Discourse of Negative Content in Indonesia News Media

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Abstract—**Communication technology revolution gives pressure to old media to make adaptation with the latest fast change. News is recently not under the domination of media as news producers because public themselves have been capable and acceptable as news producers. It results in revolutionary change in media content consumption in which news customers have a variety of media to enjoy and consume wherever and whenever they need it. The social media emergence has brought diversity and multiplied competition between mainstream media and new media. The growth of communication technology and new media has negative implication in communication system particularly the spread of media content with no control and journalistic codes. Social media become the field of "cyber war" for many people because there is no sensor and journalistic ethical codes which finally can trigger conflict in society. An "old media" which succeeds to change its form into new media without any loss of self-censorship and journalistic ethical codes is Tempo.co. This media becomes the representation on how to balance the news coverage in new media. In Indonesian social and politics context, many negative contents appeared in new media which were stimulated by the high intense of social and political condition in society.**

Keywords—critical discourse, negative content, news, social media, Tempo.co

I. INTRODUCTION

Globalization which occurs due to revolutionary communication technology development has brought up many new media platforms. From websites, news websites, blogs to social media, these can be used as media to spread message and news. The dynamic process of globalization has given pressure to old platform to make adaptation to the demand of media audience who need factual and actual facts of social life which can be consumed quickly in anytime and anywhere. Therefore, old media must have adapted themselves and they have entered into and made collaboration with new media platform with internet mediated technology so that audience can remain accept them. Media-morphosis occurs faster than the development phase of print era to electronic era. The media message can reach the audience faster and it also coverage wider consumers.

Many opinions and statements from variety of parties in society appear in new media, such as news, audio visual displays, dialogue and opinions. Media audience do not only become media recipients and customers but also news and message producers as they also utilize new media and stimulate the growth of media with the support of communication technology hardware and software. "One

way communication" process in old media becomes obsolete because various new media features may stimulate audience to give quick response to the media content.

The new media development with various invention and varieties, according to many parties, is called "public sphere" as the first conception stated by Jurgen Habermas [4]. According to Jurgen Habermas, it is because new media can become a meeting forum for many people from various social backgrounds to freely share each other's mutual expressions and social experiences [3]. In his second concept, Habermas stated it also required rationality of various arguments and viewpoints shared in public sphere for new media occured. However, social media cannot meet Habermas's requirement as current social media uses particularly in Indonesia occasionally related to irrational things [4].

Moreover, social media content tends to have indiscriminate information without any viewpoints which enlighten public. Rather than providing systematic inputs and critics to the government's policies, current social media only becomes media of hate speech and falsehood speech. However, it is far from the conception of Habermas on the public sphere. New media which contains negative content and particularly appears in social media cannot be dismantled to weak laws and regulations that stipulate the media content spread in Indonesia.

Language in modern society has been developed and it does not only have a function as the media of social control and social power but also it contributes to the domination process to other people [1, 5]. According to Fairclough, language is the practice of social control and power. Discourse sees language as a form of social practice that can be used to enlarge the influence of power [1]. It can be argued that language in modern society has a function to marginalize and lower the non-dominant group in the discourse. Through language individuals can be appeared good or bad to audience. Language is not meant as something being neutral which can transmit and present reality as the original condition but the power-content condition.

Problem on the spread of negative content in social media becomes very interesting because it stimulates news coverage from various mass media in Indonesia either print media or electronic media. The news coverage on the problem either directly or indirectly finally floats the discourse on negative contents where it spread in many social media. One of mass media that actively has carried out the news coverage on negative content discourse in social media is Tempo.co.

This research described how media raise negative content issue from the perspective of language and power.

Moreover, the purpose of this study was also to explore how the relationship between media ideology and the linguistic aspect was produced, in this case, i.e. Tempo.co as well as how social, political and cultural situations become the background of the linguistic aspect used in the news website. Therefore, the research problem was definitely important to be analyzed and studied critically.

From the above description the researchers explained the identification of some phenomena that indicated the uncontrollable spread of negative content in social media conducted by the government, public or media themselves. The identification was written in some points as there was trend of losing control over new media content particularly in social media concerning the spread of false news (hoaxes) conveyed without any ethical codes and censorship hence it can stimulate conflict in society.

