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Asian Youth Cultural Expression, Creativity, and Innovation on YouTube

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Abstract: *Groups and intercommunity interactions form global society. This study aims to describe the global aspect in the local cultural expression or vice-versa on YouTube videos. The cultural expressions include language, dress, cuisine, festivals and leisure creativities, social customs and lifestyle. Qualitative descriptive approach is used to analyze ten videos made by Southeast Asian young people. This research found that the locality expression goes global. Cultural expressions communicate the cross-cultural understanding especially in mainland, peninsula, and islands. This youth creativity describes the “glocality” of Indian, Arabic, Chinese, Malay, Java, and the West cultures.*

Keywords: *cultural expression, glocality, intercultural communication, Southeast Asian youth, YouTube*

Abstrak: *Interaksi kelompok dan antarkomunitas membentuk masyarakat global. Penelitian ini bertujuan menggambarkan saling pengaruh antara aspek global dan ekspresi budaya lokal melalui YouTube. Ekspresi budaya tersebut meliputi bahasa, pakaian, masakan, kreativitas festival dan rekreasi, kebiasaan sosial, dan gaya hidup. Pendekatan deskriptif kualitatif digunakan untuk menganalisis sepuluh video yang dibuat oleh kaum muda Asia Tenggara. Penelitian ini menemukan bahwa ekspresi lokalitas berkembang secara global. Ekspresi budaya mengomunikasikan pemahaman lintas budaya, terutama di daratan, semenanjung, dan kepulauan. Kreativitas kaum muda ini menggambarkan “glokalitas” budaya India, Arab, Cina, Melayu, Jawa, dan Barat.*

Kata Kunci: *ekspresi budaya, glokalitas, kaum muda Asia Tenggara, komunikasi antarbudaya, YouTube*

The globalization grows and develops inseparable from technology. Historically, globalization has been enacted through various agreements of open markets in various regions in the world. Moreover, in the context of communication studies, globalization drives by technological development, especially for Indonesia as a state and nation. Indonesia began experiencing globalization since *Palapa* satellite launched into orbit in 1976. According to Dahlan (1987, p. 28-36),

Palapa also has become one of the stars in the national development scene. Thereafter, the globalization played its role and had broad impacts in all areas of Indonesian life, including the economic, socio-cultural, political, and national security.

The discussion of the impact of globalization often referred to the young people, whom associated with the dynamics of social change. Ryder (1965, p. 843-861) suggests the cohort or generation as a concept in social change study. The cohorts

is the aggregate, by which the society counterbalances attrition that those group of persons born in the same time interval. So, the generation is a group of people, who were born and grew start from children, adolescents, and then young adults who actively participate in the process of social change by the similarity of their behavior and experiences (Hidayat, Saefuddin & Sumartono, 2016, p. 129-150). They do their activities across states, national and continents boundaries, such as chat with each other online, broadcast their latest videos, post messages on their blogs and social networking profiles, or share music over peer-to-peer networks (Palfrey & Gasser, 2008, p. 13).

The youth cohort also called as the owner of millennium era or millennials that will lead the countries around the world a few next decades. Then Palfrey, Gasser, Simun & Barnes (2009, p. 79) call them as *Digital Natives*, i.e. young people, who grows up in the digital world with high accessibility to the technologies and their sophisticated skills. As Ryder (1965, p. 843-861) states that another aspect of cohort study is historical of social change by youth which called youth's social construction. Willett, Robinson & Marsh (2012) discuss how young people actively construct youth identities based on the study of youth subcultures, which analyze markers of identity and specific social groups.

Gen Y and Gen Z grow in the era where all aspects of life are in a global context and experience similarity in economic also democratic climate in politics (Ryder, 1965, p.

843-861). They enjoy the same cultural senses of music, movies, entertainment, fashion, and brands. Thus, the process of homogeneity of young people in many countries remains in terms of social and cultural.

Southeast Asia is one of the richest region in the world, in terms of both natural resources and cultures (Wolters, 1999). There is a mix of various major cultural roots in this hemisphere, combines with universal values in the globalization process, which then mixed up with the local values (Yamashita & Eades, 2003). Meanwhile, the local values are still strong and held by the dominant social groups, the development of media technology extended to all geographical areas ranging from urban and suburban to rural. Thus, globalization itself was growing together with the locality, and then so-called the "glocality" (Meyrowitz, 2005, p. 21-30).

Globalization means influence by stealth and from a particular direction (Carr, 2006). It is a complex process because it involves rapid social change simultaneously across number of dimensions (Tomlinson, 1999)-in economy, politics, communications, in the physical environment, and in culture- and each of these transformations interact with the others. Globalization has also given a new fluidity to the bounded notion of cultural and national identity (Ibrahim, 2004, p. 115-136). Cole & Durham (2007) also describe it as the restructuring of capital and labor, a process that privileges knowledge and flexibility, a movement of people around the world in search opportunity and jobs,

increased flows of information and idea-laden commodities, also emergence of a global eco-cultural landscape.

So, the concept of *glocalization* is the combination of globalization and localization, which reflects two interrelated forces to develop together. This paper uses the communication study perspective to understand the *glocalization* trend. Specifically on the intercultural communication field, the *glocalization* concept is used to investigate global-local communication creative. Oduro-Frimpong (2009, p. 1085-1106) says that the *glocalization* idea as such a corrective, in which allows a holistic approach in investigating the nuanced juncture of contemporary global-local interactions. Therefore, the local culture expression cannot be ignored in everyone's life when interacting regionally and globally.

One of the main influence of the development of *glocalization* is the power of new media to make changes, especially social media in digital mobile communication. This force of change could not be avoided because the technology is widely applied by all levels of society, especially the interactions between technological, social, and cultural factors through the perspective of *glocalization*. Bilić (2011, p. 85) also states that the process of cultural change enforced through the use of social media -in a specific view- and seen from a global perspective. Furthermore, the global process of media and communication change through digitalization. But only young people, namely the *Net Gen*, plays an active role as leaders of change through new media. Young people in various locations

in Southeast Asia are referred to indigenous youth. Kral (2010, 53-76) states that global influences pervade everyday life and new forms of media and communications are reshaping youth culture. His research finds these young adults generational shift has been rapid, as many of their elders once lived a pre-contact nomadic existence and then now they are firmly part of global youth culture, taking on the role of mediating between old cultural knowledge and new digital technologies. Thus, indigenous young people do not exist because everyone toward globalization in hybrid style.

This study focuses on young people's involvement as a *prosumer* (Toffler, 1980) or *produsage* (Bruns & Schmidt, 2011, p. 3-7) using YouTube. Chau (2010, 65-74) refers to their liveliness as a participatory culture regarding explosion of youth subscriptions to original content-media-sharing websites, such as YouTube. These websites combine media production and distribution with social networking features, making them an ideal place to create, connect, collaborate, and circulate. Habits of young people to record their daily lives in local neighborhood and upload it on YouTube shows that they love to share experiences, knowledge, and cultural values to all global users. Therefore, YouTube offer a participatory culture where youth can develop, interact, and learn. However, the fact that YouTube is co-created is not always apparent to either YouTube Inc. or the participants within the system, even YouTube raises social movements (Meek, 2012, 1429-1448). According to Burgess & Green (2009), many of these different participants engage

with YouTube as if it is a space specifically designed for them and that should therefore serve their own particular interests, often without an appreciation of the role played by others. Mainsah & Morrison (2012, p. 1-9) finds that there is a need for designing connection to existing participatory and cultures of youth.

The role of young people to make changes in their era is the character of the generation. Meanwhile, the technology influences the society not only on the level of individuals and groups but broader on cultural context. Therefore, it is called cultural expression because everyday life of young people is always accompanied by digital media devices. As a feature of the digital media landscape situated at the center of young people's engagement with different digital media devices, the internet continues to have a profound effect. Bennett & Robards (2014) state that through its intersection with the everyday practices of youth, the internet has brought new dimensions to what has conventionally referred to as youth culture. Youth is the owner of their era. Utomo, Reimondos, Utomo, McDonald & Hull (2013, p. 79-109) call them as young adults by the socio-demographic nature of the digital divide.

The new media is changing the working way of educators, business people, and journalists. In this regard, other similar research on media literacy of young people in the internet as an evaluation of communication "skills". Young people often have different perspective or even conflict with the older generation.

Thurlow & Bell (2009, p. 1038-1049) call it technologization of communication during the discussion about young people's new media discourse and concerns about literacy, employability, and social order, which are often refracted through adults' often-conflicted feelings about technology.

Furthermore, creativity and innovation always in line with the pleasure of sharing creations of young people on YouTube. Miller (2009, p. 88-99) also argues against the concept of the creative industries and culture to redefine the culture of industries. Creativity and innovation has, thus, become one of the stronger characters of young people as *prosumer* on YouTube. While the industry undergone and shift their conventional roles, the producers have to melt with consumers to collaborate one another. Kaufman & Sternberg (2006, p. 2) define creativity and draw some generalizations:

- 1) Creativity involves thinking that is aimed at producing ideas or products that are relatively novel and that are, in some respect, compelling;
- 2) Creativity is neither wholly domain specific nor wholly domain general. It has both domain-specific and domain-general elements. The potential to be creative may have some domain general elements, but to gain the knowledge one needs to make creative contributions, one must develop knowledge and skills within a particular domain, in which one is to make one's creative contribution;
- 3) Creativity can be measured, at least in some degree;
- 4) Creativity can be developed, in at least some degree; and
- 5) Creativity is not as highly rewarded in practice as it is supposed to be in theory.

Kafai & Peppler (2011, p. 89-119) also see the creative designs, ethical considerations, and technical skills as part of youth's

expressive and intellectual engagement with media as participatory competencies.

Conventional media has been abandoned by his audience, especially young people, except of broadcast television programs. The young people always go back to interact with online activities, even during watching TV they always use gadget. Substitution of television in this case is YouTube. This site has influenced the traditional media environment, at the same time, this new medium imitates the rules of the old media, including legally managed distribution of broadcasting content and smooth links between content and commercials. Kim (2012, p. 53-67) argues that YouTube constitutes an evolution of the present media, rather than a revolution. On the other hand, the dominance of mainstream media is, to a degree, still compromised in UGC (User Generated Content) culture. The emancipatory dimension of UGC media, such as democratic, creative outlet with high accessibility and online library potential, not losing sight of the technological-economic limitations placed on its continuing promise.

The dominance of YouTube as a sharing-medium to *prosumers* fosters co-creative communities worldwide. This video-hosting website launched in early 2005 has the original innovation. YouTube was one of several competing services that aimed to remove barriers to the widespread uptake to user-created online video. It provides simple integrated interface for users to upload, publish, view, and embed streaming videos without high levels of technical knowledge or hardware. According to Belussi & Sedita

(2013, p. 457-458), consumer co-creation is fundamental both to YouTube's value proposition and to its disruptive qualities. Young people characteristics are reflected on YouTube as medium of play, creativity, and digital cultures. Duncum (2011, p. 32-36) also finds the youth on YouTube as *prosumers* in a peer-to-peer participatory culture. Mesch (2009, p. 50-60) observes the youth culture, which acting in a media-rich environment and a bedroom culture. He also finds that the Net-generation express different values, attitudes, and behaviors than previous generations.

Moreover, Willett, Robinson & Marsh (2012) explain YouTube phenomenon concerns much more than time and money. They stated that for many people who have accounts on YouTube, the website offers ways of performing and defining identity. In addition to distributing videos (homemade or downloaded clips from elsewhere), YouTube account holders can display a selection of favorite videos, develop playlists, join groups dedicated to similar interests or styles of videos, display comments from other people, build a base of subscribers and subscribe to other YouTube accounts. Burgess (2012, p. 53-58) also added that YouTube Inc. moves to more profitably arrange and stabilize the historically contentious relations among rights-holders, uploaders, advertisers, and audiences, some forms of amateur video production have become institutionalized and professionalized, while others have been further marginalized and driven underground or to other platforms.

Another study focused on how young people connected on YouTube conducted by Light, Griffiths & Lincoln (2012, p. 343-355). They argue that as well as engaging in such areas, young people are also appropriating social networking sites, such as YouTube, as spaces in which they can engage in what Burgess (2012, p. 53-58) called 'vernacular creativity' -as a way of describing and surfacing creative practices that emerge from non-elite, specific everyday contexts. They also consider points of continuity and discontinuity in relation to vernacular creativity mediated with YouTube and the significance of such things in enabling young people to connect and create with like-minded others.

The modern nations of Southeast Asia contain a total population of over 450 million people with a large number of ethnics and linguistic groups. Some of these peoples, including the Thais, Khmers, Vietnamese, Burmans, Malays, Javanese, and Balinese, has a history marked in recent centuries by the attainment of high levels of political and socio-cultural complexity. Others are extremely small, such as the bands of hunters who still survive in a marginal way in the ever-diminishing rain forests. The attractiveness of Southeast Asia not only today's contemporary phenomenon, but also since prehistoric times. According to Glover & Bellwood (2004), Southeast Asia is very attractive among archaeologists and those interested generally in the documentation of human cultural achievements in the past. Furthermore, all the cultural foundations still exist today, in society, language and

ethnic affiliation, despite the changes brought by the more recent arrivals of Islamic and western influences.

Southeast Asia was and is a distinct place, but one of infinite variety with unique environment. It has preserved exceptional diversity while resisting large unifying organization. It is not congenial to the kind of empires that dominated other places and integrated substantial territories, and thereby, it has too many dominated historical narratives. Legal-bureaucratic states came late to the region and dominated its history only in the twentieth century. Maintaining the balance between the two contrasting phenomena of diversity and distinctiveness without allowing the one to obscure the other is the challenge (Reid, 2015).

On the contrary, the different colonial powers such British, Dutch, French, and American, introduced various policies of state-building and each had particular notions of what a nation meant. In this way, they diversified the conditions for nation building even further (Gungwu, 2005). Related to social change at the beginning of the new millennium, Southeast Asia is also undergoing drastic changes. Some examples, in Indonesia, the new media outlets flourished, meanwhile the coherence of the state was threatened by internecine violence and separatist movements seeking independence from the post-colonial arrangement. In Malaysia, intra-elite disputes saw a growth of support for the Islamic PAS party and even the longevity of the Singapore government seemed to face new voices of opposition, enabled and emboldened by the changes that

modernity and new technology brought to the region (Woodier, 2009).

Blum (2007) found that the empirical examination of national identity formation, exploring how cultures, particularly youth cultures, have been affected by global forces. His findings show that the nations studied have embraced certain aspects of modernity and liberalism, while rejecting others, but have also reasserted the place of national traditions. Anheier & Isar (2010, p. 2) also state that while a substantial evidence base has been developed on the economic, political, and social aspects of globalization, the cultural dimension continues to be the object of many unsubstantiated generalizations and unquestioned assumptions. Meanwhile Kjeldgaard & Askegaard (2006, p. 231-247) find that the youth culture goes beyond accounts of global homogenization and local appropriation by showing the glocal structural commonalities in diverse manifestations, especially in Denmark and Greenland. Based on these difference assumptions, this paper aims to explain both of globality and locality of the cultural expression especially youth creativity on YouTube. Locality versus globality dichotomy observed and reflected its hybridization in *glocality* toward the youth cultural expression, creativity, and innovation on YouTube.

Cultural expression is a community's verbal; expressions, words, signs and symbols, musical expressions, expressions by actions (such as dances, plays, ceremonies, rituals, and other "performances" and other tangibles product expressions). According to Antons (2009, p. 103-116) the expression must be

characteristic of a community's socio-cultural identity, cultural heritage, and maintained.

Cuisine or food, for example can be communicating everything about people. Even food is explained as a means of communication. According to Van Esterik (2013, p. 10), it is because of food's multi-sensorial properties of taste, touch, sight, sound, and smell. It also has the ability to communicate in a variety of registers and constitutes a form of language. Also definitions of acceptable and prohibited foods, stereotypes associating certain groups with certain foods, consumption of foods to express belonging or attain desired states, and use of food narratives to speak about the self are all ways that food communicates. Meanwhile, traditional dress have gained renewed distinction in modern times, as people strive to maintain their ethnic clan, gender, and class identities (Forshee, 2006, p. 127). Other element of culture such festival and leisure are creative events and products. According to Du Cros & Jolliffe (2014, p. 65), this includes interactive events, contest events, educational events, professional communication and gathering such as seminars or conferences, non-professional communication events such as meeting actors, etc. Lifestyle is self-constructed, drawing from the options and styles available. It is developed -emphasizing choice, style, and technology-and building upon ancient attitudes permitting flux and new expressions (Forshee, 2006, p. 208).

The aim of this study is to describe Southeast Asian youth culture expression

in a globalization environment on YouTube videos. These cultural expressions include language, dress, cuisine, festivals and leisure creativity, social customs and lifestyle.

METHODS

This study uses a qualitative descriptive approach to analyze the content of ten YouTube's video about Southeast Asian people. Accordingly, qualitative content analysis relies heavily on researcher 'readings' and interpretation of media texts (Macnamara, 2005, p. 1). Neuman (2003, p. 438) explains that qualitative data are in the form of text, written words, phrases, or symbols describing or representing people, actions, and events in social life. In this research, the text is video from the young people in Southeast Asia. Young people interact on YouTube as alternative communication channel by their videos and then they conduct as participants. The creative work reflects their thoughts and daily lives both as citizen of nation and state as people of Southeast Asia and as global citizen. Therefore, the message contents of YouTube videos are used as unit of analysis to understand the mind and behavior of their daily lives. These short films taken as the official of tourism advertisement by the local government of each country such as Indonesia, Malaysia, Singapore, Thailand, Philippines, Brunei Darussalam, Cambodia, Myanmar, Vietnam, and Laos. These ten videos are representing each of ASEAN member countries (Haacke, 2013).

YouTube videos are selected by using a few keywords in search engine such as "Daily student life in ..." by adding the name

of the capital of each ASEAN countries. Other keywords such as "youth of ...", "young people in ...", "youth culture in ...", and so on. Furthermore, the video maker should be young people. So, ten short films are obtained: 1) "Southeast Asian *Tai-Kadai*" by Fung Bros Food, 2) "Be my baby in *bajukurung*" by Joshuaongys.com, 3) "*Pampanga* summer youth fest highlights" by Pampanga Youthfest, 4) "Sunday in Brunei: Jerudong Park, Ambuyat & Family" by Dena Bahrin, 5) "Life of a Jakarta college student" by FathiaIzzati, 6) "Daily life in Cambodia-Phnom Penh City" by MegaChatha, 7) "The Vientiane youth's lifestyle" by Nguyen Minh Quoc, 8) "The only one: Nay Pyi Taw, Myanmar youth" by Cute Cute, 9) "Annoying trends in Singapore" by JianHao Tan, and 10) "Hanoi at night, Vietnam after dark" by Troy Nguyen. Sampling criteria for the video is a video created by young people such as seen on video-maker's profile. All of the video-makers or uploaders are young people. Then the video content is about their daily lives.

Codifying and categorizing are conducted based on each concept explanation of cultural expression, language, cuisine, dress, festival, leisure, social custom, and lifestyle. This categorization involves forming a typology of objects, events or concepts (Walliman, 2015, p. 78). Codifying is the process that permits data to be divided, grouped, reorganized and linked in order to consolidate meaning and develop explanation (Saldana, 2015). This coding aims to organize and group similarly coded data into categories or "families" because they share some characteristics.

These codes are labels for assigning unit of meaning to the descriptive for each concept and codes usually are attached of varying size in words, phrases, sentences or whole video's narrative, connected or unconnected to a specific meaning. *First*, cultural expression include "words", "signs" and "symbols", "musical" expressions, "dances", "plays", "ceremonies", "rituals" and other. *Second*, cuisine foods and drinks, stereotypes associating "certain groups" or "nation". *Third*, festival and leisure are "creative events" includes "interactive events", "contest events", "educational events", and other "local communities gathering". *Fourth*, lifestyle is "self-constructed", drawing from the options and styles available such as "choice", "style", and "technology". *Finally*, social customs -an element of "social culture" (Chiu & Hong, 2013, p. 16)- include "actions and behaviors"

that are expected of a particular culture, "the type of language" a person uses in "social settings" based on a "person's background", "ethnicity and cultural upbringing".

FINDING

The early part of the study results suggest mapping elements of related issues in the context of cultural questioning locality for the ten ASEAN countries. Each video contains some of these elements and other videos contain some elements that complement each other as a whole to discuss the issue of locality and globality or *glocality*. The elements of analysis are youth cultural life, cuisine, dress or fashion, lifestyle, leisure, festivals, and social customs. The following discussion is a compilation of all the above mapping.

Table 1 Summary of Videos' Cultural Expression Contents

No	Title	Cultural expression			
		Cuisine expression	Traditional dress expression	Festivals & leisure creativity	Social customs & lifestyle
1.	<i>Southeast Asian Tai-Kadai</i>	✓	✓	-	-
2.	<i>Be my baby in bajukurung</i>	-	✓	✓	✓
3.	<i>Pampanga summer youth-fest highlights</i>	-	-	✓	✓
4.	<i>Sunday in Brunei: Jerudong Park, Ambuyat & Family</i>	✓	✓	-	-
5.	<i>Life of a Jakarta college student</i>	✓	-	✓	✓
6.	<i>Daily life in Cambodia-Phnom Penh City</i>	✓	✓	-	-
7.	<i>The Vientiane youth's lifestyle</i>	-	✓	✓	-
8.	<i>The only one: Nay Pyi Taw, Myanmar youth</i>	✓	✓	-	-
9.	<i>Annoying trends in Singapore</i>	✓	✓	✓	-
10.	<i>Hanoi at night, Vietnam after dark</i>	✓	✓	✓	-

Source: Primary data

Cuisine is one element of culture which most widely expressed on YouTube. Cuisine serve as a major theme in the campaign Southeast Asia tourist destinations. However, most of the videos uploaded by foreign tourists and only a little work of local young people who promote their own local cuisine. The results of this experiment show that the cuisine is the unique 'language' because the Southeast Asian is a melting point of the major cultural background such as Malay itself, Indian, Chinese, Middle East, and the West.

Amateur videos are produced and shared by the young people of Southeast Asia to present the ethnic and cultural distinctiveness. Some ethnics such as Malay and Java and populations in the archipelago and Arabic have seen wearing Muslim dress, while other ethnic groups also represent their cultural background such as Indian, Chinese, Thai, Philippines, and others.

The enthusiasm of the community wearing traditional dress seen in video footage on a youth cultural event or festival, while in everyday life more dressed as global citizens or with Western tastes like wearing t-shirt and jeans, except among the Muslim women. Most of men wear a cap, beard, and such kind of Muslim dress. The daily life of Southeast Asian, related to anthropology, which inform disparate bodies of clothing research that otherwise have little unity.

Ethnicity is not only a cultural property, which presented throughout the world via YouTube. In the perspective

of the economy and state, it undergoes as commodifying ethnicity or serve as the basis of economic added value of the region. In this case the state to intervene to speed up the process of commodification. Even globally, there is international tourism working in Southeast Asia to increase the coverage and empowering the relationship between state and local cultures.

The content in amateur videos Southeast Asia young people show that in the end, growing global discourse is started from the local background and finally the issue of globality and locality proceeds reciprocally. Thongchai Winichakul (in Wolters, 1999, p. 207) refers it as "hybridity", which appears everywhere and perhaps in every process of the global/local encounter. The line or edge of the global force is "language", which is translates or interprets the local context, and text, and transform it to the global knowledge factor. This is the point, where non-global knowledge is indispensable. In the contrary, the dimensions of the locality grew to be accepted globally. Schiller, Çağlar & Gulbrandsen (2006, p. 612-633) also found the same thing in the development of traditional cities towards global, i.e. scale of cities reflects their positioning within neo-liberal processes of local, national, regional, and global rescaling.

Young people in Southeast Asia may unconsciously produce and display the locality contents in amateur video. Likewise, some of the young people are not aware of expression, consumption habits, and appearance of their clothing

as a global citizen -synonymous with young people elsewhere in the world. However, in the video content, globality concept always rise from the local young people and in their daily lives as a digital storytelling uploaded in YouTube. Similar findings, Hartley (2009, p. 126-143) also explains that YouTube does not exhaust the possibilities of digital storytelling either for self-expression or for television. Indeed, its usage may be rather restricted, at least for the moment. However, it does offer some pointers to the possibilities that internet-based social networks may offer as they become ubiquitous, populated, and cheap. YouTube and other social network enterprises, both commercial and community-based, give us something to think with; a way of imagining what a 'bottom-up' model of a storytelling system might look like in a technologically enabled culture.

DISCUSSION

Glocalization in Southeast Asia

Global issues in media content received by anyone around the world. Any media content can reach remote region as long as it still connected to the communication signal. Thus, global issues may experience localizing and consumed by local people. Instead, each local-content will also soon proceed towards globalization. In returns, not all global issues can penetrate into the local area and, vice versa, depending on the strength and uniqueness of the message and the role of media convergence to make it viral in a short time. Transnational strength

is disseminated through the media in accelerating globalization. Wolters (1999) notes that globalization has never been a friction-free process. Korff (2003, p. 1-18) also explains that perspective requires an analysis to see how locality constructed locally. In many recent discussions, the word 'local' stands for places, indigenous people, villages, cities, and quarters within cities, factories, regions, or nations. Locality itself is described as a social construction, which connects space, local knowledge, and social organization. Locality is connected to support among those that belong to the locality, interests, and the control of resources. Thus, competition and potential conflict are also linked to locality.

The video quality influences their content. However, the problem is understandable because the new media participants are growing fast from all localities to global. They built a new civilization with a variety of quality as works of young people in Southeast Asia as well as other participants in other regions. However, in other perspective, the new civilization is like a digital jungle 'killing our culture'. As Keen (2011) argues that much of the content, which is filling up YouTube, Twitter and blogs, is just an endless digital forest of mediocrity, which unconstrained by professional standards or editorial filters. So, glocalization rests on the premise that a universal concept must change to fit and function in a local culture. Simi & Matusitz (2015) find that the blending of local and global provides a passage to empowerment, where

modifications to a particular commodity can make it prosper in various traditions. In other words, *glocalization* regards as a meeting-room for communities to share their creative work, whom call imagined communities (Acquisti & Gross, 2006, p. 36-58) as the way of global youth communicate online (Hull, Stornaiuolo & Sahni, 2010, p. 331-367).

Characteristics of young people are different from the older generation. Digital generation engagement requires creativity, innovation, and collaboration both with people, whom known in the community, as well as others of fellow participants from different cultural backgrounds and nationalities. Skills that they have had since childhood, teens, adolescence, and young adults and beyond make them both as originator of the content, as well as producers and viewers. This unique character of the Digital Generation according to Duncum (2014, p. 32-36) and Miller (2010) is theory of Smart Swarms. It is explained by the illustration that wisdom drawn from bee, ant, and termite colonies, bird flocks, and fish. It may initially seem utterly unrelated to human behavior intersecting with new technologies, but the author argues that they offer powerful albeit partial metaphors to appreciate just how pervasive a social contagion YouTube has become. So pervasive, complex, rapidly moving, and starkly different from institutional schooling, especially the participatory. The participation in online culture offers major challenges to educators. Based on the assumption that the first step in learning how

to engage with this culture is to understand how it operates. Strangelove (2010) also explained that youth on YouTube appear to operate largely according to principles of smart swarms that have evolved over millions of years to deal with uncertainty, complexity, and change. It is important that educators find ways to interact with youth as smart swarms because many predict that YouTube is merely a harbinger of things to come.

Courage and independence of young people to express themselves in a climate of responsible freedom in Indonesia can be an example for Southeast Asia. Even beyond the Philippines, Indonesia is categorized as the third largest democracy in the world, not only in the Southeast Asia region. While some other countries are in the process to leave a phase, called limited democracy, such as Thailand, Malaysia, and Singapore. Case (1996, p. 437-464) analyzes the operation of this semi-democracies by showing how they favor some elites over others, explores the constituents them, and illustrates the greater stability. Hoon (2006, p. 149-166) states that Indonesia's current power holders have endorsed the policy of multiculturalism as a preferred approach to rebuild the nation, consistent with the national motto: 'Unity in Diversity'. Malaysia experienced the same thing but the government has firmer rules to regulate ethnic and race relations. This social reality that is reflected in the young people work on YouTube, particularly related to race, criticized Shamsul (1996, p. 476-499) states that it is a fact that social categories such

as “race” -both its biological and social-component hence the slow dismantling of the traditional thought system in due course and its displacement by the Western-based system.

Cuisine Expression

In historical era of the modern world, it is known that the cuisine of Southeast Asia, began when the economic and prosperity growth in the West in 1960s and 1970s, stimulated a dramatic growth in tourism and air travel to Southeast Asian countries, which then brought a broader interest in their food. Today multitudes seek out Southeast Asian flavors and dishes and there are many, who wish to cook at home (Brissenden, 2007). Therefore, the global citizen interest becomes spirit of the promotion of cuisine on YouTube either by local governments, national, and even among individual communities of young people.

Street foods as an example, is a style of disclosure culinary expression in various cities in Southeast Asia. The video in YouTube features the food stuffs groceries, processing, and presentation. However, based on the category of traditional cuisine, it communicates the Malay food, Chinese food, Indian food, Arabic food, and the Western food. The diversity of cuisine associated with various types of plants in tropical regions and strengthened through the socio-cultural context from time to time. Brissenden (2007) states that each country has its own culture and cuisine, though political boundaries sometimes intersect particular cultural and ecological ones. Primarily, it is individual cuisines that explores the food of Indonesia,

Malaysia and Singapore, Thailand, Laos, Cambodia and Vietnam: the techniques involved, the ingredients employed and how to acquire them, the role of the dishes in different setting and, often, the socio-cultural context surrounding their preparation and consumption.

Traditional Dress Expression

Hansen (2004, p. 369-392) argue that the most noticeable trend is a preoccupation with agency, practice, and performance that considers the dressed body as both subject in, and object of, dress practice. Urban Southeast Asian have adopted modern dress for many decades, and denim jeans and T-shirts are established casual wear among young people everywhere. Though in Indonesia, Forshee (2006, p. 127) explained, many men and women wear *sarungs* at home, as they are inexpensive and comfortable.

Digital Generation is synonymous with MTV channel viewers that featuring Western fashion styles -if East and West would be made dichotomy. Therefore, young audiences follow what they’ve seen on the screen, a movie cinema, music concerts, etc. They wear daily outfit but during the festival, they wear traditional dress. Niessen, Leshkowich & Jone (2003) argue that the globalization of Asian dress needs to be understand as part of an ongoing orientalism that construes Asia as a feminine to the West, which is more masculine. They argue that the conventional orientalist definition of fashion as an exclusively Western phenomenon proved self-fulfilling in both East and West, so that the conceptual boundary between these two continually reasserted by design. We also

need to pay close attention to Asian's decision about what clothing to make, sell, buy, and wear. The case studies in this book challenge orientalist stereotypes of Asian style as passive and traditional. It also highlights how these actions often made invisible by global cultural, rhetorical, and material practices in the fashion world.

Local cultural openness to the current and increasingly global interaction is required, when Southeast Asia becomes the most attractive tourist destination in the world. For example, Bali, is growing as a multicultural island, as well as tourist destination from Thailand, Singapore, Malaysia, Brunei, etc. On the domestic side, of each country also faces pressure over its citizens for social change which are more open and tolerant of cultural diversity. For example, a freedom of Muslims Thailand, Singapore to wear Muslim clothing that is covering or *hijab* (Law, 2003, p. 51-71). Originally, it was a problem but eventually the average government in Southeast Asia became more open to the cultural diversity of its citizens and tourists. As Bloom & Johnston (2010, p. 113-123) state that YouTube videos reflect the participatory culture to promote cross-cultural understanding.

Historically, contemporary fashion in Southeast Asia and Asia in general, can be trace to the flow of trade and the textile industry. Throughout in Asia, textiles are one of the most powerful and exciting art forms. Moreover, the spiritual and ritual importance that textiles play in ceremonies of state and religion reflect in their great mystery and splendor. Maxwell (2013) explains that

Southeast Asian textiles are outstanding works of art, formed by a rich variety of techniques. The finest examples, often consist of elaboration and complex design, display superb levels of technical skill in weaving, dyeing, embroidery, and applique. A diversity of materials includes bark, plant fibers, cotton, silk, beads, shells, gold, and silver, and among a profusion of pattern and motifs we find human figures, abstract geometric shapes, ships, arabesques, calligraphy, flowers, recognizable animals, and imaginary monsters.

Traditional dress is very strong to show their community or ethnic identities, such clothes on the young people of Indian and Malay Muslims. Meanwhile, the other communities are not obvious because they tend to wear 'global' clothes like t-shirts and blue jeans. However, the older generation in fact different, in all ASEAN countries tend to prefer wearing traditional dress, especially sarongs, dresses, *batik* clothes, scarves, and other accessories, and so on. Because the most common function for textiles is their use as clothing. However, this is apart from their importance as every day and ceremonial dress or variety of local cultural festivals. Maxwell (2013) also states that textiles in Southeast Asia have numerous other functions including their use as religious hangings, royal insignia, theatrical backdrops, sacred talismans, or secular currency. They are intimately connected to systems of region, political organization, marriage, social status and exchange. These functions, in turn, affect the size, shape, structure, and decoration of the cloths.

Festivals and Leisure Creativity

Wood (1984, p. 353-374) identifies the roles that culture and ethnicity play in Southeast Asian tourism. The state play as planner of tourist development, as marketer of cultural meanings, as arbiter of cultural practices displayed to tourists, and as an arena for new forms of politics. Also, he argues that the state's role is contradictory and complex, as tourism leads to increased state intervention in local cultures and, at the same time, provides cultural groups with new means of pressing claims against the state.

Rebuilding a tourist destination, the identification and development of local culture as a whole package, which was presented by festival destinations and leisure creativity, is a form of state intervention in directing the local culture as well as being targeted by economic purpose and even political. Festival and leisure creativity is conducted in all countries of Southeast Asia regularly to invite international tourists. In Singapore for example, state and ethnic tourism become a strategically national spirit. The cultural identity that tourism projects to the international market simultaneously relates to the process of nation building. According to Leong (1997, pp. 71-98), elements of tourism are in line with the ingredients of nationalism such the identification with a place, a sense of historical past, the revival of cultural heritage, and the national integration of social groups. While tourism advances an awareness of the national entity, it also confers privileges on some local or specific groups. In Aitchison & Pritchard's (2007,

p. 94) analysis, they draw upon concepts of both cultural identity and regeneration. Harley & Fitzpatrick (2009, p. 5-20) also highlight the importance of social engagement, inter-generational contact, and co-creativity.

The cities of medium and small scale are built with the perspective to bring benefits especially in terms of economic upon arrival of international tourists. Festival and the development of city cultural identity aims to develop a cultural city concept but still with a global citizen locality content. Yeoh (2005, p. 945-958) state that, no longer just epicenters of capital transactions, cities are 'going global' based on integrating economic and cultural activity as an urban regeneration strategy. Place-wars among cities to attract investors have intensified around the production and consumption of culture and the arts, often taking the form of the construction of mega-projects and hallmark events, the development of a cultural industries sector and an upsurge of urban image-making and branding activities. As with other post-colonial cities that have embraced an entrepreneurial regime, spatial imagineering in Southeast Asian cities draws on 'local' identity to gain a competitive edge in the global marketplace.

Social Customs and Lifestyle

Southeast Asia is a region of confluence of several cultures of the world, namely Eastern cultures of India, China, Japan, and other East Asia as mainland. While the indigenous cultures in the various islands, as a historical come from mainland, spread and eventually have their own ethnic identity. In fact, to this day,

Southeast Asia has diverse cultures and heritages arising from different languages, religions, traditions, etc. Even within a country, sub-cultures complicate the origins of a cultural heritage, as does the mixture of cultures derived through inter-marriages and other influences, such as from migrants. On the other hand, certain ethnic groups such as Chinese, Indians, and Malays found in the various in Southeast Asian. Kheng-Lian (2014, p. 237-247) also discusses this matter and argues that the discourse of national rights and obligations with regard to cultural heritage can raise difficult questions in this context. Another examples, Singapore's multiculturalism as Barr (1999, p. 145-166) states, encourages a high consciousness of one's race even as it insists on tolerance.

Changes customs, traditions, and customs of the indigenous people in Southeast Asia of course influenced by modernization. This area began to change with the aftermath the colonization in the Southeast Asia region. When the colonization has ended in the early 1950s, Southeast Asian nations began to modernize itself with all the legacy of physical and nonphysical inherited colonials such British, Dutch, French, and United States. Therefore, modernization has major influences on two sources of identity in Southeast Asia, both of citizenship and ethnicity. According to Chong (2005), although ethnic groupings precede citizenship as a source of identity, the birth of the nation-state has linked both of them together with different

consequences. Lam (2013, p. 116-130) also argues that online identities mean talk about the national and cultural expression. Somerville (2008, p. 23-33) stated that fundamentally, the transnational social world inherently implicated in processes of self-identification among these youth.

Indonesian culture -as well as all the countries of Southeast Asia- is explained by the agrarian culture in rural areas and industrial culture in suburban circles and services dominant culture in an urban area. At the beginning era, Indonesian cultures include those of forest-dwelling hunters and foragers, rice growers, fisher folk, village artisans, urban office and factory workers, intellectuals, artists, wealthy industrialists, street vendors, and homeless people. They involve villagers in customary societies, sophisticated and cosmopolitan urbanites, as well as people who struggle to survive on city streets: beggars, peddlers, prostitutes, and pedicab drivers (Forshee, 2006). On the other hand, industrialization influences the value change of society. Indonesian people also involved in social learning of new-culture in term of management of human capital and natural resources. Furthermore, people of Indonesia adopted the cosmopolitan culture with extraordinary acceleration due to the role of the state-controlled media and freely done privately since the reform era.

Spirit to show the uniqueness of the local culture for young people from the perspective of cultural studies ought to be considered after analyzing the YouTube video. Net Gen has motive to initiate,

produce and upload videos up on YouTube for some reason which are power, identity, agency, and culture. These reasons are very useful avenues for negotiating the interests and perspectives of different stakeholders in civic initiatives. That is the reason Mainsah & Morrison (2012, p. 1-9) suggest the need for design to connect to existing participatory and cultures of youth. Burgess, Foth & Klaebe (2006) call this as lifestyle products and then to maximize its ability to capitalize on these digital 'lifestyle' products, it needs to understand the link that leads to the creative application of these tools for the purpose of participation, education, and innovation.

Indigenous culture is now growing as a culture that introduced and popularized to the world. Therefore, expression of individual and peer group, daily living habits and social customs were filling YouTube and become a part of self-representation. O'Neill (2014, p. 34-45) describes the same thing by stating that the birth of a new area of study is always an exciting time -the development of fresh, original ideas along with rapid growth and expansion across several disciplines makes new connections, opens up new intellectual possibilities, synergy, and enthusiasm, taking the first steps into hitherto uncharted territory. Young people appear as the creator of a new culture of life that combines offline and online social customs. The era of digital technologies do not have to melt the dichotomy between locality and globality for the role of digital technologies. Kral (2013, p. 53-76) also

conducted ethnographic research about indigenous youth, who are participating in non-formal community-based media and music production and digital community archiving projects in remote regions. The study concludes that they are firmly part of global youth culture, taking on the role of mediating between old cultural knowledge and new digital technologies.

The use of the Indonesian language is one of the prominent features of the creativity of young people in Indonesia, but in this video Izzati (*prosumer*) using English for his work. This reflects the fact that the language is not a problem for any *prosumer* to his/her creative work. Locally, Indonesian also experience innovation called slang, and it is reflected in the social media and the coverage of amateur journalism. Smith-Hefner (2007, p. 184-203) examines the linguistic form and social functions of *bahasa gaul*, the informal Indonesian "language of sociability", as it is used among Indonesian university students and in various publications aimed at middle-class Indonesian youth. *Bahasa gaul* registers youth modernity in both its positive and more contested aspects. It expresses not only young people's aspirations for social and economic mobility, but also an increasingly cosmopolitan, national youth culture.

CONCLUSION

The dichotomy of locality versus globality is integrated in "glocality" in the youth cultural expression, creativity, and innovation on YouTube. The concept

of “glocal” is a blend of global and local contain of meaning, while the local context associated with cultural identities of home country’s video makers. This study shows that the concept of locality in a short film about the cultural creativity of Southeast Asia intended to interact globally through YouTube.

The socio-cultural dimension of youth expression analyzed on some elements such cuisine, traditional dress, festivals and leisure, creativity, and social customs and lifestyle. Expression of language, dress, cuisine, festivals and leisure, and social customs and lifestyle among young people show the locality of globalization. Creative expression of Southeast Asia youth culture is reflected on YouTube as Southeast Asia’s identities beyond interethnic sharing culture. Lifestyle expression is reflected on YouTube as part of the global communities, while the social customs are interpreted as allied in such dominant ethnics in mainland and island of Southeast Asia. The cultural expression also explains the process of “Indianization” in Southeast Asia, also Arabic, Chinese, Malay, Java, and the West. These all of interethnic ties belong to one another as regionally Southeast Asian culture.

