. Beberapa elemen dapat diamati dari perangkat tematik ini. Salah satunya koherensi, merupakan pertalian atau jalinan antarkata, proposisi, atau kalimat. Ada tiga koherensi yaitu sebab-akibat, penjas, dan pembeda. Koherensi merupakan elemen untuk melihat sejauh mana kepentingan penulis terhadap peristiwa.

a) Koherensi Penjelas

1. Wilmar harus membersihkan rantai pasokan minyak sawitnya **dan** mengecualikan semua perdagangan produk sawit yang terhubung dengan pengrusakan hutan dan lahan gambut.

b) Koherensi sebab - akibat

1. Sebuah perusahaan dengan konsesi mencakup hampir 6.500 hektar di Kalimantan Barat, menjadi perhatian publik di awal tahun 2013 **karena** gambar-gambar dramatis yang dirilis oleh International Animal Rescue Indonesia (IAR-I) yang menyelamatkan empat ekor orangutan yang menderita malnutrisi.”

Selain koherensi, bentuk kalimat dan kata ganti menjadi elemen penting juga dalam analisis tematik. Penyusunan kalimat dengan menggunakan kalimat aktif menunjukkan bagaimana peristiwa ditampilkan, sedangkan pemilihan kata ganti **say**, **mereka**, **kita**, dan **kami** menunjukkan bagaimana penulis menempatkan posisi sumber dalam teks berita.

4) Analisis Retoris: **Aktivitas Perkebunan Kelapa Sawit Penyebab Matinya Satwa Langka**

Struktur retoris menggambarkan pilihan gaya atau kata yang dipilih oleh penulis untuk menekankan arti. Penulis menggunakan perangkat retoris untuk membuat citra dengan menonjolkan sisi tertentu. Struktur retoris juga menunjukkan kecenderungan apa yang disampaikan adalah suatu kebenaran.

Ada beberapa elemen struktur retoris yang dipakai penulis di antaranya leksikon, pemilihan dan pemakaian kata tertentu untuk menggambarkan peristiwa. Pemilihan dan pemakaian kata secara ideologis menunjukkan makna atas peristiwa. Pemakaian kata biasa disandingkan dengan label tertentu.

Pan dan Kosiscki menyebut pilihan kata sebagai designator karena berfungsi memperkuat hubungan antara *signifier* dan *signified*. *Signifier* merujuk pada pihak dominan, sedangkan *signified* adalah pihak tidak dominan. Pilihan dan pemakaian kata “cantik” biasa dilekatkan pada rupa manusia. Penulis ingin menggambarkan bagaiman rupa dan tingkah laku Orangutan saat makan. Selanjutnya, pilihan dan pemakaian kata “sesumbar” merujuk pada bagaimana Bumitama menunjukkan tindakannya yang berhasil melakukan ekspansi perkebunan kelapa sawit.

Pilihan dan pemakaian “kuburan”, biasanya merujuk pada tempat peristirahatan terakhir manusia. Ada juga pilihan dan pemakaian kata “kaki tangan”, menunjukkan bahwa selama ini

konsumen adalah pengikut setia produk rumah tangga produksi Wilmar. Terakhir, pilihan dan pemakaian kata “mentransformasi”, merujuk pada aktivitas Wilmar mengubah atau mengolah produk kelapa sawit dalam perdagangan global.

Selain lewat kata, penekanan pesan dalam berita juga dapat dilakukan dengan menggunakan unsur grafis. Dalam wacana, unsur grafis muncul lewat bagian tulisan yang dibuat lain seperti huruf tebal, huruf miring, pemakaian garis bawah, huruf lebih besar.

Penulisan huruf tebal dimulai dengan tulisan **“Kuburan Orangutan”**, berisikan informasi tentang investigasi Greenpeace Indonesia bersama dua LSM lain menemukan tengkorak orangutan di konsesi Bumitama dan perkebunan BW. Hasil investigasi Greenpeace Indonesia ini dilaporkan kepada kepolisian untuk ditindaklanjuti. Greenpeace Indonesia menyayangkan tidak ada pernyataan kepada publik dari kedua perusahaan tersebut.

Pada bagian lain, penulis menuliskan **“Dan tidak hanya orangutan saja”**, merupakan informasi tentang catatan Greenpeace Indonesia mengenai luasan hektar hutan Indonesia hilang tiap tahun, terutama di Sumatera. Akibat dari hilangnya hutan di Sumatera, habitat harimau juga terancam. Selanjutnya, tulisan **“Jadi, apa yang bisa dilakukan?”** Dalam hal ini penulis memberikan pendapat bahwa kepala sawit sebagai komoditi ekspor Indonesia memiliki kontribusi terhadap pembangunan di Indonesia harusnya diolah tanpa merusak kehidupan semua orang dan habitat satwa.

Selanjutnya, tulisan **“Hari ini Unilever mengumumkan langkah-langkah untuk mengatasi deforestasi-siapa selanjutnya?”**, menekankan informasi tentang satu merek global, yaitu Unilever yang mengumumkan kebijakan Nol Deforestasi pada pertemuan *Roundtable on Sustainable Palm Oil* AGM di Indonesia. Unilever mengikuti jejak Nestle yang lebih dahulu mengumumkan kebijakan Nol Deforestasi. Selain itu, penulis juga menginformasikan tentang jaringan global Wilmar dalam menguasai perdagangan global minyak sawit. Wilmar merupakan produsen minyak sawit berada di balik merek-merek terkenal.

Tulisan **“Bergabunglah bersama Tiger Manifesto sebagai salah satu aksi melindungi hutan”**, merupakan ajakan penulis kepada pembaca untuk berpartisipasi dalam kampanye Greenpeace Indonesia melindungi habitat harimau Sumatera. Greenpeace Indonesia menantang Wilmar untuk membersihkan industri kelapa sawitnya dari deforestasi agar habitat orangutan dan harimau tidak lagi terancam. Keberadaan kedua jenis satwa tersebut sangat bergantung pada aktivitas Wilmar di industri kelapa sawit.

Tidak hanya menggunakan huruf tebal, pemakaian *caption*, raster, grafik, gambar, tabel, untuk mendukung arti penting suatu pesan. Pada berita berjudul **“Kuburan Orangutan, Wilmar, dan Kecanduan Minyak Sawit Kotor”**, penulis menampilkan foto di halaman pertama, kedua, dan ketiga. Sayangnya, penulis tidak mencantumkan *caption* pada foto di bawah ini:

Foto 5: Orangutan dan anaknya bergelantungan di salah satu pohon sambil makan pisang



Foto 6: Tulang belulang orangutan di areal konsesi hasil dokumentasi Greenpeace



Foto 7: Aktivis International Animal Rescue Indonesia (IAR-I) sedang menyelamatkan seekor orangutan yang menderita malnutrisi



Foto 8: Spanduk berwarna kuning dibentangkan di areal konsesi bertuliskan Wilmar: protection or destruction?



Foto 9: Kepulan asap tebal karena kebakaran hutan yang dialih fungsikan untuk perkebunan kelapa sawit



Berdasarkan keempat perangkat analisis di atas dapat disimpulkan bahwa kekuasaan Greenpeace Indonesia menyebar melalui praktik-praktik sosial yang berbeda. Praktik sosial ini ditujukan kepada Wilmar dan anak perusahaannya, yaitu Bumitama dan perkebunan BW. Praktik sosial tersebut diwujudkan melalui produksi teks atas operasional Bumitama dan perkebunan BW membuka lahan konsesi di taman nasional.