II. MATERIAL AND METHOD

This research uses critical or post-structuralist paradigm, and research's methodological paradigm is material-semiotic perspective that does not regard reality as a fixed entity to be described (positivist viewpoint) or symbolic clay that is easily shaped into different reality (prismatic viewpoint), but understand the relationship between reality and research as an interacting reality [6]. Critical Discourse Analysis was used in this research namely a language-based data analysis. The theoretical framework used in the study was Fairclough's Discourse Analysis Approach called Fairclough's three dimension model of Critical Discourse Analysis. Fairclough's three dimension model of Critical Discourse Analysis is the analysis that contains three levels of analysis: (1) micro textual analysis, i.e. text description; (2) meso discourse practice, i.e. the interpretation of relationship between discourse production process and text; (3) macro sociocultural practice, i.e. explanation of relationship between discourse process and social process (Fairclough, 2001:21; 2010:132) [1].

III. DATA COLLECTIONS

The data in this reaearch was derived from the archive of Tempo.co news text. The news text used as research data was news text about the spread of negative content on social media at the Tempo.co. The new texts are:

1. Fighting Hoax, Minister to Meet Religious Figures of All Religions, Sunday, June 25, 2017.

2. Why Rudiantara Threatens Facebook and Youtube, Friday, July 14, 2017.

3. Minister Rudiantara Asked to Hunt Radicalism in Internet: JK, Saturday, July 15, 2017.

IV. RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

A. Micro Level Analysis (Text Analysis)

First News *(Fighting Hoax, Minister to Meet Religious Figures of All Religions, Sunday, June 25, 2017)*

In the news text that discussed fighting hoax (the negative content) in social media, Tempo.co only presented one key source, i.e. Minister of Communication and Information Technology Rudiantara. With the main topic of the news, Tempo.co tried to convey to those who read its news that the government via Ministry of Communication and Information Technology has invited all Indonesian people to have more polite behavior when using social media. In one opinion from Rudiantara, Tempo.co quoted directly:

"We invite (Indonesian people) that it can be realized as something real (war against hoax) and the war must be socialized. It makes people at all levels to move, and so it does not entirely depend on the government."

From the direct quotation and other elements in the news, it can be argued that Tempo.co supported the government's program in fighting hoax, fake news and other negative content that can divide the unity of Indonesian citizens. It supposed that Tempo.co is the media that conveys the government's message represented by Minister of Communication and Information Technology Rudiantara. In some paragraphs, Tempo.co wrote that the government would invite some religious figures to promote the socialization on the importance of polite behavior in social media. From the news the message can be captured that Tempo.co took the same side with government to fight the existing negative content in social media and other internet media. Tempo.co reinforced the statement with the inclusion of Fatwa MUI Number 24 Year 2017 concerning fatwa law and guidance of activities in social media or *muamalah* in the news as the reinforcement for the partiality of Tempo.co against the hoax war.

Second News (Why Rudiantara Threatens Facebook and Youtube, Friday, July 14, 2017)

In the news text that researchers has chosen, Tempo.co chose three key sources, i.e. Minister of Communication and Information Technology Rudiantara, Minister of Research, Technology and Higher Education M. Nasir and Rector of Padjajaran University Tri Hanggono. It has been shown from the title selection and language used by Tempo.co, it indicated that there was a threatening attitude of the key sources being part of the government. Minister of Communication and Information Technology Rudiantara argued that there were still many social media platforms that do not ban (block) the content of radicalism despite the ministry had warned to close these accounts. Moreover, Rudiantara gave the stressing statement as follows:

"However, they (social media platforms) come here for business reasons. Advertisings are also here. Therefore, they must obey the existing laws and regulations."

In the above sentence, the key source clearly stated that social media that operated and have customers in Indonesia must obey the existing laws and regulations in Indonesia. From the sentence, it implied that how the government tried to control social media, and thus it would not threaten the existence of national and state life in Indonesia. In the case of negative content spread, particularly in relation to the content of radicalism, the government via Ministry of Communication and Information Technology sought to restrict by closing the websites and the content of radicalism and blocking of accounts in social media that produce and spread negative content.