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The Chinese Media Framing of the 2015's Tianjin Explosion

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Abstract: *This study compares the framing's patterns of the Chinese traditional media and social media in reporting the incident of Tianjin explosion in 2015. Applying frame-building and frame-setting theory, this study explores the interplay between online opinions available on Weibo and the Chinese newspapers in different phases of the crisis event. Moreover, it examines the differences in framing the incident between the state-owned party media and the commercial media. The results reveal that various frames applied by different Chinese media in reporting the incident. A complex interplay between Weibo, the Communist-owned and the commercial happened, including frame-building, frame-setting, and frame-interacting effects.*

Keywords: *comparative media, frame building, frame setting, media framing, Tianjin incident*

Abstrak: *Penelitian ini membandingkan framing dari media konvensional sosial di Cina dalam memberitakan insiden ledakan di Tianjin pada tahun 2015. Menggunakan teori frame-building dan frame-setting, penelitian ini mengeksplorasi hubungan antara opini online dalam Weibo dengan surat kabar Cina, baik yang dimiliki oleh pemerintah maupun swasta dalam fase krisis yang berbeda-beda. Hasil penelitian menunjukkan bahwa berbagai frame digunakan oleh media Cina dalam pemberitaan yang memengaruhi satu sama lain, termasuk frame-building, frame-setting, dan frame-interacting effects.*

Kata Kunci: *frame building, frame setting, insiden Tianjin, media framing, media komparatif*

With the proliferation of various social media platforms, the journalism has been redefined (Lin, 2013) and online discourses have become an important research topic (Luo, 2014). Media scholars have raised the questions, whether or not the agenda-setting and framing theories could be applied continuously in the era of new media (Matei, 2010). As such, they question on how online public opinions would impact on traditional media coverage such as newspapers (Gamson & Modigliani, 1989). Previous studies have examined the interplay

between the traditional media and the new media platforms such as Twitter (Conway, Kenski & Wang, 2015), Facebook (Etter & Vestergaard, 2015), online forum (Zhou & Moy, 2007) and political blog (Meraz, 2011). Those researches demonstrate that the social media have influenced the public opinions, but how they function remains unclear, since the convergence between the new and the traditional media are blurred (Lin, 2013).

The social media like Twitter and Facebook are officially blocked in China.

There is one local social media application, Weibo that is considered as Chinese version of Twitter, becomes the alternate and one of the most important platforms for online public opinions. As we acknowledged that, the media system in China is less open than in western countries under the strong censorship of the Chinese government. For so long, the Chinese media have been considered as “mouthpiece” of the Communist party (Zhao, 1998). However, some researchers have argued that Chinese media no longer merely serves the Party, nor are the Chinese audience (Yu, 2011; Wang, 2013). Under this context, it is necessary to compare and examine the relationship between the online public opinions on Weibo and the news coverage on mainstream Chinese media in order to see whether there are any differences in interpreting the same issue. It is also important to look at how those media influence each other.

To answer the above questions, this paper conducted a case study of China’s biggest national crisis event in 2015, which is China Tianjin Explosions tragedy. It occurred on 12 August 2015 and killed 173 people, including 95 firefighters (Tianjin explosion, 2015; Sun, 2016). Weibo played an important role throughout this national incident. The posts related to Tianjin Explosions on Weibo added to 66,941,357 in the first month. Some of the victims released original videos, photos of the explosions and shared their own experiences through Weibo, which aroused heated discussion and reflection among netizens (Accountability in China, 2015).

Researchers found that when reporting a crisis event, media not only transmit crisis message but also interpret the story (Driedger, 2008), and social media have different focus in presenting the crisis compared with traditional media (Driedger, 2008; Littlefield & Quenette, 2007; Zhou & Moy, 2007). Therefore, the paper took this important crisis event for case study, and applied frame analysis to discover whether there is any difference between Weibo and traditional mainstream newspapers in framing this incident. The study analyzed the pattern of frames presented in different phases, which started from the beginning, middle and end of the crisis. It aims to demonstrate how the media frames salience evolves on both Weibo and the traditional newspapers, and to what extent online opinion on Weibo influences the newspaper coverage or vice versa.

Both of the agenda-setting and framing theories examine the influence of media toward the public. The former focuses more on issue salience, and the later focuses on frame salience in interpreting the issue (Zhou & Moy, 2007, p.81). The two approaches have certain common grounds where McCombs, Shaw & Weaver (1997) considered framing as second-level agenda setting.

Entman (1993, h.51) describes framing as selecting and emphasizing certain aspects of experience or ideas over others. With this, journalists can set the priorities for information related to relevance, newsworthiness and create agendas (Norris, 1995). Frames are like a “story angle”

which is significant and helps audience to interpret, evaluate and judge the event, helps audience to think and discuss the events (Price & Tewksbury, 1997). Similar to agenda-setting effect, frame-setting researchers have also found evidence for news frames' affect on people's perception and understood an issue (Pan & Kosicki, 1993; Jasperson, Shah, Watts, Faber & Fan, 1998). Exposure to "differently valence news frames" could lead to opinion change, and repetition of a news frame especially a negative frame strengthens the framing effect and makes it durable (Lecheler, Keer, Andreas, Schuck & Hänggli, 2015).

According to de Vreese (2005, h. 51-52), frame building is about the factors that influence the structural qualities of news frames. Both internal (i.e. journalistic routines, professionalism, etc.) and external factors (i.e. political values, cultural backgrounds, etc.) influenced frame-building process (Zhou & Moy, 2007; Hong & Choi, 2010). Meanwhile, online public opinion is one of the important external factors influencing journalists' framing process of news coverage, especially in today's new media era. When examining the relationship between online opinion and media coverage, Gamson and Modigliani (1989) described the online discussion as a "value-added process". Frame building is conceptualized as the impact of online public opinion on traditional media coverage, since social media could serve as sources for media practitioners and play an important role in news production. In turn, frame-setting describes the power of media

frames used by journalists in influencing netizens' interpretation of a certain issue (Zhou & Moy, 2007, p.82). Zhou and Moy (2007, p.93-94) also argued that in China, the external pressure from the party and the government might exert a greater impact on news framing. Thus, this study applied frame analysis to explore how the online opinion on Weibo and media coverage in mainstream newspapers interact, framed and interpreted during Tianjin explosions crisis in 2015.

When it comes to frame analysis, there were several different approaches utilized by scholars to examine framing effect even though some conceptualization and operationalization process remained scattered in current literature. Main types of frame analysis include the examination of issue-specific frames, generalizable frames and combination of these two. There are several ways to categorize the generalizable frames. Firstly, Semetko and Valkenburg (2000) who used five frames to analyze European politics (attribution of responsibility, human-interest frame, conflict frame, morality frame, and economic frames). Secondly, this approach also appeared in Wasike's (2013) study of news in Twitter. Another categorization is gain-based versus loss-based frames as well as self-referential versus other-referential frames (Boydston & Glazier, 2013). Last, there is Entman's (1993) classic clarification of frames in four dimensions, which are about defining problems, diagnosing causes, making moral judgments and suggesting remedies.

Among those different frame-analysis devices, this study chose Entman's frame clarification that is suitable for exploring crisis frames. Some researchers also applied Entman's method and conceptualized crisis frames as the frequency and association of an actor with an attribution and analyzed the problem, the responsibility of the cause, and the solutions of the crisis (Etter & Vestergaard, 2015). Besides, inspired by Boydston & Glazier's (2013), two-tiered method for identifying media framing, this study combined analysis of generic frames and issue-specific frames, and clusters of issue-specific frames were categorized into four generalizable frames (Entman, 1993).

Meanwhile, with the rise of the Internet, the question has been raised up, whether agenda-setting or framing theories still apply to social media (Matei, 2010). Social media are being used to circulate information without having to rely on traditional media to act as gatekeeper, fact-checker, or moderator (Metzgar & Marrugi, 2009). But when examining the influence of social media toward traditional media, this power is so complex that one cannot say that the new media completely reverses traditional media's agenda setting ability. No one also can describe who the real agenda setter is, since diverging results occurred according the different choices of social media tools (Etter & Vestergaard, 2015).

Conway et al. (2015) assessed the relationship between newspaper articles and Twitter feeds of political candidates and parties during 2012 US presidential

primary. They found that the influence between the two was symbiotic and reciprocal, and the Twitter feeds succeeded in predicting newspaper agendas in some specific topics. Furthermore, Jungherr (2014) has compared Twitter and traditional media in political communication and raised the notion of different logic of political coverage in this hybrid media system. Particular characteristic of a certain media platform allows for specific modes of information production and consumption. It is necessary for exploring the peculiarity of a certain media platform under different political and social contexts in various countries.

Studies (Sayre, Bode, Shah, Wilcox & Shah, 2010) have done examination about the impact of another prominent new media platform, YouTube, toward online and conventional news coverage and found out that correlation between YouTube and media news changed dramatically along with the timeline. Korean researchers examined the influence of internet bulletin boards on newspapers in covering 2000 general election of South Korea (Lee, Lancendorfer & Lee, 2005). Results demonstrated that newspapers remain the main influencer of online bulletin regarding issue agendas, whereas the impact of internet bulletin toward newspaper coverage was found when examining attribute agendas. Therefore, the interaction between social media and traditional media could differ when social media platforms and examined subjects are different. For example, Meraz (2011) affirms that

agenda-setting ability of political blogs and its resistance of traditional media's agenda-setting effect. Whereas another study (Etter & Vestergaard, 2015) investigating how Facebook and news media frame a corporate crisis indicates that news media remains a stronger frame-setter while little evidence was found for Facebook's impact on traditional media. Different from findings in political field, this result indicates that though great in number, Facebook turns out to be less influential in framing corporation crisis.

We applied frame building and frame setting perspectives to explore the interplay between social media and traditional news media. Frame-building was relatively less investigated because of the difficulty to test (Hong & Choi, 2010), but the flourish of online communities provides another public opinion field to assess the frame-building process. A bidirectional relationship was found between news media and social media, and frame setting effect was supported with news media mainly setting crisis frames of online public (Etter & Vestergaard, 2015). Facebook netizens apply different crisis frames compared with conventional media but its frame-building power remains limited. It is rather the news media that exert the frame-setting effect on social media (Etter & Vestergaard, 2015). In political field, politicians frame political issues in social media through the frequency of talking about certain issues and the use of hashtags within them (Hemphill, Culotta & Heston, 2013). An evidence was been found for frame-setting effect that repetitive news frames have

a strong and persistent impact on people's political opinions (Lecheler et al., 2015).

Regarding to the Chinese online discourse, Weibo, the most influential microblog in China, is also examined by scholars (Wu, Atkin, Mou, Lin & Lau, 2013). They investigated the agenda-setting process between Weibo and newspapers in reporting Wenzhou train crash accident in 2011. Study found that Weibo became the main information sources of newspapers shortly after the national accident, and the agenda-setting power of Weibo was found with one-day time lag. Researcher Ying Jiang examined how the trending topics on Weibo affected the stated-controlled media in China and found out that Weibo served as an important platform for citizen participation and expression of public opinion. However, the state still set the boundary for what is allowed for criticism (Ying, 2014). Another study tested the correlation between online public opinion (online forum) and media coverage in different phases through both generic and issue-specific frame analysis of the controversial BMW case 2003 in China (Zhou & Moy, 2007, p.92-94). Findings suggested online opinion could exert frame-building function for new issues when there is inadequate information at the beginning of the incident and found significant frame-interacting effect. However, online opinion frames remained independent from media frames, which indicated little frame-setting effect of traditional media. Researchers partially attributed this result to netizens' low level of trust in Chinese media entities.

In the context of reporting of the crisis events, not only do the media transmit crisis messages, they can also actively interpret the story by selecting elements of a story that they reported and deciding how a story can be packaged (Driedger, 2008). For instance, traditional media tend to highlight macroeconomic impact, victims, governments' handling and lessons learned, as all these can capture attention and add news values in crisis reporting (Driedger, 2008; Littlefield & Quenette, 2007). This study chose a Chinese crisis event to explore the differences that have appeared in reporting the event between a social media, Weibo, and the Chinese mainstream newspapers.

Besides, it is important to point out that Chinese media landscape is different from the western countries and media have been considered as the "mouthpiece" of the government and the Party (Zhao, 1998). After the 1970s reforms and transformations, Chinese media is characterized by the fusion of Party control and market power (Zhao, 2004). For example, *People's daily* is considered as the official newspaper of the Chinese Communist Party that provides information on policies and government standpoints. There are also other regional or trans-regional commercial newspapers (i.e. *Beijing News*) aiming at profit-making while responding to public opinion. These media were considered as engaging in a "tug of war" between Party and capitalism (Zhao, 1998, p.17-18). Taking this dual system of Chinese media into consideration, this paper also explores whether there

is any difference between Communist party media and commercial media when reporting a crisis event.

Taking into account the specialty of Chinese media system and aiming at exploring how Chinese-characterized social media, Weibo differs from and influences Chinese mainstream media, this study puts forward three research questions (RQ):

1. Did Chinese commercial media (*Beijing News*) use more attributions of responsibility frame than the Chinese party owned media (*People's daily*)?
2. Were there any differences on their framing pattern between the mainstream newspapers and a social media, Weibo, in covering the issue within the different phases of the accident?
3. To what extent does a social media, Weibo, has influenced the mainstream newspapers, or vice versa, in the frame building and frame setting processes?

METHODS

This research is a cross-sectional case study between a social media (i.e. Weibo) and the traditional media in framing the 2015's China Tianjin Explosion. Through a combination of generic and issue-specific frame analysis, the clusters of issue-specific frames were categorized into four generalizable frames according to Entman's (1993) clarification: defining problems, diagnosing causes, making moral judgments, and suggesting remedies.

The Tianjin explosion occurred on 12 August 2015. To analyze the frame patterns

along with the time line, the researcher collected data for a period of 15 days, from 12 until 26 August 2015 then divided it into five phases with a time span of 3 days. In both framing and agenda-setting research, determining the time span for examining the potential correlation or interaction effects has been part of methodological controversy. The time span for examining framing or agenda-setting effects of new media varies from one to seven days (Roberts, Wanta & Dzwo, 2002), which is much shorter than the time

lag of traditional inter-media effect. After searching for number of newspaper articles and Weibo posts in this half of a month, we found on both platforms the number of articles or online posts peaked in the first three days, and then started decreasing with a little fluctuation. Figure 1 and 2 illustrate the number of articles and Weibo posts from the 1st until 15th day, and Figure 3 shows the trend of online posts from the 4th to 15th day when the number slumped significantly compared with the first three days.

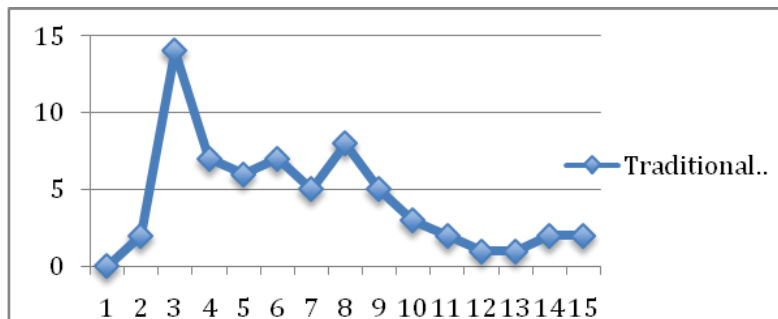


Figure 1 Number of News Article in Traditional Media from 1st until 15th day

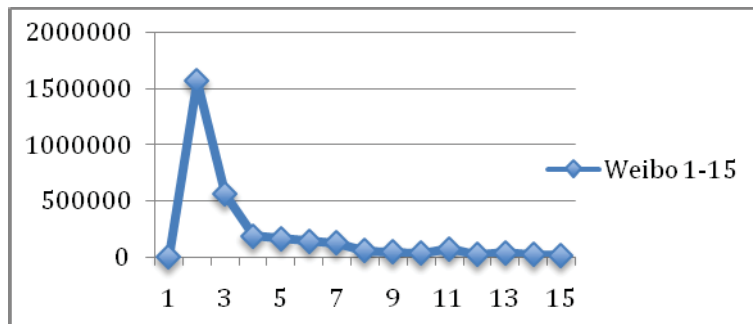


Figure 2 Number of Weibo Post from 1st until 15th day

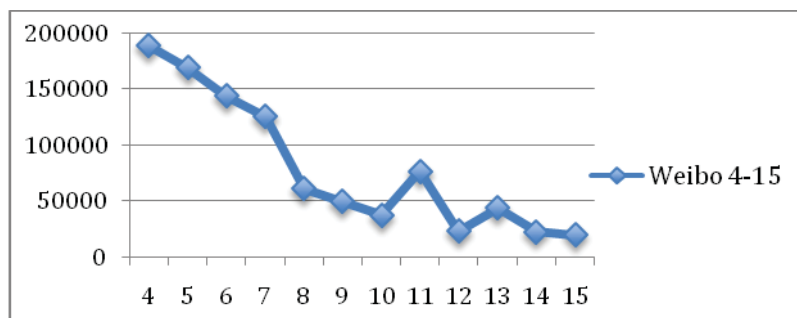


Figure 3 Number of News Article in Traditional Media from 4th until 15th day

There is a relatively obvious change of number on both platforms every three days. Taking all above into consideration, we divided our research period into 5 phases with a 3-day time span as shown in the chart below to investigate possible interaction between various phases.

Table 1 Five Phases During the Period of the Tianjin Explosion Event

Phase	Date (Traditional Media & Weibo)
Phase 1	Aug. 12-14,2015
Phase 2	Aug. 15-17,2015
Phase 3	Aug. 18-20,2015
Phase 4	Aug. 21-23,2015
Phase 5	Aug. 24-26,2015

Source: Primary data

To investigate the interplay between traditional media and Weibo, as well as the difference between Communist party media and commercial media, news articles in *People's daily* and the *Beijing News (Xinjing Bao)* were collected and coded. *People's daily* is the biggest newspaper group in China and an official newspaper of the Chinese Communist Party, while *The Beijing News* is one of the best-selling and trans-regional newspapers that paid

great attention to Tianjin blast with a high number of related articles being published. After searching with key word “Tianjin Explosions in Chinese” in Huike database, we collected 21 news articles in *People's daily* and 44 in *The Beijing News* in total.

As for Weibo posts, we used a web crawler software (Gooseeker) to collect all the Weibo posts containing key word Tianjin Explosions. After manually filtering all the official government, media and corporation accounts, we selected the most reposted 30 Weibo posts each day, which represented the most popular online opinion, and obtained 450 posts (15 days) in total for content analysis.

The unit of analysis of this study is newspaper articles and Weibo posts. When the post turned out to be a link of an article, the article was coded as unit of analysis. As mentioned previously, this study applied the two-tiered method for framing analysis through categorizing several issue-specific frames into four generic frames. The chart below shows our definition of four generic frames and issue-specific frames categorized into each.

Table 2 Coding Reference for Identifying Generic or Issue-Specific Frames

Generic fame	Issue-specific frames
Defining problems (Define the nature of the problem or clarify key facts related to the problem)	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Illustrate facts related to the Tianjin Explosions 2. Echo and trust reports by the authorities. 3. Question the aforementioned facts and official statement
Diagnosing causes (Identify underlying forces of the problem)	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Poor governmental regulation or government corruption. 2. Illegal operation of the corporation 3. Connection between corporation and authorities
Making moral judgments (Make moral judgments or portray from human interest perspective)	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Express feelings of outrage, sympathy or compassion. 2. Indicate how individuals or groups are affected.
Suggesting remedies (Propose solutions or discuss possible results)	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Call for a reinvestigation. 2. Emphasize the role of the media and the public opinion. 3. Advocate greater transparency and sense of responsibility in corporation and governmental rule. 4. Promote the development of social service systems, including compensation, insurance. Etc.

Source: Primary data

Besides identifying frames, length of the news articles, story types (these two only for newspaper articles), occurrence of responsibility frame, target of responsibility, and tone of articles or posts were coded as well. The occurrence of responsibility frame means the article or the post suggest that to some extent government or other groups or entities are responsible for the accident, and if the answer is yes, the coder was asked to further identify what was the main target of responsibility: government, corporations, specific groups or individuals, media and public opinion, or others.

The researchers used a binary coding strategy that is to use yes-no categories to measure the occurrence of each generic or issue-specific frame. The researchers coded the newspaper articles and Weibo posts according to the detailed codebook, and discussed with each other in case of uncertainty and disagreement. The inter-coder reliability test was conducted on a random 10% of the sample of both media articles and Weibo posts and the averaged reliability was 85%.

All data were analyzed through SPSS software. To answer RQ1, data of traditional media were displayed in Crosstabs with Pearson's Chi-Square test. To answer RQ2, all data were displayed in Crosstabs with Pearson's Chi-Square test. While, to answer RQ3, the researcher separated and reorganized all data by phase and media genre (e.g. reorganizing data of Phase 1 Weibo and Phase 2 Press to test framing building effect) and test their Cross-Correlation with Spearman's rank correlation coefficient.

FINDING

After comparing the frequency of responsibility frame, the frequency of this frame in *Beijing News* was 21.54% higher than in *People's daily* (9.52%), though chi-square test showed no significant power of this variance ($p > 0.05$). We further compared the target of responsibility in order to find which actors being blamed in this tragedy. *Beijing News* directed this responsibility to more types of actors including government (11.36%), corporations where the explosions occurred (9.09%), and specific groups or individuals (4.55%). On the other side, the party media *People's daily* only took government (9.52%) as their target though the percentage is lower than in *Beijing News*. These findings show that the commercial media was more critical than the party media when reporting this crisis event and took a stronger stance in directing the criticism.

To understand the difference of reporting style of these two newspapers, the researchers also compared the tone of news articles, story type, as well as story length and chi-square test proved significant difference in two newspapers regarding all these three important elements in news reporting. Firstly, these two newspapers used significantly different tone frames (i.e. positive, neutral, negative) ($P < 0.01$) in covering Tianjin explosions. The rank of tone frequency in *People's daily*: Neutral > Positive > Negative versus *Beijing News*: Neutral > Negative > Positive. Although they both applied neutral tone most frequently, *People's daily* tended to

report this event in a more positive way, while *Beijing News* tended to be more negative.

Secondly, they also showed extremely significant difference ($P < 0.01$) in regard to the distribution of three news types (including news report, feature, editorial). Different story types were better distributed in *Beijing News*, while in *People's daily* the type of news report (57.14%) dominated the others. Meanwhile, *Beijing News* was more flexible in applying various story types besides the typical ones, for example, popular science articles.

Thirdly, the t-test showed significant difference of average length of the reports in two newspapers: the coverage in *Beijing News* was significantly longer than in *People's daily* ($P < 0.05$), which implied that greater importance was attached to this crisis event in commercial media.

As Table 4 showed the frequency of four generic frames on Weibo and

mainstream newspapers along with the 5 phases of the incident, the researchers detected and compared the tendency of frame patterns on two platforms.

The moral judgment frame dominated in the online discourse throughout the whole period though it decreased slightly as the event proceeded. Especially in the first three phases, the percentage of moral judgments frame was more than 35% during the first 3 days (phase 1) of the incident, later, this number even reached up to 40%. The netizens expressed feelings of outrage toward illegal operation of the company, compassion for victims and sacrificed firefighters.

In the second phase, the percentage of defining problems frame increased from 24.1% (phase 1) to 35.5% (phase 2). The netizens started to focus on the fact-related information and asked about what really happened. From phase 3 and phase 4, the use of both defining problems and moral

Table 3 Comparison of Frames between People's daily and Beijing News

		<i>People's daily</i>	<i>Beijing News</i>	Sig.
Responsibility Frames	No	90.48%	78.46%	0.104 > 0.05
	Yes	9.52%	21.54%	
Tone	Positive	33.33%	15.38%	0.009 < 0.01
	Neutral	57.14%	61.54%	
	Negative	9.52%	23.08%	
Target	No target	90.48%	75.00%	0.392 > 0.05
	Government	9.52%	11.36%	
	Corporations	0.00%	9.09%	
	Specific groups or individuals	0.00%	4.55%	
Type	News report	57.14%	25.00%	0.002 < 0.01
	Feature	14.29%	27.27%	
	Editorial	28.57%	13.64%	
	Others	0.00%	34.09%	
Length	Words average	940.62	1493.23	0.038 < 0.05

Source: Primary data

judgments frame decreased, while the diagnosing causes and suggesting remedies frame gradually mounted up. People switched their focus onto the “why” and “how” question, what was the reason of this tragedy, and how to solve this problem.

During the last phase, the number of diagnosing causes frame slumped, and problem and moral frame declined as well. Instead, we found a sharp increase of suggesting remedy frame up to 45.8% (phase 5), which then tripled the number in phase 2 (15%). Moreover, suggesting remedies was the only frame that kept increasing from the beginning (phase 2) of the event. The netizens were keen to provide their suggestions and expected them to reach the policy level, and they also called for the role of media and public opinion to push forward the investigation and reform.

The frame pattern presented by the mainstream newspapers was not the same as on social media. During the first phase, defining problems frame was the most prominent frame (45.5%) followed by moral judgment frame (27.3%). Throughout the first four phases, moral judgment frame remained in a relatively high level in traditional media and peaked in phase 3 (42.1%). Traditional media tended to apply issue-specific frames, such as “how individuals are affected” and “generate people’s feeling of compassion”. For example, one newspaper article went viral on social media, which highly complimented the courageous firefighters and deeply mourned for those who sacrificed

their lives. Traditional media managed to resonate with people’s sympathy through these individual human stories. The results did not show any obvious rise of diagnosing causes and suggesting remedies frame as the incident went on.

It was the defining problems frame that increased dramatically up to 66.70% (phase 5) during the last phase, dominating other three frames. The traditional media used more diagnosing causes frame than Weibo in the middle of the incident. It turned out that regarding this case, instead of providing solutions as social media, traditional media focused more on the factual information and the reason of the tragedy, especially during the latter period of the incident. This could be partially due to complexity of this crisis event itself, since the explosions were triggered by complicated chemical products and it took almost a year for the government to issue the final investigation report.

So, as the online discussion over the incident evolved to the latter stage, netizens were inclined to suggest solutions such as how to punish the company’s illegal operation, how to compensate the victim families, etc. Meanwhile, the traditional media still tended to provide factual information and insisted in asking the “why” question. Therefore, there was a clear difference between social media and traditional media regarding the frame pattern and salience, though chi-square test did not show significant power for this variance.

Table 4 Comparison of Frames used by Traditional Media and Social Media

		Generic Frames				Sig. (Pearson Chi's square)
		Defining Problems ¹	Diagnosing Causes ²	Making Moral Judgments ³	Suggesting Remedies ⁴	
Phase 1	Press	45.50%	13.60%	27.30%	13.60%	0.12>0.05
	Weibo	24.10%	12.10%	40.50%	23.30%	
Phase 2	Press	26.10%	17.40%	30.40%	26.10%	0.56>0.05
	Weibo	35.00%	15.00%	35.00%	15.00%	
Phase 3	Press	15.80%	26.30%	42.10%	15.80%	0.64>0.05
	Weibo	28.00%	17.00%	39.00%	16.00%	
Phase 4	Press	14.30%	28.60%	28.60%	28.60%	0.96>0.05
	Weibo	22.00%	22.80%	28.50%	26.80%	
Phase 5	Press	66.70%	0.00%	16.70%	16.70%	0.08>0.05
	Weibo	21.20%	5.10%	28.00%	45.80%	

Source: Primary data

This study tested whether the opinion frames at certain point in time are correlated with media frames at the same (Table 5) or another point in time (Table 6). Moreover, the study thoroughly examined the framing mechanism including effective time lag and found strong framing effect with both one-phase (3 days) lag and two-phase (6 days) lag. There were in total 8 sets of significant framing relationships (Figure 1).

To test the frame building effect, we correlated Phase 1 Weibo with Phase 2 and Phase 3 Press; Phase 2 Weibo with Phase 3 and Phase 4 Press; Phase 3 Weibo with Phase 4 and Phase 5 Press; and Phase 4 Weibo with Phase 5 Press. Statistical analysis demonstrated a significant negative correlation between Phase 2 Weibo and Phase 3 Press in terms of Defining Problems frame ($r=-0.227$, $p<0.05$). Phase 3 Weibo had a significantly positive framing-building effect on Phase 5 Press in terms of Defining Problems frame ($r=0.231$, $p<0.05$). Likewise, Phase 4 Weibo had a significantly positive influence on building defining problems frame of Phase 5 Press ($r=0.238$,

$p<0.05$). As showed in Table 6, Spearman correlations were not significant between Phase 1 Weibo and Phase 2 Press ($p>0.05$), Phase 3 Weibo and Phase 4 Press ($p>0.05$), Phase 1 Weibo and Phase 3 Press ($p>0.05$), Phase 2 Weibo and Phase 4 Press ($p>0.05$), based on any generic frames. However, the researchers found some tendencies through the data:

- 1) Weibo's strong frame-building effect on press was demonstrated only on defining problems frame and its framing effect was negative on press in the middle period (Phase 2, 3, 4) while positive in the last period (Phase 5).
- 2) Weibo's making moral judgments frames in all phases are negatively correlated with press' in its corresponding phases, though the correlations were weak ($P>0.05$).
- 3) As to diagnosing causes frame, the framing effect of Weibo was positive on press in the middle phases (Phase 2, 3, 4) and then the effect became negative in the last period (Phase 5).

To examine frame-setting effect, we correlated Phase 1 Press with Phase 2 and Phase 3 Weibo, Phase 2 Press with Phase 3 and Phase 4 Weibo, Phase 3 Press with Phase 4 and Phase 5 Weibo, and Phase 4 Press with Phase 5 Weibo. Spearman correlation (Table 6) showed extremely significantly negative framing effect of Phase 1 Press upon Phase 3 Weibo regarding defining problems frame ($r=-0.259$, $p<0.01$). Phase 3 Press had an extremely significant negative frame-setting effect on Phase 5 Weibo, with regard to diagnosing causes frame ($r=-0.260$, $p<0.01$), while the framing effect became significantly positive between them when it came to suggesting remedies frame ($r=0.323$, $p<0.01$). Another significantly negative correlation was also found between the diagnosing causes frame of Phase 4 Press and Phase 5 Weibo ($r=-0.234$, $p<0.05$). There was no significant frame-setting effect ($P>0.05$) found in terms of making moral judgments. However, there was a tendency that press generally positively influenced the making moral judgments frame of Weibo across the time spans.

As to the frame-interacting effect, significant correlations between Weibo and press were found only during Phase 1 and Phase 5 with regard to defining problems frame. However, during Phase 1, the interaction was extremely significantly negative ($r=-0.279$, $p<0.01$), while significantly negative ($r=-0.253$, $p<0.05$) in Phase 5.

In general, results demonstrated a more sophisticated and powerful frame-setting strategy than frame-building. In

Phase 1 online public opinion, though tremendous and overwhelming, could not change the news media frames. On the other hand, news media responded very quickly since the crisis occurred and the public opinion exploded. In the Phase 1, news media firstly focused on defining problems when online discussion mainly focused on making moral judgments to calm down the netizens. This framing-setting effect became strong on Phase 3 Weibo by strongly increasing Weibo's defining problems frame from Phase 1 to Phase 3. Thus, the researchers inferred that the direction of defining problems' framing effect in Phase 1 was mainly from Weibo to press.

In Phase 2, Weibo started to increase the defining problems, which then strongly decreased the news coverage about defining problem in Phase 3. Traditional media also increased its diagnosing causes and suggesting remedies frames in Phase 3, which succeeded in diverting the public attention to make less diagnosing causes and suggest more remedies in Phase 5. Also, the decrease of news media's use of diagnosing causes frame in Phase 4 confirmed its purpose to strongly decrease the online speculation of causes in the crisis. In the last phase, traditional media strongly increased the defining problems frame to make a summary of the crisis in response to online public opinion about the problem definitions in Phase 3. Thus, the researchers inferred that the direction of Defining Problems' framing effect in Phase 5 was from Weibo to press.

Table 5 Correlations between Weibo and Press Frames during the Same Phase

Weibo ↔ Press	Defining Problems ¹	Diagnosing Causes ²	Making Moral Judgments ³	Suggesting Remedies ⁴
Phase 1	- 0.279**	- 0.0312	0.105	0.089
Phase 2	0.13	0	0.091	- 0.093
Phase 3	0.119	- 0.082	-0.008	0.011
Phase 4	0.071	- 0.012	0.028	0.017
Phase 5	- 0.253*	0.061	0.078	0.181

Source: Primary data

Note: The bi-directional arrow means the direction of effect between Weibo and Press is uncertain or they have frames interaction between each other.

** Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).

* Correlation is significant at the 0.05 level (2-tailed).

Table 6 Correlations between Weibo and Press Frames with One/Two-PhaseLag

	Generic Frames	Defining Problems ¹	Diagnosing Causes ²	Making Moral Judgments ³	Suggesting Remedies ⁴
One-Phase Time Lag	P1 Weibo → P2 Press	-0.009	0.046	-0.133	0
	P2 Weibo → P3 Press	-0.227*	0.071	-0.017	-0.031
	P3 Weibo → P4 Press	-0.076	0.088	-0.049	0.096
	P4 Weibo → P5 Press	0.238*	-0.152	-0.087	-0.078
	P1 Press → P2 Weibo	-0.140	0	0.047	0
	P2 Press → P3 Weibo	0.009	-0.011	0.065	-0.118
	P3 Press → P4 Weibo	0.111	0.027	-0.042	0.158
	P4 Press → P5 Weibo	0.061	-0.234*	0.017	0.131
Two-Phase Time Lag	P1 Weibo → P3 Press	-0.119	0.12	-0.058	-0.111
	P2 Weibo → P4 Press	-0.146	0.079	-0.065	0.079
	P3 Weibo → P5 Press	0.231*	-0.110	-0.105	0.013
	P1 Press → P3 Weibo	-0.259**	-0.010	0.024	-0.020
	P2 Press → P4 Weibo	0	0.094	0.031	0.054
	P3 Press → P5 Weibo	0.094	-0.260*	-0.06	0.323**

Source: Primary Data

Note: The direction the arrow points means the direction of the effect between Weibo and Press.

P is the abbreviation of “Phase” in the table, e.g. P1 means Phase 1.

** Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).

* Correlation is significant at the 0.05 level (2-tailed).

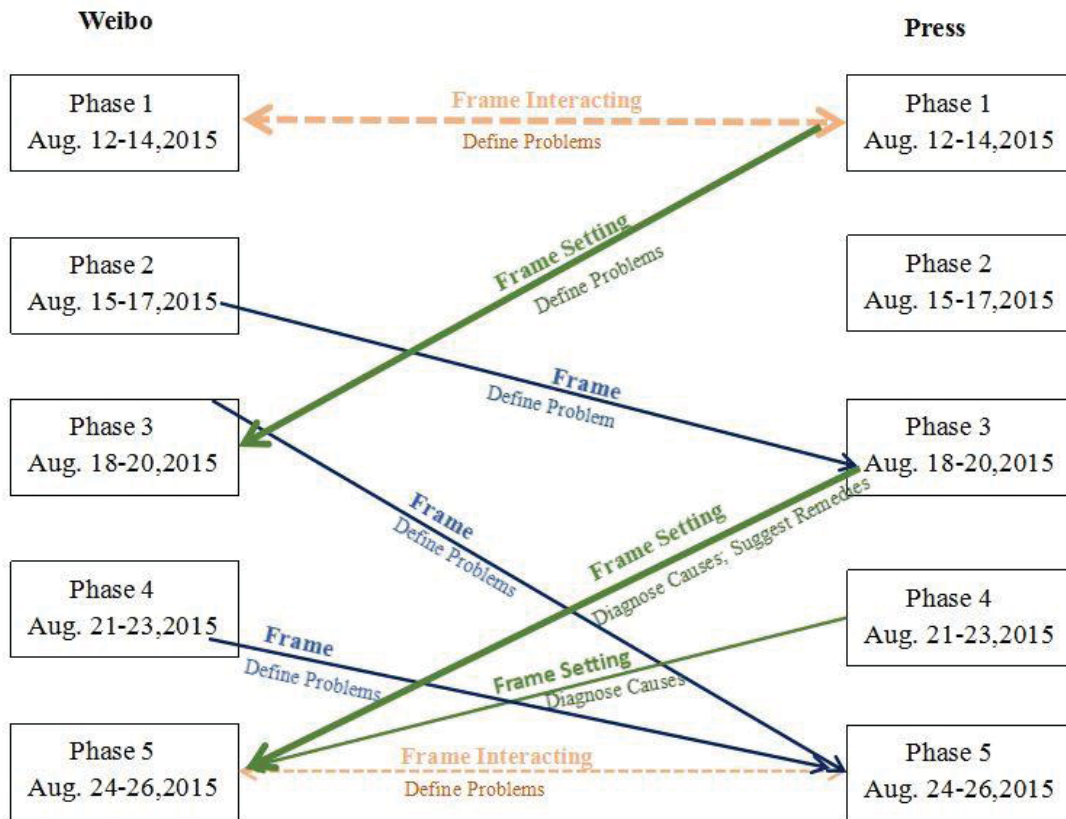


Figure 1 Methodological Model of Frame Interaction between Weibo and Press

DISCUSSION

Considering diversity of the media landscape in China, this study utilized frame analysis to compare the coverage of Communist Party's media, commercial media, as well as the online discourse in China's most popular social media platform, Weibo. The researchers firstly compared the frames between the Communist Party's newspaper and the commercial newspaper. In here, the researchers found a clear difference between the two on the coverage of the same crisis event (2015 Tianjin Explosions), regarding the story angle, tone and length. Commercial media served more as a critical fact-finder than the party media. The former applied more frequently the attribution of responsibility frame and directed the criticism more

equally to multiple actors. While the party media tended to portray the crisis event in a more positive way such as focusing on the compassionate human interest stories, and emphasized the role of government to build up a responsible government image. This difference between Chinese media outlets was consistent with former studies indicating that local media applied more frequently attribution frames to criticize government policies and cared more about audience's feelings. On the other side, Communist Party's media demonstrated more skillful in building government image (Yang, 2009; Yang, 2012). Furthermore, this trend is also consistent with China's media reforms and the specialty of Chinese media system: fusion of Party control and market power (Zhao, 2004). It is no

longer negligible especially for local media to respond to public concerns and make profits.

In social media era, Weibo becomes the most important online discourse field. The study found some differences between online public opinion and traditional media frames. In the beginning of the crisis, social media and traditional media both frequently applied defining problems frame. Though on Weibo, moral judgments frame was more salient in Phase 1. This could be explained by the regular circulation of the information that people tended to ask about what happened in the beginning, then searching for the reasons and solutions. The frame pattern in the crisis also evolved from problem definition to remedy suggestion (Zhou & Moy, 2007; Entman, 1993).

But it is worth to notice that moral judgments frame was salient on Weibo throughout the whole period. A social media appeared quite emotional with people largely expressing their feelings such as anger, compassion, grief, etc. when a crisis event occurred. Moral judgments frame was also frequently applied by traditional media. Unlike social media, it was more about a sophisticated portrayal of some individual stories to resonate with the public such as compassion. But online opinions about this article were not exactly identical, though most of the netizens deeply grieved for the firefighters, there were also a large number of people criticizing the current firefighting system and appealing for a more strict and comprehensive training for the practitioners in order to reduce the number of casualties. Thus, the voices and frames on social media

were more diversified than in traditional media, which portrayed the individual stories mainly in a positive manner. Wang (2013) pointed out the diversity of online opinion and competing of different frames reflected the fragmented Chinese society and publics. The prevalence of moral judgment frame in newspapers was also consistent with prior studies indicating traditional media frequently used human interest frame to resonate with audiences' compassion for victims (Yang, 2009).

The researchers also notice that in the beginning and the end of the event, traditional media mainly focused on defining problems. While in the middle of the event, it utilized more diagnosing cause frame, which correspond the journalistic norms of providing factual information about what happened, and digging out the buried reasons behind the story, especially when the incident was complicated and rumors could easily spread in online sphere. In this regard, Chinese traditional media plays an essential role in informing the public and keeps a rational image in crisis reporting (Hong & Choi, 2010).

As the event went on, the use of suggesting remedies frame increased distinctly on social media. The netizens provided solutions and tried to push forward the investigation process and even some social reforms relying on the power of online community and public opinion. But, it remains unclear whether the online public opinion could effectively influence the policy-makers, since Zhou and Moy (2007, p.93) suggested that in authoritarian

system, the frame-building power may not reach the policy level.

As to the last research part, this paper demonstrated strong frame interplay between online public opinion and news coverage on national crisis especially regarding fame building and frame setting, which was consistent with prior findings (Hong, 2009). In this study, traditional media's frame-setting effect was more dominant than social media's frame-building effect. Traditional media served as important information sources for Weibo and exerted framing strategies in different phases to guide or shape the public opinion in a way that the government or news organizations hoped (Meraz, 2009). However, social media played an important role in transforming the original event into an influential issue (Zhou, 2007). Thereby, it prompted crisis managers to take measures as soon as possible.

Although China's social media, Weibo, owns large popularity in China whose online discourse imposes more or less influence on media coverage, the platform is censored by the Chinese government, meanwhile the traditional media is controlled by authorities or interest groups (Zhao, 2000; Auer & Fu, 2015). Thus, the influence of social media on traditional media is limited just as the study demonstrated that it only significantly influenced defining problems frame of traditional media during the middle period (Phase 2, 3, 4).

However, traditional media appeared more salient than social media in this frame interplay, for traditional media could effectively set the frames of defining problems,

diagnosing causes, and suggesting remedies to social media at different phases. On the other hand, the crisis event itself attracted more netizens' attention to read media coverage to track the issue and government's crisis management. News reporting also served as essential sources of information for online discussion. Thus, over a crisis event, social media's framing effect is less influential than traditional media. This just confirms and expands Etter and Vestergaard's (2015) study on Facebook's framing effect on news media that traditional media takes the dominance in the crisis event over social media, no matter in a democratic or non-democratic discourse. We suggest future research on how the degree of democracy influences the framing interplay between social media and traditional media.

In addition, the findings of significant framing effect with both one-phase (3 days) lag and two-phase lag (6 days) in the study expand prior studies (Zhou, 2007; Etter & Vestergaard, 2015), applying 7-day time lag. Framing interplay could happen within fewer days between social media and traditional media and the phase setting could influence the statistical analysis.

