Network Society, Fake News, and a Hazard in the Post-Truth Era The Case of WhatsApp and Facebook's Restriction by Indonesian Government in May 2019

Vera V. Syamsi[✉]

English Language Education Department, Faculty of Education, Sampoerna University, Jakarta, Indonesia
`vera.syamsi@sampoernauniversity.ac.id`

Abstract. Network society has provided bigger opportunity for people to get connected globally and gain a lot of advantages in many aspects of life, such as education, business, etc. However, with the rise of post truth era, marked by huge prevalence and dissemination of fake news, what was once considered as an empowerment tool has eventually posed serious threat to a country's peace and harmony. Using the concept of power/knowledge from Foucault, this paper highlights the impact of post truth era to the network society by analyzing the act of government of Republic of Indonesia who restricted some services to two communication platforms, namely WhatsApp and Facebook during a mass protest in May 2019. The finding shows that as the result of the tensions between government and a group of people over occupying the virtual space to gain influence, ironically, network society needs to be curbed to some extent.

Keywords: Network Society · Fake News · Post Truth · Social Media · Politics

1   Introduction

The rise of digital technology has caused a lot of improvement and new development in terms of social communication and interaction. Nowadays, reaching out to people living far away is no longer a difficult thing, or even having an interaction with thousands of people simultaneously. Distance and space do not hamper people from getting connected between one to another, if they get some internet connection. Beginning in the 1960s, the invention of computer -which later marked as the new phase in the revolution of humankind or the third industrial revolution [1] - was then followed by the invention of the internet in 1990s. The impacts of internet have been very huge that it caused transformation of the society and the global economy [1].

The World Wide Web (typically abbreviated "WWW") created by James Gosling [2], has resulted in a seamless-borderless world. Many things can be done or obtained within seconds or minutes without having to go out of one's house/office, such as buying things, ordering food, downloading songs/films, even taking an online course. With the

huge ease provided by the internet, it is predictable that the numbers of users will keep increasing. According to Internet World Statistics, as of March 31, 2019, there were 56.8% (4,383,810,342 people) of the world population using it. With that quite high percentage, the internet holds more and more pivotal role in the life of the people, and is now a core pillar of the modern information society [3]; it is also embracing the world's population onto one global platform; a Network Society [4].

According to Castells [4] in the network society, "the social structure includes humans in relation of production, consumption, reproduction, experience and power, or in other words, almost all aspects of human life". That means world citizens can work together to fulfill their needs through the connection provided by the internet, which also shapes the pattern of human life [5]. The internet brings power for people to get connected to each other and ease in communication. It also offers big opportunities for human development (such as through education), growing business through e-commerce that gets more prevalent, besides to gain political support.

Network society – which is also an impact of globalization [6] –also features a new forum for people to meet each other and interact, even with strangers, in the shape of social media. As social being, many people enjoy having the opportunity to connect online, and social networking has become one of the most popular online activities [7]. One social media which has been welcome by tremendous number of global populations is Facebook, which was created in 2004 and is now the most popular online social network [8]. Clement [7] later added that," Facebook is now the most popular online network based on active usage. As of the third quarter of 2018, there were over 2.2 billion monthly active Facebook users, accounting for almost half of internet users worldwide." Facebook helps people connect with their family, friends, acquaintances, and even new friends. Besides posting photos, one feature from Facebook allows people to express their opinion and other people to comment on those, hence reciprocal interactions.

Research conducted by Siddiqui & Singh [9] found several positive effects of social media on society, with the prominent one is it can unite people from any place in the world, regardless of whether they know each other or some new acquaintances, for various reasons such as working together to achieve some common goal, business opportunities, raising awareness through campaign, advertisement or information sharing. Meanwhile, the negative effects are it can make people addicted, so that they spend a lot of time in social networking sites then neglect their responsibilities of doing particular tasks, it can easily affect kids and/ or teenagers as sometimes people share photos, videos on media that contain violence and negative things, it carries the potential to abuse the society by invading people's privacy, it can weaken family ties when they spend more time connecting to new people, and the last one is some irresponsible people can take and use other people images or videos in social sites illegally. However, the research will show another negative effect brought about by the use of social media, that is caused by the spreading false/ fake news in order to influence people in a negative way. As McIntyre [10] stated that due to the nature of social media, which is open to everyone, it makes it possible for anyone to post or comment anything they like and readers who do not bother to verify will readily take it as the truth. The nature of Facebook that is open to everyone to post something and others to comment have created a new forum of communication that can give both positive and negative impacts to society. In the era of

digital technology, information and knowledge have become even more powerful and useful, yet it also comes with some risks.