Aktivitas kedua perusahaan ini menyebabkan ancaman bagi habitat orangutan di kawasan tersebut. Tidak hanya orangutan yang terancam habitatnya, juga harimau. Kedua satwa ikonik tersebut menjadi fokus bagi Greenpeace Indonesia dan LSM lain. Di balik operasional kedua perusahaan tersebut, Greenpeace Indonesia membidik satu produsen kelapa sawit terbesar yaitu, Wilmar.

Greenpeace Indonesia menyusun wacana berkaitan dengan operasional Bumitama di Kalimantan Barat dan Wilmar di Sumatera. Wacana disusun dengan memberikan ilustrasi tentang kawasan orangutan yang hidup nyaman di hutan Kalimantan, sayangnya tidak berlangsung lama karena ekspansi 50.000 hektar untuk pengembangan industri kelapa sawit oleh Bumitama.

Penulis menyamakan luasnya ekspansi Bumitama dengan luasnya 60 lapangan sepak bola yang dibangun setiap hari. Perumpamaan ini digunakan sebagai propaganda untuk mempengaruhi kognitif pembaca. Penggunaan angka merupakan upaya penulis menakutkan pembaca bahwa berita tersebut disusun berdasarkan fakta di lapangan bukan opini penulis.

Dalam menyusun wacana, Greenpeace Indonesia senantiasa memberi tekanan pada teks. Dengan memberi judul **“Kuburan Orangtua, Wilmar, dan Kecanduan Minyak Sawit Kotor”**, menunjukkan pandangan Greenpeace bahwa saatnya memberi tekanan kepada Wilmar sebagai produsen terbesar

yang menguasai sepertiga perdagangan kelapa sawit dunia. Tekanan ini tidak hanya ditujukan kepada Wilmar, tapi juga anak perusahaannya, yaitu Bumitama dan perkebunan WB agar menghentikan operasinya di taman nasional.

Greenpeace Indonesia menilai ekspansi perusahaan tersebut telah menyebabkan ancaman bagi habitat orangutan dan harimau. Melihat dampak yang ditimbulkan, Greenpeace menilai ekspansi kedua perusahaan sangat agresif. Melalui sindiran bahwa kedua perusahaan bangga telah melakukan ekspansi perkebunan untuk pengembangan kelapa sawit tahun ini, Greenpeace Indonesia berupaya memojokkan mereka sebagai pihak bersalah.

Selain *headline*, penulis menggunakan *lead* guna mendukung pandangan tersebut. Pada *lead* penulis menceritakan pengalaman luar biasa melihat orangutan cantik duduk hanya beberapa meter dengan tenang makan buah yang diletakkan di bawah. Mereka begitu dekat dan sangat nyaman di hutan, tapi orangutan ini hanya mewakili salah satu satwa langka yang hutannya sedang berada dalam ancaman. *Lead* sengaja disusun dengan menuliskan pengalaman penulis untuk menimbulkan rasa simpati pembaca kepada salah satu satwa langka ini.

Guna mendukung *headline* dan melengkapi *lead*, penulis juga menuliskan latar peristiwa dari berita tersebut. Latar merupakan hasil konstruk penulis atas peristiwa. Investigasi Greenpeace Indonesia bersama **Friends of National Parks Foundation** (FNPF) berhasil mengekspos lokasi kejahatan Bumitama yang baru.

Di dalam konsesi itu, mereka menemukan tengkorak orangutan. Di samping itu, dua LSM lain yaitu, Orangutan Foundation International (OFI) dan FNPF berhasil mendokumentasikan orangutan yang masih hidup di perbatasan dua konsesi milik Bumitama. Sebelumnya, **Bumitama juga mendapat sorotan oleh International Animal Rescue Indonesia (IAR-I)** karena gambar-gambar dramatis penyelamatan empat Orangutan yang menderita malnutrisi.

Di balik Bumitama, ada produsen minyak sawit terbesar di Indonesia, yaitu Wilmar. Wilmar berada di pusat jaringan korporasi global mencakup Bumitama dan perkebunan BW termasuk perusahaan penghasil produk rumah tangga melakukan ekspansi di hutan Sumatera. Akibatnya, habitat harimau Sumatera terancam dan hanya 400 ekor yang tersisa.

Penulis sengaja mencantumkan angka untuk menggambarkan besarnya kejahatan yang dilakukan oleh Bumitama dan Wilmar serta dampaknya terhadap satwa langka di areal konsesi. Ini sebagai upaya menyakinkan pembaca bahwa kedua perusahaan adalah pelaku utama yang bertanggungjawab atas menderitanya Orangutan di Kalimantan dan Harimau Sumatera. Dengan memberitakan kejahatan kedua perusahaan, Greenpeace Indonesia berusaha melakukan tekanan kepada mereka.

Tekanan Greenpeace Indonesia ini disampaikan dengan argumentasi bahwa minyak sawit dapat diproduksi secara bertanggungjawab, karena kontribusinya terhadap pembangunan di Indonesia. Bukan sebaliknya, menghancurkan masa depan masyarakat, satwa, dan iklim global yang penting bagi semua orang. Greenpeace Indonesia menginginkan kedua perusahaan harus segera menerapkan kebijakan nol deforestasi.

Teks dibentuk untuk menunjukkan otoritas Greenpeace Indonesia sebagai pihak yang berkuasa atas Bumitama dan Wilmar. Dominasi Greenpeace Indonesia telah menciptakan teks untuk

memposisikan Bumitama dan Wilmar sebagai pihak tidak berdaya. Dominasi ini menciptakan kekuasaan yang berlangsung dalam proses produksi teks dan disebarkan melalui *web*.

Bagi Foucault (dalam Jorgensen, 2010:27) kekuasaan merupakan daya yang produktif sekaligus membelenggu. Kekuasaan selalu terikat pada pengetahuan sehingga keduanya memiliki praanggapan satu sama lain. Dalam proses produksi teks, Greenpeace Indonesia menciptakan dirinya sebagai pihak dominan yang memiliki otoritas memberikan pengetahuan kepada Bumitama dan Wilmar karena keduanya merupakan pihak tidak dominan.

Sebagai pihak dominan Greenpeace Indonesia mewujudkan kekuasaannya dengan memberikan tekanan pada informasi yang dianggap penting pada tiap paragraf di antaranya penggunaan angka 15.000 hektar untuk menggambarkan luas hutan yang diubah menjadi areal perkebunan kelapa sawit. Greenpeace Indonesia memberi persamaan luas konsesi Bumitama dengan 60 lapangan sepak bola.

Tidak hanya di paragraf kedua penggunaan angka ini dimunculkan, tapi juga lima dan enam. Pada paragraf kelima, Greenpeace Indonesia mencantumkan angka 6.500 hektar luas ekspansi anak perusahaan Bumitama yaitu PT Ladang Sawit Mas, sedangkan di paragraf enam dicantumkan angka 620.000 hektar untuk menggambarkan besaran luas hutan Indonesia yang hilang setiap tahun.

Angka ini disamakan dengan besarnya 100 pulau di Manhattan. Selain itu, di paragraf delapan, angka 70% dan 30% merujuk pada saham yang dimiliki oleh Wilmar di dua perusahaan yaitu Bumitama dan perkebunan BW. Ini menunjukkan strategi penulis untuk mengungkapkan kebenaran dengan menyakinkan dan mempengaruhi pandangan pembaca.