This study sheds light on the framing strategies for both the public opinion and news media. The public frames could push news media and policy makers to take responsibilities in specific phase. The media and policy makers apply targeted frame to control the flow of public opinion. In addition, policy makers or crisis managers could gain insight into public frames and predict future "reputation threats" among the public opinion (Coombs, 2011).

CONCLUSION

This study found some differences of crisis reporting between the Communist Party's media and commercial media, demonstrating the bifurcation between Chinese media regulated by the government and by the market. The study also analyzed the framing process in social media and traditional media. Different framing patterns were also examined, as well as the complex interplay between the two including frame-building and frame-setting process.

The commercial media in China appeared more a critical fact-finder than party media by analyzing more of accountabilities. The party media, however, appeared more prudent by resonating with the public, to emphasize the role of government and to build a positive image.

Social media was more emotional and solution-oriented, with more remedy suggestions and moral judgments, than traditional media which more on to problems defining and diagnosing. Additionally, traditional media exerted more framing power than social media over the crisis event. Traditional media restructured the generic frames of social media by adapting its own frames, in order to manipulate the flow of public opinion. While social media could transform a crisis event into an influential issue to compel news media to track the event and crisis managers to take measures. However, this study is not free of limitations. This case study demonstrates different logics of crisis coverage, but it could also be lack of generalizability.

For future research, other than the content analysis of social media posts and newspaper reports, we suggest a complementary qualitative approach to examine how traditional media and social media quote each other during different phases over the event to understand this interplay better. Our finding might be influenced by the variance of phase settings. It is not clear yet about the methodologically decide regarding the optimum time span in frame-setting and agenda-setting studies (Lee et. al., 2005). Thus, it is necessary for future examination to tackle this problem both theoretically and empirically.

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Public's Attribution vs Punitive Behavior in Indonesian Public Relations Practice

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Abstract: *The research aims to test situational crisis communication and attribution theories in Indonesian context. Crisis threats companies' reputation and affects the public's attribution which will lead to the creation of punitive behavior from the public towards the organization. The study used a quantitative approach with experimental method and content analysis in the pre-research. Involving 90 respondents, the research finds that mass media influences public's attribution within the experimental group who were given positive and negative news. The research shows that the crisis history and the relational reputation determine the public attribution toward the initial crisis responsibility.*

Keywords: *attribution theory, global challenge, public's attribution, punitive behavior, situational crisis communication theory*

Abstrak: *Penelitian ini bertujuan untuk menguji situational crisis communication dan teori atribusi dalam konteks Indonesia. Krisis akan mengancam reputasi perusahaan karena publik akan menemukan penyebab krisis melalui media massa dan memengaruhi atribusi publik, sehingga publik akan melakukan penilaian lalu menghukum organisasi tersebut. Penelitian ini menggunakan pendekatan kuantitatif dengan metode eksperimental dan analisis isi dalam tahap pra penelitian. Melibatkan 90 responden, penelitian ini menemukan bahwa media massa memengaruhi atribusi publik untuk kelompok eksperimen, yaitu kelompok yang diberikan berita positif dan negatif. Pada akhirnya, penelitian ini menunjukkan bahwa sejarah krisis dan reputasi relasi menentukan atribusi publik terhadap tanggung jawab krisis awal.*

Kata Kunci: *atribusi publik, perilaku menghukum, perubahan global, teori atribusi, teori komunikasi krisis situasional*

Crisis threatens the organization's reputation (Coombs & Holladay, 2002; Coombs, 2007a; Coombs, 2010; Kriyantono, 2015) because it causes a physical and non-physical disruption, such as a life threatening event, causing injury or loss of life, and destructive to a system of the organization and the community's environment as a whole (Duke & Masland,

2002; Kouzmin, 2008). According to Spillan (as cited in Claeys, Cauberghe & Barton, 2010), no organization can avoid crisis. The changes during crisis can affect the way stakeholders interact with the organization (Coombs, 2007b, p. 163). A poor relationship between an organization and public can trigger confrontation. This occurs when public expresses its outrage

due to its dissatisfaction with the company's operations. As a result, unmanageable crisis will damage reputation. Crisis can be a turning point to reach positive goal (Kriyantono, 2015), on the other hand, a planned crisis management can maintain good reputation in the middle of marketplace tight competition (Coombs & Holladay, 2002; Coombs, 2007a; Miller, 1999; Kriyantono, 2015).

Devlin (2007, p. 1) stated, "crisis management is special measures taken to solve problems caused by a crisis". This implies that a crisis might involve a lack of information and failure to provide and control the flow of information accurately and efficiently (Duhe, 2005; Kriyantono, 2012; Wigley & Zhang, 2011). The activities to manage information to address a crisis is called crisis communication. Communication is blood of organization (Harjana, 2000; Kriyantono, 2014), therefore, communication is also foundation of any crisis activities which also mentioned by Coombs (2010, p. 25) that "communication is the essence of crisis management".

At first, communication crisis research was mostly conducted in management study, such as in Coombs, 2010; Duhe, 2005; Dyer, 1995; Jeong, 2009; Kriyantono, 2012; Kriyantono, 2015; Maggart, 1994; Wigley & Zhang, 2011). But, then followed by the public relations studies (Coombs, 2010). Public relations is a management function in communication (Cutlip, Center & Broom, 2011; Grunig & Hunt, 1984), so its duty to collect, process, and relay information required addressing a crisis.

Hence, public relations research makes crisis communication as a main point in crisis management research (Coombs, 2010).

One of prominent crisis communication theories is Situational Crisis Communication Theory (SCCT) developed by W. Timothy Coombs. The theory is rooted from Weiner's Attribution Theory, which appears in its premise, "crisis are negative events stakeholders will make attributions about crisis responsibility, and those attributions will affect how stakeholders interact with the organization in crisis" (Coombs, 2010, p. 38). In the public relations field, the theories explain how stakeholders react toward the organization's crisis response in order to protect the reputation during crisis (Coombs & Holladay, 2002; Coombs, 2007b; Coombs, 2010; Jeong, 2009) because SCCT research focuses on public (Coombs, 2010). However, most research focuses on the organization centered approach rather than a public approach (Choi & Lin, 2009) although SCCT has often been overlooked (Kriyantono, 2012). The current research collaborate SCCT and Attribution Theory to investigate the role of mass media to create public's attribution toward mud flow crisis. Finally, the attribution determines how the public's assessment to responsible person and impact on the punitive behavior of public toward the organization.

The research was inspired by Jeong's (2009) study about how public attribution is affected by public punitive behavior toward Samsung's oil spill in South Korea. Jeong finds that public who read good news about

Samsung's histories attributed that the accident was not an intentional mistake and they did not claim the company to take responsibility. On the other hand, the public who read bad news about Samsung's perceived that the oil spilled was occurred from the company's wrongdoing, so they demanded Samsung to take full responsibility.

The SCCT and Attribution Theory are part of western academic discussion. Both theories provide normative guides to bring the companies to success in dealing with crisis in order to maintain good reputation. In global challenges, the companies need good reputation to survive the competition (Regester & Larkin, 2008). However, it is interesting to evaluate whether the premise still can be applied or not due to the different of crisis type. Many SCCT and Attribution Theory research focus on crisis, which the sources are illuminate. For example, Samsung's crisis was because oil spilled in the ocean from Samsung's tanker. How if the cause of crisis is not fully clear and debatable, like mud flow crisis in Sidoarjo? At the beginning until today, there has been dispute of the cause and the actor who should be responsible to deal with the crisis. The victims and some academics perceive that the mud flow eruption was triggered by drilling mistake by the company (Lapindo Inc.). However, the government, the company and other academics perceived that it triggered by a natural disaster or earthquake. The Indonesian courts decided that Lapindo Inc. was not guilty by stating that it was a natural phenomenon. The government

finally decided that the company is responsible to pay compensation for the victims in the disaster zone 1 and 2, while the government will pay other victims who live outside those areas. It can be said that the cause triggering the crisis are still not clear: intentional or natural disaster because the eruption source is beneath of the earth.

Therefore, the researcher determined research questions:

- (1) How the effect of news media type about Lapindo Inc. to the public's attribution towards the responsible actor on positive experimental group, negative experimental group, and control group?
- (2) How the effect of the public's attribution to punitive behavior toward Lapindo Inc.?

The crisis mud flow was one of the biggest crisis in Indonesia. This crisis caused a physical and non-physical disruption such as a life threatening event which caused an injury or loss of life, and destructive to a system of the organization and the community's environment as a whole (Duke & Masland, 2002; Kouzmin, 2008). It is a physical crisis, which is also causing physical damage, and it is a non-physical crisis, which is creating serious danger to the culture and values of a particular social system. Physical damage caused the victims moved from their homes which made them missed their social-cultural life, such as social interaction, and family bonds. The mud flow has been occurring since 29 May 2006. The center of eruption was 200 meters from Lapindo's drilling activity in Sidoarjo, Indonesia. Lapindo Inc. was a production-sharing contract and owned by

Bakrie Group. The main production is natural gas and exploration efforts will provide clean and cheap energy for the communities and the industries. Nowadays, the eruption has become a lake of mud and has submerged 12 villages. It compelled more than 60,000 people to leave their homes by forced displacement and resulted in 14 deaths. However, the crisis has not been solved completely while the compensation payments have not conducted properly by Lapindo in the past eight years since the first crisis. Some of the victims have not been receiving the compensation and there is a clear lack of information about when the payments will be completed.

SCCT used to explain the reaction of the public to crisis and the public relation strategy. The public has a particular attribution about the crisis that determines the company's reputation. Therefore, this theory tries to examine some aspects of the crisis that influence the public's attribution (Coombs & Holladay, 2002; Coombs, 2007a; Coombs, 2007b). SCCT emphasizes on protecting the public from damage, rather than protecting the company's reputation since the first priority is to warrant safety and survival of the public (Reynold as cited in Veil, Liu, Erickson, & Sellnow, 2005). However, in the end it will develop positive attribution of the public to the company's reputation,

It would be irresponsible to begin crisis communication by focusing on the organization's reputation. To be ethical, crisis managers must begin their efforts by using communication to address the physical and psychological concerns of the community. It is only after this foundation is established that crisis managers should turn their attentions to reputational assets (Coombs, 2007b, p. 165).

It appears that the concept of 'reputation' means that the company has 'legitimacy' which means "an organization's right to exist" (Metzler as cited in Veil, et al., 2005, p. 19; Culbertson, et al., 1993, p. 18). In short, legitimacy is approved by the community (Habermas as cited in Culbertson, et al., 1993), therefore, the public's interpretation is important to support an organization's competence (Veil, et al., 2005) as the aspect of the reputational crisis model that determines the degree of the company's reputation (Zyglidopoulos, 1999). To gain a positive interpretation, the company must satisfy the expectation of its public. Therefore, it can be said that an organization's character can be defined by its community concern. In terms of the company's reputation, the Situational Crisis Communication Theory describes three factors in a crisis situation that potentially threaten the reputation of the company. These three factors are an initial crisis responsibility, a crisis history, and a prior relational reputation. The initial crisis responsibility is the level of the public's attribution toward the company's responsibility of the crisis, whether the company is perceived to have caused the crisis or not (Coombs, 2007a; Coombs, 2007b).

Thus, the public attribution is determined by how the crisis is being framed. Druckman (as cited in Coombs, 2007b) described that there are two types of frames. The mass media frames are created by the mass media (i.e. news, advertising, opinion column), while the public frames are the public's knowledge to understand the environment (also see Johansson, 2007; Littlejohn & Foss, 2008). It

is important to note that mass media frames have the power to influence or form public frames because messages can be frequently disseminated to the public.

The crisis frames, in addition, form three clusters of crisis, called crisis types: a victim cluster, an accidental cluster, and an intentional cluster (Coombs, 2007a; Coombs, 2007b). According to Coombs (2007a; 2007b), the company is categorized as the victim cluster when the public perceives that the company is not the cause of the event. In other words, the company is judged as being a victim of the crisis, for example earthquakes, landslides, floods, a homicide within the company, or product sabotage. The accidental cluster emerges if the public considers that the event is accidentally caused by the company. In other words, the company is perceived as not deliberately causing the event. However, an intentional cluster occurs when the public decides that the event happened because of the company's mistakes. Coombs (2007b, p. 167) gave examples such as "technical-error product harm and technical-error accident" as being accidental clusters and "human-error accident, human-error product, organizational misdeed" would be considered an "intentional cluster". It can be concluded that there is a negative correlation between the victim cluster and the attribution level of crisis responsibility. On the contrary, there is a positive correlation between the intentional cluster and the attribution level of crisis responsibility (also see Cho & Gower, 2006).

Furthermore, according to Coombs (2007a; 2007b), the company's reputation is also shaped by crisis history and prior

relational reputation. Crisis history occurs when the public perceives that the company has experienced the same situation previously. Coombs (2007a, p. 3) called a crisis history "consistency". Prior relational reputation is the public's perception of how the company has cared for the public in previous situations. If the company did not treat the public well on the other occasions, it has a bad prior relational reputation (Coombs, 2007a; Coombs, 2007b). Coombs (2007a, p. 3) called the prior relational reputation "distinctiveness". From the description above, it is obvious that this theory is closely linked to Weiner's Theory of Attribution (Choi & Lin, 2009; Coombs, 2007a; Coombs, 2007b; Jeong, 2009) which states that a person tends to seek the information about the causes of a negative and unexpected event. The public tends to attribute the responsibility for a crisis situation to a particular person because it has an emotional response to the crisis. If the company is attributed as the cause of the event, its reputation will fall and this situation could evoke public anger. As a result, the public will probably avoid interaction with the company (Weiner, 2006 cited in Coombs, 2007a; Coombs, 2007b) which also supported by these opinion:

The core of SCCT is crisis responsibility. The attribution of crisis responsibility have significant effect on how people perceive the reputation of an organization in crisis and their effective and behavioral responses to that organization following a crisis (Coombs, 2010, p. 38).

The public has attributions toward a crisis which appeared due to the management's actions and comments dealing with a crisis. The

theory emphasizes on how ‘an organization should concentrate to the victims than focus on the organizational reputation’ (Coombs, 2007a; 2007b). By understanding crisis situation, SCCT says, a crisis manager is able to determine which strategies will maximize the reputation protection. SCCT centers to crisis manager who assesses the reputational threat. A threat is number of damages as result of crisis and will affect to the organizational reputation if the organization does not solve it immediately (Coombs, 2007a; 2007b).

SCCT offers a two steps process for assessing the crisis threat (Coombs, 2010; Coombs, 2007a; Coombs, 2007b). The first step is to determine the initial crisis responsibility attached to a crisis. The initial crisis responsibility is the level of the public’s attribution toward the company’s responsibility of the crisis, whether the company is perceived to have caused the crisis or not (Claeys, et al., 2010; Coombs, 2007a). Public attribution can be categorized into three clusters of crisis, called crisis types: a victim cluster, an accidental cluster, and an intentional cluster (Coombs, 2007a; 2007b).

The second step in assessing the reputational threat involves crisis history and prior relationship reputation. The crisis history occurs when the public perceives that the company has experienced the same situation previously. The prior relational reputation is the public’s perception of how the company has cared for the public in previous situations (Coombs, 2007a; Coombs, 2007b). As mentioned by Kriyantono (2012, p. 292) that “attribution is needed in a crisis situation because it is how an individual perceive a

crisis source”. The Attribution Theory was rooted from psychology, which explains, “How we understand the cause of our behavior and others” (Ardianto, 2010, p.109). Thus, the theory is applied as a guidance for crisis communication (Coombs, 2007a; Coombs, 2007b; Coombs, 2010). The Attribution Theory is adopted in a crisis situation because people needs to find out the cause of the event that triggers crisis. The public’s attribution toward the cause of the event can determine emotional reaction whether he/she want to support or to punish (Littlejohn & Katherine, 2009, p.62). Therefore, the current research applied Attribution Theory as a basis to investigate the effect of public’s attribution to punitive behavior toward parties which are assumed as the cause of the crisis. If the public assesses the organization is the actor who should be responsible, the public is likely to punish. On the other hand, the public will support if it thinks that the organization is not the actor who cause the crisis.

METHODS

The cluster theme considered by Jeong (2009) whom then collaborated SCCT’s clusters with the concepts of Attribution Theory by grouping initial crisis responsibility clusters into two variables: external attribution (organization as a victim) and internal attribution (organization as an actor). The current research adopted Jeong’s group of clusters to measure the influence of mass media toward the public’s attribution.

The current research focuses on the public’s attribution or the public’s perceptions toward the crisis. The public was chosen from

the public awareness, that was the public who recognizes a crisis and actively search information about it, who live outside the disaster zone 1 and 2. Although they were not victims, they are aware because they live near the disaster zone and often search information whether the mud flow to their villages. Ninety respondents agreed to participate on the research and asked to read and comprehend the information letter. They signed a consent form which they agreed as respondents. The consent form and information letter were translated into Indonesian by an accredited interpreter because all respondents are Indonesian. In addition, the researchers assured that the respondents could withdraw their participation and no penalties given. They were assured that their responses are solely to be used for the purpose of the research as part of thesis, journal or book, and that their confidentiality will be maintained. However, respondents were required to provide some personal details including date of birth, ethnicity, religion, education, and other demographic aspects. The confidentiality of respondents was ensured by assigning respondents a code consisting of either letters or numbers or a combination of these.

Every day during the crisis, the company will come under the scrutiny of the mass media. Upon reporting the crisis frequently, media makes the situation visible to the external public. The types of news will determine the type of the public's attribution toward the organization. Jeong (2009) categorized the news about crisis into two types: (1) high distinctiveness

information: history of social responsibility; (2) low distinctiveness information: history of unethical management. In this current research, the former information was called positive information and the latter was negative information. Positive information or good news was the information that supports or describes positive aspect of the company, such as some corporate social responsibility programs conducted by the company. Negative information described the company's activities, which resulted in negative impacts on the community.

Although the crisis occurred in May 2006, the crisis has not been ended completely. At present (2016), it is a dormant stage because the public's dispute about the issue slowed down but rises up again usually when commemorating this event, which is every 29 May. At this stage, basically, Lapindo Inc. is able to solve the issue or at least to make sure that the public is satisfied with the answers. So that the issue is assumed to be over until someone or the mass media revives it with new thoughts and new problems.

The research applied experimental method and chose newspaper as a tool to control the respondents' perceptions. Most of experimental research used newspaper as a controlling tool because most people receive news from newspaper (Coombs & Holladay, 2009). Pfau dan Wan (in Coombs & Holladay, 2009) described that if the people receive news from television they will focus on message sources. However, if people receive news from newspaper they will focus on message content. Therefore the content of newspaper is easier to proceed.

The respondents live in Candi District, Sidoarjo Regency that is near the disaster zone so they are aware and actively search the information. The research applied true experimental design, where the researchers can control all variables that possible to affect the experimental process (Sugiyono, 2011, p. 75), with a post-test only control design.

Based on Jeong's (2009) study, the research applied a three-group experimental design with high distinctiveness (positive group), low distinctiveness (negative group), and no information (control group) condition. In the high distinctiveness, respondents read good and favorable news about Lapindo Inc., i.e. news articles described that Lapindo has performed well in its activities. In the low distinctiveness, respondents read bad and unfavorable news about Lapindo Inc., i.e. news articles described that Lapindo has performed poorly in its activities. Then, the researcher conducted a content analysis to determine which news article can be grouped as good or bad news.

The variable of the public's attribution was defined as the perception toward the crisis responsibility, i.e. the organization or the government or other parties as the actor who take responsibility to the crisis. This variable has four item of questionnaire: (i) the mud eruption was caused by Lapindo's drilling mistake; (ii) Lapindo must be responsible on the eruption; (iii) the eruption was natural disaster; (iv) the government must be responsible on the eruption.

In addition, punitive behavior variable was defined as public's perception to punish the actor who was assumed to be responsible

with the item of questionnaire "what is the proper punishment to the actor who is responsible?". Using Validity Test on the instrument shows that there was correlation between each item toward the total score, with the score of Pearson correlations was 0.102-0.921. Then Reliability Test shows score 0.720 using Cronbach's Alpha. To answer the research questions, the researchers used One-Way Anova and Pearson Correlation.

FINDING

Most of the respondents are males (58%), age 21-30 years old (56%), and 60% are private employees. The One-Way Anova described whether type of news affects or not to public's attribution toward the actor who must be responsible to the crisis. Each group consisted of 30 respondents. From the table 1, it can be described that a group with positive or favorable news had mean score 14.97 which was lower than negative group (15.63) and control group (15.03). Respondent who read negative or bad news gave internal attribution, i.e. Lapindo must take responsibility to the crisis because of drilling mistake.

It can be stated that manipulation of negative news affected higher than a group with manipulation of positive news. The decision making was done based on probability value (see table 2) which was 0.022. The comparison between sig and α was $0.022 > 0.05$, so it means that "there was no value difference among positive, negative, and control groups".

In addition, table 3 described that the value of the F count was \leq the value of the F

table, i.e. $0.896 \leq 3.101$. It means that there is no average value different among positive, negative, and control groups. Data of negative experimental group and controlling experimental group are not different because of the strong public perceptions toward crisis. As a result, positive news did not affect public's attribution so that positive news did not affect to external attribution of the public significantly.

To answer the second research question, the researchers used Pearson correlation (Table 4).

Table 5 described that internal attribution and punitive behavior have positive correlation ($r = 0.645$). The higher internal attribution, the public tends more to punish the actor. The lower internal attribution, the lower punitive behavior. The research also compared the value of the t-count with t-table or table coefficients (α). Based on t-test, the $t\text{-count} > t\text{ table}$: $7.91 > 1.98$. Based on probability, $sig < \alpha$: $0.00 < 0.05$. The results proved that "internal attribution" affected punitive behavior toward Lapindo Inc. as the actor who must take responsibility to the crisis.

Table 1 Descriptive One-Way Anova

	N	Mean	Std. Deviation	Std. Error	95% Confidence Interval for Mean		Minimum	Maximum
					Lower Bound	Upper Bound		
Positive	30	14.97	1.608	.294	14.37	15.57	12	18
Negative	30	15.63	2.266	.414	14.79	16.48	12	20
Control	30	15.03	2.414	.441	14.13	15.93	12	20
Total	90	15.21	2.123	.224	14.77	15.66	12	20

Source: Primary data

Table 2 Sig value of One-Way Anova

Levene Statistic	df1	df2	Sig.
3.970	2	87	.022

Source: Primary data

Table 3 Value F One-Way Anova

	Sum of Squares	Df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
Between Groups	8.089	2	4.044	.896	.412
Within Groups	392.900	87	4.516		
Total	400.989	89			

Source: Primary data

Table 4 Pearson Correlation of Internal Attribution

		Punitive Behavior	Internal Attribution
Pearson Correlation	Punitive behavior	1.000	.645
	Internal Attribution	.645	1.000
Sig. (1-tailed)	Punitive behavior	.	.000
	Internal Attribution	.000	.
N	Punitive behavior	90	90
	Internal Attribution	90	90

Source: Primary data

Table 5 Coefficients

Model	Unstandardized Coefficients		Standardized Coefficients	t	Sig.	95.0% Confidence Interval for B	
	B	Std. Error	Beta			Lower Bound	Upper Bound
(Constant)	1.146	.420		2.732	.008	.313	1.980
Internal Attribution	.374	.047	.645	7.912	.000	.280	.468

Source: Primary data

Table 6 External Attributions

		Punitive behavior	External attribution
Pearson Correlation	Punitive behavior	1.000	-.091
	External attribution	-.091	1.000
Sig. (1-tailed)	Punitive behavior	.	.196
	External attribution	.196	.
N	Punitive behavior	90	90
	External attribution	90	90

Source: Primary data

Table 7 Coefficients^a

Model	Unstandardized Coefficients		Standardized Coefficients	t	Sig.	95.0% Confidence Interval for B	
	B	Std. Error	Beta			Lower Bound	Upper Bound
(Constant)	4.618	.227		20.303	.000	4.166	5.070
Public External Attribution	-.030	.035	-.091	-.861	.392	-.100	.039

Source: Primary data

Table 6 describes the negative correlation value (r) between external attribution and punitive behavior (r= -0.047). It means that the higher external attribution, the lower punitive behavior. The researchers also compared the t-count with t-table or table coefficients (α). Based on t-test, t-count > t-table: $-0.091 \leq 1.98$. Based on probability, $sig < \alpha$: $0.392 > 0.05$. It means that internal attribution had positive correlation with public's punitive behavior (r = 7.91) and external attribution had negative correlation with punitive behavior (r = -0.091).

Further analysis found that internal attribution had positive correlation with

punitive behavior (r = 7.91). Conversely, external attribution had negative correlation with punitive behavior (r = 0.091). Internal attribution is positive which means the higher internal attribution of the public, the higher punitive behavior of the public. Meanwhile, the external attribution is negative means the higher external attribution, the lower punitive behavior of the public. To sum up, attribution influences punitive behavior of the public.

In term of punitive behavior towards the responsible actor, 63% respondents were positive and came from experimental group, 73% respondents from negative

experimental group said that the company should be received severe punishment for its wrongdoing, while 30% respondents from control group asked to medium punishment for the company. It can be said that majority of the respondents chose to give severe punishment for the company as a responsible actor. It related to the respondents' attribution. They attributed that crisis happened because of drilling mistake by Lapindo Inc. so that Lapindo was perceived as the responsible actor. The crisis was also attributed as intentional crisis that the accident happened because the company did mistake intentionally.

DISCUSSION

SCCT explains that a crisis manager will be able to determine strategies to maintain reputation by understanding the public's attribution toward the responsible actor. Positive or negative attribution itself depends on the organization's responds towards the crisis. The research found that positive and negative report appeared on media affected public's attribution concerning the stakeholders which have to take fully responsibility on it. However, we knew that news tone on media built by media framing toward the crisis. Adopting Druckman (as cited in Coombs, 2007b), it can be said that the respondents who read the news will focuses on the media framing when they form their opinion by filling the questioners.

This research finds more than 50% of respondents from the experimental group positively affected by the message

from the media, while the rest (47%) from the experimental group were negatively affected. Further data defines that around 60% of the control group stated that the cause of the crisis was the drilling mismanagement activities. As a result, over 70% opinions pointed out that the company who should responsible for the mud flow crisis. These results also supported by the statement almost 40% of respondents in the experimental group which shows positively against the opinion that natural disasters as the cause of the crisis. Alike, negative group react for 34% respondent point out that the government should not take responsibility for the crisis of the mud flow in Sidoarjo, which means that the company was the party that need to take any action to solve the problem. While around 40% of the control group expressed doubt on the cause of the crisis, similar to around 30% of respondents' who state that the crisis should not be relayed on the government. To sum up, the majority of respondents assumed that the cause of the crisis was the mismanagement of the drilling business of the Lapindo Inc. It will let the attribution form that the company has to take responsibility for the crisis.

As describe above, it said that Sidoarjo Company has to responsible for the mud flow crisis. Refer to SCCT, the organization who caused the crisis is in intentionally clusters, in this matter the company have to take action if the "organization deliberately put people at risk, take action inappropriate or violate the laws/regulations" (Coombs & Holladay as cited in Coombs, 2007a).

Reflect from the research finding, it shows that the public criticizes the company, who purposely took actions that violate the rules as stated by Akbar (2007, p. 76) that "PT Medco Energi as the holder of 32% of Lapindo, has warned that the operator immediately install a safety casing diameter of 9⁵/₈".

The hypothesis on this variable is "there is effect of the mass media toward types of public attribution of the actors which responsible for the crisis of the mud flow in Sidoarjo in all three groups (i.e. the experimental group of positive, negative experimental group, and the control group). The research finding prove that the hypothesis is rejected, in other word there is not effect to the public attribution on various types of news on mass media. This research finding was not confirming the Attribution Theory of handling crisis, which indicate that information deliver in newspapers may affect public attribution. Furthermore, attribution built by the public seems accuses the corporate to responsible and be penalized as their mismanagement causing the Sidoarjo crisis. The main reason to punish the company as the crisis happens for quite long time that shows it let negative word of mouth. As stated by Coombs & Holladay (2006), "due to the crisis, the stakeholders can disconnect or create negative word-of-mouth". As a result, public accept the negative word-of-mouth and generate attribution that the company should take responsibility for the mud flow crisis.

Regarding to SCCT, the mud flow crisis in Sidoarjo has some results in the company, Lapindo Inc., including actors

who rated public should be responsible for the crisis. Attribution actors must responsible due to the public accusing that the crisis occurred as the errors committed by Lapindo drilling (internal attribution). Public give the attribution crisis causes to the company since there was an issue in the resolution phase or dormant stage. As stated by Kriyantono (2012, p. 161), organization thought that they are capable manage their issues as they assumed over. However, in reality, the Sidoarjo mud flow crisis still several times appeared in the mass media therefore public dissatisfaction, especially victims who have not received compensation for their property.

This experimental study found little difference between negative and positive information about the company's response to the crisis. There seems an advantage for the company to provide positive information as one form of crisis response. In spite of that, the research finding describes that it does not guarantee that the positive information delivers through media may influence the public attribution, especially in the crisis, which happened for quite longtime such as Sidoarjo mud flow crisis.

Another reason that led the hypothesis rejected because this theory applied after the Sidoarjo mud flow crisis, which was going on for almost seven years. The researchers imply that the theory might be possible to be generalized in all cases as it showed from the experimental conducted after 7 years crisis, that the treatment on media does not have significant influence to public attribution. Unlike the research which has done by

Jeong (2009) about oil spills at sea involving Samsung which held just one month after the crisis occurs. It figured out that media able to form public attribution. Thus, it might be considered for the future research to examine crisis theory for only the crisis phenomenon, which has recently occurred so that the public still has the opportunity to build a different attribution.

The second hypothesis in this study is the influence attribution to public punishing behavior to the company who responsible for the crisis. The data describes that 63% of respondents from the experimental group respond positively and 30% of respondents of the control group clearly stated that the company as the responsible party who should be given a severe punishment. It may conclude here that the attribution of public affects the public punishing behavior. The more public attribution stating that the company is a party who has responsible for the crisis, the further the public shows the punishment behavior.

In addition, this research analysis divides into two analyses for public attribution. Firstly, internal attribution which is about the crisis caused by mismanagement of the company, and secondly, external attribution which is about the crises caused by natural disaster. The result shows that most public generate internal attributions which influence the punishment behavior to force the company takes any responsible. The higher the internal attributions made by public, the higher the punitive behavior shown by the public to the company.

Most respondents who make an external attribution tend to give neutral answer or not showing the punitive behavior. The higher the external attribution of public, the lower the punitive behavior shown by the public. On the other hand, the lower the public punitive behavior, the higher the punitive behavior shown by the public. To sum up, the attribution has an influence on the public punitive behavior though it gives little significance. Moreover, internal attributions have more influence than external attribution, however, it does not guarantee the internal attributions may affect the public punitive behavior. The number of the public punitive behavior showed that public could not positively response what the corporate done to prove their responsibility, which actually is not able to stop the negative public word-of-mouth.

The finding above confirming the Attribution Theory stated by Littlejohn (2009, p. 62) that “attribution someone about the causes and control of a situation can cause an emotional reaction that affects their willingness to help and their chances to punish”. It is proved with attribution formed by the community of sub-village Candi Sayang, the causes of the crisis and the person in charge of the crisis affecting their chances to punish those responsible. However, this Attribution Theory may help the company to see attribution built by the public about the sources and causes of crises in order to determine some factors, which might be threatening the company reputation and its image.

SCCT is used to portray the corporate communications to crisis management. In the Sidoarjo mud flow case, the company does not maximizing their crisis management so does threatening the company's reputation in the end. It shows from public opinion that sees the company as the party who has to take responsibilities. In this matter, the strategy is still required for the companies or organizations to assist the public in building their attribution of the crisis. One of the strategies could be about the usage of media to deliver positive message though in fact Lapindo might yet finds a significant results.

The findings establish the previous study from Kriyantono (2012) that based on the Situational Theory of the Public where the victims were not passive. They actively sought explanation by frequently questioning to the opinion leaders and demonstrating against the company and the government to gain information. They demanded information about social warning, compensation and solution. As result of information seeking process, this research revealed a model of communication flow among the victims. This model enhances the knowledge that the victims obtained the information particularly from personal communication among them and local opinion leaders to explore the information that they had already obtained from the mass media. The victims also admitted that there was a problematic situation as part of problem recognition, however, they did not obtain clear information and could not express their feelings because of the communication barriers or constraint

recognition, such as closed communication channels.

Therefore, there is no wonder that all respondents attributed the mud flow crisis to the intentional cluster where the company was the actor that should take responsibility to solve any problems, including giving complete compensation. In terms of the crisis history, the respondents also construed that the agreement and regulations were not obeyed many times. The payment of compensation became circuitous. Instead of giving fresh money, the company offered a new residence in the relocation scheme. The company stimulated public outrage when a thousand victims, who choose the relocation offer, signed an agreement to gain a new house earlier than those who demanded fresh money. The issues of relocation and cash money evolved into a critical stage because this situation led to disagreement among a group of the victims. As a result, there was a lack of confidence in the company and in the government. Even though some respondents admitted that they have a reasonably comfortable life after receiving compensation, they felt that the company did not take care of them well. The reasons were they felt that they lived in hardship and waited for months uncertain about their fate, however the compensation was an inherent responsibility of the company as the source the crisis and they still lost social-cultural aspects which couldn't be replaced by money.

Above all, this research convince that it is important to take into account the situation

when the crisis happened, so the company must manage media better. The most essential is by delivering any information relates to any action and response taken by the company to show its sympathy and crisis tackling for the victim and other parties affected by the crisis. Furthermore, the findings in this study indicate that during the crisis the form of positive or negative information expose in the mass media did not give a significant effect to the public opinion, except the problem solving which taken by the company for handling the victim. Last, the company better not to focus only on its reputation when the crisis occur instead of attempting the crisis quickly and properly, since it led its reputation be restored by itself.

CONCLUSION

To sum up, this study found that there is no effect on the attribution of public, which shows on the positive experimental group in the Dusun Candi Sayang, Sidoarjo. Positive information represent in mass media led the public attribution, which illustrates that the company was the party who need to take responsibility for the crisis. Additionally, there is no consequence on the public attribution of the experimental group. Negative or positive report on mass media has no different attribution for public regarding to the caused and the responsible party for the crisis. Alike with experimental group, the control group in this research also gives the same attribution, which accused the company was the party who has to take responsibilities on the crisis. Public believe that the drilling mismanagement causing

the crisis. Besides, there is no effect on the public attribution of the media on the negative experiment. Negative tone on media relate to the mud flow crisis gave the same result as the positive news, which indicated Lapindo as the one has resolve the problem, similar opinion stated by the control group.

There is a consequence of the public attribution; it tends to form the punitive behavior of the public. In detail, the internal attributions shows that the higher attribution formed is the higher punitive behavior presented by the public. On the other hand, the higher the external attribution is the lower punitive behavior to the company.

For future research, this research suggests to enhance Situational Crisis Communication Theory (SCCT) with the finding of this research as one discussion on the management theme. Moreover, SCCT theory is used to explain each cluster with its strategy in accordance to maintain the company's reputation, thus the coming research better to focus on applying SCCT on identifying the responsible stakeholders of the crisis as well as the strategy to reputation restoration management.

The Attribution Theory developed from psychology science, so it is very possible to be discussed in the communication management themes in order to determine the company management dealing with particular punitive behavior of the public. Especially, for Lapindo Inc. as the main stakeholder, which associated with the crisis, it may suggest to Lapindo Inc. for focusing only on activities to generate

good relations with all keys stakeholders that might be supporting them to come over with solution instead of concern most on the company's reputation.

It is clearly seen from this research that printed mass media take main role on supporting communication management during the crisis. That shows from the public punitive behavior as the impact of the attribution from the printed mass media. To continue this research, it may recommend to conduct another research which purposes to discover the uses of the electronic media treatment for the relatively a new crisis. In addition, the limitation of this research was the experiment only conducted on very little external public, as ignoring some related data such as education, occupation, thus it is suggested to describe further this matter on the coming research. A qualitative research, such as an ethnography research is strongly recommended for future research in order to explore the thick description about the public's insight during the crisis as well as how a crisis management is conducted by the management. It is also suggested to conduct a content analysis with the aim to compare the attributions of mainstream media, online media, alternative media, and the company's media. Content analysis may be able to rich the understanding about how the crisis framed by the actors involved in it.

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The Emergence of the Philippine “Anti-Media”: The Duterte Factor

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Abstract: *The Philippine news media is perceived to be the freest in Asia. However, it also has its faults which its audiences have noticed. This study was aimed at exploring the factors which have lead to the audience’s dissent and subsequent emergence of an online anti-media movement. A qualitative research method was utilized where in social media posts and websites were analyzed with the Agenda Setting Theory to explain the frames being made by the mainstream and anti-media. The results showed factors such as the internet and its tools in creating a new virtual community.*

Keywords: *agenda setting, anti-media, audience bias, political bias, social media*

Abstrak: *Media Filipina dipandang sebagai media yang paling bebas di Asia, walaupun tidak terlepas dari kekurangan. Penelitian ini bertujuan menggali faktor yang mendorong audiens untuk mengemukakan perbedaan pendapat dan memunculkan pergerakan anti media online. Penelitian ini menggunakan metode penelitian kualitatif untuk mengamati posting di media sosial dan website dengan menggunakan Teori Agenda Setting, terutama untuk memetakan keterkaitan antara media mainstream dan anti media. Hasilnya menunjukkan bahwa faktor-faktor seperti internet dan aplikasi di dalamnya mampu membentuk komunitas virtual yang baru.*

Kata Kunci: *agenda setting, anti media, bias audiens, bias politik, media sosial*

The Philippine news media has been dubbed by several media watchdogs as one of the freest media community in Asia. In fact, it has full protection from the The Constitution of the Republic of the Phillipines 1987 (2013). The Bill of Rights mentions that “no law shall be passed abridging the freedom of speech, of expression, or of the press...” (The Constitution of the Republic of the Phillipines 1987, 2013). This statement stemmed from the oppressive policies of the late President Ferdinand Marcos when he declared Martial Law in 1972, where only

outfits owned by his cronies were allowed to “practice” journalism. Those which were against the President were closed down. However, some remained open, albeit doing underground reportage, the so-called “mosquito press”, despite the threats of persecution from the government.

After the EDSA People Power Revolution in 1986, the history tell that freedom from almost 2 decades of Marcos-led dictatorship, the media presented itself as the vanguard of the Filipino people’s basic freedoms, especially the freedom of

speech and expression. However, as with any responsibility that pertain that freedom, the news media had its flaws. Years of relatively free-for-all coverage and unabated freedom have exposed abuse by the mainstream media on its perceived and constitutionally-protected power as an overseer of not only the government, but also of society in general.

The most prevalent problem beset against the news media is the issue of conflict of interest especially with political bias. Some members of the audience have seen trends in the news media on the manner they reported on various issues of the society. A few of these observations are unbalanced space or time for particular candidates or parties, stories being angled to present a rosier or equally messy picture of political rivals, and so on. The perceived trend of favored coverage and reportage emanated a sense of the media setting the stage or “agenda” for the people to believe on and possibly sway their minds. No other event in the country with full of agenda from all sectors, and even the media, than local and national elections.

Though Jim Morrison, an American singer, may not be the best person to talk about the media, he has been quoted numerous times in media studies lectures with this statement, “whoever controls the media, controls the mind”. It seemed communication scholars agree on the power of the propaganda made by media organizations. In Teun van Dijk’s “Power and the News Media”, the media has the power to “control to some extent the minds of readers or viewers, but not only directly their actions...”. However, despite

that persuasive power of the media, he also surmised that “whatever the symbolic power of the news media, at least some media users will generally be able to resist such persuasion” (van Dijk, 1995, p. 10-11).

Maxwell McCombs (McCombs & Reynolds, 2002) reiterates this perceived power of the media to control the mindset of its readers and audiences. In his Agenda Setting Theory, the news media has the ability to influence the salience of topics on the public agenda. McCombs’ theory highlights the power of the news media to select certain parts of the news coverage and leave out segments which are necessarily not of the “public’s interest” to know. Meaning, some aspects of the daily news agenda is deliberately left out, not published nor aired at all for some reason:

Newspapers provide a host of cues about the salience of the topics in the daily news – lead story on page one, other front page display, large headlines, etc. Television news also offers numerous cues about salience – the opening story on the newscast, length of time devoted to the story, etc. These cues repeated day after day effectively communicate the importance of each topic. In other words, the news media can set the agenda for the public’s attention to that small group of issues around which public opinion forms (McCombs & Reynolds, 2002, p. 1).

The theory further suggests this type of trending leads to “agenda setting”, where a pattern or repeated relay of information has been developed through the days of reportage. Over a period of time, issues are emphasized, some get treated light coverage while others do not even get the attention. He also assumes that the press and the media filter and shape the agenda and subsequently, certain stories are pushed into the public agenda.

With the agenda always comes the issue of political bias. In “Media and Politics in Pacific Asia”, Duncan McCargo (2003, p. 2-4) assumes that the media act as actors in shaping the political scene of a certain country. He argues that the media community has differing roles in politics and in just one news outfit. There are various characters that mold the political agenda. McCargo cites an example:

Different sections of the media may be cheering, reproving and denouncing power-holders on the same day. Indeed, a single publication may itself play diverse roles. Different columnists and editors may adopt different forms of political agency within the same issue of the same publication: a critical front page story indicates that the publication is seeking to restrain certain power-holders, while a bland editorial appears to offer them tacit support, and an aggressive columnist calls for their resignations (McCargo, 2003, p. 2-4).