Communication is the sharing of meaning through the exchange of information [4]. Referring to its process, communication can be differentiated into two types: interpersonal and societal communication [4]. Interpersonal communication takes place where the designated sender(s) and receiver(s) are the subjects of communication. While when the content of communication has the potential to be diffused to society at large -at the societal level-, mass communication takes place. Traditionally, mass communication was predominantly one-directional – the message is sent from one (party) to many (parties). Nowadays, with the advanced information technology that has created network society and the emergence of social media such as Facebook, mass communication is characterized by the capacity of sending messages from many to many [4]. When there are many people can jump into a public interaction on Facebook, various statements, responses, and opinions will come uncontrollably. As people can even share some false statement or misleading opinions for their own interests.

Besides Facebook, there is another communication channel that allows people to conduct mass and interactive communication, called WhatsApp. WhatsApp is a messaging app that can be used to make calls, send messages, photos, videos, files and voice messages to individuals or groups [11]. Some people would refer to this platform as instant messaging platform, while some other would categorize it as another social media [12]. Regardless of which category WhatsApp belongs to, it has similar power with Facebook, which is reaching out to many people to spread "information" in the form of writing, pictures of even video. It is also similar in terms of its popularity, as nowadays WhatsApp is one of the most popular call and chat apps available [13]. In its latest advancement, the digital technology allows people to edit and manipulate photos, using a popular software app called Adobe Photoshop [14], eventually creating big problem related to falsification and or fabricated information.

Indonesia has been facing some serious and threatening problems caused by the spread of false/fake news, especially in the face of presidential election in 2019. The lack of media literacy skill could be one of the factors causing the high percentage of the circulation of false news. Hence, network society that is supposed to empower and enable people to gain a lot of advantages, has now posed a serious threat to a country's peace and harmony as the impact of the so-called post-truth era. This fact causes a power tension between government as the authority who is responsible to control and curb false news from spreading within the society – on one hand, and some society members who intentionally share those with certain purpose and agenda – on the other hand. This finally leads to the action of the government of Republic of Indonesia to put a temporary restriction toward the services of WhatsApp and Facebook during a mass protest in May 2019.

Ideally, information should be available and easily accessible to anyone, especially because the digital era has made it easy for that to happen, but due to the attack of fake news, network society now, ironically, poses a threat to peace of the society. This can confuse people and even cause bigger damage such as social conflicts or even chaos. This paper will examine the phenomenon that happened in Jakarta, in May 2019, where Indonesian government decided to limit the services provided by WhatsApp

and Facebook in order to prevent a magnified chaos as pictures/photos/videos shared through the two platforms. By using Foucault's concept of power/ knowledge, this paper argues that –on one hand- network society promotes the worldwide communication, among others by the use of social media and instant messaging app, but –on the other hand- ironically, because of the ease of disseminating "falsified news" allowed by those platforms, some connection needs to be shut down.

2   Ease of Use Network Society; A Power Tension Between Opening Up Information Access and Curbing Fake News

"A little knowledge is a dangerous thing", which has been used synonymously with "a little learning is a dangerous thing" set forth by an English poet-Alexander Pope-considered as the leading poet of the Age of Reason [15]. It reflects how high the value of knowledge is for people's ability to reason. This is especially true in the current era popularly referred to as the post-truth era. Referring to McIntyre [10], this is an era in which "truth has been eclipsed— that it is irrelevant". He also continues that in this era, "feelings sometimes matter more than facts" [10]. When one "statement" is continuously repeated, even if it is not the truth, people may eventually believe it as the truth. One example would be the case of Brexit, as the result of "the largely fact-free campaign in Great Britain—where hundreds of buses advertised the bogus statistic that the United Kingdom (UK) was sending 350 million euros a week to the European Union (EU)" [10]. This leads to a referendum conducted on 23 June 2016, with 71.8%, or more than 30 million people voting [16] to decide whether the UK should leave or remain in the European Union. The result showed those in favor of UK leaving EU was 51.9% to 48.1%. Based on the law, the UK was due to leave 29 March 2019, but ironically, it was the UK members of parliament who had rejected that separation for three times. The time limit was then extended until 12 April 2019, and now EU leaders have now backed a six-month extension until 31 October 2019 [16]. The parliament's rejections and deadline extensions may show some confusions experienced by the politicians and leader due to the process of "spreading bogus fact" taking place initially. This confusion came up as the result of people believing fake news as the truth. When people can easily access any "information" and do not bother to examine it, they could shape their opinions that eventually influence their choice, such as people voting "pro" for Brexit, while in the end the members of parliament –who are actually the people's representative- have to use their power to try to stop or delay the split between UK and EU. The voters believed they have the knowledge that can justify their voted, while the members of parliament have the knowledge that the people do not, to opt not to split.