Kebenaran ini disampaikan dengan menempatkan informasi yang dianggap penting pada tiap paragraf. Selain menggunakan angka, penebalan kalimat pada tiap sub judul juga dianggap penting oleh penulis. Hal ini menunjukkan bahwa penulis ingin mengungkapkan kebenaran dengan memberi tekanan pada kalimat di tiap sub judul. Menebalkan kalimat pada tiap sub judul sebagai upaya Greenpeace Indonesia menyakinkan pembaca bahwa tindakan Bumitama dan Wilmar adalah kejahatan.

Greenpeace Indonesia menginginkan pembaca memiliki pandangan yang sama bahwa Bumitama dan Wilmar harus dimarginalkan. Dominasi Greenpeace Indonesia juga ditunjukkan dengan tidak adanya kutipan dari pihak Bumitama maupun Wilmar terkait pemberitaan ini. Sayangnya, pihak kepolisian tidak bersedia memberi pernyataan terkait laporan Greenpeace Indonesia.

Hal ini menunjukkan bahwa pihak kepolisian tidak mendukung pandangan atau ideologi penulis. Tidak adanya pengutipan sumber menjadikan wacana hanya dikembangkan oleh Greenpeace Indonesia. Latar yang ditulis dengan menggunakan angka dan kalimat tebal menunjukkan kepada pembaca bahwa gagasan Greenpeace Indonesia tentang kejahatan Bumitama dan Wilmar adalah benar. Ini merupakan cerminan ideologis Greenpeace Indonesia di mana penulis dapat menyajikan latar berdasarkan kepentingannya.

Melalui penulis, Greenpeace Indonesia bertindak sebagai subjek ideologis yang bertindak sebagai “aparatus negara represif” dan “aparatus negara ideologis”. Subjek ideologis terjadi melalui proses interpelasi. Interpelasi dilakukan Greenpeace Indonesia dengan melakukan pemilihan dan pemakaian kata dalam teks. Pemilihan dan pemakaian kata ini menunjukkan bagaimana Greenpeace Indonesia bertindak sebagai subjek ideologis.

Fakta disusun dengan menunculkan kebenaran, yaitu ekspansi Bumitama di taman nasional Kalimantan Barat telah menyebabkan habitat Orangutan terancam. Ekspansi ini dilakukan untuk mengembangkan perkebunan kelapa sawit. Selain Bumitama, Wilmar juga melakukan ekspansi di hutan Sumatera. Ini dilakukan Wilmar untuk meningkatkan pasokan minyak sawit di pasar global. Sebagai produsen minyak sawit terbesar, Wilmar merupakan investor bagi Bumitama dan perkebunan BW.

Wilmar berada di pusat jaringan korporasi global yang mencakup produsen minyak sawit seperti Bumitama dan perkebunan BW hingga perusahaan produk rumah tangga. Sebagai produsen terbesar yang memiliki jaringan pasar global, konsumen Wilmar tersebar di berbagai negara. Greenpeace Indonesia menganggap konsumen yang menggunakan produk Wilmar adalah kaki tangan dari perusahaan itu.

Greenpeace Indonesia ingin menunjukkan bahwa teks yang disusun berdasarkan fakta di lapangan, sehingga pembaca menganggap sebagai kebenaran. Foucault memahami “kebenaran” sebagai sistem prosedur-prosedur untuk pemroduksian, pengaturan, dan pendifusian kalimat-kalimat (Jorgensen, 2010:27). Jadi, kebenaran terjalin secara intrinsik dalam relasi antar wacana digunakan untuk mengungkap kebenaran, sistem kekuasaan, dan kedudukan subjek yang terlibat.

Terdapat dua koherensi pada teks, yaitu penjelas dan sebab-akibat. Koherensi penjelas ditandai kata hubung **dan**, menunjukkan bahwa proposisi kedua merupakan penjelas bagi proposisi pertama. Semua perdagangan minyak sawit Wilmar yang berkaitan dengan pengrusakan hutan dan lahan gambut harus ditiadakan. Dalam koherensi penjelas tanpa adanya anak kalimat tidak akan mengurangi makna kalimat pada teks.

Koherensi sebab-akibat ditandai dengan kata hubung **karena**, menunjukkan ada keterkaitan antara proposisi pertama dan kedua, yaitu operasional Bumitama melalui PT Ladang Sawit Mas telah menjadi sorotan dunia karena ekspansinya di hutan Kalimantan Barat telah menyebabkan penderitaan bagi orangutan di kawasan tersebut.

Kejahatan Bumitama terungkap berdasarkan gambar empat Orangutan menderita malnutrisi yang dirilis International Animal Rescue Indonesia (IAR-I). Koherensi sebab-akibat memberikan penilaian buruk terhadap Bumitama karena dampak ekspansinya di hutan Kalimantan Barat. Dengan koherensi sebab-akibat label pelaku kejahatan disematkan pada Bumitama.

Dalam menyusun teks berita, penulis memilih menggunakan kalimat aktif untuk menunjukkan Greenpeace Indonesia sebagai subjek memiliki kekuasaan atas wacana. Dengan menggunakan kalimat aktif akan menciptakan posisi tidak seimbang antara Greenpeace Indonesia sebagai subjek, sedangkan Bumitama dan Wilmar sebagai objek. Sebagai subjek, Greenpeace Indonesia memiliki kuasa dalam memilih kalimat untuk menekan Bumitama dan Wilmar.

Subjek sengaja diciptakan untuk menunjukkan pihak yang dominan. Menurut Kvale, “Diri itu tidak lagi menggunakan bahasa untuk mengekspresikan diri sendiri, namun bahasa menuturkan sesuatu melalui orang yang berbicara. Diri individu itu sendiri menjadi media bagi budaya dan bahasanya.” (Jorgensen, 2010:28).

Penggunaan kata ganti **saya** pada kalimat pertama teks berita merujuk kepada penulis. Penulis adalah juru kampanye minyak sawit Greenpeace Asia Tenggara- Indonesia. Berikutnya, kata ganti **mereka**, pada teks merujuk pada hutan tempat kewanan Orangutan dan Harimau tinggal.

Berbeda dengan kata ganti **mereka** pada teks yang merujuk pada PT ASMR dan PT BLP sebagai bagian dari perusahaan Bumitama. Kata ganti **mereka** bisa juga merujuk pada investigasi Greenpeace

Indonesia bersama FNPF dan OFI di konsesi Bumitama. Terakhir penggunaan kata ganti **kita** pada teks ditujukan tidak hanya kepada Greenpeace Indonesia dan LSM pendukung tapi juga pembaca sekaligus konsumen produk Wilmar.

Selain menentukan penggunaan kata ganti, Greenpeace Indonesia juga berkuasa dalam memilih kata dalam teks berita. Pemilihan kata menunjukkan cara ideologi Greenpeace Indonesia bekerja dalam teks. Pemilihan dan penggunaan kata “kuburan Orangutan” menunjukkan lokasi ditemukannya tengkorak Orangutan di konsesi Bumitama. Kata “kuburan” biasanya menunjukkan tempat dikuburkannya makhluk hidup yang ditandai dengan tengkorak yang mengidentifikasi jenisnya.

Pemilihan dan penggunaan kata “cantik” merujuk pada rupa atau tampilan fisik makhluk hidup. Kata “cantik” ini disematkan penulis untuk menggambarkan perilaku Orangutan saat makan. Pemilihan dan penggunaan kata “sesumbar”, menunjukkan kesombongan Bumitama yang berhasil melakukan ekspansi. Kemudian kata “agresif” menerangkan tindakan berani Bumitama dalam mengekspansi lahan seluas 15.000 hektar untuk pengembangan perkebunan kelapa sawit.