It would seem that the media can get away with bias through the years especially in the Philippines. As mentioned earlier, during the dictatorship of former President Marcos, the media have become the anchor for basic human rights and freedom of speech albeit restricted to pro-government propaganda. Some tried their best but people have relied on them for perceived fairness and balanced news, which the pro-Marcos media did not practice. It is this heavy reliance in the “mosquito” media gave the sense they are the vanguards of freedom and policing society’s corruption. This persuasive power that gives the media its perceived “holiness” in politics has been largely undoubted until the internet came. The one-way relationship in the past, the thought that the media will not go against its principles of fairness and being the “fourth

estate”, has made the ordinary citizen also question the agenda of the mainstream media, on whether they really cater for the public’s interest or not.

While traditional mainstream media in the country are still preferred platforms to sway people’s minds, the internet’s tools are much more democratic or relatively free platforms for whatever one may want to write. This also includes even distaste of people against the ill practices of the mainstream media. It is evident in social media with status posts and comments being publicly shown for everyone in virtual space to see. The freedom to disseminate information, through technology, has given another sense of democracy. This reigns true with the term “semiotic democracy” coined by John Fiske. He assumes that:

...audience, to a varying degree, to “resist”, “subvert”, and “recode” certain cultural symbols to express meanings that are different from the ones intended by their creators, thereby empowering consumers, rather than producers... it promised a complete reversal of the monopolistic hierarchy of the author and the presumed passivity of the audience in receiving meaning. The term “semiotic democracy” offered an interesting juxtaposition of ideals -political liberty, freedom of expression and creation- alongside a basic disruption of the common assumptions that inhere in authorial control (Katyal, 2012, p. 1).

William Fisher III (2004b) in Berkman Center for Internet and Society shares this assumption that the traditional content creators, such as established movie houses and television stations, no longer have the monopoly to create meanings, concepts, and creative works. Furthermore, Fisher emphasized on the role of technology in helping the ordinary person to create works

of art, be it film, news, and other media products. It is the continuing proliferation of cheaper or free but quality software and hardware that has become available for the ordinary consumer. He also opines “the new technology opportunities for a different style of creativity- more collaborative and playful, less individualist or hierarchical” (Fisher III, 2004a, p. 31).

These factors of setting the agenda also coincide with the concept of “agenda cutting”. In a monograph by Rita Colistra (2012, p. 100-102), agenda cutting is a “process whereby problems or issues have attention directed away from them by receiving little or no media coverage”. She cites Wober and Gunter on how agenda cutting came about. One factor is through the media’s logistical constraints, whereby news outlets could only gather information and present a certain amount of stories or reports depending on their resources such as manpower. Prejudices also “cut-off” certain issues of the society. This is where journalists, intentionally or not, use subjective judgment in deciding on what stories to omit. As with any organization, news outfits are not immune from internal and external influences. Internal influence comes from owners/executives or managers who have editorial powers and external sources are indirect relationships to these organizations such as governments, private institutions, or even their competitors in their businesses. Though Colistra’s study focuses on the view of writers and reporters of content, the end-users of the news are particularly affected because the aforementioned factors influence the way “gatekeepers” of information set the agenda.

In the case of the Philippines, the media community has long had the keys to the gates of information where they had monopoly of doing the news with various influencers who set or cut the news agenda. However, through the years, the audiences have taken into their hands the dissemination of information since traditional media have not catered to the particular mindset of the anti-media that their agenda is not being presented by the mainstream, often perceived, biased media entities. The mindset that their views and opinions are limited by editorial judgments, corporate, and political interests of established news organizations. Technology, such as smartphones and Facebook has given the ordinary person the tools to freely contribute to the realm of the information age. Thus, eliminating the monopoly of the media in information dissemination.

To illustrate further, political analysts have dubbed the past 3 polls as the “social media elections” wherein the discourse was no longer limited to grandstands and the streets but also in internet platforms such as Facebook. According to data gathered by the International Telecommunication Union (2016), there are almost 55 million people who already have access to the internet, which is more than half the population of the country which stands at 102 million.

Though internet penetration in the country is lower than its neighbors, political campaigners cannot eliminate the fact that it can give them easier platforms for propaganda. Thus, politics transcend from the stages and grandstand to the virtual space. Sta

Maria-Abalos (2016, p. 1-6) of the University of the Philippines Baguio, observed political opinion is already happening online. She said that supporters of candidates are much more engaged in social media, specifically Facebook, with the use of click buttons 'like' and 'share' while 'comments' provide a space for posting opinions or starting a time delayed discussion. Sta Maria-Abalos explained that online media is actually a space where people are bounded by information and extensive use by individuals and groups become a public space to relay information and may "influence political opinion". However, the problem of Facebook posts rarely present complete information and lead to uninformed and usually brash opinions. Sta Maria-Abalos reiterated:

What is evident in these kinds of Facebook pages is presentation of limited information but with conversations and replies of Facebook users with extreme and nonsensical comments. Because this is primarily used as a source of information for most voters, posts such as these elicits more questions and confusion about information contained in the post and in the thread of comments (Sta Maria-Abalos, 2016, p. 1-6).

These certain interactions also change the way social media sites behave. In the concept of "Social Media Logic" (van Dijck & Poell, 2013, p. 5-6), Facebook demonstrates "programmability" wherein interaction of users with relational activities such as liking, favoriting, or sharing may in turn influence the flow of communication and information. Algorithms within the social media site are affected by the number of likes, shares, or comments of a certain post. More of these interactions in a post, the higher that post in people's news feeds. This

is against mass media's "programming" where content is scheduled in a one-way fashion which is often dictated by editorial judgments of those who run the newsroom or the company as a whole. Though users can "resist" these algorithms in some sites such as Reddit, the attempt is futile in Facebook or even Twitter since "code" is hidden from view and un-editable. As posts appear higher in a news feed, coincides with another element of social media logic. "Popularity" is affected by way of "distinct mechanisms for boosting popularity of people, things, or ideas, which is measured mostly in quantified terms" (van Dijck & Poell, 2013, p. 7). For example, Facebook's EdgeRank which is an algorithm, relying on quantified data, push some topics higher the feed and devalues others subsequently suggesting popularity or "trending". Twitter also has its own algorithm but similar to Facebook's. However, these algorithms can be manipulated by "trending" techniques whereby "groups of users who decide something needs to become trending can orchestrate a publicity wave to promote a particular item". This feature, which public relations managers and even people who want to make their ideas or themselves, take advantage of in order to reach more people in a virtual environment. A stark contrast from mass media's logic of controlled environments.

No other election has made social media abuzz than this year's national polls, much more pronounced in Facebook where much of the online campaigns have focused their effort. Just this year, Facebook

said it has more or less 49 million active monthly members from the Philippines alone (Statista, 2016). With that number, campaign managers have seen a way to easily reach millions of people not only to make people aware of their candidates but to engage them as well and further their candidate's popularity.

Using social media has many perks but it also has its fair share of problems particularly among the supporters of any candidate. Information of any kind in social media is rarely fully presented. If a person needs to read a full story, such as news, in social media, one will have to get out of the site itself to be in a certain website. This is problematic especially in the Philippines where internet connectivity and speed is an issue. Telecommunication companies may have promos for free access to social media sites but the subscriber needs to have enough internet load credits to surf outside of Facebook or Twitter. At times, even if a person has access outside of social media networks, very slow connection certainly discourages that subscriber to even click on web links to supposedly read complete information. Sta Maria-Abalos (2016, p. 8) explains that the incomplete portrayal of ideas, opinions, and information in general, "elicits more questions and confusion about information contained in the post and in the thread of comments". She added users of the social media site gets temporarily satisfied eventually lead the formation of shallow political opinion. Sta Maria-Abalos' argument explains further how shallow discourse amongst

political players, particularly supporters of candidates in an election, emanate in the online space.

These mix problems and new found freedoms with the internet has become the root of the emergence of the anti-media movement in the online space. In this paper, the term "anti-media" is defined as a virtual community composed of individuals disapproving of the practices of the news media. The study of this phenomenon is important in order to understand the growth of online virtual communities that are influenced by agenda, personality, or events. In this case, the national elections and the indirect influence of then candidate Rodrigo Duterte has instigated the formation of an anti-media movement in social media.

As a result, whoever has the power to control the agenda is whoever controls information and opinions. It has been established that the mainstream media has its agenda. The same is true with the anti-media which aims to sway people away from the agenda of the mainstream media. The anti-media community enforces its own agenda through posting and sharing of alternative information in the internet. The determination of the factors behind the anti-media behavior is worthy to understand and explore upon.

Thus, the researcher aims to answer the following questions:

1. What are the factors in the formation of the "anti-media" community in the Philippines society?

2. How did the “anti-media” emerge in the country’s context?

Based on these questions, the study’s objectives are:

1. To identify the factors leading to the formation of the anti-media community in the Philippines.
2. To analyze the factors on how these lead to the formation of the anti-media community

METHODS

The researcher used a qualitative research method. Various social media posts were gathered and observed from April to August 2016, which contained information or messages against the mainstream media’s coverage of the elections. These posts were subjected to textual analysis where the researcher determined the agenda of various political sectors including individuals and organizations. Historical and present factors leading to

the emergence were also determined. The Agenda Setting Theory used to analyze and explain the phenomena of the emergence of the anti-media movement.

FINDING

Various factors contributed to the emergence of the anti-media in the Philippines. First, is the prolific use of the internet and its tools. Numerous “news” websites sprouted even before the 2016 national elections have started. One of which is kami.com.ph. This website collates news and features from other news outlets. Some stories were even paraphrased from the original source. However, it is observable that the site bannered any and all news about Duterte, his campaign, and events. Most of it being posted in the front or home page. Even after the elections, the site dedicated a “Rodrigo Duterte” section which is a compilation of all the content about Duterte (see Figure 1).

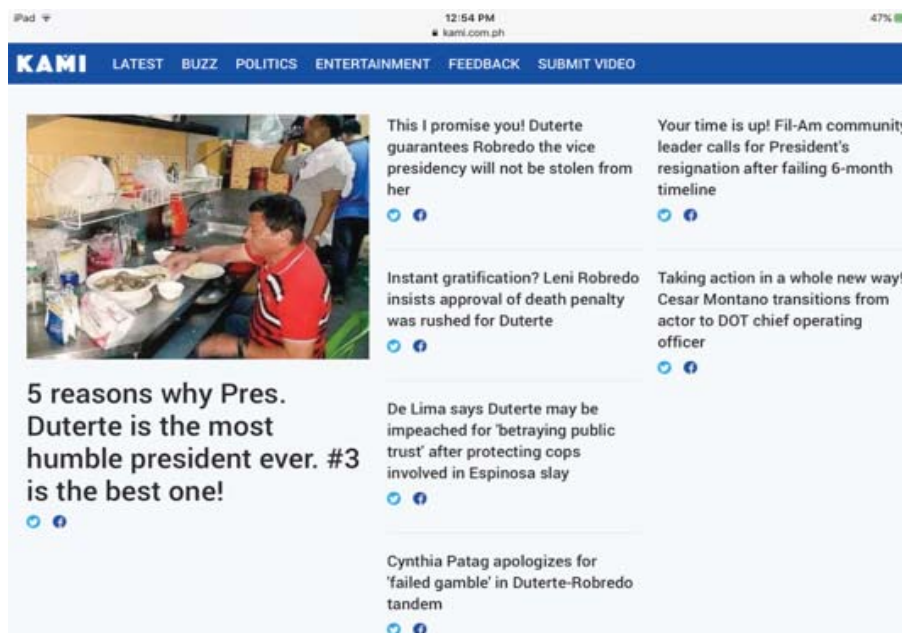


Figure 1 Kami.com.ph’s Duterte Subsite

Another site is newsportal-ph.blogspot.com. It has the same layout and presentation of content as kami.com.ph. It has a banner headline and picture for each story such as seen in Figure 2. The site is dominated by articles all about Duterte. After the elections, it renamed itself into du30newsinfo.com.



Newsportal: Trillanes Offers Himself as Defense Adviser to Duterte?

Figure 2 Newsportal-ph's Article about Senator Antonio Trillanes' Offer to Duterte

Both sites employed professional designs akin to news websites such as CNN, local ABS-CBN network or Inquirer.net. Other websites followed suit such as aspinoynetring.altervista.org, pinoytrendingnews.net, and trendingphnewz.blogpost.com among others. All these websites also utilized social media to their advantage especially Facebook to spread its content by way of linking their stories or their whole website (see Figure 3). It can be shared and saved. Subsequently, liked and commented then it appears on the top of news feeds.



Figure 3 Kami.com.ph being Shared and Reachable via Facebook

With the help of Facebook, these websites and its contents are being spread like wildfire. Facebook has an algorithm which places highly interacted posts and sites appear on top or recurrent in news feeds. It is in this way that an agenda is established and enhanced through repetitive visits helped out by social media. The agenda of the anti-media movement is to make Duterte known to many people through the free help of interactions in Facebook. With the use of “news website” styles of presentation, borrowing information or whole articles from other news sites present a sense of credibility. It also creates an agenda wherein the objective information have been selected with a Duterte topic from other sites are being collated or at times, rewritten to suit the writer’s agenda and placed in their website. This is in accordance to the thought of agenda setting that the writer leaves out information and presents other information that appropriate for their interests. The other candidates only relegated their online strategy with status updates, photo albums with captions, and videos that are mostly personal in nature and gets lost in the newsfeed without interactions.



Figure 4 Supporters Engagement in Mudslinging

The advantage of social media is it is relatively free to comment. This leads to the second factor for the rise of the anti-media, which is the freedom to speak one's mind. Based on the observations, supporters have engaged in online mudslinging. Supporters have called each other names such as "Dutertards" for Duterte's supporters while "Yellowtards" are thrown against the Liberal Party's supporters.

The online debates became very heated to the point that the media has been dragged into the debacle. Facebook groups have sprouted to specifically move against the media. ABS-CBN Broadcasting Corporation, the company that started the widespread citizen journalism movement, has been the most criticized in the 2016 polls.

Various FB pages, mostly groups, which are connected or support to then candidate Duterte, called for the boycott of the largest broadcaster in the country for allegedly having bias for the administration's ticket. One such group is "Boycott Abs-Cbn Station". On its page introduction, the group aims to encourage supporters to stop watching the programs of the said station because of its alleged bias in reporting facts. The page is full of posts with pictures of people showing placards to "boycott" and the logo of the company. They also use the tags such as "#ABSCBNBoycott" in order for the posts to be easily found on Facebook. They are taking advantage of the tools and features of Facebook to further their agenda to do damage in a way that the station is perceived with bias.



Figure 5 A Collaged Picture from "Boycott Abs-Cbn Station"

When the polls were finished and Duterte coming out as the victor, the attacks did not end. Figure 6 presents just one of the many groups which have shown dissent of the network, also calling for the boycott of ABS-CBN. This was also during the time when the President boycotted the media because he said they were biased and presented him often in a bad light.

Rival network, GMA News, was not spared (see Figure 7). Unlike ABS-CBN, GMA's detractors are much more brazen by calling to "gather in the station's headquarters and kill all of employees..." (see Figure 7). This came about by just an article revealing Duterte's overall fitness which are seen as bias against the President. The comment may just be in jest but there were 14 people who "liked" it which is a sign of agreement to what the commenter was aiming to happen. The administrator of GMA News then replied by

tagging the Philippine National Police's page. This effort of the administrator was trying to divert the attention of those who were liking the post. With the continued interaction by people through liking the comment, it went up on top of the news feeds. However, with 20 more likes than the original commenter, the GMA News page was much more successful in gaining more interactions from either their supporters or those who really do not agree of the comment.

Other that established news networks, online social news network Rappler has also been under fire especially with Duterte's supporters. Rappler was seen as "anti-Duterte" since many of their articles pertain to the President's rather "unconventional" demeanor and rhetoric. Upon close observation, the reactions of these individuals and groups are short bursts of political "brashness" against the media.



Figure 6 Facebook Group which Called for a Boycott of ABS-CBN for Alleged Bias



Figure 7 A Supporter of the President Called People to Attack GMA Employees



Figure 8 A Supporter Saying the Bias of Rappler.com on their Various Coverages of Duterte



Figure 9 Mocha Uson in Blog

While most individuals focused on posting status updates, speaking their minds through the comments box or reacted by liking or sharing, one particular person has taken the rhetoric to a whole new level. She is Margaux Uson or popularly known for her stage name as “Mocha Uson”. She is a former member of a sexy dance group and now a confessed supporter of the President. Her blog “Mocha Uson Blog” gained ground in the late 2010s because of the sexual topics she discusses. However, in media interviews, she is

now a self-confessed volunteer for the present administration. Just recently, Uson talks about Duterte and anything under sun. Moreover, she gets more attention in Facebook where she shares her blog posts. She is very vocal about her dismay with the mainstream media. Such as seen in Figure 9 wherein she described established news organizations as “presstitutes” which, according to her, are journalists or news outfits which profess fairness and balance in reporting but have personal, political, or corporate goals in mind.

Another scathing tirade from Uson was a tweet she posted last July 3 where she said (see Figure 10) authentic journalism is not learnt in school. This post earned a mixed bag of reactions from journalists and netizens but mostly against her argument.



Figure 10 Mocha Uson in Twitter

Her posts were in response to the political bias that the mainstream media have been presenting in their news programs. According to her, the media have been unfair to Duterte in various social and political issues. Mainstream news writers are deliberately diverting people's attention from Duterte's platforms by highlighting perceived bad news, which she explicitly writes in her numerous posts. Other than expressions of support and selecting certain news which she perceives as helpful to Duterte's image, her posts were more of attacks on the credibility of the mainstream media to be balanced, fair, and ethical in presenting the news.

Uson's repeated and often escalating "attacks" against the news media, in general, sets the agenda against the perceived political propaganda and bias of the mainstream media. Despite these, the apparent silence of the news media against the online bombardments against them further enhanced or reinforced the resolve of the anti-media. This is where

the tables are turned whereby the agenda setting of the news media pushes stories out of the public's interests, the anti-media pushes their own interest for the public to understand and believe in the long run.

DISCUSSION

The Philippine news media is definitely on the ropes with the emergence of the anti-media movement in the country. The researcher has found 3 main factors to the emergence of the anti-media movement in the Philippines. One is the proliferation and increased usage of the internet. The penetration of the internet in the country and the easy access that cheap smart gadgets offer to everyone has given the freedom to ordinary people to voice out their problems against the mainstream media's abuse of their vested power. The internet is a way for "netizens" to prevent both setting and cutting done by news organizations which have pre-set prejudices, both internal and external influencers, and biases which prevent the whole picture from being presented to the general public.

The second factor is the use of the tools from the internet specifically websites and social media. The features of these tools enabled supporters of then candidate Duterte to further their candidate's popularity especially in the online space. The tools such social media and easy website creation lead the way for people to either congregate to support a cause or to spread propaganda. Social media's popularity is a come on for interest groups to engage with almost everyone and including the mainstream

media. With algorithms which alter the agenda for who interacts most to a thumbs up icon which presents opportunities for popularity for good or for the worst. It is also a way of hyping the anti-media sentiment through constant bombardment of posts, comments or general interactions such as likes or shares. With this “trending” technique, there is also a trend which developed where like minded individuals continue to interact, converse or argue in much the same way. In this case, Duterte’s supporters have tried to convey an “anti-media” message in a lot of engagements in Facebook. One salient example is the rise of Mocha Uson as the most vocal critic of the news media from posting her opinions in her own webpage even going further by suggesting new words to describe the mainstream news organizations.

The third is the relatively free access that the tools have given to the people. With the deep penetration of social media in the Filipino society, the power to express thoughts, opinion or even news events have been ever so free nowadays. It is free to register for an online account and use it as platform to say whatever a user wants. A website is free in most cases. Through the democratization of message platforms, the assumption that the media had a monopoly on information is now a thing of the past. It is also free for almost anyone to set, cut, and frame the agenda. Thus, setting and framing of the news media for decades have been challenged by the audience doing its best to “re-frame” the agenda through their interactions in social media or putting up

numerous sites to counter all, if not most, of the mainstream media offers on their newspapers, broadcast networks, or online. The researcher also surmises that the disappointment in the mainstream media, brought about years of agenda setting, instigated a form of social mobilization.

CONCLUSION

The concept of the “anti-media” in the Philippines may not be a well established community, organization, or even recognized as a sector of the society. It may seem like a form of rebellion or a collection of bullies against the mainstream media but it shows how the country enjoys the concept of democracy and freedoms that come with it. Added to the mix is the role of technology that has eventually freed the common person from just receiving information to being a contributor and active agenda setter. Basically, they are part of a grass roots movement composed of ordinary, interconnected people, acting to set the agenda powerful, traditional, mainstream media would otherwise not present.

However, the emergence of the anti-media then brought into the fore some repercussions which has been further reinforced by President Duterte’s rhetoric and attitude on the media. One effect is on the formation of political opinions by the virtue of repeated bombardment of polarized and uninformed views of certain issues of the society. Another is the abuse of freedoms afforded by the internet’s tools such as social media to promote one’s

agenda in the expense of other people's opinions. Lastly, the apparent "challenging" or questioning of the established norms in journalism, ethics, and even civility.

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Penonton Festival Film di Yogyakarta

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Abstract: *This study aims to explore demography, behavior, information needed, and media accessed by the audience of Festival Film Pelajar Jogjakarta (FFPJ), Festival Film Dokumenter (FFD), and Jogja-Netpac Asian Film Festival (JAFF). This study uses quantitative descriptive method with survey for collecting data. The findings show that most audience are teenagers and youth, JAFF's audience are more heterogeneous compares to the other two festivals, repeated visit frequent of the three festivals is relatively low, and friends recommendation, website, and social media are the main information sources.*

Keywords: *audience, film festival, Yogyakarta*

Abstrak: *Penelitian ini bertujuan mengeksplorasi demografi, perilaku, informasi yang dibutuhkan, dan media yang diakses penonton Festival Film Pelajar Jogjakarta (FFPJ), Festival Film Dokumenter (FFD), dan Jogja-Netpac Asian Film Festival (JAFF). Penelitian ini menggunakan metode deskriptif kuantitatif dengan survei sebagai metode pengambilan data. Hasil studi menunjukkan bahwa penonton terbanyak berusia remaja dan dewasa muda, latar belakang penonton yang heterogen lebih terlihat pada penonton JAFF, frekuensi kunjungan berulang ketiga festival tersebut relatif rendah, dan rekomendasi teman, website, dan media sosial menjadi sumber informasi utama.*

Kata Kunci: *festival film, penonton, Yogyakarta*

Festival film merupakan salah satu elemen penting dunia perfilman karena menciptakan ruang pertemuan antara pembuat film, penonton, investor, dan pemerintah. Ruang tersebut tercipta melalui pemutaran, diskusi, pameran, dan hibah produksi. Melalui festival film itu pula, berbagai pihak dapat berinteraksi, bernegosiasi, dan menjalin kerja sama.

Tradisi Eropa menjadi akar dari festival film yang kemudian tumbuh dan berkembang setelah Perang Dunia II. Pertumbuhannya juga didukung oleh

industri film Amerika. Festival film Eropa dianggap sebagai oposisi festival film Amerika karena festival film di Eropa diidentikkan dengan pertunjukan film-film artistik (*high culture*), sedangkan di Amerika, film yang ditampilkan mewakili hiburan massa (*popular culture*) (De Valck, 2008, h. 15). Mengikuti dua kecenderungan tersebut, festival film pun berkembang di seluruh dunia.

Seiring dengan peningkatan jumlah festival film di seluruh dunia, kajian mengenai festival film juga mengalami

peningkatan signifikan. Sebagian besar peneliti festival film mengarahkan perhatian pada konteks sosial dan kultural, seperti identitas (Berry, 1999), *content* (Davis & Yeh, 2008; Cheung & Fisher, 2011), dan ruang lingkup: lokal, nasional, global (Ahn, 2008; Chan, 2011; Dönmez-Colin, 2012). Namun pembicaraan tentang penonton festival mendapatkan porsi yang sama kecilnya dengan aspek festival lain. Maka, aspek kepenontonan perlu mendapat perhatian untuk menjamin keberlangsungan festival.

Mengikuti perkembangan di kota-kota di dunia, festival film tumbuh dan berkembang seiring dengan geliat dan gerak perfilman Yogyakarta sejak 2000-an. Pada kurun waktu tersebut, beberapa komunitas pembuat dan pengapresiasi film tumbuh di Yogyakarta karena beberapa faktor. *Pertama*, kebebasan berekspresi yang meluas setelah rezim Orde Baru berganti. *Kedua*, kemudahan teknologi digital yang membuat proses produksi dan distribusi film menjadi lebih mudah dan murah. *Ketiga*, tersedia kantong-kantong budaya yang telah lama terbentuk (Nugroho & Herlina, 2012, h. 300).

Di antara banyak festival film yang lahir di Yogyakarta, ada tiga festival film yang diselenggarakan secara konsisten, yaitu Festival Film Dokumenter (FFD), Jogja-Netpac Asian Film Festival (JAFF), dan Festival Film Pelajar Jogjakarta (FFPJ). Masing-masing festival memiliki kekhasan dan tujuan yang berbeda.

FFD pertama kali diselenggarakan pada Desember 2002 oleh Komunitas

Dokumenter. Komunitas Dokumenter kemudian berubah menjadi Forum Film Dokumenter pada 2013. Organisasi yang memiliki fokus pada film dokumenter di Indonesia ini bersifat nonprofit. Tujuan organisasi ini membangun infrastruktur film dokumenter melalui penelitian, *workshop*, arsip, pemutaran, produksi, dan festival. Festival ini merupakan festival film dokumenter pertama di Asia Tenggara (Tentang Festival, 2016).

JAFF didirikan pada 2006. Selain mempromosikan sinema Asia pada publik Indonesia, tujuan festival ini juga menciptakan ruang pertemuan berbagai sektor, seperti seni, budaya, dan pariwisata. Sejak berdiri, JAFF bekerjasama dengan sebuah organisasi film dan budaya yang anggotanya berasal dari 30 negara, yaitu Netpac (*Network for the Promotion of Asian Cinema*) (About JAFF, 2016).

Sedangkan FFPJ dimulai pada 2010. Festival ini bermaksud menciptakan ruang belajar bersama, *sharing*, ruang pertemuan komunitas, dan kompetisi film bagi pelajar tingkat sekolah menengah atas dan setara yang memiliki cakupan nasional (Aryanto, 2015, h. 4).

Masing-masing festival mencanakan kegiatannya dengan menasar penonton tertentu, misalnya FFPJ dikhususkan bagi pelajar SMA, sedangkan FFD dan JAFF ditujukan untuk penonton yang lebih dewasa. Meskipun telah berjalan lebih dari 5 tahun, pengelola festival film belum dapat mengidentifikasi profil penonton festival secara spesifik. Lebih jauh, mereka tidak dapat merumuskan informasi

yang paling diperlukan dan media yang digunakan oleh khalayak untuk mengakses informasi tersebut. Oleh karena itu, penelitian ini dirancang untuk mengetahui profil demografi, perilaku, informasi yang dibutuhkan, dan media yang diakses penonton festival film.

Festival film berakar dari pemutaran film yang dilakukan di gedung kesenian dan ruang semi permanen. Pada kurun 1920-an, di Perancis, kemunculan gerakan *cine-club* ditandai dengan pendirian *Travail et Culture*. Setelah Perang Dunia II, kegiatan apresiasi film semakin marak ketika Andre Bazin menjadi pelopor kajian sinema secara serius. *International Exhibition of Cinematographic Art* yang dilaksanakan pada Agustus 1932 dianggap sebagai festival film pertama di dunia. Acara ini merupakan bagian dari *Venice Biennial Exhibition of Italian Art*. Sutradara Benito Mussolini (1883-1945) menginisiasi festival ini sebagai bentuk perlawanan terhadap film Hollywood (*History of Film Festivals*, 2017).

Pada awal perkembangan film, Eropa adalah pelopor festival film. Salah satu festival film tertua yang masih bertahan sampai sekarang adalah *Cannes Film Festival*. Kegiatan ini dimulai sejak 1939 untuk mengakomodasi film-film Perancis yang dianggap berbeda dengan film Hollywood (Amerika). Melalui festival film ini, pembuat film Perancis menampilkan ideologi dan estetika fasis. Setelah Perang Dunia II, *Berlin Film Festival* diselenggarakan pada 1950 sebagai pernyataan politik dalam konteks perang

dingin yang membagi kota Berlin menjadi Blok Barat dan Blok Timur (Ruling & Pedersen, 2010, h. 319).

Menurut De Valck (2008), ada tiga fase perkembangan festival film di dunia. *Pertama*, era kelahiran festival film *Cannes* dan *Venice* yang menjadi penanda pembentukan format festival sebagai ajang pertunjukan sinema nasional (1932-1968). *Kedua*, masa festival film independen yang bekerja untuk melindungi seni sinematik dan fasilitator industri (1970-1980). *Ketiga*, fase pembentukan sirkuit festival film internasional yang menghubungkan berbagai festival film di seluruh dunia dan ditandai dengan profesionalisasi dan institusionalisasi (1980-sekarang).

Penelitian yang dilakukan Stephen Follows menyebutkan bahwa sekitar 3000 festival film saat ini aktif dijalankan. Pada kurun 15 tahun terakhir, terdapat 9.706 festival film yang 75% di antaranya diselenggarakan pada 10 tahun terakhir, sedangkan 39% festival hanya dapat terselenggara 1 kali (Follows, 2013).

International Federation of Film Producers Associations (FIAPF) membagi festival film menjadi beberapa kategori, yaitu kompetisi film panjang, kompetisi film panjang kategori khusus, film panjang nonkompetisi, dokumenter, dan film pendek. Asosiasi ini juga melakukan akreditasi terhadap festival film dunia. Saat ini ada 47 festival film yang telah mendapatkan akreditasi (*International Film Festivals*, 2016).

Sinema mempresentasikan budaya nasional melalui eksplorasi pengetahuan

tentang ras, gender, seksualitas, dan agama. Film juga diproduksi, didistribusikan, dan dikonsumsi dalam konsepsi ekonomi dan sosial. Oleh karena itu, festival film memiliki peran penting dalam sirkulasi budaya dan ekonomi (Unwin, Kerrigan, Waite & Grant, 2007, h. 232-233).

Festival film tidak hanya banyak jumlahnya, tetapi juga penting dalam perkembangan film. Kegiatan ini merupakan ruang interseksi seni, bisnis, teknologi, budaya, identitas, kekuasaan, politik, dan ideologi (Ruling & Pedersen, 2010, h. 318). Festival film merupakan arena memperkenalkan produk baru, membangun standar industri, membentuk jaringan sosial, penghargaan, berbagi, dan menginterpretasikan informasi serta transaksi bisnis (Lampel & Meyer dalam Ruling & Pedersen, 2010, h. 318).

Festival film merupakan ruang budaya, sosial, dan ekonomi. Festival film memuat kegiatan pemutaran film, *master class*, seminar, *workshop*, *film market*, dan presentasi. Seluruh rangkaian kegiatan itu membutuhkan banyak partisipasi dari pelaku industri film. Para penonton dapat mengukur pencapaian industri film, baik dari segi kualitas estetika, teknis, dan penceritaan melalui tontonan yang disuguhkan festival film. Festival film juga menyediakan ruang pertemuan para pelaku industri untuk membangun jaringan kerja dan proyek kolaboratif.

Kehadiran khalayak di festival film memiliki dimensi ekonomi dan budaya. Selama festival, para pengunjung mengeluarkan sejumlah dana yang dapat

menggerakkan perekonomian. Kehadiran khalayak juga mengundang sponsor komersial untuk festival film. Pengetahuan mengenai demografi dan status ekonomi penonton menjadi hal penting untuk dimiliki pengelola festival. Dimensi lain adalah budaya. Perilaku penonton selama festival dapat digunakan untuk mengukur selera estetik. Pertemuan antara penonton dan pelaku perfilman menciptakan ruang dialog budaya yang perlu diketahui oleh pengelola festival demi memertahankan eksistensinya.

Beberapa festival film yang mapan membuat laporan secara teratur mengenai karakteristik demografis dan dampak ekonomis dari kehadiran penonton festival. Salah satunya adalah laporan yang dibuat penyelenggara *Sundance Film Festival*. Pada 2015, pengunjung festival ini sejumlah 46.107 orang. Sebanyak 33% dari jumlah tersebut adalah penduduk Utah, sedangkan sisanya (67%) dari luar daerah. Sejumlah 25% pengunjung berusia di atas 55 tahun, sedangkan 24% berusia 26-35 tahun. Selama pelaksanaan festival, penonton membelanjakan dana tak kurang dari \$62.194.802 untuk penginapan, makan, penyewaan mobil, transportasi, hiburan, dan retail (Stambro, 2015).

Penelitian mengenai penonton festival film juga menunjukkan bahwa penonton memperhatikan hal-hal tertentu selama festival berlangsung. Penonton mempertimbangkan pilihan film dan program yang akan diikuti berdasarkan informasi yang dikumpulkan sebelumnya. Karakter demografis penonton dianggap

memengaruhi cara pengambilan keputusan ini. Lebih jauh, kepuasan konsumen tidak hanya ditentukan oleh konten festival, tetapi juga lokasi, staf, kemudahan *website*, dan atmosfer festival secara umum (Nikula, 2012).

Menurut De Valck (2008, h. 189), ada enam jenis penonton festival. *Pertama, the lone-list maker*, yaitu penonton yang menyiapkan daftar film/kegiatan yang ingin diikuti berdasarkan seleranya sendiri. *Kedua, the highlight seeker*, yaitu penonton menyiapkan kunjungannya ke festival, tetapi secara sadar mempertimbangkan dan mengumpulkan tips dari orang lain agar tidak melewatkan program-program unggulan festival. *Ketiga, the specialist*, yaitu penonton yang mengunjungi festival karena program unik yang ditawarkan. *Keempat, the leisure visitor*, yaitu pengunjung festival yang datang karena waktu luang, sehingga penonton jenis ini tidak mau memberikan pengorbanan dana dan uang untuk memilih film sebelum menontonnya. *Kelima, the social tourist*, yaitu pengunjung yang menjadikan festival sebagai sarana pergaulan sosial. Penonton jenis ini sekadar mengikuti saran orang yang dipercaya dalam kelompok. *Keenam, the volunteer*, yaitu pekerja festival yang ingin mendapatkan pengalaman mendalam sebagai imbalannya.

Pertumbuhan festival film erat kaitannya dengan keinginan merasakan pengalaman dalam budaya kontemporer (Pine & Gilmore dalam De Valck, 2008). Festival film tak lagi sekadar ajang memamerkan karya seni, tetapi menjadi

produk yang dikomodifikasi dalam ekonomi budaya. Para pengunjung festival tak sekadar menonton film, tetapi menjadi bagian dari proses pemutaran.

Festival film dapat dikategorikan sebagai produk pengalaman. Konsumsi produk pengalaman dapat dibagi menjadi empat tahap (Arnould, *et al.* dalam Caru & Cova, 2003, h. 271). *Pertama*, pengalaman sebelum konsumsi yang melibatkan proses mencari, merencanakan, melamunkan, dan membayangkan pengalaman yang akan didapat. *Kedua*, pengalaman pembelian merupakan eksekusi pilihan, pembayaran, pengemasan, mendapatkan pelayanan, dan merasakan lingkungan. *Ketiga*, pengalaman konsumsi inti termasuk di dalamnya merasakan sensasi, meresapi, kepuasan/ketidakpuasan, menikmati/tidak suka, dan transformasi. *Keempat*, pengalaman mengingat konsumsi (*bernostalgia*) dengan melihat foto, membicarakan pengalaman dengan teman, dan mengklasifikasikan ingatan.

Ada beberapa aspek konsumsi produk pengalaman, yaitu konsumsi melibatkan simbol dan persepsi multisensorik (Holbrook & Hirschman, 1982), konsumen menggunakan kriteria subjektif untuk memilihnya (Mano & Oliver dalam Bassi, 2010), dan proses mengonsumsi lebih penting daripada waktu pembelian (Lacher & Mizersky dalam Bassi, 2010).

Keputusan pembelian produk hedonis tidak saja melibatkan aspek kognitif, tetapi juga aspek afektif, seperti emosi dan rangsangan sensorial. Pilihan pembelian produk pengalaman tidak hanya didorong

oleh keinginan memecahkan masalah. Kesenangan, kepuasan, dan imajinasi juga menjadi pertimbangan ketika mengonsumsi produk pengalaman.

Bassi (2010, h. 51-67) mendefinisikan empat produk pengalaman, yaitu hiburan, pendidikan, pengalihan, dan estetik. Pengalaman hiburan menempatkan individu secara pasif untuk merasakan sesuatu, seperti mendengarkan musik, menonton film, dan membaca buku. Pengalaman pendidikan mengharuskan konsumen untuk berpartisipasi dan terlibat secara fisik dan mental, sehingga proses itu dapat meningkatkan pengetahuan, kemampuan, dan keterampilan pribadi. Pengalaman pengalihan membutuhkan keterlibatan konsumen lebih dalam. Konsumen harus melakukan tindakan yang membutuhkan keberanian dan keterampilan tertentu untuk dapat merasakan pengalaman, seperti konsumsi di taman hiburan dan permainan ketangkasan. Pada pengalaman estetik, seseorang memasuki kejadian atau lingkungan yang mereka saksikan tanpa banyak terlibat. Perjalanan ke museum, objek wisata, dan wisata kuliner adalah beberapa contoh pengalaman estetik. Meskipun terbagi dalam empat kategori pengalaman, namun sebuah proses konsumsi bisa jadi merangkum beberapa pengalaman sekaligus.

Jika kita menggunakan perspektif konsumsi hedonis, produk tidak dipandang sebagai entitas objektif, tetapi simbol subjektif. Bentuk fisik produk bukan fokus utama, tetapi respons emosi konsumen

adalah kriteria utama. Ketika mengonsumsi produk, konsumen dapat memunculkan emosi tertentu, seperti kesenangan, gairah, dan kekuasaan (Mehrabian & Russell dalam Havlena & Holbrook, 1986), ketakutan, kemarahan, kenikmatan, kesedihan, jijik, penerimaan, harapan, dan kejutan (Plutchik dalam Havlena & Holbrook, 1986).

Penelitian produk pengalaman mulai mendapat perhatian sejak dekade 1990-an, seiring dengan pertumbuhan *experience economy* (ekonomi pengalaman). Lacher & Mizerski (1994) melakukan kajian eksploratif mengenai keterlibatan konsumen mengonsumsi musik rock. Reddy, Vanitha & Motley (1998) menelusuri faktor-faktor yang memengaruhi keberhasilan pertunjukan teater di Broadway. Joy & Sherry, Jr. (2003) meneliti pengalaman konsumsi estetik di museum. Contoh lain produk pengalaman adalah parfum, seni pertunjukan (opera, balet, tari, teater), seni visual (lukisan, foto, patung, kerajinan), dan budaya populer (film, acara televisi, *fashion show*, konser musik).

Perkembangan pesat festival film di era 1990-an tidak dapat dilepaskan dari pertumbuhan ekonomi pengalaman. Masyarakat merasa 'butuh' menghadiri acara-acara kebudayaan sebagai aktivitas pengisi waktu luang dan gaya hidup kelas kreatif. Festival film mampu menarik perhatian penonton karena memberikan pertunjukan 'spektakuler', seperti atmosfer festival, pemutaran khusus, dan sesi tanya jawab dengan pembuat film. Penonton juga suka menghadiri festival karena atensi yang

diberikan digantikan dengan pengalaman berharga untuk berinteraksi di dunia sosial (De Valck, 2008, h. 196).

METODE

Penelitian ini menggunakan deskriptif kuantitatif. Unit analisis adalah penonton di tiga festival film di Yogyakarta pada 2015: Festival Film Dokumenter (FFD), Jogja-Netpac Asian Film Festival (JAFF), dan Festival Film Pelajar Jogjakarta (FFPJ). Para penonton yang menjadi responden dipilih di arena penyelenggaraan festival pada 2015 berdasarkan *convenience sampling*, yaitu cara pemilihan sampel berdasarkan kemudahan akses peneliti terhadap responden.

Metode pengumpulan data dilakukan dengan menggunakan kuesioner. Di tiap festival ditargetkan 100 orang responden, namun hasil yang didapatkan bervariasi. Di FFD ada 97 responden, JAFF melibatkan 101 responden, sedangkan di FFPJ didapatkan 108 responden. Semua data yang terkumpul diolah menggunakan piranti lunak *Excel* dengan teknik distribusi frekuensi dan persentase.

Tabel 1 Jenis Kelamin

Nama Festival	Perempuan	Laki-laki	Total
FFPJ	65	43	108
JAFF	62	39	101
FFD	55	42	97
Total	182	124	306

Sumber: Data primer

Tabel 2 Usia

Nama Festival	< 17 th	18-21 th	22-25 th	25-30 th	> 35 th	TM	Total
FFPJ	81	25	1	0	0	0	108
JAFF	0	46	36	11	6	2	101
FFD	1	45	29	8	14	0	97
Total	82	116	66	19	20	2	306

Sumber: Data primer

HASIL

Demografi Penonton

Salah satu hal yang hendak diketahui melalui penelitian ini adalah karakteristik pengunjung festival film. Beberapa variabel yang diteliti adalah jenis kelamin, usia, latar belakang pendidikan, dan pekerjaan. Satu persatu diuraikan berikut ini.