People have been conveying or spreading information which is not true for almost as long as the human history. It is written that:

"An early record dates back to ancient Rome, when Antony met Cleopatra and his political enemy Octavian launched a smear campaign against him with "short, sharp slogans written upon coins in the style of archaic Tweets. These slogans painted Antony as a womanizer and a drunk, implying he had become Cleopatra's puppet, having been corrupted by his affair with her. The perpetrator, Octavian,

became Augustus, the first Roman Emperor and fake news had allowed Octavian to hack the republican system once and for all". [17]

The use of fake news proved to be effective to achieve the goal, even though in politics many people would say that it began in 2016 with Brexit and US presidential election as the beginning [18]. As the intention of creating fake news - an allegation that some story is misleading, where it contains significant omissions or even false – it is a lie [19] is to deceive its intended audience. Fake news could contain entirely false (and thus not facts at all), missing context or they are only partial truths; with the goal of achieving something.

The use of fake news in politics is nothing new. The case of Brexit is a recent example, which was continued with the campaign and presidential election in the United States of America in 2016 [10] that was won by Donald Trump. James Ball [18] even wrote one book dedicated to analyze and elaborate this issue, which sharply criticized the strategies applied by Trump's political campaign. Ball [18] prefers to use the word 'bullshit' rather than lies or untruth or some other term, with the reason that:

"One reason is simply that we need a catch-all word to cover misrepresentation, half-truths and outrageous lies alike. The other stems from the Princeton University philosopher Harry Frankfurt, who wrote a full book defining the term in 2005: On Bullshit. Frankfurt's argument, roughly speaking, runs as such: to tell a lie, you need to care about some form of absolute truth or falsehood, and increasingly public life is run by people who don't care much either way – they care about their narrative." [18]

The statement shows very strong condemn towards people's ignorance of telling lies, for the sake of achieving their goals. In his elaboration, Ball elaborated and gave some examples how people would boldly deny things they previously said –even those recorded in videos-, and it finally gave good result to the person sending the false message. Since the world is now a network society, what works well in one place / country will be adopted by another group of people in another country. Many people wrap fake news or hoaxes as knowledge; as truth, which later on can be capitalized in their attempt to grab their objectives.

The political campaign in Indonesia, in the 2019 presidential election where Prabowo Subianto and Joko Widodo contested as presidential candidates, was also contaminated by such issues. Saubani [20] wrote that Prabowo's camp often utilizes terrifying rhetoric and narratives such as "by 2030 Indonesia will be disbanded", or "99% of Indonesian people live in a subsistent level"; a strategy similar to that of Trump's – which is dubbed as "Firehose of Falsehood". Prabowo even adopted a tagline similar to that of Trump's; "Make Indonesia great again". In short, they created "knowledge"- that will be used as a weapon. A strategy that was also exercised by Jean Mary Le Pen -France's far-right - & Jair Bolsonaro, the Brazilian right-wing president [20]. In the end, Le Pen did not win, while in the case of Bolsonaro, for lack of support from mainstream media, while he needed to spread the "knowledge", he used the instant messaging app –WhatsApp-to spread hoaxes against his political enemies and rally support from his supporters. As

the result, Bolsonaro won Brazil's presidency with 55 percent of the vote, backed by supporters fed up with insecurity, corruption, and the country's political status quo [21].

Saubani [20] mentioned another example of the use of fake news, when a politician who was once a member of Prabowo's campaign team, Ratna Sarumpaet claimed she was assaulted by several men unknown to her, by this implicitly she wanted to let the public know that some people did it for some political reason, thus Joko Widodo camp to be responsible. Prabowo quickly stepped forward to condemn the attack, but soon, it was revealed that Sarumpaet lied, and her swollen face was a result of liposuction. Later on, Sarumpaet said that she was the best creator of hoax. Another political observer from Universitas Indonesia also expressed his concern towards the utilization of populism and hoaxes, instead of showing off their programs in the campaign, similar to the one done by Trump [22]. The spokesperson of Joko Widodo camp, Irma Chaniago, accused Prabowo of using the Russian propaganda and Firehose of Falsehood tactic, imitating Donald Trump, in which he kept spreading negative things, such as hate speech and hoaxes [22].