In the next paragraph of the news, it also was emphasized the strict action that the government would take by presenting two opinions from the two minister from the government, i.e. Minister of Communication and Information Technology and Minister of Research, Technology and Higher Education. When inserting two opinions from the two key sources, Tempo sought to link the two different issues of radicalism,
i.e. radicalism issue in the digital world and in the campus/university context. The radicalism issue in the

university context was conveyed in the news by quoting the statement of Minister of Research, Technology and Higher Education M. Nasir as follows:

"Radicalism issue in campus is definitely not real threat now but it remains highly potential."

The quotation showed how Tempo presented the government's concern towards radicalism issue in the university and higher education context. As using the direct sentence or the quotation, Tempo sought to convey the discourse of radicalism from the government's viewpoint as the party in power. The language used by Tempo.co in the news tended to follow the interest and willingness of the government by using words and phrases that reflected the interest of the power owner. It can be concluded that after the journalist of Magazine Tempo.co presents the news of negative content and radicalism issue, there are some impressions that the news portal becomes the mouthpiece of the government officials or the government itself. It showed the partiality of Tempo.co's journalist when the news portal views and presents a news. Moreover, it is because in the news Tempo.co does not present opinions or quotations of parties who manage the media social platform or netizens.

Third News *(Minister Rudiantara Asked to Hunt Radicalism in Internet: JK, Saturday, July 15, 2017)*

In the third news text in this research, Tempo.co presented the theme about the blocking of 11 domain systems (DNS) belonging to Telegram by Ministry of Communication and Information Technology because it was indicated to load the content of radicalism, extremism and those directing to terrorism. The key source of the news text was Vice President of the Republic of Indonesia Jusuf Kalla. Tempo.co cited some statements of Jusuf Kalla concerning the negative content issue in the digital world and social media. In one paragraph, Tempo.co presented the direct quotation from the interviews with Jusuf Kalla:

"Radicalism will not be solved by reading joint declaration. It can be immediately solved by providing good education, setting a good example, giving true religious teaching. Therefore, in this matter the campus world is important to neutralize and eliminate the way of thinking of our young generation."

From the direct quotation of the key source, the message can be caught was that how difficult it is to fight the negative content on Internet particularly social media. It is because it cannot be solved only with declarations or other ceremonial activities. Therefore, Jusuf Kalla as the news source urged the education world to be more active in taking its role when it inhibits the radicalism issue that mostly spreads in the digital world.

From the third news, Tempo.co wanted to convey to its readers the dangerous spread of negative content in social media and the difficulty of eradicating radicalism spreading through communication technology, and therefore, it requires the direct intervention of the government as the regulation holder to use "repressive" way towards the owners of social media platforms that indicated to be the host of negative content. Tempo.co as media definitely has agreed the use of the repressive way to crush other media. The reason is that it can jeopardize the security and unity of Republic Indonesia as a nation.

B. Mezzo Level Analysis (Discourses and Media Ideology)

The reality construction process became news by either mainstream media or new media that Tempo.co has carried out. It is almost similar to the process in most of the media, i.e. through the meeting of its editorial board. In three news text as the research object, Tempo.co presented news on the spread of negative content (hoax) that mostly occurred in social media and how the government gave response to solve the issue. Of the three texts above, Tempo.co chose the only key sources from the government without any presentation of opinions from other parties who have interest in this issue, such as the providers of social media platform or social media users. Therefore, it can be stated that in the news on the negative content, Tempo.co became the government's mouthpiece to convey its messages.

Tempo.co put attention to target market when it chooses and presents an issue. It is because the intended market or readers of Tempo.co differ from *Koran* Tempo and *Majalah* Tempo. The target market of Tempo.co is the segment of middle and high class, i.e. those with the age range of 18-65 years old and their education and economic status are middle and high class as well. Tempo.co has sought to change its brand from the first media as media for adults to the media being acceptable for young people, such as pupils and students. The readers of Tempo.co's news come from many professions and occupations and they have various hobbies and interests. It also occurs in the cyber world, there were some readers of Tempo.co who truly want to look for valid and reliable information and there were other readers who only want to get updated information. The number was relatively great as well.