Berdasarkan jenis kelamin, perempuan lebih banyak mengunjungi festival film dibanding laki-laki. Komposisi pengunjung perempuan 182 (59,4%) dan laki-laki 124 (40,6%). Fenomena ini sejalan dengan temuan di beberapa penelitian mengenai festival film lain, seperti *Rhode Island International Film Festival 2006 (2006 Fact Sheet, 2006)*, *Oxford Film Festival* (Thomas & Kim, 2011), dan *Sundance Film Festival* (Meppen & Tennert, 2016). Seluruh penelitian tersebut berdasar pada analisis deskriptif kuantitatif, sehingga belum dapat mengetahui alasan perempuan lebih tertarik mengunjungi festival film dibanding laki-laki. Namun, data ini dapat menjadi catatan bagi pengelola festival untuk memperhatikan saluran komunikasi dan isi festival yang mampu menarik perhatian perempuan.

Sebagian besar pengunjung festival adalah remaja berusia 18-21 tahun berjumlah 116 (37,9%) responden, disusul dewasa muda berusia 22-25 tahun berjumlah 66 (21,5%) responden. Jika dijumlahkan, lebih dari setengah responden (59,4%) pengunjung festival adalah anak muda. Rentang usia tersebut sangat sempit dan memiliki karakteristik yang khas. Mereka biasanya masih bersekolah (SMA atau kuliah) dan belum memiliki pendapatan sendiri.

Sebelum survei dilakukan, dominasi jumlah siswa SMA sebagai penonton FFPJ telah lebih dulu diperkirakan akan terjadi. Hal ini karena panitia sengaja menyasar mereka sebagai peserta kompetisi dan khalayak. Beberapa peserta yang berpendidikan di atas SMA adalah donatur dan simpatisan festival ini.

Penonton JAFF dan FFD didominasi oleh anak muda yang sedang atau telah menempuh pendidikan tinggi jenjang sarjana, yaitu sebanyak 142 (46,4%). Menarik untuk dicermati bahwa dari

306 responden hanya 9 di antaranya telah bekerja. Jika dikaitkan dengan data pekerjaan pada Tabel 5, ada 61 responden yang mengaku bekerja, yaitu terdiri dari 3 PNS dan 58 tenaga profesional. Artinya, hanya 18,6% dari seluruh responden yang memiliki penghasilan.

Ketika ditelusuri lebih lanjut soal status pelajar dan mahasiswa, ada kecenderungan menarik seperti ditunjukkan oleh Tabel 5. Penonton festival lebih banyak yang memiliki latar belakang pendidikan di bidang media dan budaya.

Tempat tinggal penonton festival juga menjadi variabel yang diamati. Beberapa penelitian yang dilakukan oleh berbagai panitia festival internasional memperlihatkan bahwa variabel ini penting untuk diketahui. Penonton dari luar kota biasanya harus mengeluarkan biaya lebih untuk dapat menikmati festival, seperti biaya penginapan dan makanan. Artinya, festival film dapat memberikan dampak pada perkembangan ekonomi dan citra positif wilayah tersebut.

Tabel 3 Pendidikan

Nama Festival	< SMA	SMA	D3	S1	S2	Bekerja	TM	Total
FFPJ	52	51	0	1	3	1	0	108
JAFF	0	1	3	81	5	7	4	101
FFD	1	9	8	61	8	1	1	97
Total	53	61	11	142	16	9	5	306

Sumber: Data primer

Tabel 4 Pekerjaan

Nama Festival	Sekolah	Kuliah	PNS	Profesional	TM	Total
FFPJ	104	2	0	2	0	108
JAFF	2	64	0	35	0	101
FFD	4	64	3	21	5	97
Total	110	130	3	58	5	306

Sumber: Data primer

Tabel 5 Bidang Pendidikan Berkaitan dengan Media dan Budaya

Nama Festival	Ya	Tidak	TM	Total
FFPJ	92	16	0	108
JAFF	47	53	1	101
FFD	64	33	0	97
Total	203	102	1	306

Sumber: Data primer

Tabel 6 Tempat Tinggal Penonton

Nama Festival	Yogyakarta	Luar Yogyakarta	Total
FFPJ	6	102	108
JAFF	59	42	101
FFD	59	37	97
Total	124	181	306

Sumber: Data primer

Tabel 6 menunjukkan bahwa penonton dari luar kota lebih banyak daripada penonton dari Yogyakarta. Hampir semua penonton FFPJ justru berasal dari luar kota. Pengunjung JAFF cukup berimbang, sedangkan penikmat FFD sebagian besar dari dalam Yogyakarta. Sekilas, angka tersebut menunjukkan daya tarik festival di Yogyakarta yang cukup besar. Namun, hal tersebut perlu dicermati lebih lanjut.

Perilaku Penonton

Selain hendak mengungkap faktor demografi, penelitian ini juga ingin

mengetahui perilaku penonton festival film. Variabel yang diungkap meliputi frekuensi kunjungan festival, jumlah pemutaran film, dan diskusi yang hendak disimak, sebagaimana ditunjukkan oleh Tabel 7, Tabel 8, dan Tabel 9.

Frekuensi kunjungan festival yang berulang, yaitu dua dan tiga kali, cukup kecil dibanding dengan kunjungan pertama, sehingga dapat dikatakan bahwa penonton festival film tidak melakukan kunjungan berulang.

Tabel 8 menunjukkan bahwa kunjungan khalayak ke bioskop juga cukup rendah. Sebagian besar penonton pergi ke bioskop hanya sekali sebulan. Jumlah terbesar selanjutnya, 1-2 kali sebulan. Hal ini berkaitan erat dengan kunjungan ke festival film karena menyangkut intensitas menonton film dan daya beli khalayak.

Selanjutnya, Tabel 9 dan Tabel 10 mendeskripsikan jumlah pemutaran film dan diskusi yang hendak diikuti penonton festival film. Ada catatan khusus untuk FFPJ, yaitu festival ini dilakukan satu hari penuh dengan jadwal tunggal yang disusun

Tabel 7 Frekuensi Kunjungan Festival

Frekuensi Kunjungan	Frekuensi	Persentase
1	219	71,57%
2	33	10,78%
3	16	5,23%
> 3	16	5,23%

Sumber: Data primer

Tabel 8 Frekuensi Kunjungan ke Bioskop

Nama Festival	1/minggu	1/bulan	1-2 /bulan	3-4/bulan	≥5 kali/bulan	TM	Total
FFPJ	7	41	35	6	3	16	108
JAFF	2	35	35	10	5	14	101
FFD	3	41	24	13	0	16	97
Total	12	117	94	29	8	46	306

Sumber: Data primer

panitia untuk semua partisipan, sehingga seluruh pengunjung akan mengikuti satu rangkaian acara yang serupa. Oleh karena itu, data mengenai FFPJ tidak ditampilkan dan dibahas.

Tabel 9 Jumlah Pemutaran Film yang Hendak Ditonton

Nama Festival	1	2	3	4	≥ 5	TM	Total
FFPJ	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
JAFF	16	15	12	5	40	13	101
FFD	10	11	9	6	36	12	97
Total	26	26	21	11	76	25	198

Sumber: Data primer

Tabel 10 Jumlah Diskusi yang Hendak Diikuti

Nama Festival	1	2	3	4	≥ 5	TM	Total
FFPJ	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
JAFF	22	6	5	2	9	56	101
FFD	20	13	7	2	16	40	97
Total	46	19	12	4	25	96	198

Sumber: Data primer

Kedua tabel di atas menunjukkan bahwa pemutaran film lebih populer dibandingkan diskusi. Penonton festival memiliki keinginan besar untuk menonton banyak film. Bahkan, 76 dari 198 responden yang ingin menonton lebih dari lima film di JAFF dan FFD.

Sebaliknya, Tabel 10 justru menunjukkan bahwa angka partisipasi diskusi tertinggi adalah 1 diskusi, yaitu sejumlah 46 dari 198 responden. Angka lain yang perlu diperhatikan adalah sejumlah 98 dari 198 responden memilih tidak menjawab pertanyaan ini. Artinya, diskusi bukan hal yang menarik bagi pengunjung festival film.

Tabel 13 Dampak Pengantar di Festival

Nama Festival	Sangat Besar	Besar	Biasa	Sedikit	Sangat Sedikit	Tidak Menjawab	Total
FFPJ	18	44	27	2	1	16	108
JAFF	13	33	15	6	3	31	101
FFD	18	21	17	3	6	32	97
Total	49	98	59	11	19	79	306

Sumber: Data primer

Informasi yang Dibutuhkan

Hasil survei terhadap penonton di tiga festival film menunjukkan bahwa penonton sangat memperhatikan isi dan pengantar festival. Pada Tabel 11, terlihat bahwa sejumlah 203 (66,3%) responden mempelajari isi festival yang secara umum meliputi pemutaran film, *workshop*, dan seminar. Pengunjung ini adalah orang-orang yang sangat memperhatikan konten festival sebelum menentukan film yang ditonton dan diskusi yang diikuti.

Tabel 11 Mempelajari Isi Festival

Nama Festival	Ya	Tidak	TM	Total
FFPJ	81	27	0	108
JAFF	71	29	0	101
FFD	51	45	1	97
Total	203	101	1	306

Sumber: Data primer

Selain program, penyelenggara festival biasanya juga memublikasikan pengantar festival yang ditulis oleh pemimpin, manajer, dan pembuat program. Pengantar itu biasanya berisi arahan tema, ulasan program, urgensi program, dan ucapan terima kasih kepada sponsor dan penonton. Tulisan tersebut dimuat antara lain di katalog, *website*, dan media sosial. Berdasarkan respons pengunjung, tulisan tersebut dinilai memiliki dampak besar dalam penentuan keputusan kehadiran di festival film.

Tabel 12 Mempelajari Pengantar Festival

Nama Festival	Ya	Tidak	TM	Total
FFPJ	63	17	28	108
JAFF	49	26	26	101
FFD	43	33	16	97
Total	155	76	79	306

Sumber: Data primer

Pada sebuah festival film, pilihan film menjadi keputusan khalayak paling utama. Demi kemudahan khayalak, penyelenggara menyediakan informasi mengenai film yang diputar dalam berbagai media, seperti *website*, katalog, siaran pers, *leaflet*, dan media sosial. Hal-hal yang dimuat dapat berupa nama sutradara, tema film, sinopsis, dan penghargaan yang pernah diraih.

Tabel 14 menunjukkan bahwa tema film dan rekomendasi teman menempati posisi teratas dasar penonton memilih film, yaitu sebanyak 52 (26,26%) dan 63 (31,81%) dari total 198 responden.

Preferensi media

Ketersediaan berbagai media membuat penyelenggara festival mendapatkan kesempatan sekaligus tantangan dalam memublikasikan festival. Variasi media

menyediakan kesempatan luas bagi penyelenggara untuk menampilkan informasi festival dalam berbagai format, yaitu tulis, suara, dan audio visual. Namun, pada saat bersamaan, ragam media membuat penonton tidak terkonsentrasi pada satu medium saja. Oleh karena itu, penting untuk mengidentifikasi media yang paling banyak diakses oleh khalayak potensial.

Tabel 15 dan Tabel 16 memuat informasi mengenai pilihan media yang paling banyak diakses oleh khalayak festival film. Sebagaimana sumber informasi ketika memilih film, penonton sangat memperhatikan informasi dari teman dan saudara untuk mengetahui festival tertentu. Hal ini sejalan dengan preferensi pengunjung festival film yang jarang melakukan kunjungan ulang (Unwin, Kerrigan, Waite & Grant, 2007).

Tabel 14 Dasar Memilih Film

Nama Festival	Sutradara	Pengantar Katalog	Publikasi Festival	Rekomendasi Teman	Tema Film	Artikel di Media	Kritik Film	Penghargaan	Lainnya	TM	Total
FFPJ	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
JAFF	27	12	14	36	35	15	17	26	10	0	101
FFD	11	22	15	16	28	4	11	6	12	6	97
Total	38	34	29	52	63	19	28	32	32	6	198

Sumber: Data primer

Tabel 15 Sumber Informasi tentang Festival

Nama Festival	Radio	Iklan luar ruang	Majalah	Teman/Saudara	Website/blog	Televisi	Media sosial	Lainnya	TM	Total
FFPJ	1	0	0	44	48	0	11	11	2	108
JAFF	1	3	0	60	25	0	48	7	0	101
FFD	1	4	1	56	24	0	32	8	0	97
Total	3	7	1	160	97	0	91	26	2	306

Sumber: Data primer

Tabel 16 Sumber Informasi Isi Festival

Nama Festival	Website Festival	Buletin Festival	Leaflet Program	Iklan Media Cetak	Katalog	Media Sosial	Tidak Mempelajari	Total
FFPJ	55	2	2	0	3	19	29	108
JAFF	58	2	9	1	11	20	29	101
FFD	29	2	5	2	11	14	44	97
Total	142	6	16	3	14	53	102	306

Sumber: Data primer

Saluran lain yang dominan adalah *website/blog* dan media sosial. Kecenderungan ini beriringan dengan media yang digunakan untuk memahami isi festival secara detail. Kedua media berbasis digital itu menjadi pilihan utama penonton. Hasil meta-analisis UNESCO (2009) tentang berbagai festival di dunia menyebutkan bahwa *website* dan media sosial merupakan bagian penting dalam penyebaran informasi kegiatan budaya karena media ini mendorong orang untuk berpartisipasi bersama dengan komunitas *online*-nya.

PEMBAHASAN

Temuan data menunjukkan bahwa perempuan lebih banyak mengunjungi festival film dibanding laki-laki. Fenomena ini sejalan dengan temuan di beberapa penelitian mengenai festival film lain, seperti *Rhode Island International Film Festival 2006 (2006 Fact Sheet, 2006)*, *Oxford Film Festival* (Thomas & Kim, 2011), dan *Sundance Film Festival* (Meppen & Tennert, 2016). Seluruh penelitian tersebut berdasar pada analisis deskriptif kuantitatif, sehingga belum dapat mengetahui alasan perempuan lebih tertarik mengunjungi festival film dibanding laki-laki. Namun, data ini dapat menjadi catatan bagi pengelola festival untuk memperhatikan saluran komunikasi dan isi festival yang mampu menarik perhatian perempuan.

Sebagian besar pengunjung festival adalah remaja dan dewasa muda. Hasil penelitian ini cukup berbeda dengan

kisaran usia penonton festival film yang telah mapan, seperti penonton *Sundance Film Festival* (Meppen & Tennert, 2016) yang lebih dari setengahnya berusia 45 tahun. Hal ini sejalan dengan segmentasi penonton film seni di Amerika Serikat yang cenderung didominasi oleh penonton berusia di atas 50 tahun (Austin, 1983, h. 12).

Jika melihat perbedaan usia penonton festival film di Indonesia dan Amerika di atas, ada beberapa hal yang dapat ditelaah lebih lanjut. Penonton Indonesia adalah kelompok anak muda yang belum memiliki pekerjaan, sehingga daya beli mereka terbatas. Sebaliknya, penonton Amerika adalah kelompok dewasa yang biasanya telah mengalami kebebasan finansial. Artinya, mereka memiliki dana cukup besar untuk kegiatan waktu luang. Pada situasi ini, penonton Amerika memberi dampak yang cukup besar secara ekonomi, sedangkan festival film di Indonesia bekerja dalam ceruk yang spesifik. Artinya, pengelola festival perlu memperluas rentang usia penontonya. Data mengenai usia ini linier dengan data mengenai pekerjaan dan pendidikan.

Jika ditelusuri lebih lanjut, penonton FFD didominasi oleh orang-orang yang berminat di bidang media dan budaya. Sedangkan penonton JAFF terdiri dari orang yang berminat di bidang media budaya dan bukan. Artinya, penonton JAFF lebih umum dibandingkan kedua festival lain.

Jumlah peserta dari luar kota didominasi oleh FFPJ yang secara khusus

mengundang dan memfasilitasi penginapan mereka. Di saat yang sama, JAFF juga menyelenggarakan satu program “Temu Komunitas” yang berusaha mengundang dan memfasilitasi pegiat komunitas film dari seluruh Indonesia. Sedangkan FFD tidak melakukan fasilitasi apapun untuk pengunjung dari luar kota. Oleh karena itu, peran panitia cukup dominan. Meskipun jumlah pengunjung luar kota besar, angka ini belum mampu menunjukkan daya tarik festival.

Data menunjukkan bahwa kunjungan berulang terhitung rendah, namun penonton ingin memaksimalkan pengalaman menonton film pada tiap kunjungannya. Festival-festival internasional yang cukup mapan justru sangat bergantung pada kunjungan berulang ini karena biaya publikasi yang mereka perlukan lebih kecil dibanding dengan upaya meraih penonton baru setiap tahun. Lebih lanjut, jika kunjungan berulang cukup besar, maka festival tersebut sebenarnya telah memiliki khalayak setia.

Menurut penelitian Unwin, Kerrigan, Waite & Grant (2007), frekuensi kunjungan penonton festival dapat dibagi menjadi tiga kategori, yaitu tidak sering, cukup sering, dan sering sekali. Penonton pada kategori pertama biasanya tidak memiliki pengetahuan mendalam tentang film. Penonton kategori ini sangat bergantung pada komunikasi dari mulut ke mulut berdasarkan rekomendasi teman yang dipercaya memiliki afiliasi dengan organisasi budaya. Kategori kedua, cukup sering, berusaha mengumpulkan informasi

dari berbagai sumber, terutama media massa, seperti koran, yang dianggap kredibel. Sedangkan kategori ketiga, sangat sering, merupakan khalayak yang biasanya mengunjungi bioskop secara teratur dan sangat ingin menonton banyak film. Penonton kategori ini biasanya memfasilitasi dirinya dengan kartu keanggotaan bioskop.

Temuan mengenai frekuensi kunjungan ulang para penonton festival film sejalan dengan frekuensi kunjungan ke bioskop (Tabel 8), sumber informasi mengenai festival (Tabel 15), dan informasi mengenai film yang dipilih selama festival (Tabel 14). Ketiga tabel tersebut merujuk pada karakteristik kategori penonton festival yang tidak sering melakukan kunjungan berulang sebagaimana penelitian Unwin, Kerrigan, Waite & Grant (2007).

Tema film menjadi atribut mendasar penonton memilih film, sedangkan sumber informasi yang dianggap terpercaya adalah rekomendasi teman. Data ini sejalan dengan perilaku penonton festival yang diungkapkan oleh Unwin, Kerrigan, Waite & Grant (2007) bahwa penonton yang tidak sering melakukan kunjungan ulang sangat bergantung pada opini rekannya dalam memilih film karena para penonton tersebut tidak memiliki pengetahuan luas soal film.

Rotterdam International Film Festival melakukan penelitian mengenai resepsi penonton festival pada 2001. Temuan mereka menunjukkan bahwa ada dua kelompok penonton (De Valck, 2008, h. 190). *Pertama, seasoned visitors*, yaitu penonton yang telah mengunjungi festival

sebanyak 5 kali atau lebih, dengan usia 20-60 tahun. Sebagian besar dari kelompok ini (82%) memiliki pengalaman mengunjungi berbagai festival. Kelompok ini termasuk *classic cinophile* yang ditandai dengan kecintaan besar terhadap sinema dan memiliki keingintahuan besar terhadap perkembangan baru dunia film. Oleh karena itu, mereka sangat ingin menghadiri festival.

Kedua, neophyte visitors, yaitu pengunjung festival yang hadir 4 kali atau kurang, dengan usia 40 tahun atau lebih muda. Dari jumlah itu, 28% di antaranya tidak memiliki pengalaman menghadiri festival sebelumnya. Bagi kelompok ini, festival memiliki banyak arti, seperti kesempatan melebur bersama penonton lain pada pemutaran perdana dan terbatas, bertemu pembuat film, mendapatkan pengetahuan baru, menemukan bakat-bakat baru, suasana baru, dan kombinasi antara pengalaman sosial dan penemuan hal-hal baru. Dikotomi *seasoned visitors* dan *neophyte visitors* ini dapat disetarakan dengan penggemar film tipe *film-oriented* dan *festival-oriented*.

Temuan penelitian ini menunjukkan bahwa frekuensi kunjungan penonton di tiga festival termasuk rendah. Meski mereka berusaha mendapatkan informasi dari berbagai sumber yang disediakan panitia, namun rekomendasi teman masih menjadi sumber pengambilan keputusan yang utama. Oleh karena itu, penonton festival film dalam penelitian ini dapat dikategorikan dalam *neophyte visitors/festival-oriented*. Bagi para penonton,

festival film dianggap sebagai acara populer yang memungkinkan mereka mendapatkan beragam pengalaman dan bukan sekadar menonton film.

Penonton ketiga festival ini sangat mengandalkan rekomendasi orang yang dipercaya dalam kelompok. Hal ini ditandai dengan cukup besarnya jumlah responden yang tidak mempelajari informasi isi festival (Tabel 16) dan paling tingginya variabel sumber informasi dari teman/saudara (Tabel 15). Menurut tipologi penonton yang diajukan De Valck (2008, h. 189), para responden masuk dalam kategori *the social tourist*, yaitu pengunjung yang menjadikan festival sebagai sarana pergaulan sosial. Kategori pengunjung ini sekadar mengikuti saran orang yang dipercaya dalam kelompok.

Para penonton menempatkan festival sebagai sarana mendapatkan beragam pengalaman sosial melalui berbagai kegiatan yang diikuti. Pengalaman ini dianggap berharga untuk menasbihkan diri sebagai bagian dari kelas kreatif dan warga kota modern. Kehadiran para penonton di festival membuktikan adanya kepemilikan modal kultural dalam pembicaraan di antara teman, kolega, dan keluarga. Para penonton ini fokus pada atensi, tontonan, dan pengalaman, ketika menceritakan festival tanpa terjebak dalam dikotomi budaya tinggi-rendah.

SIMPULAN

Penelitian ini bertujuan untuk mengetahui demografi, perilaku, informasi, dan media yang dibutuhkan oleh penonton

festival film yang diselenggarakan di Yogyakarta, yaitu FFPJ, JAFF, dan FFD.

Secara demografis, profil responden didominasi oleh perempuan berusia remaja 18-21 tahun, disusul dewasa muda 22-25 tahun. Kisaran usia sejalan dengan pendidikan responden yang sebagian besar adalah pelajar (FFPJ) dan strata 1 (FFD dan JAFF). Para mahasiswa itu lebih banyak yang memiliki latar belakang pendidikan media dan budaya dibandingkan dari jurusan lain.

Berdasarkan analisis mengenai perilaku penonton, ada beberapa data yang patut untuk dicatat. *Pertama*, frekuensi kunjungan festival yang berulang, yaitu 2 dan 3 kali, cukup rendah dibandingkan dengan kunjungan pertama, sehingga dapat dikatakan bahwa penonton film festival tidak melakukan kunjungan berulang. *Kedua*, peserta FFPJ dikondisikan untuk menonton film dan mengikuti diskusi yang sama. Sedangkan penonton JAFF dan FFD menonton film sangat banyak yaitu lebih dari lima judul film. Hal ini menunjukkan minat menonton film sangat tinggi. *Ketiga*, berbanding terbalik dengan keinginan menonton film, minat mengikuti diskusi sangat rendah. Peserta FFD lebih berminat mengikuti diskusi dibandingkan pengunjung JAFF. Hal ini berkesesuaian dengan latar belakang pendidikan penonton FFD yang lebih didominasi oleh orang-orang yang berlatar belakang pendidikan media dan budaya.

Dua pertiga pengunjung festival mempelajari isi festival sebelum membuat keputusan mengunjungi festival. Salah satu elemen yang paling mereka perhatikan adalah

pengantar festival yang dinilai memberi dampak besar pada keputusan kehadiran. Sumber informasi yang paling banyak diakses adalah rekomendasi teman. Jika teman telah merekomendasikan kualitas suatu festival atau film, maka penonton akan mengakses *website/blog* dan media sosial yang dikelola oleh festival film tersebut. Memperhatikan karakteristik demografis, perilaku, kebutuhan informasi, dan akses media tersebut, maka dapat disimpulkan bahwa khalayak festival film di Yogyakarta terkonsentrasi pada kelompok yang sangat kecil.

Penonton festival film di Yogyakarta ini sesuai dengan kategori penonton yang dikemukakan oleh Unwin, Kerrigan, Waite & Grant (2007), yaitu *infrequent attendees* (penonton tidak sering) yang diidentifikasi sebagai penonton yang tidak memiliki pengetahuan mendalam mengenai film dan bergantung pada rekomendasi teman yang dianggap memiliki afiliasi dengan organisasi budaya. Jika mengikuti tipologi De Valck (2008), penonton ketiga festival ini masuk dalam jenis *the social tourist* yang menggunakan festival sebagai sarana peningkatan modal kultural dan koneksi sosial. Menurut penelitian yang dilakukan *Rotterdam International Film Festival*, penonton tersebut adalah *neophyte visitors/festival-oriented*. Mereka menempatkan festival film sebagai acara populer yang memungkinkan mereka mendapat beragam pengalaman, bukan sekadar menonton film.

Saran

Berdasarkan hasil penelitian ini, dapat dituliskan beberapa rekomendasi ilmiah dan praktis. Secara ilmiah, penelitian

ini perlu dikembangkan lebih lanjut dengan merumuskan analisis segmentasi khalayak festival film yang lebih *rigid* dan komprehensif. Sedangkan secara praktis, penyelenggara festival dapat menggunakan data penelitian ini untuk meningkatkan jangkauan dan partisipasi khalayak.

Penelitian ini dikerjakan dengan metode yang relatif sederhana, sehingga perlu dikembangkan lebih lanjut untuk menjawab beberapa pertanyaan baru berikut ini. *Pertama*, mengapa penonton perempuan lebih mendominasi? *Kedua*, bagaimana perilaku penonton dan proses penyebaran informasi sebelum, selama, dan setelah festival berlangsung? *Ketiga*, faktor apa yang paling penting dalam menentukan keputusan memilih film? *Keempat*, dampak ekonomi, budaya, sosial, dan teknologi seperti apa yang dapat didorong oleh festival film?

Secara praktis, penelitian ini merekomendasikan penyelenggara festival untuk melakukan beberapa hal. *Pertama*, memperluas khalayak agar dapat meraih kesempatan yang lebih besar untuk mengembangkan festival. *Kedua*, mengidentifikasi konten yang menggabungkan pengetahuan khusus mengenai film dan aktivitas pengalaman yang populer. *Ketiga*, merumuskan strategi untuk mendorong kunjungan ulang dan peserta luar kota. *Keempat*, menentukan pesan dan media yang tepat, yaitu memanfaatkan jaringan sosial (*online* dan *offline*) secara lebih optimal.

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Media Diaspora Pelajar Indonesia: Eksistensi, Peran, dan Spirit Keindonesiaan

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Abstract: *This paper examines the existence, the role, and the spirit or values promoted by Indonesian students diaspora media during the eras of Pre-Independence (1900-1845), Old Order (1945-1965), New Order (1966-1990), Transition of New Order (1990-2000), to Reformation (2001-2016). A qualitative descriptive approach is applied using documentary research method. This research concludes that (1) Indonesian students diaspora media exist in each era; (2) Indonesian students diaspora media play an important role as free speech medium to express criticism to authorities, which is influenced by socio-political dynamics in the country; (3) Every era has its spirit or values of Indonesianness.*

Keywords: *diaspora, Indonesian student, media, spirit of Indonesianness*

Abstrak: *Makalah ini mengkaji eksistensi, peran, dan spirit (nilai) yang diusung media diaspora pelajar Indonesia di luar negeri era Pra Kemerdekaan (1900-1845), Orde Lama (1945-1965), Orde Baru (1966-1990, Transisi Orde Baru (1990-2000), hingga era Reformasi (2001-2016). Pendekatan penelitian adalah deskriptif kualitatif dengan riset dokumen berupa buku sejarah, tesis, serta arsip media yang diterbitkan oleh diaspora pelajar Indonesia di luar negeri. Penelitian ini menyimpulkan (1) Media diaspora pelajar Indonesia eksis pada setiap era; (2) Media sebagai mimbar bebas untuk menyampaikan kritik pada penguasa, dipengaruhi perkembangan dan dinamika sosial politik di tanah air; (3) Setiap era memiliki spirit atau nilai keindonesiaan yang khas.*

Kata Kunci: *diaspora, media, pelajar Indonesia, spirit keindonesiaan*

Istilah diaspora berasal dari Bahasa Yunani *diaspeirein*, yang artinya benih yang tersebar (*scattering of seeds*) (Karim, 2003, h. 1). Steven Vertovec (1997) menyatakan diaspora adalah istilah yang sering digunakan untuk menggambarkan populasi yang dianggap ‘*detrterritorialised*’ atau ‘*transnasional*’ -berasal dari negara selain yang kini ditempati dan memiliki jaringan sosial, ekonomi, dan politik lintas batas negara, bangsa, bahkan dunia. Diaspora dapat didefinisikan sebagai orang

yang tersebar di berbagai tempat atau orang menetap jauh dari tanah air mereka (Ember, Ember & Skoggard, 2004, h. 33)

Departemen Luar Negeri Republik Indonesia mendefinisikan diaspora Indonesia sebagai warga negara Indonesia yang memiliki darah, jiwa, dan budaya Indonesia. Hal ini termasuk (1) warga negara Indonesia yang mengganti kebangsaannya, (2) orang asing yang mencari, mengamati, mencintai, dan mempraktikkan budaya Indonesia, misalnya peneliti/Indonesianis,

ahli batik, artis gamelan, atau ahli dalam Bahasa Indonesia (Abidin, 2012), (3) orang-orang yang bekerja, dan (4) mahasiswa Indonesia yang sedang belajar di luar negeri.

Studi tentang diaspora dan media akhir-akhir ini mendapatkan perhatian para akademikus ilmu komunikasi. Sejak 2007, *International Association for Media and Communication Research* (IAMCR) mengembangkan *working group Media and Diaspora*. Diskursus tentang Diaspora Indonesia mencuat sejak digelar *Congress of Indonesian Diaspora* (CID) pertama pada 6-8 Juli 2012 di Los Angeles Convention Center, California, Amerika Serikat, disusul CID kedua (2013) dan CID ketiga (2015). Kongres tersebut dihadiri 2056 orang yang memiliki hubungan etnik, budaya, kekerabatan, dan sejarah dengan Indonesia yang datang dari berbagai penjuru dunia. Sementara itu, studi tentang diaspora Indonesia, khususnya diaspora Indonesia dan media, relatif terbatas.

Ada tiga penelitian terdahulu yang berkaitan dengan studi tentang media diaspora. John Budarick (2011) dalam "*Media, home and diaspora*" mengkaji peran media Australia dalam menumbuhkan perasaan kerasan dan rasa memiliki di antara diaspora Iran-Australia. Media 'lokal' dan media siaran dapat memainkan peran ganda untuk mendorong perasaan memiliki maupun kebalikannya bagi diaspora Iran-Australia di Australia. Dualisme ini menyoroti peran media luar bukan hanya dalam soal representasi, namun juga pada cara bagaimana media digunakan oleh

konsumen untuk bernegosiasi dengan lingkungan sosial mereka.

Aulia Dwi Nastiti (n.d.) dalam "*Diasporic Media and the Question of European Cultural Identity*" melihat budaya media diaspora menjadi ruang, di mana identitas Eropa dapat diartikulasikan. Media diaspora memberikan kemungkinan bagi komunitas diaspora untuk membayangkan multikulturalisme Eropa dan berpartisipasi (maupun tidak) dalam masyarakat Eropa dan masyarakat transnasional. Saat peran media dan kebijakan politik tidak dapat diremehkan, maka partisipasi politik pun harus dipertimbangkan dan dibaca dalam konteks masyarakat yang terinspirasi dan fenomena lokal yang merangkul partisipasi diaspora yang dianggap minoritas. Inisiatif akar rumput oleh publik lokal atau publik virtual tidak boleh dianggap remeh dan potensi mereka untuk memberikan hak-hak yang sama sebagai orang Eropa dan pendekatan serupa untuk mengelola multikulturalisme harus diakomodasi.

Georgiou (2005, h. 481) mengatakan Eropa adalah ruang kebudayaan untuk pertemuan, pencampuran dan benturan, ruang untuk berbagi (dan tidak) sumber daya ekonomi, budaya dan simbolik. Ideologi Europeanisme menjadikan Eropa sebagai rumah budaya yang tidak memasukkan dan menciptakan (kembali) "*liyan*" (*otherness*) ketika tidak sesuai dengan model universalisme dan muncul sebagai partikularisme. Keanekaragaman budaya selalu menjadi ciri khas Eropa, namun potensi mobilitas dan komunikasi menyebabkan munculnya pengalaman dan formasi budaya yang beragam.

Pada konteks ini, Georgiou (2005, h. 499) melihat jumlah dan jenis media diaspora yang berkembang memiliki implikasi signifikan guna membayangkan Eropa yang multikultural untuk berpartisipasi (atau tidak) dalam masyarakat Eropa dan komunitas transnasional. Budaya media diaspora tidak muncul sebagai proyek yang menentang proyek universal Eropa dan komunikasi global tetapi diperoleh dari ideologi globalisasi dan partisipasi demokratis. Melihat peta lintas-Eropa dan kasus tertentu, dia menjelaskan mengapa budaya media diaspora menantang kedua batas, baik itu universalisme Eropa dan partikularisme diaspora.

METODE

Kajian dilakukan dengan pendekatan deskriptif kualitatif menggunakan metode riset dokumen (*documentary research method*). Metode ini mengacu pada analisis dokumen (teks tertulis) berisi informasi tentang fenomena yang diteliti (Kenneth D. Bailey dalam Ahmed, 2010, h. 2). Riset ini menggunakan data yang ditemukan pada buku-buku sejarah, tesis, maupun arsip media (majalah, buletin, atau situs) yang diterbitkan oleh diaspora pelajar Indonesia di luar negeri. Dokumen yang dipakai sebagai sumber kajian antara lain buku “*Di Negeri Penjajah: Orang Indonesia di Negeri Belanda 1600-1950*” karya Harry A. Poeze (2008), tesis Dirgantara Reksa Ginanjar (2016) dari Universitas Leiden berjudul “*Indonesian Students’ Association (PPI) in Netherlands from 1952 to 2015: a Continuing Dynamic*”, majalah *Ganeça*

terbitan Perhimpunan Pelajar Indonesia di Belanda, majalah *Tempo* edisi khusus 80 tahun Sumpah Pemuda (2008), dan beberapa sumber lain.

HASIL

Diaspora pelajar Indonesia di luar negeri menggunakan media massa, baik itu media cetak (majalah, bulletin, atau *newsletter*) serta media *online* untuk berinteraksi antarmereka (sesama anggota komunitas pelajar Indonesia) serta membangun identitas keindonesiaan mereka. Pada era Pra Kemerdekaan hingga Orde Baru, media cetak (surat kabar dan majalah) adalah jenis media yang digunakan oleh pelajar Indonesia. Sebagai media tradisional atau konvensional, proses produksi dan distribusi media cetak lebih lambat dan lama. Peredarannya masih mengandalkan sarana tradisional, misalnya lewat pos. Pada era Transisi Orde Baru (1990-2000) hingga era Reformasi (2001-2016), seiring perkembangan teknologi informasi, khususnya internet, pelajar Indonesia memanfaatkan internet dalam bentuk *mailing list* dan *website*.

Penulis mengidentifikasi penggunaan media oleh diaspora pelajar Indonesia meliputi jenis media, peran media, nama media, bahasa yang digunakan, spirit atau nilai-nilai yang diusung, serta sikap atau keberpihakan media pada era Pra Kemerdekaan (1900-1945), Orde Lama (1945-1965), Orde Baru (1966-1990), Transisi Orde Baru (1990-2000), dan Orde Reformasi (2001-2016) seperti termuat pada Tabel 1.

Tabel 1 Penggunaan Media bagi Diaspora Pelajar Indonesia

	Pra Kemerdekaan (1900-1945)	Orde Lama (1945-1965)	Orde Baru (1966-1990)	Transisi Orde Baru (1990-2000)	Orde Reformasi (2001-2016)
Jenis Media	Cetak	Cetak	Cetak	Cetak, <i>mailing list</i> , <i>website</i>	<i>Mailing list</i> , radio internet, TV internet, media sosial
Peran Media	Menjalin hubungan antara Indonesia dan Belanda; penyebaran ide anti kolonial, kritik terhadap kolonial; mimbar bebas; media menjadi bagian tak terpisahkan dari upaya konfrontasi melawan Belanda untuk mewujudkan Indonesia merdeka.	Forum komunikasi dan “gelanggang pertukaran pikiran” di kalangan anggota (internal).	Media kritik terhadap pemerintahan Orde Baru, alat dan strategi untuk mempromosikan gagasan dan perjuangan. Mengetahui situasi dan perkembangan informasi tentang Indonesia.	Sarana komunikasi antar pelajar perantauan. Sarana diskusi dan sharing informasi tentang masalah sosial politik dan gagasan demokrasi. Mengetahui situasi dan perkembangan informasi tentang Indonesia.	<i>Transnational meeting</i> bagi komunitas diaspora; <i>stay in touch</i> dengan informasi dan budaya populer Indonesia; sarana ekspresi dan kreativitas.
Nama Media	<i>Hindia Poetera</i> , <i>Oedaja</i> (1916), <i>Indonesia Merdeka</i> (<i>Indonesië Vrij</i>), <i>Oesaha Pemoeda</i>	<i>Ganeca</i> , <i>Suluh</i>	<i>Gotong Royong</i> (PPI Berlin)	<i>Suara Demokrasi</i> ; mailing list <i>Apakabar</i> ;	Majalah <i>online Jong Indonesia</i> (PPI Belanda), <i>PPI UK</i> (PPI Inggris), <i>Salut</i> (PPI Perancis), dll. Radio <i>PPI Dunia</i> ; <i>Channel PPI TV</i> di <i>YouTube</i>
Bahasa	Belanda, Melayu	Indonesia	Indonesia	Indonesia	Indonesia
Spirit Keindonesiaan	Nasionalisme, gotong royong, senasib sepenanggungan	Nasionalisme	Hak asasi manusia	Hak asasi manusia, keadilan	Humanisme, kesejahteraan
Sikap/Keberpihakan	Independen dan kritis terhadap pemerintah.	Independen dan kritis terhadap pemerintah.	Independen dan kritis terhadap pemerintah	Independen dan kritis terhadap pemerintah.	Independen terhadap pemerintah.

Sumber: Olahan peneliti

PEMBAHASAN

Era Pra Kemerdekaan (1900-1945)

Keberadaan diaspora pelajar Indonesia di luar negeri memiliki sejarah panjang. Salah satu pelajar Indonesia angkatan pertama yang cukup menonjol adalah Abdul Rivai yang datang ke Belanda pada 1899. Bersama beberapa temannya dia menerbitkan beberapa koran berbahasa Melayu di Amsterdam. Dia lulus sebagai doktor di Universitas Gent, Belgia, pada tahun 1908. Warisan Abdul Rivai yang

sangat penting adalah bukunya yang berjudul “*Student Indonesia di Eropa*” (Syahid, 2015, h. 88).

Robert van Niel dan Bur Rasuanto (2009) menuliskan Abdul Rivai sebagai tokoh pelopor pers mahasiswa. Dia seorang ‘dokter Jawa’ lulusan sekolah Stovia, menjadi pelajar angkatan awal yang studi di Belanda. Van Neil mencatat Rivai menjadi salah satu dari suara pertama yang mengajukan protes terhadap praktik politik etis Belanda yang tidak konsekuen.

Beberapa protesnya termuat dalam majalah *Bintang Hindia* (Gambar 1). Majalah berbahasa Melayu yang diterbitkan bersama H.C.C Clockener Brousson di Belanda pada 1902, menyebarkan pesan politik etis sebagai isi utamanya (Burhanudin, 2012). Di dalam buku “*Di Negeri Penjajah: Orang Indonesia di Negeri Belanda 1600-1950*”, Harry A. Poeze (2008, h. 35) mengisahkan perjuangan lewat pers yang dilakukan Rivai. Pada mulanya Rivai menerbitkan majalahnya sendiri, *Pewartu Wolanda*. Dia menulis sekaligus merangkap tenaga administrasi.



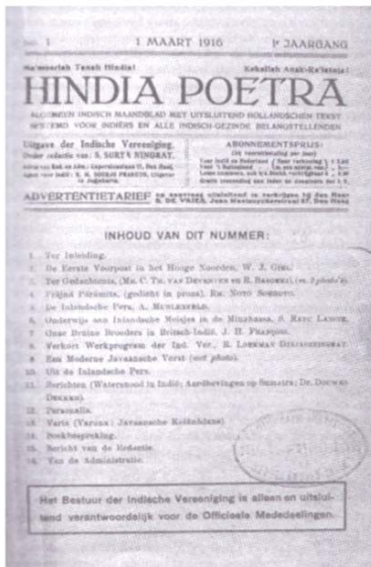
Gambar 1 Masthead *Bintang Hindia*

Memasuki abad ke-20, jumlah mahasiswa Indonesia di Belanda meningkat. Sebagian besar dari mereka adalah anak para raja-raja kaya dan bangsawan Jawa. Mereka dikirim ke Belanda agar bisa mempelajari bahasa Belanda dengan lebih baik, meningkatkan pengetahuan umum,

dan memperoleh orientasi umum mengenai negeri Belanda (Poeze, 2008). Di antara pelajar yang datang ke Belanda terdapat Sutomo, Hatta, Sartono, Ali Sastroamidjojo, Budiarto, Iwa Kusumasumantri, dan Iskaq. Para pelajar ini membentuk komunitas kecil yang berhubungan erat satu sama lainnya.

