

# Vaccine Rejection Identity on Facebook in the Context of a Conflict

### The Risk and Coping Strategies of Vaccine Refusal Group

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#### **ABSTRACT**

The success of the vaccination program is influenced by the presence of social media. Facebook gives vaccine repellents access to share content, express opinions about vaccines, communicate and interact. In revealing their identity, vaccine repellents are inseparable from risk and conflict. The main purpose of this study is to find out how the identity of vaccine repellents on Facebook; conflicts frequently faced by vaccine repellents; and strategies taken in dealing with conflict. This study uses a qualitative approach through virtual ethnographic methods by combining observations on content analysis, semi-structured interviews with 10 participants, and documentation studies. With the Snowball Sampling technique, the subject of this study focuses on vaccine repellents who use Facebook with criteria that are in accordance with the research topic. The findings in this study are in the form of vaccine rejection identities, conflicts, and strategies for dealing with conflicts. The forms of vaccine rejection identity are religious, political, and racial identities. Then, the conflict experienced by vaccine repellents when showing their identity are divided into external and internal conflicts. There are two strategies in overcoming conflict, the first is problem-centered consisting of confrontation and compromise. Second, strategies that are centered on emotions in the form of rationalization and denial. The findings from this study are able to be a representation and reference in minimizing conflicts related to Covid-19 vaccination on Facebook.

**Keywords:** conflict, Facebook, identity, strategy, vaccine repellents, virtual ethnography.

#### 1. INTRODUCTION

Amid millions of Covid-19 cases spread throughout Indonesia, the government has actively prepared strategies. One of the strategies is a vaccination program to prevent transmission and establish communal immunity (Herd Immunity) of the Indonesian people. Vaccines are one of the main components of clinical prevention in dealing with the Covid-19 pandemic [1].

On the other hand, many Indonesians remain hesitant to get vaccinated. Reporting from Kompas.com, based on a survey conducted by the Indonesian Ministry of Health's Balitbangkes in April - May 2021, 33% of Indonesians still doubted and refused to be vaccinated against Covid-19. This refusal can pose a significant risk of increasing the spread of the Covid-19 virus in Indonesia. Some of the reasons for vaccine repellent

include religious beliefs, living ideologies, and excessive concerns about vaccine safety [2].

People refusing vaccines share their responses and opinions through various media, one of which is social media. A platform where all digital/virtual users with internet access can share content, express opinions on a topic, establish an intense communication and interaction process without time restrictions is the definition of social media [3]. One of the advantages of social media is sharing information and knowledge among different groups [4]. Based on data from Internetworldstats, Indonesia ranked second with the most Facebook users in Asia, amounting to 175.3 million users at the end of March 2021. Indeed, this number is vast since it reaches 82% of internet users in Indonesia. In this case, Facebook can become a platform vaccine repellents establish

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communication and interaction, especially in Indonesia. It is evidenced by the fact that the Ministry of Communication and Information (Kemenkominfo) recorded 1,852 hoax content concerning the Covid-19 vaccine on Facebook as of August 26, 2021.

Vaccine repellents can create an identity for themselves by creating any profile they want and freely sharing any information. Many believe that they can reduce the prestige and image of others on profiles, likes, and shared articles. Thus, they form several policies to continue to express themselves without damaging their self-image [5]. They try to hide and only invite trusted friends to join, create restrictions for other people's access to the posts they make and use anonymous accounts.

Social identity relates to the user's real identity. It causes them to care about the social image in the virtual space [5]. The caution of vaccine repellent in revealing their identity is affected by the compatibility and incompatibility of new identities, thus creating the risk of stereotypes from society. This identity repeatedly occurs through experience and exposure to the social world, resulting in self-transformation [6]. Identity is achieved through exploration and commitment to increasing the navigation of relationships in a broader social sphere or self-construction in the online space. However, the rapid dissemination of public information and engagement in anonymity in virtual spaces can hinder the consolidation and commitment process [7].