National Editor of Tempo.co, Bobby Chandra has stated it. The statements are as follows:

"We specifically concentrate on online media. Tempo.co itself has the target market of people from the middle and high class. People from the class are those whose age range of 35-65 years old. However, online media are different right now. It means when the news is interesting with the gadget domination rate and the most market likeness rate, for example, the researchers have found that the gadget users amount to 60% and they have the age range of 18-65 years old. What does it mean? It's the market that Tempo.co has targeted. Teco is the call of Tempo.co. So, the market of online media and Majalah Tempo is definitely different. Therefore, ones who have aged 18 years old and older can read Tempo.co online." (The online interviews results by Fitri Azizah, the Researcher Assistant)

When constructed reality becomes a news, it is not separated from the interest and ideology held by media including in the case of Tempo.co particularly the interest and ideology of Tempo Group as its parent company. Tempo Group has been long known in Indonesia as the independent and clean media group, more or less it influences the credibility rate of Tempo.co in the eyes of audience. The result of news coverage, language usage and discourse presentation by media whether it is directly or indirectly described the interest and ideology held by the media. Tempo.co has economic interest so as to keep its existence in the middle of tight media competition in Indonesia. There are many individuals who depends their life on the media business of Tempo Group so that Tempo.co as a subsidiary company also requires earning profit from its online media activities.

From the statement of its National Editor, Tempo.co has ideology to uncover the facts as clear as possible. From the ideology, it can be shown that Tempo.co seeks to present

news to audience correctly and appropriate to the journalism rules and ethics. The facts in societal life become potential news for Tempo.co, and it uses language appropriate to the existing facts. On the other hand, Tempo.co cannot be separated from partiality because there is no media to live in "the empty room" and apart from various interests. Concerning the partiality, based on the information from its National Editor, Tempo.co tried to take side with public and republic. Therefore, in its news coverage, Tempo.co sometimes against the government and on the other hand, Tempo.co supposed to become the mouthpiece of the government. Concerning this matter, Tempo.co has opinion that they seeks to photograph reality without changing the actual facts. It is in principle because it reveals facts in truth and as clear as possible.

As the reality construction process becomes news, it is in the hand of editorial board of Tempo.co. In its daily routines, the editors take issues into the meeting. The meeting is the place where an issue can be approved and raised as news. Those who are entitled to attend the meeting are editors from several sections and desk handling the related topic of discussion. However, no one is more entitled to decide whether an issue is worthy or not to be raised as news in the website of Tempo.co except the decision in the editorial board's meeting. If someone proposed a specific theme, it will be brought into the editorial board at first. The process firstly starts from the planning and then it will be entered into the editorial board. The description comes from National Editor of Tempo.co. In details, it is as follows:

"As other products of Tempo.co, when producing or publishing a news in the planning process, at first it will be processed and discussed in the editorial board and the board's meeting as well. It means that there is a conclusion that the news will be taken as the main topic to follow the issue with the target of becoming public knowledge and showing to public that the process is like that. And the editorial board still becomes the commander in chief in issuing a news and decided whether a news is interesting or not, the news is sensitive or not, the news is feasible or not, whether public can consume it or not. It is totally in the hand of the meeting of the editorial board. Yes, it maybe becomes the idea of the editorial-in-chief and probably at that time the board has approved it." (The online interview results by Fitri Azizah, Researcher Assistant)

From what National Editor of Tempo.co has stated, it can be shown that all what Tempo.co expressed and presented was a result from the editorial board meeting and finally it got approval from the meeting. Therefore, everything was conveyed through Tempo.co was the representation of the policy of the editorial board's meeting plus it represented the interest and ideology of Tempo as a media. Each language used to discourse several issues was the media language that represented the existence of Tempo.co as mass media. Thus it can be stated that news text appeared on the website of Tempo.co was the representation of Tempo's ideology.

C. *Macro Level Analysis (Socio-cultural Context)*

Since the 2014 President Election, the digital world was mostly filled with the content of hate speech, debate, hoax, radicalism issues and other negative content. The problems that appear in the digital world incited social disturbance in society and it also tended to divide the national unity and integrity. The racial, religious and ethnic issues suppose in lack of control and these fulfill monitory smartphone screen of those who use the social media. The condition got worse when the 2016 regional head election occurred and particularly the candidates' competition is greater in Jakarta where the racial, religious and ethnic issues became the campaign tool and the power struggle particularly in social media. Other issues that got attention from public were radicalism and terrorism issues in Indonesia. It occurred when the development of global radicalism took place particularly the ISIS declaration in Syria.