Indische Vereeniging atau Perhimpunan Hindia adalah organisasi pelajar dan mahasiswa Hindia di Negeri Belanda yang berdiri pada tahun 1908. *Indische Vereeniging* berdiri atas prakarsa Soetan Kasajangan Soripada dan R.M. Noto Soeroto yang tujuan utamanya mengadakan pesta dansa dan pidato-pidato. Awalnya, *Indische Vereeniging* tak lebih dari ajang pertemuan pelajar asal tanah air. Atmosfer pergerakan mulai mewarnai *Indische Vereeniging* sejak tibanya tiga tokoh *Indische Partij* (Suwardi Suryaningrat, Douwes Dekker, dan Tjipto Mangunkusumo) di Belanda pada 1913 sebagai eksterniran akibat kritik mereka lewat tulisan di koran *De Express* (Nagazumi, 1986; Ingleson, 1975).

Mereka mulai menyadari betapa pentingnya organisasi tersebut bagi bangsa Indonesia. Sejak itulah *Vereeniging* memasuki kancah politik. Tanggal 1 Maret 1916, edisi pertama majalah *Hindia Poetra* terbit, dengan R.M. Soewardi Soerjaningrat (Ki Hadjar Dewantara) sebagai redaktur. *Hindia Poetra* berbentuk majalah yang terbit di Belanda dan diedarkan di Indonesia. Majalah ini menyajikan ide-ide politik para pelajar Indonesia yang sedang belajar di Belanda khususnya anggota Perhimpunan Indonesia (Gambar 2 dan Gambar 3).



Sumber: The Idea of Indonesia: Sejarah Pergerakan dan Gagasan, 2009.

Gambar 2 Cover Majalah Hindia Poetra



Gambar 3 Masthead Majalah Hindia Poetra

Hindia Poetra bersemboyan “Ma'moerlah Tanah Hindia! Kekallah Anak-Rakjatnya!”. Penerbitan kembali *Hindia Poetra* ini menjadi sarana untuk menyebarkan ide-ide anti kolonial. Majalah ini berisi informasi bagi para pelajar asal tanah air perihal kondisi di Nusantara, tak ketinggalan pula tersisip kritik terhadap sikap kolonial Belanda. Majalah *Hindia Poetra* bersifat ‘mimbar bebas’. Sejumlah orang Indonesia dan tokoh-tokoh politis etis, seperti Ratulangie, Noto Soeroto, menulis masalah yang beragam. Tapi *Hindia Poetra* tidak bisa hidup lebih dari satu tahun. Bulan Maret sampai Desember 1916 keluar tujuh edisi, dan setengah tahun kemudian menyusul edisi terakhir (Poeze, 2008).

Pada September 1922, saat pergantian ketua Dr. Soetomo dan Herman Kartawisastra, organisasi ini berubah nama menjadi *Indonesische Vereeniging* (Edisi khusus 80 tahun Sumpah Pemuda, 2008).

Ini adalah ‘organisasi orang Indonesia’ oleh ‘orang Indonesia’ dengan menggunakan nama ‘Indonesia’ yang pertama (Elson, 2008, h. 23).

Para anggota *Indonesische* juga memutuskan untuk menerbitkan kembali majalah *Hindia Poetra* dengan Mohammad Hatta sebagai pengasuhnya. Majalah ini terbit dwi bulanan dengan 16 halaman dan biaya langganan seharga 2,5 gulden setahun. Disepakati pula, setiap tulisan tak ada nama pengarang agar ‘isinya mencerminkan pendapat kolektif’. Penerbitan *Hindia Poetra* itu kemudian menjadi “praktik” manjur bagi para intelektual muda itu menyebarkan ide-ide anti kolonial (Yandi, 2012).

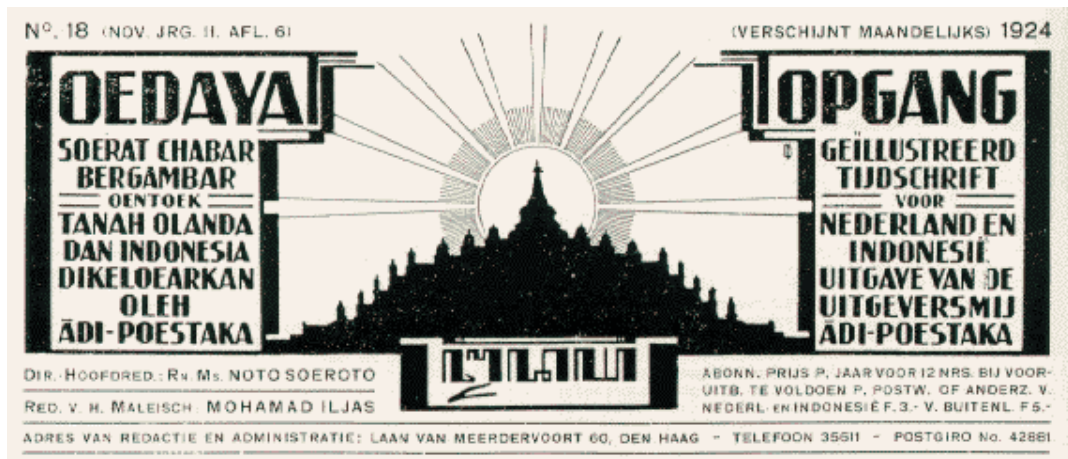
Pada dua edisi pertama, Hatta menyumbangkan tulisan kritik mengenai praktik sewa tanah industri gula Hindia Belanda yang merugikan petani (Edisi khusus 80 tahun Sumpah Pemuda, 2008), berjudul *De economische positie van den Indonesischen*

grondverhuurder (Kedudukan ekonomi para penyewa tanah orang Indonesia) dan *Eenige aantekeningen betreffende de grondhuur-ordonnantie in Indonesie* (Beberapa catatan tentang ordonansi penyewaan tanah di Indonesia) (Sugiantoro, 2015).

Selain *Hindia Poetra*, ada satu majalah terbitan pelajar Indonesia di Belanda bernama *Oedaya* yang didirikan oleh Noto Soeroto. Pada bulan April 1923, terbit nomor percobaan majalah *Oedaya-Opgang*, bulanan bergambar untuk Negeri Belanda dan Indonesia (Gambar 4). Majalah ini ditujukan untuk Indonesia dan mereka yang berminat kepada masalah-masalah Indonesia. Majalah *Oedaya* bisa dikatakan

lebih sukses dari *Tjerita-Hindia*; *Weekblad voor Nederlands Oost-Indie*, mingguan tentang Hindia Timur yang diterbitkan oleh Raden Soemira (Poeze, 2008).

Saat Iwa Koesoemasoemantri menjadi ketua pada 1923, *Indonesische* mulai menyebarkan ide non-kooperasi yang mempunyai arti berjuang demi kemerdekaan tanpa bekerjasama dengan Belanda. Tahun 1924, saat M. Nazir Datuk Pamoentjak menjadi ketua, nama majalah *Hindia Poetra* berubah menjadi *Indonesia Merdeka* (Gambar 5 - Gambar 8). Tahun 1925 saat Soekiman Wirjosandjojo nama organisasi ini resmi berubah menjadi Perhimpunan Indonesia (PI) (Manifesto 1925, 2008).



Gambar 4 Masthead Surat Kabar Oedaya



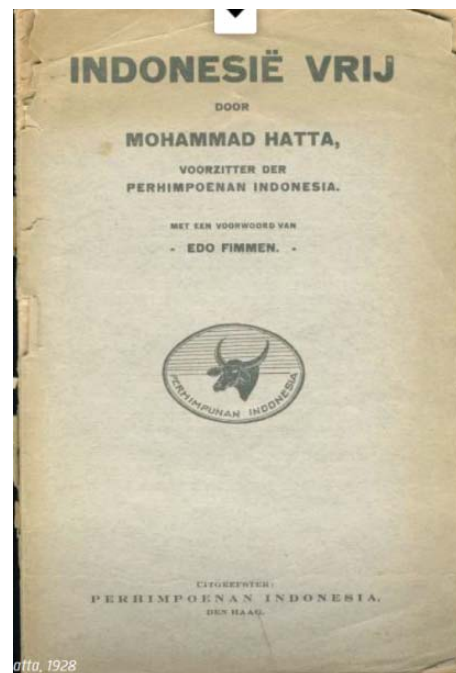
Gambar 5 Majalah Indonesia Merdeka Terbitan Perhimpunan Indonesia



Gambar 6 Majalah Indonesia Merdeka Koleksi Kel. Djajeng Pratomo



Gambar 7 Cover Majalah *Indonesia Merdeka*



Gambar 8 Pidato/Pledoi Mohammad Hatta Berjudul *Indonesia Merdeka*

Indonesia Merdeka berbentuk majalah dan merupakan kelanjutan *Hindia Poetra*, ditulis dalam Bahasa Belanda dan Bahasa Melayu. Artikel-artikelnya lebih tegas mengarah pada pergerakan nasional dan kemerdekaan Indonesia. Para penulis majalah ini tidak dicantumkan namanya bahkan pengirimannya ke Indonesia juga dirahasiakan. *Hindia Poetra* dan *Indonesia Merdeka* sangat gencar mengkritik penjajahan Belanda di Indonesia. Keduanya bertujuan menggalang persatuan dan kesatuan rakyat sebagai sarana mencapai Indonesia merdeka (Tugiyono, 2004).

Selain di negeri Belanda, para pelajar Indonesia yang belajar di Cairo, Mesir, pada 1930 juga menerbitkan berkala bernama *Oesaha Pemoeda* yang disebut sebagai: “*soerat kabar boelanan, penoentoen ilmoe pengetahoean jang berdasar Islam soerat kabar boelanan, penoentoen ilmoe*

pengetahoean jang berdasar Islam”. Redaksinya adalah Abdoellah Aidid dan Ahmad Azhari (Arismunandar, 2012, h. 5).

Era Orde Lama (1945-1965)

Di era kemerdekaan, Perhimpunan Indonesia di Belanda diubah menjadi Perhimpunan Pelajar Indonesia (PPI). Di majalah *Chattulistiwa* edisi Mei/Juni 1952, halaman tiga tercantum pengumuman yang memberitahukan terbentuknya Persatuan Peladjar Indonesia (PPI) pada 19 April 1952 berdasarkan “rapat pendiriannya di Amsterdam”. Pada masa itu sering juga dipakai istilah ‘PPI Nederland’ (Suryadi, 2016).

Pada bulan Juni 1952, terbitlah nomor pertama majalah *Ganeça* yang disebut sebagai “*Madjalah Persatuan Peladjar Indonesia (PPI)*” di Belanda (Gambar 9 dan Gambar 10). *Ganeça* berfungsi sebagai forum komunikasi dan “gelanggang

pertukaran pikiran” di kalangan anggota PPI Belanda. Majalah ini berisi laporan mengenai berbagai kegiatan PPI Belanda, baik pusat maupun cabang-cabang, dan hal-hal yang terjadi dengan anggotanya (seperti berita keluarga, kelulusan, dan pelajar yang datang dan lulusan yang meninggalkan Belanda), artikel-artikel seni-budaya, dan berita-berita mengenai tanah air (Suryadi, 2016).

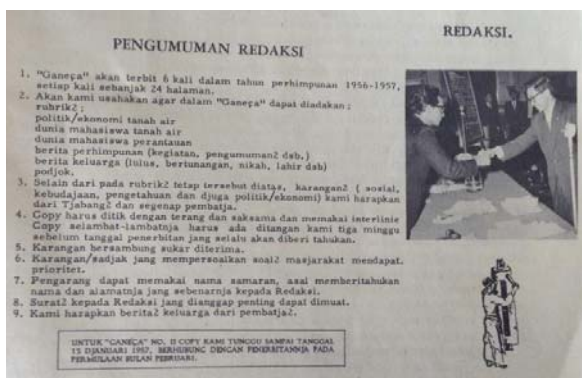
Redaksi *Ganeça* berkantor di Rotterdam sementara Tata Usahanya pernah berkantor di Amsterdam dan Rotterdam. Belum ditemukan informasi kapan persisnya nomor terakhir *Ganeça* terbit. Namun, tampaknya majalah ini masih terbit sampai akhir 1967.

Pada Oktober 1963, PPI Belanda menerbitkan majalah *Perhimpunan Peladjar Indonesia* di negeri Belanda. Di situ dinyatakan, Persatoean Peladjar Indonesia (PPI) berubah nama menjadi Perhimpunan Peladjar Indonesia di negeri Belanda (mempertahankan singkatan PPI) pada 11 Mei 1963 di Delft. Di dalam anggaran dasar dinyatakan PPI dibentuk untuk melestarikan revolusi 1945 sehingga

mencapai keadilan, kemakmuran, dan kemuliaan bagi Indonesia. Mahasiswa Indonesia di luar negeri harus bersatu dan PPI harus menjadi alat untuk ikatan. Hal ini harus dilakukan bukan hanya oleh mahasiswa Indonesia di Belanda tetapi juga di negara-negara Eropa lainnya (Dirgantara, 2016).

Pada tahun 1963, PPI Belanda kembali dibangkitkan seiring dengan pemulihan hubungan diplomatik antara Indonesia dan Belanda. Hingga pertengahan 1966 PPI Belanda tetap mendukung kepemimpinan Soekarno untuk menuntaskan masalah itu. Kata-kata seperti ‘revolusi belum selesai’ masih kerap muncul dalam penerbitan mereka (Syahid, 2015, h. 89).

Munculnya majalah baru PPI Belanda *Suluh* pada 1966 tak lepas dari dinamika politik Indonesia yang juga memengaruhi kalangan pelajar Indonesia di luar negeri (Suryadi, 2016). Pada edisi Februari 1966, enam bulan setelah insiden GESTAPU (Gerakan September Tiga Puluh), PPI Belanda mengirimkan surat pernyataan kepada Presiden Soekarno yang isinya mendukung Soekarno (Dirgantara, 2016).



Gambar 9 Pengumuman Redaksi *Ganeça* Terbitan PPI Belanda



Gambar 10 Sampul *Ganeça*, Madjalah *Persatuan Peladjar Indonesia* (PPI) Belanda

Era Orde Baru (1966-1990)

Sejak pemerintahan Orde Baru berkuasa, kiprah sosial politik pelajar Indonesia di Belanda meredup. Kegiatan PPI sebagian besar dialokasikan untuk acara-acara sosial dan kesenian. Meski demikian, pada akhir tahun 1970-an, beberapa aktivis PPI Belanda dan Amsterdam pernah bekerja sama dengan PPI Berlin dalam menerbitkan *Berita Indonesia* yang isinya cukup kritis terhadap Pemerintahan Soeharto. Akibat dari sikap kritis mereka, beberapa aktivisnya dipersulit saat akan pulang maupun berkegiatan di Indonesia (Syahid, 2015, h. 89).

Di beberapa PPI kota, kegiatan diskusi bertema politik masih kerap dilakukan. PPI Leiden dan Den Haag adalah yang paling aktif. Di kedua kota itu terdapat banyak pelajar ilmu-ilmu sosial atau berlatar belakang aktivis. Sekarang kiprah itu lebih sering diimplementasikan dalam aksi solidaritas kemanusiaan (Syahid, 2015, h. 89).

Di era 1980-an, pelajar Indonesia khususnya di Belanda dan Jerman sangat haus akan informasi tentang tanah airnya. Informasi keadaan politik Indonesia didapat dari berbagai macam sumber di antaranya dari salah seorang wartawan Radio Nederland *cum* aktivis Aboeprijadi Santoso (Tossi). Ia mengirimkan berita-berita dari Indonesia ke Berlin Barat dalam bentuk koran, majalah, serta berbagai pernyataan politik dari para oposan di Indonesia. Sebelum ada internet, lalu lintas berita cetakan memakai jasa pos sehingga informasi dari Belanda ke Berlin Barat hanya datang ke satu alamat. Siapapun yang memerlukan informasi dapat memfotokopinya (Latief, 2009).

Karena gerakan pelajar pro demokrasi Indonesia di Jerman semakin menyebar, maka kebutuhan informasi di kalangan pelajar yang kritis pun meningkat, karena ada kesempatan untuk belajar politik secara bebas dari beberapa organisasi. Misalnya Persatuan Pelajar Indonesia Cabang Berlin (PPI CaBe), Ikatan Pemuda Mahasiswa Indonesia (IPMI), Perhimpunan Indonesia (PI) Berlin Barat. Masing-masing grup oposisi tersebut punya penerbitan, misalnya PPI CaBe terbitannya bernama *Gotong Royong*, Perhimpunan Indonesia terkenal dengan terbitan analisa politiknya dalam *Berita Tanah Air* (Latief, 2009). *Gotong Royong* adalah buletin reguler yang melaporkan berita, artikel, dan *feature* yang diterjemahkan dari Bahasa Jerman atau Inggris ke Bahasa Indonesia. Sirkulasi buletin ini antara 200-300 per edisi untuk melayani 700-an pelajar Indonesia di Berlin (Hasyim, 2014, h. 188). Pada masa itu, media menjadi kebutuhan dan bagian dari aktivisme pelajar Indonesia. Media dianggap sebagai alat dan strategi penting untuk mempromosikan gagasan dan perjuangan mereka.

Majalah Tempo edisi 01/03 tahun 1981 menulis, di era 1980-an PPI biasanya memang menerbitkan majalah untuk anggota. Namun tak semua bermutu, bahkan buletin PPI Australia, mirip majalah sekolah menengah di Indonesia di mana terdapat ramalan bintang. Majalah PPI Jerman Barat menunjukkan kualitas berbeda. Edisi ekstra *Berita & Analisa* (tahun ke-4) yang dicetak 6 ribu eks dan diedarkan gratis sempat menjadi persoalan. Nomor pertengahan tahun itu memuat berita tentang Petisi 50 yang dilarang diekspos di pers Indonesia. Pengurus PPI

Pusat di Berlin melarang lembaran ekstra tersebut terbit untuk selanjutnya. Namun, protes datang. PPI cabang Hamburg dan Berlin mengadakan diskusi dan hasilnya tak setuju pelarangan itu (Mereka di belakang pendahulu, 1981). PPI Jerman Barat juga menerbitkan majalah *Gelanggang*, majalah ilmiah populer, dicetak rapi dan dijilid bagus.

Organisasi Pemuda Pelajar Indonesia (PPI) di Albania sejak 1967-1980 menerbitkan jurnal atau majalah dengan nama *Angkatan Pemuda Indonesia (API)*. Jurnal empat bulanan ini berukuran A4, tebal sekitar 50 halaman per edisi. Jurnal ini menyediakan rubrik budaya yang memuat puisi, cerpen dan esai para penulis eksil. Jurnal ini juga diterbitkan dalam bahasa Inggris dan Prancis (*McGlynn & Ibrahim, 2004*). Majalah *API* sempat dilarang beredar di seluruh wilayah Indonesia oleh Kejaksaan Agung Republik Indonesia karena isinya berpotensi mengganggu keamanan dan ketertiban umum.

Era Transisi Orde Baru (1990-2000)

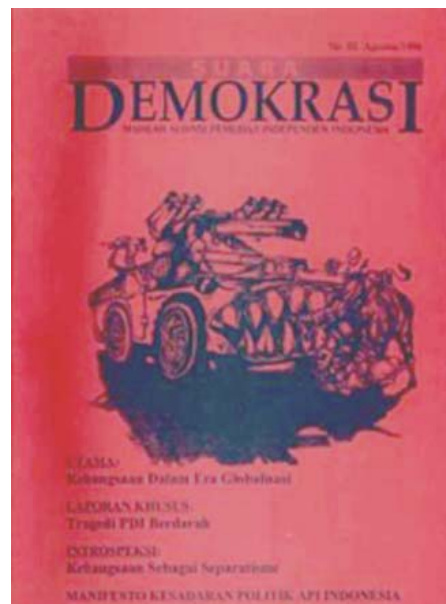
Pada era 1990-an terbit beberapa situs *web* dan majalah *online* yang diinisiasi dan dikelola oleh diaspora pelajar Indonesia. Salah satunya, Majalah *Suara Demokrasi* yang diterbitkan oleh Aliansi Pemuda/i Independen Indonesia (APII) di Berlin. Majalah *Suara Demokrasi* versi cetak maupun versi *website* menjadi wadah media independen bagi pelajar Indonesia di luar negeri dan bisa diakses dari mana pun (Gambar 11 dan Gambar 12).

Sejak pertengahan 1980-an pelajar Indonesia di luar negeri mulai memanfaatkan fasilitas internet untuk dapat saling terhubung dan membentuk komunitas. Mereka membentuk sejumlah *mailing list* untuk berinteraksi dan memenuhi keingintahuan mengenai kondisi di Indonesia. Dimulai dengan dibentuknya *mailing list Janus Garuda Indonesia* (Janus) dengan alamat *email* indonesians@janus.berkeley.edu pada 1987 oleh Eka Ginting. Ketika itu ia sedang



- ◀ No. X/Desember/1999
- ◀ No. IX/Maret/1999
- ◀ No. VIII/Juli/1998
- ◀ No. VII/Maret/1998
- ◀ No. VI/November/1997
- ◀ No. V/Juni/1997
- ◀ No. IV/Februari/1997
- ◀ No. III/Agustus/1996
- ◀ No. II/April/1996
- ◀ No. I/Oktober/1995

Gambar 11 Majalah *Suara Demokrasi* (Versi Online)



Gambar 12 Majalah *Suara Demokrasi* No. III/Agustus/1996 (Versi Cetak)

kuliah di University of Seattle, Amerika Serikat dan ia memanfaatkan *server* di University of California-Berkeley (Lim, 2005).

Mailing list dibuat sebagai sarana berkomunikasi antarpelajar ‘perantauan’, untuk saling bertukar informasi kegiatan dan kabar dari tanah air. Namun kemudian permasalahan sosial politik Indonesia pun tidak luput dari topik pembicaraan mereka. Mereka merasa lebih ‘aman’ untuk membicarakan suatu permasalahan yang menyangkut urusan sosial politik nasional karena pada saat itu mereka hanya saling terhubung dengan pelajar Indonesia di luar negeri.

Pada perkembangannya, internet menjadi media strategis di mana gagasan tentang demokratisasi didiskusikan secara bebas, diadopsi, dan disebarluaskan selama transisi politik di Indonesia pada 1997-1998. Terkait hal ini, Krishna Sen & David Hill (2000, h. 194) menggarisbawahi bahwa pola gerakan politik masif hingga berhasil menggulingkan Soeharto pada Mei 1998 pada dasarnya dipelajari dan diadopsi dari gerakan politik di negara lain seperti di Cina dan Filipina yang juga didiskusikan secara intensif dan disebarluaskan melalui internet.

Internet menjadi media alternatif di mana informasi politik -yang tidak tersedia di media cetak atau media siaran-didistribusikan. Salah satu saluran informasi penting dan berpengaruh dan sangat populer ketika itu adalah *mailing list Apakabar* dan *Joyo.net*, portal berita politik yang berisi informasi tentang situasi HAM dan politik

aktual di Indonesia. Anggota milis itu terdiri dari aktivis NGO, pelajar Indonesia, wartawan, dan pejabat di lembaga-lembaga internasional (Winters, 2002).

Paparan di atas menunjukkan bahwa internet di era transisi demokrasi (1990-an) menjadi *transnational meeting point* bagi komunitas diaspora (pelajar) Indonesia di seluruh dunia dan *political stakeholders* dalam konteks demokratisasi di Indonesia. Internet memungkinkan terjadinya *direct global contact* sehingga memungkinkan informasi yang tersedia dari seluruh dunia, yang sebelumnya sulit diakses di Indonesia tanpa intervensi aparaturnegara, pada saat yang sama menjadi senjata bagi pejuang demokrasi di Indonesia.

Era Reformasi (2001-2015)

Di era reformasi, fasilitas internet dan teknologi informasi mewarnai dinamika diaspora pelajar Indonesia. Perkembangan teknologi dan keterbukaan politik memunculkan aneka kreasi bermedia di kalangan diaspora pelajar Indonesia. Internet menjadi medium utama untuk berinteraksi antarpelajar Indonesia di satu negara dan lintas negara.

Sejumlah perbincangan, rapat, maupun diskusi dilakukan secara *online* maupun melalui *mailing list*. Fasilitas *instant messaging* semacam *Yahoo Messenger* (YM) menjadi media wajib bagi diaspora pelajar Indonesia di era 2005-2010. Rapat-rapat atau konferensi melalui *Yahoo Messenger* antartetua PPI Dunia dari sejumlah negara menghasilkan kegiatan akbar Simposium Internasional Perhimpunan Pelajar Indonesia di Den Haag

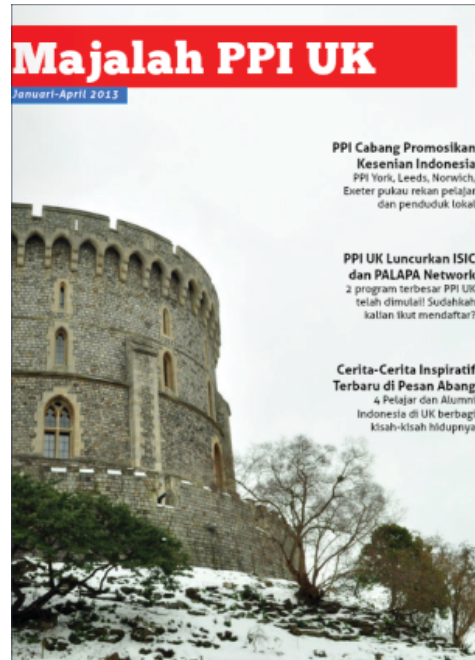
pada Mei 2009. Acara ini sekaligus menginisiasi Ikatan Ilmuwan Indonesia Internasional (I4).

Saat itu, masing-masing PPI di setiap negara menerbitkan majalah atau buletin digital yang hanya bisa diakses dan disebarluaskan melalui internet. Misalnya,

PPI Jepang menerbitkan buletin *Interaksi*, PPI Perancis menerbitkan majalah *Salut*, PPI Inggris menerbitkan *Majalah PPI UK*, dan PPI Belanda menerbitkan *Majalah Jong Indonesia*. Para pembaca dari seluruh dunia bisa mengakses atau mengunduh dalam versi PDF (Gambar 13 - Gambar 16).



Gambar 13 Majalah PPI Jepang



Gambar 14 Majalah PPI Inggris



Gambar 15 Majalah PPI Belanda



Gambar 16 Majalah PPI Perancis

Praktik penggunaan media internet oleh diaspora pelajar Indonesia yang menarik dan fenomenal adalah radio *PPI Dunia*. Sebelumnya, beberapa PPI negara memiliki dan menyiarkan radio masing-masing. Misalnya, radio *PPI Jerman*, radio *Swara Wageningen* (PPI Belanda), radio *PPI Australia*, dan lain-lain.

Radio *PPI Dunia* merupakan radio *online* atau *streaming* yang disiarkan melalui situs <http://www.radioppidunia.org>. Radio *PPI Dunia* merupakan radio yang seratus persen dikelola oleh diaspora pelajar Indonesia di luar negeri yang tergabung dalam Aliansi Perhimpunan Pelajar Indonesia Internasional atau *Overseas Indonesian Student Association Alliance (OISAA)* atau PPI Dunia (Widodo, 2012).

Radio *online* ini mengudara sejak 18 Mei 2009 pukul 00.00 WIB, ditandai dengan siaran berantai dari Mesir, Belanda, Jerman, Rusia, Korea Selatan, Malaysia, Inggris, dan Australia. Sebelumnya, radio ini melakukan uji coba siaran sejak 26 April 2009. Radio *PPI Dunia* didirikan untuk mendukung penyelenggaraan Simposium Internasional 2009.

Di awal berdirinya, ada 10 PPI di seluruh dunia yang terlibat di radio ini. Mereka tidak pernah bertemu secara fisik dan berinteraksi hanya melalui fasilitas internet. Radio ini menemani pendengar setianya di seluruh dunia dengan siaran 24 jam. Radio *PPI Dunia* ingin bisa menjadi media komunikasi, interaksi, informasi, dan silaturahmi pelajar dan masyarakat Indonesia di seluruh dunia.

Visinya menjadi radio tangguh, mandiri, ilmiah, dan berdaya respon tinggi sebagai modal sosial bagi pembangunan Indonesia menuju *knowledge based society* dengan menyajikan informasi, baik perkembangan ilmu pengetahuan, teknologi, budaya, dan memupuk semangat kebangsaan antargenerasi untuk memperkuat ketahanan nasional menghadapi tantangan global. Radio *PPI Dunia* berharap bisa menjadi media komunikasi, interaksi, informasi, serta silaturahmi pelajar dan masyarakat Indonesia di seluruh dunia.

Mereka memilih format radio *online* karena radio *online* memiliki keunikan dan keunggulan dibandingkan media lainnya. Radio *online* memungkinkan para pelajar Indonesia yang terpisah dan tersebar di berbagai negara untuk berkolaborasi. Internet memungkinkan komunikasi dan interaksi yang lintas batas sehingga radio ini bisa menjangkau khalayak yang sangat luas dan dapat diakses di manapun, kapanpun, dan oleh siapapun. Meski tidak bertemu secara fisik, radio *PPI Dunia* mampu menumbuhkan rasa kedekatan dan persaudaraan.

Keunikan dan kelebihan radio *PPI Dunia* ada pada sisi interaktivitasnya. Pendengar bisa berinteraksi dengan sesama pendengar maupun penyiar melalui halaman *chat box*. *Chat box* merupakan salah satu ciri khas radio *PPI Dunia*. Pendengar bisa juga berkomunikasi dengan penyiar serta berkiriman pesan/salam dan lagu melalui pesan singkat *Yahoo Messenger*, *Twitter*, dan *Facebook*.

Radio *PPI Dunia* bertujuan untuk mempererat tali silaturahmi antarpelajar Indonesia di seluruh dunia; memberikan

berbagai informasi baik perkembangan ilmu pengetahuan, teknologi, budaya, dan lain sebagainya dari seluruh dunia; memberikan kontribusi bagi kemajuan Indonesia melalui pendekatan berbagai macam bidang ilmu; dan memupuk semangat kebangsaan antargenerasi untuk memperkuat ketahanan nasional menghadapi tantangan global.

Radio *PPI Dunia* merupakan radio internet yang bersifat nonprofit sehingga tidak menyertakan iklan produk dalam bentuk apapun. Meski nonprofit, tidak berarti radio *PPI Dunia* tidak membutuhkan dana sama sekali. Radio *PPI Dunia* yang merupakan radio internet tentu saja memerlukan *server* sehingga dana yang dikeluarkan saat ini hanya untuk membiayai *server*.

Namun tidak menutup kemungkinan untuk membiayai acara *offline* seperti yang pernah dibuat radio *PPI Dunia* yaitu *Kopdar (Kopi Darat)*. *Kopdar* merupakan istilah ajang bertemunya individu satu dengan lainnya, yang selama ini hanya mengenal di dunia maya namun belum pernah bertemu di dunia nyata.

Kesulitan yang sering dihadapi selama rapat pengurus radio *PPI Dunia* adalah adanya miskomunikasi antaranggota karena kultur rapat di internet yang belum memiliki etika saat rapat berlangsung. Pengurus radio *PPI Dunia* saat ini masih mempelajari bagaimana seharusnya “rapat maya” ini agar tidak terjadi lagi miskomunikasi antarpengurus radio *PPI Dunia*.

Radio *PPI Dunia* memiliki beragam program siaran. Setiap program dibawakan oleh penyiar dengan durasi tiga jam. Program siaran terbagi tiga kelompok

yakni hiburan, informasi, dan sosial politik. Beberapa kali radio ini menyiarkan *live report* atau *live streaming* seminar atau simposium yang diselenggarakan oleh komunitas pelajar Indonesia di luar negeri.

Melihat kiprahnya sejauh ini, radio *PPI Dunia* menjadi ruang publik global, tempat bertemunya diaspora pelajar Indonesia. Meski tersebar, mereka bisa berjaringan melampaui batas geografi dan berkolaborasi membangun siaran. Meski tak bertemu secara fisik, namun kedekatan dan rasa persaudaraan tumbuh di antara mereka. Spirit voluntarisme, spirit berbagi, dan kemauan untuk belajar dan berjejaring, mendukung mereka untuk mengembangkan berbagai program dan konten radio. Dari situ mereka membangun gerakan dan menghadirkan pencerahan.

Selain menyiarkan konten lewat radio atau dalam bentuk audio, diaspora pelajar Indonesia juga menginisiasi siaran *video streaming* atau televisi *online*. Beberapa kali radio *PPI Dunia* menyiarkan wawancara dengan narasumber dari Ikatan Ilmuwan Indonesia Internasional (I4) dan *streaming* simposium *PPI Dunia* yang digelar tiap tahun melalui *YouTube*.

Contoh lain adalah *channel PPI TV* di *YouTube* yang digawangi PPI Duisburg-Essen sejak Maret 2015. Tampak antusiasme dari diaspora pelajar Indonesia terhadap media ini. Mereka tertarik untuk memberikan muatan di *PPI TV* ini versi negara/kota tempat tinggal masing-masing. Mereka menamakan *channel PPI TV* untuk mewadahi informasi dari PPI di seluruh dunia (Agustia, 2015).

SIMPULAN

Diaspora pelajar Indonesia dan medianya memiliki sejarah panjang. Kiprah media diaspora pelajar Indonesia mengalami pasang surut, patah tumbuh hilang berganti. Makalah ini mengkaji peran dan spirit atau nilai-nilai yang diusung oleh media diaspora pelajar Indonesia di luar negeri pada era Pra Kemerdekaan (1908-1845), Orde Lama (1945-1965), Orde Baru (1966-1990), Transisi Orde Baru (1990-2000), hingga Reformasi (2001-2016).

Penelitian ini menyimpulkan bahwa media diaspora pelajar Indonesia eksis pada pada setiap era, mulai Pra Kemerdekaan (1908-1845), Orde Lama (1945-1965), Orde Baru (1966-1990), Transisi Orde Baru (1990-2000), hingga era Reformasi (2001-2016). Peran media diaspora pelajar Indonesia di luar negeri berbeda/khas pada setiap era. Peran yang mengemuka, yaitu media berperan sebagai mimbar bebas untuk menyampaikan kritik pada penguasa. Perkembangan dan dinamika sosial politik di tanah air turut memengaruhi peran tersebut. Setiap era memiliki spirit atau keindonesiaan yang khas. Era Pra Kemerdekaan menonjolkan spirit nasionalisme, gotong royong, serta senasib sepenanggungan. Era Kemerdekaan menonjolkan spirit nasionalisme. Era Orde Baru dan transisi Orde Baru mengusung spirit hak asasi manusia dan keadilan. Sementara spirit humanisme dan kesejahteraan ditemukan pada era Reformasi. Selain itu, nama media yang mengandung kata atau ungkapan dari Bahasa Indonesia atau Bahasa Nusantara serta penggunaan Bahasa Indonesia atau Bahasa Melayu menjadi

identitas keindonesiaan yang ditemukan pada media diaspora pelajar Indonesia.

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***Magdalene.co* sebagai Media Advokasi Perempuan**

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Abstract: *The subordination of women intertwined with patriarchy culture in the society. Magdalene.co is one of online media to advocate women. The study tries to reveal Magdalene.co's creative efforts in undertaking gender-sensitive journalism and advocacy journalism for women. Content analysis, interviews, and literature studies are conducted for collecting data. The results show that Magdalene.co offers new values and perspectives on women and raises range of issues including religion, beliefs, lifestyles, and social conditions. However, class bias is still evident in their articles, discussed issues are limited to public domain, and it is inconsistent in changing stereotype of women.*

Keywords: *advocacy, journalism, women*

Abstrak: *Subordinasi perempuan menyatu dengan budaya patriarkat masyarakat. Magdalene.co adalah salah satu media online yang menjadi alternatif untuk melakukan advokasi perempuan. Penelitian ini bertujuan untuk mengungkapkan upaya kreatif yang dilakukan Magdalene.co dalam menjalankan Jurnalisme Sensitif Gender dan Jurnalisme Advokasi. Analisis isi, wawancara, dan studi literatur digunakan sebagai teknik pengumpulan data. Hasil penelitian menunjukkan bahwa Magdalene.co menawarkan nilai-nilai dan perspektif baru tentang perempuan dan mengangkat ragam isu agama, kepercayaan, gaya hidup, dan kondisi sosial. Namun, Magdalene.co masih memuat bias kelas, terbatas pada isu di ranah publik, dan tidak konsisten dalam upaya mengubah stereotip perempuan.*

Kata Kunci: *advokasi, jurnalisme, perempuan*

Di Indonesia, perkembangan media *online* sejalan dengan perkembangan penggunaan media digital. Saat ini, dengan penduduk sekitar 259 juta, Indonesia memiliki 88 juta pengguna internet dan kurang lebih 79 juta pengguna media sosial (Kemp, 2016). Sementara itu, berdasarkan data *The Jakarta Post*, Indonesia memiliki tidak kurang dari 73 juta pengakses *web* (*Internet users*, 2015). Jumlah tersebut menunjukkan bahwa internet telah menjadi ruang raksasa yang di dalamnya terdapat banyak orang bergantian menjajakan dan mengonsumsi informasi melalui berbagai

bentuk media, baik media sosial maupun *web*. Internet telah menjadi *public sphere* raksasa yang membuat hampir semua orang dapat mendiskusikan dan membincangkan berbagai tema dan topik yang merentang dari isu sosial, gaya hidup, hingga politik (Habermas, 1991).

Media *online* dengan segala kemudahan, kecepatan, dan kesempatan yang ditawarkannya juga telah menjadi ruang alternatif baru berlangsungnya praktik advokasi. Kaum perempuan yang masih membutuhkan banyak ruang untuk melakukan advokasi tentang cara pandang baru terhadap

perempuan dapat melihat potensi yang dimiliki oleh media *online* ini. Berbasis pada khalayak perempuan yang luas dan beragam, muncul dan berkembanglah media *online* yang secara umum lebih menyuarakan kaum perempuan dan menjadikan simbol-simbol perempuan sebagai identitasnya. Salah satu media *online* tersebut adalah *Magdalene.co*. *Magdalene.co* menjadikan simbol perempuan sebagai identitasnya dan nama *Magdalene* yang berakar dari nama Maria *Magdalene*, tak bisa lepas dari posisinya sebagai representasi kaum perempuan. Meskipun demikian, *Magdalene.co* tidak membatasi isunya pada isu perempuan.

Sebagai sebuah *website*, *Magdalene.co* merupakan wujud upaya kreatif memperjuangkan beragam isu gender dengan menjalankan dua konsep jurnalisme, yaitu Jurnalisme Advokasi dan Jurnalisme Sensitif Gender. Sifat bebas dan terbuka yang melekat pada media *online* mendorong penyebarluasan pandangan baru tentang perempuan. Pandangan baru tersebut bertujuan mewujudkan emansipasi dan membantu perempuan membebaskan diri dari dominasi dan hegemoni ideologi patriarkat yang melekat kuat pada berbagai bentuk muatan media arus utama.

Salah seorang pembaca *Magdalene.co* sejak pertengahan 2015, Grace Olivia Sihombing, dalam wawancara yang dilakukan pada 11 Desember 2016, menuturkan:

Menurutku, *kebanyakan* tulisan *Magdalene.co* punya substansi yang bagus dan menarik. Misalnya, tulisan-tulisan di rubrik *Faith and Spirituality* yang untukku cukup *thought-provoking* dan di rubrik *Gender and Sexuality* yang dalam pokok bahasan terkait homoseksualitas tidak selalu bicara soal

pemenuhan hak, tapi juga menceritakan realitas-realitas yang tak terduga. Juga tulisan-tulisan tentang pernikahan dan hubungan romansa. Beberapa tulisannya menyuarakan fakta-fakta yg selama ini sulit diakui gamblang oleh kita. Jadi, intinya, buatku, materi tulisan *Magdalene.co* itu sering menawarkan sudut pandang baru terhadap suatu isu (Wawancara dengan Grace Olivia Sihombing, 11 Desember 2016).

Berdasarkan konteks tersebut, pengamatan terhadap keberadaan *Magdalene.co* menjadi menarik dan penting. Artikel ini mencoba menangkap gambaran keberadaan *Magdalene.co* sebagai media advokasi perempuan, sebagai ruang advokasi alternatif, dan potensi ruang advokasi alternatif tersebut dimanfaatkan dalam pengembangan *Magdalene.co* sendiri.

Hal tersebut menjadi dasar pertanyaan artikel ini, yaitu bagaimana *Magdalene.co* sebagai media alternatif dijalankan? Apa saja isu yang digarap oleh *Magdalene.co* dalam proses reproduksi wacananya?

Dua konsep teoretis yang mendasari penelitian ini adalah Jurnalisme Advokasi dan Jurnalisme Sensitif Gender. Kedua konsep tersebut digunakan untuk membedah subjek penelitian, yaitu *Magdalene.co* sebagai media advokasi perempuan.

Jurnalisme Advokasi

Banyak tulisan berusaha membahas Jurnalisme Advokasi dari sisi epistemologi dan menjadikan Jurnalisme Advokasi sebagai lokus kajian empirik. Silvio Waisbord (dalam Wahl-Jorgensen & Hanitzsch, 2009, h. 370-385), misalnya, melalui tulisan berjudul *Advocacy Journalism in a Global Context*, membicarakan Jurnalisme Advokasi dalam berbagai konteks dunia yang dipisahkan oleh periodisasi historis dan geografis. Waisbord

menyimpulkan bahwa negara-negara di Eropa Barat dapat lebih reseptif terhadap peran jurnalisme sebagai advokat masyarakat dibanding negara-negara di Amerika Serikat. Waisbord memberikan paparan yang cukup komprehensif terkait perdebatan di Amerika dan Eropa Barat mengenai upaya penerapan Jurnalisme Advokasi tersebut. Pada akhirnya, penerapan Jurnalisme Advokasi sangat bergantung pada konteksnya.