Therefore, a particular study related to the identity of vaccine repellents on Facebook, the plausible risks, and strategies to deal with them is necessary. From the problems and urgency described, the main focus of this study was to reveal the identity of vaccine repellents in the Facebook virtual space and identify risks and strategic roles to minimize the Covid-19 vaccination conflict. It aimed to discover the identity of vaccine repellent on Facebook, conflicts encountered by vaccine repellents, and strategies taken in dealing with conflict. Thus, this study can illustrate and be a reference in minimizing conflicts related to Covid-19 vaccination on Facebook.

## 2. VACCINE REJECTION IDENTITY DESIGNATION ON FACEBOOK

The pragmatic concept of social identity is constructed through a group of people instead of self-existence. Online social identity can also be expressed in the real world. As a result, people's online activities can reflect offline relationships [7]. Facebook users negotiate their relationship and identity through a series of activities using the features and applications offered by the site, and these activities are involved in their offline experience [5].

Facebook users tend to try to express their identity as best they can to get social recognition. Usually, users will align themselves with specific groups based on their wants and needs. Identity is displayed based on various theme indicators (social life, attractiveness, hobbies, etc.) matching individual. In contrast to older Facebook users, they display images of themselves [8].

Virtual interactions allow people who refuse to reveal their actual physique or use anonymity to recreate their identity and personality. The identification can be made directly by displaying the user's identity information completely, starting from the real name, residence, work, and other original information. Moreover, identification can be anonymous by roleplaying a person or using a different identity from their real life. However, users selecting to reveal true identities must risk restrictions on the user's freedom [9].

Vaccine repellents express their identities in different ways. Some of them choose to be careful in spreading their opinions and tend not to reveal their identities due to risks that might arise in revealing someone's real identity on social media, e.g., risk of being ridiculed or outright rejected by those around them if the user's identity is known. Hence, some vaccine repellents opt for anonymity to share their inner beliefs and emotional reactions without fear of rejection and sanctions [10]. They are also limited in gathering online friends and sometimes use Facebook features [6].

### 3. COPING STRATEGIES FOR VACCINE REPELLENT IN FACING CONFLICT

The public often views the rejection of vaccines made on Facebook because they oppose government policies fighting the current pandemic. It is common for vaccine repellents on Facebook to face people with a different view, requiring them to argue and create unwanted conflicts. Therefore, vaccine repellents should resolve existing conflicts wisely and adequately not to prolong the problem. One way to deal with conflicts is to use a coping strategy.

Coping is a cognitive and behavioral effort made to tolerate or reduce demands and conflicts from internal or external factors, aiming to reduce or regulate or reduce conflicts from within and outside oneself [11]. There are two types of coping strategies, namely coping centered on the core of the problem and coping centered on emotions [12].

A coping strategy focusing on the core of the problem is divided into confrontation, isolation, and compromise. Confrontation is defined as various forms of aggressive efforts to solve problems or change the situation, usually described in the level of anger and dare to take risks. Isolation makes individuals prefer to withdraw from the environment or refrain from facing



the problems. A compromise is an ideal coping strategy because individuals prefer to be careful or ask for help from those closest to them in solving problems.

Another type of coping strategy is to focus on individual emotions. There are several forms of this coping strategy, including denial, rationalization, compensation, repression, sublimation, identification, regression, projection, conversion, and displacement. Denial is defined as a form of rejection that the existing problem never happened to them. It contrasts rationalization, which solves problems by providing reasonable and acceptable reasons to cover up one's inability. Compensation can arise due to the individual's sense of dissatisfaction in specific fields, where they will cover up this inability by highlighting their good nature and seeking satisfaction in other fields.

Another emotion-centered coping strategy is repression, leading individuals to remember pleasant things and forget unpleasant things. Sublimation is a coping strategy that responds positively to everything, such as expressing one's feelings or abilities. Identification is a strategy by imitating other people from ideas, behavior to ways of thinking. In contrast, regression changes an individual's attitude to being himself in the past or being a child.

The next coping strategy is a projection that makes individuals blame and takes their blame on others, while conversion is a form of strategy that channels reactions from psychology to physical symptoms. The final coping strategy is displacement, where the individual shows emotions to someone but is directed to someone else.