Until right now the negative contents still are found in various new media platforms from websites, news portal to social media. Finally it incited the government to take repressive action by closing or blocking some websites, news websites and social media that mostly spread the negative content particularly in relation to radicalism and the racial, religious and ethnic issues. The cyberspace or the digital world definitely tends to be more liberated and difficult to be controlled than mainstream media. The existing laws and regulations in Indonesia do not adequately become guidance and control to what have existed in the digital world. Messages in the digital world do not only come from the media as the agent of messages but also from public who can produce their own messages. The texts in form of writing, audio or audio-visual products can be produced and spread by society (public) in easier and faster way.

The social situation occurred continuously in the public sphere of new media. In the media, press freedom should be able to create the public sphere with democratic system. The system guarantees the public discourse in area protected from the political intervention of the government and the penetration of capital interests. Besides the two interests, right now political and public interests link each other so that these make the digital world as the field of interest competition without any attention to the ethics and norms. It implied that instead of becoming the ideal public sphere as stated in Habermas's conception, and contrarily, new media (global media) have not be used to the interests of control and political supervision but as tool of politics from some individuals or groups of people.

D. *Discussion*

The discourse that media floats are cannot be separated from the language usage. The conception of language in relation to power is a discourse determined by the social constitution in a series of conventions related to the social institutions (Fairclough, 2001, p. 14) [1]. The language phenomenon occurred when people speak, listen, write or read where they are under the influence of society and will affect the society itself. In this matter, when constructing reality became news, Tempo.co as the news provider mostly used the language used by the government as the highest authority. Many direct or indirect quotations were taken from the statements of the government officials concerning the negative content issues in social media.

Power, according to Foucault itself was basically influence and domination (Foucault, 2001) [2]. It means that the process influences other parties so that it is appropriate to the goals of the actors. If it is necessary, besides persuasive means, these must be carried out coercively. The stronger the position of individuals has in the social structure, the stronger the influence can be played so that each party will be under the domination of its power. Media was not separated from power whether the party is subordinated by the highest authority or as the party supporting the highest authority. In the news coverage concerning the spread of negative content in social media from the linguistic aspect Tempo.co was the media that supported the government's policy to ban or block

the providers of the social media platforms and social media accounts that spread negative content such as radicalism, the racial, religious and ethnic issues, hoax and others.

In the national politics context, the power of an individual or those in power spread was no longer through political tool and bureaucracy. Power and ideology was more effective to be spread if both were actualized through language. The language used frequently reflected the dominant structure and power process. As Habermas (1984) stated that language is interest. The interest is from one who used it. And they who have power also control the language, i.e. language that brings the interest of the power. In the context of news coverage on negative content in social media, Tempo.co through the language usage supposed to be the mouthpiece of the government to convey the messages related to the current interesting issue. In fact as the independent media, Tempo.co should be more neutral not only listening and conveying the government's will but also paying public attention or those who are involved in the public sphere of the digital world [4].

Language that Tempo.co used in these three news as the research objects can be stated as lacking boldness to voice the public interests as the customers of Tempo.co itself. Tempo.co should give similar sphere between the governemnt, the owners of social media platform or public in general so that Tempo.co can carry out its ideological principle, i.e. the partiality to public and republic. The identity that Tempo.co has as the bold media is supposed to be lost because the language usage is more "power center." It totally gave the discourse space to the ruler.

V. Conclusion

Based on the discussion above, the writers finally made some conclusions as follows:

1) In the context of news coverage on negative content in social media, Tempo.co with its news language tended to be the government mouthpiece to convey messages on the hot issue. However, if referring its ideology, Tempo.co should not only listen and present the government's will but also pay attention to public interests involved in public room in the digital world. Moreover, the news coverage of Tempo.co represented media's disoriented attitude when they see the government's policy in overcoming the spread of negative content particularly in social media.

2) Mainstream media should not only provide room for the highest authority but also for public because the discourse of negative contents which was spread in the digital word mostly comes from the citizens' products.

3) For policy makers, in this matter the government via Ministry of Communication and Information Technology (Kemenkominfo) is suggested to have wiser attitude when the party encounters the negative content case. From the researcher's appraisal, the closure of social media is not right measure because it can threaten the closure of public sphere to express their opinions.

Acknowledgment

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