Jurnalisme Advokasi menawarkan perspektif non-objektif dalam melihat realitas yang berpengaruh terhadap agenda pembingkai media tempat genre jurnalisme tersebut dipraktikkan. Waisbord, seperti dikutip Wahl-Jorgensen & Hanitzsch (2009, h. 370-385), berargumen bahwa Jurnalisme Advokasi adalah suatu bentuk “mobilisasi politik untuk meningkatkan kekuatan manusia dan kelompok dan untuk membuat suatu institusi lebih responsif terhadap kebutuhan manusia.”

Pada konteks penelitian yang memiliki lokus pada Jurnalisme Advokasi perempuan ini misalnya, peran Jurnalisme Advokasi yang diperkirakan muncul adalah kemampuan *Magdalene.co* dalam memberikan pandangan baru tentang perempuan.

Jurnalisme Sensitif Gender

Sebagai sebuah konsep, Jurnalisme Sensitif Gender sudah diretas di Indonesia sejak 1998 oleh beberapa orang di Yogyakarta, di antaranya Akhmad Zaini Abbar, Tamrin Tomagola & Mansour Fakih (MD, 1998). Selain itu, terdapat pula upaya-upaya lanjutan untuk mengembangkan Jurnalisme Sensitif Gender sebagai sebuah konsep, salah satunya dengan menurunkannya pada tataran yang

lebih mikro ke level indikator. AJI (Aliansi Jurnalis Independen) Indonesia adalah salah satu lembaga yang mencoba melakukan hal tersebut. Pada 2012, AJI Indonesia, sebagai aparat otoritatif dalam urusan jurnalisme di Indonesia, bekerja sama dengan UNESCO, mengeluarkan buku berjudul “*Indikator Sensitif Gender untuk Media: Kerangka Indikator Mengukur Sensitivitas Gender pada Organisasi dan Konten Media*” (AJI Indonesia, 2012).

Argumen yang berusaha dibangun oleh AJI Indonesia dalam buku tersebut sejalan dengan paparan para pendahulunya di Yogyakarta, pada tahun 1998, bahwa persepsi umum masyarakat Indonesia, tak terkecuali media massa, sering kali menempatkan posisi perempuan pada urusan pekerjaan domestik, sebagai sosok yang lemah, pekerja sampingan, hingga dilekatkan pada berbagai atribut seks.

Pada penelitian ini, Jurnalisme Sensitif Gender digunakan sebagai konsep untuk menunjukkan bahwa praktik jurnalisme tak harus terjatuh dalam utopia netralitas atau semacamnya, namun juga bisa mengemban misi ideologis yang tentu saja bertujuan mencapai kondisi emansipatoris. Di dalam konteks ini, emansipasi yang dibayangkan tentu saja keberimbangan posisi dan kondisi egaliter antara laki-laki dan perempuan. Pada posisi membayangkan terciptanya praktik emansipasi yang bertujuan menciptakan masyarakat madani, Jurnalisme Advokasi dan Jurnalisme Sensitif Gender dapat saling melengkapi. Kedua konsep tersebut integral pada semua elemen yang disodorkan oleh Bill Kovach dan Tom Rosenstiel dalam “*The Elements of Journalism:*

What News People should Know and the Public should Expect" (Kovach & Rosenstiel, 2006).

METODE

Penelitian ini bersifat deskriptif dengan pendekatan kualitatif dan menggunakan beberapa teknik pengumpulan data, yaitu analisis isi, wawancara, dan studi literatur. Analisis isi yang bersifat naratif dilakukan pada *website Magdalene.co*, baik data berupa teks, gambar atau visual, maupun warna. Pemilihan artikel yang menjadi objek analisis dilakukan dengan metode pembatasan rentang waktu. Sampel yang dianalisis adalah artikel yang diunggah di laman *Magdalene.co* pada rentang 15 hari, yaitu antara 15 September-30 September 2016. Pembatasan waktu tersebut dilakukan peneliti dengan tetap mempertimbangkan konteks dan kecukupan data untuk analisis.

Sementara itu, wawancara dilakukan terhadap lima pembaca *Magdalene.co* yang telah membaca laman tersebut lebih dari enam bulan, pendiri *Magdalene.co*, dan kontributor *Magdalene.co*. Wawancara dilakukan pada rentang waktu 30 September-15 Desember 2016. Wawancara dengan pembaca menjadi salah satu cara untuk menangkap posisi *Magdalene.co* sebagai media yang menggunakan pendekatan Jurnalisme Sensitif Gender dan Jurnalisme Advokasi dari sudut pandang pengguna atau khalayaknya. Wawancara terhadap pendiri *Magdalene.co* dilakukan untuk mendapatkan latar belakang pendirian dan idealisme yang mendasari pengembangan *Magdalene.co*. Sedangkan maksud wawancara dengan kontributor *Magdalene.co* adalah mendapatkan gambaran

partisipan aktif dari publik selain sebagai khalayak, yaitu terlibat memberikan tulisan atau masukan pemikiran yang akan diproses oleh pengelola untuk dimuat di *Magdalene.co*.

Teknik pengumpulan data melalui studi literatur digunakan untuk memperoleh data-data sekunder dan rujukan teoretis maupun konseptual. Hasil studi literatur juga menjadi dasar untuk mengawali penelitian dan rujukan pembahasan hasil penelitian.

Data yang telah terkumpul dianalisis dengan analisis isi naratif terhadap teks media dengan pendekatan kualitatif. Tujuan penggunaan analisis isi naratif dalam penelitian ini adalah untuk mendapatkan deskripsi isi dan hal-hal substansial dari teks media *Magdalene.co*.

HASIL

Selama 15 hari, data yang diperoleh cukup menggambarkan variasi, pola pemilihan isu, gaya pemaparan, dan kerangka pengetahuan yang dibangun oleh *Magdalene.co* sebagai media advokasi terkait klaim pandangan baru tentang perempuan. Artikel-artikel yang dianalisis diambil dari rubrik di halaman *Magdalene.co*, yaitu *Issues: States of Women, Gender and Sexuality, Politics, Social Issues, Faith & Spirituality, Environment, Family & Relationship, I Am Magdalene; Lifestyle: Ask Madge, Tarotscope; Health and Beauty; Culture; Wo/Men We Love; dan Distraction: The Ahasuerus Files*.

Berdasarkan rentang waktu yang telah ditetapkan untuk mengumpulkan data di *Magdalene.co*, yaitu 15 September-30 September 2016, diperoleh 10 tulisan dengan berbagai tema.

Tabel 1 Sampel Tema Tulisan

Rubrik	Subrubrik	Tulisan	Tanggal Tayang	Tautan
Issues	Gender & Sexuality	The Problem with Ariana Grande	22 September 2016	http://magdalene.co/news-934-the-problem-with-ariana-grande.html
		Alterland, A Safe Haven for Lesbians Like Me	28 September 2016	http://magdalene.co/news-942-alterland-a-safe-haven-for-lesbians-like-me.html
	Faith & Spirituality	Yes, I, a Muslim, am Attending a Christian University. So Get Over It	23 September 2016	http://magdalene.co/news-935-yes-i-a-muslim-am-attending-a-christian-university-so-get-over-it.html
		Why I Took Off My Hijab	29 September 2016	http://magdalene.co/news-943-why-i-took-off-my-hijab.html
	Family & Relationship	How to Feel at Home Again After Your Time Away	27 September 2016	http://magdalene.co/news-939-how-to-feel-at-home-again-after-your-time-away.html
Lifestyle	Tarotscope	Tarotscope 26th Sept – 2nd October	28 September 2016	http://magdalene.co/news-941-tarotscope-26th-sept--2nd-of-october.html
Culture		Dolly: A Graphic Journal on A Red-light District (Part4) – 15 September 2016	15 September 2016	http://magdalene.co/news-929-dolly-a-graphic-journal-on-a-redlight-district-part-4.html
		Photo Series Speaks against Violation to Women's Bodies	24 September 2016	http://magdalene.co/news-936-photo-series-speaks-against-violation-to-women%E2%80%99s-bodies.html
		Hypocrisy and Blurring Women's Bodies on TV	27 September 2016	http://magdalene.co/news-940-hypocrisy-and-blurring-women%E2%80%99s-bodies-on-tv.html
		Dolly: A Graphic Journal on A Red-light District (Part 5)	29 September 2016	http://magdalene.co/news-945-dolly-a-graphic-journal-on-a-redlight-district-part-5.html

Sumber: Data primer

PEMBAHASAN

Sebagai salah satu media *online*, *Magdalene.co* menjadi ruang alternatif yang berupaya lepas dari dominasi media-media arus utama. *Magdalene.co* hadir bagi mereka yang isunya tidak disuarakan oleh media arus utama.

Magdalene.co sebagai Media Alternatif

Magdalene.co didirikan oleh Devi Asmarani dan Hera Diani sebagai proyek idealis. Devi Asmarani menempati posisi *Chief Editor*, sedangkan Hera Diani menjabat sebagai *Managing Editor*. Latar

belakang pendirian *Magdalene.co* adalah ketidakpuasan pendirinya saat melihat media arus utama membahas isu-isu perempuan. Keduanya menganggap media arus utama masih memarginalkan isu dan mendiskriminasi perempuan.

Magdalene.co menyalurkan *passion* pendirinya sebagai jurnalis dan perempuan. Sejauh ini, para pendirinya masih mengeluarkan dana pribadi untuk mencukupi biaya operasional *Magdalene.co*. Menurut salah seorang pendiri, hal ini tidak aneh dan sudah diperkirakan sebelumnya karena media

dengan isu-isu spesifik, khususnya isu-isu baru tentang perempuan yang mengandung idealisme tertentu, sulit mendapat keuntungan (*nonprofitable*). Hal ini juga terjadi di negara-negara maju, seperti Amerika Serikat. Sebagai media *online*, *Magdalene.co* dianggap lebih dapat bersikap *independent*, serta mudah dibangun dan dikelola. Platform *online* juga dipilih karena bersifat interaktif dan lebih membuka ruang bagi publik atau pembacanya untuk terlibat dalam menanggapi atau memproduksi *content* media.

Dua pendiri *Magdalene.co*, seperti terpampang di medianya, adalah para perempuan yang berprofesi sebagai jurnalis. Hera Diani, anak seorang jurnalis, tidak diharapkan orang tuanya menjadi jurnalis dan diminta bersekolah di bidang lain, tetapi pendidikan teknik yang ditempuhnya tidak menghalangi Hera Diani untuk tetap menjadikan jurnalis sebagai pilihan hidupnya. Sebagai jurnalis, Hera Diani menyadari bahwa isu perempuan masih sangat sedikit dibahas oleh media. Oleh karena itu, bagi Hera Diani, *Magdalene.co* merupakan media alternatif bagi isu-isu perempuan. Sementara itu, pendiri lainnya, Devi Asmarani yang telah menjadi jurnalis tidak kurang dari 15 tahun, merasakan sistem yang ada tidak sesuai harapannya. Selain sebagai penulis artikel, kolom, karya fiksi, *editor*, konsultan media, dan mengajar orang untuk menjadi penulis, Devi Asmarani menjadikan *Magdalene.co* sebagai media rintisannya.

Sehari-hari, *Magdalene.co* dijalankan oleh Ayunda yang berperan sebagai reporter dan manajer media sosial. Selain dari reporter, isi *Magdalene.co*

juga diperoleh dari kontributor lepas atau publik yang bersedia mengirimkan tulisan mereka. Salah seorang kontributor menyatakan bahwa keterlibatannya sebagai kontributor bagi *Magdalene.co* semata-mata karena tertarik dengan isu yang diangkat *Magdalene.co*. Bagi kontributor tersebut, isu-isu perempuan yang diangkat *Magdalene.co* masih jarang disuarakan. Selain posisi-posisi tersebut, terdapat pula beberapa pihak yang berperan sebagai *illustrator*, *web-master*, *web-designer*, dan *web-developer*.

Fokus pada isu-isu perempuan, *Magdalene.co* menyediakan ruang bagi pihak-pihak yang “*underrepresented, who don't play by the rule, those who love people they are not supposed to, those who choose to live unconventional lives*”. Pihak-pihak tersebut biasanya dikucilkan oleh khalayak di manapun, tak terkecuali di internet.

Fairuz Rana Ulfah, pembaca yang telah mengakses *Magdalene.co* selama kurang lebih satu tahun, berdasarkan pengalamannya menyimak isu-isu di *Magdalene.co*, menuturkan:

Tidak sedikit isu-isu kontroversial yang diangkat, misalnya tentang aborsi, *stereotype*, hubungan pernikahan, dan lainnya. Ada beberapa tulisan yang bisa memberikan pandangan unik tentang tema tertentu dengan tujuan penyadaran bagi pembaca agar tidak terjebak dengan *stereotype* tentang perempuan. Sebenarnya isu yang dibahas di *Magdalene.co* banyak juga yang bukan isu baru, tapi cara pengemasan dan sudut pandang yang diberikan penulis bisa jadi baru (Wawancara dengan Fairuz Rana Ulfah, 2016).

Magdalene.co, di laman situsnya, mengklaim telah memberikan visi baru sebagai media yang menawarkan perspektif

yang dapat melampaui *typical gender* dan batas-batas kebudayaan. *Magdalene.co* diposisikan sebagai kanal bagi para feminis, pluralis, progresif, dan pihak-pihak lain yang tidak takut untuk menjadi berbeda, baik berdasarkan gender, warna kulit, atau pilihan seksual.

Pada posisi tersebut, kita dapat melihat bahwa *Magdalene.co* sedang menjalankan peran melalui kerja “*giving voice to the voiceless*” dan mencoba memberikan suara pada pihak-pihak yang selama ini dibungkam. Prinsip dasar advokasi menyebabkan tulisan yang dimuat *Magdalene.co* dicondongkan pada isu-isu yang dibela dan subjek tertentu yang berupaya diangkat ke permukaan. Hal tersebut sesuai dengan jargon dari *Magdalene.co*, yaitu “*a slanted guide to women and issues*”.

Terdapat tiga hal yang penulis temukan saat melakukan analisis naratif terhadap teks yang ditampilkan *Magdalene.co*. *Pertama*, konstruksi gender dan seksualitas yang coba dibangun oleh *Magdalene.co*. *Kedua*, fokus tulisan-tulisan di *Magdalene.co*. *Ketiga*, klaim atas upaya untuk melampaui *typical gender* dan batas-batas gender yang terdapat dalam manifesto *Magdalene.co*.

Isu Gender dan Seksualitas Perempuan

Berdasarkan analisis, dua artikel membahas secara spesifik tentang gender dan seksualitas perempuan, yaitu artikel berjudul “*The Problem with Ariana Grande*” dan “*Alterland, A Safe Haven for Lesbians like Me*”.

Pada artikel berjudul “*The Problem with Ariana Grande*”, penulis menyodorkan narasi terkait Ariana Grande, Selena Gomez,

dan Awkarin yang kerap menduduki posisi ambivalen. Ketiganya kerap menjadi objek yang mengalami *oversexualization* oleh masyarakat, namun sekaligus dituding sebagai biang masalah dari kondisi tersebut.

Objektifikasi atas perempuan-perempuan muda, menurut penulis artikel, selalu dilakukan melalui tatapan moralistik. Keputusan Ariana Grande dan Selena Gomez yang sedang mengubah citranya dari bintang acara *Nickelodeon* menjadi lebih ‘dewasa’ saat memilih cara berdandan dan berpakaian, serta Awkarin saat menunjukkan gaya hidup pesta, dicibir dan menjadi kontroversi publik karena bertentangan dengan standar moral yang ada. Pada posisi tersebut, ketiganya dianggap sebagai subjek pembuat masalah yang akan mencemari masyarakat. Hal yang membuat perempuan-perempuan muda di media kerap menunjukkan seksualitasnya tidak dipandang sebagai masalah dalam lingkup sosial. Padahal, sebagian masyarakat (orang-orang dewasa) senang mengobjektifikasi dan menjadi ‘predator’ bagi perempuan-perempuan muda tersebut. Hal yang seharusnya dilihat sebagai masalah sosial tersebut direduksi menjadi masalah moral sempit yang membidik Ariana Grande, Selena Gomez, dan Awkarin sebagai ‘penyakit’.

Penulis artikel menyatakan bahwa solusi terhadap permasalahan objektifikasi seksualitas merupakan pekerjaan jangka panjang karena memerlukan pendidikan seksualitas secara sistematis. Hal ini dilakukan untuk mengusir perilaku ‘predator’ di dalam masyarakat dan

menciptakan kesadaran bagi perempuan untuk tidak menempatkan posisinya sebagai objek ‘predator’ tersebut.

Sedangkan tulisan kedua yang berjudul “*Alterland, A Safe Haven for Lesbians like Me*” memaparkan pengalaman penulis tentang perjalanannya menemukan kebebasan untuk mengekspresikan identitas seksualitasnya di dunia virtual yang kemudian akan menyeret penulis untuk menciptakan alter-ego.

Pengalaman penulis dimulai dari perkenalan penulis dengan *Voy*, forum Lesbian Indonesia, dan berlanjut pada pengalaman penulis mengakses *website* bernama *sepocikopi*. Pengalaman tersebut merupakan pengalaman virtual penulis bertemu dengan sesama lesbian. Dunia tersebut membuat penulis memutuskan untuk menciptakan akun *Twitter* dengan nama samaran (*pseudonim*) yang kemudian menjadi alter-egonya. Akun *Twitter* tersebut digunakan untuk berinteraksi dengan lesbian lain yang juga memilih menggunakan *pseudonim*.

Interaksi di dunia virtual tersebut menyeret penulisnya untuk berinteraksi dengan teman-temannya di dunia nyata. Hal tersebut memberikan pengalaman aneh bagi penulis karena penulis merasa ditatap dan diperhatikan secara janggal oleh orang-orang sekitar (di luar komunitas). Kejanggalan tatapan tersebut disebabkan oleh *typical look* yang dimiliki oleh lesbian dan berpasangan. Hal ini merupakan sebuah ketidakwajaran dalam komunitas heteronormatif dan membuat penulis lebih selektif dalam pertemuan-pertemuan di

dunia nyata. Penulis lebih senang menjaga identitasnya dan bertahan dengan alter-egonya di dunia virtual.

Tulisan dengan tuturan naratif tersebut menunjukkan premis bahwa tatapan sosial membuat seorang lesbian merasa nyaman untuk menutup identitasnya dan menciptakan alter-ego baru di dunia virtual. Ketimbang dunia nyata, dunia virtual menjadi tempat aman mendapatkan pertemanan dan membagai cerita. Dunia nyata kerap menawarkan tatapan janggal pada mereka yang memiliki kecenderungan seksualitas berbeda.

Kedua tulisan tersebut berupaya menunjukkan praktik *othering* yang kerap terjadi dalam konteks gender dan seksualitas. Tulisan pertama mencoba menunjukkan kondisi perempuan saat menjadi *the other* dan menjadi target praktik objektifikasi. Sedangkan tulisan kedua mencoba menunjukkan bahwa perempuan yang memiliki kecenderungan seksual berbeda kerap mendapatkan pengucilan dan harus rela mendapatkan kebebasan hanya di ruang virtual. Pada posisi tersebut, kita dapat melihat cara *Magdalene.co* menjalankan tugasnya sebagai media advokasi seperti klaim mereka. *Magdalene.co* memberikan suara pada penderitaan *the other* dalam konstruksi gender dan seksualitas yang berlaku umum. Hal yang jarang sekali muncul dalam media arus utama.

Upaya advokasi *Magdalene.co* juga nampak pada tulisan berjudul “*Hypocrisy and Blurring Women’s Bodies on TV*” yang membahas praktik *blurring* (sensor)

terhadap visual tubuh perempuan di televisi. Perempuan dipandang sebagai objek semata ketika sensor tersebut menyorot representasi beberapa bagian tubuh perempuan yang dianggap masuk kategori pornografi. Tulisan tersebut berupaya menunjukkan posisi perempuan yang terjepit. Pada posisi tersebut, kita dapat melihat cara *Magdalene.co* menjalankan tugasnya sebagai media advokasi dan sekaligus berperspektif gender seperti klaim mereka.

Privat dan Publik: Isu Perempuan di Indonesia

Sebagian besar tulisan yang diunggah dalam *Magdalene.co* menyorot isu perempuan di sektor privat.

Kebanyakan substansinya terkait dengan isu-isu feminisme yang juga sedang menjadi perhatian publik. Substansi tulisan *kebanyakan* berdasarkan sudut pandang dan pengalaman subjektif penulis. Bagi yang tertarik pernah belajar tentang isu gender tulisan yang ada di *Magdalene* mungkin bisa dikatakan contoh-contoh kasus yang kerap ditanyakan berkaitan dengan gender. Tapi sifat tulisan yang lebih menekankan pengalaman personal belum bisa memberikan kedalaman bagi yang membaca (Wawancara dengan Fairuz Rana Ulfah, 2016).

Hal tersebut nampak pada dua tulisan dalam rubrik *Faith and Spirituality* berjudul “*Yes, I, a Muslim, Am Attending a Christian University. So Get Over It*” dan “*Why I Took Off My Hijab*” yang membahas persoalan moralitas dalam isu perempuan.

Tulisan pertama memuat narasi pengalaman seorang perempuan muslim yang mendaftar kuliah Sastra Inggris di salah satu Universitas Kristen di Salatiga. Keputusan tersebut menuai resistensi dari anggota keluarganya karena nenek penulis menganggap sekolah Kristen akan

mendoktrinasi cucunya menjadi seorang Kristiani.

Sementara itu, tulisan kedua memuat cerita tentang pengalaman seorang perempuan yang membuatnya mengenakan hijab dan kemudian melepaskannya lagi. Pengalaman tersebut didasarkan pada kesadaran bahwa keputusan penulis mengenakan hijab tidak disebabkan oleh relasi penulis dengan Tuhan (Allah), namun lebih disebabkan oleh relasi penulis dengan lingkungan sekitarnya, termasuk tatapan orang-orang di sekelilingnya. Penulis memutuskan mengenakan hijab karena ingin menutupi kejelekan dan keburukannya. Pada saat itu, hijab membuat penulis merasa menjadi manusia yang lebih baik di hadapan tatapan lingkungannya. Kondisi tersebut membuat penulis menyadari bahwa mengenakan hijab merupakan bentuk kontrol sosial yang membuat penulis kemudian memutuskan secara otonom untuk melepaskan hijab tersebut.

Penulis tidak menuturkan secara gamblang perspektifnya terkait perintah agama dalam menggunakan hijab. Penulis memberikan komparasi argumen yang menganggap perintah menggunakan hijab masih relevan untuk memproteksi diri dan argumen yang menganggapnya sudah tidak terlalu relevan. Premis penulis pada tulisan tersebut adalah keputusan seseorang dalam mengenakan hijab seharusnya didasarkan pada pengetahuan atas konteks dan makna hijab. Pemikiran matang mengenai konteks dan makna hijab tersebut tidak dimiliki penulis saat memutuskan untuk mengenakan hijab.

Kedua tulisan tersebut menjadi representasi dari perayaan atas otoritas yang harus dimiliki oleh perempuan. Perempuan harus dapat menentukan sendiri langkah-langkahnya, ketimbang tunduk pada konformitas lingkungan.

Isu otoritas atas diri merupakan salah satu isu privat yang diberi ruang oleh *Magdalene.co*. Isu-isu privat semacam itu mendominasi berbagai tulisan di *Magdalene.co*. Salah satu isu privat lain terdapat dalam tulisan berjudul “*How to Feel at Home Again After Your Time Away*”. Tulisan tersebut berisi curahan hati seorang perempuan tentang sulitnya beradaptasi dengan lingkungan lama setelah 10 tahun pergi belajar ke luar negeri.

Isu publik lain menjadikan perempuan sebagai korban objektifikasi, seperti nampak pada artikel berjudul “*Photo Series Speaks against Violation to Women’s Bodies*” yang membahas tubuh perempuan yang kerap mendapat kekerasan. Artikel tersebut mencoba menarasikan dan menunjukkan *photo series* karya Bhargavi Joshi, seniman keturunan India-Kanada. Foto-foto tersebut memuat kekerasan terhadap tubuh perempuan, mulai dari perkosaan dalam perkawinan, sensor, serangan seksual, kekerasan domestik, objektifikasi perempuan, sunat perempuan, hingga perubahan yang diskriminatif terhadap kerja perempuan.

Selain isu itu, artikel berjudul “*Dolly: A Graphic Journal on A Red-light District (Part 4)*” yang merupakan bagian terakhir dari seri komik karya seorang *graphic designer*, Andri Nirmala, pada 2014, membahas tentang

industri seks di *Redlight District* di Gang Dolly, Surabaya, Jawa Timur. Komik tersebut menunjukkan bahwa perempuan adalah subjek yang paling tertindas akibat praktik yang terjadi di sebuah industri seks.

Permasalahan perempuan yang dibahas dan ditampilkan di *Magdalene.co* tidak menampilkan secara mendalam realitas diskriminasi. Sebenarnya, represi terhadap perempuan adalah satu lapisan realitas yang ditopang oleh realitas lain. Kondisi material tersebut memungkinkan diskriminasi dan represi terhadap perempuan terjadi. Selain hanya menunjukkan suara para penulis, artikel-artikel tersebut tidak membahas syarat-prasyarat yang harus dilakukan untuk menumpas diskriminasi dan represi terhadap perempuan.

Kelemahan dalam menangkap realitas mendalam dari praktik diskriminasi tersebut disadari oleh Theresia Putri, pembaca *Magdalene.co* sejak 8 bulan lalu.

Sebenarnya di satu sisi aku pikir itu upaya untuk bercerita secara sederhana, untuk menentang narasi dominan dengan narasi personal. Namun akan lebih baik kalau *Magdalene.co* juga membahas isu-isu. Agar perdebatannya bukan cuma kesadaran identitas, tapi juga kesadaran kelas. Karena, kadang masalahnya berlapis, misal dalam kasus buruh transgender, mereka menjadi kelompok rentan (*vulnerable groups*) dua kali: sebagai LGBTIQ dan sekaligus buruh. Kebanyakan tulisan-tulisan *Magdalene.co* -menurutku- masih didominasi isu-isu yang dialami kelas menengah ke atas? (Wawancara dengan Theresia Putri, 2016).

Magdalene.co juga nampak bias kelas menengah dalam membahas isu-isu perempuan. *Magdalene.co* tak terlalu tajam membahas isu perburuhan perempuan, yaitu dengan mengemas ulang komik yang

dibuat oleh Adri Nirmala terkait Industri Seks di Dolly, Surabaya. Penti Aprianti, pendiri PadGHRS (*Padjadjaran Resource Center on Gender & Human Rights*) menuturkan:

(Isu-isu dalam *Magdalene.co*) belum *grassroot*. Terlalu lama fokus pada kaum menengah ke atas, sementara menengah ke bawah kebetulan tidak mempunyai akses lebih, termasuk dalam proses memahami tulisan yang berbahasa Inggris (Wawancara dengan Penti Aprianti, 2016).

Sebagian besar artikel juga mewakili perspektif kelas menengah, seperti isu sulitnya beradaptasi setelah kuliah di luar negeri dan isu melepaskan hijab setelah kuliah di luar negeri.

Isu-isu makro yang terabaikan tulisan-tulisan di *Magdalene.co* disadari oleh Fairuz.

Sangat disayangkan, menurut saya isu-isu makro tersebut perlu menjadi perhatian serius. Karena jika ingin mengubah paradigma yang dianggap salah, narasi-narasi yang dihadirkan mestinya narasi yang mendorong perubahan paradigma berpikir yang nantinya bisa mengubah sistem/tatanan/nilai yang masyarakat anut. Tulisan-tulisan pengalaman pribadi dibutuhkan lebih menyentuh pada aspek emosional dan wawasan pembaca bahwa pengalaman/pemikiran yang dimilikinya bukan hal yang tabu untuk didiskusikan. Jadi tulisan pengalaman lebih tepat sebagai pintu masuk saja bagi pembaca untuk memahami konsep gender secara lebih luas (wawancara dengan Fairuz Rana Ulfah, 2016)

Rasionalitas-Irasionalitas: Perempuan yang Mengandalkan Perasaan

Salah satu stereotip yang bekerja pada dikotomi laki-laki dan perempuan adalah laki-laki dianggap sebagai makhluk rasional, sedangkan perempuan emosional. Perempuan kerap diidentikkan sebagai entitas yang irasional dan cenderung mengandalkan perasaan dalam memutuskan

sesuatu (Terre, Arivia, Alimi & Affiah, 2013, h. 43).

Dikotomi rasional-irasional yang melekat pada laki-laki dan perempuan adalah hal yang seharusnya dibongkar oleh *Magdalene.co*. *Magdalene.co* mengaku menawarkan perspektif baru yang bertujuan melampaui tipikal gender dan batas-batas kebudayaan. Rasionalitas yang diinjeksikan oleh awak *Magdalene.co* pada khalayak melalui rubrikasi. Perempuan dikenalkan pada isu-isu sensitif terkait perempuan, seperti relasi perempuan dengan negara, seksualitas dan gender, politik, isu-isu sosial, isu agama dan spiritualitas, isu lingkungan, isu keluarga dan relasi antarmanusia (termasuk antargender), gaya hidup, kesehatan, dan budaya.

Harapannya, muncul *polyvocality*, yaitu keberagaman suara yang keluar dari mulut dan rasionalitas perempuan yang menimbang isu-isu tersebut dari perspektif perempuan. Namun, *Magdalene.co* tidak konsisten dalam mengupayakan penumbangan irasionalitas pada perempuan. Pelanggengan identitas irasional yang melekat pada perempuan justru nampak pada salah satu rubrik *Magdalene.co*, yaitu *Tarotscope*. Rubrik *Tarotscope* berisikan ramalan terkait pekerjaan, asmara, aktivitas, dan minuman atau makanan yang direkomendasikan sesuai karakter horoskopnya. Masing-masing horoskop dipaparkan ramalannya secara rutin setiap minggu.

Keberadaan *Tarotscope* tersebut menempatkan perempuan sebagai khalayak utama *Magdalene.co* yang dapat percaya

pada penjelasan metafisis dan tak memiliki rujukan jelas pada realitas. Hal ini terlihat pada tulisan *Tarotscope* berjudul “*26th Sept-2nd of October*”. Pada tulisan tersebut, pembaca mendapat penjelasan terkait perubahan perjodohan antarhoroskop, nasib, dan pekerjaan yang dapat dipengaruhi oleh perubahan planet Pluto, Venus, dan Merkurius.

With Pluto turns direct this week, the truth will slowly resurface for both of you. Couples who broke up during retrograde season may get back together with a lot of make-up sex (wink wink) because Venus in Scorpio brings back the intense desire within. But on the downside, you'll love so intensely, that if there's any arguments between you, it would be pretty intense too. Oh and one more thing, be careful with obsession and jealousy masked as love (Widyadhari, 2016).

Rubrik yang menyodorkan horoskop biasanya ditemui di majalah-majalah perempuan atau media-media *online* yang memang ditujukan untuk perempuan. Jarang sekali kita temui rubrik horoskop di majalah atau media yang ditujukan untuk laki-laki. Identitas rasional laki-laki menepis kemungkinan masuknya wacana horoskop pada sisi maskulinitas laki-laki yang mengandalkan kewarasan sebagai landasan dalam menentukan langkah seseorang.

Akhirnya, upaya untuk menentang stereotip perempuan, yaitu identitas yang terlanjur melekat kuat pada perempuan, salah satunya terkait stereotip bahwa perempuan cenderung irasional dan lebih mengandalkan perasaan, masih perlu direkonstruksi secara ideologis. Keseluruhan upaya yang dilakukan masih bersifat ambivalen ketika segala rasionalitas

yang disodorkan oleh teks-teks dan paparan terkait sikap perempuan terhadap isu-isu domestik bersanding dengan rubrik lain yang justru menawarkan irasionalitas di dalamnya.

Selain aspek isu rasionalitas, perbaikan juga perlu dilakukan pada pilihan isu yang diangkat dan proses produksinya. Hal tersebut tercermin dari saran yang diungkapkan oleh Shuliya, seorang pembaca *Magdalene.co* yang sudah mengikuti *website* ini selama 8 bulan.

Berkaca dari pertanyaan mengenai topik *Magdalene* yang banyak membahas isu-isu privat *ketimbang* isu-isu publik mungkin *Magdalene* perlu lebih banyak memuat tulisan dengan topik-topik tersebut dalam bentuk artikel ilmiah populer yang didasarkan pada riset atau jurnal tertentu. Bukan hanya pengalaman dan pandangan pribadi. *I think that would be cool* (Wawancara dengan Shuliya, 2016).

Saran pembaca di atas sangat perlu dipertimbangkan oleh pengelola *Magdalene.co* dalam upaya perbaikan media tersebut, baik secara ideologis maupun teknis produksi.

SIMPULAN

Magdalene.co, sebagai media advokasi perempuan, mengandung dua dimensi penting, yaitu dimensi pengembangan akses informasi untuk perempuan dan dimensi kesadaran tentang beragam isu perempuan. Keberadaan *Magdalene.co* dapat dilihat sebagai media alternatif yang memperluas akses bagi perempuan dan memberikan wawasan isu yang beragam terkait perempuan.

Keberadaan *Magdalene.co* sebagai media *online* merupakan media alternatif

yang berpotensi memberi ruang bagi gerakan perempuan yang lebih independen, interaktif, dan deliberatif. Sebagai sebuah gerakan dengan basis media *online*, pada dasarnya *Magdalene.co* mampu menyodorkan sebuah harapan pada proyek emansipasi. Harapan tersebut dapat ditemukan dalam mekanisme produksi dan konsumsi yang dijalankan atau ditawarkan *Magdalene.co* sebagai media *online*.

Terkait dengan isu, *Magdalene.co* mampu mengangkat beragam isu yang merupakan alternatif dari media-media arus utama yang membahas tentang perempuan, akan tetapi masih tetap dirasakan khalayaknya mengandung bias kelas dalam pilihan isunya. Terdapat isu-isu gender dan seksualitas yang juga mengandung kritik terhadap objektifikasi perempuan dan melakukan advokasi dengan mengangkat isu-isu yang dimarjinalkan sebagai *the other*. Sayangnya, posisi *Magdalene.co* pada isu-isu yang diangkat masih bersifat ambivalen. *Magdalene.co* mengangkat isu privat dan publik dengan upaya merasionalisasi perempuan, namun di rubrik lain masih terjebak pada irasionalitas, yang mencerminkan *typical gender* yang melekat pada perempuan.

Saran

Magdalene.co mendapat respons baik dari para pembacanya, tetapi masih perlu mengembangkan potensinya sebagai media advokasi. Tantangan dalam mengembangkan *Magdalene.co* sebagai media alternatif adalah pada kelangsungan media dan peningkatan partisipasi khalayak. Kelangsungan media dapat diusahakan

melalui pengelolaan yang bersifat mandiri dan profesional. Sementara itu, peningkatan partisipasi khalayak, bukan hanya melibatkan khalayak sebagai pembaca, namun juga sebagai produsen pesan yang mampu mengungkapkan pemikirannya sendiri. Peningkatan partisipasi khalayak juga perlu dikembangkan pada khalayak laki-laki karena advokasi tentang isu perempuan dapat lebih berhasil jika dipahami dan didukung pula oleh kaum laki-laki. Advokasi yang dilakukan tidak menempatkan laki-laki sebagai *outsider* atau lawan, tetapi sebagai bagian dari upaya perubahan dan rekan dalam melakukan advokasi perempuan.

Magdalene.co masih harus mengembangkan isu dari berbagai lapisan kelas, walaupun menasar khalayak di kelas ekonomi tertentu. Perempuan kelas tertentu tidak selalu hanya peduli pada isu-isu kelasnya, walaupun terpaan tersebut memerlukan format atau kemasan yang sesuai. Upaya tersebut seharusnya dapat dilakukan dengan dukungan sumber daya atau pengelola yang dimiliki oleh *Magdalene.co*.

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Gendering the Internet: Perempuan pada Ruang Gender yang Berbeda

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Abstract: *Media becomes the mirror of society and reflects what happened within. Study of gender cannot be separated from technology, which by gender is both shaping and shaped by internet. In Indonesia, there are many websites that segmented based on gender (gender space), such as Vemale.com and Sooperboy.com. This research aims to seek the representation of women in these different gendered spaces. Using qualitative approach with qualitative content analysis as the methodology, the result shows that the websites already represent women in public space, even though it is still overshadowed by the domestic rules of women in private space.*

Keywords: *cyberspace, gender space, website*

Abstrak: *Beragam penggambaran gender dapat ditemukan di media. Media menjadi cermin masyarakat dan merefleksikan yang terjadi di dalamnya. Studi gender tak terlepas dari teknologi, di mana gender membentuk dan dibentuk oleh internet. Di Indonesia terdapat website yang memiliki segmentasi berdasarkan gender (gender space) seperti Vemale.com dan Sooperboy.com. Peneliti ingin melihat penggambaran perempuan pada ruang gender yang berbeda dari kedua website. Penelitian ini menggunakan pendekatan kualitatif dengan metode analisis isi kualitatif. Hasil penelitian memperlihatkan bahwa kedua situs menampilkan perempuan yang sudah merambah ruang publik, namun bayang-bayang peran domestik pada ruang privat masih diikutsertakan.*

Kata Kunci: *cyberspace, ruang gender, website*

Fenomena teknologi tidak dapat sepenuhnya dipahami tanpa mereferensikan ke masalah gender. Salah satu ketidaksetaraan teknologi yang paling bertahan lama adalah pembedaan gender (Dixon, Correa, Straubhaar, Covarrubias, Graber, Spence & Rojas, 2014, h. 2). Teori konstruksi sosial teknologi (*social construction of technology/SCOT*) menunjukkan bahwa teknologi secara sosial dibentuk berdasarkan konteks sosial yang berbeda. Teori ini melihat bahwa masyarakat membentuk

media potensial yang baru berdasarkan pada kemungkinan teknologi baru untuk memproduksi pesan dan kegunaannya yang paling produktif atau paling sesuai dengan kategori masyarakat tertentu. Teknologi dapat melakukan perubahan sehingga masyarakat dapat memainkan peran dalam pembangunan gender dengan menciptakan kemungkinan-kemungkinan baru mengenai bagaimana peran gender dapat berlaku dalam wilayah yang baru. Walaupun demikian dalam pandangan

pembentukan sosial (*social shaping*), gender juga membentuk pembangunan dan pemaknaan mengenai teknologi.

Perkembangan tersebut memunculkan dua cara pandang terhadap perkembangan teknologi yakni determinasi teknologi dan determinasi sosial. McLuhan menjelaskan tentang “*Medium is the message*”, yakni media merupakan pesan yang mampu memberikan perubahan budaya daripada konten atau penggunaannya. Media membentuk, mengontrol skala dan bentuk asosiasi serta tindakan manusia. McLuhan juga menjelaskan “*We shape our tools and they in turn shape us*”. Berdasarkan pada gagasan yang lebih luas mengenai determinasi teknologi, teknologi membentuk dan mengubah masyarakat, sedangkan secara khusus media merupakan hal yang dipengaruhi oleh teknologi (dalam Royal, 2008). Sedangkan determinasi sosial menganggap perkembangan teknologi merupakan proses konstruksi sosial yang tidak lepas dari proses-proses sosial di sekitarnya. Teknologi dianggap sebagai hasil bentukan sosial (*social shaping*). Determinasi sosial erat kaitannya dengan teori ruang publik. Teori tersebut memberikan pendekatan teoritis yang berkaitan dengan teknologi, khususnya media baru (Octavianto, 2014).

Walaupun internet sering dikarakterisasikan sebagai wilayah laki-laki karena interpretasi terhadap internet yang cenderung teknis, Sadie Plant (1997) melihat sebaliknya. Internet adalah feminin. Feminis melihat kemungkinan adanya ruang publik baru dan perubahan melalui penghapusan batasan

antara ruang publik dan privat, sehingga internet diinterpretasikan tidak begitu teknis namun lebih bersifat sebagai medium (Carstensen, 2009, h. 107).

Salah satu ruang publik yang kini turut berkembang adalah *gendered space* (ruang gender). *Cyberspace* menyediakan akses untuk berinteraksi yang melingkupi beberapa aspek seperti ekonomi, sosial, politik, dan sebagainya, begitu pula dengan *gendered space*. *Gendered space* juga menyediakan akses untuk berinteraksi dengan berbagai aspek, namun lebih disesuaikan dengan karakteristik kelompok yang berdasarkan gender. Low & Lawrence-Zuniga (2003) menjelaskan *gendered space* sebagai suatu ruang khusus di mana budaya menanamkan makna gender. Situs di mana praktik yang berbeda terjadi atau tempat yang digunakan secara strategis untuk menginformasikan identitas dan memproduksi serta reproduksi hubungan gender asimetris mengenai kekuasaan dan otoritas (Rezeanu, 2015, h. 11-12). Low (2006) menjelaskan ruang dan gender diproduksi dalam interaksinya yang memengaruhi dan dipengaruhi oleh struktur sosial yang lebih besar. Identitas dan hubungan gender diproduksi dalam interaksi keduanya yang dapat mereproduksi konstruksi budaya dari perbedaan gender. Gagasan *gendered space* dan cara mereka menjelaskan praktik dan produksi sosial dari gender tidaklah baru. *Gendered space* merupakan konsep yang muncul berdasarkan perbedaan gender yang kuat, berakar dari ideologi gender yang melegitimasi hegemoni maskulin (Rezeanu, 2015, h. 12).