Selanjutnya, pemilihan dan penggunaan kata “kejahatan” menunjuk pada tindakan melanggar hukum Bumitama yang menyebabkan kerugian kepada kawanan satwa ikonik. Pemilihan dan penggunaan kata “sorotan”, menunjukkan bahwa Bumitama menjadi perbincangan dunia karena ekspansinya di hutan Kalimantan Barat menyebabkan kawanan Orangutan menderita malnutrisi.

Pemilihan dan penggunaan kata “kaki tangan”, merupakan julukan yang diberikan Greenpeace Indonesia kepada konsumen produk Wilmar. Julukan Greenpeace Indonesia kepada konsumen ini terkesan negatif. Terakhir, pemilihan dan penggunaan kata “mentransformasi”, menunjukkan Greenpeace Indonesia menginginkan perubahan industri kelapa sawit menuju nol deforestasi.

Guna mendukung visinya, selain teks Greenpeace Indonesia juga mencantumkan foto di halaman pertama, kedua, dan ketiga. Foto di halaman pertama memperlihatkan Orangutan bersama anaknya bergelantungan di salah satu pohon sedang makan. Di halaman kedua terdapat dua foto, sisi atas memperlihatkan tulang belulang Orangutan di areal konsesi sedangkan sisi bawah menunjukkan aktivis IAR-I sedang mengevakuasi seekor Orangutan akibat menderita malnutrisi dari areal konsesi.

Terakhir, foto di halaman ketiga, menunjukkan bentangan spanduk kuning bertuliskan Wilmar: *Protection or Destruction*. Ini mengindikasikan Greenpeace Indonesia menginginkan ketegasan sikap dari Wilmar sekaligus mengarahkan pembaca untuk memposisikan Wilmar sesuai penilaiannya.

Dalam proses produksi teks, tidak ada kutipan atau pernyataan dari Bumitama dan Wilmar. Greenpeace Indonesia ingin mendominasi seluruh teks untuk menunjukkan kekuasaan atas kedua perusahaan tersebut. Proses produksi teks yang seluruhnya didominasi termasuk foto pada tiap halaman menunjukkan bagaimana ideologi Greenpeace Indonesia berfungsi untuk melayani kekuasaan dengan menyusun peristiwa secara induktif.

Dasar proses produksi berita adanya konsensus, yaitu bagaimana peristiwa dipahami bersama dan dimaknai. Pada satu sisi, peristiwa dan aktor yang direstui dan di sisi lain peristiwa dan perilaku yang dikeluarkan dari pembicaraan. Konsensus menyediakan suatu kesatuan yang seringkali diterjemahkan sebagai “kami”.

Dominasi pada proses produksi teks menunjukkan Greenpeace Indonesia berkuasa dengan menempatkan Wilmar sebagai pihak bersalah. Produksi teks Greenpeace Indonesia menunjukkan bahwa Greenpeace memiliki kepentingan atas Wilmar. penulis biasanya menentukan tema atas suatu peristiwa. Hal ini mendorong penulis melakukan manipulasi penafsiran pembaca atas suatu peristiwa. Untuk mendukung tema berita biasanya penulis memakai kalimat atau penulisan tertentu.

V. Kesimpulan

Mengacu pada berbagai tingkatan analisis di atas, peneliti menyimpulkan hal-hal sebagai berikut:

1. Pembentukan pesan dalam website Greenpeace Indonesia mengacu pada empat elemen: sintaksis, skrip, tematik, dan retorik. Keempat elemen tersebut muncul dalam *headline*, *lead*, latar, pengutipan narasumber, 5W+1H, koherensi (penjelas, sebab-akibat, dan pembeda), kalimat aktif, kata ganti (saya, kami, kita, dan mereka), leksikon, pemilihan kata (*signifier* dan *signified*), huruf yang ditebalkan, dan foto tanpa teks.
2. Pembentukan pesan dalam *website* Greenpeace Indonesia sesuai dengan teori ekonomi politik kritis yang menekankan pada produksi dan reproduksi makna melalui teks. Proses produksi makna ini sulit dilepaskan dari "*deep ecology*" yang bagi Fairclough merupakan makna yang melayani kekuasaan. Kekuasaan bisa merupakan daya yang produktif sekaligus membelenggu. Kebenaran tentang kepunahan satwa langka akibat pembukaan lahan konsesi secara ilegal oleh perusahaan kelapa sawit sengaja diciptakan oleh sistem kekuasaan yang dibangun Greenpeace Indonesia. Sejalan dengan Fairclough, Foucault menilai setiap kekuasaan menyebar dan secara produktif membentuk wacana "penyelamatan satwa langka" melalui pembentukan pesan isu penyelamatan hutan Indonesia. Wacana ini diproduksi untuk membelenggu perusahaan kelapa sawit Indonesia yang diposisikan sebagai objek.
3. Wacana memberikan kontribusi terhadap pemroduksian subjek dan objek. Sebagai subjek, Greenpeace Indonesia menjalankan fungsinya seperti aparat negara yang represif sekaligus aparat ideologis yang leluasa melakukan dominasi terhadap perusahaan kelapa sawit sebagai objek yang tidak berdaya melalui *website*. Isu lingkungan hidup merupakan isu global di mana banyak kepentingan negara maju bermain di dalamnya. Dengan menempatkan Indonesia sebagai negara terbesar ketiga yang memiliki luas hutan tropis setelah Brazil dan Kongo, Indonesia menjadi sasaran kebijakan negara maju melalui penerapan kebijakan nol deforestasi. Penerapan kebijakan ini merupakan salah satu agenda utama negara maju dalam upaya menghambat perekonomian Indonesia, terutama dari sektor kehutanan.

Peran Media dan Kolaborasi Publik dalam Pembuatan Kebijakan Publik

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Abstrak

Perubahan sosial yang mengiringi perkembangan teknologi komunikasi dalam konteks negara-bangsa memerlukan kajian mendalam dan lintas disiplin untuk memperoleh manfaat teoritis maupun praktisnya. Indonesia merupakan salah satu negara yang kini berada dalam dua situasi tersebut dan harus mempunyai pilihan kebijakan yang hasil akhirnya menyejahterakan segenap masyarakatnya. Perubahan sosial yang dihadapi Indonesia bukanlah perubahan yang tiba-tiba, melainkan terikat dengan konteks historis ipoleksosbudnya yang untuk sebagian bersifat khas. Sedangkan perkembangan teknologi komunikasi di Indonesia untuk sebagian besar memiliki banyak kesamaan dengan negara lain yang bertransisi menuju negara berpendapatan menengah. Bagaimana Indonesia dapat berhasil terus melaju melewati perubahan sosial dan mengarahkan perubahan itu sesuai dengan modal historisnya? Bagaimana peran media dan kolaborasi publik dalam perubahan-perubahan tersebut? Makalah ini akan menyoroti tantangan pokok transformasi sosial di Indonesia saat ini dengan mempertimbangkan kembali aktualisasi acuan dasar bernegara (Pancasila) sesuai dengan kondisi perkembangan teknologi komunikasi dewasa ini. Secara lebih kongkret, transformasi sosial semakin tak dapat menghindar dari imperatif universal yakni karakter demokratis bagi praktik-praktik sosial politis. Dalam kondisi demikian media komunikasi dituntut untuk mampu berperan memfasilitasi kolaborasi publik sebagai wujud terbukanya pintu partisipasi warga negara. Analisis konseptual dalam makalah ini menggunakan kerangka pemikiran Teori Kritis Habermas terutama teori tindakan komunikatif dan ruang publik dalam kerangka 'masyarakat komunikatif'.