### 4. MATERIAL AND METHOD

This study used a qualitative approach. Exploration in qualitative studies aims to explore the phenomenon to find hidden meanings, unclear stories, have multiple interpretations, implied connotations, and unexpressed voices. Based on this explanation, there is a gap exploring how vaccine repellents express their rejection on social media Facebook. Therefore, the researchers utilized a virtual ethnographic method by combining observations on content analysis, semi-structured interviews, and documentation studies. Virtual ethnography is an approach to explore social interactions occurring in virtual environments, e.g., news sites, chat rooms, or web-based discussion forums.

Researchers selected Facebook since most vaccine repellents were more active in expressing their rejection on Facebook. Vaccine repellents were more popping up on Facebook to express their disapproval and spread propaganda. In addition, the Guardian report explains that in search results on Facebook, anti-vaccine propaganda actions are more visible than factual information.

The study results consist of primary and secondary data. Primary data was obtained based on observations and in-depth interviews with several vaccine repellents on Facebook. Meanwhile, secondary data were employed to analyze primary data from various sources, i.e., documentation studies, books, journals, official websites, and online news portals. The study data collected were analyzed in two ways: pre-field analysis and data analysis of field results. Before the researchers entered the field, pre-field analysis was carried out based on the study of documentation or secondary data in finding the study focus. Meanwhile, the analysis of field results was performed during data collection and after the completion of data collection within the specified period. During the interview, the researchers analyzed the informants' answers. If the answers from the informants remained unsatisfactory, the researchers could continue questioning until they received credible and appropriate information.

Participants involved in the study were selected using the Snowball Sampling technique. This technique was carried out by identifying one or two people following the study topic and adding other participants continuously according to study needs. This study samples focus on vaccine repellents using Facebook and following the study topic. In this study, researchers selected ten participants from Facebook with an age range of 29-55 years, consisting of females and males.

Table 1. Participant

Participants	Gender	Age	Job
KW	Male	39	Civil Servant
AHA	Male	55	Entrepreneur
GRH	Male	49	Unemployment
LZ	Male	40	Entrepreneur
HT	Male	29	Security
RS	Female	32	Entrepreneur
Н	Male	35	Factory Worker
MM	Female	30	Housewife
RA	Male	33	Entrepreneur
RM	Male	28	Entrepreneur

#### 5. RESULT AND DISCUSSION

## 5.1. Appoinment of Vaccine repellent Identity: The Virtual Aspect of Rejection

Social media has shifted the behavioral pattern of vaccine repellent from traditional rejection to technology-based refusal. Also, social media has



contributed to shaping one's identity on social media. Social identity theory positions a person in society and explores the concept of multiple identities to describe the norms and roles that are applied to individuals [6]. The identity of vaccine repellents in social media is shown by symbolic identity and textual identity. Based on observations, symbolic identity is indicated by the use of profile pictures that refer to particular identities, such as calligraphy images, Islamic state flags, and images of certain party symbols. The symbolic identity is a representation of the identity they want to show on social media.

Based on the results of the interviews, the ten interviewees explained that the symbolic identity was part of the identity of the vaccine repellent, and some explained that such identities did not necessarily represent their identity as a vaccine repellent.

AHA (55) explained that the symbols in his profile photo represent his identity as a Muslim. The identity on his Facebook page is based on his confidence as a Muslim. The symbol also affects the expression of vaccine repellents on Facebook. According to him, the appointment of the symbol is a reinforcement of his identity as a vaccine repellent, "Yes, it has an effect, because my belief as a vaccine repellent becomes stronger when my faith as a Muslim is high," explained AHA.

Similar to AHA, HT (29) explained that the symbols were a representation of his beliefs regarding the vaccination program and further increased his credibility as a producer of vaccine repellent content in the media, "Yes, the symbol is quite influential, I think what is shown through the symbol adds to our credibility in conveying the rejection of the vaccine," said HT.

In contrast to AHA and HT, other informants considered that symbolic identity does not necessarily represent their belief as a vaccine repellent because everyone has a different way of representing themselves.

LZ admitted showing vaccine repellent identity through textual identity by making narratives with a special tendency to refuse vaccines. "Usually, when I refuse vaccines through writing, I make such status. The tendency is to criticize the government," explained LZ.