In order to rally support, politicians need to spread their programs and propaganda or the "knowledge" they have come up with, hence social media holds a pivotal role. On one hand, lies, fake news, false information have now become highly valued currency by some politicians. On the other hand, the use of social media to spread the "information" in a political war' is a necessity. Such practice is not a new thing, as it was used by people who protested against the government in the 2009 Iranian presidential election [23]. As the demonstrations turned violent and caused clashes between protesters and police, the Iranian government banned foreign media, and soon followed by a communication blockade to prevent news -"information"- of the protests from being disseminated outside the country. However, to counter this, Iranian activists used some web-based social media to be able to share news without getting censored by the government. Finally, "the first reports of the crisis to reach a global audience were tweets, or posts, to the microblogging service Twitter [23].

The smooth global flow of news and information is due to the existence of network society, whereby:

> "The 21st century has seen the weaponization of information on an unprecedented scale. Powerful new technology makes the manipulation and fabrication of content simple, and social networks dramatically amplify falsehoods peddled by States, populist politicians, and dishonest corporate entities, as they are shared by uncritical publics. The platforms have become fertile ground for computational propaganda9, 'trolling' and 'troll armies'; 'sock-puppet' networks', and 'spoofers'. Then, there is the arrival of profiteering 'troll farms' around elections." [17]

When in the past, the war took place on the field, nowadays the battlefield is in the virtual world as well. Advanced digital technology ideally gives more advantages can now be a place where lies and inappropriate issues be spread. Power is based on the control of communication and information [4], therefore those who have the information or knowledge can steer the direction of their pathway. This explains why politicians strive to be the first in creating some certain narrative and rhetoric, especially those that can appeal to public, because the most fundamental form of power lies in the ability to shape

human mind [4]. Once the public put their trust on those narrative and rhetoric, they will take the politician's side.

Those politicians are people who have power, and they can create knowledge, as Foucault argued that "power is not repressive, neither works one way from the authority to the lower level. It is even empowering, as …"it produces effects at the level of desire – and also at the level of knowledge. Far from preventing it, power produces it" [24]. When power can be managed and used not just to repress, they can be productive. Vice versa, knowledge is power as it can mobilize people and gather global sympathy and support, as what the Iranian activists did by choosing to use web-based social media to share news and avoiding getting censored by the government.

It seems the government of the Republic of Indonesia has learned this global case, as they decided to shut some services provided by Facebook and WhatsApp soon after a protest started in May 21 that lasted until May 23, 2019, in Jakarta. After the presidential election was administered and the result showed Joko Widodo came out as the victor, Prabowo and his camp accused that there was 'structural, systemic and massive' fraud during the election that prevented him from winning [25]. When the General Election Commission was in the process of establishing the winner of the election that was due on May 22, 2019, thousands of Prabowo's supporters staged protest in front of the Elections Supervisory Agency's office building, on May 21, 2019, rejecting the result for alleged irregularities and fraud during the election [26] [27]. What began as a peace protest soon turned into a riot as the protesters started throwing stones and various objects to the police, even set fire to a police dormitory and vehicles [27]. The riot was bad as it took some casualty; six people died and more than 200 were injured, police said they had arrested 20 provocateurs and "one man reportedly died after sustaining a gunshot wound in the melee, according to Tirto.id, an Indonesian news website" even though police said they only used teargas and water cannon against those protesters who threw rocks, firecrackers, Molotov cocktails and burning projectiles [27].