Kata kunci: peran media, demokrasi, dasar negara, partisipasi/kolaborasi publik, tindakan komunikatif.

Pendahuluan

Perubahan sosial yang mengiringi perkembangan teknologi komunikasi dalam konteks negara-bangsa memerlukan kajian mendalam dan lintas disiplin untuk memperoleh manfaat teoritis maupun praktisnya. Indonesia merupakan salah satu negara yang kini berada dalam dua situasi tersebut dan harus mempunyai pilihan kebijakan yang hasil akhirnya menyejahterakan segenap masyarakatnya.

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Dewasa ini perubahan sosial yang sedang kita hadapi terkait erat dengan perkembangan teknologi komunikasi dan informasi. Perubahan sosial ini tak pelak menyangkut perubahan institusi dan interaksi sosial yang tampak pada pola perilaku warga masyarakat yang kemudian saling berpengaruh dengan sistem sosial yang lebih luas. Semua perubahan ini kini tampak jelas sangat dipengaruhi oleh kehadiran teknologi internet yang masif penggunaannya dalam wujud media sosial yang beraneka ragam.

Berkembangnya media sosial menambah jumlah media, ragam isi media, ragam interaksi sosial, ragam kepentingan dan harapan warga yang dapat dipandang sebagai gejala demokratisasi dalam arti bertambahnya berbagai keragaman. Bertambahnya keragaman ini pada umumnya dipandang sebagai hal positif dan membawa manfaat bagi demokratisasi dalam arti penghargaan pada keragaman. Namun, dalam tahap akhir pembuatan/penentuan keputusan publik yang terbaik justru diperlukan hal yang sebaliknya: keseragaman atau ketunggalan (meski mungkin dengan kekecualian). Untuk kedua sisi kepentingan itu kekuatan media dipandang mempunyai peranan yang utama untuk memfasilitasi kolaborasi/partisipasi warga dalam pembuatan kebijakan publik.

Sebagian Potret Buram Indonesia Kini Sejak kemerdekaan, dalam potret makronya Indonesia tampak mengalami perubahan yang positif terutama dalam bidang ekonomi, atau khususnya pada pendapatan perkapita.⁵⁰ Akan tetapi, dalam potret parsialnya terdapat beberapa sektor ekonomi yang dikuasai pihak asing: migas, asuransi, elektronik, telekomunikasi).

Potret makro lainnya memperlihatkan kondisi Indonesia belum sungguh menggembirakan dan membanggakan. Kemiskinan tampak semakin berkurang persentasenya sementara kesenjangan kaya-miskin (koefisien Gini) meningkat. Indeks Pembangunan Manusia yang mengukur dimensi 'hidup

⁵⁰ Kementerian Sekretariat Negara Republik Indonesia, dalam "Mencermati Perangkap Negara Berpendapatan Menengah dan Kesenjangan Kesejahteraan", 21 Januari 2014 mencantumkan kategori pendapatan perkapita negara: menengah-bawah (*lower middle income*) antara \$2.000 - \$7.250 dan menengah tinggi (*upper middle income*) antara \$7.250 - \$11.750. http://www.setneg.go.id/index.php?option=com_content&task=view&id=7660. Menurut Bank Dunia, pada 2014 Indonesia berpendapatan US\$ 3.630 (metode Atlas). <http://data.worldbank.org/country/indonesia/indonesian>, diakses 13 Nov. 2015.

panjang yang sehat', 'akses terhadap ilmu pengetahuan', dan 'standar kehidupan yang layak' juga belum membanggakan. Di wilayah Asean posisinya adalah: Myanmar (150), Laos (139), Kamboja (136), Timor-Leste (128), Vietnam (121) dan Filipina (117), **Indonesia (108)**, Thailand (89), Malaysia (62), Brunei (30), dan Singapura (9).⁵¹

Sementara itu potret Indonesia dalam Indeks Demokrasi tampak membaik pada tahun 2014 setelah tahun-tahun sebelumnya menurun.⁵² Meskipun demikian di balik tampilan Indeks Demokrasi Indonesia ini sesungguhnya terdapat kejanggalan. Buku IDI yang disusun pertama kali tahun 1999 oleh *United Nations for Development Programmes* (UNDP) perwakilan Indonesia dengan melibatkan sejumlah ilmuwan politik Indonesia tidak mencantumkan aspek budaya/ideologi politik Indonesia – yakni Pancasila – sebagai salah satu acuan penyusunan indeks. Akibatnya praktik demokrasi di Indonesia tidak sungguh-sungguh didasarkan pada dasar negara. Mungkin karena hal ini, buah demokratisasi yang dipetik dari pohon pemilu banyak yang busuk (86,22% kepala daerah hasil pemilu terlibat korupsi).⁵³

Demikianlah sebagian potret buram Indonesia yang memperlihatkan perubahan sosial dan permasalahannya. Secara singkat persoalan perubahan sosial ini sesungguhnya selalu terkait dengan kualitasantisipasi dan adaptasi terhadapnya. Bagaimana perubahan-perubahan itu dipandang (sebagai apa)? Bagaimana peran media dan kolaborasi publik dalam perubahan-perubahan tersebut? Bagaimana Indonesia selanjutnya dapat berhasil terus melaju melewati perubahan sosial dan mengarahkan perubahan itu sesuai dengan modal historisnya?

Upaya Mengubah Potret Indonesia

Pertama dan yang utama adalah memandang perubahan sosial tersebut sebagai masalah sekaligus peluang, yakni peluang melakukan transformasi sosial secara demokratis. Perubahan sosial yang cenderung negatif tersebut, yang belum sesuai dengan tujuan bangsa, dipandang sebagai konsekuensi logis dari pembuatan kebijakan publik yang tidak memadai, salah-buruk, atau tidak logis-etis. Pembuatan kebijakan publik adalah suatu proses komunikasi; “komunikasi yang tidak komunikatif” menghasilkan kebijakan yang salah-buruk. Keadaan inilah yang perlu ditransformasikan secara demokratis dengan mengerahkan partisipasi dan kolaborasi publik yang mempersyaratkan “rasionalitas komunikatif” untuk membuat kebijakan publik yang benar-baik.

⁵¹ Sumber UNDP 2014, IPM Tahun 2014. Sepuluh negara dengan IPM tertinggi adalah 1) Norwegia, 2) Australia, 3) Swiss, 4) Belanda, 5) Amerika Serikat, 6) Jerman, 7) Selandia Baru, 8) Kanada, 9) Singapura, dan 10) Denmark. Indonesia termasuk dalam kategori sedang; yang terendah adalah Nigeria (187), Konggo, Guinea.