In addition, not everyone uses their real profile and prefers to disguise their identity in carrying out dissemination. Online identity research focuses on anonymity problems that occur when they limit online friendships to make them more flexible in using features on Facebook [6]. One of the sources who disguised their identity on Facebook in disseminating information related to vaccines was KW. KW reasoned with the misuse of personal data that might occur on social media when using real identities, where rue identity is

known only to those who know. "Because it is vulnerable for us to use personal data on social media. There are many possibilities of misuse of personal data," KW explained.

In line with KW, HT also selected not to reveal identity on Facebook. It aims to protect HT's identity and family. HT's true identity is only known by a few colleagues who have known HT for a long time. "Yes, being anonymous is a form of a fortress for us, especially since I have a family," he said. It is supported by Gunduz's statement that anonymity provides an identity space that is formed and addressed only to acquaintances and friends whom the user trusts [3].

Unlike the previous two sources, AHA preferred to show real identity on Facebook since AHA is an admin and created a group related to vaccines on Facebook. In addition, showing real identity aims to give confidence to people reading information about vaccines from AHA, making them think that AHA is not a buzzer. "I use my profile picture and real name on my Facebook account to increase the trust of people who read my posts and do not think I am a buzzer," AHA explained.

Similar to AHA, GRH and LZ also showed their real identities on social media. However, these two sources admitted that they rarely use social media and voice their opinions regarding vaccination programs on social media. Meanwhile, another informant, RS (31), admitted showing real and fake identities on Facebook. The two accounts were used to provide information regarding vaccine repellent massively. "Yes, I have two because Facebook often blocks vaccine repellents, so I create as many accounts as possible," explained RS. There are many ways to connect with other people in the formation of identity, including individuals who may or may not use real names and can open as many accounts as they want [3].

Table 2. Virtual Aspects in Vaccine Rejection

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Indicator	Findings
Symbolic Communication	<ul> <li>Using Islamic symbols on account profiles;</li> <li>Uploading Islamic content in the form of videos and photos;</li> <li>Pictures of certain party symbols;</li> </ul>
Textual Communication	Uploading vaccine refusal content in narrative form;
Using Real Account	<ul> <li>Provide full details on the profile;</li> <li>Using real names;</li> <li>Using a real profile photo;</li> </ul>
Using Fake Account	Use other symbols or images as profile photos;



	•	Do not use real	names;
Multiple Account	•	Create accounts disseminating refusal informa	multiple for vaccine ation;

### 5.2. Vaccine Rejection Identity Form on Facebook

When voicing their opinion about vaccines on social media, the interviewees highlighted their respective identities, from religious, cultural, to political points of view.

KW has a strong character and is quite critical of the government's attitude regarding vaccines. All content on Facebook that KW distributed is dominantly based on an anti-government stance. This political identity is shown by producing vaccine rejection content that criticizes the government.

"This pandemic is a game of politics and government. Right now, the vaccine has been paid for in the second phase—what a jerk. We have been injected and been fooled too. The elite controls us because we have much debt," said KW when explaining the reasons for refusing the vaccine.

It contrasts AHA, which is more dominant in highlighting its identity based on a religious point of view. AHA showed religious identity based on beliefs. A fatalistic attitude or surrender indicates this identity. "We must not fear Corona and only fear Allah. We do not vaccinate because we believe that Allah kills and revives humans, not the Coronavirus. So we just surrendered and entrusted everything to Allah," said the AHA.

In line with the AHA, HT also showed identity from a religious perspective. It is shown through several of HT's uploads on Facebook sounding his opinion based on a religious viewpoint to indicate that a Muslim.

"Yes, because I am a Muslim believing the arrival and removal of disease are from Allah. Yes, pro-vaccine people indeed say it is an effort to delay or fortify disease. It cannot be guaranteed," HT said.

Table 3. Vaccine Rejection Identity

 Theme
 Sub-themes
 Codes

 Religion
 • Belief
 "The belief that vaccines are against God's will."

 "Vaccine threatens Islamic values."
 "Prioritizing religious values over scientific values..."

 • Group Reference
 Religious leaders are more trusted than health practitioners;

 • Fatalistic Attitude
 Surrender completely to the provisions of God's destiny;

Meanwhile, LZ showed two identities in voicing opinions on social media, i.e., religion and politics. LZ admitted to opposing the government by criticizing or commenting on the government on social media. Also, LZ demonstrated religious identity through a profile display that uses calligraphy letters to indicate a Muslim. "I oppose the government, so the content I upload is also related to commenting on or criticizing the Indonesian government," he said.