Soon there were some photos and video shared from several Facebook accounts and from one WhatsApp to the other, from one WhatsApp group to the others which were claimed to be taken from the riot's scene, showing some protesters as victims of police's brutal treatment. Besides messages and photos claiming that police officers have been sent from "communist China" to Indonesia to shoot at protesters that were also circulated on Facebook [28]. On the second day of the riot in the protest, Indonesia's Coordinating Minister for Political, Legal, and Security Affairs, Wiranto, said authorities would restrict access to social media in certain areas to prevent the spread of fake news [27], while it is going to be temporary, between two to three days [29]. The Minister of Communication and Information Technology, Rudiantara also stated that the restriction will not be applied only to Facebook, but also to WhatsApp, as the two platforms have been widely used as a medium to share hoaxes and fake news [29]. Further he said the modus operandi of spreading hoaxes and fake news would be posting video, memes or photos on Facebook and Instagram to be later on screen shot and circulated through WhatsApp in the hope that it would become viral and influence viewers. That is why the restriction will only be applied on photos and videos -either blocked or slowed down, while messaging systems would still work for text and voice messages, and the restriction would be on a temporary basis to prevent the spread of hoaxes and inflammatory content

[28]. This action is a manifestation of power held by the government at the authority holder. Maintaining the peace and harmony in the country was the justification of the action, showing that the government realize the power of information/knowledge, be it fake or the truth, that can mobilize people. On the other hand, the people who create and circulate hoaxes and fake news realize the power they have if they can share those hoaxes and fake news. This shows the chain of power relation.

Realizing the detrimental power of hoaxes and fake news, the government of the Republic of Indonesia has shut down around 61 thousand WhatsApp accounts a week prior to the riot [30]. The public relation staff of the Ministry of Communication and Information Technology stated that there are 2 criteria for those accounts; they circulate contents which contained hoaxes and agitation or provocation. While during and after the riot, since May 22 until May 25, 2019, there were 2.184 accounts and websites that were shut down, that consists of 551 Facebook accounts, 848 Twitter accounts, 640 Instagram accounts, 143 YouTube accounts, one LinkedIn account, and one website. Learning from what the other countries have experienced before, the government of the Republic of Indonesia realized they have to act responding to the power of hoaxes and fake news. The capitalization of hoaxes and fake news has…" caused to emerge new objects of knowledge and accumulates new bodies of information" [24]. This new information teaches the government to act before things got worse. On the other hand, the producers of hoaxes and fakes news also realize the power they have, and it will not be a surprise if in the near time they will find a new medium or strategy to spread their "commodity" in order to gain more power. As Foucault has affirmed that:

> "The exercise of power perpetually creates knowledge and, conversely, knowledge constantly induces effects of power. Knowledge and power are integrated with one another. It is not possible for power to be exercised without knowledge, it is impossible for knowledge not to engender power. [24]

Power and knowledge are the two sides of a coin, and those who can utilize them will have bigger power and know how to evade being subordinated.

3   Conclusion

Currently, information and communication technology supported by digital system has taken bigger role as the agent of cohesion of the world, hence, it gets more and more important role. Castells stated that "power relies on the control of communication, as counterpower depends on breaking through such control" [4]. Those who want to get power, they need to dominate the communication and "information". The fact nowadays even shows that disinformation can be the information. Dentith [19] elaborated how the term information and disinformation can be confusing as both can be ambiguous. He argued that "sometimes the claim is, after all, sincere – what has been reported really is news which is fake – whilst other times the issue is that such a claim is being used as a baseless dismissal of stories, or of media outlets." It means, even a fact can be distorted for some specific target.

Capitalization of fake news and hoaxes has been more and more prevalent in the society, especially in politics. For example," the allegation certain stories were "fake

news" was co-opted by 45th President of the United States of America, Mr. Donald J. Trump during his run in the Republican Primaries in 2016 and has largely become a right-wing rhetorical device ever since [19]", besides the victory of Jair Bolsonaro in the presidential election in Brazil, October 2018 [21]. Those politicians were successful in influencing people, as they could apply the knowledge that "the most fundamental form of power lies in the ability to shape human mind [4]".

Facebook and WhatsApp are the mostly used virtual communication medium nowadays, therefore they are utilized to spread "information or knowledge. This creates a new field for politicians to get power, as according to Foucault, power is not merely the one on the hands of a country's government or authority, rather it is "the Micro-powers exercised at the level of daily life" [24]. Thus, those who have the control over information and channel of communication have the biggest possibility to rule, network society thus, magnify the significance of it. Influencing and later, convincing people is the key to win people's support, especially in the post-truth which "amounts to a form of ideological supremacy, whereby its practitioners are trying to compel someone to believe in something whether there is good evidence for it or not" [10]. As long as someone is convinced, they will not bother even if there is no evidence of that "information".