⁵² Sumber BPS 2015. “Indeks Demokrasi Indonesia (IDI) 2014 mencapai angka 73,04 dalam skala 0 sampai 100. Angka ini naik 9,32 poin dibandingkan dengan angka IDI 2013 yang sebesar 63,72. Capaian kinerja demokrasi Indonesia tersebut masih berada pada kategori “sedang” untuk klasifikasi tingkat demokrasi dikelompokkan menjadi tiga kategori, yakni: “baik” (indeks > 80), “sedang” (indeks 60–80), dan “buruk” (indeks < 60). Kenaikan IDI dari 2013–2014 dipengaruhi perubahan tiga aspek demokrasi yakni (1) Kebebasan Sipil naik 3,62 poin (dari 79,00 menjadi 82,62), (2) Hak-Hak Politik yang naik 17,47 poin (dari 46,25 menjadi 63,72), dan (3) Lembaga-lembaga Demokrasi yang naik 3,57 poin (dari 72,24 menjadi 75,81).”

⁵³ Sumber Tempo.co, 24 Juli 2014, "Dari data kami ada 330 kepala daerah yang tersangkut kasus korupsi, atau sekitar 86,22 persen," kata Gamawan di sela acara buka puasa bersama wartawan di gedung Kementerian Dalam Negeri, Rabu, 23 Juli 2014.

Berikutnya, makalah ini juga akan menyoroti tantangan pokok transformasi sosial di Indonesia saat ini dengan mempertimbangkan kembali aktualisasi acuan dasar bernegara sesuai dengan kondisi perkembangan teknologi komunikasi dewasa ini, khususnya tantangan/tuntutan demokratisasi. Namun demokratisasi di sini bukan dengan sembarang model demokrasi, melainkan yang selaras dengan budaya politik kita sendiri yakni nilai dasar Pancasila, khususnya sila ke-4 yakni “Kerakyatan yang dipimpin oleh seorang pemimpin/ketua dalam perwakilan/permusyawaratan”.⁵⁴ Secara lebih kongkret dan spesifik, kini transformasi sosial semakin tak dapat menghindar dari imperatif universal yakni karakter demokratis bagi praktik-praktik sosial politis. Dalam kondisi demikian media komunikasi dituntut untuk mampu berperan memfasilitasi kolaborasi publik sebagai wujud semakin terbukanya pintu partisipasi warga negara

Dalam konteks demokratisasi, partisipasi warga, dan masyarakat informasi (atau lebih tepat lagi “masyarakat demokratis-komunikatif”) itulah peran terpenting dan utama dari media. Dalam hal ini, akan diuraikan lagi nanti, media berubah perannya. Bukan lagi media yang lebih menyuarakan beragam suara seperti yang sudah dipraktikkan selama ini, melainkan media yang secara daring memfasilitasi pengujian dan penetapan satu kebijakan publik berdasarkan argumen yang logis-etis.⁵⁵

Dewasa ini perkembangan teknologi komunikasi, khususnya internet, telah memungkinkan jutaan warga dari berbagai tempat dan waktu menyampaikan keluhan, aspirasi, dan pendapat secara hampir bersamaan dalam rentang waktu dan saluran internet tertentu. Warga masyarakat atau anggota publik tidak harus lebih dulu berkumpul di satu tempat/ruang (yang tentu terbatas kapasitasnya) untuk bisa menyampaikan pendapat, seperti misalnya pada awal kemerdekaan Indonesia tahun 1945. Dengan tersedianya fasilitas media komunikasi ini, publik di era internet dapat berpartisipasi dan bermusyawarah untuk suatu keperluan –terutama dan terpenting berpartisipasi membuat kebijakan publik yang diselenggarakan secara daring (dalam jaringan) atau *online*.

Transformasi sosial menuju masyarakat yang lebih demokratis dengan semakin berperannya media sosial ini memerlukan pemahaman teoritis agar perubahan sosial yang terjadi merupakan suatu praksis yang akuntabel, bukan suatu praktik yang acak dan sulit diperkirakan. Di sinilah pemikiran Teori Kritis Jürgen Habermas –terutama Teori Tindakan Komunikatif dan Demokrasi Deliberatif yang berinti rasionalitas komunikatif, disertai upaya menjabarkannya melalui model kepemimpinan yang fasilitatif dan partisipatif– dipandang dapat digunakan untuk membantu mencapai tujuan tersebut. Model/paradigma kepemimpinan merupakan aspek yang selalu terkait dengan pembuatan kebijakan publik.

Konsep-konsep Pokok Habermas

Hingga setengah abad terakhir ini dapat dikatakan Habermas-lah pemikir sosial (lahir 18 Juni 1929) yang memandang komunikasi sedemikian penting dalam kehidupan manusia. Habermas bahkan

⁵⁴ Hadirin dan pembaca tentu masih ingat bunyi sila ke-4 Pancasila tidaklah seperti itu, namun mungkin Anda dapat melihat bahwa demokrasi dan kepemimpinan yang dipraktikkan di negeri kita adalah seperti itu. Dan, banyak orang tidak menyadari bahwa praktik itu sesungguhnya tidak seturut teks Pancasila.

⁵⁵ Habermas menyebut dengan ungkapan “*the unforced force of better argument*” dalam buku *Moral Consciousness and Communicative Action* (1990).

mencitakan terbentuknya ‘komunitas komunikatif’ atau masyarakat komunikatif sebagai ‘sistem’ sekaligus ‘dunia-kehidupan’ yang mampu mengatasi patologi-patologi modernitas. Demikian pentingnya komunikasi bagi Habermas, karya Habermas dengan judul *The Theory of Communicative Action* (jilid 1 dan 2, tahun 1984 dan 1987) bahkan disebut sebagai *master piece*-nya. Dalam karya ini Habermas menjelaskan tiga konsep pokoknya tentang tindakan yakni ‘tindakan komunikatif’ dan ‘tindakan instrumental’ dan ‘tindakan strategis’ serta gagasan sentralnya ‘rasio komunikatif’.

Sekitar 14 tahun setelah karya besar tersebut Habermas memperjelas pemikirannya mengenai hakikat komunikasi dalam kehidupan manusia dalam bukunya *On The Pragmatic of Communication* (1998), khususnya dalam bab berjudul “*Some further Clarifications of the Concept of Communicative Rationality*”. Sebelum buku ini, konsep penting lainnya dari Habermas, yakni demokrasi deliberatif dan negara hukum demokratis modern, muncul dalam bukunya *Between Facts and Norms: Contributions to a Discourse Theory of Law and Democracy* (1996). Semua itu merupakan bagian dari program Teori Kritis-nya yang iaawali dengan buku *The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere* (edisi Jerman tahun 1962).

Untuk kesempatan konferensi ini diuraikan beberapa konsep pokok yang merupakan bagian dari pemikiran besar Habermas, Teori Kritis Masyarakat.

a. Rasionalitas Komunikatif⁵⁶

Rasionalitas adalah disposisi akal budi seseorang untuk mengetahui, berbicara, dan bertindak. “Konsep rasionalitas ... merujuk pada sistem klaim validitas yang harus dijelaskan berdasarkan teori argumentasi” (Habermas. 1984, h. 22). Rasionalitas selalu melekat pada komunikasi (Habermas. 1984, h. 278).