In contrast to other sources, RM focused on cultural identity. RM admitted to rejecting the vaccine due to the vaccine origin. RM has a racist view of China, the supplier of one of the Covid-19 vaccines in Indonesia. "The important thing is that I do not want to be vaccinated. Turkey rejected Sinovac. Why did our government buy it from the Chinese?" RM explained.

Based on the presentation of the informants, the identity of vaccine repellents is divided into three: political, religious, and racial identities. The following table provides an overview of the identity of vaccine repellents on Facebook.

The interpretation of identity on Facebook is very complex because of the large amount of scattered information to allow each user to interpret it until it becomes understandable. This process is referred to as a "scheme," which refers to past experiences, and usually, Facebook users will combine these experiences to make decisions, presentations, and interpretations of themselves on Facebook. Before interacting on Facebook, individuals will use the experience gained to understand, act, and react on social media [8].

Measures in building identity must be oriented to specific groups [8]. In displaying their identity, individuals are advised to use pictures or simple phrases that indicate the group's orientation. In addition, Facebook users tend to be honest in presenting themselves. The identity that is displayed emphasizes some aspects of the identity as a whole. Even if the identity shown is exaggerated, users will still be honest and open about their identity because some still communicate with the people closest to them on Facebook.



Theme	Sub-themes	Codes
Political	<ul> <li>Non-government attitude</li> </ul>	"Reject Vaccine Policy"
		"Referring to opposition political figures"
		"Thinking of covid as a political conspiracy"
		"Low trust in the government."
Ras	• Racist views	"Prejudice against China's vaccine"

### 5.3. The Risk of Vaccine Hesitancy on Facebook

Despite the willingness of sources to identify their vaccine repellent on Facebook, vaccine repellent content can increase unwanted reactions. One of them, having several friends on Facebook allows for different views,

leading to unproductive discussions. This trend is exacerbated by the polarization between pro-vaccine and anti-vaccine groups.

The ten interviewees revealed that they often get into conflict with pro-vaccine groups due to their differences of opinion. "Yes, there are conflicts of different ideas and arguments with people who believe in vaccines," explained MM (30).

In line with what KW said, showing the identity of the vaccine repellent on Facebook caused friction with the closest people, such as parents and relatives. The opposition then turned into a fight. "There will be a war of arguments, a battle with data, we will fight with data. The point is that pro-vaccine know from the mainstream media. In comparison, we know the information from the underground. In other words, they only know the body, while we know the contents of the engine," he said. The quarrel then makes the relationship between relatives to be tenuous.

Besides the arguments, another external conflict is labeling from the people around them. The risk of stereotypes is the impact of revealing identity to the public [3]. KW explained often received unpleasant labels from his surroundings. "Vaccine repellents are often called crazy people, hoax spreaders, and stressed people," explained KW.

Threats from the agency where they work are also often a conflict for vaccine repellents. Regulations related to vaccination as a workplace requirement cause conflicts between the leadership and employees refusing vaccination.

In contrast to H, he clashed with the obligation to be vaccinated as an employee when showing his refusal identity. Hence, H had to be forced to get vaccinated not to lose the job. It causes an internal conflict in deciding on vaccination.

Another informant, HT, considered that the regulation is very unfair for the vaccine repellent group.

He explained that the decision to vaccinate is the right of everyone to make choices for their health.

KW felt the same. KW explained that the regulation created internal conflicts regarding vaccination decisions. However, in the end, KW still chose not to be vaccinated and was willing to lose job.

Table 4. The Risk of Vaccine Hesitancy

External Conflict	Internal Conflict	
<ul> <li>Debate with pro-vaccine groups</li> <li>Threats from institutions</li> <li>Social label</li> </ul>	• Fear of isolation	

### 5.4. The Impact of Conflict: Coping Strategies and Practices

In dealing with conflict, everyone has their way of dealing with these conditions. One way is to use a coping strategy focusing on the core of the problem and emotion. Coping strategies to deal with conflict focusing on the core of the problem are confrontation and isolation.