Social media, in particular, Facebook, has become a place for people to vent their frustrations [10], and eventually inviting others who have similar feeling, experience, and tendency. When it comes to politics, they become one group within the same affiliation. People could browse to find and select "information" or stories that they like or what they want to hear, rather than the fact, as McIntyre [10] argued:

> We could click on "news" stories that told us what we wanted to hear (whether they had been vetted for accuracy or not) as opposed to some of the factual content from mainstream media that may have been less palatable. Without knowing that they were doing so, people could feed their desire for confirmation bias (not to mention score some free news content) directly, without bothering to patronize traditional news sources. Why pay for a newspaper subscription when you could get as many stories as you wanted from friends that had just as much to say about the events you were interested in? The "prestige press" didn't stand a chance".

People read what they want to read, because they like it or when they want to confirm their assumptions or in accordance with their points of view. This results in what McIntyre [10] calls as "news silos" that feed polarization and fragmentation in media content". People will also select their friends and unfriends the others who differ from our political affiliation, creating a chamber for "birds of a feather flocks together".

That is why the Ministry of Communication and Information Technology of the Republic of Indonesia put the restriction on Facebook and WhatsApp for three days, to avoid stronger connection and cohesion among those protesters and their supporters that could mobilize more protesters. Using the knowledge of the power of hoaxes and fake news, the government used their power to limit bigger chaos as the effect of the mass protest. It shows how, "the worry that fabricated information exists in the public record is a challenge to our notion of how open our society is" [19]. With the advanced information and communication technology, facts and truth are endangered in today's political arena [10], so if people are not cautious, they can be easily deceived. This also

brings about new concern, as McIntyre [10] expressed how the internet reveals an irony where instead of providing access to reliable information, it has become "nothing but an echo chamber" and therefore poses danger to the society.

With the power that is held by everybody in every level of life and knowledge, it is, "not repressive, neither works one way from the authority to the lower level. It is even empowering, as …"it produces effects at the level of desire – and also at the level of knowledge. Far from preventing it, power produces it" [24]. Network society empower people, however, ironically, just like false truth subverts truth – in the post truth era, network society once in a while needs to be disconnected.

In the end, it is not people without knowledge who must be suspected or considered "dangerous", as Socrates once said, "Ignorance, was remediable; if one is ignorant, one can be taught. The greater threat comes from those who have the hubris to think that they already know the truth, for then one might be impetuous enough to act on a falsehood" [10]. Acting on false information is the threat nowadays.

References

1. Schwab, K. (2016). The fourth industrial revolution. World Economic Forum.
2. J Schell, B. H. (2007). The internet and society: A reference handbook. ABC-CLIO.
3. Clement, J. (2019, April 25). Global digital population as of April 2019 (in millions). Statista. https://www.statista.com/statistics/617136/digital-population-worldwide/
4. Castells, M. (2009). Communication power. Oxford University Press.
5. Castells, M. (2002). The Internet galaxy: Reflections on the Internet, business, and society. Oxford University Press on Demand.
6. Castells, M. (1999). The Power of Identity, Volume II. Blackwell Publishers. DOI: https://doi.org/10.1002/9781444318234
7. Clement, J. (2019, January 9). Number of internet users worldwide from 2005 to 2018 (in millions). Statista. https://www.statista.com/statistics/273018/number-of-internet-users-worldwide/
8. Edosomwan, S., et al. (2011). The History of Social Media and its Impact on Business The Journal of Applied Management and Entrepreneurship. 16(3), pp. 79–91. https://www.researchgate.net/publication/303216233_The_history_of_social_media_and_its_impact_on_business
9. Siddiqui, S., & Singh, T. (2016). Social media its impact with positive and negative aspects. International Journal of Computer Applications Technology and Research, 5(2), pp. 71–75. http://ijcatr.com/archives/volume5/issue2/ijcatr05021006.pdf
10. McIntyre, L. (2018). Post-Truth. Massachusetts Institute of Technology Press.
11. Pirani, F, (2017, March 27). What is WhatsApp? 5 things to know about the popular messaging app. Boston 25 News. https://www.boston25news.com/news/what-is-whatsapp-5-things-to-know-about-the-popular-messaging-app/506494102
12. Iyoha, B. E. (2015, October 25). Difference Between Social Networking and Social Media – The Whatsapp Stereotype. Linkedin. https://www.linkedin.com/pulse/difference-between-social-networking-media-whatsapp-ben-ehimen-iyoha .
13. Dove, J., Udavant, S., Mehra, S. (2019, May 29). Everything you need to know about WhatsApp Messenger. Digitaltrends. https://www.digitaltrends.com/mobile/what-is-whatsapp/
14. IT Connect. (n.d.). What is Photoshop?. University of Washington. Retrieved June 20, 2019 from https://itconnect.uw.edu/learn/workshops/online-tutorials/graphics-and-design-workshops/adobe-cs/photoshop/