Rasionalitas komunikatif merupakan kecondongan pengaturan dalam diri, atau kesanggupan, seseorang untuk menampilkan tindakan rasional dalam berkomunikasi dengan orang lain sehingga mencapai pemahaman dan persetujuan timbal-balik. Pemahaman dan persetujuan ini hanya mungkin jika pernyataan atau ekspresi seseorang memenuhi klaim-klaim kesahihan yang dapat dikritik oleh pihak lain. Suatu pernyataan memenuhi klaim kesahihan jika argumentasinya benar (proposisional), jujur (otentik), dan tepat (seturut norma sosial). Rasionalitas Komunikatif terdapat dalam tindakan komunikatif, ditandai dengan adanya koordinasi rencana tindakan dan tiadanya paksaan/ancaman.

b. Tindakan Komunikatif

Tindakan komunikatif adalah tindakan yang terjadi dalam situasi sosial yang berorientasi mencapai pemahaman timbal balik atau kesepakatan; di sini para pelakunya mengkoordinasikan dan mengharmoniskan rencana-rencana tindakan individual mereka melalui argumentasi reflektif yang memenuhi rasionalitas komunikatif (Habermas. 1984, h. 350-351, 361). Dengan demikian tindakan komunikatif merupakan tindakan yang mengandaikan adanya atau memiliki rasionalitas komunikatif.

⁵⁶ Uraian tentang rasionalitas komunikatif ini terutama disarikan dari J. Habermas. (1998). *On The Pragmatic of Communication*. (PC): 307-315.

Seseorang disebut bertindak komunikatif –terhadap orang lain– jika ia menampilkan argumen-argumen yang memenuhi sekaligus ketiga klaim validitas; jadi argumennya diterima, dipahami, dan disetujui tanpa paksaan, ancaman, atau kekerasan oleh pendengar atau pihak lain.

Dua bentuk tindakan lainnya yang dapat dikatakan berseberangan dengan tindakan komunikatif adalah tindakan instrumental dan tindakan strategis. Tindakan instrumental adalah tindakan manusia dalam situasi nonsosial (terutama tindakan manusia terhadap alam) yang berorientasi pada sukses atau keberhasilan (mengolah dan menguasai alam). Tindakan strategis adalah tindakan manusia yang berlangsung dalam situasi sosial dengan maksud mencapai sukses atau keberhasilan sesuai kepentingan pelaku sendiri, dengan melakukan koordinasi dan kalkulasi egosentris. Tindakan strategis rawan untuk tergelincir ke dalam Tindakan Strategis-yang-Disembunyikan yang merupakan penipuan bawah sadar.

c. Masyarakat Demokratis-Komunikatif

Tindakan komunikatif yang dilakukan oleh banyak orang akan membentuk jaringan kerjasama atau masyarakat komunikatif (Habermas. 1987, h.149).

Di tengah arus demokratisasi, konsep ‘masyarakat komunikatif’ Habermas dapat sedikit dimodifikasi menjadi masyarakat demokratis-komunikatif agar lebih mudah menarik perhatian kalangan luas. Istilah masyarakat demokratis-komunikatif juga bermanfaat untuk menunjukkan adanya kekurangan substansi dalam (konsep) masyarakat demokratis yang sudah lebih dulu dikenal luas. Masyarakat demokratis-komunikatif adalah masyarakat yang membuat keputusan terkait urusan *demos* (baca: kebijakan publik) dengan menggunakan tindakan komunikatif yang berisi rasionalitas komunikatif, disertai dengan etika diskursus dan pedoman perilaku bermusyawarah secara publik (pedoman ini belum ada atau belum lengkap, termasuk misalnya tentang wicara kebencian – *hate speech*).

d. Demokrasi Deliberatif

Demokrasi yang dicitakan Habermas adalah suatu jenis demokrasi yang radikal, yakni demokrasi deliberatif atau demokrasi musyawarah.⁵⁷ Ini bukan demokrasi yang sudah biasa dipraktikkan secara luas, yang sesungguhnya masih terbatas, elitis, oligarkis, eksklusif, tidak egaliter, dan tampak tak beda dari tindak keroyokan (yang banyak biasanya menang). Demokrasi deliberatif dipandang lebih sebagai prosedur untuk menghasilkan aturan-aturan tentang apa yang harus dilakukan oleh warga negara (Hardiman. 2005, h. 128-129). Melalui prosedur demokratis ini pendapat dan aspirasi disaring menjadi keputusan yang dipatuhi dan dijalankan bersama. Habermas menyatakan bahwa prosedur demokratis diinstitusionalisasikan di dalam proses-proses diskursus dan perundingan dengan memanfaatkan bentuk komunikasi yang menjanjikan bahwa semua hasil yang sesuai dengan prosedur tersebut adalah masuk akal (Habermas. 1996, h. 304).

e. Ruang Publik

⁵⁷ Demokrasi musyawarah sesungguhnya identik dengan sila ke-4 Pancasila.

Ruang publik adalah suatu dunia kehidupan sosial yang di dalamnya sesuatu yang mendekati opini publik dapat dibentuk. Sebagian ruang publik terjadi dalam setiap percakapan yang di dalamnya individu privat berkumpul dan berunding secara bebas dan tak terbatas membicarakan, mengekspresikan, dan mempublikasikan pendapat-pendapat mereka mengenai berbagai kepentingan umum (Habermas *et al.* 1974). Pada ruang publik yang luas diperlukan sarana komunikasi yang khusus, antara lain surat kabar, majalah, radio, dan televisi (media massa yang dikenal hingga tahun 1964). Pada masa kini sarana yang lebih canggih adalah internet dengan berbagai piranti lunaknya.

f. Etika Diskursus

Mengenai etika diskursus, sesungguhnya Habermas hanya mengikuti peraturan atau prosedur diskursus yang dirumuskan Robert Alexy sebagai berikut (Habermas. 1990, h.89):

1. Setiap subjek yang mampu berbicara dan bertindak boleh ikut serta dalam diskursus.
2. a. Setiap peserta boleh mempermasalahkan setiap pendapat.
b. Setiap peserta boleh mengajukan pendapat apapun di dalam diskursus.
c. Setiap peserta boleh mengungkapkan sikap-sikap, keinginan-keinginan, dan kebutuhan-kebutuhannya.
3. Tak seorang pembicara pun yang boleh dihalangi untuk melaksanakan hak-haknya yang tercantum dalam butir 1 dan 2.

g. Paradigma Kepemimpinan Pendapat (PKP)

Paradigma Kepemimpinan Pendapat adalah paradigma kepemimpinan yang mengutamakan pendapat (*what*), bukan mengutamakan orang yang berpendapat (*who*). Pemimpin diposisikan lebih sebagai fasilitator. Sebagai fasilitator ia menjalankan tugas pokok memfasilitasi organisasi, anggota organisasi, dan anggota publik untuk membuat keputusan-keputusan yang bermuara pada tercapainya tujuan organisasi dan tujuan anggota (Harsono. 2010).

Fasilitator memfasilitasi seluruh proses pembuatan keputusan mulai dari awal, yakni: 1) proses penjangkaran masukan, aspirasi, dan pendapat dari sebanyak mungkin anggota, 2) proses permusyawaratan (*deliberation*) setiap pendapat yang terkait dengan masalah hidup bermasyarakat dan berbangsa sampai tercapai permufakatan berupa sebuah keputusan publik, 3) pendokumentasian proses musyawarah dan seluruh bukti uji logika atau uji argumentasi.

PKP menekankan pentingnya kualitas pendapat agar keputusan publik yang dibuat berdasarkan pendapat ini dapat diterima dan memuaskan seluruh warga bahkan semua pihak. PKP, dengan sifat demokratis yang melekat di dalamnya, sangat potensial digunakan sebagai sarana pendemokrasian masyarakat atau pelibatan masyarakat dalam pembuatan kebijakan. PKP, yang sejalan dengan sila ke-4 Pancasila, merupakan koreksi atas Paradigma Kepemimpinan Ketua/Orang. Selain itu PKP lebih sesuai dengan gagasan Habermas tentang ruang publik sebagai tempat terbentuknya pendapat publik.