Penelitian mengenai ruang gender pernah dilakukan oleh Royal (2008) dengan judul “*Framing the Internet: A Comparison of Gendered Spaces*” dengan meneliti dua *website* besar berdasar gender yaitu *iVillage.com* dan *AskMen.com*. Royal memperlihatkan situs *website* untuk perempuan tersebut membingkai wacana “*home and family frame*”, yang memperkuat peran perempuan sebagai fasilitator pada komunikasi keluarga dan memberikan strategi dalam urusan pemisahan keterlibatan dalam ruang privat. Royal melihat bagaimana teknologi (baca: internet) “beradaptasi” dalam menyajikan konten yang sesuai dengan masing-masing gender. *Women-content-web* lebih memfokuskan pada rumah tangga dan keluarga, sedangkan *Man-content-web* lebih mengenai bisnis, hubungan, dan olahraga.

Penelitian Dixon dan tim pada tahun 1999 dan 2009 membuktikan bagaimana perempuan tertinggal dibandingkan laki-laki dalam kepemilikan teknologi dan perkembangan keahlian teknologi (Dixon, et al., 2014, h. 998). Ketidaknyaman perempuan dengan teknologi ditemukan dalam penelitian Singh (2001) dalam penelitiannya mengenai “*Gender and The Use of Internet at Home*”. Menurut hasil penelitiannya di Australia, perempuan menggunakan internet di rumah sebagai alat untuk melakukan aktivitas, alih-alih untuk bermain atau menguasai teknologi. Perempuan melihat teknologi sebagai sesuatu hal yang maskulin, sehingga ketika merasa nyaman dengan internet, mereka melihatnya sebagai sebuah alat, bukan teknologi.

Mudahnya akses terhadap media yang dapat dilakukan oleh siapa saja membuat media baru semakin diminati. Di dalam budaya patriarkal, laki-laki memiliki posisi, pendidikan dan kekuasaan yang lebih tinggi. Namun sekarang perempuan juga menguasai teknologi dan turut serta dalam proses yang terjadi di internet. MacDonald (dalam Royal, 2008) menjelaskan bahwa wacana dan stereotip perempuan diidentifikasi dalam media berkaitan dengan dikotomi (dibagi menjadi dua), yakni ruang publik dan ruang privat.

Pada kebudayaan Jawa, perempuan dilihat sebagai *the second sex* ataupun instrumen bagi pria. Hal tersebut tercermin dalam ungkapan dari dapur ke sumur, dari sumur ke kasur, dari kasur ke dapur, atau ungkapan lainnya yakni ‘*masak, macak, manak*’ (Imron & Nasucha, 2009, h. 99). Cara pandang masyarakat yang masih dipengaruhi oleh stereotip peran gender menempatkan perempuan pada peran domestik yakni sebagai pendamping suami dan ibu yang mengasuh anak bahkan setelah memiliki anak, seorang perempuan dapat berperan sebagai suami sekaligus istri dalam rumah tangga. Pergeseran peran gender dari tradisional menjadi egaliter menempatkan perempuan pada posisi yang sama dalam semua domain (Putri & Lestari, 2015, h. 74).

Van Zoonen (dalam Royal, 2008) menjelaskan hubungan antara teori feminisme dengan teknologi informasi. Ia menuliskan bahwa beberapa publikasi mengidentifikasi ketidakikutsertaan perempuan dalam penemuan, penciptaan, dan desain teknologi terbaru. Hanya saja perannya sebagai

konsumen teknologi tertentu. Keikutsertaan perempuan dalam dunia maya ini didukung oleh berbagai hal termasuk berkembangnya *cyberfeminism*. *Cyberfeminism* menyatakan hubungan antara perempuan dengan teknologi telekomunikasi baru. *Cyberfeminism* adalah sebuah pemberontakan pada budaya patriarkal dunia yang menuntut perubahan hubungan antara perempuan, perempuan dengan komputer, serta rantai hubungan dan komunikasi (Royal, 2008). Bertentangan dengan Sadie Plant, penelitian Spender (Royal, 2008) mengatakan perempuan perlu mengejar ketertinggalannya terhadap laki-laki untuk mendapatkan kekuasaan dan keuntungan finansial dari teknologi.

Cyberfeminism menekankan pada peran utama gender dalam hubungan sosial dan sebagai akibat dari penindasan perempuan. *Cyberfeminism* cenderung menyoroiti *cyberspace* untuk membangkitkan kepercayaan bahwa setiap orang itu sama (sederajat). Van Zoonen (2002, h. 12) mengatakan *cyberfeminism* menantang kita untuk melampaui kategori ganda gender. Tingginya keikutsertaan perempuan di dunia maya dapat dilihat melalui angka penggunaan layanan internet di Amerika yang meningkat tiap tahunnya. Persentase peningkatan ini cenderung lebih besar dilakukan oleh perempuan. Meskipun total pengguna masih didominasi oleh laki-laki, tetapi peningkatan yang signifikan ditunjukkan oleh perempuan (Royal, 2008). Di Amerika banyak *website* dan situs berbasis gender seperti *Women.com* yang memberikan konten *online* yang jumlahnya lebih dari 90.000 halaman, berisi hal-hal yang berkaitan dengan perempuan

secara tradisional tetapi juga memungkinkan terbentuknya forum dan obrolan mengenai topik gender secara tradisional (van Zoonen, 2002, h. 17).

Ketika penggunaan internet meningkat secara drastis pada 1995, tidak banyak perempuan yang tertarik untuk menggunakannya. Seiring dengan tuntutan zaman dan perkembangan pola pikir masyarakat, perempuan mulai mengubah interaksinya dengan internet (Thanuskodi, 2013). Anthony Giddens menjelaskan keberanian perempuan dalam menunjukkan identitas mereka di internet merupakan bagian dari proses yang komprehensif dalam hal demokratisasi. Budaya konsumerisme modern telah menawarkan beberapa potensi individu untuk membangun dan membentuk identitas diri mereka sendiri (Karimi, 2015, h. 222).

Sebanyak 85% keputusan berbelanja dipegang oleh perempuan (Mellina, 2016) sehingga banyak perusahaan dari berbagai industri menyajikan iklan yang menyasar perempuan. *Tech In Asia* Indonesia merangkum paling tidak ada 13 portal *online* khusus perempuan di Indonesia yang menyasar segmentasi perempuan secara khusus, seperti untuk informasi pernikahan (*Bridestory, The Bride Dept*), ibu dan anak (*Mommies Daily*), seputar kecantikan (*Female Daily, FacetoFeet*), perempuan berhijab (*Hijapedia*) hingga kumpulan artikel seputar marjinalisasi dan diskriminasi perempuan (*Konde, Magdalena*), dan informasi umum mengenai kehidupan perempuan (*Vemale, Fimela, Popbela, Woop.id, Wolipop*) (Sambur, 2016). Di sisi lain, 79%

pembaca *e-reader* di Indonesia adalah laki-laki (Rizal, 2014). Jumlah pembaca sebanyak ini dianggap sebagai isyarat potensial bagi pasar media *online* khusus laki-laki. Berikut adalah tujuh portal *online* khusus laki-laki terpopuler di Indonesia berdasar *ranking* dari *SimilarWeb*: *Sooperboy*, *Men's Health Indonesia*, *TalkMen*, *Malezones*, *Esquire Indonesia*, *Yomamen*, dan *BestLife Indonesia*.

METODE

Pada penelitian ini, dua *website* berbasis gender dipilih menjadi objek penelitian yaitu *Vemale.com* dan *Sooperboy.com*. Alasan kedua *website* tersebut dipilih karena bagian dari jaringan *KapanLagi* yang merupakan satu dari perusahaan internet terbesar di Indonesia (www.linkedin.com). *Vemale.com* berisi topik khusus perempuan, sedangkan *Sooperboy.com* yang diinisiasi setelah *KapanLagi merger* dengan jaringan *Fimela* pada 2014, lebih berfokus pada gaya hidup laki-laki. *Vemale.com* diakses sekitar 96.651 per harinya dan 2.899.530 per bulannya, sedangkan *Sooperboy.com* dikunjungi sebanyak 26.400 per harinya, dan 792.000 per bulannya (*Vemale.com*, 2016; *Vemale.com traffic statistics*, 2016; *Sooperboy.com*, 2016; *Sooperboy.com traffic statistics*, 2016)

Populasi penelitian ini adalah artikel yang dimuat di *website Sooperboy.com* dan *Vemale.com* yang dimuat antara bulan Maret hingga Mei 2016. Pengambilan sampel dalam penelitian ini disesuaikan dengan tujuan dari penelitian, yaitu artikel yang berkaitan dengan representasi perempuan, sehingga teknik sampling yang digunakan adalah *purposive sampling*.

Teknik validasi data pada penelitian ini menggunakan teknik triangulasi yakni teknik triangulasi sumber data dan peneliti. Triangulasi sumber data dilakukan dengan membandingkan hasil yang diteliti pada *website Sooperboy.com* dan *Vemale.com* dengan data-data yang diperoleh dari proses dokumentasi kepustakaan, sementara triangulasi peneliti dilakukan dengan membandingkan temuan peneliti dengan peneliti lainnya.

HASIL

Karier

Vemale.com menampilkan beberapa artikel yang memperlihatkan keaktifan perempuan dalam bidang pekerjaan. Perempuan diajak berpikir kreatif dalam melihat keadaan, di mana mereka dapat melihat peluang pekerjaan seperti yang disampaikan pada artikel “*Wah, Jasa Merapikan Lemari Bisa Jadi Peluang Bisnis Menguntungkan*” yang dimuat pada 2 Mei 2016.

Artikel tersebut mengajak perempuan mengembangkan kreativitas untuk berani membuka peluang pekerjaan baru. Peluang yang ditawarkan oleh *Vemale.com* tidak jauh dari bagaimana patriarki melakukan pembagian kerja bagi perempuan yang berkaitan dengan rumah. Meskipun peluang pekerjaan baru tersebut berada pada ruang publik, namun masih erat kaitannya dengan peran domestik perempuan.

Dua artikel *Vemale.com* yang dimuat pada 6 Mei 2016 berjudul “*Karier Sukses dan Keluarga Bahagia, Ini Rahasiannya*”, serta artikel pada 1 Mei 2016 berjudul “*Dilema*

Working Mom: Ajak Anak Saat Bekerja di Kantor, Mungkinkah?”, memperlihatkan bagaimana perempuan berusaha menyeimbangkan antara kepentingan ruang privat dan publiknya, yakni antara keluarga dan pekerjaannya. Seperti yang tersurat pada isi artikel tersebut:

Sejak lama perdebatan antara *working mom* vs *stay-at-home mom* menjadi perbincangan di antara kaum ibu. Tanpa memihak siapapun, saya yakin tak ada seorangpun ibu yang ingin *ketinggalan* perkembangan anak-anaknya sekaligus ingin dapat mengembangkan dirinya sendiri (Dilema *working*, 2016).

Penjelasan ini memperlihatkan bahwa perempuan memiliki peluang untuk ikut serta dalam beberapa pekerjaan. Namun tidak begitu jelas penggambaran jenis lapangan pekerjaan apa yang dapat digeluti oleh perempuan. Partisipasi perempuan pada ruang publik yang menguat tampak diiringi partisipasi di ruang privat, yakni berkaitan dengan peran perempuan dalam keluarga yaitu mengurus anak. Akan tetapi hal tersebut menimbulkan dilema bagi perempuan untuk memilih perannya di ruang privat atau publik. Melalui artikel-artikel yang dimuatnya, *Vemale.com* memberikan solusi bagi perempuan untuk bisa menyeimbangkan perannya di ruang privat dan publik.

Secara kontradiktif di artikel lain yang dimuat 10 Mei 2016 berjudul “*Cerita Single Mom: Kulepas Karier Bergensi demi Putri Kecilku*” menunjukkan perempuan yang memilih untuk merawat anaknya daripada pekerjaannya. Artikel tersebut menunjukkan perempuan yang memiliki karier bagus akhirnya harus mengalah demi melakukan kodratnya sebagai ibu dan kembali ke ruang privat domestiknya.

Partisipasi perempuan dalam kehidupan dilihat dalam dua bentuk partisipasi yakni partisipasi tradisi/domestik dan transisi. Partisipasi tradisi melibatkan perempuan dalam kehidupan rumah tangga seperti pekerjaan mengurus suami, mengasuh anak, dan mengurus rumah tangga. Partisipasi transisi melibatkan perempuan pada sektor pekerjaan di luar rumah yang berkaitan dengan kegiatan ekonomis yang disesuaikan dengan pendidikan dan keterampilan perempuan (Sukesi dalam Wibowo, 2011, h. 356). Perempuan pada *Vemale.com* digambarkan memiliki kesamaan dalam hal kesempatan kerja, kesetaraan pendapatan serta adanya hak dan kewajiban yang sama dengan laki-laki. Namun peran perempuan pada ruang privat juga masih tergambar dengan jelas di *website* ini. Meskipun beberapa artikel menunjukkan perempuan memiliki pekerjaan di ruang publik atau sebagai perempuan karier, mereka masih kerap dikaitkan dengan peran domestiknya di ruang privat yang berkaitan dengan anak dan rumah tangga.

Perempuan yang aktif berkarier dibicarakan juga dalam artikel-artikel *Sooperboy.com*, meskipun fokus utamanya bukan pada sisi bisnis dan karier, melainkan pada sisi penampilan. Seperti pada artikel yang dimuat pada 1 Mei 2016 berjudul “*Alamak..Pesona Penjual Bakso Djingkrak Begitu Menggoda*”.

Selain karena baksonya yang enak dan bersih, kecantikan dan keseksian pemilik sekaligus pelayan warung Bakso Djingkrak ini menjadi daya tarik tersendiri hingga mengundang masyarakat untuk datang ke warung mereka (Alamak pesona, 2016).

Meskipun artikel ini berfokus pada sisi penampilan yang cantik dan menjadi daya tarik penjualan, namun jika dicermati pemilik tempat makan ini adalah perempuan. Ini menunjukkan perempuan memiliki sisi kreatif dalam memanfaatkan peluang dengan membuka lapangan pekerjaan. Selain artikel penjual bakso tersebut, *Sooperboy.com* juga mengangkat penampilan fisik dan karier perempuan yang berprofesi sebagai polisi dan tentara. Seperti pada artikel yang dimuat pada 3 Mei 2016 berjudul “*Heboh! Muncul Polwan Bernama Bripda Ricca Secantik Isyana Sarasvati*”.

Ternyata sebelumnya menjadi polwan, gadis kelahiran Semarang 13 Mei 1994 ini pernah meraih prestasi sebagai finalis Duta Wisata Denok-Kenang 2013, *covergirl* sebuah majalah remaja pada 2011, serta menjadi bintang iklan dan video klip (Heboh muncul, 2016).

Artikel-artikel di atas memperlihatkan bahwa perempuan kini memiliki variasi pekerjaan yang awalnya cenderung didominasi oleh laki-laki. *Sooperboy.com* lebih berfokus pada penggambaran perempuan yang aktif di ruang publik, walaupun cara mempresentasikannya tidak terlepas dari daya tarik fisik perempuan. Budaya patriarkal dan partisipasi perempuan di ruang privat sama sekali tidak diperlihatkan oleh *Sooperboy.com*. Perempuan lebih dilihat sebagai sosok yang memiliki kemampuan sama dengan laki-laki dalam bidang pekerjaan, di mana semakin banyak perempuan yang menggeluti pekerjaan yang awalnya memerlukan sifat maskulinitas laki-laki. *Sooperboy.com* melihat perempuan yang bekerja melebihi

stereotip gender yang selama ini beredar di masyarakat. Adanya perbedaan bentuk fisik perempuan dan laki-laki, serta sifat yang dianggap menyertainya, seperti lemah lembut, berperasaan halus dan senang melakukan pekerjaan yang bersifat menata membuat perempuan distereotipkan dengan pekerjaan ringan atau yang bersifat melayani dan merawat. Hal tersebut memunculkan suatu aturan yang menegaskan bahwa perempuan diposisikan sebagai bidan atau perawat dalam konsep pemikiran laki laki (Nurlian, 2008, h. 77). Apa yang digambarkan oleh kedua situs berusaha menentang pembagian pekerjaan patriaki di mana laki-laki yang menjadi kepala rumah tangga, bekerja di luar ruang rumah, dan perempuan berada di wilayah privat (Durham & Kellner, 2006).

Empowerment

Women's empowerment diartikan bahwa perempuan yang memiliki kekuasaan penuh dan kontrol atas kehidupan mereka sendiri. Sementara *empowerment* dilihat sebagai proses pembangunan kesadaran dan kapasitas yang meningkatkan partisipasi dan kekuatan pembuatan keputusan yang dapat mengarah pada tindakan transformatif yang akan mengubah struktur kesempatan ke arah yang inklusif dan kesetaraan (Andersen & Siim, 2004). Terdapat dua hubungan antara pembangunan ekonomi dengan *women's empowerment* yakni sebagai peningkatan kemampuan perempuan untuk mengakses konstituen pembangunan dalam hal kesehatan khususnya, pendidikan, kesempatan yang sama, serta hak dan partisipasi politik. Di bidang bisnis,

women's empowerment dibutuhkan untuk memperlihatkan adanya kesetaraan antara perempuan dan laki-laki yang merupakan tujuan utamanya, dan kebijakan juga harus bertujuan untuk mencapai tujuan tersebut (Duflo, 2012, h. 1053).

Kategori *empowerment* memperlihatkan bagaimana perempuan memiliki kekuasaan, mulai dari diri sendiri, keluarga, hingga urusan pekerjaan. Kategori *empowerment* pada penelitian ini difokuskan pada wilayah kehidupan perempuan khususnya yang berkaitan dengan diri dan kehidupannya sendiri. *Vemale.com* mengulas *empowerment* dalam artikel yang dimuat pada 4 Mei 2016 berjudul “*Lari dari Masalah Tak Menyelesaikan Apapun, Hadapi dengan Elegan*”. Artikel ini menjelaskan bagaimana perempuan memiliki pilihan untuk tetap menghadapi masalah dengan elegan, perempuan dianggap kuat dan memiliki kemampuan untuk menyelesaikan permasalahan.

Artikel *empowerment* yang dimuat oleh *Vemale.com* memperlihatkan bagaimana perempuan memiliki kemampuan untuk mengaktualisasi diri serta memiliki kendali atas dirinya sendiri. Selain memotivasi perempuan untuk bisa berkembang, artikel tersebut juga mendorong perempuan untuk berani meraih kesuksesannya di ruang publik. Hal tersebut sejalan dengan prinsip *United Nations Global Compact* yang mendorong hal-hal terkait pengembangan diri perempuan yang berfungsi membuka kesempatan untuk kemajuan perempuan pada semua level dan lintas area bisnis serta mendorong perempuan untuk mengambil

pekerjaan-pekerjaan non tradisional (UN Women & United Nations Global Compact, 2011, h. 5).

Sooperboy.com juga memuat tentang *women's empowerment* melalui artikel 2 Mei 2016 berjudul “*Julia Perez Ancam Haters 6 Tahun Penjara*”,

Julia Perez mengambil tindakan dengan memposting foto ancaman untuk para *haters* di akun instagram pribadinya... ‘6 thn penjara for haters #hatersgonnahate #haters #cybercrime #magisterhukum #iamgoingtohuntyoudownhaters’ (Julia Perez, 2016)

Artikel-artikel tersebut menggambarkan bagaimana perempuan kini berani mengekspresikan diri serta berani berkomentar atas segala sesuatu yang terjadi di sekitar mereka. Penggunaan media sosial merupakan salah satu bentuk *empowering* untuk menguatkan posisi perempuan. Perempuan mendominasi *Facebook*, *Pinterest* dan *Instagram*, *Twitter* dan *Tumblr* untuk *chatting* dengan laki-laki (McPherson, 2014). McPherson juga menjelaskan beberapa kampanye yang dilakukan untuk menguatkan posisi perempuan seperti kampanye yang berfokus membantu perempuan mencapai kesuksesannya dalam hal karir seperti melalui *hashtag* #LeanIn, #ChangeTheRatio, #Ask4More. Selanjutnya kampanye yang berfokus mengubah pandangan ataupun gambaran media mengenai perempuan seperti *hashtag* #NotBuyingIt, #MediaWeLike, #SolidarityisforWhiteWomen. Tak hanya itu, kampanye mengenai *inspiring dan empowering girls* yang berkaitan dengan pendidikan juga dilakukan untuk mengubah stereotip yang selama ini beredar melalui *hashtag* #girlsrising, #WeAreSilent,

#ImAGirl, #banbossy, #BringBackOurGirl (Mcpherson, 2014)

Mengacu pada feminisme gelombang kedua, kampanye *hashtag* tersebut tampak mendukung adanya kesetaraan antara perempuan dan laki-laki dalam mengemukakan pendapat. Media sosial tampak menjadi sarana perempuan untuk mengungkapkan aspirasinya. Fenomena ini berkaitan dengan konsep *self disclosure* dan *self presentation* (Lubis, 2014, h. 99). *Self disclosure* berperan membentuk *self presentation* di mana dengan adanya pengungkapan informasi tentang diri berupa pemikiran, perasaan, hingga kesukaan dapat membentuk *image* yang secara tidak langsung ditampilkan kepada orang lain. Pengungkapan diri merupakan langkah penting dalam pengembangan sebuah hubungan pribadi serta dapat muncul pada dua orang yang tidak saling mengenal (Lubis, 2014, h.100).

Penggambaran fisik

Penggambaran fisik di media, standar kecantikan, dan efeknya pada masyarakat telah menjadi subjek dalam banyak penelitian. Standar kecantikan secara konstan berubah diciptakan dan berakar di masyarakat dengan bantuan media. Penggambaran perempuan di media seringkali satu dimensi dan ideal sehingga perempuan selalu dihadapkan dengan standar kecantikan yang sangat kaku, sulit untuk diraih, tak peduli usaha berkelanjutan yang mereka lakukan (Goldman & Waymer, 2014, h. 5).

Penggambaran fisik perempuan pada *Vemale.com* dapat dilihat melalui artikel yang dimuat pada 3 Mei 2016 berjudul “*Hi*

Ladies, Temukan ‘Brightspiration’ Dalam Diri Yuk!” sebagai berikut,

Setiap perempuan memiliki pesona tersendiri yang terpancar dalam diri. Kecerahan tersebut tidak hanya terpancar dari luar saja, tapi juga dari dalam. Sudahkah kamu menemukannya dalam diri sendiri? Jika belum, bukan berarti kamu tidak memilikinya. *Yuk* segera temukan mereka.Menjadi diri sendiri, menginspirasi lingkungan, menjaga kecantikan luar (*Hi ladies*, 2016).

Artikel berjudul “*Kulit Cantik Yang Sehat Tak Harus Putih Ladies*” yang dimuat pada 7 Mei 2016 juga memberikan gambaran tentang fisik perempuan seperti berikut,

Lebih lanjut dirinya mengungkapkan, untuk menjadi cantik perhatian konsumen yang utama harus berfokus pada hal-hal yang diperlukan kulit dan bahan yang terkandung dalam kosmetik tersebut sebelum dipakai. Kosmetik berbahan alami, masih jadi pertimbangan utama konsumen (*Kulit cantik*, 2016).

Hal ini berbeda dengan yang digambarkan di majalah *Elle* -majalah perempuan terbitan Perancis yang menampilkan *fashion*, kecantikan, kesehatan, hingga hiburan. Saat ini *Elle* telah menjadi majalah mode terbesar di dunia, telah diterbitkan di 60 negara dan telah memiliki jaringan global melalui 33 *websitenya* (Setya, n.d.).

Penggambaran cantik pada majalah *Elle* memuat kontradiksi. *Elle* menguatkan kriteria kesehatan fisik dan emosional tetapi juga mendorong perempuan untuk melupakan hal tersebut atas nama kecantikan (Gauntlett, 2002, h. 191). Kontradiksi yang muncul pada majalah perempuan menunjukkan bahwa di satu sisi mereka ingin mengajak perempuan percaya diri dengan apa yang mereka miliki, tetapi di sisi lain juga “mendorong” perempuan

menjadi cantik dengan penggambaran cantik ideal satu dimensi menurut yang ada di media. Langsing, putih, dan berambut lurus menjadi wacana dominan perempuan ideal yang menggeser dan memarginalkan perempuan yang tidak sesuai gambaran tersebut. Akibatnya perempuan akan kehilangan kepercayaan atas tubuhnya dan merasa diabaikan (*left out*) (Fitryarini, 2009, h. 124). Penggambaran cantik pada *Vemale.com* lebih berfokus pada cantik yang sehat secara fisik maupun emosional.

Selain itu *Vemale.com* menunjukkan bahwa usaha untuk mengubah fisik secara instan akan menyebabkan kerusakan wajah. Hal tersebut dimuat dalam artikel berjudul “*Mengerikan, Ibu Ini Bagai Monster Setelah Suntik Botoks 3 Kali*” pada 9 Mei 2016. Artikel ini berusaha memberikan bukti bahwa untuk menjadi cantik memang dibutuhkan usaha, tidak dapat diraih secara instan, dan cantik yang alami jauh lebih baik dan aman (Anindyakirana, 2016).

Bordo (2004) melihat walaupun perempuan mendisiplinkan tubuhnya sendiri dengan menggunakan operasi kosmetik dan diet, serta terlihat seperti memiliki kekuatan dan kendali, namun kekuatan tersebut hanyalah ilusi dan peralihan personal yang terlepas dari efek politik, dan tidak mampu mengubah norma budaya serta kepercayaan yang menekan, serta dipertahankan oleh sistem kecantikan. Imaji atas tubuh perempuan yang dibentuk secara sosial dan sejarah adalah wilayah penjajahan yang bukan keinginan diri sendiri, seperti yang dikatakan oleh Andrea Dworkin:

In our culture, not one part of a woman's body is left untouched, unaltered. No feature or extremity is spared the art, or pain, of improvement. From head to toe, every feature of a woman's face, every section of her body, is subject to modification, alteration. This alteration is an ongoing, repetitive process. It is vital to the economy, the major substance of male-female differentiation, the most immediate physical and psychological reality of being a woman (dalam Bordo, 2004, h. 21).

Sementara itu, penggambaran fisik oleh *Sooperboy.com* difokuskan pada sosok ideal satu dimensional seperti selebritis dalam artikel “*Heboh! Muncul Polwan Bernama Bripda Ricca Secantik Isyana Sarasvati*” yang dimuat 3 Mei 2016. Berikut digambarkan bagaimana perempuan dianggap cantik

Semakin lama semakin banyak deretan polisi wanita (polwan) yang memiliki paras yang tak kalah cantik dan seksi dengan selebriti. Ya, jaman sekarang polwan tak hanya identik dengan wanita tegas berpenampilan *tomboy*, namun beberapa di antaranya mulai memperhatikan penampilan hingga merias wajah dengan sempurna (Heboh muncul, 2016).

Hal serupa juga ditemukan pada artikel “*Ini Dia Elizabeth Olsen, Si Penyihir Cantik di Civil War*” yang dimuat pada 3 Mei 2016, di mana sisi kecantikan wajah Elizabeth Olsen menjadi fokus utama pada pembahasannya. Senada dengan artikel tersebut, artikel yang dimuat pada 2 Mei 2016 berjudul “*Pose Seperti Ini, Cinta Laura Dibilang Mirip Angelina Jolie*” turut memaparkan kecantikan fisik yang dimiliki Cinta Laura yang disamakan dengan kecantikan artis *Hollywood* Angelina Jolie.

Jika melihat penelitian mengenai majalah perempuan, penampilan fisik ditampilkan memiliki patokan ideal yang

menimbulkan kritik, yaitu majalah-majalah tersebut membuat perempuan merasa buruk tentang diri mereka sendiri. Presentasi berulang mengenai kecantikan ideal belum tentu sesuai untuk kebanyakan perempuan karena hanya memakan waktu dan biaya yang mungkin dapat menyebabkan masalah kesehatan. Banyak halaman yang berisi nasihat tentang bagaimana pembaca dapat meningkatkan penampilan mereka, keterampilan seks dan kepribadian, dan mungkin cenderung membuat pembaca merasa tidak cukup atas dirinya sendiri (Gauntlett, 2002, h. 191).

Artikel-artikel di atas memperlihatkan bahwa *Sooperboy.com* menjadikan selebritis sebagai patokan ideal bagi perempuan. Penggambaran cantik pada *Sooperboy.com* berdasarkan penampilan fisik dan berkiblat pada penampilan selebritis, yakni memiliki bentuk tubuh langsing, pakaian cenderung terbuka, dan mayoritas memiliki kulit tubuh yang putih dan bersih. Perempuan yang memiliki kemiripan fisik dengan selebritis dapat dikatakan cantik pada *website* ini.

Penggambaran perempuan pada majalah laki-laki *mainstream* biasanya menampilkan gambar perempuan dalam balutan busana yang minim hingga tanpa busana dengan pose yang menggairahkan, namun tanpa menampilkan sesuatu yang berbau pornografi (Gauntlett, 2002, h. 173). *Sooperboy.com* dalam hal ini menampilkan artikel dengan kategori sama dengan majalah pria lainnya, namun penyampaian isi artikel dibalut dengan kata-kata dan gambar yang tidak begitu memperlihatkan keerotisan tubuh perempuan.

Hubungan dengan Laki-laki

Berdasarkan data dari artikel terkumpul, penggambaran terhadap sosok perempuan dalam hubungannya dengan laki-laki pada *Vemale.com* dibagi menjadi dua, yakni hubungan sebelum pernikahan dan hubungan pernikahan. Hubungan sebelum pernikahan berkaitan dengan peran perempuan dalam ikatan hubungan pacaran atau pada level *single* atau belum memiliki pasangan. Hubungan pernikahan berkaitan dengan peran perempuan dalam kehidupan berumah tangga yakni berkaitan dengan suami dan anak. *Vemale.com* menggambarkan perempuan dalam kaitannya dengan hubungan sebelum pernikahan di artikel “*Untukmu yang Sempurna Tapi Bukan Jodohku, Bahagialah Bersamanya*” yang dimuat pada 9 Mei 2016.

Pernahkah kamu merasa sudah menemukan orang yang tepat, sempurna sekali di matamu tapi ternyata bukan jodohmu? Semua karakter dan kepribadiannya sesuai dengan tipe idealmu. Hanya saja ternyata dia bukan untukmu.....

Meski dia yang sempurna di matamu bukan jodohmu, tetap doakan yang terbaik untuknya. Izinkan dia bahagia dengan hidupnya yang baru agar kamu juga bisa bahagia dengan lembaran baru kehidupanmu (Untukmu yang, 2016).

Jika dicermati, artikel tersebut kontra dengan apa yang biasanya disampaikan oleh majalah perempuan yang menjadikan laki-laki sebagai sumber kebahagiaan. Artikel yang membahas mengenai hubungan antar lawan jenis biasanya mengarah pada bagaimana cara mendapatkan seorang pria. Majalah dituduh memberikan petunjuk bahwa laki-laki merupakan jalan untuk kebahagiaan. Implikasinya majalah hanya mereproduksi versi *smartened up* dari gagasan kuno

bahwa perempuan harus menjadi indah dan harum maka mereka akan cukup beruntung mendapatkan pria yang datang menghampiri mereka, idealnya pada pernikahan yang bahagia (Gauntlett, 2002, h. 190). Sementara itu, artikel di atas memberi gambaran dan semangat pada perempuan agar bisa melepaskan seseorang yang memang bukan ditakdirkan untuk mereka serta mampu menikmati kehidupannya meskipun belum ada laki-laki yang mendampingi hidupnya. Hal tersebut memperlihatkan perempuan dianggap dapat bertahan tanpa harus mengandalkan laki-laki sebagai satu-satunya sumber kebahagiaan.

Pada hubungan pernikahan, penggambaran perempuan dapat dilihat melalui artikel *Vemale.com*, misalnya artikel “*Tampil Seksi dan Feminin, Tips Romantis Dengan Suami #IbuIbuHot*” yang dimuat pada 10 Mei 2016.

Kebanyakan yang udah nikah semua waktu buat anaknya, lupa suami dan lupa istri juga. Tak hanya suami atau istri yang merasakan dampaknya, anaknya pun juga merasakan... Cara jitu yang dilakukan ibu dua anak ini agar hubungan dengan suami selalu romantis adalah ia selalu meluangkan waktu berdua dengan suami untuk jalan bersama tanpa anak-anak (Tampil seksi, 2016).

Pada artikel di atas, *Vemale.com* mendukung peran sosial perempuan sebagai ibu rumah tangga yang memiliki posisi sebagai pendamping suami dan pengasuh anak. Pada hubungan pernikahan, *Vemale.com* berfokus pada peran perempuan dalam hubungan keluarga dengan kompleksitasnya yang berkaitan dengan anak, suami dan pekerjaan rumah tangga. Hal tersebut masih erat kaitannya dengan

ungkapan budaya Jawa yang menyebutkan peran perempuan selalu berkaitan dengan *masak, macak, manak*.

Sama halnya dengan *Vemale.com*, *Sooperboy.com* juga memfokuskan penggambaran perempuan pada hubungan sebelum pernikahan dan sesudah pernikahan. Penggambaran perempuan pada hubungan pernikahan dapat dilihat di artikel “*5 Fakta Tentang Selingkuh Yang Perlu Anda Tahu*” dimuat pada 28 Maret 2016.

Sebuah survei yang pernah dilakukan menunjukkan jika persentase wanita untuk berselingkuh lebih banyak beberapa tahun belakangan. Hal ini juga dipengaruhi karena para wanita kini memiliki pendapatan lebih tinggi dibandingkan beberapa puluh tahun lalu (5 fakta, 2016).

Artikel di atas menyebutkan salah satu alasan perempuan dapat berselingkuh karena pendapatan mereka yang sudah mulai sama dengan laki-laki, karena adanya peningkatan karier yang dicapai perempuan. Perempuan memiliki *power*, di mana dengan gaji yang tinggi perempuan juga dapat menjadi pihak yang berselingkuh. Berdasar penelitian Lammers, Stoker, Jordan, Polmann & Stapel (2011) peningkatan kekuasaan berasosiasi dengan ketidaksetiaan karena kekuasaan meningkatkan kepercayaan diri dalam hal kemampuan untuk menarik lawan jenis dan berlaku sama antara perempuan maupun laki-laki. Hal ini mematahkan asumsi umum bahwa perempuan lebih dianggap setia dibandingkan laki-laki, sebagai sebuah refleksi perbedaan kekuasaan berdasar gender tradisional yang ada di masyarakat.

PEMBAHASAN

Penggambaran mengenai perempuan sebagai perempuan bekerja/karir adalah penanda penting dari politik dan budaya populer Indonesia yang kontemporer. Perempuan bekerja menggantikan ibu rumah tangga sebagai paradigma subjek perempuan di wacana politik, budaya dan ekonomi di Indonesia (Sen, 1998). Hal ini terlihat dari semakin meningkatnya gambaran perempuan bekerja sebagai profesional di banyak jenis iklan.

Secara tradisional, perempuan memiliki kesempatan yang lebih sedikit dibandingkan laki-laki untuk memperoleh sumber daya, status, dan keamanan dalam meraih sebuah karier. Pilihan terbaik bagi perempuan untuk mendapatkan posisi sosial ekonomi adalah dengan menarik laki-laki yang “berkuasa” yang akan dijadikan pasangan dalam membentuk hubungan yang stabil (Lammers, et al., 2011). Hal ini melatarbelakangi gambaran mengenai pemujaan perempuan terhadap kedigdayaan laki-laki dalam rangka mencapai kebahagiaan. Artikel yang membahas mengenai bagaimana seharusnya perempuan memperindah *inner* dan *outer beauty* adalah bukti ketergantungan perempuan masih kuat terhadap laki-laki.

Namun, ketika perempuan sudah secara mandiri mampu mendapatkan sumber kekuasaan dan pendapatan dengan bekerja, kepercayaan diri mereka mulai meningkat dan ketergantungan terhadap pasangannya semakin menurun. Hal inilah yang dianggap mampu meningkatkan ketidaksetiaan perempuan terhadap pasangannya. Perempuan dengan posisi kekuasaan yang

tinggi dianggap memiliki kecenderungan yang sama dengan laki-laki dalam hal melakukan perselingkuhan (Lammers, et al., 2011). Jika perbedaan gender dalam hal kekuasaan menghilang dan perempuan mampu mendapatkan kekuasaan yang lebih maka perbedaan gender yang lain juga seharusnya mulai berkurang.

Di sisi lain, gambaran perempuan sebagai ibu rumah tangga sulit dihilangkan dan masih dipertahankan, baik di media konvensional maupun media baru. Hal ini dikarenakan masih dipegangnya kebijakan pemerintah Orde Baru mengenai lima tugas perempuan Indonesia yang dipromosikan oleh PKK (*Organization for Family Welfare*), yaitu: (1) sebagai produsen generasi bangsa berikutnya, (2) sebagai istri dan pendamping setia suami, (3) sebagai ibu dan pendidikan bagi anaknya, (4) sebagai manajer rumah tangga, dan (5) sebagai warga negara (dalam Sen, 1998). Perempuan ideal adalah ibu yang mampu menyeimbangkan ruang publik dan privat, mendidik dengan baik anak yang sehat dan menjadi warga negara yang setia. Ideologi Orde Baru secara khusus melihat istri sebagai pendamping suami. Bagi perempuan bekerja, peran ini harus dipertahankan bahkan ketika dia berperan sebagai ibu.

Studi mengenai gender tidak akan bermakna tanpa melihat kaitannya dengan teknologi. Hal inilah yang menyebabkan feminis mendekati gender sebagai sesuatu yang membentuk dan dibentuk oleh teknologi (*mutual shaping*). Menurut pendekatan ini, ruang internet tidak hanya dibentuk oleh kegunaannya semata, melainkan juga melalui desain dan produksi

dari infrastruktur teknologinya (van Doorn, 2010, h. 19). Feminis mengklaim bahwa internet adalah dunia perempuan dan pengguna perempuan dianggap memiliki tujuan dan perilaku *online* mereka sendiri (van Zoonen, 2002, h. 10). Internet memainkan peranan instrumental dalam berbagai kegiatan perempuan untuk memberdayakan perempuan dalam kehidupan *offline* maupun *online*. Internet digunakan perempuan sebagai platform untuk berbagai tujuan seperti menciptakan jaringan dukungan, menantang pelecehan seksual, mendiskusikan politik feminis, menciptakan ruang untuk ekspresi seksual, dan melawan ketidakadilan sosial (van Doorn, 2010, h. 23).

Gustafson (van Doorn, 2010, h. 20) dalam studinya mengenai feminisasi dari situs perempuan seperti *iVillage.com* dan *Women.com* menyatakan ketika perempuan adalah bagian dari populasi internet yang semakin meningkat, perempuan secara wacana dibangun di internet sebagai pencari komunitas dan sebagai konsumen peran feminin yang tradisional. Banyak situs yang mengadopsi model majalah perempuan, menggunakan stereotipe feminin untuk mempromosikan dan memosisikan konten mereka (Royal, 2008). Majalah perempuan secara terus menerus mengasumsikan setiap perempuan akan menikah, memiliki anak, dan rumah.

Vemale.com dan *Sooperboy.com* sebagai *gendered spaces* berperan untuk mereproduksi konstruksi budaya dari perbedaan gender yang ada selama ini. Adanya berbagai jenis feminisme dan maskulinitas membuat

internet dapat mempercepat perubahan relasi gender tradisional, hegemoni yang berdasar pada perbedaan ke arah konstruksi gender alternatif.

Walaupun masih belum secara frontal menunjukkan kontradiksi terhadap peran gender yang konvensional, kedua situs yang diteliti sudah mulai memperlihatkan gambaran perempuan yang berbeda. Masih dilestarikannya penggambaran peran gender konvensional dikhawatirkan akan mengakibatkan generasi selanjutnya tidak melihat bahwa ada kesempatan lain bagi perempuan selain berperan seperti konsumen, ibu, istri, dan objek seks (Royal, 2008).

SIMPULAN

Penelitian ini berusaha memahami hubungan perempuan dengan teknologi dan cara perempuan direpresentasikan melalui teknologi di dua situs gaya hidup berbasis gender. Ketika media massa seperti majalah laki-laki maupun perempuan sangat dominan menunjukkan peran konvensional perempuan, media *online* ternyata mampu menunjukkan penggambaran perempuan di luar peran konvensional walaupun dalam level yang masih rendah. Dipertahankannya gambaran peran domestik perempuan ini tidak lepas dari ideologi pemerintah Orde Baru Indonesia yang menolak melihat perempuan sebagai pekerja. Penggambaran fisik dan seksualitas yang membuat perempuan tidak nyaman dengan dirinya sendiri sudah tidak dijumpai di *Vemale.com*, walaupun masih tetap dipertahankan di *Sooperboy.com* dengan porsi yang tidak berlebihan. Satu kesamaan yang dimiliki kedua situs adalah dukungan

terhadap perempuan yang bekerja di ruang publik. Bahkan, *Sooperboy.com* sama sekali tidak membahas domestifikasi perempuan secara eksplisit.

Pengaruh media mengalami peningkatan ke arah di mana seseorang akan sulit untuk mempertahankan identitas dan pemahaman terhadap diri sendiri tanpa menggunakan media sebagai alat referensi. Media *online* di Indonesia telah menunjukkan adanya usaha untuk menjadi rujukan bagi gambaran perempuan yang tidak hanya berada di peran konvensional. Situs berbasis gender memiliki kemampuan dan kesempatan memainkan peran proaktif untuk memotret perempuan dalam peran yang lebih memberdayakan, menentang gambaran yang sudah ada sebelumnya di media tradisional.

Penelitian selanjutnya dapat berfokus pada bagaimana perempuan menggunakan ruang gender internet, seperti *website*, *blog*, sosial media untuk memperkuat posisi mereka, menentang diskriminasi, dan menyuarakan suara marginal dari identitas seksual yang berbeda.

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