15. Encyclopedia of Philosophy. (n.d.). Pope, Alexander (1688–1744). Encyclopedia.com. Retrieved June 20, 2019 from https://www.encyclopedia.com/humanities/encyclopedias-almanacs-transcripts-and-maps/pope-alexander-1688-1744

16. Wheeler, B, Seddon, P., Morris, R. (2019, May 10). Brexit: All you need to know about the UK leaving the EU. BBC.com. Retrieved June 20, 2019 from https://www.bbc.com/news/uk-politics-32810887

17. Ireton, C. & Posetti, J. (2018). Journalism, 'Fake News' & Disinformation: Handbook for Journalism Education and Training. UNESCO. https://unesdoc.unesco.org/ark:/48223/pf0000265552

18. Ball, J. (2017). Post-Truth: How Bullshit Conquered the World. Biteback Publishing.

19. Dentith, M. R. X. (2016). The problem of fake news. Public Reason, 8(1–2), pp. 65–79. https://philpapers.org/rec/DENTPO-31

20. Saubani, A. (2018, Nov 14). Kritik untuk Narasi Kampanye Jokowi dan Prabowo [Criticism of Jokowi's and Prabowo's Campaign Narratives]. Republika.id. https://www.republika.co.id/berita/kolom/fokus/18/11/14/pi53vb409-kritik-untuk-narasi-kampanye-jokowi-dan-prabowo

21. Leme, L. (2019, June 28). Approval Tracker: Brazil's President Jair Bolsonaro. Americas Society/Council of the Americas (AS/COA). https://www.as-coa.org/articles/approval-tracker-brazils-president-jair-bolsonaro

22. BBC News Indonesia. (2019, February 5). Jokowi dan Prabowo disebut pengamat gunakan kampanye 'propaganda ala Rusia' [Jokowi and Prabowo use 'Russian propaganda' campaign according to expert]. https://www.bbc.com/indonesia/indonesia-47130878

23. Featherman, C. (2015). Discourses of ideology and identity: social media and the iranian election protests. Routledge. https://doi.org/10.4324/9781315739847

24. Michael, F. (1980). Power/knowledge: Selected interviews and other writings 1972–1977. Pantheon.

25. Regencia, T. (2019, May 21). Why is Prabowo challenging Jowoki's win in Indonesia's presidential poll?. TRTWorld. https://www.trtworld.com/asia/why-is-prabowo-challenging-jowoki-s-win-in-indonesia-s-presidential-poll-26839

26. Galiya, G. (2019, May 21). Thousands rally after announcement of Prabowo-Sandiaga defeat. The Jakarta Post. https://www.thejakartapost.com/news/2019/05/21/thousands-rally-after-announcement-of-prabowo-sandiaga-defeat.html

27. Lamb, K. (2019, May 22). Indonesia riots: six dead after protesters clash with troops over election result. The Guardian. https://www.theguardian.com/world/2019/may/22/indonesia-riots-protesters-clash-with-security-forces-over-election-result

28. Barahamin, A. & Chew, A. (2019, May 22). Indonesia restricts access to Facebook and WhatsApp to stop the spread of fake news after riots erupted that killed 6 people and injured 20. Business Insider. https://www.businessinsider.com/facebook-whatsapp-restricted-in-indonesia-amid-deadly-protests-2019-5?IR=T

29. Redaksi CNBC Indonesia. (2019, May 22). Whatsapp-Medsos dibatasi pemerintah sampai 25 Mei 2019 [Whatsapp-Socialmedia are restricted by the government until May 25, 2019]. CNBC Indonesia. https://www.cnbcindonesia.com/fintech/20190522144725-37-74298/whatsapp-medsos-dibatasi-pemerintah-sampai-25-mei-2019

30. CNN Indonesia. (2019, May 29). Kominfo ungkap kriteria 61 ribu akun WhatsApp yang ditutup [The Ministry of Communication and Information revealed the criteria for 61,000 WhatsApp accounts that were closed]. Retrieved from https://www.cnnindonesia.com/teknologi/20190529152526-185-399488/kominfo-ungkap-kriteria-61-ribu-akun-whatsapp-yang-ditutup