Penjabaran Pemikiran Habermas: Media sebagai Sarana Kolaborasi Publik

Selama “komunikasi” tidak dipahami atau tidak ditingkatkan menjadi Tindakan Komunikatif, maka masalah-masalah sosial-humaniora tak akan kunjung berkurang, baik dalam rasio persentasenya maupun bahkan dalam kualitas/tingkat salah-buruknya. Oleh karena itu menjadi sangat penting untuk lebih dahulu memahami apa itu sesungguhnya ‘komunikasi yang komunikatif’ atau ‘tindakan komunikatif’ seperti yang sudah diuraikan di atas.

Secara ringkas, masalah perubahan sosial yang negatif di atas dapat diatasi dengan suatu kerangka acuan besar mewujudkan gagasan ‘masyarakat demokratis-komunikatif’.

Dengan banyaknya kesesuaian atau bidang interseksi antara ‘rasionalitas komunikatif’ dan unsur-unsur Paradigma Kepemimpinan Pendapat maka masyarakat komunikatif yang diidealkan Habermas menjadi lebih mungkin diwujudkan. Mengingat bahwa fenomena kepemimpinan dalam perkembangan peradaban manusia hingga kini masih kokoh keberadaannya, maka menanamkan rasionalitas komunikatif dengan semua kelengkapan unsurnya secara sadar ke dalam Paradigma Kepemimpinan Pendapat (PKP) adalah hal yang sangat penting. Secara khusus hal ini berarti bahwa pengujian dengan menggunakan kaidah logika, juga uji kejujuran, atas argumen yang mendasari pendapat harus dilakukan sebelum suatu pendapat dijadikan keputusan/kebijakan publik.

Selain itu, dengan menggunakan istilah baru masyarakat demokratis-komunikatif, konstruksi masyarakat komunikatif yang digagas oleh Habermas terbantu untuk diwujudkan.

Pewujudan masyarakat demokratis-komunikatif bisa agak mudah bisa juga sangat sulit selama hal-hal yang disarankan di bawah ini tidak terlaksana. Demi terwujudnya ‘masyarakat demokratis-komunikatif’ (MDK) yang mempersyaratkan partisipasi dan kolaborasi publik, maka:

1. Paradigma Kepemimpinan Pendapat dapat dicoba diterapkan pada komunitas yang sudah “terbiasa” melakukan perbincangan rasional dalam membuat keputusan untuk publik internal, misalnya komunitas kampus perguruan tinggi. Untuk itu, Kementerian Pendidikan Tinggi, Riset, dan Teknologi perlu memberi otonomi yang lebih besar kepada perguruan tinggi dan mendorong dilakukannya diskusi *online* multidisiplin di lingkungan perguruan tinggi. Keberhasilan uji coba dapat dilanjutkan ke tingkat yang lebih luas (masyarakat umum) dengan ‘musyawarah nasional’ menggunakan piranti *mailing list* (milis) atau yang sejenis lainnya. Dengan langkah ini dibukalah pintu kolaborasi publik dalam setiap pembuatan kebijakan publik.

Secara lebih kongkrit, praktik tindakan komunikatif dalam PKP menuju Masyarakat Demokratis-Komunikatif dapat mulai diwujudkan dengan mengubah setiap ‘diskusi darat’ menjadi ‘diskusi daring’, atau melengkapinya untuk memperluas kolaborasi publik. Ini berarti diskusi darat dikurangi frekuensinya, atau tetap saja namun dilanjutkan dengan diskusi daring selama waktu tertentu sesudah diskusi darat berlangsung.

2. Pemerintah harus menyediakan satu sarana internet khusus untuk keperluan kolaborasi dan diskursus publik atau musyawarah rasional berjangkauan nasional guna membuat kebijakan publik (Dengan ini beragam media sosial dan media konvensional tetap diperlukan). Melalui satu sarana khusus ini setiap warga masyarakat berhak untuk berkomunikasi dengan pemerintah. Di dalam sarana ini tidak boleh ada iklan sama sekali. Sarana ini dikelola secara independen dengan berdasar



pada aturan undang-undang tersendiri. Sarana ini diperlukan mengingat media massa yang ada tidak mungkin independen dari kepentingan politik elit maupun bisnis (oligarki). Sarana internet ini sebaiknya merupakan hasil rancangan Indonesia sendiri agar tidak mudah diganggu oleh pihak atau negara lain. Setiap warga masyarakat yang mau dan mampu bermusyawarah berhak untuk turut membuat keputusan tentang masalah publik atau kehidupan bersama.

3. Pengajaran logika yang dikaitkan dengan etika dan bahasa, sebagai bagian dari keterampilan berpikir dan berperilaku, harus dirancang dan dipersiapkan lebih cermat agar sungguh-sungguh dapat diterapkan dalam perbincangan rasional di ruang publik. Yang ada selama ini, uji logika dalam pembuatan keputusan tidak pernah dilaksanakan sehingga orang yang sudah mempelajarinya tidak merasakan manfaat dan sifat pentingnya. Lebih memprihatinkan lagi, banyak pendidik (dosen) yang menduduki jabatan struktural tidak pernah memperoleh mata kuliah logika.
4. Terkait langkah nyata alternatif kedua yakni demokrasi perwakilan (alternatif pertama adalah demokrasi langsung/partisipatif), DPR harus membuat semua rapat dan sidangnya, kecuali yang menyangkut rahasia negara, terbuka kepada publik melalui media internet publik. DPR juga harus berani melakukan uji argumen atas pendapat-pendapat yang disampaikan anggota dewan maupun warga biasa. Dengan cara ini publik dapat memberi masukan secara langsung dan terbuka sambil mengawasi dan menilai kinerja para wakilnya. Mengenai alternatif pertama, yakni demokrasi langsung, ia sejalan dengan demokrasi deliberatif sebab proses deliberasi untuk pembuatan kebijakan berlangsung di ruang publik-maya. Di sini warga masyarakat yang berpartisipasi dan berkolaborasi memperoleh akun berdasarkan nomor e-KTP.
5. Berdasarkan kajian Habermas tentang rasionalitas komunikatif dan tindakan komunikatif, serta tindakan strategis, pengajaran ilmu komunikasi perlu secara cermat membedakan konsep-konsep penyampaian pesan, komunikasi, dan tindakan komunikatif. Tidak setiap (tindakan) penyampaian pesan adalah (tindakan) komunikasi; dan tidak setiap tindakan komunikasi adalah tindakan komunikatif. Komunikasi yang memiliki orientasi seperti dalam tindakan komunikatif, yang berarti di dalamnya terdapat rasionalitas komunikatif, dapat disebut sebagai komunikasi komunikatif atau interaksi komunikatif.

Dengan menerapkan kajian “teoritis” tentang “komunikasi” ke dalam langkah-langkah tersebut partisipasi dan kolaborasi publik (apalagi dari para ahli yang tidak memiliki akses ke pembuatan kebijakan) menjadi sangat leluasa. Dengan serangkaian langkah itu pula, pembuatan kebijakan publik meningkat dalam arti sebagai proses dan sebagai produk. Dengan demikian dapat diperkirakan jumlah masalah yang dihadapi negara-bangsa dalam proses perubahan atau transformasi dapat dikurangi sehingga masyarakat lebih cepat merasakan kehidupan yang sejahtera.

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