As AHA did, when faced with conflicting arguments in the comments column, AHA often took a confrontational coping strategy, making efforts to resolve the conflict by describing the level of anger and risk-taking. AHA decided to block the person and remove them from the group. "Yes, usually there are pro-vaccine buzzers, sneaking into the group and causing chaos. They are immediately blocked and removed from the group," explained AHA.

RS also did this, revealing that RS preferred to limit communication with people with different opinions to overcome the conflict. By limiting communication, RS hoped to stop the possible conflict in the future, although it takes the risk of breaking the friendship. "In the past, there was a difference of opinion with my seniors. The discussion ended, but it was still noisy, so I just blocked it instead of extending the problem," said RS.

In contrast to AHA and RS, the coping strategy used by MM was a compromise by changing the situation carefully. Even though there are fights, MM preferred to educate those closest to him periodically. "Despite the



differences, I still educate what I know. If the debate gets deep, I will still try to maintain the relationship," explained MM.

KW also showed a compromise or prudence attitude. KW admitted to being cautious in giving views regarding vaccine rejection. One of the ways was to use an anonymous identity and not talk too much when dealing with people with different opinions from him. "When it comes to pro-people, I pretend not to know and answer as necessary," said KW.

HT also took the same attitude, hiding his identity as a form of caution in refusing vaccines. HT was worried that revealing HT's identity would endanger his parents and risk losing HT's job. "Yes, I use a fake identity to protect my family and job," he said.

Meanwhile, related to coping strategies that focus on the emotional side, AHA also employed this strategy to deal with conflicts with vaccine repellents. The coping strategy used is rationalization. When dealing with antivaccine, AHA chose to counter the argument based on data and also strong sources. "Providing data and facts in the form of texts and videos whose sources are trusted and come from experts," explained AHA.

In resolving conflicts that occur, coping strategies can help overcome difficult situations and reduce the pressure from demands that are felt to be pressing, challenging, and burdensome for themselves. These coping strategies are suitable for resolving conflicts experienced by vaccine repellents on Facebook: problem-focused and emotion-focused coping strategies. Problem-centered coping can be performed when the problems can still be controlled and resolved. Meanwhile, coping focusing on emotions is often carried out when individuals fail to change the situation to rely on emotional functions without making significant efforts directly [12].

Table 5. Coping Strategies and Practices

Then	ne	Sub-Theme	Sub-Codes
Problem-	centered	• Confrontation	Avoiding conflict situations
coping		• Compromise	<ul><li>Approach and caution in vaccine refusal</li><li>Give explanation</li></ul>
Emotion- coping	centered	Rationalization	<ul> <li>Provide understanding based on data and fact that are believed</li> </ul>
		• Denial	Hiding Identity

#### 6. CONCLUSION

Based on the results of the explanation, we see that the appointment of vaccine repellent identities in the virtual aspect is carried out based on several indicators, such as religious symbols, uploading religious content in the form of photos and videos and displaying symbols from certain religious and parties organization. Then, there are also the use of texts such as narratives of repellent of vaccines, as well as the use of real accounts, anonymous accounts, and also multiple accounts in voicing their opinions regarding vaccine repellent. In addition, the identity form of vaccine rejection on Facebook is based on several aspects such as religion, politics, and also race where that three aspects intersect with each other. Regardless of the rejection campaign being carried out, the content of the vaccine rejection has the potential to cause unwanted reactions. This creates conflict in their expression of disapproval on Facebook both internally and externally. In dealing with this conflict, the person of vaccine rejection have their own strategies. One of them is a coping strategy that focuses on the core problems and emotions. Problemcentred coping is often done if the problems encountered can still be controlled and resolved temporarily, such as avoiding conflict situations, as well as approaches and caution in refusing vaccines. Meanwhile, coping that is centered on emotions is often done if the individual cannot change the situation so that he relies on the function of emotions without making significant efforts directly, such as providing understanding based on data and facts that are believed, as well as hiding identity when a conflict occurs.

#### **AUTHORS' CONTRIBUTIONS**

FIS: concept and design, data analysis, writing; DDN: data analysis, writing; IKP: data collection, writing, MFH: writing, review; TEP: writing, review

### ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

The authors would like to thank Universitas Pendidikan Indonesia and all parties who helped carry out this study.

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